

PUBLIC HEARING
before
ASSEMBLY REVENUE, FINANCE AND APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE
on

ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION NUMBER 50
(Memorializes Congress to Transfer Funding from Unnecessary
Military Spending to Domestic Spending for Human Services)

Held:
October 8, 1980
Council Chambers
City Hall
Newark, New Jersey

MEMBERS OF COMMITTEE PRESENT:

Assemblyman Willie B. Brown (Acting Chairman)
Assemblyman Chuck Hardwick

ALSO:

Assemblyman Harry A. Mc Enroe
District #28

William D. Zuzzio, Staff Assistant
Office of Legislative Services
Aide, Assembly Revenue, Finance and Appropriations Committee

Allan Parry, Legislative Analyst
Office of Legislative Services

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ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION No. 50

STATE OF NEW JERSEY

INTRODUCED JUNE 16, 1980

By Assemblymen BROWN, THOMPSON, ZANGARI, McENROE
and Assemblywoman GARVIN

Referred to Committee on Revenue, Finance and Appropriations

AN ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION memorializing the United States Congress to transfer funding from unnecessary military spending to domestic spending for human services.

1 WHEREAS, The national military budget is growing at an incredible
2 rate each year while domestic spending for human services is
3 suffering a sharp decline; and,

4 WHEREAS, Our nation is the number one military power in the world
5 but only number 15 in its rate of literacy, number 15 in prevent-
6 ing infant mortality, number 18 in its doctor-patient ratio, and
7 number 26 in the life expectancy of its citizens; and,

8 WHEREAS, All Americans should support the maintenance of a
9 strong national deterrent, but the support should not imply an
10 approbation of military inefficiency and poor planning especially
11 when money wasted thereby could be used to salvage, sustain,
12 and improve human resources; and,

13 WHEREAS, Major New Jersey cities such as Newark are paying
14 large amounts in Federal taxes to support many unproductive
15 military programs while their citizens are suffering from unem-
16 ployment, hunger, inferior transportation facilities, poor med-
17 ical care, substandard housing, and high crime rates; and,

18 WHEREAS, Those sums that are poorly spent by the Pentagon each
19 year would be better used by the Federal Government in pre-
20 serving the quality of life in this nation within and without its
21 dying cities, so that while the armed forces are defending our
22 country from hostile powers abroad we are not perishing at
23 home; now, therefore,

1 BE IT RESOLVED *by the General Assembly of the State of New*
2 *Jersey:*

1 1. That the United States Congress is memorialized to transfer
2 funding from unnecessary military spending to domestic spending
3 for human services.

1 2. That duly authenticated copies of this resolution, signed by the
2 Speaker and attested by the Clerk, be transmitted to every member
3 of the United States Senate and House of Representatives elected
4 from the State of New Jersey.

STATEMENT

The purpose of this resolution is adequately expressed in its title.

ASSEMBLYMAN WILLIE B. BROWN (Chairman): Good afternoon. I am Assemblyman Willie B. Brown, Assistant Majority leader of the General Assembly. I serve on the Assembly Revenue, Finance and Appropriations Committee, and I also introduced Assembly Resolution 50 which memorializes the United States Congress to transfer funding from unnecessary military spending to domestic spending for human services.

The purpose of this hearing is to give you in the community an opportunity to have input, to express your views and your opinions, and also your support and opposition to this Resolution.

Our first speaker will be Frank Askin, Chairman of the Coalition for Human Priorities, Professor at Rutgers Law School.

F R A N K A S K I N: Thank you, Assemblyman Brown. Actually, I wear two hats here today. I speak both as the Chair of the Essex County Coalition for Human Priorities, and also as Chairperson of the Issues Committee of the Essex County Democratic Coalition, an organization of concerned democrats from throughout Essex County. In fact, I attach to this statement a copy of a Resolution adopted by a democratic coalition a year ago expressing our concern over the expansion of the Federal military budget at the expense of needed urban programs in social services. That concern continues to grow as Congress continues to reduce the necessary levels of funding for essential human needs.

If I might digress from my statement for one moment, I noted on the way in here that there seems to be some kind of program in survival training going on outside of City Hall this morning. It seems to me we may be engaged in a similar process up here.

I will not address the crisis in human needs programs directly. Others more immediately involved in the delivery of such services will speak to those questions today. I wish to address one of the prime causes for the reduction in the level of Federal spending for domestic programs, and that is the escalating military budget. What has become clear in the last year is that in the present inflationary era with a huge clamor for a balanced Federal budget being heard across the land, Uncle Sam is no longer able to satisfy both the insatiable demands of the military establishment while also meeting the human needs of the American people. Now, of course, no one could object to this diversion of resources, if it is really necessary for the survival of our nation. What good would it be to provide hot lunches for school children or additional comforts for the elderly or better bus and train service if it means the country is going to be destroyed by a more powerful adversary?

The question, it seems to me, that every American must ask is whether we truly do need a \$157 billion defense budget in order to protect our national security. Now, like most other Americans, I also worry when the so-called experts tell us that we have become too weak to protect our national interest. But, I have refused to accept at face value every self-serving claim advanced by the Pentagon and the armaments industry to justify even larger appropriations and defense contracts. Even a slight acquaintance with recent history will recall how often we have been misled by some politician or military advisors into believing the country was weak and militarily vulnerable and in need of massive new weaponry. The alleged missile gap of the early sixties and the Gulf of Tonkin resolution are two events that served just those fraudulent purposes. And remembrance of those two events ought to be enough to give us pause before we fall for the line

of the new Jeremiahs who would have us believe we have become a second great military power, and that the only way we can protect ourselves in the hostile world is by diverting more of our natural resources to the armaments industry.

But, the question remains how can we be sure whether this time the wolf really is coming after the sheep? Now, all we can do is use some common sense and try to analyze the nature of the alleged threat, and what really ought to be done about it, and not just give a blank check to those who have a special interest in a huge arms budget.

As I understand it, the aggregates of the new military macho make essentially two claims. The first is that our present military force is unprepared and ill trained and its equipment is in disrepair. The second is that we need a whole new arsenal of sophisticated weaponry in order to remain safe from our adversaries and to prevent our falling behind in the international technology race. I have no reason to dispute the first claim. Additional funds to increase pay allowances and benefits in order to attract and attain skilled personnel and military forces is certainly justifiable and necessary. It is also clear that after spending billions of dollars for weapons systems, we ought to be willing to appropriate the small amounts necessary to keep it functioning. The failure to do this is indeed just one more reflection of a political fact of life that money for the military establishment is appropriated not on the basis of actual need, but rather on the basis of the political clout of the recipient.

One of the most revealing statements in a recent and lengthy series of articles in the New York Times on our military capability is the following, and I quote, "Pentagon officials respond that funds sought for spare parts are consistently cut, because there are few political advantages in, or constituencies in favor of such spending. Moreover, some Air Force and Congressional offices concede that millions of dollars are wasted on aircraft sought by influential politicians to void their positions upon constituents when the money could be spent on spare parts." It is precisely this skewing of our priorities to serve the self-centered interests of the defense industry rather than the true defense needs of the nation which, it seems to me, is the heart of the national crisis over the Federal budget.

But, I suggest that the far more serious consequence we are suffering as a result of the political power of the pentagon defense contract or lobby, is the decision of the military establishment to develop and deploy whole new weapon systems which cost in the hundreds of millions of dollars and serve no useful purpose whatsoever, and indeed hold within them the seeds of mass human destruction.

These new weapons systems which are supposed to provide the United States with what is known as a counter-force capability had been justified by two arguments, one of which is purely fallacious when tested by rational thought, and the other of which had been recently exposed as a myth. The first argument is that the United States needs "first strike" capability, which means an ability to knock out the other side's strategic weapons before it can attack us. Up to now we apparently do not have such a first strike capability. At present, policies are based upon, instead, a deterrence strategy, that is, an ability to punish the Soviet Union or any other adversary should they attack us. We are now told that the Administration has adopted a first strike strategy, first proposed by Secretary of Defense Schlesinger in the early seventies. We are further told that this

is necessary because the Soviet Union is developing a first strike capability and we have to be in a position to respond. The fallacy of that argument is that the only way to strike first is to strike first. It is too late to lock up the other side's missile stables after the missiles are out. Thus, the whole first strike capability notion boils down to this: The only way to stop a nuclear war is to start one. But, that may be Catch 23.

In any event, it seems to me that one does not need a degree in military science to call such a policy ill-conceived. The second argument for a new counter-force system such as the MX missile is that our present land-based missile system may soon be vulnerable to a Soviet first strike capability. Formerly, it was considered that our nuclear submarine force provided a deterrent that would inhibit any adversary from attempting such a preventive strike against our land based missiles. But, recently we were told that the Soviet Union had made a major technological breakthrough that would soon permit them to wipe out a nuclear submarine fleet as well in a preemptive first strike.

Now, that is scary indeed, because if the Soviets could indeed take out an entire nuclear arsenal with a preemptive strike, we are at their mercy, and even a \$60 billion investment in a mobile missile system such as the MX was a wise investment, but then came the revelation that this entire justification for the MX system with its \$60 billion price tag was based upon a myth. Now, unfortunately, that expose has not received quite the same public notoriety that the alleged Soviet threat has been receiving for the past year. Nonetheless, it has been exposed for the deception it is, and that revelation appeared in the New York Times this past Sunday and a copy of that story is attached to my statement. In that statement it was revealed that Admiral Hayward, a Chief of Naval Operations, had written an angry letter to Secretary of Defense, Howard Brown, complaining that Pentagon officials had misled the public into believing our submarine fleet was vulnerable to Soviet attack in order to win public support for the MX missile. The Times article further revealed that Secretary Brown had promised Admiral Hayward that in future public statements Pentagon officials would no longer emphasize the possibility that submarines could become vulnerable to attack in the near future.

What Secretary Brown forgot to admit in his statement was that he still supports a \$60 billion program to build a missile system that has no possible justification. Indeed, this alleged threat to our submarine fleet has been the sole justification for a whole parade of new missile systems, including cruise missiles and B-1 bombers, proposals that promise a bright future for the armaments industry, but offer nothing but bleakness and despair for our urban centers and for all those segments of society from senior citizens to school children and college students who must rely on public programs if they are to live comfortable lives and realize their full potential.

The fact is that so long as the United States has 41 nuclear submarines, each armed with some 100 nuclear warheads, remains invulnerable, we have as much deterrent capacity as money can buy. Those submarines can wipe out the Soviet Union forty times over should they ever dare attack us. To have the capability of wiping them out 100 times or 150 times will not make our nation one bit safer. Any further additions to our nuclear arsenal can have only one purpose, to "Win a nuclear war." Now, some of the Pentagon generals may find that a worthwhile goal. But, I think we ordinary citizens are in as good a position as they to

decide whether it is worthwhile to think about winning a war that will leave this entire planet devastated. I think not, and I think most Americans, once they understand what the real issues are, will agree with that conclusion. There will be no winner in a nuclear confrontation. To win the ways to build bigger and stronger nuclear weapons is no more worthwhile than building the biggest and best graveyards.

That is why I believe Assembly Resolution 50 is so important. It provides and opportunity for the people of New Jersey to consider the facts and issues upon which will be made decisions of public policy having the most far reaching and consequential effects on their lives. It gives us an opportunity to consider rationally just what price we are paying both in terms of human services and in terms of our very futures by this headlong rush by the Federal Government to devote ever more of our precious national resources into useless, wasteful and dangerous weapons of mass destruction. I urge the New Jersey Legislature to adopt A-50 and to let Washington know that this State thinks it is time to reorder our national priorities to serve the cause of life and the well-being of our citizens. I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you very much, Mr. Askin. I would just like to take the opportunity now to introduce you to my colleagues. On my right is Assemblyman Chuck Hardwick from Union County, a Republican from the Twentieth District. On my left is Assemblyman Harry Mc Enroe from the Twenty-eighth District, Essex County, Democrat. So, you can see the balance, and I hope Assemblyman Hardwick will relate to the minority party some of the comments that you will witness here today, and I am quite sure that we will do the same.

To the left of Assemblyman Mc Enroe is also Barney Miles, my staff assistant. Thank you very much, Mr. Askin. Are there any questions?

ASSEMBLYMAN HARDWICK: Professor, I appreciate your comments. I would like to ask your opinion on one subject I don't think you touched on, and that is, the spending on the assumption that we have adequate defense now; that is, the spending for technological developments for the future. If the same - and I am paraphrasing it - General is always prepared to fight the next war based on assumptions from the last war, which are usually outmoded by the time the next war comes about, and if we are adequately prepared now, do you feel that we are spending an adequate proportion of our resources to prevent the next war through technological developments to the new weapons to insure that the submarines are not vulnerable to assure that you are prepared to penetrate, if we have to, if we are ever attacked by the Soviet Union, any new laser or technological weapons that they may develop that make everything that we have now outdated and ineffective?

MR. ASKIN: Assemblyman Hardwick, first of all, I do not believe we spend nearly enough money on perfecting the technology of arms control and international agreement. I think we should be devoting a lot more resources to how we are ultimately going to end once and for all this incredible and insane nuclear arms race, and end once and for all the threat of nuclear destruction to this planet.

I do not really believe it is possible to prepare for a war any more, because I don't believe that we will have anything left if there is a future war. But, we have to prepare for peace. Now, I agree that we have to prepare and have the technology ready, that we cannot remain helpless in the event that someone else is preparing new weapon systems to be able to wipe us out, or we would have no response, to make ourselves vulnerable. And, that, it seems to me, was the

threat and the problem that was created when it was suggested that our submarine fleet might be vulnerable. But, it seems perfectly clear now that there is no threat, at least, in the foreseeable future, to our submarine fleet. Of course, we are going to have to continue to spend money on research and technology, but that is different from spending a billion on production and deployment of new weapon systems.

I think the expenditures of money for research and technology is relatively small compared to what we are talking about building, some new missile system such as the MX. Technological expenditures will have to continue to be made until such time as we can in fact reach international agreements on the reduction of nuclear arms. But, it seems to me that the problem is that every new expenditure we make, or every new escalation in our arms budget as Secretary Brown said in a recent speech, the other side does that much more themselves. And all we are doing is escalating the arms race. It seems to me we have to constantly try to cut back on the production and deployment of new systems because when we create a new system, that just makes the other side create a new system, and we have to begin to stop somewhere. As long as we retain a deterrence capacity--- And that is what we have. Our nuclear submarines give us as much deterrent capacity as is possible for us to have, and as long as we are not talking about winning a war, which I believe is unwinnable, all we can really talk about is the notion that we have enough capacity to wipe anybody else out if they ever got crazy enough to attack us. That is the policy we have been following essentially for twenty years, the mutual assured destruction policy that I guess Secretary McNamara originally articulated, and I do not believe there is any reason to abandon that policy now. Abandoning that policy means escalation of the arms race and destruction of our own national economy by throwing all of our resources into this unnecessary new weapon systems.

ASSEMBLYMAN HARDWICK: You do not really object to increased preparation for a limited war?

MR. ASKIN: Not technology and research, but I think production of weaponry systems is just unacceptable.

ASSEMBLYMAN HARDWICK: And increases in manpower and the assumption that there would be adequate equipment.

MR. ASKIN: It is not that we have a lack of manpower. I think what the pentagon has been complaining somewhat is the lack of skills and trained personnel, and I think there part of the problem is the inadequate pay and benefits for our service personnel. There, as I said in my statement, is the place where we could be spending additional money to increase service pay and benefits to attract the skilled personnel we do need to man what is a modern technological force. That, I think, is appropriate.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you very much. Can you answer a question for Assemblyman Mc Enroe?

ASSEMBLYMAN MC ENROE: I didn't really have a question, but I did want to compliment Mr. Askin for his long involvement, really, in this whole question. I have been a recipient of your news letter for some time. I do make sure that I read the thoughts contained therein. I would like, really, at this time, to comment on my co-sponsorship of Assembly Resolution 50. I joined Assemblyman Brown, Assemblyman Thompson and Mr. Zangari, and Assemblywoman Garvin in placing this before the Committee of which Mr. Hardwick is a member, and I commend you

for it, and I think in its preamble the words "unnecessary military spending" are really the words that place this in its proper perspective. I in no way support a destruction of our military capability. I don't think we should dismantle any of our current systems. But, I do think that it is important that we place this on the minds and on the conference tables across the country and that is the question of, "Are we spending money unnecessarily?" Because, as all of us know, the city which I represent, and Mr. Hardwick represents a community close to this city, has its economic and social ills that this country is capable of solving to a great degree if we attend to the needs of our cities in relationship to the military. So, I supported it and I have co-sponsored it in order that a debate can be legitimately started and the question can be asked again across the country whether we are diligently attending the needs of the cities or are we historically and perfunctorily supporting our military escalation?

ASSEMBLYMAN MC ENROE: We deeply appreciate your assistance in this.

MR. ASKIN: Thank you.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you very much. Our next speaker will be Phyllis Salowe-Kaye, President, New Jersey Tenants Organization.

P H Y L L I S S A L O W E - K A Y E: I am here to testify on behalf of the NJTO. The New Jersey Tenants Organization is the oldest and largest statewide tenant organization in the country. With over 55 dues paying members, we are reaching well over 500,000 tenants yearly. Coalition building efforts with senior citizens groups, women's groups, labor and energy coalitions extend our outreach even more.

After eleven years, the NJTO is extremely proud of its continuing strength and commitment to building a broad-based, grass-roots consumer rights organization. In addition, the NJTO along with tenant groups in New York recently formed a national coalition of the National Tenants Union formed throughout the country representing millions of tenants. The NJTO supports Resolution Number 50 sponsored by Assemblyman Brown.

We are opposed to the shift in the national priorities towards the build-up of military installations and weaponry at the expense of domestic programs. Housing in this country is the worst that it has been since the depression. We must stop building bombs and start building safe, decent and affordable housing, for low and moderate income people. In 1976, the Federal Government provided 500,000 Section Eight housing subsidies for low and moderate income people. Today, this has dropped to 286,000 units. Between 1970 and 1978, the State of New Jersey produced an average of 40,000 housing units annually. This is 60,000 units short of what we need according to New Jersey's Department of Community Affairs.

In Essex County alone there are over 100,000 units that are over priced and deteriorating. While we are faced with a housing crisis around shelter for our people, national priorities have been set to increase the tools that are used in war games. The cost of housing has gone through the roof and inflationary costs are pricing all but the wealthy out of home buying. The cost of a medium priced house in 1970 was \$23,000. In 1976, it was \$48,000, and in 1980 the medium priced house was \$64,000. In places like Bergen County, the average is \$75,000 and in northwest New Jersey it is \$100,000. The poor urban minorities and seniors are familiar with the plight of being a permanent tenant or lifers.

What is new is the post-war baby boom of the middle income renters who grew up expecting that homes in the suburbs would be theirs for the asking. Well, it is not happening and their lives are becoming increasingly unpleasant as tenants. Now is the time that the Federal Government should be increasing its aid to

the housing needs of the low and moderate income people. Cutbacks now are insane.

One, the Federal Subsidy for Section 8 and Public Housing should be expanded, establishing an annual target of 500,000 supply expansion units (rehab and construction) for each of the next five years. There are community groups throughout the State, especially in Newark and East Orange. They are currently in the process of taking over abandoned and deteriorated buildings. Tenant management and ownership and the rehabilitation of these buildings are our goals. We are being severely hampered by our lack of federal funding.

Two, the Federal Government should strongly support new self-help development programs by providing partially funded projects that are run by neighborhood and voluntary associations. Putting more money into weaponry will take away money that is urgently needed.

Three, national homesteading plans should be adopted with a goal of homesteading 100,000 abandoned units every year and employing self-help rehab to the greatest extent possible.

We urge the passage of this resolution. The New Jersey Tenants Organization will stand behind it and let our members know that this Resolution exists, and urge them to work with their legislators to get it passed.

Let's stop wasting money, our money, on inflationary schemes of the Pentagon and defense contractors, and let's begin to provide safe, affordable housing so that our children and our parents will have a place to live. Thank you.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you very much, Ms. Salowe-Kaye. Our next speaker will be Reverend David Burgess, Saint Stephens Church and Zion United Church of Christ, Newark.

