

The MONTHLY PLANET

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THE MONTHLY PLANET
Nuclear Weapons Freeze
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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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From The Grassroots

Anti-Commie Blues

Dear Freeze,

First off, I want to say thank you to all the folks who work on your thoughtful and loving publication. The work you do provides confirmation to me that this IS a sane world in spite of much chaos and confusion. Your June issue indicated with the many surveys that there is a lot of confusion in people's thinking, especially in regard to the "communists." Wow, since the end of world war two, perhaps the biggest industry ever, has been the ANTI-COMMUNISM industry. Trillions of dollars have been spent opposing communism. Just think of all the money sent to Chiang Kai Shek; all the Korean war dollars; all the Vietnam war dollars; all the previous invasions of Central American countries; all the cold war dollars; all the U.S. and NATO defense dollars; WOW! If someone had the resources and information, it would be interesting (depressing) to know just exactly how much money has been spent on anti-communism. Somebody has made a big profit from this, and still it goes on today: just listen to those who harp and rant on and on about the communists taking away freedom. What a joke. I SAY THAT THE ANTI-COMMUNISTS HAVE TAKEN AWAY OUR FREEDOM AND ENSLAVED US TO A PAPER TIGER ENEMY, AN IMAGINARY ENEMY. AND THAT JUSTIFIES THE INCREDIBLE MILITARY SPENDING? Since early in the 1800s the nobilities and military leaders have incited and rallied ignorant people against the communists and yet the communists are still around. EVERYDAY I HEAR THE SAME OLD BLUES, THE SAME OLD NEWS, GOTTA HAVE AN ENEMY, THE COMMIES, GOTTA HAVE SOMEONE TO HATE, THE COMMIES.

Well, you know how it works, tell a lie often enough, and pretty soon you make up the truth. The state dept. and the military dept. have told us everyday that we have an enemy, the president tells us everyday, we have an enemy, the ax grinders tell us we have an enemy, the war mongers tell us, the "experts" tell us all about our enemy. If they

stopped telling us about our enemy, pretty soon we wouldn't have an enemy. Wouldn't that be nice, to not have an enemy? For me, communism is just not the enemy, but anti-communism sure is a big problem and hang up for the society I live in.

Sincerely,
Mike Kostyal
Freedom, Ca.

Playing Chicken

Dear Freeze,

Since we are economically and technologically more proficient than the Russians, President Reagan keeps upping the nuclear ante in the hope that the Soviets will be forced to cry "uncle" thereby conceding to us the military superiority that we had from 1945 to 1950. This is a game of chicken we are bound to win, though we may lose our feathers in the process.

The MX and Star Wars are two Reagan forays in his chicken game. We will have 50 MX's, though Reagan wanted 100, each with 10 independently targeted warheads. Once our MX's are operational, supposedly by 1989, we will possess a superweapon with which to blackmail the Soviets into submission, lest we destroy, with pinpointed accuracy, 500 of their military and civilian installations. It is no secret that our MX's are indefensible presenting 50 vulnerable, inviting targets. Therefore, we will be forcing the Russians either to meekly submit or to take our MX's out before they become operational.

Star Wars are a second arrow in Reagan's chicken game. If we succeed in perfecting an antiballistic space system that can intercept Russian missiles, their nuclear arsenal will become worthless and, again, they will have to submit to our commands or strike first.

Most of us consider chicken a juvenile game. In the hands of the most powerful individual of the world, his chickens may come home to roost in our backyard.

Egon P. Winter
Capitola, Ca

Point/Counterpoint

Dear Freeze,

I have two suggestions for your new "Point/Counterpoint" column. The first comes from my work with A California Group to Establish Trust Between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Within the peace movement there is quite a bit of debate about the independent peace movement in the Soviet Union and how much they should be supported. This debate usually includes disagreements about who is most responsible for the arms race (US? USSR? Both?). Our group takes the position that the independent peace groups in the USSR are more important than the official ones, and that the USSR and the US are equally responsible for the present balance of terror. There are others active in Santa Cruz who hold more to the "Norman Solomon" line that argues differently. You might ask at the Resource Center for Non-Violence (who recently sponsored Solomon's speech here) for someone of this persuasion.

Obviously this is a very important issue. If you can't get a debate on it, or don't want one, perhaps you would print some information on independent peace groups in the USSR? Please contact me at the above address in any case.

The second idea comes out of my work as a non-violence preparer. Simply enough it is, "Is property destruction violence?" It is a very real issue with two clear sides as well as a spreading grey area in between. I would be happy to argue that property destruction is not violence. It shouldn't be hard to find others with the opposite opinion.

I do agree your paper could use more "spice." Of these two issues I think the question of Soviet peace groups and the nature of the Soviet Union is the more important one, but they both deserve serious discussion.

Thank you for your work and your call for input.

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Planet Watch

by Terry Teitelbaum



New Zealand

Prime Minister of New Zealand, David Lange, criticized a nuclear explosion set off by France at Mururoa Atoll in the Pacific Ocean on June 4. This was the third test of the year at that site.

"There is no justification for continued testing at Mururoa Atoll or anywhere else," Mr. Lange said. "France should heed the views of all the independent countries of the Pacific and stop testing at once."

The Prime Minister said the test, detected by New Zealand seismographs at Raratonga in the Cook Islands, had an estimated strength of nine kilotons. Although smaller than a test by France last month that was estimated at 150 kilotons, "our anger is none the less," he said.

The June 4 blast was the 70th at the atoll since the French began exploding nuclear weapons underground in 1975.

India

India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi criticized U.S. policy on Star Wars, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and foreign aid in an address to a joint session of Congress on June 13. He said about Star Wars, "We are concerned about any new dimensions to the arms race... hence our deep reservation about the militarization of outer space."

Gandhi also refused to condemn the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, referring to U.S. aid to Moslem rebels. He said, "Outside interference and intervention have put in jeopardy the stability, security and programs of the region. We are opposed to both foreign presences and pressures. The one is advanced as a justification for the other."

Although he said his visit to the United States "will help to bring about greater understanding between our two countries," Gandhi made it clear that he was not interested in his country buying any weaponry from the U.S. He also objected to U.S. arms sales to Pakistan.

France

Britain has told France that it will support the European Research Coordination Agency (Eureka), a technology initiative proposed to counter a possible "brain drain" to President Reagan's Star Wars project.

French President Francois Mitterand launched Eureka after the United States invited its allies to participate in research for Star Wars. Mitterand said the Europeans must "preserve their capital of intelligence and know-how."

Europe

NATO foreign ministers concluded a two-day conference on June 6 without endorsing the U.S. Star Wars initiative. The ministers' final statement strongly supported the U.S./Soviet negotiations in Geneva. The statement, however, did not explicitly endorse the U.S. position at the talks.

Britain's Lord Carrington, NATO secretary-general, said that some allies believe "if you mention research it commits you to the future and to deployment" of a space-based defense system.

The final statement said the allies "strongly support U.S. efforts in all three areas of negotiations" with the Soviets in Geneva. "These negotiations are intended to work out between the two countries effective agreements aimed at preventing an arms race in space and terminating it on earth, at limiting and reducing nuclear arms, and at strengthening strategic stability."

