

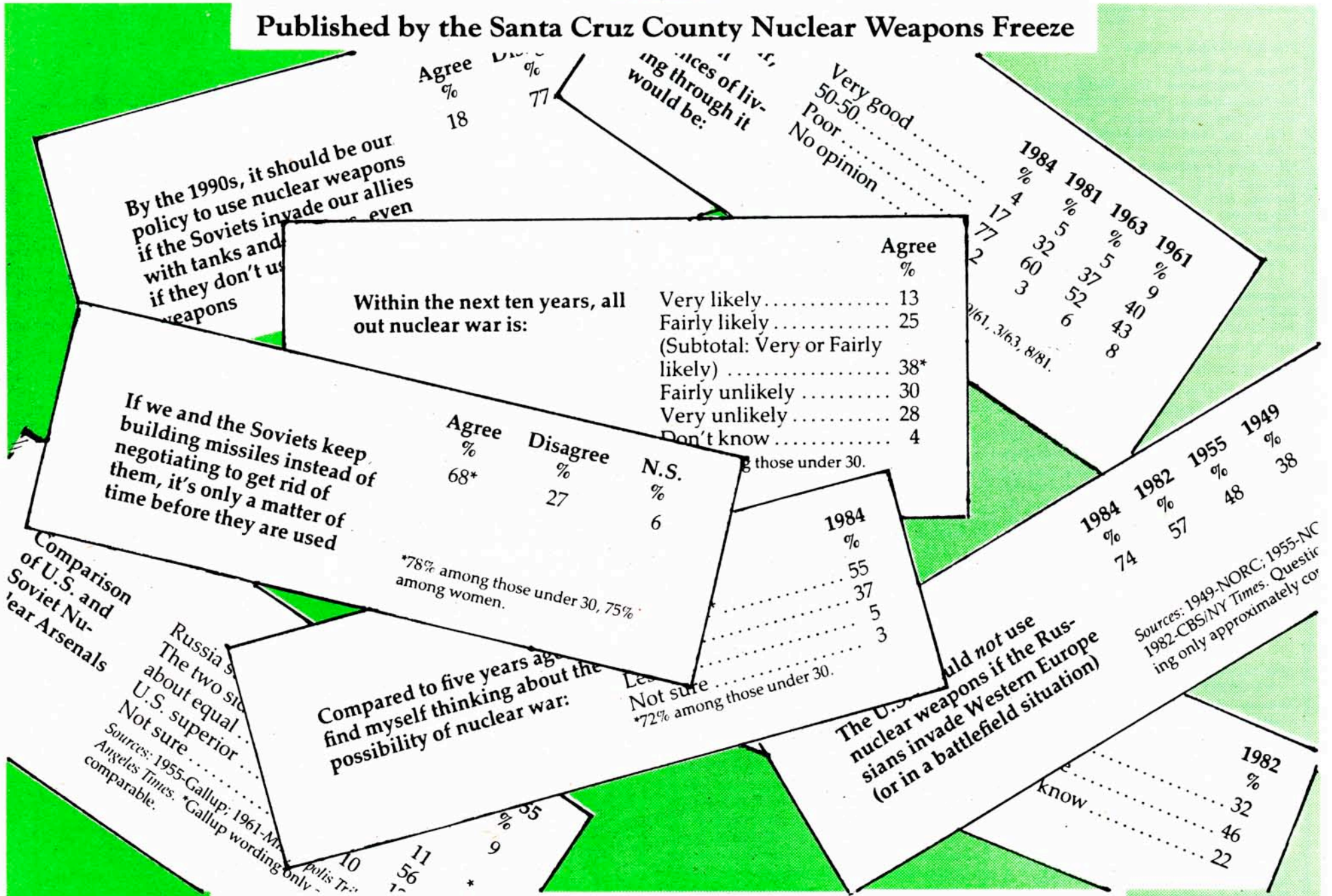
The MONTHLY PLANET

Free

June 1985

Volume 1, Number 4

Published by the Santa Cruz County Nuclear Weapons Freeze



Changing Views On Nuclear Weapons

JOHN 85

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

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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



THE MONTHLY PLANET

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QUICK QUIZ

How often is *The Monthly Planet* published?

- 1) Weekly
- 2) Monthly
- 3) In Grant's Tomb
- 4) Whenever



From The Grassroots



Support The Vets

Dear Freeze,

I would like to respond to the shortsighted letter by Robert Goldblatt which bore no earmarks of non-violence. *We cannot hope to achieve a nuclear freeze nor world disarmament without the support of veterans and the families of veterans.*

One of the tragedies of the last generation was the failure by the public to separate their castigation for a myopic foreign policy carried out by presidencies and legislatures which they themselves have elected from the honor due those who conscientiously had carried out their DUTIES AS CITIZENS. The soldier is a much handier victim than someone 3,000 miles away in Washington. The Vietnam war was a pivotal point in history and the first war in which we honored those who chose not to fight. This does not preclude honoring those who did.

The Santa Cruz VFW is to be commended for evaluating our foreign policy in the light of their own personal experience and taking a stand against the repetition of such mistakes for another generation. As an organization of veterans they can have a far greater impact than as individuals. There are many kinds of support groups today and certainly Vietnam veterans need their own. As an EARLY protestor of the Vietnam war I say "hurrah" for these veterans who have acted to move away from a "rubber stamp for the Pentagon" and "ours not to question why" position into a spearhead action which may bring about a dramatic change among their fellow veterans. We need them all to create a non-violent world.

Sincerely,
Sylvia Knapton
Santa Cruz, Ca.

Terminate ABM Treaty?

Dear Freeze,

I would like to make the following offering for a topic of debate in the *Monthly Planet*. Should the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. terminate the Anti Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972 so that they may protect themselves from nuclear missile attack from other countries?

According to this treaty neither we nor the Russians may have missiles capable of destroying incoming missiles except around our respective capitals, Washington, D.C. and Moscow.

With increasing nuclear proliferation around the world other countries will have nuclear weapons. If a nuclear missile strikes either the USA or USSR the response may be to counter-attack the other superpower supposing it to be the perpetrator which would be in turn counter-attacked with the inevitable end being

annihilation.

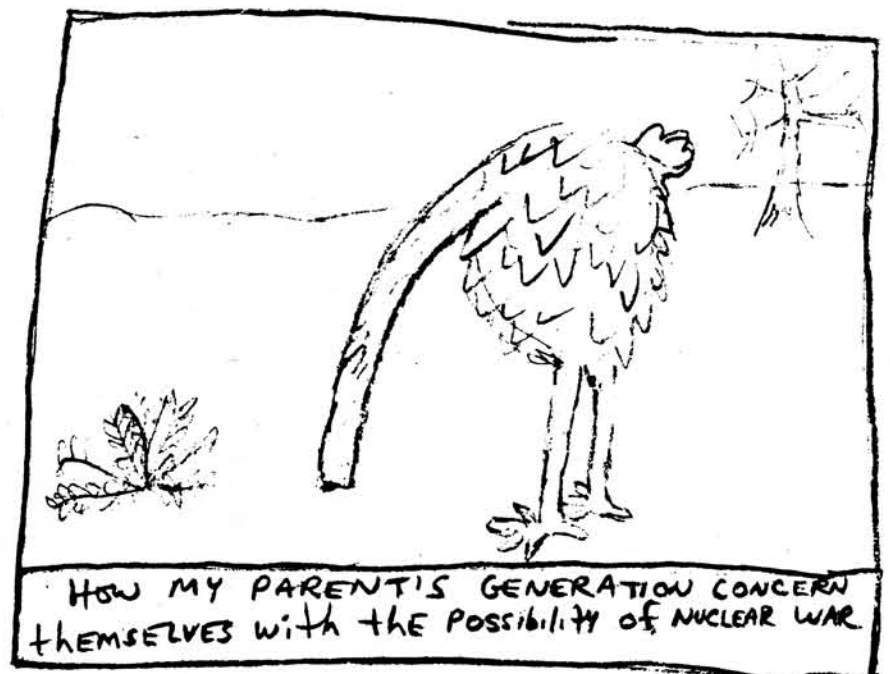
Concerning civil disobedience versus peaceful protest as a strategy to prevent nuclear power. There was a peaceful demonstration at San Luis Obispo against the Diablo Nuclear Power Plant several years ago. It was attended by then Governor, Jerry Brown, and tens of thousands of people and seemed a powerful statement.

Subsequent demonstrations, billed beforehand as involving civil disobedience, were sparsely attended and now we have the Diablo Nuclear Power Plant operating at full power.

I do not know if peaceful demonstration would have prevented the Diablo Nuclear Plant from going on line but obviously civil disobedience did not.

Sincerely Yours,
T.L. Jones
Santa Cruz

P.S.: I offer this humble "cartoon" in response to the *Monthly Planet's* request for graphics.



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Don't Blow It

Dear Freeze,

Please print my picture. I worked hard on it!

Noel McCord, age 12
Felton, Ca.



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Planet Watch



International

During the first two weeks of June, peace movements around the globe will focus on the build-up of naval weapons. The actions, to culminate on the June 15-16 weekend, are being called by the North Atlantic Network and the Pacific Campaign Against SLCMs (sea-launched cruise missiles).

Actions in different countries will have different emphases, although most will address SLCMs. Other focuses include air-launched cruise, port calls by nuclear-armed and powered vessels, the Trident program and the growing role of advanced command, control, communications and intelligence (C3I) systems in preparation for a first-strike capability.

In the U.S., the Navy is planning a massive \$200 billion build-up over the next five years. This includes improvements in anti-submarine warfare capabilities and the deployment of Trident submarines, both key elements for a first-strike capability. The U.S. is also resurrecting four World War II era battleships and is seeking new homeports for them.

Another key element of the build-up is the deployment of Tomahawk sea-launched cruise missiles. SLCMs are versatile weapons that come in both nuclear and conventional models and can be used for intervention as well as tactical and strategic nuclear warfare.

For more information on the June actions against the naval build-up, contact: Mobilization for Survival, 853 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

New Zealand

The recent decision by the New Zealand government to ban nuclear-armed warships from its harbors was a victory for electoral action: the New Zealand Labor Party, which ran on an antinuclear platform with active support by peace groups, declared the ban only seven months after coming to power.

Pressuring governments to refuse port access to ships and submarines that will not certify they are not carrying nuclear weapons is a tactic in opposing sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCMs) urged by the Mobilization for Survival.

They list the following ways citizens can help build international resistance to SLCMs through supporting New Zealand, a country which declared its ports nuclear-free and refused access to U.S. nuclear-powered ships:

1. Write your congressional representatives opposing economic and military sanctions against New Zealand. Ask them to support resolutions supporting its right to make its own decision to be nuclear-free.
2. Write your local newspapers expressing support for New Zealand's initiative.
3. Write letters to the editors of New Zealand newspapers supporting New Zealand's initiative. Send a SASE to Mobilization for Survival (853 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 1003) for a list of newspapers.
4. Write letters of support to New Zealand Prime Minister, David Lange (Parliament House, Wellington, New Zealand).
5. Support the "Buy New Zealand Campaign" initiated by Riverside Church Disarmament Program. They have produced a rubber stamp which lists New Zealand products such as butter, strawberries, kiwi fruit, lamb

and wool. The stamp can be purchased from: 490 Riverside Dr., New York, N.Y. 10027.

6. Mobilization for Survival's Religious Task Force has released a statement by U.S. religious leaders in support of New Zealand. They are "twinning" American congregations and religious schools who have declared themselves Religious Nuclear Free Zones with their counterparts in New Zealand. For a copy of the statement and information about "twinning," contact the Religious Task Force, 85 S. Oxford St., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11217; (718) 858-6882.

Czechoslovakia

Charter 77, the independent Czech human rights group, has produced "The Prague Appeal," a discussion document about working for Peace in Europe.

The Appeal will be presented to the European Nuclear Disarmament Convention which will be held in Amsterdam in July. It proposes such initiatives for the creation of "a democratic and sovereign Europe," as nuclear free zones and regional treaties of all kinds, and calls for "full use" of the requirement that governments obey international law. And it calls for negotiations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact for the withdrawal of nuclear weapons and U.S. and Soviet troops.

Charter 77 was founded eight years ago to press the Czech government to abide by its ratification of the United Nation's Covenant on Political and Civil Rights. The group has sent "The Prague Appeal" to independent groups in Hungary, East Germany and Poland as well as to Western groups. They are calling for comments and responses to the appeal in hopes of establishing a common framework for discussion and action.

China

The United States has postponed, perhaps indefinitely, a warship visit to China because of a U.S. policy to refuse disclosure of which of its ships carry nuclear weapons.

Hu Yaobang, the Chinese party leader, disputed the visit last month. He claims that the U.S. had agreed not to send a nuclear-armed ship.

The U.S. suspended military cooperation with New Zealand earlier this year when that country refused to allow an American ship to visit because the U.S. would not say whether the ship carried nuclear arms.

Western diplomats, claiming "We have obviously hit a snag," said the warship visit to China would either be canceled or postponed indefinitely.

Proud of their resourcefulness and independence in nuclear technology, the Chinese have published the memoirs of former Army Marshal Nie Rongzhen in the weekly *Peking Review*. It includes the first authoritative account of a test in which a nuclear-armed missile was launched to detonate on a distant target on October 25, 1966.

"I was on the scene for the first time to direct a nuclear missile test," the Marshal recalled. "It was a somewhat risky assignment because if by any chance the nuclear warhead exploded prematurely, fell after it was launched or went beyond the designated target area, the consequences would be too ghastly to contemplate."

The Chinese were very anxious to become equals with the superpower members of the nuclear club. In spite of the withdrawal of Soviet assistance in nuclear technology development, the Chinese eagerly forged ahead on their own.

Chen Yi, an Army Marshal who became Foreign Minister in 1958, argued after the Soviet pull-out that "even if we had to pawn our pants," China should develop its own nuclear arsenal so as to be able to stand on equal term with other nuclear powers.

The Chinese kept their pants, but sacrificed other scientific research programs and conventional weapons development in order to push ahead with the nuclear program. They developed and tested their first atomic bomb only eight years after the inception of their nuclear program and only four years after embarking on an all-out effort of their own. The explosion of the hydrogen bomb on June 14, 1967 meant that China had moved to the more powerful type of weapon in only three years, compared to the ten years taken by the United States and the Soviet Union.