REVEREND DAVID BURGESS: Gentlemen, I will be brief and to the point. I have been a Pastor only two years here in Newark, but I know that it is the poorest city of America's largest forty-five according to a U. S. Senate Report of 1977. One church is located in an essentially Black neighborhood, Zion, and the other is located in a Hispanic neighborhood. We are dealing with teenage crime, forty percent unemployment among teenaged youth, and the murders in this city on August 1st, were as much as all of 1979.

I am not here to give you statistics, but to give you two human stories of two women that I have been dealing with in the last couple weeks to show in human terms how the lack of support from the Federal and State government at times is harming people in need.

One woman, unemployment, \$89 per week, no other source of support. She just recently recovered from a severe case of alcoholism. We have taken her into our home because she had no home to live in. She went and got food stamps, all of \$10 per month.

The second woman is an unwed mother who lives not very far from here. I helped this woman in fact this morning go to the Welfare Office. After a six-week wait, she is eligible for \$119 per month. When the baby comes on November 20th or thereabouts, \$179 per month. Her rent alone is \$130. Her only other source of aid is the Wick Food Program at the moment which gives her \$40 per month. These are two human beings that I know well.

If you had been in the waiting line as I was this morning for two hours, you would know that these people are in trouble. In terms of fuel benefits, though the cost of fuel has gone up 30% from last year, the maximum fuel benefits

of \$400 per family won't be very much more because we have a base fund of \$66 million, and this coming year it will be \$71 million.

The average senior citizen in Essex County gets all of \$15 per month in food stamps. I deal with charity and welfare cases every day of the week, and I see the deterioration of housing, morale. I have seen these people treated like cattle on medicaid lines, welfare lines, food stamp lines, and after they wait for hours, they find very few benefits after this solid wait.

Now, gentlemen, unless these conditions can be improved, and unless we can in some way reverse the arms race and bring more money back to the cities, we are in trouble. Newark is number one of all the forty-five largest cities in America. Newark is the poorest city by economic and social standards. And, therefore, we are dealing not only with the two women I am talking about, but also thousands of people in dire need.

So, on the basis of humanity and fairness and justice, I plead with you to pass this Resolution Number 50, and I will assure you that our Congressional members, members of the Newark Coalition of Neighborhoods, of which I am an active member, will also campaign for passage. I wish to personally thank the three of you and the lady who is not here for your solid support. Thank you very much.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you very much, Reverend. Are there any comments or questions from my colleagues? Assemblyman Hardwick.

ASSEMBLYMAN HARDWICK: Pastor, I realize you don't present yourself as an expert on defense, or at least I don't believe you are presenting yourself in that regard, but are you telling us today that there is great need in the Newark area for increased social services, and relating that specifically to defense expenditures, or do you not care where the increased funds come from; you are focusing on the need for the greater social services here.

REVEREND BURGESS: Well, I have been a U. S. Foreign Service Officer for 15 years.

ASSEMBLYMAN HARDWICK: Perhaps you are an expert.

REVEREND BURGESS: I am not, nor do I claim expertiseship. I think in terms of the MX missile, the Triton submarine, the nuclear attack submarine, and other things, we are dealing with a situation in which both political parties are outdoing themselves in terms of raising the military budget.

It seems to me that these programs are excessive and we now can destroy the Soviet Union thirty-four times over and they can destroy us twelve times over, and when the second bunch of missiles passes over and drops, only a rumble and shake and there will be no more human life. I think the basic problem is that America has not understood and the Russian people have not understood the nuclear capacity of their rival nations. And, therefore, because of this excessive expenditure and the fact that both parties are committed to it at the moment, these social services are steadily declining. Nutrition programs for senior citizens --The welfare payments have scarcely gone up. The fuel subsidies will not even meet the inflationary rise in the cost of fuel. I think these should come out of the defense budget. I think there are ways of trimming waste and fat. I think the whole method of competitive bidding is not competitive bidding of the Pentagon. There is an add-on cost every time there is a major program. The MX missile is estimated at \$31 billion. So, judging by past performance of the Pentagon, it will be at least \$40 to \$50 billion by the time it's finished. And then we will be no more safe than we were before. The Russians believe exactly the same thing. I am not putting a halo on their side either.

But, the very fact that Resolution 50 was being introduced - it is saying, in effect, let's take a look. Are the military expenditures absolutely necessary? What are we doing to the economy of the United States, and people of which I am talking, in this race for heavy arms? The deterioration of many social programs, housing, welfare payments, food stamps, nutrition, nursing homes, you could just go on and on, and even in the two years that I have been here, I have seen the downward curve on almost every social program both in the city and from state and federal sources. I think we are trying with your help in the Assembly to alert people to the threat to the social and moral welfare of America and to the gross injustice that is being carried out on the backs of working people, and Newark is one of the prime centers of such injustice. I am not an expert on defense, but I am also a member of the foreign service of the United Nations long enough to know that defense expenditures are difficult to cut, but can be cut, and that it is very easy in this age to cut from programs that directly benefit the war.

There is very little retaliation in terms of the legislators who vote for these cuts. I commend you three gentlemen for your bravery in putting forth this Resolution. It is not all that I wanted it to be, but at least it alerts the people that the social fabric of our society is in danger. Please excuse the sermon.

ASSEMBLYMAN HARDWICK: I haven't heard a sermon since Sunday.

REVEREND BURGESS: Thank you.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you. Rebecca Andrade is the Director of the Citizens Service for Essex County.

R E B E C C A A N D R A D E: Thank you, Assemblyman, and to our other Assembly representatives, I would like to add my thanks to the members of the Committee also for taking the time out to come to the City and hear from people whether we are in the bureaucracy or the community on the problems as we see it.

I strongly commend you for introducing the Resolution, because I do feel that the introduction of the Resolution is a first step for us across the State to begin to look at what I consider to be a national crisis that we are facing in our society today. The Department of Citizens Services, and you as a State representative are probably aware, is the newly created Department here in Essex County Government. Last May, 1979, our county Board of freeholders adopted a charter form of government in which a county executive, county administrator, and administrative structure was adopted under a new county code. In the adoption of the code there were eight departments that were also established. The Department of Citizens Services was designated to administer all of the human services programs that the County of Essex was responsible for. Within that Department, I, as the Director of the Department, am responsible for the administration of six major agencies, our Division on Aging, the Division of Youth Services, the Division of Welfare, the Division of Community Action, and the Division of Consumer and Constituency Services, and our County Extension Services Programs.

As you can see by each of those specific divisions, we are particularly concerned about the impact upon our social services resources that citizens across the county have, and one of the main reasons that our board of freeholders has adopted the Citizens Services was to try to get across the idea in Essex that we were trying to establish a Department that could respond to the needs of a wide variety of people throughout the county, people who represented

different age groups, ethnic groups, geographic areas of Essex County and different interests. And we felt in Essex, of all counties, we need to deal with the problems or concerns of people on a coalition basis across municipal lines, across ethnic lines, across age and income lines. So that when we are faced with the kind of cutbacks in social services that we are faced with now, it affects a county like Essex especially, because when there is a shortage, it begins to polarize the communities more than they have ever been polarized before. It really makes coalition building much more difficult and in many ways impossible, because everyone is looking at the shrinking resources and everyone is trying to figure out how they can get to the front of the line.

In general, I feel that across the country inflation and the cutbacks in availability of resources are made for people who are more privileged and more fortunate, privileged these days by having a job, and privileged by having a decent standard of living. It is making people like that much less open, much less sympathetic to the needs of people who are not that fortunate, because more people now are feeling they have less to deal with in terms of resources to raise their children and to handle their family problems. I think the major job we have to do as a society is to make more resources available. This is why I am very much in favor of the Resolution, because it addresses the need for a change in national policy, a change in our national priorities.

There are just a few things that I wanted to bring to your attention as State legislators, because I do feel that this is one of the areas in which a community, local governments and state governments can form a coalition to express our concerns to our national government. And, as the Assemblyman commented a few moments ago, where there are shortages, it does appear many times that we are adversaries, when we really are struggling with an impossible job that each of us has in our own areas of responsibility. But, I would really like to add on to the comments that Reverend Burgess was making as I came in in terms of looking at some of the needs of people here in Essex County, as a case example of what we are faced with in our county government and the community organizations that are trying to be responsive to the people's needs.

For example, here in our county the present public assistance program, which is administered through our Division of Welfare in my Department, at the present time, has prepared a budget to be considered by our County Board of Freeholders. That particular budget is going to request what amounts to \$182 million. That \$182 million is primarily money for the assistance that goes to the actual families in Essex County. At the present time, we are serving 38,000 families on the Aide to Families of Dependent Children Program. Those are men and women who are responsible for the care of their children and the support payments that are given to those adults to care for their children. That assistance level roughly for a family of four amounts to less than \$400 a month that an adult is responsible for trying to care for children, pay rent, buy clothes, deal with utility expenses and that is supplemented by a food stamp allocation which amounts to 35¢ a meal. Now, this is the standard of living that our present federally mandated federal income maintenance program mandates that citizens of the United States live on.

In a recent survey, the Department of Labor said that in order for a family of four in the northeastern part of this country to live comfortably, that family would have to have an income of \$20,000 a year. That is to live

comfortably, not well, but comfortably. Now, we know that there are many people who have working incomes who are not making \$20,000 a year, and we are faced with prices in this country in that we have a cost of living which in many cases is two to three times higher than the average income that working people are making and people on public assistance are making. So, it is clear to me that national policy has to be changed to address this question of rising inflation and strengthening resources to supplement family income, whatever the source of family income may be.

In the county budget that we presently have just started to review, the State of New Jersey at the present time is not a participant in assisting the county governments in supporting the administrative structure of the welfare system. The State of New Jersey is the only State in the union which does not participate with the counties in financing the administrative structure of our welfare system throughout our county. What this does to the county budget and what it does to the tax base in Essex County, especially Essex County - it affects all the counties, but obviously Essex would have the lion's share of the problem - is tie up a tremendous amount of county resources, like those used for the administration of the county welfare system, and it is not a system that we feel is operating at the proper level, and most of the comments that people will make today about the administration of our county welfare system are certainly very true, because the program is understaffed, and workers are underpaid. There are tremendous types of pressures, and we are not able to give them the kind of direction and support that any worker in a job situation should have. I don't see any hope for a great deal of relief in the immediate future unless we can finance the welfare system in a different pattern than it presently is being financed.

In addition, I think we have to ask ourselves as we look at the rising cost of welfare, we are talking about an assistance system which is not adequate to meet the needs of the people it is supposed to serve, and yet at the same time the cost keeps going up, so we have to ask ourselves where is this spiral going to end. Of course, the major areas as I would see it are the question of jobs and the question of support services for families so that they can begin to develop alternatives to being unemployed and dependent and having dependent children who have no other source of support.

We look at the job's problem across our country and we see that that is the basis of the economic crisis that we are faced with today in two major areas. In terms of Federal initiative, I see that the Federal Government is cutting back on the federally sponsored jobs programs, mainly CETA and other economic development programs. And, in addition, in many cases it is the federal government and its policies that promote the desertion of the cities by private industry. And, I think that the State's representatives could also look into those federal policies which actually subsidize companies for leaving cities and also subsidize companies for leaving our country, and the high investment in foreign manufacturing operations, which are in fact leaving more and more American people unemployed, so that we have a downward spiral. Where we are having more and more people becoming unemployed, more and more people are going to have to apply for unemployment, welfare and food stamp programs. Where is this going to end? It cannot end unless our federal policy changes, so that we are not using federal tax dollars to undermine the jobs market here in the United States.

What is the other prospect for people who are on assistance? The other prospect, besides jobs, are having available to them those kinds of community resources in their own neighborhoods which help families develop, which help families assume a greater responsibility for the care of their children and provide mechanisms for people to be active in their local communities, which we feel is the fabric of a stable life throughout our county. And, as we look at that picture, in addition to the erosion of our job space in Essex County and throughout our country, we see that the federal policies are cutting back on the most important services, family support services that people have to count on.

In New Jersey, for example, one of the most important federal programs that we have operating throughout our state is what is called Title 20, which is Title 20 of the Social Security Act, which was really passed as a supplement to the public assistance social services programs. Really, it is as an alternative strategy. The purpose of Title 20 was to provide those services that could prevent institutionalization of people that could promote greater independence in terms of people's ability to solve their problems in a non-institutional setting, and to promote those kinds of activities that strengthen community life.

What progress is now anticipating in Title 20 will in fact amount to about a 3% increase per year of the Federal Title 20 social services dollar. This is a 3% based on an artificial ceiling that was based on Title 20 since its inception in 1975. In 1975 the allocation was \$2.4 billion for the entire country. Out of that, New Jersey is receiving at this time about \$90 million for the whole State of New Jersey. Now, these Title 20 monies are very important because they do support a great deal of important activities, where, in this county in particular, many of the community based organizations have mandated to provide services in their community such as child care, homemaker services for the elderly, transportation services, the kind of family support services that permit people with little help from federal sources to get around on their own and maintain a certain amount of independence and self-reliance.

At the present time, people in Essex County, especially the child care community, have been alerted to the fact that our region will suffer a 17% across the board cut in 1981 of Title 20 dollars. Some of those people in the community have already been notified that at least \$438,000 for after school programs will be cut out of our region's appropriation. That is for Essex County and Union County. Now, what does this do? We are talking again about community stability and family support. The after school programs, that Title 20 support, as well as the all day child care programs, support a large number of low income working parents, and many women are single parents of a household, who, because of the child care program, are able to work. An after school program is especially important because these are older children who, at two-thirty when school lets out, then have an organized child development program to go to until the parents are able to come from work and pick them up.

Now, any time a cutback in that kind of service has an immediate effect on communities, it affects those families, because then that working parent has a working problem, what is happening to my child from 2:30 until 5:00 when I get out of work. There is also a question of young children unsupervised--- I should say, more young children unsupervised --- The Title 20 child care program serves now about 10% of the children in Essex who need it. So, we are going to throw more children out on the street after school unsupervised.

We know that with the problem with crime that we have throughout Essex with the amount of drug abuse and drug dealing in other kinds of problems out on the Street that put children eight years and older unsupervised after school on the streets without proper adult supervision is just throwing more children to the wolves, in terms of what is going to happen to them. And, we see that these are problems that are not to blame by any specific body, except the fact that our Federal Government is really where the major decision has to be made not to increase the social services monies coming into states, so that it really does keep going back to Federal policy.

Reverend Burgess talked about the home energy assistance program. From my departmental level I would like to add this comment: This is a utility assistance program, which at the present time, with the Federal appropriation that has been passed by Congress, it would serve 50% of the people in Essex County to qualify by income, so no matter how efficiently we administer the program, we are going to have to turn away at least half the people who should be getting this assistance, because the dollars are just not there. Now, who are we turning away? We are turning away low income people who happen to own their homes, or low income people who have to pay for their own fuel. We are basically saying that you may not have money at this point to heat your home, and low income in this case would be, for a family of four, an income level of about \$5,800 a year. These are the people who are eligible. So, when we turn away eligible people, we are talking about people who are making less than \$6,000 a year, and with that less than \$6,000 a year they are going to be expected to heat their own homes.

I mentioned the Food Stamp Program already. At the present Federal level, the people receiving food stamps are getting 35¢ a meal to pay for their food throughout the month. Some community organizations that I have met with, they usually calculate that about the 20th day of the month is when they start getting requests for assistance, even from food stamp recipients, because the money has run out by about the 20th day of the month. And, from then on, until the next food stamp appropriation authorization comes through our Welfare Division, people are struggling as best they can. The programs that churches set up, civic organizations will be what will help these people.

In summary, I just feel that to have to describe these conditions in the United States in 1980 is really a crime in our country, and that hopefully the efforts that passing of this one resolution will do, the promotion of discussions, will help us to really face up to what we have to do as concerned citizens, all of us, throughout the State. There is no question in my mind that this country can do a lot better, and has to do a lot better if we are going to be able to guarantee a future for our children, and if we are going to look to having in the future some kind of stable society. I also am not an expert on defense, but I do believe that the greatest defense that we need in this country is a strong domestic policy, a strong program for support of people of this country, whether they are citizens or whether they are people who come here for refuge. Unless we can provide more resources, more people resources, to people throughout our country, we are sowing the seeds of our own social destruction. And, certainly those of us who happen to live here in the City of Newark see this every day. We see more and more of the social fabric of our community eroding, our school system eroding, all the institutions which are trying to hang on to help people are being eroded because of the massive problems of unemployment, the massive

problems of inflation and all that it brings with it. I believe that fact that we have a national disaster on our hands, that we are in fact in the state of depression in this county, and throughout our State, and we have to make that disaster more known and more understood by our federal leaders, that we cannot afford to continue in this downward path to destruction that we are set upon, and I believe that, as in the past, the leadership will not start at the top. The leadership will start in the communities and at the bottom where we are and that we may start out with a small number of people speaking up, but in the past, this small number of people has grown until we finally had a national dialogue going about what are the needs of our people.

I believe that it is time for us to begin that kind of normalization again. And, this time I think with the leadership and concern of elected officials at the local levels and at the State level, that we will have an even stronger coalition than we have seen in the past. Thank you again for permitting me the time to make this presentation and I look forward to continued work with our State legislators.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you very much. We appreciate your comments and we are very proud of the job you are doing in Essex. As a person on both sides, you understand the problems and we look to you as an asset to the county and also for support for the legislators like myself to keep us informed as to what is happening on the county level.

MS. ANDRADE: Thank you very much.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Sandy Graff, Global Education Associates, East Orange.

S A N D Y G R A F F: I am going to start by saying who I am and where I have been in the last five years. And then I would like to share some of the information that I have learned through a lot of reading on my own. My name is Sandy Graff. I have been an English teacher for five years. Three of those years were spent teaching in an alternative high school here in Newark, which provides an education to young adults who have not been able to succeed in the traditional schools.

One of the basic problems that we face in our school, a problem shared by all of the other alternative schools in Newark, was that we could never get enough funds. It always was, and still is, a shoe string operation. I have also been teaching for the past two years at Saint Peter's College in Jersey City, teaching basic English skills to young adults to assist them in improving their potential for employment. Currently, I am also working with Global Education Associates in East Orange, which is a non-profit organization that is concerned with world wide economic and social issues, such as the arms race, and lack of development around the world.

I will begin with a parable. Once there was a scientist who was interested in studying the intelligence of a frog. He conducted a laboratory experiment. The frog was placed in a beaker of boiling water. The frog immediately decided it was too hot for him and jumped out very quickly. This very same frog was then placed in a beaker of cold water. The water was slowly warmed to the boiling temperature. The frog was not too upset by the changing conditions. The temperature change was gradual and the frog adapted by degrees, making no attempt to escape until he finally boiled to death. If someone came up to you today and said, "We need to spend \$150 billion for military defense," most of the people I know

would, like the frog, jump out of the beaker screaming, "We don't need to spend so much money on guns. We have more important things to spend it on." Just look at our cities. We need better housing, cleaner and safer streets, street lights, better health care, better care for the aged. We need employment in our cities. But what has been happening is that our military budget has been increasing slowly year by year. The temperature has been going up slowly three percentage points a year, and now we are about to be choked to death on our weapons. It is not the weapons that are choking us so much as the funds that are being shifted from essential human services and to the arms race. The most recent example of this is the MX missile whose subway lines will be more modern than the subways in New York City and New Jersey.

Allow me to point out how the arms race is the major cause of the deterioration of our society and the world society. I will then show the end results of continued military expenditures. Our whole society is geared to the military. I can see this, because as an educator, I have the responsibility to help people develop skills that will enable them to prepare for their careers. However, what careers are available. If you listen to radio programs that young people listen to, you are constantly bombarded with ads portraying the benefits of joining the armed forces. For many young people it is the only job option they have. As much as the military says it provides jobs, the unemployment rate among young adults is more than 20%. Even on the college level, there are ROTC programs which provide students with a college education to prepare them to be military officers. Many other students are enrolled in science and computer technology programs which in many cases prepare them for a career that will be directly related to military research. The Pentagon supplies funding from our taxes for many schools in the United States to develop military science and research and development programs.