International

by Melinda Fine

The Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaigns of the U.S. and the U.K. will jointly organize the first international conference on the Freeze proposal, to be held in Geneva during the Third Review of the Non-Proliferation Treaty in September, 1985. The conference will bring together delegates to the NPT Review, prominent arms control advocates, parliamentarians, and leaders of disarmament non-governmental organizations (NGO) from around the world. Conference participants will discuss the proposal for a comprehensive Freeze on the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons within the context of Article Six of the NPT, the component which calls upon the nuclear powers to pursue effective measures to achieve a complete "cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date." In addition, participants will explore initiatives toward a Freeze, such as the Comprehensive Test Ban, a negotiators' pause on testing and deployment, and nuclear weapon free zones, as components necessary to achieving concrete progress on compliance with Article Six.

The two-day international conference will provide a base from which to evaluate progress in the Geneva Talks and the NPT Review. It will provide non-aligned and Third World nations the opportunity to discuss ways in which to limit the activities of the nuclear powers with representatives of citizen's movements for World Order, the Disarmament NGO division of the Swedish Foreign Ministry, and national and international disarmament organizations will provide a useful forum for increasing international cooperation at the NPT Review and beyond.

Up until now, there has been little collaboration between non-nuclear governments and citizen's movements in support of a Freeze. While positive cooperation has existed between grassroots movements in some aligned and non-aligned countries, more collaboration is needed between these movements and the governments themselves. The International Conference on the Freeze on the occasion of the Third Review of the Non-Proliferation Treaty will provide a critical forum for bringing together different constituencies who have a strong interest in ending the nuclear threat in order to ensure continued pressure on the nuclear powers for concrete steps to be taken to halt the nuclear arms race. The conference will provide a high-visibility forum for linking the Freeze proposal to the Comprehensive Test Ban, the negotiators' pause on testing and deployment, the establishment of nuclear-free zones, and other independent, bilateral, and multilateral initiatives.



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Helsinki Watch Report

The Reagan Administration has displayed an antagonistic attitude toward the Soviet Union while claiming to seek arms control agreements. The President cites the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan and violations of human rights in Eastern Europe as evidence of the Soviet Union's "evil" nature. The Western peace movement must not allow these allegations to be used as a justification for U.S. and NATO nuclear weapons deployment. At the same time, we do not have to defend the policies of the Soviet Union.

It is appropriate for peace activists to support demands for human rights reform and non-intervention while working for an end to the nuclear arms race. Such support will build solidarity with peace activists in the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc.

It is appropriate for peace activists to support demands for human rights reform and non-intervention while working for an end to the nuclear arms race.

The following is a partial list of human rights violations of the Helsinki Accords and a summary of peace movement activity in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The list was prepared by the U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee, a citizen's committee to monitor the Helsinki Accords. Helsinki Watch operates somewhat like the American Civil Liberties Union on an international level.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Activists of Charter 77, the Czechoslovak civil rights movement, continue to receive sentences for human rights monitoring and *samizdat* publishing. Soviet deployment of nuclear missiles in Czechoslovakia sparked protests by students, workers, and intellectuals involving petitions and scattered demonstrations.

EAST GERMANY

A loosely-knit unofficial peace movement involving several thousand people, somewhat protected from official harassment by the Church, protested in the stationing of Soviet nuclear weapons in the GDR and NATO missiles in Europe. Dozens of young people were jailed due to anti-nuclear actions such as belonging to peace groups, spray-painting anti-nuclear slogans on walls, and leafletting.

HUNGARY

In October 1983, mass student demonstrations took place in eighteen schools, protesting the dismissal of the editor of a relatively independent popular literary journal. Students also protested deployment of Soviet nuclear weapons in Eastern Europe. Hungary's fledgling independent peace movement split into a radical wing of activists who have suffered detentions and searches by police for their demonstrations and a moderate wing that appears to have been co-opted by the official Hungarian Peace Council.

POLAND

In July 1984, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the People's Republic of Poland, the Polish government announced that it would release 665 political prisoners, some of whom had been held since the imposition of martial law in December 1981. The amnesty included 11 Solidarity leaders. However, rearrests began almost immediately, and at this writing, four of the 11 Solidarity leaders are back in prison.

New legislation and amendments to the Polish Constitution during the last year have institutionalized some of the worst features of martial law. The murder of Father Jerzy Popieluszko resulted in a highly publicized trial. The regime continued with harassment of outspoken priests and came into conflict with students when it removed crucifixes

from classrooms. The Visual Artists' Union and the Writers' Union have been banned, censorship has been extended, and the Association of Polish Film-makers was suspended and only reconvened under conditions set by the authorities, including the resignation of director Andrzej Wajda (*Man of Iron*). Lawyers and journalists have come under increasing pressure. Legislation has been changed to extend the powers of the state to declare states of emergency. Changes in the criminal code increase the penalties for those who belong to disbanded organizations, such as Solidarity.

U.S.S.R.

The last two years have seen an increase in the number of incidents of systematic beating, even torture of prominent dissidents. Most alarmingly, six well-known political prisoners died in labor camp after prolonged mistreatment.

The number of documented political arrests remains constant at 150-200 per year, despite changes in leadership. It is very likely that many times this number are imprisoned, but information is scarce, particularly from outside the large urban centers. Human rights reporting has sharply declined with the waves of arrests of human rights monitors. Authorities have clamped down on the news coming out of the labor camps, and have resorted to rearresting political prisoners on new charges at the end of their terms, in order to keep them in imprisonment.

Moscow's independent peace movement has attracted new members after the forced emigration of six leaders in recent years, but young people continue to be detained for peace actions and Aleksandr Shatravka, sentenced in July 1982 for distributing a peace appeal, has been handed an additional four years in labor camp.



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Why Are The Soviets Our Enemies?

by Colleen DeLaney

Why are the Soviets our implacable enemy? During World War II we set aside our differences about communism to become allies with the Soviets. We recognized the need to work with these people—different as their system was, repugnant as we found it—in order to overcome a greater threat. But when the world crisis ended, we rapidly resumed a cold war with the Soviets.

Soviet actions in Eastern Europe, as well as a heavy Soviet military build-up, rapidly cooled off our alliance. But since World War II we, too, have increased our military might; we, too, have intervened in other countries' affairs. There must be some further explanation for how we came to be enemies with a people that we have never directly declared war against.

It seems all the more strange to me since they *look* like us. Take away our clothes and put ten naked Russians and ten naked Americans in one room (or hot tub, if you prefer) and you wouldn't be able to tell us apart. If we must have an enemy (and it seems we must), it would make far more sense to have remained enemies with the Chinese, who we once regarded as the "Yellow Peril" and who have one convenient characteristic—they look *different*. It's easier to whip your population into a frenzy over the Other, over someone who looks different and therefore must *feel* differently as well. Someone less than human. It's easier to hate, and to kill, someone who doesn't look like you.

Could it be that our fear of the Soviets arises more from our similarities than from our differences? Psychologists explain this as projection, where people

project onto others their own thoughts or desires that are unacceptable to them. Rather than face the dark side of our own government's doings, we project our worst fears about ourselves onto the Soviets.