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France

According to a recent survey by *Le Point*, a popular French weekly, the young people of that country are very pro-military.

Seventy-two percent think France needs nuclear weapons to adequately defend itself. Forty-two percent are also supportive of the present compulsory military service, in spite of preferring a choice between military and civilian service. They felt the present system allows participants to "learn practical skills" and acquire technical training.

And many, half of the respondents, look down on pacifists in Europe, calling them "idealists cut off from reality." Nineteen percent went as far as to deem them "naive pawns of Moscow."

One of the officers in France's air force authorized to carry out the order to fire nuclear missiles says he deserted his post because he could no longer believe in the concept of deterrence as a rationale for maintaining a nuclear arsenal.

The officer, Lieutenant Jean-Louis Cahu, 25, will stand trial for desertion in a civilian court in Paris. His statement read, "How can I accept that at the dawn of the 21st Century, one must still pronounce the words 'famine,' and 'war,' while money that could be used to nourish is being spent to fight."

Cahu's defense committee requests letters of support, in English or French, be mailed to: Juge de l'Instruction Monsieur Lernoud, Palais du Justice, 3000 Nimes, France. A copy may be mailed to the defense committee at: Comite de Defense a Jean-Louis Cahu, c/o CODENE, 23 rue N.D. de Lorette, 75009 Paris.

A resounding "no" to Star Wars is what President Reagan heard from French President Francois Mitterand at the 11th annual economic summit conference. In spite of President Reagan's claim that Star Wars was "a defense not to harm people, but to prevent nuclear missiles from reaching our soil," Mr. Mitterand "told Reagan France would not participate."

France has made an alternative proposal: that its European partners band together in a project called Eureka which would allow them to make the same advances in the area of high technology they would make if they became contractors for the American space weapons program. The Eureka project, Mr. Mitterand has said, would concentrate only on civilian areas of technological development.

President Reagan has consoled himself over France's rejection of Star Wars with the promises of support from West Germany and Britain. These countries' support of the program was tied, however, to the stance to be taken by U.S. negotiators in the Geneva arms talks with the Soviet Union. President Reagan assured them he would not deploy a space-based "defense" system without trying to negotiate an agreement about it with the Soviet Union, and that he would balance development of both offensive and defensive forces. By giving these assurances, President Reagan won interest from both West Germany and Britain in potentially lucrative high-technology American military contracts.

Israel

Early last month it was revealed Israel has illegally obtained 800 electronic devices called krytrons which can be used to set off nuclear bombs. A krytron is a small switch which can deliver a precise amount of electrical current in as little as a millionth of a second.

While export of krytrons is highly restricted in the United States, Israel Defense Ministry spokesperson Nachman Shai claimed "Israel was not aware of any ban on purchasing those devices. It purchased the krytrons without knowledge of any restrictions."

A *New York Times* editorial likened Israel's pledge to return the unused krytrons to "returning uneaten cookies to a jar" as a sign of "innocence."

Businessperson Richard Kelly Smith has been indicted by a Federal grand jury on charges of illegally exporting the 800 krytrons to Israel in batches of 10 to 50 between 1980 and 1982.

Britain

As the United States continues to export cruise missiles to the United Kingdom, the British peace movement has responded with its own export: a suit against the United States. Greenham Common Women sought to have cruise missiles declared unconstitutional. They argued that the missiles, which are capable of being launched quickly and secretly, deprive Congress of its right to declare war; threaten to deprive life and liberty without due process, in violation of the Fifth Amendment; and, because of their indiscriminant and long-lasting potential effects, violate several canons of international law. Hundreds of U.S. and British churches, disarmament groups, and labor organizations joined the suit as "friends of the court."

A U.S. court recently dismissed the suit, but the Greenham Women are planning new avenues for legal actions against the cruise.

Switzerland

Every new house in Switzerland must include a bomb shelter and there is a mandatory "five days a year bomb shelter live-in experience" required of all non-military. Dr. Tom Schnyder, Trichtenhauserstrasse 2, 8125 Zolikerberg, Switzerland has twice refused to do this as a matter of principle. He is liable for a jail term if he does so a third time. Dr. Schnyder, a member of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, is circulating the IPPNW New Physician's Oath. For more information and a copy of the Oath, contact Dr. Schnyder.

(reprinted from the CMTIC Newsletter, Bellport, N.Y., 11713)

Europe

French, Norwegian, and Danish delegates to a NATO meeting on May 18 criticized Star Wars on the grounds that it could unhinge the peace in Europe. A French delegate claimed that Star Wars could begin a new high-technology race between the United States and the Soviet Union. A Norwegian representative also spoke against the American proposal, saying that because it could only intercept ballistic missiles, Europe could not be protected by the system.



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Changing Views On Nuclear Weapons

by Colleen DeLaney

This article is based on the results of the most comprehensive survey ever done on American attitudes toward nuclear weapons policy. The survey was done by the Public Agenda Foundation, of which respected pollster Daniel Yankelovich is president. (For details on the survey methodology, see the accompanying box.)

AMERICANS IN CONSENSUS: CHANGING VIEWS ON NUCLEAR WAR

It's not often that a great majority of Americans agree on an issue, much less on an issue as complex and frequently controversial as nuclear weapons, yet it's heartening to find that most Americans agree, unequivocally, that nuclear war is unwinnable, unlimitable, and unsurvivable.

The Public Agenda's surveys found consensus, or areas where over 75% of Americans gave the same answers to any question regardless of how it was phrased and regardless of the respondent's age or sex, on many basic issues surrounding our nuclear capabilities. The public attitude towards the use of nuclear weapons has changed dramatically since the 1940's, when those weapons were first used. I can recall conversations I had with my mother when I was a teenager when she told me that of course the use of atomic weapons against Japan was "awful," but "think of all the lives that were saved," meaning, of course, all the American lives. People at the time, she told me, had no real idea of the awesome power of those weapons, or of the repercussions of other countries developing nuclear weaponry as well. In the view of most Americans, World War II had gone on for too long, and lives were saved by bringing the war to an abrupt end by our show of unprecedented military strength, as represented by the atomic blasts in Japan.

My mother's view of our use of nuclear weapons represented a consensus at that point in time. In 1945, an overwhelming majority approved of our use of the bomb in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and in 1949, only 29% of those surveyed in a Gallup poll thought that it was a "bad thing" that the atomic bomb had been developed. The bomb was not viewed as abhorrent, but as

saving lives by bringing the war to an end. Of course, at that time we were the only ones who had the bomb, and the Soviets were still recently our allies. As long as we were confident that we were the only country with the bomb, and as long as we were confident of our superiority over the Russians, we felt secure.

And yet by 1982 a radical change in this

If an all out atom and hydrogen bomb war should occur between Russia and the U.S., do you think all mankind would be destroyed or not? (Gallup)

	1955
	%
Yes	27
No	59
No opinion	14

Do you agree or disagree that the U.S. can win a nuclear war with the Soviet Union? (ABC/Washington Post)

	1982
	%
Agree	32
Disagree	46
Don't know	22

There can be no winner in an all out nuclear war; both the U.S. and the Soviet Union would be completely destroyed (Public Agenda)

	1984
	%
Agree	89
Disagree	9
Don't know	2

About The Survey

Why should anyone trust the results of a public opinion poll? As Benjamin Disraeli was reputed to have said, "There are three kinds of lies—lies, damned lies, and statistics." Public opinion polls, particularly if commissioned by some partisan group, have tremendous potential for being one-sided, misleading, or downright manipulative—in short, for revealing precisely that which the pollsters wanted revealed. This is because, of course, the results of any survey depend upon how the questions are worded. This difficulty in getting accurate data is particularly strong when it comes to issues of nuclear weaponry, where many people's attitudes are far too complex and detailed to be summarized in a simply worded survey question that allows no room for gradations of opinion.

In 1984 the Public Agenda Foundation, a non-partisan, non-profit research and education organization, set out to chronicle public opinion on nuclear arms policy. It was perhaps as much their intention to show the confusion, inconsistencies, and contradictions in people's views as it was to reveal areas in which a majority of Americans are in clear agreement. To achieve this end, the Public Agenda Foundation examined each issue from various facets by posing differently worded questions about each issue, to ensure that it was not the particular wording of the question itself that was influencing the answer. When no matter how a question is worded the answer remains overwhelmingly the same, then a consensus is said to exist. When people are clear on their views, no clever re-wording of a question—a favorite tactic of partisan opinion polls—can trick them. Where, however, the simple rewording of a question evokes varying responses, then conflict and lack of clarity is said to exist in the public's mind. The appearance of this kind of conflict may reflect confusion, misinformation, or simple lack of awareness of the repercussions of their choices on the part of those being polled. While the following survey does show consensus on some basic items—people have realized that nuclear war is downright suicidal—it also shows that in more detailed areas of American foreign policy many conflicting views exist.

The Public Agenda Foundation was founded in 1975 by Cyrus Vance and Daniel Yankelovich (of Time polling fame) and has surveyed public opinion on many other sensitive issues since its inception. The results below are based on a national random sample of 505 American citizens, age 18 and up, surveyed between May 24th and May 30th, 1984. The hypotheses themselves that were tested in the survey were arrived at by means of a series of professionally conducted focus groups. Focus groups, the latest rage in marketing and survey techniques, consist of a group of persons carefully selected to be representative of a variety of ages, backgrounds, occupations and educational levels who are brought together to discuss the issues that will form the basis of the survey questions to be used.

Copies of the survey briefing book, entitled *Voter Options On Nuclear Arms Policy*, are available from the Santa Cruz County Nuclear Weapons Freeze office. They may also be purchased, at \$6.00 per copy, from The Public Agenda Foundation, 6 East 39th St., New York, N.Y., 10016.

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CHANGING VIEWS ABOUT THE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The U.S. should *not* use nuclear weapons if the Russians invade Western Europe (or in a battlefield situation)

1984	1982	1955	1949
%	%	%	%
74	57	48	38

Sources: 1949-NORC; 1955-NORC; 1982-CBS/NY Times. Question wording only approximately comparable.

By the 1990s, it should be our policy to use nuclear weapons if the Soviets invade our allies with tanks and soldiers, even if they don't use nuclear weapons

Agree	Disagree	Not Sure
%	%	%
18	77	5

Source: The Public Agenda Foundation

view had come about, with 2 out of 3 Americans shifting to the belief that nuclear weapons are, indeed, a bad thing. Compared to the great numbers of people who were comfortable with the thought of nuclear weaponry in 1945, 89% now believe that a nuclear war is not survivable and should never be fought. Eighty-three percent believe that there is no such thing as a "limited nuclear war"—in fact, any nuclear conflict would inevitably escalate into all-out war, and 89% believe that both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. would be destroyed by a nuclear war. Views have changed since even a few years ago, when, in 1961, 43% thought their chances of surviving an all-out nuclear war was poor, to the current 77% who give themselves little chance of surviving such a holocaust.

Clearly, two things have fed this changing view in the last decade: the work done by peace groups and the media in dramatizing and publicizing the dangers of nuclear war, and the increasing military parity of the Soviets. Ninety percent of Americans now believe that between us, we and the Soviets now have enough weapons to blow us all up many times over; 84% believe that the U.S. no longer has the superior arsenal, and that we will never regain the comfortable superiority we held in the 40's and 50's. Those days are gone. It is now firmly believed (by 92%) that no matter what new weapon we come up with, we'll never get ahead since the Soviets will just keep building until they catch up with us. In fact, an overwhelming consensus (84%) now believes that building new weapons just to have "bargaining chips" for the purpose of negotiations doesn't work, since what usually happens is that the Soviets just keep on matching us, chip for chip.

Even though the Soviets are seen (by 82%) as a dangerous, implacable enemy who will take advantage of any weakness we might show (for example, 90% believe the Soviets used detente in the 1970's as a time to secretly build up their military strength), the majority (85%) nonetheless believes that we and the Soviet Union must *never*

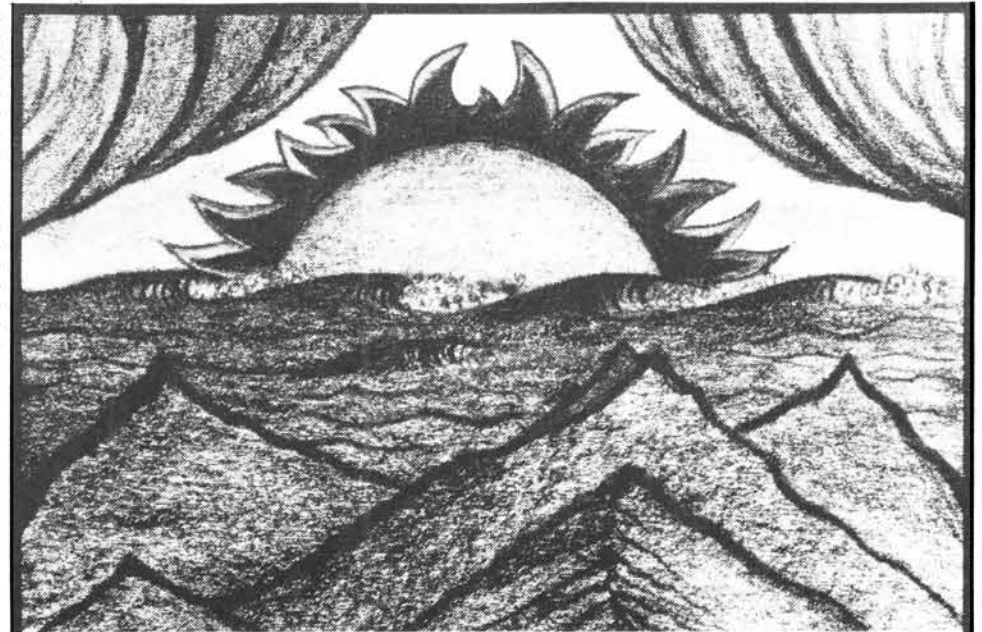
resort to war. As much suspicion and mistrust as we have for the Soviets, going to war with the Soviets is nonetheless not seen as an option, as the use of any nuclear weapons would result in the annihilation of both societies as well as most life on the planet.