In 1978, the United States spent \$3.7 billion on nuclear research and only \$.4 billion on conservation of energy and only a half a billion on research and new energy systems. It seems that the only place people can find jobs is in the military or military related industries. If we have decent service programs in the cities, these young people could be trained to do something constructive for themselves, for their cities and for their country.

As an English teacher I have asked students to write about their perceptions of the future. In most papers I have received, the students have written that either we will blow ourselves up by the year 2000 or that there will be a major nuclear catastrophe. In other words, there is no future for them. These students are young adults at inner city schools and college students as well. This might be an indication that our beaker is reaching the boiling point and that it may be too late. I personally find this very difficult to deal with. World society is suffering at all levels from the vast drain the arms race has put on its economy and resources, steadily rising expenditures, which are now above \$500 billion a year, gives you an idea of the scope of the global arms competition and the relentless push to still higher levels of intensity. World outlays appear to have exceeded \$450 billion in 1979, compared with a yearly average in the 1960's and 1970's of \$370 billion.

In the 1980's if present trends continue, world military outlays promise to go higher than \$600 billion a year, even under the unreal assumption that price inflation will be checked. All of this means that there is a race for resources and money that goes into arms and not into basic human needs. This

must cause you to think about our priorities. In an oil short world, the newest military tanks will consume 1.9 gallons of gas per mile. The training of military personnel in the United States alone costs twice as much per year as the education budget for the 300 million school age children in South Asia. Research on new weapons receives eight times as much public money as research on new sources of energy.

With a stockpile of nuclear weapons one million times the destruction power of the Heroshima bomb, the two super powers are still investing well over \$100,000 a day to upgrade their nuclear arsenals. Two governments in three spend more to guard their citizens against military attack than against all the enemies of good health. In the United States, twenty times as much public research money goes for transportation into space as for mass transit on earth.

The number of people held hostage to the threat of nuclear catastrophe has reached four billion five hundred thousand. A few men, perhaps one, can determine whether they die in a nuclear war. You don't have to go around the world to see the deteriorating effects of high military spending. You can see it right here in Essex County. Just look at the level of human priorities here. Check out the infant mortality rate for the City of Newark. Look at the crime rate. Look at our prisons. Study the literacy levels, the state of health and housing conditions. Many of us have heard about Cambodian refugees. How many of us are aware of the urban refugees here in Essex County? Where are our priorities? Are we going to take \$5 million and build one mile of tunnel for the MX missile? Or, will we build 330 low cost two-bedroom houses? Will we buy 4 main tanks for \$4.4 million or build a hospital of 100 beds? Will we improve every elementary and secondary school in this country for \$2 billion? Or, will we build one Triton submarine?

The military budget in the United States is estimated at being \$160 billion a year. Yet, there are two million children not in school, twenty-three million people living below the poverty line, and eleven million people unemployed. Every billion dollars spent on military employment provides 46,000 jobs. That same billion dollars could provide 76,000 jobs in construction or 100,000 teaching jobs, or 98,000 public service jobs. Just think about what a 5% shift from military spending to social services would do. Think about the boiling water we are getting ourselves into: nuclear war. A lot of experts now are saying that there will be a nuclear war by the end of this century. The State Department said yesterday in the New York Times that if Iran and Iraq had nuclear weapons, they would have used them already.

A nuclear warhead is a very unusual kind of bomb. Its explosive power is measured in megatons, millions of tons, of TNT. Besides blast damage when it hits, it creates immediate and delayed radiation effects and a raging fire storm. Scientists estimate that temperatures from an explosion of a single megaton bomb would reach 2,000 to 3,000 degrees. If detonated over a large city, the bomb would burn everything and everyone within a radius of ten to twenty miles. Beyond the area of total destruction, radiation sickness, accompanied by vomiting, bleeding and convulsions would kill many people within a few days. For thousands more, death would come more slowly from infections and cancers. The offspring of survivors would risk genetic damage before birth.

A major nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union exchanging their thousands of nuclear weapons in a matter of hours would mean

deaths in the hundreds of millions, and the destruction of the life support systems - industry, transport, food, water, medical care of both countries. The effects of nuclear war would not be confined to the two antagonists. Radiation sickness would spread with the winds. Destruction of the biosphere would cause crop failures worldwide, increased ultraviolet light, and skin cancers. The immediate and later casualties could well put all of human civilization in jeopardy. There would be no winners in nuclear war.

In our spending so much for nuclear weapons, we are not only depriving our citizens of essential human services, we are preparing to destroy the very cities in which we live. The main thing I have been trying to point out is that the process of military spending is killing us just as certainly as the end result of a nuclear exchange will. While our leaders are playing tiddlywinks with warheads, millions of people throughout the world are lacking in basic human needs. Many here in Essex County are living without a decent roof over their heads. The children are not getting a decent education. Many go to bed hungry. Workers are not assured of safety on their jobs, much less of jobs themselves. Over half of our human family is inadequately nourished. Today, this day, more than 15,000 persons, most of them children, will die of starvation or diseases related to mal-nourishment. I think we have a responsibility to ourselves, to the rest of the world, to our children and to the world's children, to future generations, to put an end to the arms race and start creating a world that has the needs of human beings as its highest priority.

Thank you.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you very much. Are there any questions from my colleagues?

ASSEMBLYMAN HARDWICK: I have one. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. If the Soviet Union would listen to your pleas and disarm with the United States, I don't think there would be too much argument. Are you advocating that the United States abandon trying to achieve military parity? Are you saying, we lose either way? The way we are going, we are killing people by starvation. What do you really advocate?

MS. GRAFF: Well, first I advocate Assembly Resolution Number 50, okay. In terms of our government, I think that if the United States took the first initiative and made a minimal reduction of 5%, which would not hurt our deterrence in any way whatsoever, I think that the Soviet Union could be convinced to do likewise, because they are suffering just as much as we are. We are the richest nation on this earth, and you can see the effects on us. I really believe that they are having problems too, but we don't hear about them.

ASSEMBLYMAN HARDWICK: Some people would argue with you that we have done that by not increasing our expenditures at the same rate of inflation and that the Soviet Union has continued to spend a great portion of their gross national product? Do you not accept that? Have you heard that argument?

MS. GRAFF: Yes, I have heard it. I don't accept it, because first of all nobody even knows what the Soviet Union is spending. We have CIA reports and then we have three other sources of information which all contradict the CIA report. One is from an institute in Sweden, and I forget what the other two are. I was just reading them, and I can't remember their names.

ASSEMBLYMAN HARDWICK: Thank you very much.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you. Mr. Ted Hargrove.

T E D H A R G R O V E: Thank you. First, I appreciate your willingness to listen, and also to sponsor this legislation. I am not sure it is going to be popular, if you do pass it in Trenton, or if you pass it on to Washington. There is definitely a mood in our country to cut back on the issues that you have just heard from the speakers before me, but I appreciate your willingness to try and to raise the consciousness and the accountability of the American people.

 If I could follow on and begin my comments from the grassroots perspective since unified Vailsburg is an organization that started back in the early seventies growing out of deep concern for the community groups in that area that represent seven or eight of the religious groups, civic groups, Seton Hall University is on our Board, and the religious and civic groups of that area mobilized to be responsive to the needs of people there because they could see some severe changes, even back in the early seventies, particularly growing out of the turmoil of the early sixties. Unified was started in response to helping people help themselves, and one the constituents are feeling right now, the impact of inflation, an energy crisis, as well as the denial of social service for the elderly folks who are isolated and are in the city and are struggling for survival. We will definitely feel the impact of the social service cuts, and our agency doesn't receive a great deal of money from Title 20, but we receive enough. And, what is an interesting, almost design, that is part of it is not necessarily cutting funds, because the cutting of funds isn't the only issue. What happens is that agencies like ours and other social service agencies are being worn down by what I say is attrition. You are worn down because the funds you do receive are so inadequate to begin. When the funding levels were high, back in 1975 and 1976, and when they freeze the funding levels at the levels that they are now giving, what happens is the quality of service and the strain on limited resources gets intense and intense, so that the elderly folks that were being served back in '75 on our little meals-on-wheels grant, which was \$25,000, are still being served for the same amount of federal dollars from Title 20. So that what happens is the programs that may be ill-conceived initially with limited resources are being frozen, and as a result, the service that you are even able to provide is not nearly as qualitative as you would like, because the high inflationary cost makes it so difficult to perform effectively.

 It is tragic from our point of view that the LEAA Program in Washington has been completely eliminated, or at least soon will be. At least, that is what we have been told, because its impact on solving or trying to focus on one of the most critical areas of our concern in the city, primarily crime, and many of these programs that LEAA funds are for criminal justice, to help us with community based approaches to serve young people who have been in trouble with the law and who are the young people who do not have the jobs, who do not have the sense of incentive that they need. So, when these programs are entirely cut out, the City does not have the resources to pick them up, and so these funds which are critically needed are not going to be available, and I do not know what is going to happen to the young people who are being served by our project and many projects in Newark, even though this affects every major city in the United States.

 What concerns me is the comment and the question that the Assemblyman raised with the previous speaker. I guess what you are hearing today is a high level of frustration, because we are not military experts, but citizens struggling

with the same issues you struggled with, but on a day-by-day, family-by-family perspective, we don't know where the resources should be coming from that military budget, but we are trying to let you know that there is a critical, underlying, painful problem developing. From an administrative level--- Mrs. Andrade doesn't see the people in the street, like she might once have. But from an administrative point of view, you don't see and hear the facts. But, right now if you come up to Vailsburg, you could go into some people's homes and they won't turn the heat on all winter. They live in modest homes. They won't turn it on. They will sit in their kitchen all winter, sitting in an easy chair and their only source of heat is their gas stove. I am saying this is happening more than you would realize in one of the most prosperous nations of the world.

It is hard to let the behavior of the Soviet Union influence national priority when we are seeing the painful results on a first-hand basis, a people in our prosperous nation being severely hurt. So, what you are hearing today is a lot of frustration, because staff from all the organizations presented and the people on the street are feeling pain and frustration and we see it, and then we see people who seem in Washington to be insulated against this reality. There is at times an ostrich point of view, because the issues look so good on paper. Let's compete. Let's keep parity. Let's keep the system going. But, it may be some of those jobs are reinvested in the City of Newark that would be caused by military expenditures, maybe there would be some more understanding of it, but there isn't and that is what frustrates us.

The concern we have with youth unemployment is very critical, because we got through this summer relatively calm. There were sufficient funds from the youth employment program in Washington shifted to major cities for this particular summer to keep things calm. But, I am concerned about next summer and the following summer if something critical isn't done to reprioritize. The young people who are now thirteen to fifteen were only babies back in the late sixties. They don't truly yet connect riot and social programs for urban centers. The young people who are right now unemployed, they are eighteen and they can't read effectively; they don't add; they are afraid to go get that kind of job or even apply for it. I am saying in Miami, this past spring and early summer, they are teaching young people that there is a way to get what you need. If you go down now they are not having hearings in Miami because the Federal government put a lot of extra money there to calm the quelling frustrations of the people, and I am worried, because young people are going to realize that if I can't get through the system and if the school has not educated me, and I can't really get a decent job, there is a way I will get something, and it is not a way that we would feel is appropriate, or the way we would want to encourage. But, the lesson will be learned that violence will promote a response that we may not like, but it is inevitable if you try to keep young men from eighteen to twenty-two unemployed without motivation and hope. Because it isn't even a job as much as it is the move psychologically that affects young people when they don't have incentive and hope. That is what is struggling in the minds of my perspectives when I see the senior citizens, the lack of hope for tomorrow. The young people are feeling it, and it is only a matter of time until this boils up and our urban centers are going to be the first to feel the impact of this.

This may not help the Federal government in terms of how they prioritize, but I am saying there is a very critical crisis in the streets of the urban centers. It is quiet now. Winter is coming and everything is being cool. People are

going to stay inside somewhere, but it is going to come back because it is from the very inner fabric of what makes a person truly a person - the idea of having a chance to help themselves to have incentive and to feel some hope in the midst of a world that sometimes doesn't give them much hope. So, I respect your trying to put this legislation through. And, I trust you would hear in all the words a deep concern for our American system and for the inner life of our cities, particularly I see the senior and the young person having basically the same problems, but they are struggling in different ways to achieve them. Thank you very much for listening.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you very much, Mr. Hargrove.

ASSEMBLYMAN HARDWICK: I have a question. Ted, your comments were directed mostly at the Federal government and I know you represent a very viable community organization. How much of the unified Vailsburg budget comes from the State government, if any?

MR. HARGROVE: We wish we would receive something from the State government.

ASSEMBLYMAN HARDWICK: There isn't any State money at all?

MR. HARGROVE: No, all the money that Unified and many of the neighborhood groups receive is Federal dollars that channels through a State office, but the State gives very little resources to the State government to non-profit groups directly. We have tried to do a little lobbying to that end, but it has not always been successful. We get some Community Affairs money which is for renovation. But, that was merely Federal money given to Community Affairs, then SLEPA money, State, city then the agency. But, we get no direct State money as do many non-profit community groups in the City of Newark, and I would say that a future resolution --- Or, if a coalition of the Newark Assemblymen would do an assessment of where some State money could help, Tri-Cities, Ironbound, Ocassa, Neighborhood House, and Unified, that the little bit of money triggers so much community interest and support and it can enable so much volunteer effort that that would be so critical if that could be given some priority.

ASSEMBLYMAN HARDWICK: Thank you. I would be happy to do so through the Chairman, Mr. Brown, if you would contact him and the delegation can review it and meet with you.

MR. HARGROVE: Beautiful.

ASSEMBLYMAN HARDWICK: Is it accurate, Mr. Hargrove, to state that the thrust of your statement is not as much on an anti-military basis as it is on pressing social needs in your area with the elderly and the young? And would you, for example, welcome Federal government military expenditures that would economically help your area?

MR. HARGROVE: That is like saying, "Here is my dollar; tell them where you got it." I am not sure I want it because I know the source. I am saying there are sufficient needs in our urban centers for resources that I think we would want to respond to the local need, and we might take dollars from any source that it came from. But, the dilemma is I, personally and professionally, think it would represent the mood of the representatives of our respective groups, would feel that our national priorities are not in order when our military expenditures are going up at the expense of social legislation. And, I am not in favor of these increased military expenditures, but I believe a revitalization of where that money is spent would certainly be directly followed by helping the cities, and I think you have to weigh that. But, I would definitely take

a stance to support the previous speakers. If you increase the military expenditures 10% and also increase social service by 20%, we might not have this hearing, but I wouldn't necessarily agree that that is the best way of prioritizing. I thank you.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you very much. I will ask Reverend Edgar Thomas of the New Jersey Council of Churches Commission on Community Life.

REVEREND EDGAR THOMAS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. As you just stated, I represent the New Jersey Council of Churches and its Community Affairs. I am very much concerned about the escalating costs of the military. It seems to me that at some point because of the tremendous amount of need among not only minority people and not only people who live in the urban area, but it is also being siphoned into the suburban areas also. I live in South Orange and I know. I am a member of the Citizens Committee on the Board of School Estimates. I know what is happening even more to the school budget, and I think all of this is tied into the escalating cost of our military.

Not being a military individual, I feel that I would not wish to be quoted as an expert, but according to this paper which I have in my hand, we are now spending something over \$201 million in three areas on MX mobile missiles, Triton submarines, Triton missiles, air launch cruise missiles and SSM-688 nuclear attack submarines.

I think also that one of the concerns I have is regarding youth, as has been said by the speaker whom I followed. When you go into the area of employment among the youth, it appears to me, instead of escalating the 14%, the military budget, we should be thinking in terms of making areas of employment more available to our young people. And, also, I think because of the exceeding problem among minority youth we need to become concerned because to a great measure I feel that there will be in the next generation a large number of people who, if they are not given work, will not have the work experience at all, and will not be able to become profitable citizens in our community because they will not have had the opportunity to participate.

The increasing budget also does one thing that I feel --- When you give young people an opportunity to learn, an opportunity to become more productive, that is not the kind of thing that happens when you spend a great deal of your money for the military. The money we spend in the military is just down a dead-end. But, what you put in human resources is something that the community and the nation can reap more than a hundred fold. It appears to me that one of the things we need to be very concerned about is how we use this great piece of money.

I think that we need to think in terms of not only youth employment, but the Federal Home Energy Assistance Program, the Food Stamp Program, the State Youth Assistance, Title 20, the School Nutrition Program, and all of these need to be increased--- And, I think the one place that we can do it is by taking a very close look at the budget and using the money that has been spent for the military much wiser. Thank you very much.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you very much, Reverend Thomas. You may like to know that Assemblyman Mc Enroe also represents South Orange.

REVEREND THOMAS: Yes, thank you.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Our next speaker will be the Reverend Frank Gibson from the New Jersey Interfaith Task Force for Peacemaking.

REVEREND FRANK GIBSON: Assemblymen and colleagues, my name is Frank Gibson, an East Orange resident, close by, a United Presbyterian Minister, the urban coordinator for the presbytery of Newark, and a member of the Interfaith Task Force for Peacemaking, which is a unit related to the New Jersey Council of Churches, and indeed to a constituency well beyond the New Jersey Council of Churches.

First of all, I want to say to you Assemblymen and to your colleagues today, how much we salute you for coming to Newark to take these comments from the city. That undeniably is an act of leadership, and may we remind you ever and ever again that it is the duty of public officials to lead, all of us, and to raise the deep running hard public questions. And, we affirm all three of you today for having come into the city for this purpose. We salute you.

Certainly, it is the duty of the community of religion everywhere and always to press this question, and relentlessly at that. Why are there victims in the cities and across the landscape? The victims are on the page of the New York Times and just a few days ago, they were on the front page indeed. Let me just read into the record this citation, this heading, "U. S. Poverty is Found Declining Everywhere But in the Big Cities." That is from page one of the New York Times. Another marking of the times from which we are coming through, you will be familiar, no doubt, with the 1978 publication, "The President's National Urban Policy Report." That is an excellent statement, an excellent statement, as to designs for transforming our cities from coast to coast, and you have a copy, as a matter of fact, of the extract before you today, the recommendations as they came out of that celebrated report - in fact, the first national presidential report, no doubt, in this field.

We all know what happens, we just didn't have the national resources to make it all happen. Those dreams went awash, all too many of them. Therefore, we are here today in support of your Resolution Number 50, because we see that it compels - and there must be a flood of these from coast to coast - the Congress in our nation's capital to begin to see the relationship between a bloated Pentagon budget and distress in the cities that this national report attempted to cope with a few years ago. Straight ahead, straight ahead. We wish you well in your effort to secure this action in our center of decision, Trenton.

In conclusion, may I say this: None less than Thomas Jefferson put it this way, "That the care of human life and not its destruction is the first and only legitimate object of good government." We trust you understand what that means. You would not be here today if you were not committed to it, and we thank you for coming.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you very much, Reverend Gibson, for those fine comments. We will now go back to Sylvia Zisman, and I apologize for deviating from the list, but I know you will understand. Sylvia Zisman is the Executive Director of Operation Transfer, New Jersey SANE.

SYLVIA ZISMAN: I am very happy to be here today on behalf of the Operation Transfer Program, which has for the last four years supported the transfer amendment originally offered by Congressman Parry Mitchell of Maryland in the House of Representatives. This amendment would have transferred money for wasteful military expenditures such as the B-1 bomber which has now been replaced by the MX missile to productive use for jobs, health and environmental clean-up and safe energy alternatives. Originally the amendment was for a \$15 billion transfer,

which, in terms of present needless overkill, will cost one trillion in the next five years, according to the Carter Administration, is modest indeed. The need for transfer from the military tapeworm has been unmentionable in state fiscal discussions, and yet this affects all programs and all levels of government. As we said in the letter to Governor Byrne some years ago, it is the inflationary pressure of the Federal budget, on state and local budgets, putting the needs of military industrial complex first and the needs of the people second which is depriving the people of our cities of decent social services.

A realistic start in redressing grievances which has been voiced today would be for the State legislature to petition the Federal government for a 15% reduction in military spending with a savings returned to the states.

