

The MONTHLY PLANET

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THE FREEZE PROPOSAL

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

The Call to Halt the Arms Race
Randall Forsberg, August 1980



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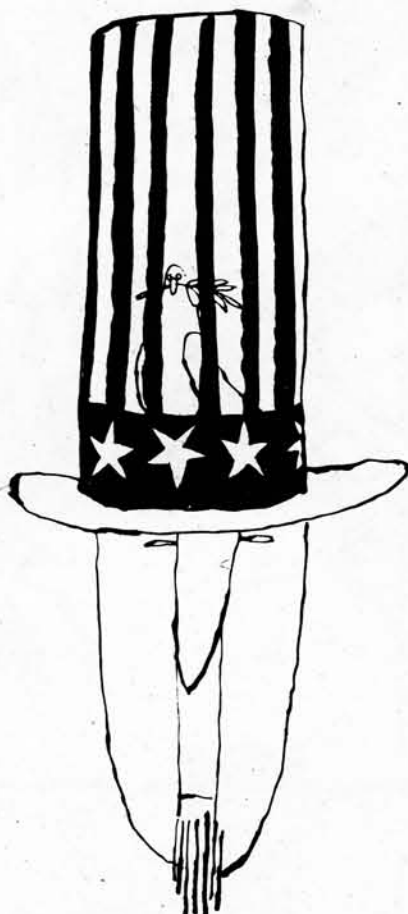
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Letters from the Grassroots

The Freeze's "Success"

Dear Freeze,

The Freeze Movement, on balance at this point, is a series of pluses and minuses. In some respects it can be likened to the Green movement in West Germany as regards the deep changes in political perspective that each movement is going through. On the one hand, the U.S. population and the peace movement generally have experienced an incredible broadening and deepening. Practically speaking, the entire country has become aware of the possibility of nuclear annihilation. Internationally, Dr. Chazou (Soviet Physician with the International Physicians to Prevent Nuclear War) has noted recently that perhaps half the world is now aware of the probable consequences of a nuclear war. Perhaps these achievements are not a direct result of the Freeze, but in a very real way, they are part of the broader consequences.

On the other hand, as noted by Alan Wolfe, writing in *The Nation* (9/22/84), the fact that the Freeze has demanded so little of the American people, while being the secret of its success, is the cause of its failure as well. The Freeze has allowed legislators to vote for the Freeze with one hand while approving the construction and deployment of weapons with the other. We have in effect mistaken weapons for the issue. But as others have noted, disarming is something you do *after* the problem is solved.

These comments, however, should not be taken as disparagement of the Freeze. On the contrary, my feeling is that in this first phase, the Freeze accomplished an enormous task, namely the preparation of the American people with the awareness that there must be found a politically feasible substitute for war if humanity is to survive to realize the promise of the future.

To move beyond this awareness and into a second phase in which we can identify and demand the changes in society which will make weapons unnecessary, now seems to me to be what is required. I would therefore urge the local Freeze organization to undertake a conference, or a series of meetings in which we might examine the present accomplishments and consider the nature of the demands which we must now make on our government. As the great American abolitionist Frederick Douglass once wrote, "Power never concedes anything without a demand."

Sincerely,
Herb Foster
Santa Cruz

Possibilities of Peace

Dear Freeze,

This spring, Santa Cruz will be treated to an inspirational program of theatre and graphic art entitled the "Possibilities of Peace Event." The focus of this event to be held at Loudon Nelson Center in May will be the compelling play *Peace Child*, which tells the story of how the friendship between a Russian girl and an American boy provides the impetus for the development of world peace. Says playwright David Woolcombe, "Our outlook is adamantly positive. We work with children to remind adults of their earlier innocent conviction about life's potential; and we work with adults to guide children

and enlighten them about the dangers facing our planet."

Coinciding with the play will be a display of local and international children's art colorfully portraying their vision of global peace. A group of Santa Cruz teachers have already begun working with their students to generate some of the artwork. The international art will be drawn from the large collection of Char and Rudy Pribuss entitled "Paint Brush Diplomacy," a moving statement by children from all areas of the world.

Another feature of the event will be a Peace Quilt sewn from squares made by each of the sixty men's and women's support teams in the Santa Cruz Sterling Network. This quilt will be displayed at Loudon Nelson and then sent as a gift from the City of Santa Cruz to Olushta, Santa Cruz's prospective sister city in Russia.

The purpose of the Event is to inspire people with the possibility of peace in our time and to work in partnership to realize our common vision. An important goal of this Event is to bring together a variety of local community groups including peace action, minority, and social service groups.

We on the Possibilities of Peace Steering Committee want to emphasize that we are eager to join with you as partners to make this Event a great production. There are several ways that you can become involved ranging from helping with the production of the play to assisting with the display of children's art. One important need is for assistance in the production of a Peace Day Celebration to coincide with the Event and which can be as powerful and inspiring as you help make it. So we hope you will join us. For more information call Andrew Carman, 425-8790; or Karen and Colin Henderson, 423-3517.

Andrew Carman
Santa Cruz

The Kids Know

Dear Freeze,

I recently had the opportunity to view the film *In the Nuclear Shadow*, by Vivienne Verdon Roe and Eric Thiermann. It is a fine presentation of videotaped interviews with young people, aged seven to eighteen about their views, conceptions, and feelings about the nuclear age in which they are living and growing.

From these children, I witnessed the elements missing from the adult population that are necessary to drive our messages home with our governments, our communities, our families, and most importantly, ourselves. The ineffectiveness of being vaguely discontent, quietly unhappy, or intellectually disgruntled is now blatantly obvious to me. Albert Einstein once wrote, "All means prove but a blunt instrument, if they have not behind them a living spirit."

It is time for adults to hurt, to weep openly, to ache so completely for this world, mind and spirit, so as to put the whole energy of human beings behind these issues.

Let's take a serious lesson from our children; these precious young humans who haven't yet learned to disengage their hearts from their minds. Let's rediscover how to use our whole selves: mind, body and spirit, for the sake of our world, ourselves, and our beloved children.

David Bodine
Aptos

Welcome to the Planet

by Colleen DeLaney

Welcome to *The Monthly Planet*, the new monthly newspaper published by the Nuclear Weapons Freeze of Santa Cruz County. In the past we've sent out quarterly newsletters to our members alone, but this year we'll be expanding our educational outreach by distributing our newspaper throughout the community.

You might think that here in politically hip Santa Cruz just about everybody knows about the Freeze's work, but we've found that even Freeze supporters sometimes have misinformation, or lack clear information, on nuclear issues. Last year as the political action committee Freeze Voter '84, for example, we found that over 30% of Freeze supporters thought Ronald Reagan supported a nuclear weapons Freeze. And, in a major survey released last year by the Public Agenda Foundation, it was found that 81% of Americans believe that our government has a "No First Use" policy regarding nuclear weapons. (In reality, it is the Soviets, not us, who have the No First Use policy. You might mention that fact the next time someone asks you, "What about the Russians?")

race. We'll also keep you up to date on key legislation and news about the Freeze organization's work nationally, regionally, and locally. We see *The Monthly Planet* not as a mouthpiece for the Freeze, but as a forum where all persons interested in peace issues can contribute. We want your input, and will be soliciting articles, analyses, letters to the editor, graphics, cartoons, statements—in short, any way in which you'd like your voice to be heard on the *Planet*.

In addition to focusing on educational outreach this year, the Freeze will still include major legislative work among its goals. Along with working for a comprehensive freeze in Congress, we will be lobbying Representatives Leon Panetta and Ed Zschau in an effort to cut off funds for the Trident II missile, defeat the MX once and for all, and bring to a halt the entire notion of Star Wars type defenses.

In this issue and future issues we intend to show you that these are all destabilizing, first-strike weapons that must be stopped *now*, before it becomes utterly impossible to end the arms race at all. We will be shortly launching a petition drive against the development of all first-strike weapons. We have learned that it is not enough to speak of the Freeze in general

Over 30% of Freeze supporters thought Ronald Reagan supported a nuclear weapons freeze.

As the Freeze organization, both locally and nationwide, regrouped after last November's elections, it became clear that one of the priorities of Freeze organizations, along with working on legislation and lobbying, would have to be educating the public on nuclear issues.

Here at the Santa Cruz chapter of the Freeze, we want to open our first issue of *The Monthly Planet* (a name that, we feel, dramatizes the tenuousness of our existence on this beautiful bubble we call the Earth) with a statement of our goals for the next year.

Our constant, underlying goal continues to be achieving a mutual, verifiable nuclear weapons freeze between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Our strategies towards achieving that goal have shifted from year to year, depending on whether or not we're facing major elections. Last year as Freeze Voter '84 we put major effort into mobilizing support behind the candidates for President who supported the Freeze.

This year, we have three main strategies towards attaining a halt to the arms race—education, legislative work, and organization building. Issues that will be covered by *The Monthly Planet* will include such topics as: Teaching the Freeze as a military strategy to be taken seriously; U.S. and Soviet relations; National security; economic conversion; military intervention; and the viability of civil disobedience as a means of achieving a halt to the arms

terms only or simply target individual weapons systems. We must stop first-strike systems as an entire class of weapons.

Third among our goals this year is to continue building up our local organization's strength by recruiting new members and volunteers, doing outreach to under-represented areas, and stabilizing our financial base. We'll be continuing our Action Alert phone tree to continue responding quickly to key legislation. Of course, as always, we need new volunteers and old volunteers to return to us. The freeze movement has always been fueled by its grass roots support—remember, you are the Freeze. Call or come by the office any time to lend a hand, or make a contribution in time, money, or writing to *The Monthly Planet*. Help us achieve our goals in 1985! *



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First-Strike, You're Out

by Terry Teitelbaum

There's good news and bad news about the state of the arms race today. The good news is that the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Movement is buckling down for the long haul. The movement's leaders are smart. Our organization is democratic. Everyone is committed. We have a broad base of support unprecedented in the history of the peace movement in this country. This support translates into contributions of time, energy, creativity, and money—everything we need to remain viable as a force for stopping the nuclear arms race.

When the Freeze idea was born, we knew we were taking on a lot: stopping the build-up of nuclear weapons by the two superpowers in their race for bigger and more weapons. The idea was simple: freeze production, testing and deployment of all nuclear weapons on both sides. We did a good job garnering massive public support for the idea.

The race is now on for first-strike capability: the dangerous illusion that one side can launch a pre-emptive nuclear strike without fear of overwhelming retaliation.