I don't want to fall into the standard liberal trap of excusing Soviet actions. They are frequently inexcusable. Nor do I want to fall into the standard conservative trap of justifying everything American, either—we're frequently just as inexcusable in *our* dealings. More interesting than justifying or blaming one side or the other is looking to our similarities, and seeing how we berate and chastise the Soviet Union for actions that we easily

accept on the part of our own government. Each of us superpowers has taken on the role of global police force, using righteous ideology and, when necessary, force to impose our political system on other countries. The U.S. is adamant about stamping out communism wherever it appears, in whatever guise, just as the Soviet Union struggles to keep any newly independent nation from going capitalist. If the Soviets *are* out for world domination, then are we not also out to make the world one big mega-corporation whose economic policies we control?

We're horrified by Soviet intervention in Third World countries, but only a

nation that doesn't intervene in other country's affairs should have the right to express such moral outrage. Being unable to outwardly express our own hunger for world power, we project this aggression onto our enemies, our dark side, the Soviets. Just how different is the Soviet claim that they were "invited" by allies to invade Afghanistan from our claimed "invitation" to invade Grenada? Is our intervention more palatable because it takes place in the name of democracy?

We're suspicious and mistrustful of the Soviets because of their covert operations aimed at disrupting other governments. But our CIA is also involved in agreements, we say, pointing to alleged Soviet violations of arms control treaties. But are we willing to look closely at our own record of veracity regarding treaties? How many people know about Soviet accusations of *our* violations of SALT II?

To suggest that we hate and fear the Russians, in part, because they are like us would shock many Americans, who would protest that we're not nearly as repressive, or as brutal, or as overtly power-hungry. And it's true—we're not. But to deny that we share with the Soviets, to some extent, the very characteristics we hate the most in them is to continue projecting. And projection is a form of self-deception that eventually leads to illness and breakdown.

We are alike, we two countries. We are each great superpowers with outrageous destructive capacities. We each want the world to be shaped in our image and by our influence. We are each failing to meet our domestic needs in our search for world domination—economic or military. We are each dangerously paranoid and suspicious of the other. And we each have a major incentive—survival—for avoiding nuclear war.

We pulled together as allies once before to overcome a greater threat. What will it take to make us recognize our similarities and pull together once again to overcome the greatest threat of all to our existence as nations? Perhaps it will be the realization that warring upon the Soviets is, in every sense, warring upon ourselves.

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

... put ten naked Russians and ten naked Americans in one room ... and you wouldn't be able to tell them apart.

accept on the part of our own government. Each of us superpowers has taken on the role of global police force, using righteous ideology and, when necessary, force to impose our political system on other countries. The U.S. is adamant about stamping out communism wherever it appears, in whatever guise, just as the Soviet Union struggles to keep any newly independent nation from going capitalist. If the Soviets *are* out for world domination, then are we not also out to make the world one big mega-corporation whose economic policies we control?

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covert operations, from plotting a military takeover in Chile against Allende, to CIA-planned assassinations of world leaders we don't care for, such as Castro. We may never know the extent of CIA involvement throughout the world, any more than we'll likely ever know the extent of KGB meddling. Yet we excuse American covert operations and abhor the Soviet use of the same.

We say that we can't trust the Russians. Could we be projecting our fear and mistrust of our own hidden motivations onto a handy target? They don't keep their

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A Firsthand Look At The Soviet Union

by Gerald Hirsch

The Freeze's steering committee chairperson recently returned from his first trip to the Soviet Union. The following journal records his observations of the Soviet people and their society.

Saturday, May 4, 1985, 5:30 pm, Kennedy Airport, New York

My first impression of my traveling companions is favorable. The group consists of 11 people ranging in age from 33 to 69. Five are from Grand Rapids, Michigan, and are members of the World Affairs Council of Western Michigan. The others are from Pennsylvania, Florida, California (me) and our tour leader, Alan, is from Massachusetts.

The tour is sponsored by the World Affairs Council of Western Michigan and organized by Citizen Exchange Council (CEC) of New York. CEC is a well-established operator of "people-to-people" tours to the U.S.S.R., and it assists in arranging visits to the U.S. by Soviets as well.

We assembled in the Finnair terminal, identifying each other by the orange ribbons we had tied to our luggage. The president of CEC showed up to talk to us about what to expect, and he passed out American magazines and small, blue CEC buttons to give our Soviet hosts as souvenirs. We all seem to share a spirit of positive anticipation about our unfolding adventure.

Sunday, May 5, Morning. Moscow Airport

The flight from New York aboard Finnair took us to Helsinki in about nine hours. There we boarded an Aeroflot

jet for the two hour hop to Moscow. first became widely available. The tray tables were flimsy. The fittings and buckles on the seatbelts and tray tables were well worn.

The Moscow airport was dark and massive. Customs clearance went smoothly, but the passport and visa check took an unnerving ten minutes. Two very youthful military men sat in a booth about twice the size of a telephone booth. The line was short. I stood in front of the booth which had a glass window through which the inspectors can be observed from the chest up. They appeared to examine my passport. Neither man seemed to be writing or consulting any document other than mine. Once during the ritual one of the men picked up a telephone receiver, but he didn't speak. It occurred to me that they were checking my passport for evidence of previous foreign travel, but it contains only two stamps—Helsinki (yesterday), and Mexico. Or perhaps they looked at a computer screen containing a list of undesirable visitors, but I don't think so. It was probably just the system in action.

Monday, May 6. The Hotel Kosmos, Moscow.

We were met at the airport yesterday by our Soviet Intourist guide, Natasha. She is in her late 20's or early 30's and speaks with a pleasant British accent. She seems extremely well-informed, not only in pointing out monuments and cathedrals, but on the working of the Soviet social system. She is able to answer almost every question put to her, and our group is full of questions.

The Hotel Kosmos is not conveniently located for walking to the central city, but it is close to a metro (subway) station. It is a new Intourist hotel, which means it

If the Kosmos serves typical Russian food, I should shed some pounds on this trip. There is little variety and little salt but plenty of grease. Breakfast has been black and white bread, salami, cheese and fish—cooked sturgeon and pickled herring. The only vegetables that appear regularly are tomatoes and cucumbers. Lunch and dinner include more fish appetizers, fish, lamb or beef entree, potatoes or oily rice and very tasty, sweet ice cream or pastries for dessert. Beverages offered are water, mineral water, coffee, tea and warm beer, if you order it.

Today we took the obligatory tour of the Kremlin, Red Square and Lenin's tomb under Natasha's capable guidance. It's exciting and moving to look at these massive symbols of Russian culture and power. Preparations are underway for a celebration of the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II on May 9. The Russians call it "The Great Patriotic War." Huge cloth banners and posters, some 3 or 4 stories high, hang in Red Square. Throughout the city the streets and buildings are decorated with slogans, enormous posters of Lenin and the highly stylized revolutionary art form, typically portraying 30 foot figures of muscular men and women, looking intensely heroic as they march confidently to build a per-

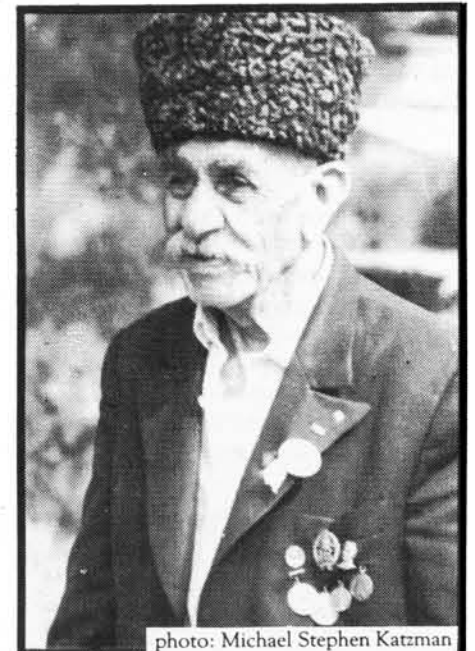


photo: Michael Stephen Katzman

Soviet Georgia is known for the size of its population over 100 years of age.

fect society. All these displays are predominantly red in color.