The Pentagon tax burden for New Jersey was estimated by Dr. James R. Anderson of Employment Research Associates in Michigan, and you can see his figures in this journal about military spending. And that amounts to about \$4,477.7 billion. A 15% reduction would bring a savings of close to three-quarters of a billion dollars for the State of New Jersey. What could we do to alleviate the pressure on school budgets with this money to relieve the need for tuition hikes at all eight of our State colleges and universities or help in the elimination of hazardous chemical dumps in Elizabeth and elsewhere in our State.

In 1976, the Essex County Freeholders passed a resolution calling for a 15% reduction in military spending with two-thirds of the money so diverted to be ear-marked to programs to restore the core areas of our cities. The MX expenditure like that for the B-1 is hardly warranted in these times when our cities are subject to drastic reductions in personnel and Federal dollars assistance. The effect of the Essex County resolution was to stimulate other communities and freeholder boards to pass similar resolutions and the Assembly Resolution Number 50 being considered today is a direct descendent of this prior effort. I can mention the cities of Newark, Orange, East Orange, Camden, Jersey City, Linden, as important in supporting this initiative. The sad news about 850 workers being laid off at Singer's in Elizabeth as well as the thousands in the auto industry in Mahwah and Linden will reduce revenues available to the Federal government. Our choices will have to be made. Look for more tax dollars for the MX, the rapid deployment force, Triton submarine, and the XM-1 tank to meet the fears raised by those who say the Russians are outspending us, or will Newark offer part of its \$900 million tax burden for the military spending? Newark needs tax relief, jobs, less inflation and more domestic programs. If the MX goes into production, it will cost this nation - and this is the latest estimate - up to \$108 billion before it is employed. This year alone the cost will be \$8 million for Essex County, \$4.6 million for Union and \$5.1 million for Hudson. This is, of course, without counting the inevitable cost of overruns.

The funding of the MX and other generations of nuclear weapons would be as potentially hazardous to our country as funding the Vietnam War. The total cost in taxes to New Jersey of thirteen major military programs in the Federal budget are as follows: \$48.8 million for the Triton submarine, \$35.5 million for Triton One missile, \$61.8 million for the MX, and \$11.62 for the rapid deployment force. Of the thirteen doomsday weapons totalling \$117 billion New Jersey will contribute \$248 million in this year's budget. This drain of the New Jersey revenue which does not add to the economy but are shifted to other states and countries is one of the major causes of the climb in the northeast. The inflationary effect of military spending far outweighs any benefits which would accrue to

New Jersey from a shift of military spending to our State as was indicated by some recent attempts by our Congress, particularly Congressman Rinaldo in the closing days of the session.

I would like to address at this time some of the questions about the Russians and how they are outspending us, because I feel that is very important to this whole discussion. It is suggested that the United States has become vulnerable in terms of strategic nuclear weapons, shades of the missile gap. Remember the missile gap way back in the '60's? The U. S. has some 9,500 of these weapons and our allies including China have more than 1,000 or so. Compare this to the Soviet's 6,000. Much is made of the fact that the Soviet total includes some very large ICBM's which could threaten our land-based missiles, but this is more than offset by our great superiority in practically invulnerable launched missiles and government experts who testified that we can target our missiles with much deadlier accuracy. Doomsayers point to the huge military spending army, and at 4.8 million on active duty for the Warsaw pact, it is huge.

But, NATO has 5.1 million and China has 4.4 million - many of them on the Soviet border. To those who sight Afganistan as proof of Soviet ability to move against cities crucial to the United States, General David Jones, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, notes that Soviet forces far more distant military intervention are "Minimal at present," and that the U. S. could devastate a Soviet attack on the Persian Gulf.

Secretary of Defense Harold Brown summed up the situation earlier this year, "By most relevant measures we remain a military equal or superior to the Soviet Union." And, yet, the Carter Administration wants to spend \$1 trillion for military purposes over the next five years while other players in the goulash political poker games say, "I'll raise you." We dare to suggest that we can meet all legitimate defense needs without increasing the military budget by one penny. How? By shifting funds from multi-billion dollar boogles like the MX to such crucial purposes as raising pay for technical specialists and non-commissioned officers. It is little wonder they are leaving the services, rather than have their families live on food stamps. Many members of Congress are more hawkish on military spending than the Administration.

As I speak to you about this, they will be coming home to solicit your votes. This is the time for you and all of us to seek an appointment where we can express our views, and if we are concerned about inflation, ask them what vast increases in military spending will do to exacerbate this problem. The Washington Spectator points out that the Carter military budget exceeds by more than \$100 billion the value of all corporations listed in the New York Stock Exchange, and concludes that the American military has become a monster eating up the very society it is supposed to protect.

In conclusion, operation transfer urges taxpayers to form a counter-lobby to corporate executives and Pentagon officials who support big military budgets and the MX missile. This counter lobby should try to get endorsements of Assembly Resolution Number 50 and of other transfer efforts in the Congress before many millions more of our tax dollars are wasted. The public question now missing before our State Assembly election campaigns should be on such resolutions as Assembly Resolution Number 50, which should be placed before the entire New Jersey electorate next year. I think that is something to look forward to, because I feel that this has a transcendental importance. It transcends all levels of

government and affects everybody, from the youngest child to the oldest person. Therefore, I feel that as a representative of operation transfer that you can do much as our representatives to further this effort. Thank you.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you. I will now call on Reverend Warner Wilson, Coalition for a United Elizabeth.

REVEREND WARNER WILSON: Assemblymen and concerned citizens, my name is Warner Wilson, and I am the Associate Director for the Coalition for a United Elizabeth in Elizabeth, New Jersey. I am here this afternoon to represent the 100 community groups which make up our agency. Although our organization was created primarily as a community organizing entity, there is hardly a day that goes by that we are not called upon to address the needs of people who fall through the social service gaps in other agencies. When all other avenues fail for food, clothing, shelter, and jobs, people turn to us for help and that which is most disturbing to us is that these calls for assistance are increasing at an alarming rate.

In our community they are increasing for a variety of reasons. Union County has a welfare program that is understaffed, deficit ridden and demoralized. And, even when a client moves through these problems to eligibility, inflation has eroded these benefits to an unbelievable level of poverty. Many people in Elizabeth live in blighted housing because there is no place else to live, and they are dependent upon that location because of employment opportunities. The vacancy rate is less than 2%. Six percent of the owner-occupied houses in Elizabeth are substandard. Thirty percent of the apartment units in Elizabeth are substandard. Elizabeth is in need of the massive infusion of Federal funds for housing rehabilitation programs. We are receiving thousands of dollars for this purpose, when millions are needed.

There is a waiting list of over 600 senior citizens who qualify for senior citizen housing, but for whom housing is not available. Social service programs so essential to the well-being of the city are being cut back. It staggers the mind to try to imagine what is going to happen to many of our young people who are going to be affected by a cutback in after school program funding. Juveniles constitute 33% of all the arrests made in Elizabeth now. This cutback in juvenile care programming is bound to increase juvenile crime. Incidentally to hitchhike on Mr. Hargrove's observation about the cutback in LEAA funding, a basic piece of funding for our agency has been the United States Justice Department's Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Office of Community Anti-Crime. I took a leave of absence from the ministry as Pastor of the First Baptist Church in Elizabeth to become involved in this program and as of October 31st I would be unemployed because of this cutback in funding. And, it comes at a crucial time. Elizabeth's crime rate is up 17.5%.

In visiting with a colleague from Missouri the other day, a most poignant observation about the devastating effect of crime was made, so that we understand that this is a widespread problem, even though you are basically concerned about the New Jersey ramification. He pointed out to us that one of the reasons why there are so many deaths in St. Louis and Kansas City during these horrendous heat spells during the summer was the fact that senior citizens were afraid to leave their apartments and they were afraid to have their windows opened. So, I think there were 154 deaths in St. Louis and a comparable amount of deaths in Kansas City. So, in this land, to feel that we no longer have access to our

streets and to our society is a devastating comment. And, at this point in time, we are still cutting back in the kind of funding that would help make our streets more secure having programs that help the citizens reclaim the streets.

In Elizabeth, acute care hospitals are being turned into chronic care nursing homes, because there are no other facilities for those who are incapable of living at home. My wife is a nurse at the Elizabeth General Hospital and she comes home very distressed over the fact that people who really need to be dismissed from the hospital can't go any place because there is no place for them to go. They are chronic patients. Unfortunately, they have reached a point where they are not going to be able to be well again in order to live alone again and acute care services are being diminished.

A military mania seems to have once again swept through the halls of Congress and threatens to victimize those who are least able to protest this national sickness. Thus, we are here today to support New Jersey Assembly Resolution Number 50. We are hopeful that this call for reason will help restore a better balance between national defense and the provision of human services. There is ample reason to believe that we do not need the mega-missile program being proposed for our national security. We do need an increase of human service provisions in order to preserve the basic character of our nation and the quality of life to which we are all entitled.

Thirty years ago Albert Einstein set the perspective by which we must view the events of the day. The belief that it is possible to achieve security through armaments on a national scale is in the present state of military technology a disastrous illusion.

On behalf of the Coalition for a United Elizabeth I want to thank Assemblyman Brown, Thompson, Zangari, Mc Enroe and Assemblywoman Garvin for their introduction of Assembly Resolution Number 50 and urge the widest possible support of that which we believe it will achieve for our people. Thank you very much for convening this hearing. I will be happy to answer any questions or respond to your observations.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Are there any questions from my colleagues?

ASSEMBLYMAN HARDWICK: No, thank you.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: You are always welcome to share your comments. I have a special request from Mr. Durward Branigan.

D U R W A R D B R A N I G A N: Thank you very much, sir. I commend all of you gentlemen for working on such a beautiful day on a most important matter. My name is Durward Branigan from Maplewood, New Jersey. I am President of the New Jersey Council of Organizations to strengthen the United Nations. On our Council of such organizations is the Bergen County Council of Churches, the Church Women United of New Jersey, Global Education Associates, New Jersey SANE, UNICEF-New Jersey Chapter, Unitarian Universal Society, United Nations Association-New Jersey Division, and the World Federalists-New Jersey Branch.

In discussing this Resolution, our Council was unanimous in support of the Assembly Resolution Number 50 and what it is attempting to do. In that regard, we were also pleased to be one of the sponsors listed on the Human Priority Fairs which was held earlier this year in Newark and we are wholeheartedly in agreement with the basic concept and need to allocate more priorities to improving our country and the lives of the people and less on the expenditures for war.

Incidentally, I think it is important to realize that the total military

expenditures today are at an all-time peace-time level. After all, we are at peace, and yet we are spending \$150 billion a year during a peacetime, which is unprecedented, as was pointed out by Steel Commiger, one of the great historians from the University of Chicago faculty.

I do not believe that the people of this country are in favor of what is going on, but their voice is not being heard. On what do I base that? I base it on this type of survey: Two years ago in conjunction with the South Orange Fair that was held and has been held - Assemblyman Mc Enroe knows - for the last several years, our organization conducted an on the sidewalk survey, and we talked and asked 90 people to fill out a questionnaire with various questions relating to this very subject. I am not going to bore you with all of them, but I would like to point out two quick questions. The first one is this: Do you believe that the stockpiling of nuclear weapons decreases the likelihood of nuclear war? In other words, if we continue to build more and more missiles, is that going to help us maintain peace? Of the 90 people that we surveyed, 56 and out of 70 who answered that disagreed, saying that they do not believe that further expenditures for missiles and nuclear is going to increase our security. Incidentally, the same survey was conducted by Caldwell College by the faculty there, and some 78 students responded, and of the 78, 64 also disagreed with the concept that we increase security by spending more and more money for military persons or matters.

The only other question I would call to your attention is the one that said, "Funding to meet people's needs for adequate health care and housing education and transportation should have priority over increasing the military budget." And, again at the Caldwell University survey, 58 out of 78 agreed that more money should be spent for people purposes and less for military. And, in the City of South Orange on that same question - and I have all of these surveys out of the 90 people we surveyed, 77 agreed that the fundings should be more for people purposes and less for the military.

Most of the organizations in our council are organizations that are concerned with world peace, which I believe we are all supposedly concerned with. And, in general, if we do not believe that the tremendous level and increasing level of military expenditures is increasing the security either of our nation, or of the world, some \$400 billion a year is now going in to military purposes, and in a world with the needs that this world has, and with the needs of our own cities here in Newark and the other major cities of our country, the great needs that exist there should have priority. We believe that the peace of the world will be best enhanced if we cannot only maintain but can improve the life of people in the various countries rather than building up more military machines and equipment. For what purpose? We never know, because we all realize that if they are ever put to use, it may well mean the destruction of everything that we hold dear. So, we support wholeheartedly this resolution. We commend you gentlemen for it. We believe that the legislators in our state capitals and in our cities must make their voices known in Washington in order to bring about a change. The people of this country do not support this, and we thank you very much for what you are doing to help bring this to the attention of the national administration in Washington. Thank you very much.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you very much, Mr. Branigan.

MR. BRANIGAN: Incidentally, I have some information here relative to this subject on a worldwide basis. I will leave it with you. And, again, thank you very much.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you. Now, we will have Chester P. Cooley.

C H E S T E R P. C O O L E Y: Thank you very much for this privilege. As a representative of an organization who hears complaints for the City and the people in the street and on the park benches, we hardly compare today with the facts that have been documented, the facts that have been read to you from papers, the quotations of amounts of dollars that have been spent for military things. But, gentlemen, I would like to have you hear from the little guy out on the street that is sitting on the park bench.

For example, senior citizen housing has been mentioned. If you go to a senior citizen's interview, and they will tell you to bring everything you have down to the interview, and you will do that, and then they will ask you how much you make, and who is on Social Security. Now, take for example a lot of marriages in our country, some of them are older/young marriages. Like, a person could be 74 and another one could be 64. One could be on social security and the other one could be working. The rent that the two of them could be paying on a house would be approximately under \$200. But, combine the two salaries and at the going rate, the housing market, their rent could be more and the rooms would be smaller, according to what they had. Now, this is one proposition that the senior citizens are wondering about. In a case like this, how come I have to pay more for rent for stuff when I can read the paper where they spend a million dollars for a tank and it malfunctioned, and the money went to waste. The amount of money that malfunctions on this tank could cost maybe four or five communities where citizens could go because they lowered the rate, or getting into a house that was liveable.

The second thing was, if you get up in the morning to go to work, and we participate in all modes of transportation, and you get up at seven o'clock to be to work at eight-thirty and we are riding on trains that I rode upon in 1935 and 1925. And, I can remember some of these same trains that I rode on at least thirty-five years ago. And, he can't tell me that in this great country in the days of the New York Central, and the Erie Railroad, and the days of limiteds going to Chicago and the days of the bars and the dining rooms, you can't tell me we can't get together a decent train to ride to work in - that the money that is spent on military couldn't be given to the railroads, so that newer trains could be put on the tracks so we could go to work. I bought a pair of pants that cost me \$40. They were yellow, and they were the most beautiful things I had seen in, I guess, thirty years. So, this morning I had to work, and I sat on the seat that a brakeman had sat in, and it was full of oil. Not only did I have my pants ruined, I looked like a fool when I got to work. I felt very bad. I was angry, and I could never get another pair of pants like that, because they ran out of the material. This sounds funny, but these are things that happen.

Now, right here in the city I go to a Boy Scout meeting, the roundtable meeting, and it is seven o'clock at night. I work in the City of Newark, and incidentally, my employer is the same as yours, the State of New Jersey. I am a taxpayer. When I came out, there was nobody around at all. So, I ask some of the people that are in scouting with me, and the Boys Club, why is this? They said, "We are afraid to come out. If we stand out on the corner somebody is going to rub against us and knock us down, or they are going to ask us for some money, and the next person coming along will be hit. So, we don't come out." So, some of the money that is being spent for military forces could be challenged and

given to the cities so that there could be more protection. You gentlemen here grew up in the State of New Jersey. You will remember that Newark at one time had the reputation of being, at Broad and Market Streets, the most amount of people to go across that street all day long than any other city in the whole United States, and right now if you go across Broad and Market Street in the day time, you say, "Gee, do I have to?" And, looking from another point of view, I am a first American, and you will say, "What is a first American?" I am a Sheneconk Indian. My father was from Norwalk, and my mother was a Sheneconk. That makes me a first American. I don't have to tell you about the things we don't get. For example, you take the reservations out west--- not the ones in the east where I came from. They are a little bit better off. For example, you take a circle of 150 miles, and we will take a house at point "X" and the government will not give you transportation to take the children to school, and the school may be right next door to where you live, and they may tell you to go to a school eight miles away, and many of our Indian leaders have been found dead on the plains from wolves, because they got concerned about their babies and they go find them and when they went walking for them, they couldn't get back home and we never see them any more.

I still say that some of the money that the government has spent for military forces could be channeled out there, and some of my people could be gotten. If you take a ride and you go up to Maine where people go to Crystal Cove and Damariscotta and places like that for summer resorts, and then you go another thirty-five miles up into Mechanic territory and see how they live there, or just go up to New York State to Route 81 and go up to the Mohawk Reservation and see what is going on up there. I am prejudiced because those are my people, but, nevertheless, when I grew up on a farm, in Dutchess County, where the Roosevelts come from, there was a time when things were going bad, there was a milk strike and we had to watch out for the milk that we brought to market, and so we had a centinal guard, and he would give us the notice that truckers were coming down with strange people. Now, one aircraft carrier could sit in the middle of the Indian Ocean and can do as much as 15 aircraft carriers all around the world. You don't have to have so many things that are going to become obsolete, just get in your car and go down to Kearny and take a look on the right-hand side, and you will see ships over there getting ready to be smashed up to pieces. Where is all that money going to go? What is it going to do? And, when you leave here tonight, all of us that are in this room, when we go out into the street, when you walk up to the corner of Broad and Market Street, see if you can walk without getting that sense that someone is following you, or someone is going to ask you something. You don't have that free accessible movement like they used to have.

My wife tells me - and I have been married for forty-one years - "Honey, I will not come down to Newark shopping, because I am afraid. I can't run as fast as I used to. Somebody is going to chase me or say something to me, and this should not be." If I have to spend my money and I have to give 50¢ toward building a gun to kill somebody, then at least pay me enough so that I can give 50¢ to build something to kill you and give me another 50¢ to cure you of my mischief. Thank you.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you very much. Now I would like to announce next Mr. Bill Hartung, Council for Economic Priorities, New York City.

B I L L H A R T U N G: I would like to say, first of all, that I appreciate the opportunity to be here. I think this is a matter of urgent concern to all of us, and I would like to thank the Assemblymen for making this possible, both the hearing and the resolution itself.

I would like to talk first a little bit about who I am and why I am here. I work in a place called the Council on Economic Priorities in New York, which is a non-profit public interest research group which, among other things, does research on the impact of military spending on the U. S. economy. And the project that I work on is called the conversion information center, and we are set up to ~~service~~ local constituencies throughout the country with research about the impact of military programs in their area, primarily the economic impacts and information about possible alternatives both for defending the country at less expense, and building up the local economies in areas where that is needed.

I think we are gathered here at a particularly dangerous moment in our history, because it is a moment when preparation for the war is being put forward as the panacea for the many economic and political and social problems facing the people of this country. As has been mentioned, the budget currently under consideration calls for over \$150 billion for military spending for the fiscal year 1981, and this is only the beginning of an avalanche of two military programs which are going to descend upon us during the 1980's. The current Pentagon plans call for over \$1 trillion dollars in military spending for the years 1981 through 1985, which is a figure that is hard for me to even conceive of. We could lift this building off its foundation with that amount of money just in dollar bills piled up and the question that we have to ask is what impact is that going to have on the other needs that people have. This amount of money represents the greatest peacetime military build-up in the United States history, and it is an unfortunate fact that very few national political leaders have been willing to carefully consider or openly discuss the cost of this military build-up for the people of the United States.