So the bad news is that in the absence of translating that public support into public policy, the arms race has taken an alarming turn for the worse. No longer is it just a race for bigger and more weapons. The race is now on for first-strike capability: the dangerous illusion that one side can launch a pre-emptive nuclear strike without fear of overwhelming retaliation. That fear of retaliation is the element which keeps the policy of deterrence in place. Each side has enough (or more than enough) weapons to survive a first strike and launch a retaliatory strike so devastating to the enemy's population that it would be suicide to strike first. This is known as Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD). Now, if that policy weren't mad enough, the current administration is developing and deploying a new class of weapons for a policy of "flexible response." These are weapons designed to fight and prevail in a nuclear war. It's the old "The best defense is a good offense" precept. These weapons are not aimed at population centers, but at hardened military targets such as missile silos. This is known as *counterforce*.

Why would the administration want to pursue such a policy? To answer that, we must look at both strategic capability and the other side's *perception* of that capability. For example, "flexible response" allows us to deter more than just a preemptive nuclear strike by the Soviets. It allows the U.S. to use this new class of weapons to deter Soviet aggression anywhere we care to deter it. Based on this policy, you can deter nuclear war

only if your opponent believes you could fight one if called on to do so. A U.S. capability to level every city in Russia might not deter a Soviet invasion in Europe or a seizure of Persian Gulf oil fields, because the U.S. threat would not be credible. But, if the Soviets perceived us as capable of taking out their defensive nuclear weapons in a disarming first strike, the deterrent power of our weapons would be complete.

Except, that's not how it works in reality. History has shown that the Soviet Union has stayed neck-and-neck with the U.S. in this most irrational of races. They will likely try to match what they perceive as our first-strike capability. Thus, we've started a qualitatively new and different arms race.

According to former Lockheed engineer Robert Aldridge, "A first-strike capability would comprise five elements: (1) a space warfare ability to destroy enemy early warning and communication

satellites, (2) extremely accurate missiles and bombers to destroy the opponent's missile silos and other land targets, (3) an anti-submarine warfare force able to send hostile missile-launching subs, (4) a ballistic missile and bomber defense capable of intercepting any surviving enemy missiles or aircraft that are launched in retaliation, and (5) an intricate network of command, control, and communication to coordinate and integrate (1) through (4)."

The military has requested funds for production of the MX missile and for development of the Trident II missile, space weapons, and the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), also known as Star Wars. [See this issue's "Legislative Action Alert."]

The MX is a highly accurate Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) designed to carry ten nuclear warheads. Each of these has the explosive power of more than a third of a million tons of TNT. Each warhead can strike its target with an even chance of coming within 100 yards of it. The MX adds to our first-strike capability due to its accuracy and capacity to destroy hardened targets. In fact, it is effective only as a first-strike weapon because its basing mode is very vulnerable to a Soviet first strike. It is to be housed in existing, immobile missile silos which critics contend are inviting targets for a Soviet attack. The MX is basically a sitting duck, a "use it or lose it" weapon.

The Trident II missile complements the MX in first-strike capability. It is as frighteningly accurate as the MX, but can carry more and bigger bombs. It is a



counterforce weapon like the MX, but can destroy hard missile silos quicker. Launched from submarines close to Soviet shores, Trident II missile warheads can reach their targets in ten to fifteen minutes. Being based on submarines gives them the added advantage of invulnerability. [See "The Dark Side of Trident" in this issue.]

The MX and Trident II, combined with the Pershing II and cruise missiles already in Europe and the improved Minuteman-3, collectively fulfill the second requirement for first strike capability. They are extremely accurate missiles and bombers able to destroy enemy missile silos. Proposed space weapons development fulfill the first requirement of a space warfare ability to destroy enemy early warning and communication satellites. And President Reagan's High Frontier Initiative (SDI or Star Wars) approaches the development of a ballistic missile and bomber defense capable of intercepting any surviving enemy missiles or aircraft that are launched in retaliation. Thus, the arms race is taking on a nearly irreversible trend of immense proportions.

In his book *The Counterforce Syndrome*, Robert Aldridge warned, "The Pentagon's death technologies have taken significant strides, and a disarming first-strike capability will start becoming reality by the mid-1980's unless corrective action

"If that first-strike capability materializes, we can expect nuclear weapons to be used in some way before the year 2000."

is taken—unless the people of this country cease to accept the military's prescription for solving international disputes. If that first-strike capability materializes, we can expect nuclear weapons to be used in some way before the year 2000." Guess what time it is? It's the mid 1980's and the military is going full-steam ahead developing a first-strike capability with the Trident II, MX, space weapons, and SDI.

It's not just the likelihood of an intentional nuclear war that concerns us. If the Soviet Union perceives that we are developing first-strike capability they will likely develop similar technologies (thus

fueling the arms race) and become even more paranoid, perhaps adopting a "launch on warning" mode in the event of a perceived U.S. first strike. They could easily perceive such an event due to a computer error and start an "accidental" nuclear war.

The implications for survival are, of course, staggering. And from our viewpoint, our chances of getting a Freeze will be seriously diminished. Deployment of these weapons places even more stumbling blocks in the negotiating path at a time when real arms control gains are essential. All these weapons threaten to upset the current balance between the nuclear forces of the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Only at a level of rough parity will both nations be likely to sign a Freeze treaty.

We've recognized the hazards of trying to stop each and every weapons system as it is proposed. On its own merits, the MX appears destabilizing as well as vulnerable. While it appears doomed in Congress, a shift in people's perception of the job President Reagan is doing talking to the Soviets will influence its fate. If it appears the President is making gains, the chances are greater that Congress will grant his every weapon wish. Even if the MX is defeated, there's still the Trident II, which enjoys greater support in Congress than the MX. In fact, some Congress members are trading off a vote against the MX for a vote in favor of Trident II. Finally, as long as the President couches all dialogue on Star Wars in purely defensive terms, he doesn't have to own up to its contribution to first-strike capability. That's why we must stop all these systems as an entire *class of weapons*.

Representative Leon Panetta of the 16th Congressional district has voted for initial research and development funds for the Trident II. He recently said he is beginning to see Trident's first-strike potential and is leaning towards voting against it. He has also conceded that we must draw the line between weapons

whose purpose is deterrence and those developed for potential first-strike use. The key is convincing him that Trident II is such a weapon.

Twelfth Congressional district Representative Ed Zschau's opposition to the MX has been inconsistent. Recently, however, he indicated that he thinks the MX should be dumped. The catch is, he doesn't think we need it because we'll have the Trident II. Constituents in his district must support him in voting no on the MX as well as let him know how dangerous Trident II is.

This month, the Santa Cruz Nuclear Weapons Freeze organization will launch

a petition drive against first-strike weapons. This petition will be addressed to Congressmembers Leon Panetta and Ed Zschau. It reads as follows:

A mutual, verifiable nuclear weapons freeze between the U.S. and the Soviet Union is crucial to our survival. Therefore we, your constituents, urge you to oppose funding for research, testing, production, and deployment of first-strike nuclear weapons such as MX, Trident II, and space weapons (ASAT & S.D.I.). Development of these weapons will make a freeze impossible by forcing the Soviets to respond in kind and by upsetting the rough parity which now exists.

Our best chance of freezing the arms race lies in working together and letting our representatives know exactly how they must vote. It is essential we stop this insane escalation of weapons, especially those which make fighting a nuclear war thinkable and more likely. To help gather signatures in your district for the "No First-Strike Weapons" petition, call the office at 458-9975, or mail in the tear-off: "I want to help" in this issue. *

Santa Cruz 3, Trident 2

by Stephen Belling & R. Scott Kennedy

On January 8, 1985, in the culmination of a seven year campaign, the Santa Cruz County Board of Supervisors voted to prohibit the expansion of a facility where nuclear weapons parts are built. In a 3-2 vote, the Supervisors denied Lockheed Missiles and Space Company's request for a permit for a 3/4 acre building to manufacture parts for the Trident II nuclear weapons system.

Opponents of Lockheed raised a number of technical, land-use, and planning issues in addition to broader concerns about the role which Lockheed's production of parts for the Trident plays in the nuclear arms race. They succeeded in blocking Lockheed's effort to expand its work on Trident II at the remote site in the mountains sixteen miles from Santa Cruz.

Since the 1950's Lockheed has had a testing and manufacturing facility in Santa Cruz county. In the late 1970's, the County required Lockheed to submit a master development plan for a permit to expand their facility. One of the buildings in the application was a "D-5 Manufacturing Building," where a small but essential non-nuclear explosive part for the Trident II would be produced. Lockheed publicly describes the part, used to separate stages of rockets and open the nose cone of the Trident missile, as an "energy transfer device."

In 1978, People for a Nuclear Free Future (PNFF), a local anti-nuclear group and co-founder of the Abalone Alliance, spearheaded opposition to the granting of the permit. Due to their efforts in publicizing the Lockheed issue, more than 4,500 local residents packed four public hearings before the County Planning Commission and Board of Supervisors between November 1978 and February 1979. The vast majority of the speakers opposed granting the permit. But the Planning Commission went on to vote 4-1 in favor of granting the Lockheed expansion, and the Supervisors finally voted 3-2 to approve the permit.

In 1980 PNFF responded by establishing the nation's first ballot initiative

to ban the production, testing, transportation, or use of nuclear weapons within the County limits. Lockheed spent \$300,000, about \$4.25 per voter, by far the largest amount spent on an election of any kind in this county of 200,000 people. During the campaign Lockheed also threatened to close their plant, which at the time was the largest manufacturing facility in the County.

More people cast votes on the initiative than on any other ballot measure, including the much-touted Jarvis II tax initiative Proposition 9. But even though the measure passed within the City limits of Santa Cruz, it was crushed 63-37% county-wide.

Lockheed seemed to have won.

Foes of Lockheed's continuing work on Trident I returned primarily to civil disobedience, with protestors being ar-

to be met with rubber-stamp approval by the Planning Commission, would meet with public opposition instead. And, at the ensuing Planning Commission meeting, despite Lockheed's presentation of the issue as "the application for a grading permit, nothing more, nothing less," greater issues were raised.

The Planning Commission generally does not discuss first-strike nuclear weaponry, but at the November 28, 1984 meeting they were forced to as speaker after speaker not only testified about the proposed destruction of 113 trees, but also spoke of the insane arms race, the particularly destabilizing nature of the first-strike Trident II, and the responsibility of local citizens not to leave these issues "to Washington" where Lockheed insisted they belonged. One speaker asserted that the issue before the

"We must take responsibility for what goes on in our backyard before expecting people to make changes elsewhere."

rested on seven occasions between 1979 and 1984 for blocking the gate to the plant. Local law enforcement has taken much of the steam out of these protests, however, by neglecting to prosecute those arrested.

Things began to change in 1984. The local Sierra Club discovered that Lockheed had applied for a grading permit for the D-5 building, which required a public hearing and vote by the Planning Commission. This grading would require removal of 14,600 cubic yards of soil and would destroy 113 trees, even though the original use permit stated that "large, mature trees shall be protected," by constructing any new buildings around them. This section of the permit became Lockheed's "window of vulnerability."