Moscow is grim. The main streets are 10 to 15 lanes wide. There are belts of trees along many streets, but they are not in bloom yet and there are no flowers. The only flowers, grass or landscaping we saw was inside the Kremlin walls, and even there its quality and maintenance are not impressive. Since I am used to observing real estate, my eye notices such things as landscaping, maintenance and efficiency of buildings. Most structures

continued on page 8

In one long-winded Russian toast, a ruddy-faced veteran exclaimed, "We are not an evil empire!"

(Soviet) jet for the two hour hop to Moscow.

The inclination of travelers is to assess their new surroundings in terms of their own society and others in which they have traveled. The first contact one has with Soviet society on a journey like this is on board the Aeroflot jet. The Soviet flight attendants, male and female, lacked the well-groomed public relations friendliness one experiences on all U.S. and some European airlines. The attendants were not unfriendly, but seemed to go about their chores with stoicism. They wore uniforms, but without the styling and tailoring customary on the airlines of Western societies. Service consisted of coffee, tea and soft drinks. The seats provided a minimum of legroom. The seatbelts were similar to those used in American cars in the early 60's when seatbelts

serves only foreign visitors. Many Intourist hotels are built by foreigners, this one by the Swedes. Despite its newness and handsome, modern public areas, the rooms are in need of maintenance. There is no individual control for heat and air conditioning, (State environmental control?) but unlike modern Western hotels, the windows open. The best feature is the bathtub. It has a curved bottom: awkward for showering, but heaven for a bath. And their tubs are longer than ours. Great for stretching out. There's a radio and TV, all in Russian, except one occasional radio broadcast from Radio Moscow in English, but the reception of that channel is poor in the room. In the Russian language news Nicaragua is mentioned frequently.

Our group assembles at the same table in the same hotel dining room for meals.



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continued from page 7

suffer from deferred maintenance. Pools of water and mud remain after a recent rain. Many sidewalks, courtyards and building entrances look damaged or unfinished.

We had a very sobering briefing from a U.S. government man today at the American Embassy. He works for an agency that deals with trade, commerce and cultural relations between our two countries. He began talking about how he enjoyed Moscow and the Russian people and regretted that a new assignment would soon take him from the

U.S.S.R. Gradually his comments became more critical. He spoke about the conservative, peasant mentality of the people, the bureaucratic paralysis of the system, the tyranny of the Communist Party and its unwillingness to work for peace. Prompted by our questions, he concluded that the lack of progress in arms control is entirely the fault of the Russians. He saw no solution to the problem in the short run. In the long run, his answer is that the communist tyranny, like all tyrannies, will eventually fall. He implied that tours such as ours are a waste of time in trying to improve relations. The talk took place late in the day and

terminated before we were able to challenge his assertions. We were prepared for Soviet propaganda but not for this dose of Reagan rhetoric.

Last night we had a delightful dinner party at the Uzbekistan Restaurant that serves food, strangely enough, from the republic of Uzbekistan. The featured dish is *shashlik*, or lamb shiskabob. All the food was a marked improvement over the hotel. We sat next to a table of partying, middle-aged veterans of the second world war. They proudly wore their military decorations on their civilian clothes, a common sight throughout the city. Before long the vodka was flowing and the people were dancing to a band playing a variety of tunes, but all with an electrified, Western sound. We mingled with the other patrons and exchanged good-will bottles of vodka and toasts to peace with the veterans. The toasts were translated by Alan, whose knowledge of the language and the country are enormously helpful. In one long-winded Russian toast, a ruddy-faced veteran exclaimed, "We are not an evil empire!"

Wednesday, May 8

The Bolshoi Ballet last night was the highlight so far. *Romeo and Juliet* was the performance. When we stepped down from the Intourist bus at the theatre, crowds of people buffeted us with requests for extra tickets. Apparently, most tickets go to official groups such as trade unions and to foreigners, leaving few for individual purchase. The interior of the theatre is wonderful. The seats are individual chairs with red upholstery. About six rows of horseshoe-shaped boxes that line the walls are decorated with ornate gold leaf. Great spectacle.

We had two meetings with Soviet trade and commerce officials yesterday. The first put us down the long part of a T-shaped table facing three men. One worked for an American corporation that arranges business between the two nations, the second was from the Soviet Chamber of Commerce and the third had some similar function. They all spoke English. Warm soft drinks stood on the table, but no one drank. One guy was fairly hostile, blaming the U.S. for the lack of trade. He jumped on an innocent question—"What are the products you seek to trade with the U.S.?"—with the answer, "Of course you wish to buy our raw materials, process them and sell them back to us at a great profit. We will not!" After the meeting he chatted amiably, holding his cigarette in the European style.

The next stop was the Moscow World Trade Center, a striking anomaly in the city. Conceived and built by a group headed by Armand Hammer, the World Trade Center is a Western-style development that looks like a Hyatt Regency. It has a luxury hotel, and office tower and an apartment tower, posh restaurants, a glass elevator and a mini version of a Las Vegas showroom, complete with a leggy showgirl rehearsing in a skimpy, highly bourgeois costume. Our host was a charming 70-year-old gentleman who is in charge of public relations for the center. Its purpose is to serve foreigners who conduct trade and business in Moscow. When the talk got to politics he suggested that Russia wants peace more than the U.S. because it alone lost 20 million victims to World War II and

suffered the devastation of much of its homeland.

Saturday, May 11, Sochi

We arrived the day before yesterday on a two and one-half hour flight that left Moscow at 7 am. We had to rise at 2:30 am so there would be plenty of time to get to the airport, and at least an hour to hang around the dark, empty terminal. Before leaving the hotel we were each handed a brown bag breakfast consisting of a hard-boiled egg and the usual bread, cheese, salami and cucumber.

Natasha accompanied us on the trip and we acquired an additional guide in Sochi. The weather is subtropical, producing heavy, dense vegetation. The city is hilly with large, beautiful parks. The hotel overlooks the Black Sea. Sochi is



photo: Michael Stephen Katzman

Children are friendly just about in any place. These youngsters are residents of Yerevan, Armenia.