An overwhelming ninety-six percent of Americans agree that "picking a fight with the Soviet Union is too dangerous in a nuclear world—we should be thinking of peaceful solutions as well as aggressive ones." Why then, if we have such consensus that we must never use nuclear weapons, do we not demand an immediate freeze on weapons? It is because, despite the consensus on these points, conflict remains over how we may best defend ourselves in the nuclear age, and how we must deal with our adversaries, the Soviets. The areas of public opinion that show conflict account for why we as a nation are having such tremendous difficulties in resolving the most important issue that faces us today—survival in the nuclear age.

AMERICANS IN CONFLICT

When people surveyed are in conflict over an issue, it may be because they have not thought the issue out thoroughly, or that they are confused about the issue, possibly because of misinformation or inconsistencies in what they've heard. *Conflict* is revealed when the same question, phrased slightly differently, elicits two different answers. An example of this kind of inconsistency is where a majority of Americans (56%) agreed it would be an acceptable risk for the U.S. to "sign an arms control agreement with the Soviets, even if foolproof verification can't be guaranteed." But in response to a question worded in a slightly different fashion, the majority (74%) believed that "unless the Soviets agree to on-site inspection, we should refuse to sign any arms control agreements with them." This kind of inconsistency in answers reveals deep-seated ambivalence about the Soviet Union as well as what risks the U.S. should be willing to take in order to prevent nuclear war.

continued on page 8



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Conflict can be *internal* or *external* in nature. When conflict is internal, this means that the individual or the public unwittingly holds contradictory views, or where people have not taken the time to sit down and examine their beliefs carefully, or where people are pushed or swayed by the emotional rhetoric of the moment. It is where this kind of conflict exists that we may face our greatest opportunities—for internal conflict takes place over issues that are unresolved. Bringing to light new information and new arguments may be what is needed to turn conflict to consensus. In the second type of conflict, external conflict, the views of one segment of the populations are in direct opposition to those of another segment—and thus we find in the survey areas where opinions about the nature of the Soviets is divided sharply along lines of age, education, or income.

While Americans are in agreement that nuclear war means certain suicide, there is considerable conflict over what our military strategy should be in the nuclear age, and how we might live in peace with the Soviets. One of the greatest areas of conflict in the public's mind is over how great a threat the Soviets are. Are they the evil empire that President Reagan denounces, bent on ruling the world? Fifty-six percent say yes. Or are their actions explained by the fact that they are obsessed with national security as a result of having been invaded many times and are merely defending their homeland? Seventy-five percent take this view. Are the Soviets likely to attack us if they perceive

weakness on our part (65% think so), or are they as afraid of nuclear war as we are, as 64% of Americans believe? Clearly, Americans are of two minds about the nature and extent of the Soviet threat. And conflict about the nature of the Soviet threat tends to be divided by age, with 76% of those age 61 and over believing the Soviet Union will do anything to further the cause of communism.

Because of this confusion and uncertainty over how to regard the Soviets, it naturally follows that Americans are also divided over how we might best negotiate with the Soviets. Although the Soviet Union is perceived (by 62%) as not keeping their promises as we do, there are those who also suspect the U.S. has been equally recalcitrant at negotiations. Fifty-two percent believe that the U.S. has not done enough to reach serious arms reductions with the Soviets, even while 61% believe that the Soviets have cheated on just about every treaty and agreement they've ever signed. Further conflict is revealed in the fact that while 56% believe that our failure to sign Salt II has been a major cause of tension, an equal number (58%) believes the Soviets have always gotten the better part of the bargain in our past agreements. Because of these doubts about Soviet veracity with regard to treaties, Americans feel strongly that verification is an essential component of any arms control agreement, even though there is conflict and confusion over what constitutes verification, as revealed at the beginning of this section.

continued on page 11

CHANGING VIEWS ABOUT THE CHANCES OF SURVIVING A NUCLEAR WAR

	1984	1981	1963	1961	
	%	%	%	%	
In an all out nuclear war, my own chances of living through it would be:	Very good	4	5	5	9
	50-50.....	17	32	37	40
	Poor	77	60	52	43
	No opinion	2	3	6	8

Source: Gallup-9/61, 3/63, 8/81.

CHANGING VIEWS ABOUT THE ARSENALS OF THE U.S. AND THE U.S.S.R.

	1984	1982	1961	1955	
	%	%	%	%	
Comparison of U.S. and Soviet Nuclear Arsenals	Russia superior	27	41	21	9
	The two sides are about equal	57	41	11	*
	U.S. superior	10	7	56	78*
	Not sure	6	10	12	13

Sources: 1955-Gallup; 1961-Minneapolis Tribune; 1982-Los Angeles Times. *Gallup wording only approximately comparable.

CONSENSUS-LEVEL VIEWS ABOUT NUCLEAR WEAPONS

	Agree %	Disagree %	Not Sure %
Nuclear weapons can never be abolished because the knowledge to make them will always exist.	85	13	3
Building new weapons just to have "bargaining chips" doesn't work. What usually happens is, the Soviets build one to match us.	84*	11	5
We and the Soviets now have enough nuclear weapons to blow each other up several times over.	90	4	7
If we had a bigger nuclear arsenal than the Soviets, they would simply keep building until they caught up.	92	5	3

Source: The Public Agenda Foundation

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Ellsberg's Analysis: Threats, Yes - Actual Use, No

Antinuclear activist and former government intelligence analyst Daniel Ellsberg, after studying the Public Agenda Foundation's report of their survey, spoke with the authors of the report. The following interpretation is excerpted from a talk given by Ellsberg to a Northern California Nuclear Weapons Freeze conference on February 8, 1985.

Yankelovich and his assistant John Doble regarded the following two answers as inconsistent: (1) The majority say we should not initiate nuclear war for any cause on earth. (2) "Would you risk nuclear war to prevent a certain area being taken over by the Communists?" "Yes," a majority said. That is treated as an inconsistency by authors of the report. But notice, it is not inconsistent. It is not logically or practically inconsistent to say, "I would not start a war, I would not use weapons, in the sense of actually exploding them, for any purpose. But I would risk nuclear war for some purposes. I would gamble. For some big enough causes I would even accept an increased risk. I would take a chance." That, unfortunately, is not inconsistent. And it's Reagan's policy. It may be the policy they think they are supporting—and it is, in fact, what they are supporting.

I asked Doble, "Did you ever ask the

question, "What do you think about threatening nuclear war?" They didn't ask it. But another survey did. In a poll done for the Committee on the Present Danger (which got similar answers to Yankelovich for similar questions), the question was asked: "Do you favor or oppose telling the Soviets that we will not respond with nuclear weapons if they attack our allies?" (emphasis added) That poses a formal, explicit no-first-use commitment. 66% opposed telling the Soviets that we will not respond with nuclear weapons if they attack our allies (20% favored; so more than 3:1 opposed, of those who had an opinion).

The Committee on the Present Danger summarized this result, reasonably: "A substantial majority of Americans... support the *threatened* use of nuclear weapons to deter a Soviet attack against U.S. allies..." (emphasis added) A longer summary (April 16, 1984) adds: "College-educated respondents were the most opposed (66%-71%) to telling the Soviets that we would not use nuclear weapons to defend our allies." It goes on, in a comment strengthening the distinction between "threat" and "actual use" in the responses: "Sixty-three percent favored retaliation against the Soviet Union after a nuclear attack on the United States, even though such action might result in the destruction of both countries. Interestingly, the college educated citizens were most opposed to the actual use of nuclear weapons. This same group was the most in favor of keeping up the threat of their use to defend our allies."

CONCERN ABOUT NUCLEAR WAR

		1984 %
Compared to five years ago, I find myself thinking about the possibility of nuclear war:	More often*	55
	Same	37
	Less	5
	Not sure	3

*72% among those under 30.

		Not Sure %
If we and the Soviets keep building missiles instead of negotiating to get rid of them, it's only a matter of time before they are used	Agree	68*
	Disagree	27

*78% among those under 30, 75% among women.

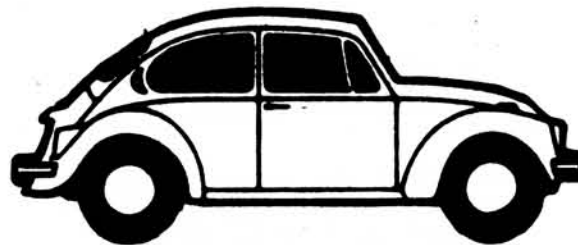
VIEWS ABOUT THE LIKELIHOOD OF NUCLEAR WAR

		Agree %
Within the next ten years, all out nuclear war is:	Very likely	13
	Fairly likely	25
	(Subtotal: Very or Fairly likely)	38*
	Fairly unlikely	30
	Very unlikely	28
Don't know	4	

*50% among those under 30.

Source: The Public Agenda Foundation

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**CONFLICTING VIEWS
ABOUT THE LONG TERM FUTURE**

	Agree %	Disagree %	Not Sure %
There is nothing on earth that could ever justify the all out use of nuclear weapons.	79	17	4
I'd be willing to risk the destruction of the U.S. rather than be dominated by Russia (1983-NY Times).	55	28	17
We should live and let live; Let the communists have their system and we ours. There's room in the world for both.	67	28	5
In the long run, democracy and communism can't co-exist; that's why we can't live peacefully with the Russians.	47*	48	5
	*37% among college graduates.		
We can get along with communist countries; we do it all the time.	71*	25	4
	*81% among those 61 and over.		
I'd rather die in a nuclear war than see communism come to this country.	41	44*	15
	*33% Among those 46 to 60.		
When the Bible predicts that the earth will be destroyed by fire, it's telling us that a nuclear war is inevitable.	39*	42	19
	*28% among college graduates; 49% among those earning less than \$20,000.		
It's senseless to worry about whether there will be a nuclear war because there's nothing anyone can do about it anyway.	28	69*	3
	*80% among college graduates; 58% among those 61 and over.		
A nuclear war is (very or fairly) likely to occur within the next ten years.	38*	58	4
	*50% among those 18 to 30, 26% among those 61 and over.		
If we and the Soviets keep building missiles instead of negotiating to get rid of them, it's only a matter of time before they are used.	68*	27	6
	*75% among women; 78% among those 18 to 30, 53% among those 61 and over; 56% among college graduates.		

Source: The Public Agenda Foundation

Americans are divided in their views on communism and communist expansion, and how strongly we should stand up to Soviet expansion. While 46% believed we should use military force if necessary to prevent communist revolutions in other countries, (with 62% believing that the only language the Russians understand is force), and 78% felt that the invasion of Grenada showed the Russians that there's a limit to "how much they can push us around," a great majority (83%) also felt that there are limits to our power, that we can't be "the world's policeman." "Grenada was one thing," an attorney surveyed was quoted as saying. "There were what—2,000 men in the whole Grenadian army? But Nicaragua's a different story."

We're not of one mind when it comes to co-existing with the Russians, either. Fifty-three percent think the U.S. would be safer if we stopped trying to prevent the spread of communism and learned to peacefully co-exist with the Soviets as we have with Yugoslavia and China. And another 67% wants to "live and let live," letting the communists have their system while we have ours. A pragmatic 71% is certain that we can get along with communist countries since we do it all the time. Eighty-three percent surveyed agreed that our experience with communist China proves that our mortal enemies can quickly turn into countries we can get along with. But one would have to conclude that the one country we won't forgive and forget our past differences with is the Soviet Union, as revealed by the 47% who doubt that democracy and communism can co-exist in the long run, and who believe that for that

reason we can't live peacefully with the Russians. Forty-one percent would rather be dead in a nuclear war than red by communist invasion, and 55% would willingly risk the destruction of the U.S. rather than be dominated by Russia. It's interesting to look at the range between these last two numbers—a greater number is willing to risk the destruction of the U.S. than actually die, themselves, in an invasion. It is just this attitude of nuclear chicken that pervades American thought. Nuclear war may be unacceptable, but *threatening* the same doesn't seem quite so dangerous.

And the public is split on weapons systems, as well. Though nuclear war is seen as totally abhorrent, 47% believe we should do everything we can to build up our own military strength, even if it might lead to a new arms race. Yet a nearly equal number (43%) believes that we should unilaterally reduce our stockpile of nuclear weapons.

What does this mean, when Americans are almost evenly split on issues of communism and nuclear weapons? It means that these issues are unresolved in the public mind, and it is in these unresolved areas that the public mind is open to new information—willing to listen and consider arguments. With the consensus that nuclear war is unthinkable and unwinnable, what must now be addressed is *how* the prevention of this ultimate disaster may be brought about. And for the public to unite behind any kind of freeze proposal or disarmament agreement, these areas of conflict and confusion must be thoroughly addressed and resolved.

Colleen DeLaney is a staff writer for *The Monthly Planet* and local hell-raiser.

Nuclear Misinformation

Most Americans believe we hold nuclear weapons for defensive purposes only. Perhaps most Americans are unaware of the many times the U.S. has used its powerful nuclear arsenal to bully or threaten other countries, or maybe it's inconceivable that we — the good guys — would actually strike first with nuclear weapons, even though we've already proven that yes, we *will* use these weapons. Eighty-one percent of Americans mistakenly believe we would use nuclear weapons against the Soviets if and *only* if they attacked the U.S. first with nuclear weapons. In other words, a

great majority believes we have a "No First Use" policy. Actually, it is the Soviets, not us, who have the "No First Use" policy.

Sixty-nine percent of Americans mistakenly deny that it is current U.S. policy to use nuclear weapons against the Soviets "if the Soviets invade Europe or Japan with soldiers and tanks . . . if they don't use nuclear weapons." Again, a majority denies that we would be the ones to escalate conventional warfare into nuclear warfare.

These basic misconceptions about our nuclear policy may explain why so many Americans are complacent about arms build-up, even while firmly believing that a nuclear war should never be allowed to happen.