The Resource Center for Nonviolence quickly formed an ad hoc group, Citizens for Industrial Accountability, to see to it that this issuance of a grading permit for a previously granted use permit, expected

Planning Commission was the moral equivalent of a grading permit for the ovens of Auschwitz.

And this testimony had an effect.

Commissioner Chuck Barr, appointed by the most conservative member of the Board of Supervisors, told the audience he didn't think the tree issue was that important. But, to the amazement of the crowd, Barr declared that he had decided to put "whatever roadblock we can put in front of the manufacturing of these weapons at Lockheed." The Commission then voted 3-2 to deny the permit.

Since 1981, eighty local governments have voted to keep out nuclear weapons and the companies that manufacture them. But most of these "Nuclear Free Zones" lack a means of enforcement and are not in localities where nuclear weapons work is going on. So when Lockheed appealed the Commission's decision to the Board of Supervisors, the stage was set.

continued on page 6



The Dark Side of Trident II

On January 8th public testimony before the Board by more than thirty speakers ran late into the night. Finally, after midnight, Supervisors Joe Cucchiara and Robley Levy joined Board Chair Gary Patton, who voted against Lockheed five years earlier, to deny the grading permit. Supervisor Wayne Moore, whose appointee had cast the decisive vote on the Planning Commission, said he came to the hearing 80% in favor of Lockheed's position and had found nothing to dissuade him from voting for the missile plant. Supervisor Dan Forbus, a former navy commander who had voted for Lockheed five years earlier, stunned the crowd by advocating first-strike nuclear weaponry as a sound military policy. Nonetheless, the opposition to Lockheed and Trident II carried the day.

Seldom do disarmament activists "win one," especially in battles long thought lost. But the determined opposition of local citizens finally paid off. Said Doug Rand of the Resource Center for Non-violence, "We're encouraging others elsewhere to challenge these weapons every step of the way. We must take responsibility for what goes on in our backyard before expecting people to make changes elsewhere."

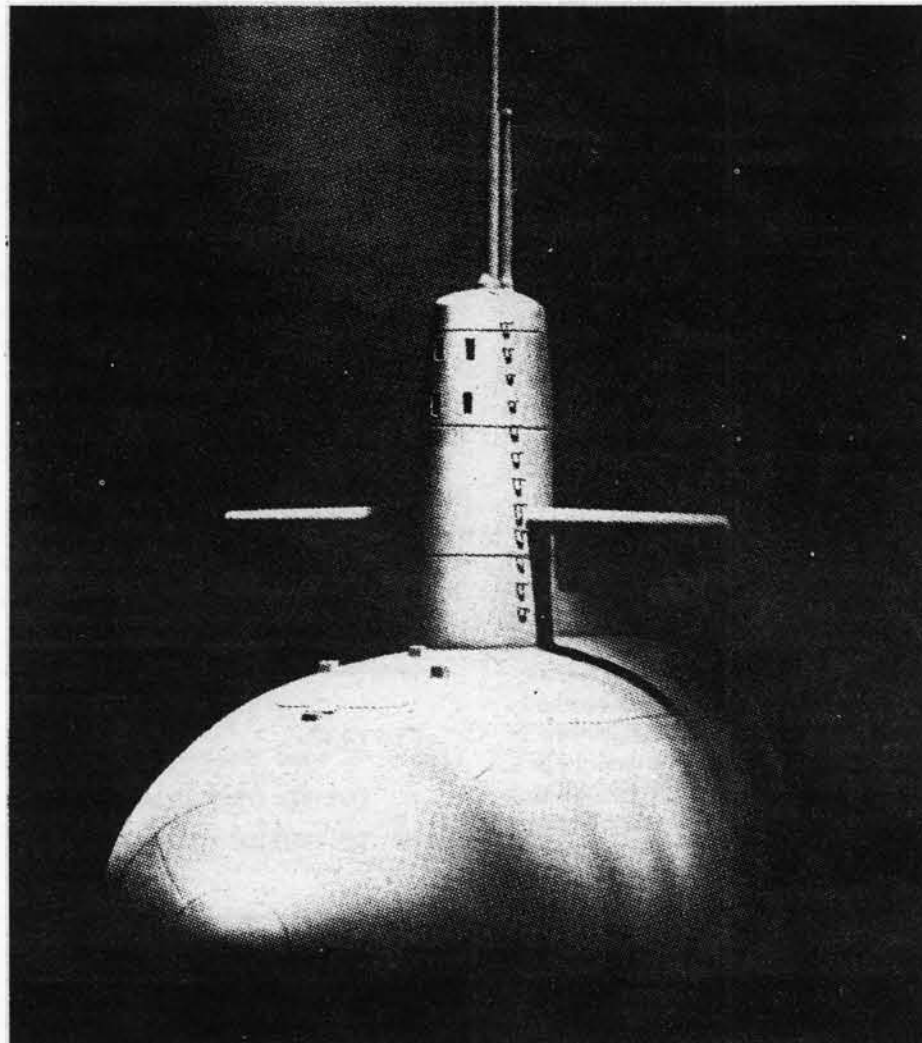
The action of the Santa Cruz Board of Supervisors will not stop the production of the Trident II missile. Lockheed officials have said they will do the work in existing buildings if necessary, or perhaps sue the County. Lockheed manager Vern Smith, a former mayor of Santa Cruz, was quoted in the local press as saying, "We'll make the parts up here—it's just a matter of how."

Although this is a nation in which the wheels of government have never paused on the road to nuclear annihilation, the denial of this "grading permit, nothing more, nothing less," is a small but important brake on the arms race.

And we need all the breaks we can get.

For more information about the campaign against Trident in Santa Cruz County, and for sample copies of the "Live Without Trident" newspapers published before the public hearings on Lockheed's unsuccessful attempt at expansion, write:

Resource Center for Nonviolence
P.O. Box 2324
Santa Cruz, CA 95063



by Robert C. Aldridge

To paraphrase Congressman Norman Dicks: "If you do a quick run through those numbers of 15 authorized Trident submarines with 24 Trident II missiles each, you will have 360 missiles with a potential for delivering 2,880 bombs to within 400 feet of their targets. If you add to that a thousand MX warheads you have 3,880. Now divide that by two (cross-targeting two warheads at each target) and you could theoretically take out 1,940 Soviet missile silos, which is quite a few when you consider how many land-based missiles they have—only 1,498. You have a lot of very potent first-strike weapons."

That is a much different picture than seen by many well-meaning legislators who view Trident II (also known as D-5) submarine-launched missiles as a safe alternative to MX. Navy officials, of course, claim that Trident II, scheduled for initial operation in 1989, is only a deterrent weapon. And a lack of open debate on this weapon has hindered public understanding. Yet the technology in development shows that Trident II will be the ultimate first-strike instrument. It will be even more destabilizing than the controversial MX because of its 400-foot accuracy combined with a 475-kiloton explosive force for each of eight warheads per missile and its scant 10-15 minute flight time when launched close to Soviet shores. Such a combination is certain to put Soviet early warning computers in the dreaded "launch on warning" mode

to fire missiles if false alarms aren't instantly resolved.

The projected cost of the Trident II system is another cause for concern. Its \$69-billion price tag for the currently authorized force of 15 submarines equipped with missiles and shore facilities—\$84-billion for the "tentatively planned" fleet of 20—makes Trident II potentially the most expensive weapons system ever developed. These billowing billions, combined with dangerous instability are justifiable reasons for Trident to be the most debated of all new

2. *Confusing capabilities with intentions.* Pentagon officials deny they are developing a first-strike force, claiming the new strategic weapons are only intended for deterrence. That does not change what the Soviets see. They look at what the weapons do, not at what Washington says they will be used for. They see a first-strike capability which could be employed during crisis conditions, or when a conventional conflict is about to escalate. Consequently, when Kremlin leaders believe the US is about to employ nuclear weapons, they would see a greater military advantage to firing their missiles before they are destroyed.

3. *Suggesting that targeting military installations is more humane than aiming at population centers.* This may have been true for conventional war. But the quick and decisive strikes planned for nuclear war changes the picture. Threatening retaliation against weapons you are trying to deter from striking first is contradictory. When you're talking about destroying missile silos you're talking about hitting them first. It makes no sense to retaliate against empty holes in the ground.

4. *Masking the duplicity in nuclear strategy.* Citizens are not being told the actual military plans. During the 1950s when bombers were the only nuclear delivery vehicles, people were led to believe the US would only use nuclear weapons if the Soviets struck first. Yet the Strategic Air Command was planning a two-hour first-strike which would make Russia a "smoking, radiating ruin." During that same time Paul Nitze alluded to one policy which would actually be followed and another geared for political and psychological effects.

5. *Dismissing a first strike capability as "theoretical."* This gives the impression that such a plan is not in the realm of real life situations and therefore not a cause for concern. Such arbitrary dismissal of the facts discounts Soviet perception. Kremlin leaders, like the Pentagon, use worst-case analysis. They consider the

Counting accuracy improvements to existing weapons, the U.S. could have a perceived first-strike capability by 1988.

weapons. But it is not. And to understand why it is not, one must recognize the pitfalls of public deception that have been carefully laid. I will discuss them one at a time.

1. *Blurring the distinction between invulnerability and accuracy.* Trident, having many times the ocean area to hide in, theoretically makes the nuclear standoff more stable. However, when a weapon achieves the accuracy to threaten Soviet missile silos it then provides the currently missing reason for a pre-emptive attack by the Russians. It is not necessary to make a missile more precise in order to make it less vulnerable.

possible capability of US forces and plan accordingly. Provocative weapons such as Trident provide the motivation for a Soviet strike rather than deter nuclear war.

6. *Presenting either/or choices.* This prompts us to select the lesser evil—to choose which weapon should be produced to modernize the strategic nuclear forces. One leading California newspaper, comparing Trident II with MX, said: "In a more perfect world we wouldn't need either, but in the real world we need to know which one to choose." The truth is that in the real world we would be much safer to stop work on both.



7. *Evaluating individual weapons system in isolation.* Weapons such as the Pershing II, MX, the improved Minuteman-3, cruise missiles in Europe, and others have been disclaimed as first-strike weapons because there are not enough of them. When the entire arsenal is put together, however, with each system performing its specific function, the collective capability is astounding. Counting accuracy improvements to existing weapons, the US could have a perceived first-strike capability by 1988.