Aside from the actual amount of money itself, I think we have to realize that the human cost will go far beyond that in the sense that this new military build-up will cause massive service cut-backs, increases in unemployment and mounting inflation if it is to be carried out as presently proposed. In terms of looking at the impact on New Jersey, there are some figures quoted before, which I felt were very important. There was one other figure that I wanted to mention. If this five-year defense plan is carried out at \$1 trillion dollars, the average cost per family for people in the Newark area over that five-year period would be \$25,000, merely to support military programs. I think it is clear from what has been said so far that there are a lot of families in this area who wish they had \$25,000 to put to their own needs, to their own purposes.

I guess my main point or my main reason for being here is to address as specifically as possible what we can do. We have heard about the needs that exist, but there wouldn't be much point in proposing a resolution like this or a transfer of military funds to a human services program if we felt that every dollar being proposed for military programs was absolutely essential to the defense of the United States, and my task in the time I have left is to point out some of the areas in the military budget which can easily be cut back without harming the ability of the United States to defend itself. I would like to show that funds for these desperately needed human services are available if only we would scrutinize the military budgets and the programs and philosophy that it represents

a little more carefully. And, I think in order to do that we need to look a little bit about this concept of unnecessary military spending, and I would like to come at it another way around, by giving a rough idea of what I would see as necessary. I think that no nation in the world can afford to neglect the defense of its borders or its survival as a viable political economic unit, and I don't think anybody in this room would suggest that we cut military spending to such a degree that that threat would be impossible. However, I think we have to question the current military proposals from the point of view of whether they are appropriate to the problems being faced by the United States. Are these newly proposed programs necessary for the defense of the United States, and if I may, I would like to break the problem down into two main issues in defense policy, which I think are important.

One is the prevention of a nuclear war, and the other is the defense of the United States population that borders with conventional weaponry, and in discussing these two issues I will focus on two programs in particular which cry out to be eliminated from any sane view of defense. The MX missile program, which we have heard about quite a bit already today and the rapid deployment force, forms part of a whole new generation of nuclear weapons which are currently in production, including the Triton submarine and the missiles to go with it, cruise missiles, bound launched, air launched and submarine launched and the MX mobile missile system. Just to set the context for this discussion, I would like to quote President Carter from his 1979 State of the Union address when he said that just one of our relatively vulnerable submarines comprising less than 2% of our total nuclear force in submarines, aircraft and land-based missiles, carries enough warheads to destroy every large and medium-sized city in the Soviet Union. That is 2% of our nuclear force. That is enough to inflict unacceptable damage on the Soviet Union, and I will point out the Poseidon submarines are the ones that are currently operating. That is not even taking into account the Triton submarine, which is a much more dangerous submarine which carries the nuclear warheads of a more accurate nature. Even without that going into production, one of the presently operated submarines has the capacity.

Another point that I wanted to raise sort of as a background is the question of what we mean by defense in the nuclear age, and at the outset of the nuclear age Albert Einstein was quoted as saying, "There is no secret and there is no defense." And, what he meant by that was nuclear weapons are not a secret. Any nation that is willing to devote the resources necessary can ultimately produce nuclear weapons. And, what he meant by, "There is no defense," is that once these weapons have been produced and as long as they exist and are deployed, we cannot be assured that we are safe from a nuclear holocaust.

Now, those general comments don't speak to the specific issue, what we can cut from the military budget now or in the future, and that is what I would like to get to by talking about the MX missile system. I would like to point out that I am singling out the MX not because I think the other nuclear weapons are necessary in themselves, but I think the MX in particular stands out as a monument to some of the absurdity in the current military proposals and I hope I can make that clear why I believe that. The most current cost estimates for the MX for the life of the system, that is for deployment and maintenance over a thirty-year period, is over a hundred billion dollars, and that is a lot of money to be spending. I think people proposing it should have a pretty good case for why we need to spend it. I would like to lay out the reasons I think

it is not necessary. First of all, you admit all the U. S. land based missiles were vulnerable to Soviet attack. There are more than enough missiles available to be launched with submarines, more cruise missiles to be launched from B-52 bombers to provide an adequate deterrent to Soviet attack. The point is that we are not going to try anything so stupid as to try to wipe out U. S. land based missiles. It wouldn't matter to them whether they were destroyed from sea or from land. The point is that there are more than enough weapons available to deter a nuclear attack without pulling a single missile.

My second point about the MX is that accuracy that is being built into the MX is the destabilizing factor, because it raises the specter of an achievable first strike capability by the United States, which, at best, fuels the arms race and at worst makes a nuclear war more probable because of the increased tension which will result. And, what I mean by a first strike capability is the ability to destroy all Soviet nuclear warheads, be they in submarines, bombers, or missile silos and in recent public discussions of nuclear doctrine indicate that the programs on submarine warfare in increased missile accuracy and increased deployment of nuclear weapons are underway to make that a possibility that the Pentagon could debate and take an advantage of. I think that the danger of that kind of talk even occurring is that it does increase world tension, and it does increase the possibility of any situation or conflict escalating into the use of nuclear weapons, and I see no purpose for it.

The third point about the MX is that the residents of Utah and Nevada ranges from the Shichawnee Indians to ranchers, farmers, geologists and concerned local officials are opposed to the MX base removal because of the effect it will have on land rights and on already frantic water supplies. The current proposal for deployment of the MX calls for using 50% of the nation's available concrete just for the MX project, and I am not an expert on construction, but I know that you mix concrete on site, which means they need to use water in those areas. In those areas, all the water is already spoken for, and a wide range of people are upset about that. So, aside from the effect that those expenditures would have on the country as a whole, there is a specific group of people who find their very livelihoods threatened by their mode of deployment.

And the last point I would like to make about the MX is that the huge amount of money we use to post for the MX could be applied to other pressing national problems. For example, like the Council on Economic Priorities, we carried out the study that showed that the \$33 billion originally proposed for deployment of the MX, if it were applied to a program of energy conservation, could cut U. S. oil imports from one-quarter to one-half by the year 1990, and could cut the U. S. surveillance and trade deficit in half or possibly eliminate it altogether. Now, a lot of the motivation, for example, the rapid deployment force, is that the U. S. needs to secure its war supplies. Now, if a program like this were undertaken, that energy dependence, which I think all leaders are agreeing is necessary, could be achieved at much less cost and at much less threat to world peace. And this suggestion of the application of the MX monies is just one example of how that might be achieved. It is an example of how we can increase the nation's security without building weaponry, and the rest by refraining an unnecessary weapon.

Another aspect of the MX issue is deployment, and I have a table

here that was prepared by the Council on Economic Priorities in relation to a study which is coming out this fall on the impact of the MX missile. And, it gives numbers of jobs of \$1 billion for various uses of money. For the MX missile of \$1 billion spent it has created roughly 53,000 jobs. The same money applied to solid waste treatment could provide 65,000 jobs and for railroad reconstruction 54,000 jobs, for day care, 120,000 per billion dollars spent, solar energy and energy conservation 65,000 jobs, mass transit 79,000 per billion dollars spent. Practically any other expenditure of this money would create more jobs in a period when they are desperately needed. I think looking at the MX it is not merely a question of the cost of money being laid out, but there is also a question of the opportunities that are being foregone. Get poor people to work at solving some of the oppressing economic problems that we are facing.

The second aspect of U. S. defense policy that I want to deal with briefly before leaving some time for questions was the rapid deployment force, which was initially proposed at a cost of roughly \$9 billion to include two ships which carry weapons overseas, the CX transport planes, and a number of other measures to make sure that an adequate number of troops can be had and sent overseas on short notice. In case of such things as a threat to the U. S. interests in the oil fields of the Middle East. And the question I have about those rapid deployment forces, I guess, is what is its purpose? It has been pointed out that there is no possibility of protecting the oil fields in case of war in the sense that sabotage is possible and it doesn't take a regional perpertrary force to do it. So, the only way to insure access to world supplies is to maintain good political relations with Middle East nations and military force is not necessarily the primary means of maintaining good relations.

Also, at the beginning of the hostage crisis in Iran the rapid deployment force is being monitored as necessary to prevent such things as that occurring again, and all I can find out about that is, it doesn't matter how many people could be sent to Iran, there is no possibility of a military rescue of those hostages, that it is a political issue that has to be dealt with in that way, and a side note to this issue of the rapid deployment force is that the U. S. already has 190,000 marines, the largest such force in the world, and it has the largest existing stable of military transport planes and ships and the most expensive overseas base network of any nation, over 600 military installations, from Puerto Rico to Spain to Turkey to the Indian Ocean, to the Philippines, and I don't know that the questions that the rapid deployment force is supposed to address are questions that are appropriate to be addressed by a military power. It seems like the United States has a large capacity already to project military power, and the question seems to be whether there are other ways to solve some of these problems.

One particular example of a wasteful component of the rapid deployment forces is the CX transport plane. The proposal was to spend for 5200 planes, \$6 billion over the next five to six years. They said that at a time when there are already 234 C-141 star lifter transport planes which are being stretched, the middle is being cut out; they are being made longer, so that they can be considered heavy military transport planes. That is 234 planes which are being modified; they are going to cost \$500 million a year to increase the transport capabilities. There exists a civilian reserve fleet of three hundred 747 and 707 planes, which can be used in military emergencies to carry military cargos. There are seventy-seven C-58 galaxy planes, which are available for heavy military transport. And, a

remaining issue to this CX proposal was that the C-5A which was the predecessor to this ran into the most serious cost overruns in the history of the U. S. military programs and has yet to prove itself an effective plane, and a lot of people in Congress are asking whether we want to embark on another C-58 type venture without looking a little more carefully at what is going to come out of it. C-58 right now, each plane has cost \$65 billion, and only 40% of them can be counted on to operate at one time, because of various problems, including the wings are capable of falling off in mid-flight. So, I would say in both those areas, both the rapid deployment force and the MX missile, there is a clear case of large programs which could be done without, which will free up quite a bit of money for the type of things that people have been talking about here today. Even for people who support both of those programs, there are a lot of areas of wasted military budget that could be addressed without cutting any programs at all.

For example, the House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee deleted \$120 billion in the Pentagon's fiscal '81 request for the MX missile on the grounds that the Air force would not be able to spend that money in fiscal '81. That is not saying that they want to cancel the program; they are just saying that that amount of money, there is no way they can spend it in fiscal '81. That is \$120 billion that could be freed up for many of the kinds of needs that were mentioned here today. It was mentioned earlier that New Jersey Title 20 funds for various court services were being cut 17% from a figure of only \$90 million. This \$120 million exceeds that \$90 million figure by 25% and that is an unnecessary expenditure.

Another example is, the House added 6 planes to the needed F-14 request. That is six planes more than the Navy itself asked for, at a cost of \$120 million. I live in New York City, and that amount of money could be used to keep open Sydenham Hospital, which serves the Harlem community and costs \$13 million a year to keep open. Harlem is one of the most medically underserved areas in the country. Yet, people in Congress feel it is more important to buy six planes than the Navy itself does not warrant revenue to support a program like that, or to support any of the programs that have been mentioned here today.

To get down to the most minute details, according to the general accounting office, military officials tend to overuse telex facilities which are much more expensive than sending things by regular mail. And, there are analyses that show that if half of the telex use were relegated to regular mail, \$20 million a year could be saved. Now, that is merely asking people in the Pentagon to do what anybody else in any office anywhere else would do, and that would be to use the resources available to them wisely. So, I guess in wrapping up, I would like to thank you all again for sponsoring this hearing and accept any questions that you may have.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Assemblyman Mc Enroe.

ASSEMBLYMAN MC ENROE: Mr. Hartung, since you have mentioned you are from New York City and you represent the Council for Economic Priorities of New York State, I must ask this: Have you approached the New York Legislature, and if you have, have you had any success with a similar attempt to have a resolution sponsored?

MR. HARTUNG: As far as I know, there is not a resolution of this type in the New York Legislature. I think and I am hoping that this hearing serves to set an example of that kind of action to be taken in New York. The New York Congressional delegation has been very influential in the transfer movement. For example, Representative Holzman from Brooklyn was one of the first ones to introduce a transfer amendment on a national level. But, I think that we also are prevented from having a

statewide show of support for this resolution, hopefully.

ASSEMBLYMAN MC ENROE: How about nationally? Is your organization active on behalf of this cause across the country?

MR. HARTUNG: In the sense of providing supportive materials, because we are permanently a research group and we don't undertake lobbying per se. We do research that can be used by people who are concerned with these issues. So, the answer is no, although our work has been used by people who have worked on the transfer amendment nationally in terms of research on figures and the composition of the military budget.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Also, there is a question from Assemblyman Hardwick.

ASSEMBLYMAN HARDWICK: As you know, I am not a primary sponsor of this legislation, but I am here as a Committee member and I am here to hear the arguments and testimony and I found yours very interesting.

I wonder, though, Mr. Hartung, do you support increased salaries for military people?

MR. HARTUNG: Do I support that?

ASSEMBLYMAN HARDWICK: Yes, do you support increased expenditures to raise the salaries of military personnel?

MR. HARTUNG: I would see no problem with doing that. I think that the wasted military budget can be best felt elsewhere in terms of unnecessary weapons programs.

ASSEMBLYMAN HARDWICK: But you personally do not advocate--- Would you support an increase in the salaries for military people? I mean, everything else being equal. Are you opposed to any increase in Federal expenditures for military with the exception of the salary increases? I am not sure of your position on that.

MR. HARTUNG: My personal position?

ASSEMBLYMAN HARDWICK: Yes.

MR. HARTUNG: I feel that because of present military forces being larger than is necessary for strictly defensive purposes, but I feel that people who are asked to defend this country should be paid an appropriate salary, so in that sense, under certain circumstances I would support---

ASSEMBLYMAN HARDWICK: You are saying it is too large overall. I am sure you followed with interest the series of articles in the New York Times in the last couple of weeks in which they cited vast areas of inefficient numbers of trained pilots, technicians, to operate military equipment? And, I am sure you are aware that the instructional booklets for the Titan missiles had to be rewritten from an eleventh grade level to the seventh grade level, so that the soldiers could understand the instructional manuals. Now, are you saying in your testimony that we have the wrong people in the military, or do you support any change at all?

I don't see any focus on what is apparently critical manpower shortages either in quality or quantity?

MR. HARTUNG: No, I didn't deal with that directly. I said, first of all, that one of the problems is that weapons systems currently being proposed are unnecessarily complex for the missions that they are designed for, and that that creates a problem in terms of maintenance.

I feel that if there wasn't such a pressure on the one hand from the military appropriations which are more interested in producing more knowledge in military equipment than they are in increasing equipment that is durable and easy to maintain, at least in terms of their direct interest as growing concerns.

I feel that by the pressure in the New York Congressional District it will make quite a bit of difference now in terms of the complexity in the mix of weaponry. We are finding out a push in Congress to simplify weaponry and sort of a beginning that many of these complex computer controlled aircraft are not workable for any purpose, and if there had been a little closer scrutiny of those programs as they were coming through, instead of an atmosphere as it is now of sort of general support for high interest, I think that those sort of problems go back to if we do the work, and that 's how I feel.

ASSEMBLYMAN HARDWICK: This past week I listened to my nephew who is a pilot in the Air Force stationed at Eckland Air Force Base, and he flies military transport planes, and he took me aboard this plane, and it was sixteen years old, and the engine was initially designed to last 10,000 hours and he said that this had 50,000 flying hours. The plane was obviously obsolete. It flies very slowly and he described is as a slow flying goose, that if there were military action, it would be an easy moving target, in his estimation. It seems to me we have young men in the armed forced, and some instances we are short of sufficient personnel trained to fight if called upon, and with obsolete equipment. I don't know how the record reflects the observation that I made with my nephew this past weekend, with your testimony, that we don't need a rapid deployment force, and we don't need additional equipment that is so sophisticated that it is not lasting very long. It doesn't seem reconcilable with what I observed.

MR. HARTUNG: Well, I don't know if I can answer that fully, but I think part of the problem has to do with a squeeze on maintenance, and it also has to do with pushing through a lot of weapons proposals, many of which take ten to twelve years to bring to fruition in terms of actually having an airplane, or missile, or whatever it is that is being considered. We are in a period where there is a whole rash of military proposals being pushed through all at one time. I think a lot is based upon public reaction to the experience such as the hostage crisis, and we are either looking at those a little bit carefully, or we can give some of those potential problems some thought and there would be ample funds for maintenance which is one area that is definitely squeezed now, because it doesn't create the same kind of problem as building a whole new airplane or ship does, among other reasons. I think it is just a bureaucratic nuisance for the military services to take their new programs when they can them.

I guess the only other thing I would like to say on the issue of defense is that I have no question in my mind that people in this country are capable of defending it if it comes to that. The question I have is whether people are going to feel like they have a stake in this country and that it is worth it for them to defend it. I think if we continually decline in the social services, and the drastic cutbacks in human services that this new five year military program will entail is going to call it in question, for a loss of these people and a loss of this country.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you very much. While it is not suggested it should not be increased additional military spending, we are talking about wasteful spending. But, the fact that we have a plane as you indicated, that still exists, and we are also witnessing an increase in military spending with those kind of conditions which lends itself more so that that these are maybe wasteful, but priorities should be established. I think we are talking about a nuclear war as the next war versus one where we use planes. I just wanted to share that point with you.

Now we will hear from Victor De Luca, Ironbound Community Corporation.

V I C T O R D E L U C A: My name is Victor De Luca. I am from the Ironbound Community Corporation in Newark. I am also the Chairperson of the Newark Coalition for Neighborhoods, which is an organization of ten neighborhood groups around the City. I am nowhere near the expert on military spending, nor am I an expert on human services, but it seems to me that it is ironic to hear so many people come up today and to see how many people came to human priorities fare, and what is ironic about it is that we were always told that we were apathetic and you don't speak out on issues that are very important to our lives, and yet when we do speak out, we have such powerful foes in the military establishment that our voices are seldom heard.

A week ago I stood here just like today and I spoke to three other people up there asking them to spend the \$15 billion that comes to Newark for community development in a way that would improve the quality of life for its residents. And, certainly there is a need to have input in how that \$15 million gets spent. I think there is a parallel need to say why is Newark and other cities and states in this country only getting \$15 million and having to fight for that when the Pentagon can come in and say we need \$1 million for this, or \$100 million for that. It seems to me there is a lack of debate in this country as to what and how federal funds should be spent. What has to be made very clear is that federal funds do not come from the moon. They are not something that is grown. They are not a gift. Federal funds come from each one of us in this room and in this country every time that we get a pay check. We get money taken out that then becomes federal funds. So, federal funds that we get in Newark, say the \$15 million, is not a gift from Congress or the President, but it is our money. And, I think that this resolution goes to the heart of that fundamental question of taxation and how that taxation gets spent.

In the Northeast and the Midwest, and particularly New Jersey, is suffering and has been suffering for many years and probably will continue to suffer from economic displacement. That economic displacement has brought about the litany of social problems that I am sure you have heard of today, elderly not having an adequate income, housing, nutrition, day care services for the children in the back of the room here, having to get their program cut 17%. But, that economic displacement was not caused by the people, it was caused by private economic decisions, and to some degree inspired by public doctrine, and also by spending patterns that have clearly favored the private corporations in this country and to the degree of the corporations involved in military industries. So, I think that there has to be a whole reordering on spending and how the impact of spending affects cities like Newark and states like New Jersey.

I don't think the Resolution is going to change how the funding is going to happen in 1981 or 1982, but I think it should be supported. The Board of Trustees of the Ironbound Community Corporation voted to support this Resolution, because we feel that resolutions like this and people like yourselves, and people like all of us here, give strength to those few members in Congress that continue to call for that debate that is lacking in this country. Until we get that debate, there probably are not going to be any changes, but resolutions like this and people coming out to support it, make that debate one step closer. So, I would like to go on record in support of this resolution. I would like to support more resolutions like this. I hope that you in Trenton will continue to plan for people and to impact upon our Federal legislators so that they will in turn plan for the people. Thank you.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you very much, Mr. De Luca. I can assure you that the Federal legislators will be involved, and that is one of the purposes for having a resolution and our public hearing of this nature, and I also assure you that we will relate your comments and the other comments of the witnesses today to our colleagues in Trenton and hopefully the message will go down to Washington. So, that is part of the process, and I would like to thank you for participating in that process.