Moscow Trust Group

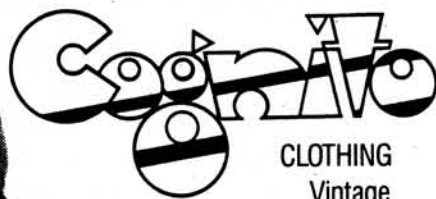
The Group to Establish Trust Between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. (Moscow Trust Group), an independent peace group, was founded in Moscow in June 1982 by scientists, engineers, and artists. In its founding appeal, it called for a "four-sided dialogue" on peace between the people and governments of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. where all parties would enjoy equal rights. They called for disarmament both East and West and the free flow of information and people between the Soviet Union and the West on questions of disarmament. They have advanced numerous proposals for building dialogue and trust between ordinary people in the East and West, in order to foster a climate for disarmament.

The Moscow Trust Group has sparked the formation of similar groups in other Soviet cities, including Leningrad, Riga, Tallinn, Rybinsk, Gorky, Novosibirsk and Odessa. Because it is difficult to circulate information about independent activities, not much information is available on the other Trust Groups, although some of their documents have reached the West.

The Trust Group has worked informally with Independent Initiative, a loose network of pacifists who attempt to live independently from Soviet institutions and who are known for their annual celebration of the anniversary of John Lennon's death. The Independent Initiative has taken a more radical stand than the Trust Group in protesting such issues as the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, capital punishment, and compulsory military service. On the occasions when the Independent Initiative has staged peace demonstrations, participants have been rounded up, and a number have been put in psychiatric hospitals. Others have suffered expulsions from jobs or schools.

For more information on both the unofficial and official peace groups in the U.S.S.R., their documents, platforms, etc., please contact Cathy Fitzpatrick at Helsinki Watch, 36 W. 44th St., Suite 911, New York, N.Y. 10036. For copies of *Return Address Moscow*, the bulletin of independent peace activity in the Soviet Union, write Sergei Batovrin, 1793 Riverside Drive, #5B, New York, N.Y. 10034.

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full of vacationers speaking mostly Russian and German.

Last night we walked to the circus. It was a one-ringer. Good talent. Half-way through the show there was a heavily dramatic homage to the Soviet victory in the second world war. Films were shown of war scenes, the band played martial music and a series of live narrators spoke stirringly in Russian.

I spent one day walking along the beach into town, taking pictures. There are a few hearty souls trying out the chilly Black Sea: ponderous, pale people in tight little bathing suits. The beach is very uninviting—large black stones, no sand. The parks are filled with people. I was the only man wearing shorts, but nobody paid attention. Many women wear pants and jeans, but that's as radical as it gets away from the beach. They drink beer and munch on slices of fish on coarse, white bread. Delicious. I saw a just-married couple perform a ritual I had heard about: placing flowers at Lenin's statue.

Sochi is known for health sanitoriums, which are proudly displayed to tourists. Many are operated by trade unions for their members. We toured the sanitorium for theatre and film workers. They operate like convalescent hospitals. The typical stay for a patient is 27 days. People often come on vacation for a month—the typical vacation period.

The night before last we spent several hours with the Sochi branch of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Friendship Society, an official peace group. We met in a bar reserved for the occasion on the top floor of our hotel with a group of 10 or 15 Soviets. Several of them are ham radio operators. We gathered in random groups of three or four. They were eager to practice English. The discussion was about work,

blameless in the arms race, but several hours and several beers later we had developed, I believe, a mutual respect. Yaroslav came back to the hotel the next day to deliver a name and address that could be helpful to Ed Orr, one of our group who is trying to arrange a U.S. speaking tour for a Soviet citizen.

Tuesday, May 14, Kiev.

The past three days in Kiev have been busy and exciting. The best thing was meeting Max. I had spent several hours strolling and hoping to meet people. Finally I chatted with a young guy who was crazy for button-down shirts. I happened to have one, so I traded it to him. We talked and he asked if I was Jewish. He introduced me to his refusednik friend, Max. ("Refusednik" is the nickname given to Jews who have applied for immigration and been denied.) We spent a long evening together. I visited Max's apartment, listened to his music, met his wife and heard about his life.

We did the usual city tour. More beautiful old churches that are now museums. Capital of the Ukraine, Kiev is a lovely city that was rebuilt following complete destruction 40 years ago. One evening we ignored a lavish but indigestible dinner in a restaurant fashioned like a Ukrainian cottage. Thanks to lively music, a table of friendly French tourists and the ever-present Vodka, the evening turned out fun. Another night we saw a wonderful folkloric performance with a large company of musicians and dancers. We had a delightful cruise on a big passenger boat on the Dneiper River with some men from the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Friendship Society of Kiev. I talked about human rights with a law professor who had made short visits to some major U.S. law schools. He diligently defended the Soviet system.

I have not had the feeling that Big Brother is watching me, but I am convinced that he could spot me promptly if he needed to.

family, and personal interests. I finally got a chance to haul out my family pictures. These people welcomed the American magazines we brought. I handed a Newsweek Magazine to one of the Russian men who leafed through it and grinned at a picture of women body builders. He showed it around but got some disapproving glances from his comrades. One guy said jokingly, "It is forbidden," to which the first guy replied, "You can't deny your nature." They wanted more magazines and books, which I had in my room, but no one responded to my invitation to come to the room for them. I argued with Yaroslav, an eloquent former student of English literature. In discussing the relative freedoms and liberties of our two countries I asked him about the system of internal passports which I understand is used to restrict the travel of Soviets within the Soviet Union. He vehemently denied that the passports were used this way, that there are no restrictions on travel by Soviets within their republics, and, astonishingly, that there are no restrictions on Soviet travel to the Western capitalist nations. We clashed also on his claims that the U.S.S.R. is

Another meeting with some academics from the *Institute for the Study of Social and Economic Problems of Foreign Countries* took place in a room with peace posters in many languages on the wall. There was also a poster showing Reagan as a cowboy starring in a movie called (in German) "We Walk Over Corpses." During the routine introductions, Mike Kerlin from our group, a philosophy teacher at La Salle University, took exception, stating that he felt the poster was an inappropriate symbol in an academic setting whose interests lie in pursuing better international relations. The Russian spokesman acknowledged that it was perhaps out of place.

Friday, May 17, Leningrad

This is our last day in the U.S.S.R. Tomorrow we take a one-hour flight to Helsinki, spend the night there and leave for New York on Sunday.

Leningrad is sunny, cold and windy. It looks north toward Finland across the Baltic Sea. Leningrad was built in the 18th century (originally called St. Petersburg) by Peter the Great to present an impressive Russian face to the Western