8. *Skewing critical decisions.* Vested interests of influential people distorts decisionmaking. For instance, Dr. William Perry, now back in California where Trident II missiles are being developed, recently said: "I agree that we have too many strategic systems. The MX is what I would eliminate. D-5 is the better choice." But as Undersecretary of Defense for the Carter Administration, it was his job to sell MX and all the other strategic systems to Congress. He was not talking about elimination then. Too many of today's crucial decisions spring from biased political or financial stands rather than objective facts.

All of these pitfalls contribute to enormous expenditures for Trident II missiles which can only heighten the already critical danger. It is imperative that more people recognize what is happening in order to avoid the waste and the risk. Only then can we put resources and energy into improving life on this planet which, in the long run, is our real source of security.

Robert C. Aldridge is an aerospace engineer who worked for sixteen years on submarine-launched strategic missiles, including Trident. He is now engaged in private research aimed at better public understanding of military activities and is the author of *First Strike: The Pentagon's Strategy for Nuclear War* (Boston, South End Press; 1983). *



Insanity Award

Give Permanent Pre-Hostility a Chance?

SANE's Insanity Award of the Month for January went to the Pentagon for its innovative use of the English language. From the people who brought you the Peacekeeper (known to military literates as the MX missile), we offer the following:

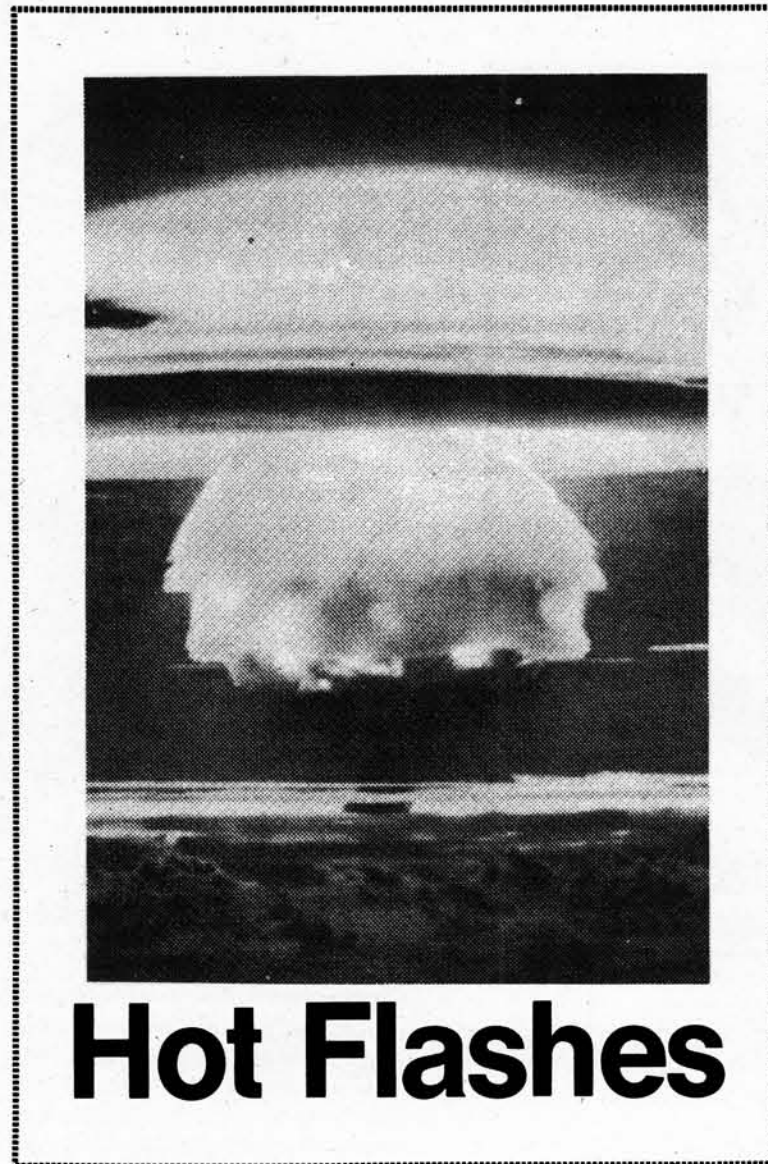
Peace is now called "permanent pre-hostility."

Civilian casualties in nuclear war are known as "collateral damage."

The invasion of Grenada was a "pre-dawn vertical insertion."

(Perhaps the MX will now be called the Permanent Pre-Hostility Keeper?)

The Pentagon was already honored for its vocabulary by the National Council of Teachers of English with their 1984 Doublespeak Award. Top honors for the Doublespeak Award went to the State Department for officially replacing the word "killing" in their human rights reports with "unlawful or arbitrary deprivation of life."



Hot Flashes

Spring Rally

More than 120 organizers from a broad array of groups in Northern California are uniting to mount a larger Spring Mobilization to address the issues of Peace, Jobs and Justice. The coalition has called for a massive march in San Francisco on April 20, 1985. The themes are: opposition to U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean; an end to U.S. support for South African apartheid; a Freeze and reversal of the nuclear arms race; and for jobs and justice, not war.

The San Francisco action is part of a nation-wide effort. Similar protests are scheduled in Los Angeles, Seattle, Denver, and Washington D.C.

On Tuesday, February 19, representatives from thirteen local organizations, including the Grey Panthers, the Coalition for Nicaragua, the Central Labor Council, and the Nuclear Weapons Freeze, met to plan for the different aspects of mobilizing Santa Cruz to the San Francisco Actions. The participants were urged to talk to their constituencies about endorsing the Mobilization and committing funds for publicity and transportation.

This local coalition needs your help. The main tasks are outreach, publicity, transportation, and fundraising. To endorse the event, contribute money, and/or help with transportation, contact Glorianna Cordova, 425-8057.

Hotline

The Nuclear Arms Control Hotline (202) 543-0006

The Council for a Liveable World's Nuclear Arms Control Hotline is a three minute taped message which is updated every Monday while Congress is in session, and more frequently when necessary. The Hotline contains all the latest information on arms control and military budget legislation and includes names and numbers of key bills or amendments and the timetable for action. It also contains a "Weekly Action Request" with suggestions on whom to contact in Congress and what the message should be.

Be A Lert

Be Alert! The Freeze Needs More Lerts.

Nuclear Freeze Action Alert Phone Tree "branches" are contacted when key legislation comes up in Congress. Phone tree "branches" contact phone tree "leaves" to let them know about the legislation and where to write or call to let their representatives in Congress know how to vote. Help make the Action Alert Phone Tree grow from the grass-roots by becoming a "branch" or a "leaf." To find out how: call the office, 458-9975 or send in the "I Want To Help" tear-off in this issue.

Recycle

Take your aluminum cans and newspapers to Ecology Action Recycling Center on 1260-17th Ave. and tell them you're a Freeze member. They'll pay us cash for your trash!

Home Needed

Nuclear Freeze Director needs a one bedroom house, apartment, or studio. I can pay up to \$300 and would prefer to live within walking distance to the Freeze office (downtown area). I'm clean, quiet, responsible, and I have references. Please call Terry at the office: 429-8755 or at home: 423-1664.

House Meetings

The Nightly News got you down? Are you confused about all this talk of reducing nuclear weapons while we build more and more? Do you feel like you can't possibly make a difference? A lot of people feel the same way; your friends, neighbors, and fellow workers. Would you like an opportunity to share your feelings of powerlessness, frustration and confusion with people like yourself? Would you also like to share your own vision of a peaceful world without nuclear weapons? Finally, do you want some ways you can make a difference?

The Nuclear Freeze has developed a new house meeting program. This is how it works: You agree to host or co-host one of these events. You invite the people with whom you'd like to share your feelings and ideas about the world situation. We provide a presenter or co-presenters who will speak briefly about the Freeze's work, answer any questions guests have either about the organization or the Freeze concept, and then lead exercises which allow the guests to talk about when they realized this issue was like no other and to then visualize what a world without nuclear weapons would be like. The presenter will outline the ways people can get involved with the Freeze. Finally, the presenter will ask for a contribution from each of your guests. Your guests will be informed when they are invited that they will be asked for a contribution, but are not *required* to give anything.

We've found that people want to make a contribution towards peace. People do not have opportunities for contribution to their vision very often. The Freeze is offered as a vehicle for making such a contribution.

To host or co-host an event or for information about attending an event, call Terry at the Freeze office, 458-9975.



Fighting Freezer Burn

by Colleen Delaney

Many volunteers I've recently spoken with who've put in time working for the Freeze are now experiencing feelings of frustration and apathy. In spite of their efforts over the past year they still see the arms race escalating and Ronald Reagan's re-election, and they wonder, what's the use? They've burned out, feeling their efforts were wasted, or that further efforts would be futile.

I can understand that temporary feeling of wanting to let the bruises on your forehead, raised from hitting your head up against a wall, have a chance to heal. Freezer-burn came to me one spring evening last year as I stood on a doorstep, trying to convince a beefy biker to sign a Freeze Voter '84 pledge, stating that he would only vote for pro-Freeze candidates in the upcoming election. I'd been working on the door-to-door canvass for months and was getting a little weary of the apathy I kept encountering.

out there so that people would respond favorably, or pat me on the head. I wasn't even out there in hopes of actually defeating Ronald Reagan—it was already clear how the election would go. I was doing the work because the work needed doing and because those energies inside of me would have gone sour if not put out there in the public where they belonged. Regardless of the reaction, I decided, I was going to have to continue putting out the message that the arms race can be halted (not merely controlled)—and the rewards were going to have to be strictly internal.

It made me wonder how other Freeze members coped with their own burn-out, and so I began asking around. I spoke with John Govsky, an active anti-nuker for the last six years who now works with the Freeze Regional Executive Board. John allowed as how he had never let himself get to that point of utter burn-out, and attributed this to keeping what he calls a "long-haul mindset". In John's view,

"Why don't you go back to Berkeley, or whatever Communist country you came from?"

On that evening, however, it was outright hostility I encountered, as the angry biker told me in no uncertain terms what he thought of the Freeze, the Russians, and me—concluding his diatribe with a furious "And why don't you go back to Berkeley, or whatever Communist country you came from?" punctuated by a resounding door slam.

Normally I would have been able to laugh off this type of response, but that evening I was too tired and disgusted to even muster a chuckle of disbelief. Rather than continue canvassing my assigned neighborhood, I went and sat on a cliff overlooking the ocean and sulked over the injustice of it all. I was tired of the Freeze, sick of trying to convince people that Reagan was against the Freeze, and weary of getting no rewards for my efforts. I wasn't just burned-out; I was *fried*.