At this point I would like to ask Ms. Frances Copeland who is here from Tri-City with the children and I recognize the patience of the children, so we believe that kids today and youth of today are definitely the future of tomorrow, so for that reason we will give you priority and let them come forward. Ms. Copeland.

F R A N C E S C O P E L A N D: First of all, I would like to thank you for allowing us this opportunity to speak to you this afternoon in reference to the proposed resolution and to go on record as saying that we support this proposed resolution.

I would like to begin my statement by saying that this morning when I was watching Channel 7 and the news came on, I heard them say that the United States had offered to the other nations in Persia and around the Persian Gulf the same support that they had given to Saudi Arabia in terms of military support if they did not join in with the war that is going on between the two nations that are there. The first thing that came to my mind was, were these same people concerned about and willing to give the same kind of support to the person who had just been told that their jobs were not needed because the parts that they made in that factory were going to be made in a foreign country, and whether or not they could do the same thing for them.

Then I began to think about all of those people who receive food stamps at this time and who don't know how long that program will continue, and whether or not our good government would offer them the same kind of support. Then, when you think about education --- I was reading earlier this year in September in the Star Ledger where New Jersey has said that the financial aid to the higher education is not increased, but yet it had to be spread out to include the larger group of people. And then I wondered whether or not they would give to them that same support. And, I am beginning to wonder about this country that we call the greatest and the one that we have stood up for and said that we love. We are not saying that the United States should not protect its people or should not be engaged in any military practices. That is not what we want them to say. But, we did want to say that in order for us to have a good look and believe in what we say we are about, we must begin to think about the human needs of our nation.

I would just like to say that when the transcript of this goes back that those people who chose not to, for various reasons, come here this evening to listen to this hearing and what the people had to say, that they will take time to read those transcripts and to listen to the tapes, because it is important that they know that we the people who live here have concerns that are great, and that when they say to us that they have built something that is not feasible, and when we look around, we know that a mother cannot go to work because she cannot find day care services for her children, or that she cannot afford to pay for day care services for her children, then we wonder about where their concern is at and what they think and whether they believe in what they say they do.

When I received a call one day from a lady whose daughter had Lupus,

and today was her twenty-first day in the hospital, and to be told that Medicaid would not pay after today, but the doctor said she cannot be released. Because of her disease, she had a mild stroke and she is only 52 years old. I am concerned, then, about those same people and whether they are considered to be priority when there is money being used on unnecessary equipment that is never going to be used. They are using the money to buy things that will destroy people, and yet they say they are concerned with protecting the lives of those people who live here who pay their salaries and who gives them the money to waste and the manner in which they are wasting our money right now.

I am concerned that when my children get out of school and when my son goes up the street to our high school, and I am concerned about every boy and I feel like I want to walk a sixteen year old to school because we have had so many robberies of kids going to school. But, I am concerned also about a person that is doing the robbery, because they cannot find a job or find any means in order to provide for their families. I am concerned about the person who needs a welfare check because their job has gone out of business, and all of those people who have no jobs or a man who cannot take care of his family. We are concerned about that, but we believe our country needs to evaluate what they stand for and what they believe in, and that they need to think, and instead of just saying things at campaign time that they are concerned about the needs of the citizens of our country, that they should be concerned about the needs of the citizens in our country all the time. You see, I am concerned, and that brings me to the point, what do you want to believe in, destruction of buildings? Because if you are concerned about building military equipment to destroy, but yet you are not concerned about preserving one's life, building employment and providing adequate means so one can live a peaceful life. I believe in peace, but I also believe that peace will come with the fulfillment of every social and human need of poor people in our country. Thank you.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you very much. Would you like to hold up a few of those posters so we can see what they say while you are here?

Thank you. We thank you for your testimony.

Our next speaker will be Junius Williams, Past President of the National Bar Association, Leadership Development Group.

J U N I U S W I L L I A M S: Thank you, Assemblyman Brown, Assemblyman Mc Enroe, Assemblyman Hardwick, I have two extra copies of my statement. I would like to offer them for the record.

I am Past President of the National Bar Association, but I am also the Coordinator of the Leadership Development Group, which is an organization concerned with the quality of leadership in this country, based in Newark and elsewhere throughout the nation.

One of our concerns is the posture taken by our leadership at the national, state and local level with respect to the question of military spending. So, I want to begin by commending you gentlemen and the lady for having the courage and foresight enough to sponsor such a resolution. I think win, lose, or draw, your position on the issue will be heard throughout the community, and we support that.

I would just like to start by referring to an article in the New York Times dated October 5, 1980, wherein the headline reads, "Brown Admits Aide Distorted Impact Issue; Pentagon Sought to Push Missiles by exaggerating Soviet Gains Against U. S. Submarines. " The article goes on in a rather long fashion to say in essence that the staff of the Pentagon has exaggerated the might of the Soviets in order

to get the military budget with respect to the MX missile passed, so that the band can play on. Now, instead of carrying this article on the first page of the New York Times, so that definitely more people could be informed, it was carried somewhere around page thirteen or fourteen. I did not see a comparable article in any other papers on that particular day.

I think the propaganda is something that we must be concerned with as we enter the eighties by the military industrial conflict. It seeks to saturate the nation with guns instead of butter. If I may return now to my report, I will not attempt to read all of it, since we are here rather late in the day. I will just skim part of it, and you may want to ask me some questions.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: We place the entire document into the record.

MR. WILLIAMS: So, I will definitely read some of the highlights.

Number one, the projected budget for fiscal 1981 is a blueprint for military spending at the expense of jobs and social programs for the poor. The administration budget comes at a time when unemployment is expected to be increased by 1-1/2 million persons.

Much of the problem can be assigned to the deference given to the military budget at the expense of human programming. The military budget has been increased by 12%, and increase of 5.4% above inflation. And, no comparable amount of increase has in fact been carried forth with respect to social programs.

Number two, we believe that the U. S. war economy produces inflation. This is a long and very complex economic argument, but basically the problem is that for over a century one of the main strengths of the U. S. industrial firms has been their ability to offset cost increases by redesign of products and production technology. But, as more and more capital was channeled into the military, the improved working methods and new equipment diminished from the private sector. Firms are no longer able to decrease costs, and with demand created inflation in the energy sector, the overall effect is "cost-pass-along." In other words, a lot of the experimentation that occurred naturally was in the private sector and has been channeled into the military sector and is therefore absent from our private industry as made manifest by high cost in such areas as cars. Therefore, many people go out and buy Japanese cars instead of American cars simply because the Japanese have not been worried about military spending. As you know, the Japanese military budget compared with ours is very, very small. Much of their technology has gone into electronics and mechanical areas and they have not bothered about producing a huge war economy.

Number three, the war economy generates unemployment, despite popular conceptions to the contrary. Many people have said that the military expenditures creates jobs. That may be so, but only in certain parts of the country is this so, such as in the northwest, the Pacific northwest where Boeing is located and also in the southwest. Also, in the very highly skilled area for employment, one must have a Ph.D. degrees ad infinitum. It is not meant for the ordinary working class person or poor person which we must be concerned with here in the center city.

Number four, the increase in military spending in the face of a large and problematic deficit for fiscal '81 is being sponsored at the expense of social programming. Some of the figures here that I listed on page five were perhaps changed during the give and take that took place when the Senate and the House wrestled with this particular budget. But, by and large, we have learned that most of the social programs have been leveled off at best. Some, in fact, have been decreased

in order to pay for the budget deficit incurred by reason of the increase in the military budget. For example, the administration proposes to cut health care, veterans' benefits, welfare and nutrition programs designed to save \$2.9 billion. Another \$2.7 billion would be pared and enough reductions in increases for government employees, but a \$1.5 billion would be achieved by phasing out mortgage supports for middle income housing, all if allowed by Congress.

In essence, then, we are paying for the military increase at the expense of those programs which we have assumed to be a part of our lifestyle since the so-called turbulent sixties.

Finally, the military budget is a symbol of the new militarism that threatens to engulf us all in needless war hysteria. Are these tremendous outlays justified in the light of the current world situation? "All too often, the U. S. response has been one of political overreaction and alliance with corrupt dictatorships, so long as they profess the proper amounts of anti-communist sentiments. This is a quote from the Congressional Black Caucus' Analysis of the President's Proposed Military Budget for the Fiscal Year 1981, at page one.

The world of the 1980's will not serve the assumptions which have guided America since the end of World War II. The legitimate interests of the Third World must be respected, and in fact coordinated with our own, if in fact we wish to solve the many problems of race, poverty, turmoil and spiritual debilitation, which infect America.

Therefore, we propose:

- I. New capital outlay for new markets and new jobs. For example, education, health, nutrition, jobs and manpower, crime and delinquency, quality of environment and other "neglected priorities" as set forth in the Report of the Council of Economic Advisors to the President in 1969. The 1969 agenda can be updated and factors included for civilian state, county and local investment and planning.
- II Alternation of the War Economy in a manner which will "encourage the conversion of technologies and managerial and worker skills developed in defense production to the service of projects in the civilian sector." Under this approach, phased out military facilities would be converted to civilian use. Also, militarily oriented industry must be converted, with planning for detailed changes in machine, tools, materials, skills, production, organization and marketing. The preparation of such a changeover of the work forces, equipment and facilities at each industrial plant and military base should be a requirement of every industrial contracting firm and military based administering the cost attached to the military contract.
- III Utilization of our wealth and skills as a nation in peaceful means to help fulfill the just demands of the poorer and exploited nations. This is a better alternative to sabre-rattling, and in the longrun will pay richer dividends to more people, Americans included.

I will again like to thank you for your particular view on this issue, and we indeed support you. If there are any questions, I would be happy to answer them.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you very much, Mr. Williams. I appreciate your input. Thank you for taking your time out to give us such fine testimony.

I notice Mr. Hooper has been sitting patiently. We will now hear from Mr. Hooper of the New Jersey Federation of Senior Citizens.

G E O R G E H O O P E R: Thank you, and I thank the Committee for allowing us to express our support for this Resolution.

I represent the New Jersey Federation of Senior Citizens as the Chairman of the Northern Region and also statewide tax task force, and also I am active with the Essex County group, which has also supported this Resolution and has joined the Coalition for Human Priorities in support of it.

I think it might be of some interest to you as to the experience of the New Jersey Federation in pursuing advocacy of senior citizen problems. For the first time this year, we have found having moved from a regional to a state organization that it was absolutely necessary that we address federal issues in coalition with other geographic areas and other groups, because the inter-relation is unmistakable. For example, we had a representative, Mr. Riley, from the Human Services Department, telling us with reference to the problem of New Jersey nursing homes that the problem in essence is Federal, and that New Jersey has extended itself as far as it can. So, if there are 3,000 seniors waiting for nursing home beds it is because primarily it is a Federal problem. We, therefore, are addressing this Resolution as a good example of the kinds of things which not only seniors, but all groups who are involved in the human services involved, need to get behind.

I think the experience in the last budget process is a good example. Early in the game, we found that there were several attacks on Social Security. I am glad to say that seniors are a group that realize through a gut feeling that things like this are occurring and it is necessary to stand up and be counted, not only in New Jersey where we had a rally in Trenton, where we occupied your Assembly hall but other places also. We have tried to make it clear by Resolution and by activity that we were not about to accept this kind of thing. In addition, when the Food Stamp crisis came along, it was by petitions and otherwise made abundantly clear that senior citizens were not going to move to be pushed around with reference to fundamental needs that have been long contracted for by the Federal government.

This Resolution is supportable by us for many reasons, but we are not military experts like other speakers. We do not pretend to be. However, we have a fairly good business. We go back further than the sixties, which the previous speaker mentioned. I heard a program the first week of October, where Maggie Doone and Claude Pepper were being interview on Overeasy, by Hugh Downs, and just the mere presence of a guy like Claude Pepper who was one of the people instrumental in the original Social Security Program, and who has lived through Medicare and Medicaid, and the broadening of various programs, it highlights the kind of program. Now, Maggie Keown pointed out that despite all this progress, the seniors are now in need of a lot of things with reference to the full life, and she listed many, many things. We have task forced in all primary areas such as health and welfare. We have energy, taxes, transportation, insurance, et cetera. Now, these are state issues, but in each case, there are very heavy, fundamental input both financial and otherwise, and no progress can be made unless they are addressed at all levels. We, therefore, are supporting this type of resolution on the Federal level. At the same time, we are pushing in Trenton for the kinds of things that can be done at the State level, and we urge support in your Committee and release of this Resolution as promptly as possible. Thank you.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you very much.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you very much. Sylvia Zisman.

S Y L V I A Z I S M A N: Assemblyman Brown, I attended a Regional Meeting of some women on Saturday, and I handed out this Resolution.

This was the Womens' International League for Peace and Freedom which is a sixty-five year old peace organization and they were so impressed by what was going on here and the effort that we had made before this Resolution came into being that they want us to be a model for the rest of the country. So, what you are doing today and what we are doing today, may very well get out to a lot of people. Again, I want to say that I appreciate it. I have to write up this thing. I am staying to find out and I hope I will get the transcripts and I hope they are available to many more people.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: We will see that you get a copy of the transcript. Thank you very much.

Assemblyman Mc Enroe would like to make a statement at this time.

H A R R Y A. M C E N R O E: I have to leave to attend a partisan political affair, and politics being what it is, I have a schedule that I must abide by. But, I would want to comment that I certainly appreciate the input brought to my attention. It gives me support, because I do feel the road may be rocky ahead for a Resolution such as the one we are proposing. Back in 1976, I was a member and Director of the Board of Freeholders in Essex County when this Resolution first was advanced.

At that time, this Resolution sounded good, and it was placed on the agenda, knowing quite well that we had petitioned our fellow members for its approval. So, I think in those days, although well-meaning and well-intentioned, it didn't really have the teeth in it that it has today. By that I mean the experience people have now within the cities and the suburban areas surrounding our large cities, and I know the deprivation of seniors and I know the genuine needs that people have. The attention of our country must be turned inward toward the almost insoluble problems that affect us all, and I think this is an excellent way of getting it, as I said earlier, on everyone's agenda, so that they will be considered across the country and given the kind of attention it deserves.

I commit myself to the prime sponsor, Assemblyman Brown, and I will work with him for its task within that very important Appropriations Committee, and hopefully when it comes before the General Assembly, I will be a strong supporter of it, and I hope we will see many, many of the people here today in attendance in Trenton, and legions of people that support the same kind of forward thinking. So, it has been a pleasure to be in attendance.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you very much. At this point, we will take a short break.

(Whereupon a short recess was taken.)

AFTER RECESS:

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Let me say good afternoon to those of you who came in since we took a break. Just for re-edification, I am Assemblyman Willie Brown, Assistant Majority Leader of the General Assembly. I am the prime sponsor of Assembly Resolution 50 which we are here to conduct public hearings on. We would like to hear from those who are supporters of this Resolution or those who may oppose this Resolution. We have the political process here to address those issues.

Next on the list is Judy Hinds, President of the Essex County Womens International League for Peace and Freedom.

J U D Y H I N D S: Good afternoon. I would like to start by expressing my thanks to you and my congratulations to all who participated in making the hearing possible. I think this is a very valuable opportunity for groups to think through the kinds of public statements that I would like to bring forward, and of course, we hope it will be valuable to you, and so my personal thanks and the thanks of our group.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you.

MS. HINDS: I would like to bring to this discussion perhaps a slightly different kind of testimony than you may have heard this afternoon, because this is an international group that I work with and I would like to share with you my conviction that the priorities that we are considering here, shall we be expending for human needs, shall we be expending for military purposes is a debate that is occurring on a global level. All around the world this very issue is being discussed, and I would like to share with you a couple of examples of this, because this Resolution that is before the State Assembly is going to be carried to a national body, and then this national body is part of a world context. I think it might be useful to remind ourselves of how interconnected these things are. So, a couple of examples, it has been stated that there are more pounds of TNT per person in the world than there are pounds of food, and yet two billion people, approximately half the population of the world are malnourished or even starving, and so the question is, will more arms increase the military spending help to alleviate the problems of giving food and making food available and increasing the agricultural production. Our feeling is that it will not. That is one example.

Another example, I worked with an agency in the international health care field and I was astonished to read that two hundred million people in the world suffer from malaria. That is almost the number of people in the United States. Why is it such an enormous health problem? One reason is that the kinds of research and development needed to find the cures and the treatment for diseases in the tropics has been severely neglected. We know that in the developed countries, and overwhelming proportion of research and development goes into the military and it is the kind of health care needs from people in developing countries and our own communities, but I do want to point out this enormous health problem in the world as a whole, and that one reason it is not being met is that the research and development resources are not being put in that direction.

As an example of how this problem is being looked at on an international level, I would like to share with you the fact that the United Nations has a special committee that is looking into the relationship of development on the one hand, and disarmament on the other. Maybe this is another way of saying on an international level, human needs versus military spending. There are study projects going on

at the present time in countries on every continent that are looking at the issues in just the same way that the groups presenting testimony here are looking into the issues on a local level. So, the question is, why bring this in on a local hearing? And I think the reason is that those of us who are beginning to see and learn more about these connections on the international level are convinced that the only way to work is on the local level. Somebody has to start somewhere, and we want to start now, and we feel that this Assembly Resolution is a good start or rallying point in our community. So, we wanted to see that this structural misuse of resources that we find in our own communities and that we recognize as happening all over the world, we want to see that it is changed, and we feel that the Assembly Resolution 50 is a very good statement of the changes that we would like to see.

I would also like to share with you the kinds of things that the group I work with has decided to do on the national level. We feel so concerned that this issue of priorities is a very significant one that our national body passed a resolution recently and voted a program called "Women and Priorities," that has as its goals and activities the generation of discussion in local communities like Newark and all over the country, and there would be a program which involved setting up hearings and debates and conferences where these questions will be looked into so that we will gather the data and generate the political will that will be needed to change these.

So, this is by way of saying that we are going to be seeking out again on this issue and we feel that it is so important that we are directing the resources of our organization toward working on just exactly this point. Thank you very much.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you very much, Ms. Hinds for sharing your points of view on this issue.

Next we have Sharon Rivenson, Attorney, West Essex Legal Services and Tenant Nathaniel Pettiford.

S H A R O N R I V E N S O N: Thank you very much. My name is Sharon Rivenson; I am an Attorney with Essex Legal Services, and I am presently representing the public housing tenants who are on a rent strike in the City of Newark.

Once again the city is witness to a citywide public housing rent strike, and you may ask why. The reason is because Newark Redevelopment and Housing Authority and the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development have failed to maintain the various Newark Public Housing complexes and the condition that it is fit for human habitation. Years of neglect and poor management have long reduced Newark's Public Housing Complexes to classic examples of high-rise ghettos and slum housing at its worst. The conditions are really intolerable. Rampant infestation of rats, roaches, mice, maggots, no maintenance, no repairs, absolutely no security, elevators not working in elderly complexes as well as family complexes, elevators open to open elevator shafts, garbage is strewn throughout the complex, garbage compactors don't work, and the conditions go on and on.

Ten years ago Newark was faced with a citywide public housing rent strike. That rent strike lasted four years at the Stella Wright Housing Project, and in excess of ten years in the other complexes. It is ten years later, and the conditions are ten years worse. Only Stella Wright has seen significant improvements, and this a result of major renovations, and funding by HUD, yet it appears that few lessons were learned in the last rent strike. Newark's own public housing continues to decay. In the face of this housing crisis, this country has seen a dramatic increase in military spending. What we have seen is a dramatic shift in national

priorities for military build-up at the expense of domestic programs, including low income housing and human services.

The total current defense budget, approximately \$200 billion, or more than 50% of the federal budget is an increase of \$110 billion since 1976 alone. It has been estimated that \$150 million is needed for repairs and modernization of Newark's public housing stock; yet, the tenants have been told the money is not there, that they cannot have decent, and safe public housing. The tenants have been told that they must wait and suffer. It continues to be the poor who suffer the most. The tenants of Newark's public housing are saying that they are tired of being told to wait and suffer. They are going to fight for their rights to decent, safe and sanitary housing. What they are essentially calling for is a marshall plan for Newark's public housing, and they are saying that time is running out.

It is this situation and cutbacks in human services throughout the country that have got to be put to an end before it is too late. The military spending has to be cut back and human services restored.