MISINFORMATION ABOUT CURRENT U.S. POLICY

	Agree %	Disagree %	Not Sure %
"It is current U.S. policy to use nuclear weapons against the Soviets.			
if and only if they attack the U.S. first with nuclear weapons.	81*	15	4
*94% among those 61 and over.			
if they invade Europe or Japan with soldiers and tanks, even if they don't use nuclear weapons.	22	69	9

Source: The Public Agenda Foundation

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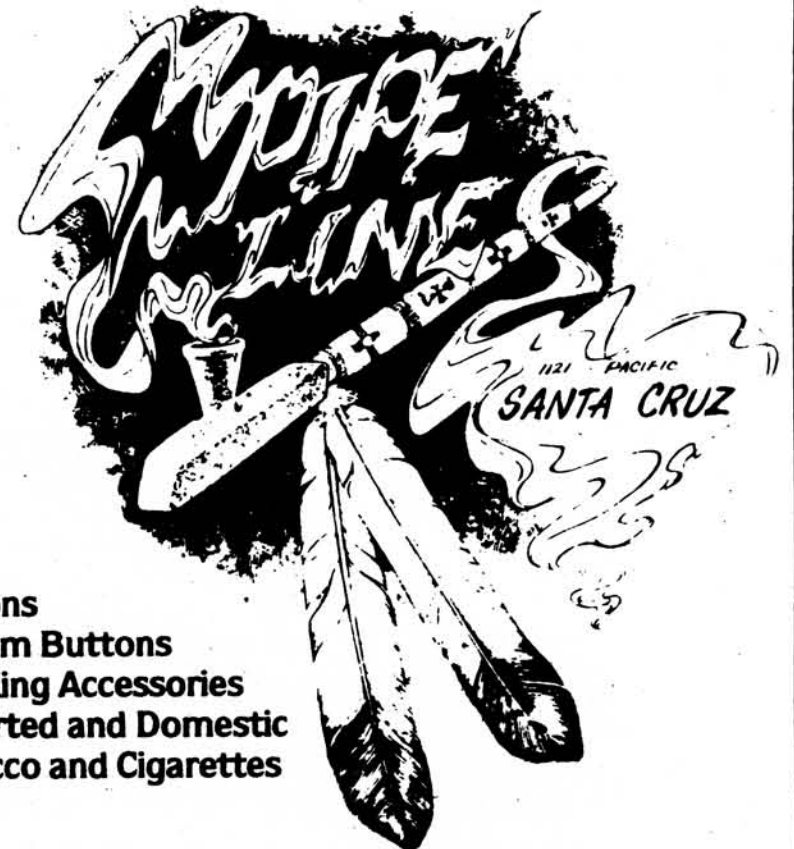
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Yes

by Shelly D'Amour

In 1964, long before it was popular to do so, Martin Luther King Jr. came out against the war in Vietnam. His stance was unique, in that he saw the issues of militarism and racism as inseparable. King saw the struggle to end the war in Vietnam and the struggle to end racism in the U.S. as intricately linked.

It was a crazy move, politically speaking. Some of his closest advisors were against it. It was too controversial; he would lose supporters, they argued—which he did. But it was also a prophetic stance, and,

conventional warfare... because the function of large, ever-improving nuclear arsenals is to deter conventional warfare, we will never be able to reduce nuclear weapons substantially until the use of conventional military forces is restrained by means other than the threat of nuclear escalation. Before we can hope to abolish nuclear weapons altogether, we must eliminate the prospect of conventional war among the big powers, end their intervention in developing countries and limit all conventional military forces to small, short-range, purely defensive armaments."

In December 1984 at the National Freeze Conference, Randall Forsberg outlined her vision for the Freeze movement for the next five years, stating compelling arguments for forging these links. The Conference voted

Adelman, head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and Richard Pearl, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security) do not themselves support any negotiated arms control agreement with the Soviet Union. Despite its proclaimed support for arms control, the Reagan Administration has cut absolutely nothing from its nuclear arsenal, and has in fact received funding for every new nuclear weapons system it wanted.

Concurrently, the Reagan Administration has pursued an aggressive interventionist policy in Third World countries, particularly in Latin America. It continues to lend diplomatic and/or military and economic support to repressive regimes in Chile, Guatemala, and El Salvador, as well as South Africa and the Philippines. It has invaded the country of Grenada. It conducts destabilizing activities in dozens of countries. Just last month the *San Jose Mercury News* reported that the largest single expenditure of covert aid is to support CIA activity in Afghanistan.

But there are other arguments, equally as compelling.

Since President Reagan's election in 1980, this Administration has done everything short of the introduction of U.S. troops to bring down the government of Nicaragua. It has mined their harbors. It maintains Navy patrol ships in their coastal waters. It is blocking loans from the Inter-American Development Bank and from the International Monetary Fund. It supports and supplies the *Contras* who have destroyed granaries, co-ops and refineries, schools, clinics, and churches. The *Contras* have been responsible for the rape, mutilation and murder of more than 10,000 Nicaraguan citizens. It maintains training exercises for U.S. troops along the Honduran border. And it has enacted an embargo against Nicaraguan goods, further burdening an already shattered economy.

It is my opinion that the Freeze, in good conscience, can no longer sit on the fence on this issue. Indeed, to do so would jeopardize our moral integrity as an organization that stands for peace and justice. We can't go on forever isolating ourselves from every social justice group or cause that does not appear on the surface to be directly tied to the goals of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze campaign, out of the fear of being identified as some fringe group and thereby losing some constituent support. Various peace



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and justice concerns everywhere are linking arms with one another, each devoted to its own area of concern, but each joined to the other in common strength. It is incumbent on us to make these links, lest we fall guilty of what Martin Luther King called "the White Moderate who is more devoted to 'order' than to justice... Who paternalistically feels that he can set the timetable for another man's freedom... Shallow understanding from people of good will is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will. Lukewarm acceptance is much more bewildering than outright rejection."

In endorsing the Pledge of Resistance, the Nuclear Weapons Freeze is saying that addressing conventional military interventionist policies is a necessary step in resolving the problem of nuclear weapons buildup. And, conversely, it is saying that self determination on the part of Third World countries is critical toward achieving that goal.

Time is running out for Nicaragua. It is appropriate that we make these connections now, and begin to move on them and make them clear to our constituency. Joining our voices with others can only make us stronger.

Shelly D'Amour has been a member of the Steering Committee of the Santa Cruz County Nuclear Weapons Freeze since 1982.

The Freeze campaign should not concern itself with being in the presumed mainstream of public opinion, but rather place itself on the "cutting edge"...

most important, it was the very truth—one couldn't resolve racism and discrimination in one's own country and ignore how it was being played out against another people by the same country. The cause of peace and the cause of racial justice needed to link arms with one another, he would argue, or neither would achieve victory separately.

Currently, the Santa Cruz chapter of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze is being asked to link arms—to publicly draw the connection between U.S. military intervention in Central America and the nuclear arms race—by endorsing the Pledge of Resistance, a project of the Emergency Response Network.

I strongly support such a move, for several reasons:

1) **The Links Are Clear.** In her essay "The Freeze and Beyond: Confining the Military to Defense as a Route to Disarmament" Randall Forsberg, the author of the original Freeze proposal, states: "Because the functions of nuclear forces are actually deeply intertwined with the functions of conventional military forces, it has been and will continue to be impossible to make deep cuts in nuclear arsenals until we have come to grips with the problem of ending

to endorse the Pledge of Resistance on the following day.

2) **The Freeze has a responsibility to succeed at what it started out to do:** that is, enact a freeze and bring about eventual disarmament. Due to the interlocking nature of nuclear and conventional forces, it is clear that the disarmament movement must seriously address the question of the conventional military and interventionist policies of the superpowers if it ever hopes to succeed in achieving a freeze on and eventual disarmament of nuclear weapons. The Freeze campaign should not concern itself with being in the presumed mainstream of public opinion, but rather place itself on the "cutting edge"—helping its constituents draw the necessary connections so we can address these problems in a way that will actually produce change.

3) **The Current Administration is not serious about Arms Control, and in fact is escalating both the nuclear arms race and its interventionist policies in third world countries.** Some of the top advisors to the U.S. arms negotiating team in Geneva, as well as those whose business is supposedly arms control (such as Kenneth

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by Gerald Hirsch

The question of Weapons Freeze Can the Pledge of Resistance on the basis of how affects the ends of th At the policy level a "deadly connection" interventionist actions of the chance that one will escalate into a nu is therefore appropriate continues, for the Freeze out against specific in

If the F which t diminis

such as the Reagan Nicaragua policy. Public attitudes re involvement, both econ in the affairs of This directly related to t nations by the U.S.S support our involve: counters Soviet inv nuclear war, on the ot as clearly in the intere one believes that we

Point/Counterpoint



As part of our effort to promote dialogue within the Peace Movement, we introduce a new feature, Point/Counterpoint. While this month's question focusses on a debate within the local Nuclear Weapons Freeze chapter, future issues of *The Monthly Planet* will examine broader questions of movement strategy and tactics. And, as always, we welcome letters from readers if they are typed and double spaced.

Should The Freeze Endorse The Pledge Of Resistance?

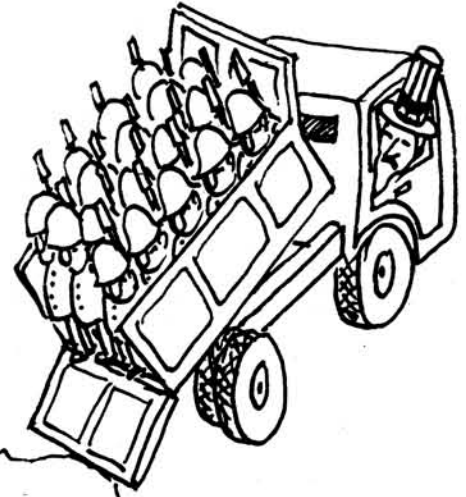
and justice concerns everywhere are linking arms with one another, each devoted to its own area of concern, but each joined to the other in common strength. It is incumbent on us to make these links, lest we fall guilty of what Martin Luther King called "the White Moderate who is more devoted to 'order' than to justice... Who paternalistically feels that he can set the timetable for another man's freedom... Shallow understanding from people of good will is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will. Lukewarm acceptance is much more bewildering than outright rejection."

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Time is running out for Nicaragua. It is appropriate that we make these connections now, and begin to move on them and make them clear to our constituency. Joining our voices with others can only make us stronger.

Shelly D'Amour has been a member of the Steering Committee of the Santa Cruz County Nuclear Weapons Freeze since 1982.

The Pledge of Resistance is a nationally coordinated effort to block or halt U.S. intervention in Central America. Individuals who sign the Pledge commit themselves either to nonviolent civil disobedience or nonviolent legal resistance and support work in the event of a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua or El Salvador. Currently, 60,000 people have signed the Pledge. It is hoped that such large numbers of public resistance will help deter U.S. military action in Central America. The Pledge of Resistance is a project of the Emergency Response Network.



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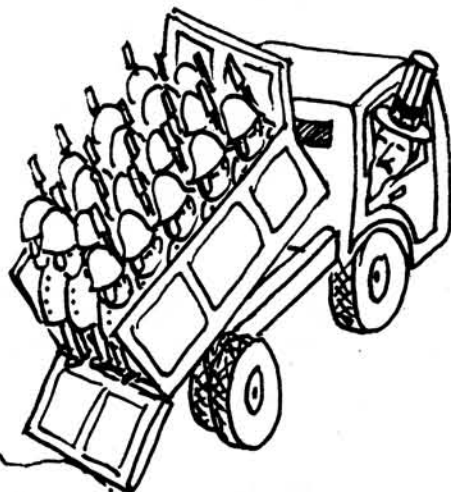
Point/Counterpoint

As part of our effort to promote dialogue within the Peace Movement, we introduce a new feature, Point/Counterpoint. While this month's question focusses on a debate within the local Nuclear Weapons Freeze chapter, future issues of *The Monthly Planet* will examine broader questions of movement strategy and tactics. And, as always, we welcome letters from readers if they are typed and double spaced.



The Freeze Endorse Edge Of Resistance?

The Pledge of Resistance is a nationally coordinated effort to block or halt U.S. intervention in Central America. Individuals who sign the Pledge commit themselves either to nonviolent civil disobedience or nonviolent legal resistance and support work in the event of a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua or El Salvador. Currently, 60,000 people have signed the Pledge. It is hoped that such large numbers of public resistance will help deter U.S. military action in Central America. The Pledge of Resistance is a project of the Emergency Response Network.



No

by Gerald Hirsch

The question of whether the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign should endorse the Pledge of Resistance should be judged on the basis of how such an endorsement affects the ends of the Freeze Campaign.

At the policy level it is argued that there is a "deadly connection" between the interventionist actions of the superpowers and the chance that one of these interventions will escalate into a nuclear confrontation. It is therefore appropriate, the argument continues, for the Freeze Campaign to come out against specific interventionist actions,

nuclear conflict. A nuclear weapons freeze that can be verified by both superpowers has, therefore, won wide support throughout the world, cutting across political, economic, and social boundaries. This diversity of support is the Freeze Campaign's main strength. If the Freeze begins endorsing other causes on which public opinion is less unified, it will diminish its diverse appeal.

Because of their commitment to causes of social justice, many Freeze supporters and activists give their efforts to opposing the Reagan policy toward Nicaragua, as well as other abuses of official policy throughout our nation and the world. Most, if not all, of the organizations that address these abuses support the Freeze. As an organization with a single goal, the Nuclear Weapons Freeze

If the Freeze begins endorsing other causes on which public opinion is less unified, it will diminish its diverse appeal.

such as the Reagan Administration's Nicaragua policy.

Public attitudes regarding American involvement, both economically and militarily, in the affairs of Third World nations are directly related to the activities in those nations by the U.S.S.R. Many Americans support our involvement to the extent it counters Soviet involvement. Avoiding nuclear war, on the other hand, is perceived as clearly in the interest of all humanity. No one believes that we or the Soviets want

cannot reciprocate officially for this support by giving its endorsement to causes which do not directly serve its interests. Nor should it make moral judgements and take stands on any issues other than those that directly address its aim of achieving a mutually verifiable freeze on the production, testing and deployment of all nuclear weapons.

Gerald Hirsch is Chairperson of the Santa Cruz County Nuclear Weapons Freeze Steering Committee.

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Nukes For Tots

"Consumer thermonuclear warheads at popular prices," is the sales pitch for Nukies, toy nuclear bombs and emblems developed by Michael Anthony Schaefer's company, Practical Solutions, Inc. There are also tabletop storage silos, a Nukie marriage-counseling game, and a song called "Nukie Fever."