That night my fellow canvasser Nanda—who was also getting a little crispy around the edges—and I talked it over. How could we re-charge ourselves, and end this malaise we were both caught in? Our solution was neither profound nor original, but merely consisted of some attitude adjustment. With Nanda's help, I was able to detect the basic flaw in my own expectations. Let me say right now that I'm used to operating on a reward system, and although the occasional householder would offer a "Good job! I'm glad you're out there," it was not enough to offset the times people emptied their Russophobia or Reaganmania upon my head. My fallacy was in expecting an immediate return on my investment.

The conclusion I reached that enabled me to hit the streets again the next night was that I was out there for the Freeze, subjecting myself to the hostility of the anti-freezers, for one simple reason—because the idea had to be put out there. As simple as that—it wasn't enough to just believe in a Freeze inside. I wasn't

people get frustrated because they expect to see changes overnight. It's part of the TV generation to expect instant gratification. If you're frustrated, says John, you're focusing on what's happened this month or this year instead of taking a more long-haul attitude towards anti-nuclear work. People have to realize, says John, that significant changes in nuclear weapons policy *will* take a long time—but you also have to look at the historical time-frame and see that great change is happening because of the Freeze's efforts.

Terry Teitelbaum, Freeze Director and another long-term activist, finds that the presence of other volunteer workers and friends wards off the isolated feeling that leads to frustration. "By yourself, you start to wonder if one person can make a difference," says Terry. Having other volunteers and friends all working together towards a goal means that at least one person in the group is likely to be "up" and lend support for those who are beginning to get discouraged.

As far as coping with the pressures that go with being Director, Terry says that leading a balanced life that includes physical exercise and some type of escapist fun also helps ward off feelings of burn-out.

If you are one of those people who have fallen away from the Freeze in recent months, whether through your own form of freezer-burn, post-election blues, or just a simple desire to tend your own personal garden, stop and give it a moment's thought. Read in this issue of the advances the Freeze movement has made. Recognize that when you combine your forces with other people and keep a perspective on the anti-nuclear movement as a whole, you can experience tremendous satisfaction in turning your personal beliefs into action. Stay involved—get re-involved—or join our efforts for the first time. The Freeze needs you now!

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J. HUCH, PACOGRAPHICS

Belgium and the Cruise

by Melinda Fine, Freeze International Coordinator

In late January, the National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign placed two advertisements in the major newspapers of Belgium, *Le Soir*, and *Der Standaard*, encouraging Belgian Prime Minister Martens to take an independent step in not going forward with deployment of US cruise missiles in Belgium. The advertisements were placed in the Belgium press just prior to Martens' visit to the United States to meet with President Reagan.

When Mr. Martens was in Washington DC, the Freeze Campaign participated in a small delegation of individuals representing the American Friends Service Committee, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Federation of American Scientists, and several church groups to meet with the Belgian ambassador to the United States. We spoke of Belgium's need to take an independent step and delay deployment of cruise missiles beyond the intended March 85 deployment date in order to give the new Geneva negotiations a chance.

Our actions of support received a good deal of attention in Belgium. In a recent meeting with leaders of Western European peace movements, I learned from our Belgian friends that the advertisements sparked interest, articles, and

radio interviews in both Flemish and French-speaking Belgium.

Pierre Galand, director of the largest coalition of Belgian peace groups, predicts that the Belgian government will delay its decision on when to begin deployment for several months beyond the original March date. Because the government hopes for a smooth visit when the Pope tours the country in March, Galand predicts the government will lay low on the cruise issue within the next five weeks. Since most Belgians take vacations during the months of July and August, and since peace movement activity subsides during the summer, Galand suspects the government will announce its decision on the missiles during the month of June or July. This would give the Christian Democrat government plenty of time in which to re-curry the public's favor before annual October peace demonstrations and national elections to be held in November.

At this point, the Belgian government continues to paint an ambiguous picture: the country will accept its full share of 48 cruise missiles by the end of 1987, but it will not yet indicate when actual deployments will begin. Given the opening of arms control talks in Geneva and the November Dutch parliamentary deployment decision, it remains possible that the 48 cruise missiles will not make their way to the small Belgian town of Florennes. *



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Nuclear-Free New Zealand

by Helen Clark, Member of Parliament for Mount Albert

On the 14th of July, 1984, New Zealand elected its fourth Labour government. Labour's election manifesto committed the incoming government to implementation of a strong and comprehensive nuclear-free New Zealand programme. Public support for that policy has been massive, with opinion polls reporting that between two-thirds and three-quarters of all New Zealanders favour the imposition of the ban.

The development of strong opposition to nuclear weaponry in New Zealand would not have taken any close observer of that country's politics by surprise. The present state of public opinion is neither whim nor fantasy. Nor can it be dismissed, as the *Wall Street Journal* would have its readers believe, as New Zealanders having contracted "a rapidly spreading affliction known as the Greek disease." The *Washington Post* called it "Hollanditis." Rather, events in New Zealand can be seen as a valid and indigenous response to the menace of nuclear weaponry that has been formulated over a lengthy period.

The visits have never had any strategic significance and occurred in the past because the conservative New Zealand government which hosted them invited the vessels to come for rest and recreation purposes.

The new Labour government will maintain and strengthen New Zealand's friendly relationship with the United States. New Zealand will continue as a partner in the ANZUS pact, but its participation will be on strictly non-nuclear terms. ANZUS was established as a conventional defense alliance and committed its signatories only to consult in the event of a threat to the territorial integrity of one of the three parties to the pact. Neither its letter nor its spirit obliges New Zealand to embrace the alleged protection of the American nuclear umbrella. New Zealanders recognise that should they call on nuclear weapons to defend them, there would be little left to defend. Nuclear weapons are now the greatest threat to our security.

The action taken by New Zealand to declare itself nuclear-free can be likened to moves by other small nations attached to the superpowers to distance themselves from nuclear weaponry. Within

Are we as a sovereign state entitled to determine our disarmament policies in accordance with our interests and values as a small concerned nation—or are we not?

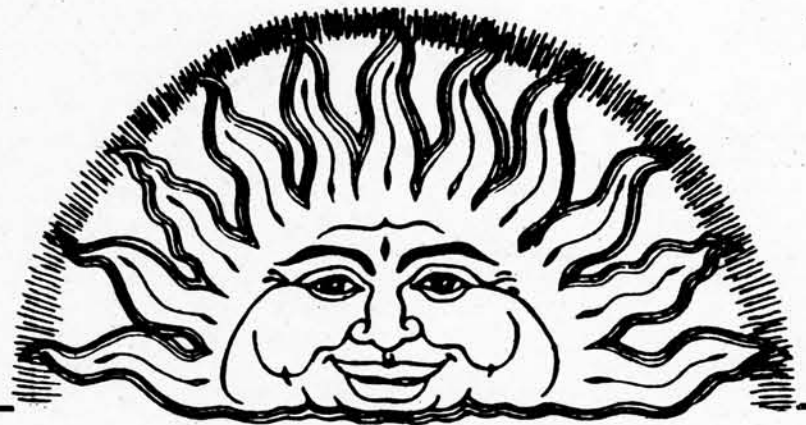
New Zealand is a South Pacific nation whose people are increasingly aware of the damage already done to their fellow Pacific citizens by nuclear-weapons testing. Micronesians in the American Trust Territories, Aborigines in South Australia, Polynesians in French Polynesia—all have suffered from the testing by nuclear-weapons states of such weapons in their homelands. Now we look on with no equanimity as the superpowers step up their nuclear militarisation of the Pacific. Nuclear disarmament is no longer seen as a cause of major relevance only to residents of the Northern Hemisphere. The nuclear arms race in the 1980's directly threatens us in a way which was seldom appreciated in the past. And, so, New Zealanders have mandated their leaders to press for new initiatives in disarmament more vigorously than before.

Clearly the new emphasis in New Zealand policy on disarmament has been seen by some in the United States as unhelpful to their notion of American interest. The policy does mean that no nuclear-powered and -armed vessel or aircraft of any state will be permitted to enter New Zealand territory. Yet to claim that the policy would inhibit the deployment of a substantial portion of the U.S. navy would be absurd. Between 1975 and 1984—a period during which no ban on nuclear warship visits was in place—visits by U.S. vessels occurred on average only once every eighteen months.

the NATO alliance—which, unlike ANZUS, bases its strength on its nuclear arsenals—Denmark and Norway are free to ban nuclear weapons from their territory. Similarly, Romania, a signatory to the Warsaw Pact, will not permit nuclear weapons on its soil. It would indeed be curious if New Zealand was to be permitted less freedom within a loose partnership like ANZUS than Romania is within the Warsaw Pact!

In the end, the issue for New Zealand is one of national sovereignty. Are we as a sovereign state entitled to determine our disarmament policies in accordance with our interests and values as a small concerned nation—or are we not? The answer of New Zealanders is overwhelming that they will shape their own destiny. New Zealand nationalism—and internationalism—is being expressed with pride through the nuclear-free stance.

MP Helen Clark is currently the chairwoman of both the Foreign Affairs Committee and the Arms Control and Disarmament Committee of the New Zealand Parliament. She also serves on the eight-member Executive of the Labour Party. *



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Support New Zealand

by Melinda Fine, Freeze International Coordinator

"According to a high US official, the administration fears the New Zealand affair could establish a precedent that will permit other zealous people to get ideas." — NY Times, 7 Feb.

New Zealand Prime Minister David Lange campaigned for his election seven months ago on a pledge to make New Zealand nuclear-free. New Zealand, a member of the Australia-New Zealand-US ANZUS alliance for the South Pacific, adopted a policy forbidding any nuclear-armed or nuclear-propelled ships from entering its waters in July. Last month, Prime Minister Lange showed both the US administration and the citizens of New Zealand that he intended to make good his word.

Military and economic pressures could include the US withholding the sharing of intelligence and security information, release for sale on the world market of surplus American butter which could damage New Zealand's dairy product sales, and the end to preferential treatment for New Zealand in the export of lamb.

Why is the administration responding with such fervor? According to a 5 Feb. front page *New York Times* article, the Administration concern goes "beyond the future of ANZUS to the possible effect of New Zealand's move on other allied countries that also have strong antinuclear movements." Coinciding with New Zealand's port call refusal, Australia's Prime Minister Hawke told the Administration that he would have to renege on a pledge to allow American planes to use Australian

New Zealand's port call refusal has prompted some members of Congress and the Administration to consider retaliatory actions.

In early February, the US administration announced that the New Zealand government had turned down its request for a port visit by Navy destroyer "Buchanan," because it was suspected that the conventionally-powered ship could be carrying nuclear arms. The United States has a long-standing policy of never identifying which of its ships carry nuclear arms. While Norway and Denmark do not permit the stationing of

bases to monitor an MX missile test in order to prevent a rupture in his Labor Party. A senior State Department official said that if the United States accepted the New Zealand action with equanimity, "it might encourage West European governments to take steps to curb nuclear weapons."