I am also here as Co-President of the Essex and Newark Human Services Staff Association, which is the union representing legal services, workers, and attorneys at the Essex-Newark Legal Services. You have undoubtedly heard a great deal of testimony today about cutbacks in domestic and human services and about the prices of housing and health and education, and about rising unemployment in the face of increased domestic military spending. At times, such as this the demand for legal services is dramatically increased. Yet, annual appropriations for the legal services corporation do not even keep up with the double digit inflation.

This year there is a threat of a \$21 million cut in the proposed \$321 million appropriations for the legal services corporation. This would reduce the appropriation to \$300 million which is the current amount which the funding is at. This is the effect, again, of a shift in priorities to military spending, and this would result in a dramatic cutback in current services because of the double digit inflation. These cutbacks in Federal spending for human needs must stop and they have to stop now before it is too late. Thank you. (Applause)

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you very much. We will now listen to Lee Fisher, President of the Young Democrats from the South Ward of Newark.

L E E F I S H E R: Assemblyman Brown, my reason for being here for the most part is to extend the support of the Young Dems, and the citizens of the South Ward, your Resolution, and the Assembly leadership for bringing to the City of Newark these hearings on the Resolution, whereby a cross-section of the community can testify as to their support and their judgement of the expenditures for military spending.

It doesn't take one to go far to see the very adverse effects of the imbalanced military spending versus the social benefits. We see drug addicts, and we see unemployment and we see deterioration within the cities and as one speaker earlier mentioned, a lack of decent housing throughout the country.

I don't want to stand here and quote facts and figures to you. I am quite sure you have them already. But, I would like to say that there is a definite need for an adjustment in attitudes about representatives on the national level, concerning military spending, from contractors, lobbyists, or other foreign interests.

I feel that the present problems that communities at large have regarding their economic well being, they have very little time and energy to focus towards correcting the direction Congress has at this point. But, we feel that the Legislature and your Resolution and your leadership will hopefully deter that which has been

occurring in the past. I thank you very much.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you. Is there anyone here who has not gotten the opportunity to speak that I have overlooked?

Is there anyone who would like to speak that may not be on the list? You may feel free to come forward at this time.

R O G E R N E W M A N: My name is Roger Newman, and I represent the United Tenant Committee of Newark. The address is Post Office Box 824, Newark, New Jersey.

I am not a listed speaker with a written speech. I am not going to quote facts. I am going to back up what Ms. Rivenson was saying, because I am working with her. We are hoping that some of the Presidents would be able to make it here, but they did not make it, so I am going to speak on behalf of them.

One of the problems that I think that the politicians and other people should look into and that is the public housing crisis in the City of Newark and other place, the tenant problems. As of now, I would say it is a complete breakdown and a disaster exists in Newark toward public housing tenants. When I think of the military budget, and when I think of past wars like Vietnam and Korea and any other war that the United States fought, we poured in massive aid, military, whatever. Today, we see the same thing with nuclear weapons, the MX projects and the D-bombers, and you name it, whatever you are developing to wipe out the world. What tends to be a little funny when I think about it is that all these billions are going in to blowing up the world where each side has enough arson ability to kill the world over thirty times. When I returned to the community, I see complete disaster, and then we go to housing authorities, and HUD, and there is the same excuse. There is no money and there are cutbacks, and we have to layoff. But, on the other hand, the problems still exist.

What I am hoping is that some Assemblyman from the State Government or the Federal Government, or some sort of action can be taken by them to take on the military budget and to take on the domestic budget. I think in this country there is no leadership that is really strong enough for the people, fighting along with the people to take care of the domestic needs of the people. I am really proud today, because this is the first action I have seen, and I am hoping that we can begin to support these types of actions.

I think politicians and community leaders should work and channel the task funding, the domestic funding into something that is worthwhile and worth meaning. When I see the people, that is very important. I am hoping that the political leadership in this country will take time out, not only on election day, to come into the community and say what they are going to do, but we don't see them for four years, as Carter showed us a demonstration in South Bronx. Now, I am hoping this doesn't exist with our political leaders today. The City Council of Newark is taking steps now to help the tenants take on the problems of public housing. I am hoping this happens on a state level and also on a federal level. I hope they will start paying more attention to this crisis, because it is now at a crisis level. I am surprised there hasn't been any violence or any academic working out of these housing projects.

So, what I am here asking for is to support your movement against a military budget. It has 100% support from me. I am hoping that the political leadership in this state will take time out to also call an investigation on the domestic level towards the public housing tenants. And, you will see for yourself, and I hope

this will give you more ammunition to justify the need to take money away from the military, because I don't see any need for it. It should be put into domestic funding. I think this will give you more ammunition and more support from the community. The people in the communities have to see that political leaders do care and will support their needs, not only at election time, every year and every day of every week, that they can see someone take their time out.

I will take this information back to the community and tell them what has happened here and I am hoping you can join me and come back to the housing projects and let them know that there are political leaders who support them and will help them out. Thank you.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you very much. Just in response to some of the comments, I think the presence of us here today indicates that there are political leaders that are concerned about the priorities. Earlier, I had with me one of my colleagues, Assemblyman Harry Mc Enroe, who was also a co-sponsor of the Resolution, and I had Assemblyman Chuck Hardwick who came to join us, and he is not a co-sponsor, but he was here to participate. We are here to share with you and the other members of the Legislature that we will take a serious look at this Resolution and I don't see any reason why we shouldn't be able to pass it in the Assembly and then follow through to the Congress, and maybe this will be the beginning of a whole new era where we can look to other states and other legislatures that will introduce and enact a resolution of this nature, and give the people and the country the opportunity to establish their priorities and let them say whether or not we should have more military spending or more basic human needs taken care of, which should be the first priority in the country. So, I can assure you that the reason I have no problems introducing a resolution like this is because it goes along with my thinking and my feelings, and I support it, obviously, because I am the prime sponsor. I will do all within my power to pass this. I did indicate that we would have a public hearing here in the City in the district that I represent to give the people in the City of Newark and the surrounding areas the opportunity to have access to the political process. They have been able to come forward and speak out their opinions. I think that is what democracy is all about and what the political process is all about, and we will continue to do things of this nature in the future.

Is there anyone else who wishes to speak at this time?

R U T H B A R D A C H: I am from West Orange, New Jersey. I had not intended to speak, but I have very strong feelings, and that is why I am here.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Do you represent any particular organization?

MS. BARDACH: I do belong to organizations, but I will just say that this is being given as a layperson, because I am not officially representing them and their opinion, although many of them feel the way I do.

You have heard the testimony during this day from a lot of people dealing with human needs and certainly we need it on housing and schools. There are layoffs in the Newark School System that have been extensive. I just happen to be a little familiar with them, and there are teachers of music and art and librarians that have to hurry around to three different schools in a week, when they used to at one time be at one single school. It just happens to be one area where there is more money needed. There is so much needed that you heard testimony about for so many causes, but the thing to me---

It seems that there is so much money, this \$154 billion for military and for war. If you are going to say it is going to save the world and keep the world

safe, you might say, "Well, that is all right." But, this will not save the world; this will destroy the world. The proliferation of nuclear weapons is something to be very much concerned with. You know, it is as if--- You know, you are talking about having conventional wars, you can have a conventional war without nuclear weapons, but we have to have them for a deterrent. But, you know, if you put a gun in a man's hand, in anyone's hand, the chances are it is going to get used either by himself or by someone else that attacks him, et cetera.

We cannot have these weapons and the orientation to make this a military arsenal, this country in the world, and not have these weapons used. The chances are there is a strong likelihood that they will be used and there are going to be no survivor or any kind of survivor worth talking about from a nuclear war, and wouldn't this best be used instead of accelerating the tensions--- We have enough tensions and problems in our society. We should use this money where it is needed in order to make people feel more secure in their homes and neighborhoods and provide more of the needs. They don't have to close down the Suydenham Hospital in New York. There is money. Of course, we have needs here. We need hospitals and schools, and people complain because they are paying too much in taxes. A good hunk of this tax money on the Federal level is going for war. We have to learn to get together with the nations so that we can talk and get along. This is where--- If the United States makes this effort - and this Resolution is certainly in this direction - we are going to have a better United States and a better world to live in. Thank you very much.

ASSEMBLYMAN BROWN: Thank you very much. I guess I will now conclude by first thanking all of you who have participated in this hearing today. I have participated at hearings over the past seven years I have served in the Legislature and this has definitely been one of the best hearings I have participated in. I am very impressed with the participation and the input from a complete cross-section of the people here. And, I think it is very significant that we in the Legislature listen to what you have said and make sure that it is carried back. Again, I really feel grateful for the participation.

If there are no other speakers at this point, I will officially adjourn the public hearing and thank all of you for coming.

(Hearing Concluded)

ANALYSIS OF THE FISCAL 1981 ADMINISTRATION
BUDGET FOR MILITARY SPENDING,
IN SUPPORT OF
ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION
NO. 50

Prepared by:

Junius W. Williams, Esq.
Leadership Development Group
24 Commerce Street, Suite 1526
Newark, New Jersey 07102
(201) 624-8551

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I. THE PROJECTED BUDGET FOR FISCAL 1981 IS A
BLUEPRINT FOR MILITARY SPENDING AT THE
EXPENSE OF JOBS AND SOCIAL PROGRAM FOR THE POOR

The Administration budget comes at a time when unemployment is expected to be increased by 1-1/2 million persons, to 7.5%.¹

Much of the problem can be assigned to the deference given to the military budget at the expense of Human Programming. The military budget has been increased by 12%,² an increase of 5.4% above inflation.³ The proposed budget represents another high mark in defense spending, at 142 billion for fiscal 1981,⁴ and is anticipated to increase to over 248 billion in fiscal 1985.⁵

The administration would have us believe that the defense budget represents a small piece of the federal pie than

¹Congressional Black Caucus, Feb. 5, 1980, "Analysis of President's Fiscal Year 1981. Federal Budget Proposal."

²Wall Street Journal, Jan. 29, 1980.

³Op. cit., #1. Note: Wall Street Journal 1/29/80 claims 3.3% increase after inflation.

⁴Wall Street Journal, Jan. 29, 1980

⁵Op. cit., #1.

it actually is. Discounting those funds allocated to the government's trust fund such as social security, military spending constitutes about one half the spendable federal dollar.⁶ Over 60% of the 1981 budget can be so described.^{6.5} If federal spending is a drain and indeed inflationary, much of the blame must be placed on increased military spending.

II. THE U.S. WAR ECONOMY "PRODUCES INFLATION"

The U.S. contributes to its own undoing by maintenance of a war economy. "A war economy includes military production as a continuing and important activity, and the military products are counted as ordinary economic end products".⁷

For over a century, one of the main strengths of U.S. industrial firms has been their ability to offset cost increases by redesign of products and production technology. But, as more and more capital was channeled to the military, the improved working methods and new equipment diminished. Firms are no longer able to decrease costs; and with demand created inflation in the energy sector, the overall effect is "cost-pass-along", after 1965,

⁶The Defense Monitor, Center for Defense Information, Washington, D.C.

^{6.5}Congressional Black Caucus, "Analysis of the President's Proposed Military Budget for Fiscal Year 1981", Page 1.

⁷"Inflation and unemployment as Products of War Economy", Professor Seymour Melman, Columbia University address to 1976 new convention.

intensifying the inflationary aspect of production.

In addition, by utilization of the cost-plus method of payment for services rendered, the U.S. military purchasing process does not encourage savings or scrutiny of high costs. There are no incentives to save. The entire process within the military spills over to the civilian side; "equipment and raw materials for which lavish prices are paid by military users are often kindred to materials and equipment used in civilian firms. The cost maximizing of the military economy becomes a model for cost and price increases for civilian operation as well".⁸

III. THE WAR ECONOMY GENERATES UNEMPLOYMENT, DESPITE POPULAR CONCEPTIONS TO THE CONTRARY

Most of the military spending is concentrated in the south and southwestern U.S. Most of the nation's 435 congressional districts paid more in taxes for defense than they received in military spending. "Military spending is a principle source of drastic imbalance and inequity in the federal tax burden and budget allocation".^{9.5}

⁸ ibid, Page 361.

⁹ ibid, Page 362.

^{9.5} Quote from study done by Prof. James R. Anderson of Michigan State University, found in Business Week, Page 66, Dec. 18, 1978.

The diversion of research and development funds and investment capital from civilian economy has caused industries to fall behind in product design, production methods, productivity of labor and capital. This causes the American public to purchase products made abroad, by industrially modernized countries, relatively free from the military burden such as Japan and West Germany. With lack of attention to certain industrial sectors, the U.S. has suffered from growing uncompetitiveness and unemployment as these industries produce less and eventually fail.

In addition defense spending creates less direct employment than do many kinds of civilian employment such as education, conservation and recreation, public housing and mass transit construction.¹⁰

Finally, as mentioned earlier, the employment generated is (a) highly regionalized, and (b) heavily skilled-oriented ("capital intense").

IV. THE INCREASE IN MILITARY SPENDING IN THE
FACE OF A LARGE AND PROBLEMATIC DEFICIT
FOR FISCAL '81 IS BEING SPONSORED AT THE
EXPENSE OF SOCIAL PROGRAMMING

The Carter budget for Fiscal '80 originally projected a deficit of \$29 billion. Now, the Administration is estimating a larger shortfall of 39.8 billion for the current fiscal year, due to recession.¹¹ This same forecast affects the '81 budget, due-

¹⁰G. Adams, "The B-1 Bomber: An Analysis of its Strategic Utility, Cost, Constituency and Economic Impact", report of the Council of Economic Priorities, 1976, p.21.

¹¹Newsweek, Feb. 4, 1980, p. 59.

to unemployment (7.5%). High joblessness normally triggers increases in welfare and unemployment revenues, so where will the money come from to pay for the war economy?

The Administration proposes to cut health care, veterans benefits, welfare and nutrition programs designed to save \$2.9 billion. Another \$2.7 billion would be pared and enough reductions in increases for government employees, but a \$1.5 billion would be achieved by phasing out mortgage supports for middle income housing, all if allowed by congress.¹² The budget reduces the number of job slots under Title VI public service job programs. By providing for only 450,000 job slots under Titles II-D and VI, it provides for less than one half the level authorized by law to respond to the unemployment rate of 7.5%.¹³

The increased military expenditure at the time of such budget deficit has caused the probable diversion of the new windfall profits tax away from research and development of energy and/or relates to the poor.^{13.5} The tax will enrich the Treasury by \$13 billion in fiscal year '81 (\$227 billion over the next decade). The administration has decided to use \$10 billion of the proceeds to squeeze down the deficit,¹⁴ forcing the poor to pay more in higher fuel costs, and further postpone-ment of the arrival of alternative fuel supplies.

A nation in which 25 million citizens are classified as living below the official poverty line can ill afford huge

¹²ibid, page 60 and Op. cit., #1, Page 2.

^{13.5} N.Y. Times, 2/6/80; Newsweek, 2/4/80, Page 60.

¹³Op. cit. #1, page 2.

¹⁴ibid, (Newsweek) Page 60.

increases in military spending.

V. THE MILITARY BUDGET IS A SYMBOL OF THE
NEW MILITARISM THAT THREATENS TO ENGULF
US ALL IN NEEDLESS WAR HISTERIA

Are these tremendous outlays justified in the light of the current world situation? "All too often the U.S. response has been one of political overreaction and alliance with corrupt dictatorship, so long as they profess the proper amounts of anti-communist sentiments"¹⁵.

The world of the '80's will not serve the assumptions which have guided "Pax Americana" since the end of World War II. The legitimate interests of the Third World must be respected, and in fact coordinated with our own, if in fact we wish to solve the many problems of race, poverty, turmoil and spiritual debilitation, which infect America.

THEREFORE, WE PROPOSE:

- I. New capital outlays for new markets and new jobs. For example, education, health, nutrition, jobs and manpower, crime and delinquency, quality of environment and other "neglected priorities" as set forth in the Report of the Council of Economic Advisors to the President in 1969. The 1969 agenda can be updated and factors included for civilian state, county and local investment and planning.
- II. Alteration of the War Economy in a manner which will "encourage (the) conversion of technologies and managerial and worker skills developed in defense production to the service of projects in the civilian sector."¹⁶ Under this approach, phased out military facilities would be converted to civilian use. Also, militarily oriented industry must be converted,

¹⁵Op. cit, #6.5.

¹⁶"Defense Economic Adjustment Act", a Bill sponsored by George McGovern, et al, numbered as S.1031.

with planning for detailed changes in machine, tools, materials, skills, production, organization and marketing¹⁷. The preparation of such a changeover of the work forces, equipment and facilities at each industrial plant and military base should be a requirement of every industrial contracting firm and military based administrating the cost attached to the military contract.¹⁸

- III. Utilization of our wealth and skills as a nation in peaceful means to help fulfill the just demands of the poorer and exploited nations. This is a better alternative to sabre-rattling, and in the long run will pay richer dividends to more people, Americans included.

¹⁷Op. cit. #7.

¹⁸ibid.

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REPORTS



4242 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, MD. 20015 • (301) 652-0020 • Raymond Nathan, Director

OCTOBER 1980

THEY'RE TELLING THE TRUTH--
BUT IS IT THE WHOLE TRUTH?

All three major Presidential candidates agree on one thing--the United States should increase its military spending. And we happen to believe that on this issue all three are wrong.

We say this not because we claim to have any facts they don't. But in an election year there seems to be an irresistible tendency to use facts selectively, in order to prove what the candidate (or his pollsters) thinks the voters want to hear.

Example: The candidates say that the United States is spending less than the Soviet Union, and must "catch up." That might be true if we look at just the two nations (although even this is questionable when you find that we reach our estimate of Soviet spending by assuming they pay their troops at U.S. rates, which are far higher). But it ignores the real line-up, which is U.S. +NATO vs. U.S.S.R.+Warsaw Pact. In those terms, we outspend to the tune of \$215 billion against \$175 billion.

Example: It is alleged that the Soviet Union is surpassing us in naval power. The basis of this is number of ships, without regard to size. But on tonnage, NATO outranks the other side by more than 2 to 1.

Example: It is suggested that the United States has become vulnerable in terms of strategic nuclear weapons. Shades of the "missile gap"! The U.S. has some 9,500 of these weapons, and our allies (including

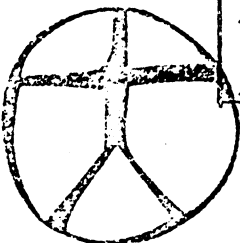
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China) have another 1,000 or so. Compare this to the Soviets' 6000. Much is made of the fact that the Soviet total includes some very large ICBMs, which could threaten our land-based missiles. But this is more than offset by our great superiority in the practically invulnerable submarine-launched missiles. And government experts have testified that we can target our missiles with much deadlier accuracy.

Example: Doomsayers point to the huge Soviet standing army, and at 4.8 million on active duty for the Warsaw Pact, it is huge. But NATO has 5.1 million, and China has 4.4 million, many of them on the Soviet border. To those who cite Afghanistan as proof of Soviet ability to move against areas crucial to U.S. interests, Gen. David Jones, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, notes that Soviet forces for more distant military intervention "are minimal at present" and the U.S. could "devastate" a Soviet attack on the Persian Gulf.

Secretary of Defense Harold Brown summed up the situation earlier this year: "By most relevant measures, we remain the military equal or superior to the Soviet Union."

And yet, the Carter Administration wants to spend \$1 trillion for military purposes over the next five years, while other players in the ghoulish political poker game say "I'll raise you." We dare to suggest that we can meet all legitimate defense needs without increasing the military budget by one penny.

How? By shifting funds from multi-billion dollar boondoggles like the M-X to such crucial purposes as raising pay for technical specialists and non-commissioned officers. It is little wonder they are leaving the services rather than have their families live on food stamps.

A Many members of Congress in both parties are more hawkish on military
C spending than the Administration. As you read this, they will be
T coming home to solicit your votes. This is an ideal time for you and your organizations to seek an appointment where you can express your views. And if you are concerned about inflation, ask them what vast increases in military spending will do to exacerbate this problem. (The Washington Spectator points out that "the Carter military budget exceeds by more than \$100 billion the value of all the corporations listed on the New York Stock Exchange" and concludes that "the American military has become a monster, eating up the very society it is supposed to protect.")