photo: Michael Stephen Katzman

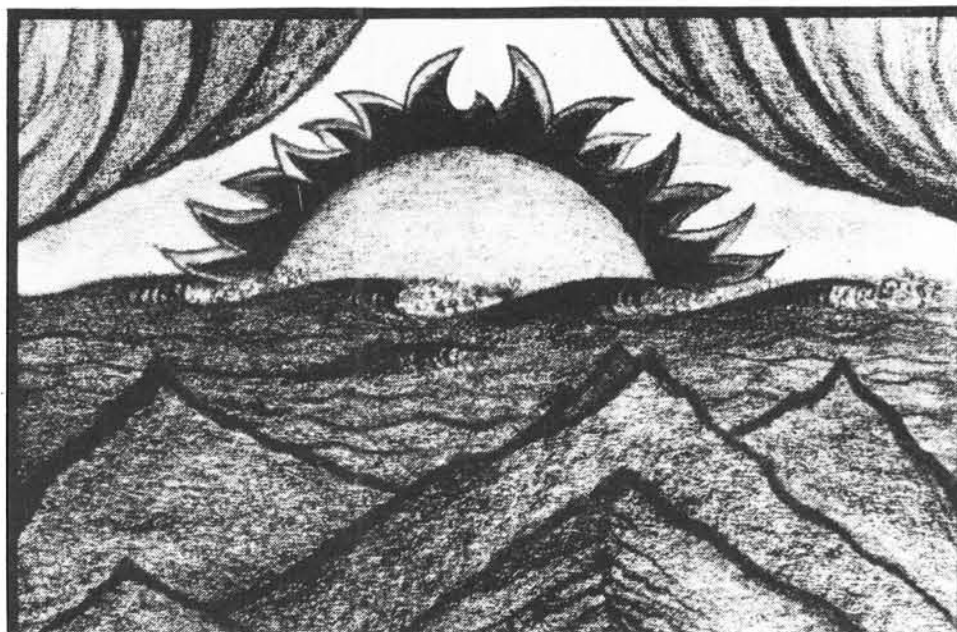
Soviet Georgia has many churches dating back over one thousand years. For many families, the churches provide a place to socialize and talk.

world. It is the scene of important events in the revolution, as well. Dostoyevsky lived in Leningrad. Parts of the city lie on lovely canals, other parts are gloomy. The hotel is far superior to the other three we've stayed in. More comfortable, better food, most things work well.

I visited with a Jewish Soviet couple and their two young daughters. They have close relatives in the U.S., but have been refused permission to emigrate many times. They continue to apply and to hope. I brought small gifts from mutual friends in the U.S. and shot enough Po-

laroid pictures of their children to cover all the relatives who haven't seen them. The couple said they were not worried about contact with foreigners because they do not hold sensitive jobs from which they could be fired and are not active in dissident causes. They had questions about prices of gas, tires, cars and wages in the U.S., and they showed their home movies. It was a long evening, and they put me on the last subway train to the hotel. The subway station at the end

continued on page 10



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photo: Michael Stephen Katzman

This young girl in Kiev, though she looks pensive, is watching a group of children play across a busy street.

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of the line is a 20 minute walk from the hotel. I thought I remembered the way, but 20 minutes later I was lost. The streets were deserted and there was very little traffic. Then the street lights went out. There were a few cabs around. I hailed one and I got back to the hotel at 2:30 am.

Alan and I were a few minutes late and missed the tour bus one morning, so we took a bus ride and walked to a main thoroughfare, Nevsky Prospekt. We wandered in and out of shops and galleries.

We were approached many times to change money and buy black market goods. I was offered better than four times the official exchange rate. The contact usually started with the Russian asking where we from. When I answered "California," they would say "Ah, Kelifornia, deh golden state! Don't you want to chenge money?"

Another city, another Friendship Society. The Leningrad society is located in a magnificent former palace. The discussion followed form.

Russian city dwellers treat each other better than their counterparts in other major cities. People seem courteous. Even the taxi drivers, who are maniacs behind the wheel, do not grumble at other drivers. The everyday business of life that we take care of with a phone call becomes time-consuming chores in Russian; but Russians seem patient with their time constraints. They wait patiently in lines. Their lives are lived at a lower level of greed and need than ours. Certain basic requirements—housing, medical care and income—are fundamental rights of citizenship to a people whose parents lived as peasants at the whim of the czar. The cost of the massive State bureaucracy that provides these services plus the cost of the arms race exacts a great toll on this country in our perception; but the patient, loyal, brave Russian does not reckon the cost as dearly as we would.

The Soviets are fiercely patriotic, not so much to their political leadership as to Mother Russia. With friendly neighbors on our borders and never under

direct assault in war, Americans cannot empathize with the Soviet psyche that has faced hostile neighbors throughout history and great devastation in the last generation. The military display is awesome. I saw some of the big May 9 parade on TV. There were closeups of soldiers passing in review before the nation's leaders standing atop Lenin's tomb. The faces on the soldiers were intense, as intense as the faces in the giant posters in the streets.

The underground economy is very available to us. It thrives on tourists. At least 50 percent of the taxi drivers wanted to exchange money. Taxi drivers are paid a fixed wage by the State and are licensed, but many gypsy cabs also operate in open defiance of the law. The underground street activity was heavy only in Lenin-

I have not had the feeling that Big Brother is watching me, but I am convinced that he could spot me promptly if he needed to. The group's visas and route are cleared in advance. In fact, each tourist has a visa, including a picture, for each destination on the tour. Nevertheless, we had freedom of movement within the cities. Our briefings by the CEC leaders always warned about the minimal risks to us (essentially a delay at customs) associated with visiting refusedniks or religious dissidents. (The risk for the Russian, by contrast, can be very serious.) I had three wrong number phone calls in my hotel room in three different cities. Were the rooms bugged? We were warned not to take pictures of airline terminals, construction sites or road intersections—seems like a meaningless precaution in

I am convinced that travel to the U.S.S.R. by Americans is as important for the Soviets to get a look at us as it is for us to get a look at them.

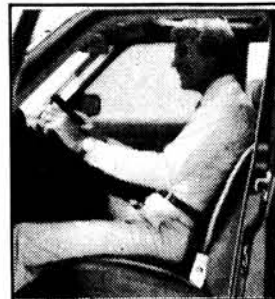
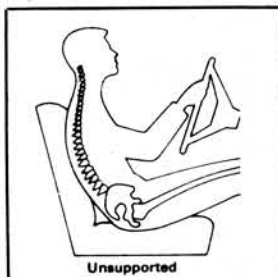
grad. I heard stories of complicated marriages and divorces "of convenience," which are arranged, sometimes at a profit, in order to move to a different city or to get a different apartment. This is the only way to thwart the State control of housing. There seems to be a balance between the rigid control of official State policy and the instinct to profit by one's own cleverness and risk-taking.

today's world of hi-tech satellite surveillance.

There is a great curiosity about America and Americans. I think they know that the images they get of America are manipulated for political purposes. The primary message we heard in official meetings was that Reagan and Star Wars are a threat to peace, a belief shared by all in our group. We got messages about

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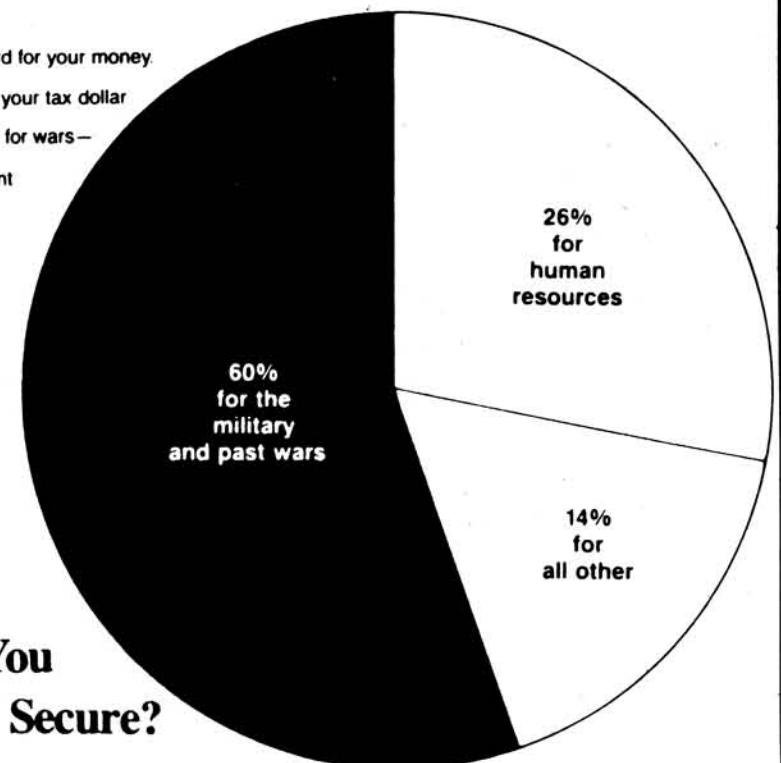
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America's great problems with the poor, the homeless and crime. There was also respect for the drive and the ingenuity in the American character.