Let's encourage these nations all that we can. Here are suggestions for what you can do to support the New Zealand nuclear-free zone:

1) Send letters of support, appreciation, and encouragement to Prime Minister David Lange. Tell him you do not view his stance as anti-US, but rather pro-world security. Write to Prime Minister Lange at: Parliament House, Wellington, New Zealand.

2) Write "Letters to the Editor" to New Zealand newspapers expressing that the American people are inspired by their country's anti-nuclear stance. Letters can be sent to: *New Zealand Herald*, P.O. Box 32, Auckland NZ; *Evening Post*, Private Bag, Wellington NZ; *Auckland Star*, Private Bag, Auckland NZ; *Otago Daily Times*, Private Bag, Dunedin NZ; *Waikato Times*, Private Bag, Hamilton NZ; *Christchurch Press*, Private Bag, Christchurch NZ.

3) Write letters to your local newspapers expressing your support of the New Zealand initiative. Send copies of your letter to your Members of Congress.

4) Buy New Zealand products. Riverside Church Disarmament Programs has produced a rubber stamp which lists New Zealand products: butter, strawberries, kiwi fruit, lamb and lambs wool. The rubber stamp can be purchased from Riverside for \$9.00. Write: Riverside Church Disarmament Program, 490 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10027.

*

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nuclear weapons in their territory during peacetime, and while Japan officially bans nuclear weapons altogether, none of these countries has demanded that the United States specify whether any particular ship carries nuclear weapons.

New Zealand's bold stance has not been met with equanimity. As Member of New Zealand's parliament Helen Clark told Freeze activists at the national conference in December, the US has been strongly pressuring New Zealand to change its tune since the Lange government came into power. New Zealand's port call refusal has prompted some members of Congress and the Administration to consider retaliatory actions.



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Budgetary Madness



President Reagan has introduced a \$313.7 billion Department of Defense (DoD) budget which calls for a 5.9% real increase (taking inflation into account) from last year's budget. In real dollars, this is a budget authorization increase of \$29 billion. Contrary to Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger's claims, the defense budget has not been cut. He has in reality reduced his previous request for a 1986 9.2% increase to a 5.2% increase. The Defense Department's "wish list" has simply been shortened, without any major weapons programs being cut.

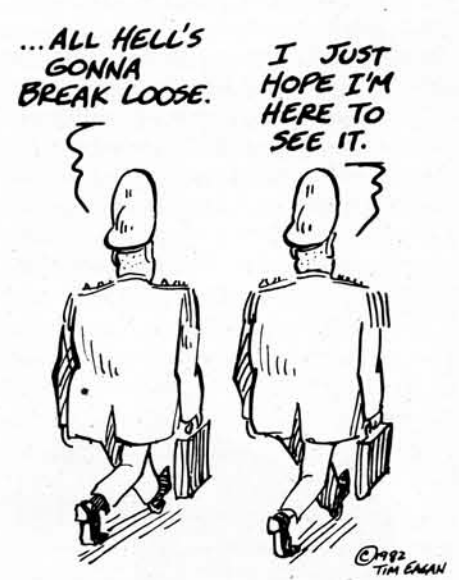
Weapons spending continues to increase rapidly. Fiscal year 1986 outlays (actual spending) will rise to \$277.5 billion. This level, when measured in constant dollars, is higher than any year since World War II.

Strategic weapons are the fastest growth item in the military budget, with research and development taking an increasingly important role. As proposed, the SDI (Star Wars) program authorization will almost triple this year. FY85 funding is \$1.39 billion; requested FY86 funding is \$3.7 billion. The Administration plans to request \$4.9 billion in FY87. Anti-satellite weapon (ASAT) funding is undergoing dramatic growth with a 27% increase from \$207 million in FY85 to a proposed \$262.7 million in FY86.

Funding for the MX remains high: the DoD and Department of Energy (DoE) total is \$4 billion for FY86, and calls for the procurement of 48 new missiles. This is more than double last year's number of missiles (21) which is still yet to be fully authorized by Congress.

Another aspect of the weapons budget is the problem of uncontrollable spending. In 1980, 27.2% of the DoD budget was spent in uncontrollable outlays (money tied to contracts from previous years for weapons procurement and production). By 1986 our nation will be forced to fund \$38.2 billion of the DoD budget to cover such contracts. This is money which cannot be spent elsewhere barring a radical action by Congress which would actually rescind previous years' authorizations.

Ironically, at the same time huge sums of money are being devoted to some programs, the DoD can't spend all the money given to it. This 'backlog' is growing rapidly. FY1980 saw a backlog of \$92 billion; FY86 will see this figure grow to \$279.8 billion! If the DoD can't historically spend all it is given within a reasonable amount of time (authorized funds are usually spent within a three year period), Congress should strongly consider trimming the Pentagon's current request in its efforts to reduce the \$180 billion deficit. *



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Will Aspin Rock the Boat?

by Dan Haifley

During the last two years, Les Aspin (D-Wis) has infuriated peace activists and liberals in Congress by spearheading a movement in Congress to approve the MX missile program. Aspin, with a reputation as a media-savvy Pentagon critic and a brilliant legislative technician, claimed that his stewardship of the MX program in Congress was a "bargaining chip" in pushing Ronald Reagan to the negotiating table for an arms agreement with the Soviet Union. Now, Aspin has been elected Chair of the House Armed Services Committee by the Democratic House Caucus in a coup which required the cooperation of those "infuriated" House liberals. So, what does the Aspin Chairperson-ship mean?

Aspin himself has been silent in recent

weeks about what he'll do in his new role. Many of Aspin's fellow Armed Service Committee members in fact think that he will avoid "rocking the boat" and, while putting the military budget to great scrutiny, will not seek to cut it beyond what committee members want. Jim Courter, New Jersey Republican on the committee, told the Congressional Quarterly: "I think Les is going to be cautious. He's looking at this thing for the long term. He wants to convince members of the committee and the House that they didn't make a mistake (in electing him)."

Those who are speculating on Aspin's performance believe that he will trim the Pentagon's requested 12.6% budget increase to one that will reflect a real growth of 3-5%. Many in Washington also believe that Aspin will drop his support of the MX, if it reflects the feeling of House Democrats. *

Legislative Update

The Top Priority Issues for Early 1985

1) Initiate a ban on all nuclear explosives testing, as a first step toward a comprehensive mutual nuclear weapons freeze.

2) Stop the MX missile program.

3) Stop the Administration's plan to extend the arms race into space.

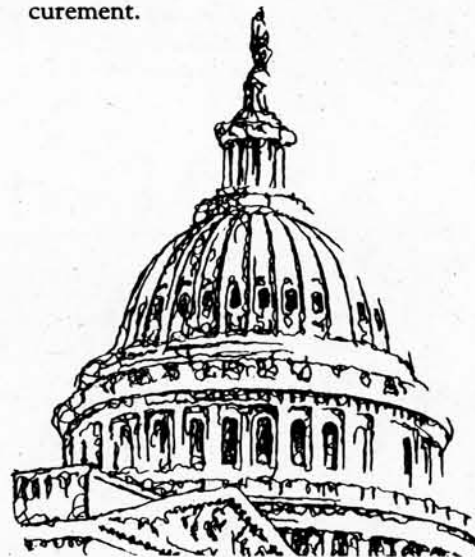
4) Stop the Trident II procurement funding.

The Timing for Votes

Key votes on MX missile procurement and extending the existing moratorium on the testing of anti-satellite weapons (ASATs) may come as early as mid-March or early April 1985.

Due to restrictions adopted in 1984, the House and Senate are each likely to vote twice on whether to release production funds allocated in 1984 for new MX missiles. In addition, Congress is likely to vote on whether to continue a five-month ASAT testing moratorium. A vote on a ban or moratorium on nuclear warhead testing is possible between May and July as an amendment to the FY 1986 Department of Defense or Department of Energy Authorization Bills.

A vote on the Trident II (D-5) will take place in May. Ted Weiss of New York will again offer an amendment to delete advance procurement funds for the missile for fiscal year 1986. The Pentagon is asking for \$2.25 billion in R&D and \$700 million in advance procurement.



Background

Legislative action on arms control and military budget issues will begin unusually early in 1985. The new federal budget proposals were submitted to Congress in February, and various committees will begin hearings in preparation for reporting out key bills. But in addition, legislation passed last year will force crucial votes in late March or early April of 1985.

As part of a compromise contained in the military funding bills last year, a bar on new MX production is expected to expire on March 1; a moratorium on ASAT testing is likely to end the same day. Procedures were written into the bills which require the Reagan Administration to request permission to resume MX production, which Congress may then approve or deny. In order to

conduct an ASAT test, the Administration is required to submit a report to Congress. The ASAT moratorium expires 15 days later, unless Congress acts to extend it.

Talking Points

Arguments for A Test Ban: Since the 1963 treaty which barred nuclear tests above ground, the nuclear powers have moved their extensive weapons programs underground. It is difficult or impossible to deploy new nuclear weapons without first testing them. Congress will be asked to pass legislation this year to bring about a moratorium—or temporary halt—to nuclear explosive tests, as long as the Soviets do the same. Such a moratorium would be a good first step toward a negotiated Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty banning all nuclear explosive tests, and toward achieving a comprehensive US-USSR nuclear weapons freeze.

Arguments Against the MX: The MX missile is an unnecessarily dangerous and costly addition to our huge strategic nuclear force. The current estimate of total program cost varies from \$26 to \$50 billion. Furthermore, this destabilizing, first-strike missile is not and has never been a bargaining chip with the Soviet Union—the Administration has never put the MX on the table and shows no intention of abandoning the missile voluntarily.

Arguments Against Space Weaponry: President Reagan's space weapons program includes ASATs designed to knock out Soviet satellites in orbit, and a massive research program to develop a space-based ballistic missile defense system, known as the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) or "Star Wars." Once successfully tested against an object in space, the American ASAT may be difficult to verify, seriously complicating arms control. Opponents of "Star Wars" are concerned about an outrageously expensive arms race between offensive and defensive weapons costing billions of dollars. It would also be impossible to develop a system that is 100 percent effective, and such weapons systems would directly violate our most vital standing arms control agreement, the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty.

Arguments Against the Trident II: See the article by Robert Aldridge in this issue.

Impact of Negotiations

Plans for actual arms control negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union may develop slowly during 1985. The Reagan Administration will almost certainly repeat its "bargaining chip" arguments to urge MX missile production and ASAT testing. In fact, the Soviets broke off negotiations when U.S. missiles were being deployed in Europe, MX was in production and ASATs were being tested—renewed interest in negotiations has developed in an atmosphere of restraint. *It would be a gesture of extreme bad faith in the negotiating process to now begin MX production and ASAT testing, and it might jeopardize any agreement between the two parties.* *



Call your representatives before it's too late!