Schaefer believes in capitalist solutions to social problems. Buyers of Nukies become certified superpowers, complete with membership cards, entitling owners to "spheres of influence, the right to set up puppet dictatorships and all the right and privileges of a thermonuclear power."



More Military Money?

A February *New York Times*/CBS poll, repeating the results of a November 1984 poll, reported that only 16 percent of the voters favored an increase in military spending. Thirty percent said the Pentagon should spend less and 51 percent said military should be kept about the same.

The budget sent to Congress by the Department of Defense called for a 6 percent "real" increase (over inflation) next year and increases of more than 8 percent in each of the following years.

Congress will most likely not approve more than a 3 percent increase over inflation in spending. In fact, there is a chance that Congress will approve a "zero growth" military budget, allowing only enough for inflation and many members of Congress say even that is too much.

Les Aspin, Chair of the House Armed Services Committee, has argued for a 3 to 5 percent growth in spending on top of inflation for the Pentagon, but said he would vote for a budget freeze this year if it is part of a "serious" deficit-reducing package.

Guns Not Butter

According to Seymour Melman, professor of industrial engineering at Columbia University, the militarism of the Reagan Administration is "literally taking bread out of the mouths of children."

Melman compiled a list of trade-offs between social and economic programs with military programs in the Administration's budgets. The list includes \$25 billion to be spent on the MX missile which roughly equals the Senate Republicans' proposed 1986 freeze on cost-of-living adjustments in Social Security and similar pension payments; \$10 million for five air-launched cruise missiles which equals the 1986 cut in Acquired Immune Deficiency

Syndrome (AIDS) research and control activities; \$3.7 billion for the planned research and development for Star Wars which could pay for Federal funding needed by Connecticut for rebuilding bridges and roads; and \$12.2 billion to be spent on the Army's Patriot ground-to-air missile system which roughly equals the 1982-85 cuts in Federal income and nutritional programs that left 20 million people hungry among the 35.3 million living in poverty.

Offensive Reductions

The House Armed Services Committee voted on May 7 to allow an increase of only 4% in spending for Star Wars research which covers expected inflation in 1986. The vote cut President Reagan's proposal for \$3.7 billion for the so called "shield" against nuclear missiles to \$2.5 billion.

However, in the spirit of the great MX compromise, House Armed Services Committee chair Les Aspin is reported to have a secret proposal at hand which would link the space weapons program with reductions in offensive missiles. Once again, the House may support more weapons spending in the name of arms reductions.

Spill SALT II?

In a statement which expresses the administration's seriousness about the Geneva arms talks with the Soviet Union, Richard N. Perle, the Defense Department's chief arms control official said on May 7 that in his "personal view," the United States should break out of the SALT II agreement.

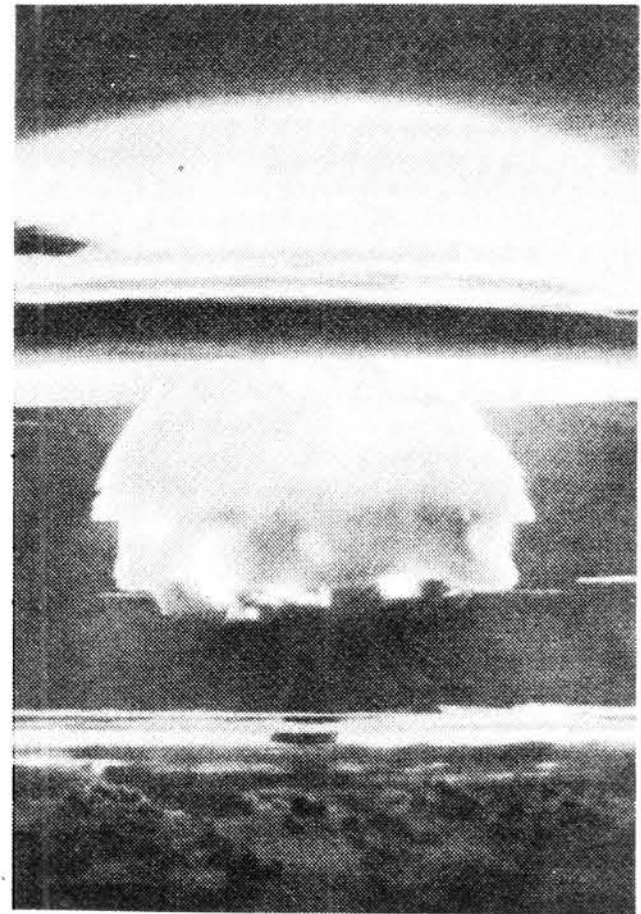
Perle, assistant secretary of defense for international security, told the Senate Armed Services Committee that SALT II should not be observed beyond its expiration date of December 31, 1985. He claimed that if the limits remain in effect after 1985, the United States, because of the new weapons it has coming into service, would have to retire a "significantly larger number" of missiles than the Soviets over the next two or three years. He didn't comment on the comparison between new U.S. and Soviet weapons systems being built as the older ones would be retired.

Where's My Aspin?

The folks back home in Wisconsin were angry when Representative Les Aspin, Chair of the House Armed Services Committee used his powerful position to push the MX through. Jean Verber, Chair of the Citizens for a Nuclear Freeze in Racine, Wisconsin said "People are very upset. They feel he does not represent his constituency. They also feel he is, in a sense, betraying the people here because of the cost factor (of the MX) in a district with a ten percent unemployment rate."

It appears that Aspin is using his new position to bring defense contracts into his district, where he believes constituents are more concerned with local issues than the MX. With the help of local officials and Wisconsin Power & Light, he developed the Rock County Project, which helps local businesses make contact with the Department of Defense. The project has already brought several million defense dollars into the area.

Aspin has no plans to leave the House to run for the Senate in 1986. He will hold on to his long-sought Chairmanship of the Armed Services Committee.



Hot Flashes

Super Excalibur

Super Excalibur, named for the legendary sword of King Arthur, is a high-powered X-ray device being developed as part of the Star Wars research conducted at Lawrence Livermore Labs.

The new device may embarrass the Reagan Administration which has been emphasizing the use of non-nuclear devices for defensive purposes. Super Excalibur would be powered by a nuclear explosion, the force of which would be channeled into laser rods that emit powerful bursts of radiation. This method of focussing the rays of a nuclear explosion was tested in an underground explosion in Nevada on March 23, the second anniversary of President Reagan's now infamous Star Wars speech.

Upcoming Missiles

The Pentagon has disclosed that it has selected 46 sites as possible bases for the new Midgetman ballistic missile, including 13 in California.

The Midgetman is the nickname for what the Pentagon calls the Small Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (SICIBM). Unlike the MX missile which can carry 10 nuclear warheads, the Midgetman would be a small single-warhead missile that could be transported and fired from large, truck-like vehicles. The mobility of the Midgetman has appealed to Congress because it would make it difficult for the Soviets to target it in the event of a first-strike. The final basing mode, however, has not been determined.

The California locations include: Barstow

Marine Corps Logistics Base, Marines; Camp Roberts (National Guard), Army; China Lake Naval Weapons Center, Navy; Chocolate Mountain Air-Ground Range, Navy; Edwards Air Force Base, Air Force; El Centro Complex, Navy; El Centro Naval Air Facility, Navy; Fort Irwin, Army; George Air Force Base, Air Force; Lemoore Naval Air Station, Navy; March Air Force Base, Air Force; Twentynine Palms Marine Corps Base, Marines; Sierra Army Depot, Army.

No Faith in Star Wars

A group of 37 religious, civil rights, and scientific leaders have called on Congress to refuse funds for Star Wars. In a statement entitled "We Have No Faith in Star Wars," they "reject any system of security based on fear and intimidation. This plan would generate an enormous new arms race in both offensive and defensive weapons."

The statement included three Roman Catholic bishops, presidents of two Protestant denominations, three members of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology faculty, the head of the reform Judaism movement, a member of Congress and two prominent civil rights leaders. It was prepared and circulated by the American Friends Service Committee.

Disarming Images

"Disarming Images: Art for Nuclear Disarmament" is an exhibit of works by 46 contemporary artists which will tour the nation over the course of the next year. The project documents "the consciousness of the '80s as being shaped by the threat of

nuclear war."

The artists whose works will be displayed include Red Grooms, Laurie Anderson, Claes Oldenburg and Keith Haring. Film and video programs as well as live performances are coordinated with each exhibit.

According to project organizer Nina Felshin, art "can help keep alive and visible an issue that must not be allowed to dissipate into silence."

"Disarming Images" comes to California from June 25 to August 4 at the University Art Museum at Santa Barbara. It is co-sponsored by the Bread and Roses cultural project of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees and by Physicians for Social Responsibility.

Complacent Compliance

In an apparent attempt to have its cake and eat it too, the Reagan Administration may put an older Poseidon missile submarine in dry dock this fall to avoid direct violation of the unratified SALT II agreement when a new Trident submarine goes on sea trials, according to Administration officials.

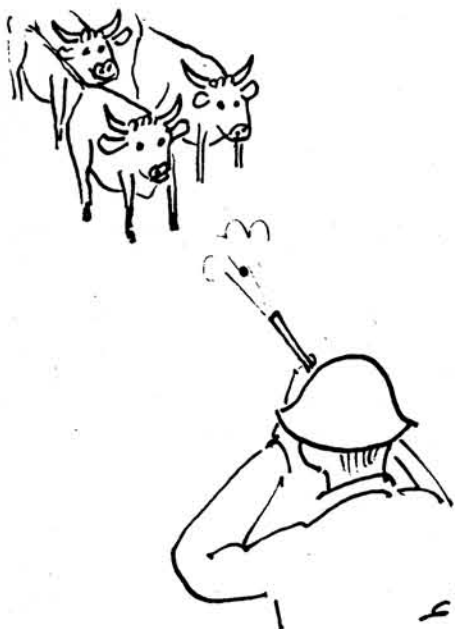
When the U.S.S. Alaska, a new Trident submarine with 24 intercontinental missiles aboard, begins sea trials this year, the U.S. will be in violation of the SALT II limit of 1,200 multi-warhead missiles. The Administration has been strongly critical of the SALT II treaty, yet is making plans to comply in an admittedly "grey area" effort to avoid direct violation of the treaty. A Poseidon submarine will be taken out of active service, but its firing tubes will not be dismantled as would be required for strict compliance. The Administration claims such action is justified in light of alleged Soviet violations.

The Administration will continue such arguable attempts at compliance until the treaty expires at the end of this year.

Cow Wars

During a recent Army war game at Fort Hunter Liggett, Ca., soldiers shot and killed 74 cattle which allegedly stampeded into the line of fire.

Colonel Lester Walkley claimed, "When we started exercising all our weaponry in our final defensive front, all the noise must have spooked them and they turned around and came running back in."



Hold The Lettuce?

The nuclear arms race affects everyone's daily life in ways which are not always apparent. In the next few months, important decisions will be made by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) and Congress about foods irradiated with nuclear weapons waste byproducts. The FDA is predicting action sometime this year on their proposed regulation which would allow the *secret* irradiation of fruits, vegetables, and grains.

According to the Health and Energy Institute of Washington, D.C., the department of Energy has secured funds to build demonstration food irradiators with tax dollars as part of the nuclear explosives budget of the DOE. These funds were requested in *secret* hearings.

Cesium-137, a major part of the nuclear wastes from the production of plutonium, will be transported through communities and farmland in the Pacific Northwest in a mobile irradiator. A permanent irradiator, containing three million curies of this radioactive by-product, will be located in the Oakland vicinity.

There is also proposed legislation to eliminate labeling of irradiated foods being pushed by Congressman Sid Morrison (R-WA) and Senator Slade Gorton (R-WA).

The Health and Energy Institute is mounting a campaign to alert the public about the dangers of food irradiation. For more information or to make a financial contribution to the Institute's work, contact them at: 236 Massachusetts Ave., N.E., Suite 506, Washington, D.C. 20002, (202) 543-1070.

A Gross Debt

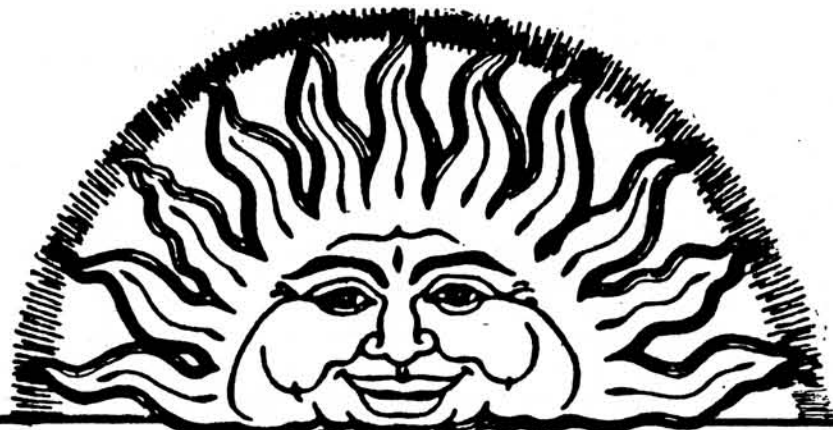
In the President's own words, "We've had only one balanced budget in the last quarter-century. As a nation, our debt has grown and grown and grown, until now it totals \$1.7 trillion — a number so big that it's nearly unimaginable. A single billion is 1,000 millions. A trillion is a million millions."

The current gross Federal debt is at about \$1.7 trillion, a major increase from the \$940 billion debt which existed when President Reagan took office. It has gone up more under Reagan than in the 40 years before 1981. Administration estimates show that it will have doubled before the end of this year and reach \$2.5 trillion by the end of Reagan's second term.

Double Standard

As an example of the pot calling the kettle black, President Reagan accused the Soviet Union of pursuing a first-strike capability with its plans to deploy the SSX-24, a counterpart to the U.S. MX missile.