I am convinced that travel to the U.S.S.R. by Americans is as important for the Soviets to get a look at us as it is for us to get a look at them. Few Russians, unfortunately, get to see the U.S. firsthand. Despite the monstrous acts of both

governments, the citizens of both countries want to live peacefully. Peace activists and concerned middle-class, middle-American citizens, like my companions on this trip, do their own work in their own way. One hopes it is all connected.

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

Soviet Crackdown

Soviet authorities are cracking down on various types of independent peace activity in the U.S.S.R., possibly in anticipation of the International Youth Festival to be held in Moscow, July 27-August 1. Reports have been received from the Moscow Trust Group and members of the Dutch IKV, the leading peace organization in the Netherlands, concerning detentions and arrests of independent peace activists.

On May 14, 30 people were detained by dozens of KGB agents on their way to a peace seminar sponsored by the Moscow Trust Group. They were released after interrogation. Others managed to get to the apartment where the seminar was held. On May 15, two young women who had been taking part in the Trust Group's activities for several months were arrested and interned in a psychiatric hospital. They are Olga Kabanova, 18, and Natalya Okunlyonok, 17, both high school students. The students are reportedly being administered heavy doses of depressants, are in poor condition, and denied visitors. The two women took part in an April 12 action, when the Trust Group attempted to deliver a petition to the Soviet Academy of Sciences, asking that the issue of nuclear winter be given more publicity and official attention. The petitioners, including a Finnish woman peace activist, were beaten, and Natalya Okunlyonok was expelled from Kom-somol (Young Communist League) after the incident.

On May 16, as many as 40 people were said to be detained near the Novokuznetskaya metro stop, where they had planned to hold a joint demonstration with West European peace activists visiting Moscow.

It is likely that prior to the Interna-

tional Youth Festival, Soviet authorities will make sure that any independent activists are detained in psychiatric hospitals or jails, sent out of the city, or intimidated. This occurred during the 1980 Olympics and also during the Scandinavian Women's Peace March in 1982. Even so, it will be impossible to arrest the hundreds of Soviet young people interested in independent peace activities and free contacts with Westerners, so American peace activists are urged to seek them out.

How You Can Help:

1. Groups that plan to send delegates or observers to the International Youth Festival in Moscow are urged to contact the independent activists. They should also raise the issue of their persecution, and particularly the jailing of their members, with Soviet officials and youth. Addresses of the Moscow Trust Group and Independent Initiative are available from Helsinki Watch, 36 West 44th St.; N.Y., N.Y. 10036; (212) 840-9460.

2. Telegrams on behalf of Olga Kabanova and Natalya Okunlyonok, the two young women imprisoned in a psychiatric hospital, should be sent immediately to the following Soviet officials. Mention should be made of the forthcoming International Youth Festival, and Soviet officials should be urged not to prevent contacts among youth by jailing members of the independent peace movement in the U.S.S.R.

Mikhail S. Gorbachev
General Secretary
Communist Party of USSR
The Kremlin
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

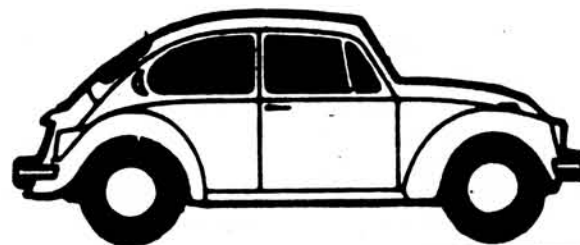
Yury Zhukov, Chairman
Soviet Peace Committee
Prospect Mira 36
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

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Environmental restoration efforts are seriously impeded by the US-backed war, as workers and resources are mobilized for defense. Reforestation brigades are a meaningful way for North Americans to express, *through their labor*, their support for the people of Nicaragua. Month-long Summer/Fall brigades are now forming. Call 429-1039, or write: BEP, 128 Pearl Alley, Santa Cruz, CA 95060 for information.

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Yes

by Patricia Morgan

With the resumption of arms control talks, some may assert that this is an inappropriate time to call for an end to all nuclear weapons explosions. However, an immediate ban on nuclear explosions is particularly vital. Ceasing all nuclear explosions would significantly change the nature of the arms race in ways beyond the scope of arms talks aimed at reducing individual weapons systems.

Even during arms negotiations throughout the 1970s, additions to the strategic stockpiles on both sides were outpacing the talks. Surely, we are in that position again. In September, our seventh Trident submarine will go on sea trials, raising the question of our compliance with SALT II limitations on multiple-warhead missiles. Furthermore, the U.S. is about to open an era of new weapons systems, such as sea-launched cruise missiles (SLCMs) and F-15 launched antisatellite

apons to countries. A cessation of nuclear explosions will strengthen non-proliferation efforts in the most meaningful way, by putting an end to the testing and development of nuclear weapons.

The stage has been set for a comprehensive ban on all nuclear explosions. Most scientists agree that verification is no longer an obstacle to a treaty. The United States has extremely capable satellites, extensive seismographic networks, and has reached an agreement, in principle, with the Soviets for a limited number of on-site inspections. Thus, from the perspective of verification, which the Reagan administration claims is the major obstacle, an end to nuclear explosions can be achieved.

GROWING PUBLIC SUPPORT

Further, a nuclear test ban is gaining strong public support as more and more people realize the need, value and attainability of bringing about an end to nuclear

Ceasing all nuclear explosions would significantly change the nature of the arms race in ways beyond the scope of arms talks...

rockets, which will pose serious verification and regulation problems. While arms negotiations may try to limit specific systems, a comprehensive ban on all nuclear testing quickly and thoroughly limits all types of weapons, finally restricting the development of new, more destabilizing systems.

STRENGTHENING NON-PROLIFERATION

A further reason to end all nuclear testing immediately is the opening of the Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference in September 1985. The 125 nations signing this important treaty pledged their efforts toward ending the arms race. Failure by the superpowers to make progress in this area will certainly hinder any attempts to check nuclear proliferation: the spread of nuclear wea-

detonations. The Center for Defense Information and 30 other groups such as Greenpeace, Physicians for Social Responsibility, and Citizens Against Nuclear War, have launched an international campaign to stop all nuclear explosions by August 6, 1985, the 40th anniversary of Hiroshima. These organizations strongly believe that the most efficient way to slow and reverse the arms race is by focusing their energies on this issue. Encouraging groups all over the world to hold activities on or around August 6, this campaign will help generate the kind of public outcry which brought about the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty. With over 130 groups internationally endorsing this effort and pledging their support, world public opinion can be mobilized to pressure governments to act.