Make Your Voice Heard

Citizen lobbying—letters to Members of Congress, telephone calls, visits, organized delegations—can make a difference in stopping the nuclear arms race.

Citizen involvement helped to launch the civil rights movement, end U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War and stimulate a drive to clean up our environment.

Now is the time to add your voice to the movement to end the arms race that threatens the world with nuclear holocaust.

Visit Your Senators and Representative

The best way to express an opinion is face-to-face. Members of Congress are usually receptive to meeting with their constituents, particularly in groups. Find out when your Senators and Representative will be in their district or state offices (probably on weekends or during Congressional recesses) and make an appointment.

If you are in Washington, visit your Representative or Senators by arranging an appointment as far in advance as possible.

Call Your Senators and Representative

Call your Members of Congress if you want to get a message to them quickly. The Capitol switchboard—(202) 224-3121—will connect you to your Representative's or Senators' offices. Ask to speak with the Member or with the Legislative Assistant responsible for the issue. If necessary, leave a message relaying your opinion on the bill or amendment.

Send A Telegram

Telegrams are more likely to be seen by a Member of Congress than a letter and are especially useful immediately before a vote. Dial your local information and ask for the toll-free Western Union number for your area code. Dictate your message and have it charged to your phone bill. A "public opinion message" allows you to send fifteen words for \$4.45 and is delivered within 24 hours. For a higher fee, you can send a "night letter" which arrives the following morning.

Write a Letter

Letters should generally focus on a single issue or bill. Use the correct name

and number of the bill. Cite personal reasons for your support or opposition to a bill, pointing out how it affects your family or community. If an organization to which you belong has taken a stand, refer to it.

Even more powerful than a single letter is a well-organized community campaign. As with telephone calls or telegrams, staff aides keep close track of the mail.

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WHERE TO WRITE AND CALL:

President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500
(202) 456-1414

Senator Alan Cranston
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510
(202) 224-5353

Senator Pete Wilson
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510
(202) 224-3841

Congressmember Leon Panetta
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20505
(202) 225-2861/local: 429-1976
(Sixteenth Congressional District)

Congressmember Ed Zschau
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-5411/local: 1-730-8555
(Twelfth Congressional District)

HOTLINES

To keep you abreast of late-breaking events on peace and arms control issues, the following organizations run regularly-updated taped messages:

Nuclear Arms Control Hotline
(Council for a Livable World)
202-543-0006

S.O.S.—Save Outer Space Alert
202-547-3336

Central America Legislative Hotline
202-483-3391

Witness for Peace Hotline
(religious activists in Nicaragua)
202-332-9230

All Power to the Grassroots?

by David Lewis

Just one month after Ronald Reagan soundly defeated the first major-party candidate to endorse a nuclear weapons freeze, more than 700 peace activists and local freeze organizers from around the country converged on St. Louis, Missouri, for the Fifth National Conference of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign (NWFC). The record turnout of delegates and their efforts were a sure indicator that the freeze movement is still very strong.

They came despite disappointment over the presidential election, despite congressional lethargy on freeze legislation, and despite the Freeze Campaign's own organizational problems. But the conference delegates who jammed the hotel lobby were amazed and heartened at their own numbers. In the ballroom, many had to press against the walls and clog the doorways to hear the proceedings. And when Campaign Director Randy Kehler spoke to open the conference, they rose as one, applauding their success and his leadership (Kehler will step down as director in several months). They knew their organization and its guiding idea were being severely tested, but they were energized by a sense of hope and shared purpose.

"Our movement has reached a watershed," Kehler told the delegates, "and we must move to a new phase. No longer are we an ad hoc, spontaneous, prairie-fire phenomenon... we require a long-term plan and an organization with perspective. We must make this historic transition, or else fail in our goal to stop and reverse the arms race."

This organized effort to freeze nuclear weapons is the latest incarnation of an American peace movement that lay dormant for much of the 1970s. This phase of the movement has demonstrated an ability to mature quickly, taking part in electoral politics for the first time through the Freeze Voter '84 Political Action Committee.

Completing the transformation of this young grassroots movement into a mature national organization is a complex proposition. The National Conference is still the decision-making body of the NWFC, though most of the delegates have no formal allegiance or accountability to the national organization.

It's not easy for 700 people in one room to make complex decisions. They get hot, tired, and cranky. They get hungry and thirsty, frustrated and confused. But then the NWFC seldom tries to do things easily. In the face of rapid expansion and sudden prominence, this five-year-old organization still tries to operate by direct participatory democracy. That's getting tougher. Chaos reigned at the plenary session on Sunday where the task at hand was approval of general strategy guidelines for 1985 and specific structural changes for the NWFC. The room was awash with paper—resolutions, amendments, petitions—and the

strain was evident in the voices of delegates pleading their heartfelt cases at the floor microphones. The speakers talked on and on, the ambitious schedule became a lost hope; the votes were close, the recounts were closer; parliamentary procedure broke down; the chair lost patience. All this debate focused on a consensus document that was synthesized during two days of small-group discussion prior to the conference. The document that finally emerged will guide the organization for 1985:

Freeze" a high priority in 1985, giving special emphasis to verification, the risk of accidental nuclear war, security advantages of the Freeze, economics of the nuclear arms race, US-Soviet relations, the "Deadly Connection" between the nuclear arms race and aggressive superpower intervention in Third World countries, first-strike weapons, and space weapons. But the campaign staff was not given guidance on how to produce material on all these subjects with its meager resources.

"We now have the largest and strongest grassroots network of any disarmament organization in the country."

What issues should the national campaign emphasize in its educational efforts?

The NWFC has been a federation of diverse, loosely affiliated local antinuclear groups, and the national organization's chief role has been as clearinghouse—a place to gather and disseminate information. The conference directed the campaign to make "Teaching the

Should the campaign organize high-visibility events in 1985 to activate freeze supporters, and should it encourage "direct action" including non-violent civil disobedience as a tactic for freeze activists?

The conference overwhelmingly endorsed two nationally-coordinated events designed to "bring the arms race home" and re-emphasize the urgency of the

cause. In April the NWFC will join local and regional activities sponsored by dozens of national organizations that will emphasize four themes: Freeze and Reverse the Arms Race; End Military Intervention; Meet Human Needs; and Stop Apartheid. The conference also directed the NWFC to "help organize a legal War Tax Resistance strategy component to be implemented during this spring event." The delegates did not define legal tax resistance.

In support of a halt to all nuclear testing, the delegates directed the NWFC to develop nationally coordinated local activities August 6-9, featuring nonviolent "direct action" against some nuclear weapons facilities. The conference recommended that local groups consult with labor unions and explore economic conversion possibilities with workers at such facilities before taking action and suggested that local groups determine what types of action are most appropriate.

Several delegates took issue with the NWFC's endorsement of illegal activity. "They keep saying 'direct action' without acknowledging that they mean breaking the law," said one delegate from Minnesota. "Let's at least be honest with ourselves about what we're doing." Others worried that the delegates were underestimating the alienation of "mainstream" supporters that sit-ins and disruptive demonstrations might cause.

In its legislative program, should the NWFC promote partial steps toward a freeze while urging a comprehensive freeze?

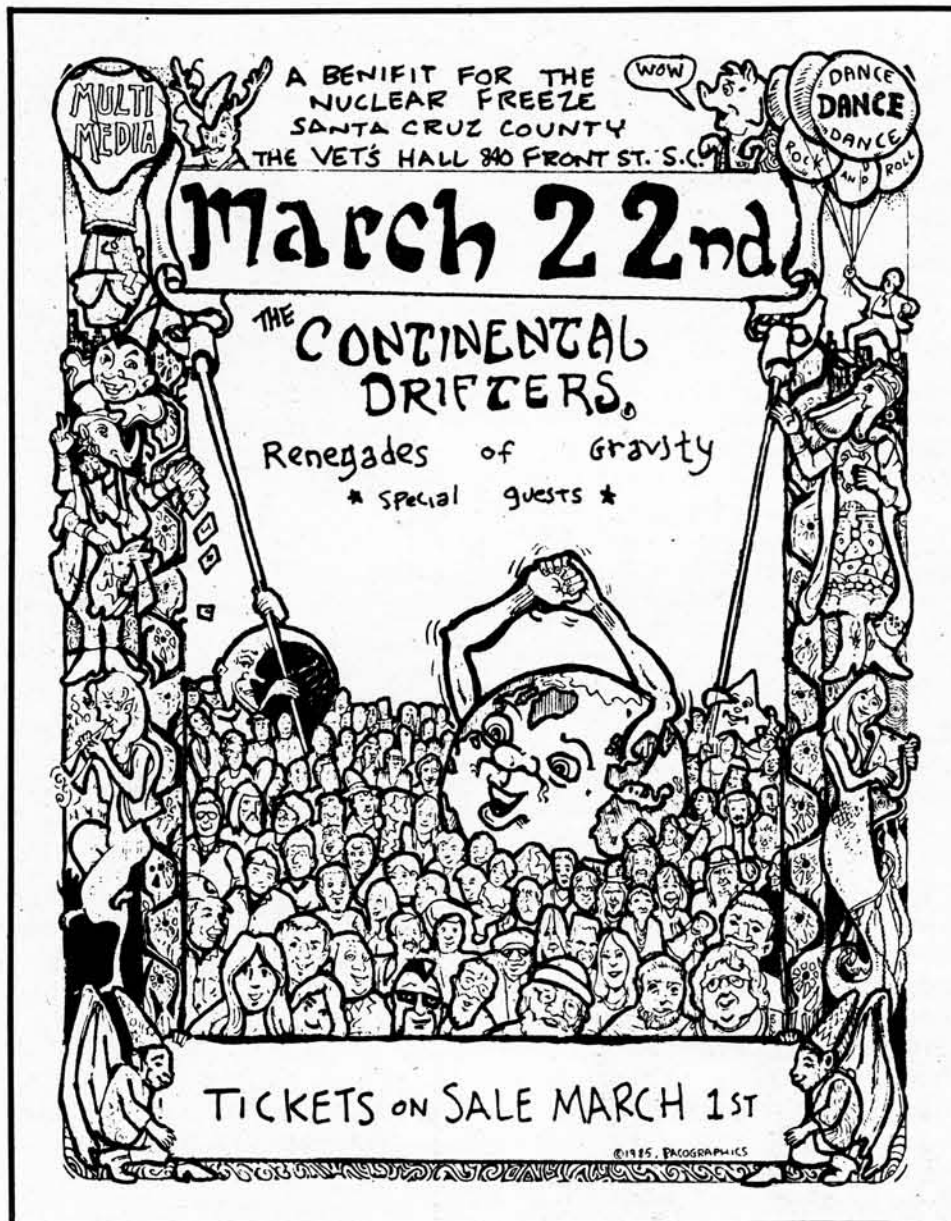
The conference articulated three top legislative priorities for the NWFC in 1985:

- 1) A comprehensive, bilateral, verifiable freeze to be initiated by a congressional suspension of funds for testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons and delivery systems.
- 2) Bilateral moratoria on the testing of nuclear warheads and the flight testing of missiles and space weapons initiated by congressional suspension of funds.
- 3) A final halt to MX production funding.