Sandra L. Graff
Global Education Associates

Newark City Hall, October 18, 1983

TESTIMONY BEFORE HEARING ON ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION NO.50, Memorializing the U.S. Congress to transfer funding from unnecessary military spending to domestic spending for human services.

My name is Sandy Graff. I have been an English teacher for five years.

Three of those years were spent teaching in an alternative high school here in Newark which provides an education to young adults who have not been able to succeed in the traditional schools. One of the basic problems that we faced in our school, a problem shared by all of the other alternative schools in Newark, was that we could never get enough funds. It always was and still is a shoe-string operation. I have also been teaching for the past two years at St. Peter's College. Teaching Basic English skills to young adults to assist them in improving their potential for employment. Currently, I am working with Global Education Associates in East Orange, which is a non-profit organization that is concerned with world wide economic and social issues such as the arms race and lack of development around the world.

I will begin with a parable: Once there was a scientist who was interested in studying the intelligence of a frog. He conducted a laboratory experiment. The frog was placed in a beaker of boiling water. ~~The frog~~^{He} immediately decided it was too hot for him and jumped out very quickly. This very same frog was then placed in a beaker of cold water. The water was slowly warmed to the boiling temperature. The frog was not too upset by the changing conditions. The temperature change was gradual and the frog adapted by degrees making no attempt to escape until he finally boiled to death.

If someone came up to you today and said we need to spend 150 billion dollars for military defence, most of us would, like the frog, jump out of the beaker screaming "We don't need to spend so much money on guns! We have more important things to spend it on. Just look at our cities - We need better housing, cleaner and safer streets, streetlights, better health ^{care}, better for the aging. We need employment in our cities!"

But what has been happening is that our military budget has been increasing slowly year by year. The temperature has been going up slowly - 3 percentage points a year. And now we are about to be choked to death in our weapons. It's not the weapons that are choking us, so much as the funds that are being shifted from essential human services into the arms race. The most recent example of this is the MX missile whose subway lines will be more modern than the subways in N.Y. and New Jersey.

Allow me to point out how the arms race is the major cause of the deterioration of our society and the world society. ~~Secondly~~, ^{then} I will show the end-result of continued military expenditures.

Our whole society is geared to the military. I can see this because as an educator, I have the responsibility to help people develop skills that will enable them to prepare for their future careers. However, what careers are available? If you listen to radio programs that young people listen to, you are constantly bombarded with ads portraying the benefits of joining the armed forces. For many young people, it is the only job option they have. As much as the military says it provides jobs, the unemployment rate among young adults is more than 20 per cent. Even on the college level, there are ROTC programs which provide students with a college education to prepare them to be military officers. Many other students are enrolled in science and computer technology programs which in many cases prepare them for a career that will be directly related to military research. The Pentagon supplies funding from our taxes for many schools in the United States to develop military science and research and development programs. In 1978 the U.S. spent 3.7 billion dollars on nuclear research and only .4 billion on conservation and only half a billion on research in new energy systems. It seems that the only place people can find jobs is in the military or military related industries. If we had decent service programs in the cities, these young people could be trained

to do something constructive for themselves, for their cities and for their country.

As an English teacher, I have asked students to write about their perceptions of the future. In most papers I have received, the students have written that either we will blow ourselves up by the year 2,000 or that there will be a major nuclear catastrophe. In other words, there is no future for them. These students are young adults in inner city schools and college students as well. This might be an indication that our beaker is reaching the boiling point, and that it may be too late. I personally find this very difficult to deal with.

World society is suffering at all levels from the vast drain the arms race has put on its economy and resources. Steadily rising expenditures, which are now above 500 Billion dollars a year, gives you an idea of the scope of the global arms competition and the relentless push to still higher levels of intensity. World outlays appear to have exceeded 450 billion in 1979, compared with a yearly average in the 1960's and 1970's of 370 billion. In the 1980's, if present trends continue, world military outlays promise to go higher than 600 billion dollars a year, even under the unreal assumption that price inflation will be checked. All of this means that there is a race for resources and money that goes into arms and not into basic human needs.

This must cause you to think about our priorities:

- In an oil-short world, the newest military tanks will consume 1.9 gallons of gas per mile.
- The training of military personnel in the U.S. alone costs twice as much per year as the education budget for the 300 million school-age children in South Asia.
- Research on new weapons receives eight times as much public money as research on new sources of energy.

- With a stockpile of nuclear weapons 1 million times the destructive power of the Hiroshima bomb, the two superpowers are still investing well over 1 hundred thousand dollars a day to upgrade their nuclear arsenals.
- Two governments in three spend more to guard their citizens against military attack than against all the enemies of good health.
- In the U.S. twenty times as much public research money goes for transportation into space as for mass transit on earth.
- The number of people held hostage to the threat of nuclear catastrophe has reached 4 Billion, 500 thousand. A few men, perhaps one, can determine whether they die in nuclear war.

You don't have to go around the world to see the deteriorating effects of high military spending. You can see it right here in Essex County. Just look at the level of human priorities here - check out the infant mortality rate for the city of Newark; look at the crime rate; look at our prisons. Study the literacy levels, the state of health and housing conditions. Many of us have heard about Cambodian refugees. How many of us are aware of the urban refugees here in Essex County?

Where are our priorities? Are we going to take 5 million dollars and build one mile of tunnel for the MX missile? Or will we build 330 low cost 2-bedroom houses? Will we buy four main tanks for 4.4 million dollars or build a hospital of 100 beds? Will we improve every elementary and secondary school in this country for 2 billion dollars, or will we build one Trident submarine? The military budget in the U.S. is estimated at being 160 billion dollars a year. Yet, there are 2 million children not in school, 23 million people living below the poverty line and 11 million people unemployed. Every billion dollars spent on military employment, provides 46,000 jobs. That same billion could provide 76,000 jobs in construction, or

100 thousand teaching jobs or 98,000 public service jobs. Just think about what a 5 per cent shift from military spending to social services would do!

Think about the boiling water we are getting ourselves into. Nuclear war. A lot of experts are now saying that there will be a nuclear war by the end of this century. The State Department said yesterday, ^{in the N.Y. Times} that if Iran and Iraq had nuclear weapons, they would have used them already.

A nuclear warhead is a very unusual kind of bomb. Its explosive power is measured in megatons - millions of tons - of TNT. Besides blast damage when it hits, it creates immediate and delayed radiation effects, and a raging firestorm. Scientists estimate that temperatures from an explosion of a single megaton bomb would reach 2,000 to 3,000 degrees. If detonated over a large city, the bomb would burn everything and everyone within a radius of 10 to 20 miles. Beyond the area of total destruction, radiation sickness, accompanied by vomiting, bleeding, and convulsions, would kill many people within a few days. For thousands more, death would come more slowly, from infections and cancers. Offspring of survivors would risk genetic damage before birth.

A major nuclear war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, exchanging their thousands of nuclear weapons in a matter of hours, would mean deaths in the hundreds of millions and the destruction of the life-support systems - industry, transport, food, water, medical care - of both countries. The effects of nuclear war would not be confined to the two antagonists. Radiation sickness would spread with the winds. Disruption of the biosphere would cause crop failures world-wide, increased ultra-violet light and skin cancers. The immediate and later casualties could well put all of human civilization in jeopardy. There would be no winners in nuclear war.

In our spending so much for nuclear weapons, we are not only depriving our

citizens of essential human services. We are preparing to destroy the very cities in which we live.

The main thing I have been trying to point out is that the process of military spending is killing us just as certainly as the end result of a nuclear exchange will.

While our leaders are playing tiddly winks with warheads, millions of people throughout the world are lacking in basic human needs. Many here in Essex County are living without a decent roof over their heads. The children are not getting a decent education; many go to bed hungry. Workers are not assured of safety on their jobs, much less ^{of having} the jobs themselves. Over half of our human family ~~are~~ is inadequately nourished. Today, this day, more than 15,000 persons, most of them children, will die of starvation or diseases related to malnourishment.

I think we have a responsibility to ourselves, to the rest of the world, to our children and the world's children, to future generations-to put an end to the arms race and start creating a world that has the needs of human beings as its highest priority.

SOURCES: WORLD MILITARY AND SOCIAL EXPENDITURES. Ruth Leger Sivard, World Priorities, Box 1003, Leesburg, VA 22075. 1980

Riverside Church Taskforce on Disarmament, 475 Riverside Drive, N.Y., N.Y.

The New Jersey Council of Churches

116 North Oratton Parkway • East Orange, New Jersey 07017 • (201) 675-8600

22 May 1980

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Re: 22 May Briefing on Major Domestic Issues

Attached is the New Jersey Council of Churches' recent statement regarding federal funding for human need. This Council and constituencies over and over again have called for national performance which puts substance into the rhetoric of disarmament and peacemaking.

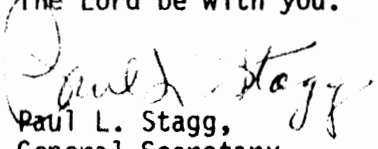
In God's name, Mr. President, turn aside from strategies which will lead our nation to commit mass murder. We urge you to take up afresh the struggle for a national urban policy which addresses the misery and suffering of the poor (core spiritual issues, Mr. President) and transforms the cruelty systems which today so mangle the weak.

You used to speak of the monumental challenge for our nation to translate love into plain-out justice. What is justice, Mr. President, if not love ...distributed to the extremities of human need?

Isaiah is still right: Woe to those who trust in chariots and horsemen, while grinding the face of the poor.

May we count upon you to lead, again, as Isaiah puts it, in securing the practice of justice which makes for peace?

The Lord be with you.


Paul L. Stagg,
General Secretary

AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, New Jersey Conference • AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH, New Jersey Conference • AMERICAN BAPTIST CHURCHES OF NEW JERSEY • CHRISTIAN CHURCH, Northeastern Area Association • EPISCOPAL CHURCH, Diocese of Newark, Diocese of New Jersey • GENERAL BAPTIST CONVENTION OF NEW JERSEY • LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA, New Jersey Synod • OLD ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH • REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA, Particular Synod of New Jersey • RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, New York Yearly Meeting • THE SALVATION ARMY • UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, Central Atlantic Conference • UNITED METHODIST CHURCH, New Jersey Conferences • UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A., Synod of the Northeast.

NEW JERSEY COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
PRESS STATEMENT
14 APRIL 1980

WHAT DO YOU MEAN BY CRUSHING MY PEOPLE,
BY GRINDING THE FACE OF THE POOR,
BY TRAMPLING THE HEAD OF THE POOR INTO THE DUST,
AND TURNING ASIDE THE WAY OF THE AFFLICTED? (IS. 3, AMOS 2)

ON THIS DAY OF RECALLING THE INHUMANITY OF THE HOLOCAUST, WE SAY TO OUR CONSTITUENCIES OF RELIGION AND TO THE CONGRESS: NEW CRUELTY SYSTEMS WILL BE VISITED UPON THE NATION'S WEAK AND POOR UNLESS SUBSTANCE IS PUT INTO THE RHETORIC OF LOVE AND THE FEDERAL BUDGET IS SHAPED TO DO WHAT GOVERNMENT IS SUPPOSED TO DO--RELIEVE HUMAN NEED.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND SOME IN CONGRESS INSIST THAT INCREASED MILITARY SPENDING--5 PER CENT ABOVE INFLATION--IS ESSENTIAL FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AND THAT CUTS MUST, THEREFORE, BE MADE IN THE HUMAN NEEDS SECTIONS OF THE BUDGET. IN OPPOSING THE PROPOSED CUTS WE CONTEND THAT IT IS INEQUITABLE TO BALANCE THE BUDGET AT THE EXPENSE OF THOSE WHO ALREADY SUFFER THE MOST.

HOW URGENTLY OUR NATION MUST BE CALLED BACK TO THOMAS JEFFERSON'S WORD THAT 'THE CARE OF HUMAN LIFE, AND NOT ITS DESTRUCTION, IS THE FIRST AND ONLY LEGITIMATE OBJECT OF GOOD GOVERNMENT.'

ST. AUGUSTINE'S INSIGHT IS STILL APT: WHAT IS GOVERNMENT WITHOUT JUSTICE BUT A LARGE BAND OF ROBBERS?

VATICAN II PUT IT STRAIGHT BY ASSERTING THAT 'PEACE IS NOT MERELY ABSENCE OF WAR. NOR CAN IT BE REDUCED SOLELY TO THE MAINTAINANCE OF A BALANCE OF POWER BETWEEN ENEMIES...INSTEAD IT IS RIGHTLY AND APPROPRIATELY CALLED 'AN ENTERPRISE OF JUSTICE' (IS. 32). PEACE IS ACTUALIZED BY PEOPLE AS THEY THIRST AFTER EVEN GREATER JUSTICE.' (GAUDIUM ET SPES)

AND WHAT IS JUSTICE, BUT LOVE DISTRIBUTED TO THE EXTREMITIES OF HUMAN NEED?

THE BUDGET DECISIONS, HE CONTEND, MUST TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE FOLLOWING:

1) THERE IS NO PROVEN CASUAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE SIZE OF THE FEDERAL DEFICIT AND THE RATE OF INFLATION.

2) THERE IS CONSIDERABLE EVIDENCE TO SHOW THAT SERVICES TO PEOPLE ARE THE LEAST INFLATIONARY OF ALL GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES. MANY TOP ECONOMISTS, INCLUDING THOSE AT THE CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE, RECOGNIZE THAT BALANCING THE FEDERAL BUDGET BY VIRTUALLY DISMANTLING MANY SOCIAL PROGRAMS WOULD MAKE ONLY A MINISCULE REDUCTION IN INFLATION--NO MORE THAN 2/10 OF ONE PER CENT.

THE U.S. CATHOLIC CONFERENCE IS RIGHT: IF THERE IS SYMBOLIC VALUE IN BALANCING THE BUDGET, DARE WE PURCHASE SYMBOLS AT THE EXPENSE OF THE UNEMPLOYED, THE ELDERLY, AND THE POOR?

3) THE HIGHLY INFLATIONARY SECTOR OF THE FEDERAL BUDGET IS MILITARY SPENDING. THERE IS AN INFLATIONARY EFFECT BECAUSE THE PEOPLE WHO PRODUCE MILITARY GOODS GET PAID BUT THEY CANNOT BUY WHAT THEY ARE PRODUCING, ONLY THE GOVERNMENT CAN. THERE IS A FLOW OF MONEY TO THESE WORKERS AND A FLOW OF PROFIT TO THEIR COMPANIES, BUT IT CANNOT BE ABSORBED BY PURCHASING THE GOODS PRODUCED. THIS MEANS THE POTENTIAL FOR MORE MONEY RELATIVE TO GOODS, AND WHEN YOU HAVE MORE MONEY CHASING AFTER FEWER GOODS, YOU HAVE INFLATION.

INESCAPABLE IS THE CONCLUSION THAT IF THE BUDGET IS TO BE CUT TO REDUCE INFLATION, THE MOST SENSIBLE AREA TO CUT--FROM AN ECONOMIC POINT OF VIEW--IS MILITARY SPENDING.

4) THE FACTS SHOW THAT DEFENSE PRODUCTION IS ONE OF THE LEAST EFFECTIVE WAYS OF CREATING EMPLOYMENT. AS MILITARY PRODUCTION HAS BECOME MORE CAPITAL INTENSIVE, THE VOLUME OF EMPLOYMENT HAS DROPPED.

THE MILITARY ECONOMY TURNS OUT TO BE A VERY POOR BARGAIN. IT

- . CREATES FEW JOBS
- . ACCELERATES INFLATION
- . HINDERS THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL TECHNOLOGY
- . IS PERVERSELY RELATED TO THE CRIPPLING OF HUMAN SERVICES
AND THE MISERY OF THE UNDERCLASS AND THE MARGINALIZED

THE ARMS RACE PRESENTS THE WORLD WITH WHAT IS GENUINELY A CRISIS OF SURVIVAL. AND FOR THE COMMUNITY OF RELIGION, IT IS ALSO A CRISIS OF FAITH. THE WILLINGNESS TO FINANCE, PRODUCE, POSSESS, AND USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS MUST BE JUDGED FOR WHAT IT IS--THE CHIEF MANIFESTATION OF HUMAN REBELLION AGAINST GOD IN OUR AGE. THE SIMPLEST MEANING OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE, AND BUDGET DECISIONS TO ADVANCE IT, IS THAT THE WORLD'S MOST POWERFUL NATIONS ARE PREPARED TO COMMIT MASS MURDER.

BECAUSE THE GOD OF THE BIBLE IS ON THE SIDE OF THOSE DOMINATED BY THE VIOLENCE OF THE POWERFUL, THE PEOPLE OF GOD MUST BE KNOWN FOR THEIR OPPOSITION TO THE PARTICULAR ARRANGEMENTS OF WEALTH AND POWER USED TO EXPLOIT THE POOR WHILE MARCHING US ALL TO 'ANNIHILATION UNDER THE BANNER OF 'REALISM'.' (RICHARD BARNET)

COALITION FOR A UNITED ELIZABETH

A non profit organization

135 Madison Ave. • Elizabeth, N. J. 07201

201-354-1811

Executive Director
Paul Brown

Associate Directors
Sr. Jacinta Fernandes, O.S.B.
Rev. Warner L. Wilson

TESTIMONY ON
NEW JERSEY ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION NO. 50
BY
REV. WARNER L. WILSON, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
COALITION FOR A UNITED ELIZABETH

My name is Rev. Warner L. Wilson and I am the Associate Director of the Coalition for a United Elizabeth in Elizabeth, New Jersey. I am here this afternoon to represent the 100 community groups which make up our agency. Although our organization was created primarily as a community organizing entity, there is hardly a day goes by that we are not called upon to address the needs of people who fall through the social service gaps in other agencies. When all other avenues for food, clothing, shelter, and jobs have been exhausted, people turn to us for help.

That which is most disturbing to us is that these calls for assistance are increasing at an alarming rate. In our community they are increasing for a variety of reasons. We have a welfare program that is understaffed, deficit ridden, and demoralized. And, even when a client moves through these problems to eligibility, inflation has eroded these benefits to an unbelievable level of poverty.

Many people in Elizabeth live in blighted housing because there is no place else to live. The vacancy rate is less than 2%. Six percent of the owner occupied houses in Elizabeth

are substandard. Thirty percent of the apartment units are substandard. Elizabeth is in need of a massive infusion of federal funds for housing rehabilitation programs. We are receiving thousands of dollars for this purpose when millions are needed. There is a waiting list of over 600 senior citizens who qualify for senior citizen housing but for whom housing is not available.

Social service programs so essential to the well-being of the city are being cut back. It staggers the mind to try to imagine what is going to happen to many of our young people who are going to be effected by a cut-back in after-school program funding. Juveniles constitute 33% of all the arrests made in Elizabeth now. This cut-back in juvenile care programing is bound to increase juvenile crime.

Elizabeth's acute care hospitals are being turned into chronic care nursing homes because there are no other facilities for those who are incapable of living at home.

A military mania has once again swept through the halls of congress and threatens to victimize those who are least able to protest this national sickness. Thus, we are here today to support New Jersey Assembly Resolution No. 50. We are hopeful that this call for reason will help restore a better balance between national defense and the provision of human services. There is ample reason to believe that we do not need the megamissile program being proposed for our national security. We do need an increase in human service provisions in order to preserve the basic character of our

TESTIMONY ON ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION NO. 50
BY REV. WARNER L. WILSON
Page 3

nation and the quality of life to which we are all entitled.

Thirty years ago Albert Einstein set the perspective by which we must view the events of today: "The belief that it is possible to achieve security through armaments on a national scale is, in the present state of military technology, a disastrous illusion."

On behalf of the Coalition for a United Elizabeth, I want to thank Assemblymen Brown, Thompson, Zagarin, McEnroe and Assemblywoman Garvin for their introduction of Assembly Resolution No. 50 and urge the widest possible support of that which we believe it will achieve for our people.

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