The accusation of Soviet undermining of nuclear deterrence raises the controversy of superpower intentions. The United States' MX and Trident II both share the power and accuracy to destroy hardened missile silos with the Soviets' SSX-25. Yet President Reagan, in a speech to the European Parliament claimed, "The Soviet Union does not share our view of what constitutes a stable nuclear balance. It has chosen instead to build nuclear forces clearly designed to strike first and thus disarm their adversary." The President, however, still vowed to pursue arms reductions with Moscow while seeking no unilateral advantage over the Soviet Union.



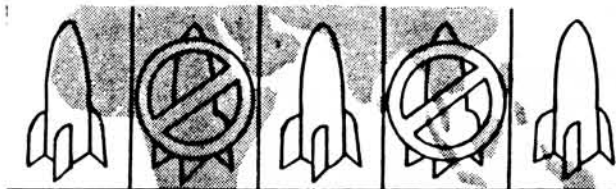
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Tales Of A Citizen Lobbyist

by Harriet Blue

The Spring Mobilization for Peace, Jobs, and Justice lasted a few very warm April days in Washington, D.C. The temperature hovered around 90°. During the march on the 20th, some participants took a few minutes out to play in a large water fountain on the way to the Capitol steps. They helped cool the rest of the marchers by splashing water over those close enough to catch some of the spray.

The police estimate of numbers as announced from the speakers' platform was 100,000. The media that evening estimated the same crowd as 26,000. Take your pick. We didn't count, but it was a huge crowd.

A conference called the Citizens Lobby for Peace, Jobs and Justice convened on April 21st at nearby Georgetown University. After a rousing and informative keynote speech by Congressman John Conyers, participants attended two workshops. Topics included Apartheid, Central America, Middle East, Philippines, Domestic and Military Budgets, Employment, The New Poor and Ongoing Rich, The Effect of the President's Budget on Housing, on Education, on Health, on Civil Rights, The

Comprehensive Freeze Bill, Star Wars, The MX, Economic Conversion, and "How To" Lobby Tips.

To lobby is to experience the unexpected. The vote on aid to the Contras in Nicaragua was the issue on Capitol Hill the day we lobbied.

First we went to Senator Pete Wilson's office. Two years ago Sen. Wilson was unable to meet with the California Nuclear

we're building *different* ones." At another point he showed us a large chart indicating that we are reducing the number of our nuclear weapons. He also said that we all want the same thing, but we have different approaches.

We came away feeling that Wilson and the Reagan Administration are in close agreement. Also that it would be nice if Wilson himself would meet with us next

Zschau's amendment failed.

In our discussion with him, Rep. Zschau did say that he felt the airfield and the military tanks the Sandinista government has were for offensive purposes. He also indicated that we should have more faith in the Geneva talks, and that we should leave the administration alone and not interfere at this point.

It would seem that the Sandinistas are spending too much on military buildup, which means they want to use such a buildup for offensive and not defensive purposes, Zschau said. Also that we should leave questions on arms control negotiations to the President.

We thanked him for his vote against the MX. It was all very gracious and polite. And we left his office with mixed feelings.

Next we met with Representative Leon Panetta's aide. He listened to what we had to say and offered views similar to ours. Later, Rep. Panetta took time between meetings to meet with the three of us from his district. He indicated that he intended to vote against aid to the Contras. His voting record on nuclear matters is good. When asked about his vote on the Trident II missile, he said he wasn't sure yet but he was leaning toward voting against it. Also, he was not on the list to sponsor economic conversion legislation.

Rather late in the afternoon, the California Nuclear Freeze delegation of about 40 people met with Senator Cranston for 45 minutes. His aide spoke with us while we were waiting for him to arrive.

Among other things, Cranston told us he would not vote for aid to the Contras in any form. His voting record for stopping the arms buildup has been quite good, except for his vote on the B-1 bomber.

When someone asked Cranston what we could do to help stop the arms buildup, he offered some advice: Be careful about the language you use. Push for big goals, but in small practical steps. Let's have interchanges with the Soviet people. Elect the right people. He also mentioned developing a crisis center where differences with the Soviet Union can be handled so hostility will not escalate.

Perhaps his most valuable advice was to continue doing what we're already doing and, above all, to persist. Not too shabby, I thought.

That closed our lobbying effort for April, 1985.

A word or two about Washington. The subway is terrific. It's clean, fast, pretty, convenient, with courteous clerks and it's safe. It just costs too much. If you go to Washington, try to eat in the office buildings. The ambience is cool, attractive, and pleasant, and it doesn't cost much either. When you visit the House and the Senate, you will see lots of people in the gallery, but speakers speaking to almost empty houses.

The overall lesson to be drawn from our Washington caper is to keep in their expressing you views to your congressmembers and keep asking them to vote the way you believe. To borrow a bit of advice from Sen. Alan Cranston, though it's often discouraging, persist.

To lobby is to experience the unexpected.

Freeze lobbyists. He was unable to meet with us this time, also. However, he arranged to have his able aide talk with us.

Some of the highlights of Sen. Wilson's position as presented by his aide follow: Nicaragua has a Marxist government. They are giving military aid and other comforts to surrounding countries to destabilize them. Their airfield and military buildup can only be for offensive purposes. On the nuclear issue Wilson's voting record pretty faithfully matches the administration's position.

After telling us, the fifteen or more California Freeze Lobbyists, what a thoughtful, informed and intelligent group we were, his aide commented, "We're (the U.S.) not building *more* nuclear weapons,

time around.

Representative Ed Zschau talked to us in person. Zschau, who represents the northern part of Santa Cruz County, is very articulate. He was interested in the pending vote on the joint resolution to aid or not to aid the Contras in Nicaragua. He was definitely going to vote against aid to the Contras. He told us about the bi-partisan amendment he was going to present to the House the next day. His amendment had three main parts: (1) No aid to the Contras, (2) Humanitarian aid to refugees—who were undefined, and (3) If negotiations failed after six months, the President would have a "facilitated" right to present his program for Nicaragua to Congress. Rep.



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Legislative Update

As the second round of arms control talks between the U.S. and the Soviets in Geneva begin, the Nuclear Weapons Freeze is continuing its "Stop (or Freeze) While We Talk" campaign. Because we want the Geneva talks to succeed, we are asking both sides to stop building more weapons while the talks continue. The Freeze is currently collecting signatures on a petition addressed to the President and Congress, insisting they initiate actions leading to an immediate, verifiable, Soviet-American halt on the testing and deployment of new nuclear weapons while negotiations proceed.

The major vehicles for pushing "Stop While We Talk" in Congress are:

Comprehensive Freeze Bill:

This is the main vehicle in the House. It provides the backdrop for our other legislative efforts by clearly stating our comprehensive goal. If passed, Congress would initiate a Comprehensive Freeze by cutting funds for testing and deployment, and eventually production of nuclear weapons, as a challenge to the Soviets to do the same. We do not expect this bill to come to a vote this year. However, it is very important to gather Congressional co-sponsors as a means of keeping the Comprehensive Freeze proposal visible and increasing the pressure on the President to support a "Stop While We Talk." Markey (D-Mass.) and AuCoin (D-Or.) and the main co-sponsors. It will not be introduced until there are at least two Republican co-sponsors

We want our Representatives to co-sponsor the Comprehensive Freeze Bill.

Negotiators' Pause Resolution:

This main vehicle for "Stop While We Talk" in the Senate will be introduced by Senator Paul Simon (D-Ill.). This will be a non-binding resolution. Our Senate supporters will not pursue a Comprehensive Freeze Bill until after a non-binding resolution has been passed in the Senate. (Remember that the Senate has never passed the Freeze Resolution, unlike the House.) Simon and Markey have circulated separate "Dear Colleague" letters urging a "Stop While We Talk."

We want our Senators to co-sponsor and support the Negotiators' Pause Resolution.



TRIDENT II (D-5) MISSILE:

The Pentagon wants \$2.8 billion for research and development and \$585 million in procurement funds to produce these long-range, highly accurate MIRVed war-head missiles for Trident II submarines. The first missiles would be deployed in FY'87. Congressman Ted Weiss will introduce an amendment to delete the procurement funds. The Trident II system has received little public attention, but it would constitute a larger first-strike threat than the MX in Minuteman silos. Congressman Leon Panetta voted to fund this system last year. We have no clear indication how he will vote this time. Production of the Trident II missile would constitute a violation of SALT II.

We want our legislators to oppose all funds for the Trident II system.

SALT II COMPLIANCE:

Senators Bumpers, Chafee, Heinz, and Leahy will introduce a resolution urging the Administration to continue abiding by existing Strategic Arms Control agreements. (Senate Concurrent Resolution 25)

We want our Senators to support this resolution.

NUCLEAR EXPORTS TO SOUTH AFRICA

Representative Rangel (D., N.Y.) has introduced two bills in the House, HR 1133 and HR 1135, which would end nuclear related exports to South Africa and stop uranium and coal imports from South Africa and Namibia.

We want our Representatives to stop nuclear exports to South Africa.

STAR WARS

President Reagan has requested \$3.7 billion in fiscal year 1986 for his Strategic Defense Initiative, known as "Star Wars." In the Senate, two amendments to the Defense Department Authorization bill would slow the growth of this dangerous, expensive weapons program. They are:

1) The Kerry, Cranston, Simon amendment to freeze funding at the FY'85 \$1.4 billion level.

2) The Bumpers, Proxmire, Chafee, Mathias amendment to reduce the funds to \$1.86 billion.

We want our Senators to support these amendments and oppose all funding for Star Wars.

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

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

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

HOTLINES

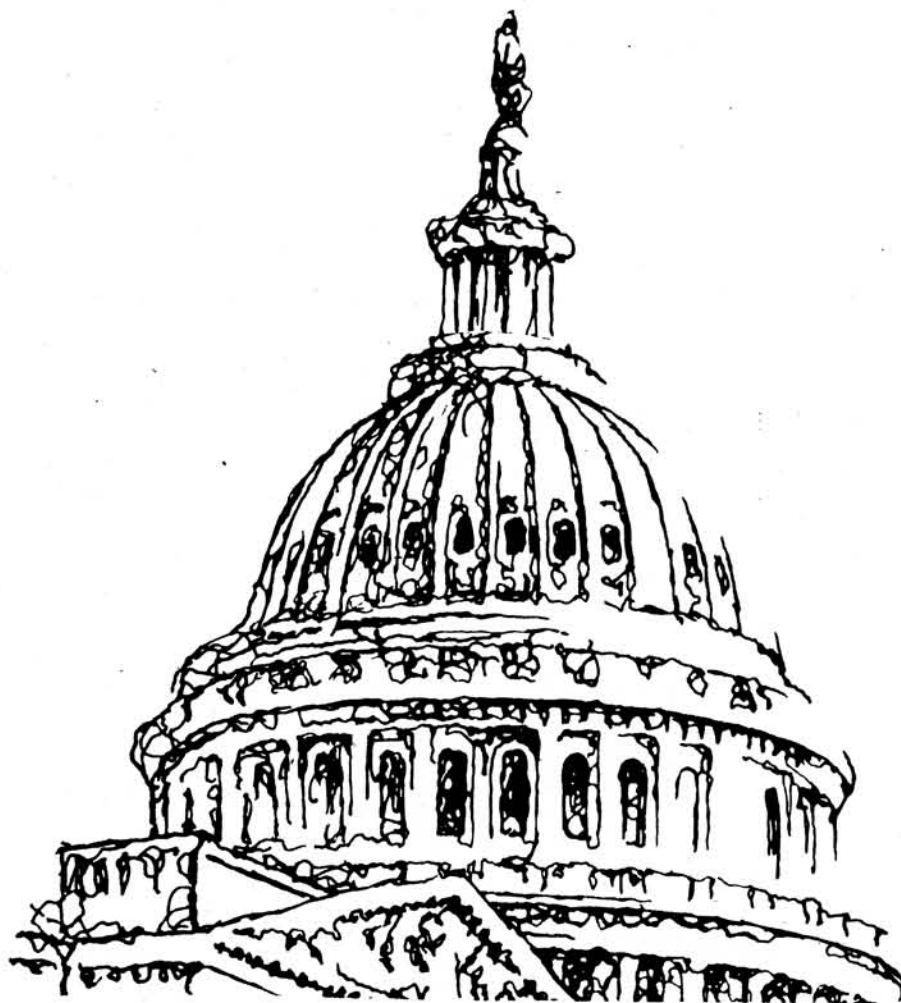
To keep you abreast of late-breaking events on peace and arms control issues, the following organizations run regularly-updated taped messages:

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

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The Soviets: Another Perspective

by Colleen DeLaney & Ted Lahti

A NEW SOVIET LEADER

As happens with the succession of any new Soviet leader, speculation is rife over just what kind of a guy Gorbachev is, and what his leadership will mean to the future of arms control. As is customary, the press has hurried to give us personality profiles on the new Soviet leader. Gorbachev has shown more skill than his predecessors, so far, in cultivating a favorable media image, and has already won points for his diplomatic skills.

Keep in mind, however, that no matter how friendly and diplomatic Gorbachev is portrayed by the press, he exemplifies a massive Soviet leadership change from the previous aging, feeble power structure to a younger, more ambitious, extreme, and inexperienced group of leaders known in Moscow as the "Iron Young Men." This group of "Iron Young Men" has already taken control of the KGB secret police and the Ministry of Defense and almost sent troops to Poland three times, but was stopped, each time, by the aging Kremlin hierarchy. Though somewhat more moderate than most of the "Iron Young Men" of Moscow, Gorbachev nonetheless represents this shift in leadership to a younger, more extreme group of leaders.

While it was hoped that the transfer of power to a younger generation might result in a less hawkish Soviet military stance, this may not be the case. (After all, how much difference would substituting Bush for Reagan make in our defense policy?)

THE GORBACHEV OFFER

The Great Communicator may have met his match in media manipulations in Gorbachev, who took the opportunity of Easter Sunday to announce a six-month moratorium on SS-20s, the medium range Soviet ground-based missiles that are targeted on Western Europe and

to-hand combat to decide who shall rule the world, (a frequent suggestion that would spare millions of lives in a nuclear shoot-out) perhaps the two great leaders can have media wars instead of star wars. VCR's at twenty paces, and the best public relations statement and most winsome smile wins.