Despite this lengthy legislative agenda, the NWFC has not revealed any plans to allocate greater resources toward lobbying. The Freeze Campaign currently employs one full-time lobbyist who works with a coalition of arms-control groups in Washington, D.C.

The conference passed resolutions supporting demonstrations against the South African government, opposing all biological and chemical weapons, supporting peace in Central America, opposing the homeporting of new Navy flotillas carrying nuclear cruise missiles in the harbors of major American cities, and supporting locally established Nuclear Free Zones.

Distinguishing this National Conference from previous meetings was the large number of organizational questions facing it. Even more than the difficult strategy choices, proposed structural changes threatened to be divisive. The



debate over civil disobedience and other direct action tactics was, at heart, a debate about local groups' autonomy and the role of the national campaign. "Local self-determination with national coordination," the organization's watchword, ignores the inherent tension created by local groups acting in ways that affect perceptions of the national campaign, and likewise national endorsement of tactics or strategies that local groups consider inappropriate.

So anxious was the conference about these concerns that it passed a resolution reaffirming the diversity of the Freeze Movement. The resolution stated: "No decision-making body of the National Freeze Campaign, or any member of its staff, shall act to distance the Freeze Campaign from any form of nonviolent activity directed at achieving a bilateral, verifiable nuclear weapons freeze, or shall publicly criticize or attempt to undermine such activity." Delegates added a disclaimer that "Nothing in this Resolution shall be construed as requiring the National Freeze Campaign to endorse, or assume responsibility for, projects initiated by local Freeze Groups."

This rhetorical exercise finessed the issue of creating some systematic accountability between local and national organizations—the key structural issue facing the organization. The conference

offices will be closed and the field, outreach, bookkeeping, development, publications, and administrative functions located there moved to Washington. Consolidation, the committee felt, will strengthen the organization by improving communication and coordination among national staff and programs, as well as with other organizations, including local and state campaigns and other organizations that support the freeze.

But there are objections to consolidation. In addition to the loss of staff who will not relocate, there is the widespread perception that consolidation in Washington signals a move away from grassroots orientation for the campaign. Many activists felt maintaining a national clearinghouse in St. Louis, at the geographic center of the country, was a valuable symbol of the organization's commitment to a broad-based, popular movement. Many of those same people consider Washington representative of short-term, overly-pragmatic thinking and centralized, top-heavy organizations. "But there is no reason why we must become that kind of organization," said the executive committee in a letter explaining the office consolidation. "Unlike four years ago, we now have the largest and strongest grassroots network of any disarmament organization in the country, and we now have a four-year

"They keep saying 'direct action' without acknowledging that they mean breaking the law," said one delegate from Minnesota.

finally chose to make few immediate changes in the assignment of roles, rights, and obligations to the various parts of the organization.

The delegates did, however, direct the national committee to research possibilities for a national membership program. This would formalize the relationship between local groups and the NWFC and increase accountability. National leaders stress that a membership system could provide unity and structure to the movement, but local activists fear the price would be a loss of autonomy and independence for their small groups. This is the central tension facing the Freeze as an organization: how to energize citizens locally and link those diverse efforts with a coordinated national focus.

For three days the delegates wrestled with questions of organizational structure. Ironically the most substantial and potentially most controversial structural change was made after the conference ended. Meeting on December 10, the NWFC's 10-member Executive Committee decided to consolidate all of the campaign's national offices in Washington, DC, as soon as possible. The Denver, St. Louis, and Greenfield, Massachusetts

tradition of grassroots structure and strategy . . . It is highly unlikely that we—all of us—would allow this grassroots orientation to be subverted simply because our headquarters are now in DC."

The strong sentiment expressed at the conference on consolidation suggests that the executive committee's decision will be hard for many activists to swallow. But more than anything else, the decision to consolidate suggests that the freeze movement is coming of age and now appears ready to translate its meteoric rise to public prominence into a pragmatic, dynamic organization. The NWFC's leaders are trying to create the structures that can focus energy from the grassroots into the pursuit of national goals. The challenge is to preserve local drive and initiative and prevent institutional stasis. In surviving the disappointments of 1984 and emerging from St. Louis with great strength and resolve, the freeze campaign may have already met the toughest part of the challenge.

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Peace Calendar



Thursday, March 7

Film. "In the Nuclear Shadow: What Can the Children Tell Us?" Director Eric Thiermann will speak and answer questions about this sensitive and insightful exploration of the hearts and minds of our children growing up in the nuclear age. 8 PM. Louden Nelson Center. Sliding scale donation: \$1.00-\$5.00. For info: 458-9975.

Free Counseling Session on War Tax Resistance. 7:30 PM. Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway. For info: call Betsy or Steve, 423-1626.

Friday, March 8

First West Coast Conference on Women in Central America. Sponsored by: Alliance Against Women's Oppression, Somos Hermanas and SF Women's Center/Women's Building. Runs

through March 10. Mission High School, 3550 18th St., San Francisco, Ca. For info: 415-566-2070.

Saturday, March 9

Conference on Women in Central America. See March 8.

Slide Show. Introduction to War Tax Resistance. 1-4 PM. Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway. \$5.00. For info: call Betsy, 423-1626.

Sunday, March 10

Dialogue Sermon. Sydney and Robert McAfee Brown. Part of the "A Call to Peacemaking: An Ecumenical Lenten Dialogue—1985" 7 PM. Holy Cross Catholic Church, 126 High St. Child-care provided. Freewill donation. For info: 423-1626.

Monday, March 11

Reception. The Native American Support Group is sponsoring a dinner/reception for Elders from Big Mountain, Arizona. These are spiritual/traditional people who are resisting the forced relocation of 14,000 Hopi and Navajo people by the federal government. 6-7:30 PM. Louden Nelson Dining Room. Sliding scale donation: \$5-\$10. For info: 429-1039.

Friday, March 15

Meeting. Chile-Santa Cruz Friendship Committee. 6 PM. 9007 Rhodes Ave., Aptos. For info: 425-8493.

Shabbat Potluck. Sponsored by Kolaynu /Santa Cruz New Jewish Agenda. 6:30 PM. Free. For info: 425-4782.

Saturday, March 23

Workshop. "Response-Ability in our Nuclear Age: Exploring How Our Lives are Affected by Nuclear Production and Threats, and How We Want to and Will Respond." With Father George Zabelka and Alan Nelson, Ph.D. Co-sponsored by the Forum for Peace and Justice of the First Congregational Church, the Peace Project, and the Resource Center for Nonviolence. Advance registration is strongly encouraged. \$10-\$45 sliding scale. For info: 426-1626.

Sunday, March 24

"Christ's Teachings: Option or Obligation," Ecumenical Lenten Dialogue continues. With Father George Zabelka. Childcare available. Freewill donation. For info: 423-1626. 7 PM. First Congregational Church, 900 High St.

The Nuclear Weapons Freeze in Santa Cruz County is funded entirely by membership dues and contributions from local supporters. Where does the money go? To office rent, director's salary, telephones, postage, printing and copying, utilities, bookkeeping, and other costs of keeping our office and organization visible and effective. We also make contributions to the regional and national Freeze organizations. We are committed to getting the most out of each dollar contributed to stopping the nuclear arms race. A very small percentage of our expense goes toward fundraising costs.

And, generous supporters like Typola, make in kind contributions of goods and services. Typola graciously donated all the typesetting for this issue of *The Monthly Planet*.

Won't you help too? Membership dues for 1985 are: \$15/individual; \$25/family or household; \$10/senior, student, or low-income. You can also become a *sustaining member* by pledging an amount monthly or quarterly. Sustainers help stabilize our financial base so we can spend more time organizing and less time fundraising.

Members receive a subscription to *The Monthly Planet* and are kept up to date on all activities and events. To join, just fill out the form below and send it to:

Nuclear Weapons Freeze
320-G Cedar St.
Santa Cruz, Ca. 95060

Yes! I want to join the Nuclear Weapons Freeze for 1985. Enclosed are my dues of:

_____ \$15/individual _____ \$25/family; household

_____ \$10/senior; student; low-income

_____ I will pledge \$_____ quarterly/monthly; enclosed is my first pledge.

_____ Enclosed is an additional contribution of \$_____.

Yes! I want to get more involved. I'm interested in the following volunteer task(s):

___ Office Work ___ Typing ___ Phoning ___ Signature Gathering

___ Tabling ___ Events ___ Other _____

I'd like to serve on the following committee(s):

___ Newspaper ___ Education ___ Petition Drive ___ Steering Committee

___ I'll host or co-host a housemeeting.

___ Here is my contribution of \$_____.

Name _____

Address _____

Phone _____



The Continental Drifters will appear at the Vets Hall on Friday, March 22, 8PM, in a benefit for the Freeze.

Sunday, March 17

"Prayer and Peace in our Hearts and our World". Ecumenical Lenten Dialogue continues. With Alan Nelson, Ph.D. 7 PM. Unitarian Universalist Fellowship, 6401 Freedom Blvd., Aptos. Childcare available. Freewill donation. For info: 423-1626.

Freedom Song Network Songswap. 3-5 PM. Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway. For info: Call Mark Levy, 662-0342.

Monday, March 18

A good day to call or write your Congressman.

Friday, March 22

DANCE! A Hot Benefit for the Freeze with the Continental Drifters and their multimedia show. African and Modern dancers will round out the bill. 8 PM at the Vets Hall, 842 Front St., Santa Cruz. \$2.50 donation. For info: 458-9975.

Sunday, March 31

"Reconciliation" Last in a series: Ecumenical Lenten Dialogue. With Reverend Norman Bent. Childcare available. Freewill donation. For info: 423-1626. 7 PM. Trinity Presbyterian Church, 420 Melrose Ave.

Saturday, April 20

March and Rally. The Spring Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice. As part of a nation-wide week of peaceful protests, a broad coalition of Northern California labor, church, peace, student and community organizations have joined together to mount a massive spring demonstration. San Francisco: Assembly point and rally site to be announced. For info: 458-9975.

Monday, April 22

Citizen's Lobby for Peace Jobs and Justice. Part of the April Actions. Washington, D.C. Watch this space for details. Info: 458-9975.