At any rate the U.S., not surprisingly perhaps, reacted to Gorbachev's missile freeze offer with the kind of suspicion that has become the trademark of recent relations with the Soviet Union. According to the White House, this would leave us in a serious imbalance and would leave

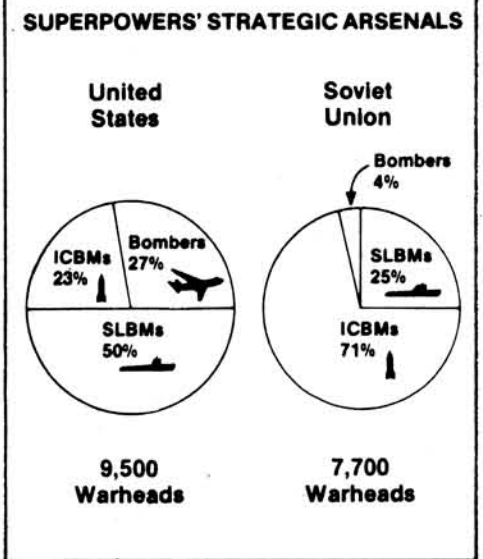
Saying he'll freeze production of any more SS-20s . . . is rather like Ford trying to be nice to GM by offering not to build any more Edsels.

Japan, and to call upon the U.S. and its allies to also join in this freeze on missiles. Gorbachev, it seems, may be developing as great a talent for portraying himself as a man of peace as has Reagan, and this leads to an interesting new concept in modern warfare. Rather than have the two super-power leaders face off in personal hand-

the Soviets with a ten to one advantage in missiles.

These numbers deserve a closer look. It is relatively easy for President Reagan to whip greater America into a frenzy by pointing out that the Soviets have 414 SS-20s pointing towards Europe and Japan, while the U.S. has installed only 132 Pershing and cruise missiles to date (572 are planned). Granted. To make it worse, each one of the Soviet SS-20s is equipped with three warheads: a grand total of 1242 less accurate warheads to our single 132 very accurate warheads on the Pershing II and cruise missiles. This is enough to give any student of statistics a serious pause. But can we draw the same conclusion as Reagan?

Look at it this way. The Soviets rely primarily on their land-based missiles for strategic defense. And yet, those Soviet land based missiles are dangerously vulnerable to attack in today's age of fast, accurate multiple warheads. In comparison, U.S. forces rely primarily on submarine warheads (see chart) which are almost totally invul-



not relevant when considering the balance of NATO and Soviet forces in Europe. The Soviet Union, the country on which those weapons are targeted, however, considers the British and French missiles quite relevant.

Additionally, and getting down to the real reason behind the Soviet offer, the Soviet's SS-20s are obsolete anyway, and are slated to be replaced with newer, more accurate SS-28s, which are more equivalent to our Pershing II's. Gorbachev is not giving up any big concession by saying he'll freeze production of any more SS-20s—those missiles are on their way out, anyway. (This is rather like Ford trying to be nice to GM by offering to not build any more Edsels.) And so, while Gorbachev's offer may have impressed a few with its timing and peacefulness, it was still, primarily, the kind of public relations gesture that we've all come to expect from President Reagan.

It is just these kinds of maneuverings that make even the most optimistic of us wonder about the future of arms control. At this point, with a new generation of leadership emerging from the Soviet Union, however, it might be helpful to reflect on the differences between U.S. and Soviet societies on issues of war and peace.

THE SOVIETS: REASONABLE PARANOIA?

Paranoia is defined as over-suspiciousness, or delusions of persecution. By this definition, the Soviets have reasonable grounds for paranoia vis-a-vis their position in the world. The Soviets experi-

. . . perhaps the two great leaders can have media wars instead of star wars. VCR's at 20 paces . . .

nerable to attack themselves. How can you destroy an underwater target when you don't even know where it is? Put this together with the fact that our new Pershing II missiles are only 5-8 minutes away from Soviet command control and communications centers, and you may begin to see why the Soviets are not terribly secure with their massive but vulnerable land-based missiles. We have the clear superiority in having the majority of our missiles submarine-based, rather than as sitting ducks on land.

Reagan also neglects to mention the ever-expanding "independent" British and French nuclear weapons, claiming they are

enced a devastation of their people and country in World War II that Americans, who have never been invaded, may find hard to comprehend. The Russians have, in the last century, lost 60 million people to wars and purges, compared to the Americans, who have lost only 1 million of their population to wars in the last century. Persons traveling in the Soviet Union are struck by the memorials to the war dead of the Second World War everywhere. The Soviets, unlike us, have faced the devastations of war on their own land, and their fear of such a war happening again is substantially greater, and has become an overriding fear and



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obsession. For almost 70 years, with only two brief periods of calm in the 1930's and detente 1970's, the Soviet state has been at war or under threat of war. No other nation in our time has been subjected to such pressure, and this pressure has led to a siege mentality on the part of the Soviets.

The Soviets are surrounded on all sides by hostile enemies with nuclear weapons pointed straight at them, the greatest single threat being neighboring China, which currently enjoys friendly relations with the U.S. Even the Eastern European countries are not traditional allies of the Soviet Union—some fought with the Germans against the Soviet Union in World War II, and many are struggling to find Kremlin independence. History has taught the Soviets that they live in a hostile world, surrounded by enemies, as their land has been invaded countless times over the centuries. The United States, in contrast, has friendly allies on all of its borders, and no history of invasion from outside countries.

The Soviets have not succeeded in becoming the world power that everyone fears. Their relatively small gains in Angola, Cuba, and Ethiopia have been more than offset by their great losses—of China, Egypt, Yugoslavia, and Sudan. Additionally, the Soviets are having tremendous difficulty in keeping their satellite countries in line.

It is no secret that the Soviets are also experiencing tremendous internal problems. The Soviet economy, in particular, is in bad shape, with agriculture topping the list of economic problems. A confidential study prepared for the Soviet leadership, leaked to the *Washington Post*, revealed huge crop losses due to negligence and mismanagement. Food is fast becoming a political problem, due to rising social and economic expectations on the part of the Soviet citizenry.

Other causes for Soviet paranoia? At any given time, the United States has 3,000 warheads in 15 submarines cruising off the coast of Russia, compared with 4 Soviet submarines with 240 warheads off the U.S. coasts. The United States has 200 major military air bases in 45 countries. The Soviets have none. The United States has 22 major military ports around the world. The Soviets have one, in Vietnam.

Given these facts, look at the United States from a Soviet perspective for a moment. The Soviets are faced with an adversary who is the only country in history to have ever dropped nuclear weapons on an enemy. Of course they believe we might just do it again. Since, as mentioned above, the Soviets have 71% of their weapons vulnerable to attack, versus our 23% of vulnerable land-based missiles, it is not unreasonable to expect that any move towards first-strike capability on our part would turn them from paranoid to downright hostile and trigger happy.

It's little wonder that the Soviets are willing to give up very little, at this point, by way of weapons systems, and little wonder that Star Wars strikes them as another terrifying first-strike system. **FREEZE WHILE WE TALK**

So perhaps Gorbachev's offer to freeze the SS-20s doesn't strike you as the most sincere effort at negotiations. However, one may take heart in Gorbachev's comment at the time: "If one has taken one's seat at the table to negotiate arms reduc-

tion, then one should at least refrain from increasing them further." This concept of freezing nuclear weapons *while the Geneva talks are in progress* is the best arms control idea we have going for us right now!—but that freeze must apply to all weapons systems, not merely isolated and obsolete systems; especially in a world that is building six new atomic warheads every day. This freeze on building new weapons while we talk, to be effective, must apply to everything from SS-28s to Star Wars to Pershing and cruise missiles.

Unless we stop building weapons now, all weapons, while we are negotiating in Geneva, the new era of the arms race will be marked by a quantum leap in accuracy and speed of weapons. Because of the U.S. Pershing II and cruise missiles the

Soviets may have already gone to computerized "launch on warning" modes. Given that the U.S. has had 151 computer errors in the past four years reporting a false Soviet attack that could have led to a nuclear war, and given archaic Soviet computer systems that are five years behind the American technology, these are hair-trigger times. With the 5 minute Pershing II missiles in Europe, the Soviets do not have enough time to verify an attack. Whoever pushes the button first will lose the least. Unless we stop now, the move towards Star Wars will be inevitable, and at that point, the arms race may be irrevocably out of control and lost.

It is estimated that the U.S. is going to spend \$1.5 trillion dollars in the next five

years on even newer and more sophisticated weapons systems. The Soviets, in rational paranoia, can be expected to continue meeting us, weapon for weapon, dollar for dollar. It is not unrealistic, it is not idealistic, it is not even *unreasonable* to imagine that it is in the common interests of both superpowers, each of whom is clearly able to see the perils of continuing the course we are on. Both the Americans and the Soviets have more than enough domestic needs to spend those trillions of dollars and rubles on, and to stop the arms race. At least long enough to sit down and talk at Geneva.

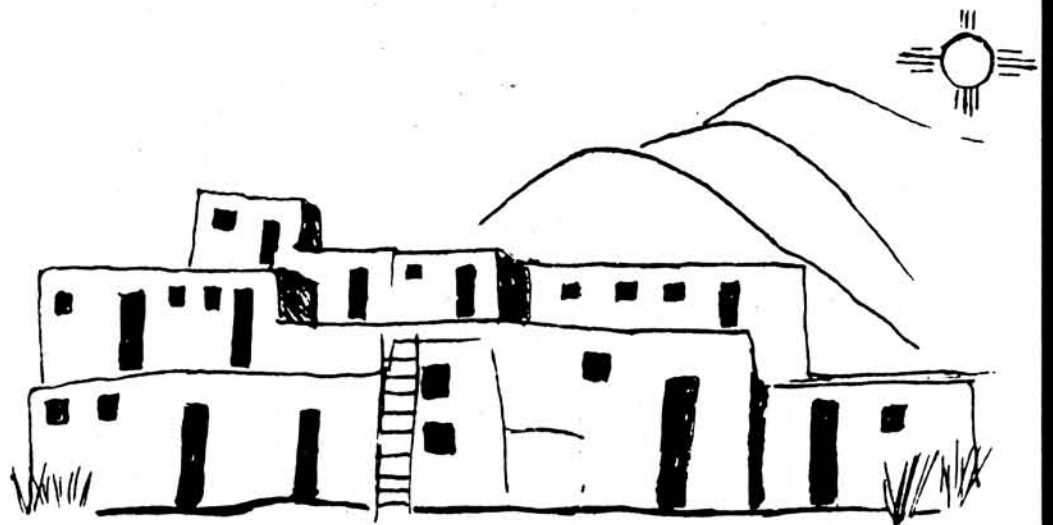
Ted Lahti, a long-time anti-nuclear activist from Ann Arbor, has recently joined our staff.



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Ethical Investing

by Barbara Bedway

Investment patterns have always reflected expectations for the future. A recent financial column in *The New York Times* reported one stockbroker's promising picks for 1985: Boeing, Emerson Electric, and Signal, all top military contractors for nuclear weaponry. If that's not your idea of a future, you can "vote with your money" for a better one. Growing numbers of people concerned with social and moral issues are discovering that ethical investing can keep both their principles and their principal intact. Investment portfolios could become the new nuclear freeze zones.

"I think all along there's been a strong underbase of people who wanted a means of practicing what they preach," says Amy Domini, author of the recently published book *Ethical Investing*, and an investment counselor for Moseley, Hallgarten, Estabrook, and Weeden in Cambridge, Massachusetts. "In the last 10 years people realized the possibility of actually doing it. Colleges, churches, and municipalities wanted to divest of South Africa and still make money — and they found they could."

Large institutions and wealthier individuals, with at least \$100,000 to invest, can turn to advisors such as the U.S. Trust Company of Boston, which has been directing "ethically clean" accounts since 1975. The company screens corporations according to social criteria provided by its

Another winner is the Pax World Fund, begun in 1970 during the Vietnam War and still scrupulously avoiding the securities of companies making weapons systems as well as those engaged in gambling, liquor, and tobacco industries. With a minimum initial investment of only \$250, Pax is especially attractive to small investors; its number-one ranking in *Money* magazine's survey of balanced mutual funds (funds with both fixed-income securities and common stocks) makes it attractive to

power. The minimum initial investment is \$1,000.

For those who want to do their own research, there are a wide variety of publications, clearinghouses, and organizations to help. *The Directory of Socially Responsible Investing*, prepared by the Funding Exchange and the Bread and Roses Community Fund, offers a good introduction and broad resource listing. The Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility publishes the *Corporate Examiner*, a monthly newsletter

and is not a signatory to the Sullivan Principles of nonsegregation and fair labor practices.

"I'm hopeful ethical investing will be an effective tool for social change, and not just a 'feel-good' thing to do," says Domini, who envisions establishing an Investors for Social Responsibility. "In the short term, you can feel good and be consistent with your principles. In the long term, you can make the world a better place."

(reprinted, with permission, from *Nuclear Times*)

Growing numbers of people concerned with social and moral issues are discovering that ethical investing can keep both their principles and their principal intact.

anyone. "We're proof you don't have to suffer financially to invest responsibly," says the fund's vice president, Anthony Brown.

Working Assets, the only money market fund with an investment advisor working exclusively on socially responsible investing, emphasizes job creation and work issues in its investment choices. The fund managers avoid firms that pollute the environment, manufacture weapons or generate nuclear

clients: no defense contracts, for example, or a good record on hiring minorities and women. Michael Moffitt, who specializes in socially responsible investments for Shearson/American Express, says that research on a company's ethics is "extra work, but we don't mind doing it." At Shearson, where most accounts begin with \$25,000, the most often requested social screens involve defense companies and companies doing business in South Africa.

For the average investor who simply wants to open an individual retirement account (IRA) or save for a child's college education, an ethical mutual fund offers a prescreened, professionally managed portfolio of stocks and other securities. (All the funds mentioned in this article can be used to set up IRAs.)

The Calvert Social Investment Fund, managed by the U.S. Trust Company, offers both a managed growth portfolio (suitable for long-term investment) and a money market portfolio (suitable for providing current income). While seeking out companies whose products "enhance the human condition," according to its prospectus, the fund avoids those that pollute, discriminate in hiring, manufacture weapons, or operate in countries with repressive regimes. In 1983 Calvert's money market portfolio was the highest-yielding in the nation, proof that nice guys don't have to finish last.

that surveys policies of major U.S. corporations. *Good Money*, a folksy bimonthly newsletter, catalogues how people and organizations are combining good works and profit. Nuclear Free America, which encourages municipalities, as well as individuals and organization, to divest their holdings in companies which work on nuclear weapons, has published a *Guide to Socially Responsible Investments*.

A word of caution: be sure that the widely varying social criteria used by investment managers and newsletter authors are compatible with your own. *Good Money*, for example, recently recommended Black & Decker, a tool-making company, because it believes the company's products help develop self-sufficiency skills. But the company also does business in South Africa,

PUBLICATIONS

Concerned Investors Guide

Resource Publishing Group
1401 Wilson Blvd., Suite 1101
Arlington, VA 22209
(703) 524-0815 \$117.00 (prepaid)

Directory of Socially Responsible Investment

The Funding Exchange
135 East 15 Street
New York, NY 10003
(212) 260-8500 \$5.00

Stocking the Arsenal

Investor Responsibility
Research Center Inc.
1319 F Street NW, Suite 900
Washington, DC 20004
(202) 833-3727 \$19.00

The Corporate Examiner

Interfaith Center on Corporate
Responsibility
475 Riverside Drive, Room 566
New York, NY 10115
(212) 870-2936
(free sample copies available)

Guide to Socially Responsible Investments

Nuclear Free America
2521 Guildford Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21218 \$2.00

Good Money

Center for Economic Revitalization
28 Main Street
Montpelier, VT 05602
(802) 223-3911 (Sample copy \$8.00)

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Contractors Corner

General Electric Is Charged

General Electric, the State University of New York at Buffalo and the Naval Research Laboratory received the go ahead to form a consortium to study "novel materials" for the proposed Star Wars "defensive shield," according to the Pentagon. The consortium's contract from the Department of Defense includes a three-year budget of \$2.5 million.

General Electric was almost barred from receiving the Pentagon contract because the Air Force had suspended it from future contracts after the company was indicted and convicted on fraud charges. On April 18, however, General Electric was absolved by the Air Force which restored much of the company's eligibility to bid on government contracts because G.E. supposedly improved its accounting practices.



Hall Of Shame

INFACT, the folks who brought the very best in Nestle's boycotts, have launched a campaign against U.S. transnational corporations which produce nuclear weapons. Last October, they publicly released the "Weaponmakers Hall of Shame," a fact sheet which explained the role the top thirteen MX contractors play in forming nuclear policy (by contributing to pro-defense PAC's or sharing personnel and consultants with the Pentagon.)

Dynamic Purchase

General Dynamics Corporation, stung by investigations of improper billings and bribery, is considering a major acquisition outside the military industry to reduce its reliance on the Pentagon. David S. Lewis, chairperson of the nation's third largest military contractor, said the purchase of a non-military company was "a major priority."

On April 15, the organization sent "1040-sleEzy" forms to General Dynamics, General Electric and GTE, as part of "The Generals Campaign." The forms demanded correction and apology for tax abuse and disclosure of profits from weapons production.

INFACT plans in the near future to change the policy of one company as an example through divestment, pressure on shareholders and subsidiaries, or a possible boycott.

Rocky Times At Rockwell

While it's been claimed by some California legislators that defense contracts are good for the state's employment, Rockwell International, the nation's second largest military contractor, will eliminate 1800 jobs at two of its California spacecraft plants in coming months. The company will also eliminate an undetermined number of additional jobs later in the year.

The cutbacks affect some of the aerospace industry's most highly skilled technicians, assemblers and inspectors whose jobs depend on the ebb and flow of military contracts. The upcoming layoffs occur as Rockwell's work on the space shuttle program winds down. At least some of the workers will be rehired, however, as the company gears up to work on the B-1B bomber.

Rockwell International currently employs 44,600 workers in Southern California.

Inflated Inflation

During the last four years Congress appropriated \$18 billion to \$50 billion more than the Defense Department needed due to overestimated inflation projections, according to Les Aspin, House Armed Services Committee Chair. Using Presidential budget statistics, Mr. Aspin said, "The Administration has consistently overestimated inflation by a substantial amount, averaging about 1.7 percentage points a year."

Mr. Aspin and Defense Secretary Weinberger differ on what happens to surplus funds. Mr. Weinberger claims, "We give it back and ask that it be applied next year"

While Mr. Aspin said he did not have enough data to be sure what had happened to the inflation surplus, he suspected that some of it has gone to military contractors. He said, "If a contractor is paid moneys for inflation that never occurs, these moneys should logically show up in higher profits." He also said that the Pentagon shifted some of the surplus funds to programs running short of money because of unexpected cost increases.

Mr. Aspin is seeking cooperation with the Defense Department on "a more rational and fair system" to deal with the situation.

General Electric Is Absolved

General Electric changed its plea to guilty when the evidence of fraud became too overwhelming to maintain its innocence. On May 13, the day the company's trial was to begin, G.E. acknowledged false billings, submitting incorrect employee time-cards in 1980 and a variety of other devices the Justice Department said were used to defraud the government.

The case, in which G.E. pleaded guilty to all of the 108 counts of the indictment, involved a \$47 million Air Force contract to install a new re-entry vehicle on Minuteman intercontinental ballistic missiles. The company has been fined \$1.04 million, the maximum allowable, and ordered to pay back the \$800,000 that was falsely billed.

The investigations, however, will continue. Several other G.E. Pentagon contracts are the subject of other investigations or accounting disputes.

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Santa Cruz County Peace & Justice Calendar

The calendar is compiled with the assistance of the "Lively Connections," a network of 40 Peace and Justice organizations in Santa Cruz County.

Saturday, June 1

Canvassing for material aid for Nicaragua and civil disobedience training. Sponsored by the Emergency Response Network. For time and Place: 425-8057 or 425-8897.

Sunday, June 2

Benefit. To support the volunteer team for Witness For Peace working against Contra "friends." At the Darling House on E. Cliff Drive, Santa Cruz. Sponsored by Witness for Peace. \$10 donation. 4-6 pm. For info: 425-3733.

Canvassing for material aid for Nicaragua and civil disobedience training. Sponsored by the Emergency Response Network. For time and place: 425-8057 or 425-8897.

Monday, June 3

General Meeting. Redwood Youth Foundation. The Foundation wants to inform teachers of Jr. High and High School about a survey they are sponsoring of what young people feel are the most important issues of today that will be discussed at the Youth Telecongress to be held at UCSC July 19-23. This information will be augmented by concerns of youths of other nations. General meeting at 7:30 pm, Del Mar School, 17th Ave. For info: 476-2905.

General Meeting. Native American Support Group. (Each Monday of the month — other days are June 10, 17, and 24). 128 Pearl Alley, Santa Cruz, 7:00 pm. For info: 429-0327.

Wednesday, June 5

Peace Vigil (every Wednesday). Santa Cruz Town Clock, 4:30 to 5:30 pm. Sponsored by Friends Meeting. For info: 728-0636.

Thursday, June 6

Slide Presentation of women's delegation in March by Sandy Sweitzer, "Nicaragua: A Woman's Perspective." Sponsored by Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz, 7:30 pm. For info: 423-1626.

Friday, June 7

Singing. Chilean singer Christina Gonzalez. Calvary Episcopal Church Hall, 532 Center St., Santa Cruz. Sponsored by Beach Flats Defense Committee, Chile-S.C. Friendship Committee, and Coalition for Nicaragua. 8 pm. For info: 425-8493.

Saturday, June 8

Freeze Walk-a-thon. Walk for Peace in the Fourth Annual Nuclear Freeze Walk-a-thon. The walk begins at 10 a.m. at Loudon Nelson Community Center. For registration information and sponsor sheets, contact Will at the Freeze office, 320-G Cedar St., 458-9975.

Film Premiere and Champagne Dinner. Business and Professional Women's Hall (Button and Plymouth), Santa Cruz, 7 p.m. Eric Thiermann, producer of *The Last Epidemic*, will be honored at a champagne dinner and Santa Cruz premiere of his new film *Women For America*. Gourmet dinner, hors d'oeuvres donated by Gayle's, champagne and wine donated by Bargetto's. \$25/plate. For reservations call 476-6347 or 425-7618.

Sunday, June 9

Sing Along. Sharing songs of Peace and Justice. 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz, 3-5 pm. Sponsored by Freedom Song Network. For info: 662-0342.

Monday, June 10

General Meeting. Native American Support Group. See June 3.

General Meeting. Coalition for Nicaragua. Loudon Nelson Center, 7:00 pm. For info: 458-0303.

international youth telecongress



JULY 19-23, 1985
University of California
Santa Cruz

International Youth Telecongress

by Barbara Vogl

One year ago, the first YOUTH CONGRESS FOR A POSITIVE FUTURE met in Santa Cruz, California and grew out of a real need felt by young people to have some input into the decisions being made by adult society... decisions which affect their future. With very little publicity, 125 youths from around the country gathered to prepare a platform which they presented to the Democratic and Republican National Conventions. There was a shared sense that they were making history, not just learning about it. The Mayors of Minneapolis, St. Paul, San Francisco, and Santa Cruz recognized their contribution through Proclamations requesting that all citizens listen to what the young people of our nation have to say.

Meeting together in the hot sun at the Quarry on the UCSC campus, these 10 to 18 year olds discussed their concerns about education. "Active participatory, and creative 'hands-on' curriculum is necessary to bring students into the real life and work of the community," they concluded in their policy statements. Emphasizing that there must be higher priorities for government spending in the reform of our educational system, they ended that section of the platform with this statement:

"Problem-solving and nonviolent conflict resolution must be developed and taught throughout the educational system as the world shrinks and multi-cultural, multi-racial, international cooperation becomes vital for human survival. Therefore we also support development of a PEACE ACADEMY to develop peace skills among our political representatives."

Concerning government, society, and technology, the policy statements included a strong emphasis on a concentrated program of exchange seminars among US

and USSR decision-makers "so that interpersonal and human effect can permeate the political attitudes of both nations for the long-term benefit of humanity and world understanding."

Practicing what they preach, this year's congress will be an INTERNATIONAL YOUTH TELECONGRESS to be held at the University of California, Santa Cruz, July 19-23. This is the International Year of Youth proclaimed by the United Nations and the statements from this telecongress will be presented to that organization as well as other appropriate decision-making bodies. For four days young people, ages 10 to 21, will live together at Porter College, communicating their ideas among themselves and via a ham radio and computer bulletin board network established by the Redwood Youth Foundation, co-sponsor of the telecongress with the Watsonville YWCA Y-Teens.

Transcending the barriers of class, religion, nationality, race, gender, age, and ethnicity (a stated goal of the telecongress) is already in the process of preparation for the event. Radio Moscow and our local amateur radio operators and setting up schedules and radio frequencies so that young ham radio operators in both nations can communicate their ideas directly with each other. Michael Katzen will be in the USSR with young people during the telecongress, facilitating the exchange. In West Germany, the pioneering efforts of Dan Rice, working with local and German computer networkers, has established a link with European youth via computer bulletin board. Our own young "hackers," with the help of Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility, are developing ways to interface the amateur radio and the computer, thus breaking new ground in economically feasible, world-wide, people-to-people communication.

Tuesday, June 11

General Meeting. Gray Panthers. 124 Dakota St., Santa Cruz, 1:30 pm. For info: 427-2126.

General Meeting. Comite de Solidaridad con El Salvador. 128 Pearl Alley, Santa Cruz, 7:00 pm. For info: 429-1039.

Wednesday, June 12

Peace Vigil. See June 5.

General Meeting. Rainbow Coalition. Louden Nelson Center, Santa Cruz, 7:30 pm. For info: 476-7893.

Friday, June 14

Potluck. Shabbat potluck. Sponsored by Kolaynu/SC New Jewish Agenda. 6:30 pm. For info on place: 462-6711.

Sunday, June 16

General Meeting. Lively Connections. A potluck at 12:30 and discussion period from 2-4. Louden Nelson Center, Santa Cruz. For info: 688-3792 or 423-9232.

Monday, June 17

General Meeting. Redwood Youth Foundation. Del Mar School, 17th Ave., 7:30 pm. For info: 476-2905

General Meeting. Native American Support Group. See June 3.

Wednesday, June 19

Peace Vigil. See June 5.



Thursday, June 20

Music. Chilean Andean Music Group Illafu. Santa Cruz High School, 415 Walnut, Santa Cruz. \$6.50 in advance at Blue Rhythm Records, Capitola; and Cymbaline Records. \$8-10 at door. Sponsored by Beach Flats Friendship Comm., Chile-S.C. Friendship Comm., Comite de Solidaridad con El Salvador, Coalition for Nicaragua, and Friends of AMPES. 8 pm. For info: 462-1344.

Monday, June 24

General Meeting. Native American Support Group. See June 3.

General Meeting. Coalition for Nicaragua. Louden Nelson Center, 7:00 pm. For info: 458-0303.

Tuesday, June 25

General Meeting. Comite de Solidaridad con El Salvador. 128 Pearl Alley, Santa Cruz, 7:00 pm. For info: 429-1039.

Wednesday, June 26

General Meeting. Rainbow Coalition. Louden Nelson Center, Santa Cruz, 7:30 p.m. For info: 476-7893.

Peace Vigil. See June 5.

Saturday, June 29

Benefit for Big Mountain. Proceeds for medical aid, food, tools. Several speakers. Vets Hall, 846 Front St., Santa Cruz, 7:30 pm. Sponsored by the Native American Support Group and VFW Post 5888. For info: 479-0327 or 429-1039.



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Get Involved!

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.

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):

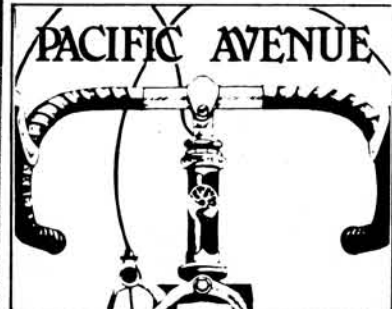
___ Newspaper ___ Education ___ Petition Drive ___ Steering Committee
 ___ I'll host or co-host a housemeeting.
 ___ Here is my contribution of \$_____.

Name _____
 Address _____
 Phone _____

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PROFILE

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