Point/Counterpoint



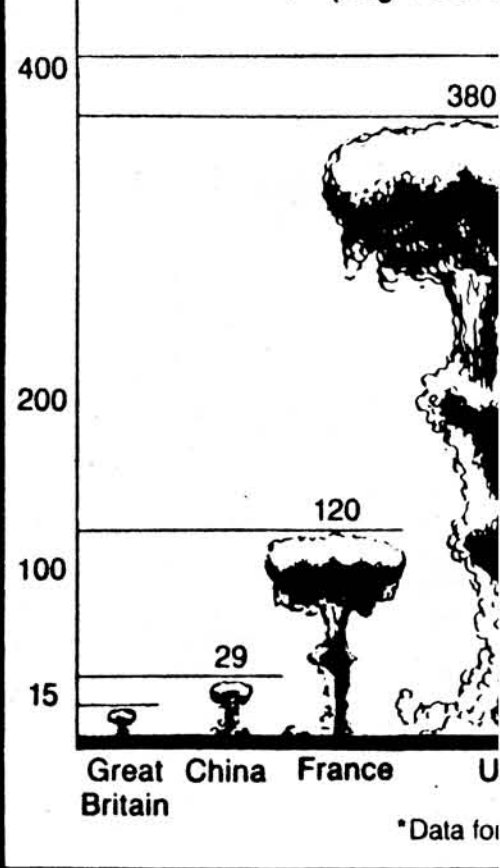
Is A Comprehensive Test Ban The Next Step

Arms negotiations are a positive step, but may take years to reach even limited agreements. The time is ripe now for a comprehensive ban on all nuclear explosions. As the prospect of breaking out of SALT II limitations and the development of new, more unstable weapons systems loom over us, such a ban would secure the world from a more threatening situation. As August 6 approaches, the public is lining up in support of an end to nuclear explosions. They are aware of the significant gains to be had compared to the small risks which are involved. If we are ever to put an end to the madness of the nuclear arms race, then we must stop all nuclear explosions... now.

Patricia Morgan is Associate Coordinator of the 6 August Clearinghouse, Center for Defense Information. These articles originally appeared in *The Mobilizer*.

Nuclear Tests Since 1963

(Aug. 1963-1985)



sources: DOE, SIPRI, CDI



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Point/Counterpoint



Is A Comprehensive Test Ban The Next Step?

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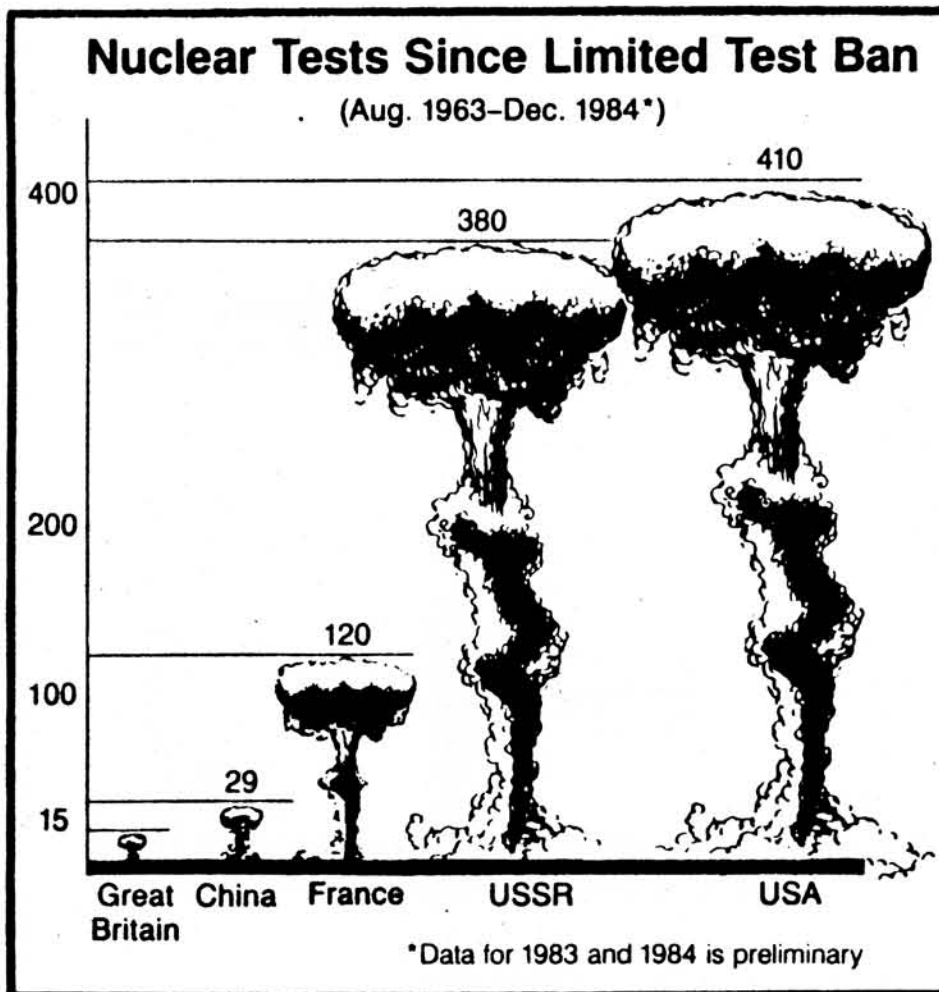
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Patricia Morgan is Associate Coordinator of the 6 August Clearinghouse, Center for Defense Information. These articles originally appeared in *The Mobilizer*.



sources: DOE, SIPRI, CDI

by Judy Freiwrth

The coalition to
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Test Ban Step?

Ice Limited Test Ban

(3-Dec. 1984*)

410



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for 1983 and 1984 is preliminary

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by Judy Freiwirth

The coalition to stop nuclear testing has declared August 6, 1985, the 40th Anniversary of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, to be "the day to end all nuclear weapons explosions." This is the centerpiece of a major strategy focused around passing a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTB). Two of the primary organizations initiating this effort, the Center for Defense Information (CDI) and Greenpeace, urge the peace movement to make the "test ban treaty a matter of highest priority on our international agenda."

While all of us support the CTB as a step toward disarmament, there are serious questions about the effectiveness and wisdom of making this strategy a priority.

The CTB coalition argues that the CTB is a simple and winnable step towards peace. Its members contend that "all the

supporting a broader demand, what will we gain by focusing on testing alone?

Secondly, the CTB position is not winnable in the foreseeable future. Would an administration which has fought so strongly against the Freeze, now agree to stop all nuclear weapons tests? The Reagan administration policy is to maintain nuclear superiority, not parity, with the Soviet Union. It is not a policy of deterrence, but an offensive war-fighting strategy in which developing first-strike weapons is a necessity. Can we reasonably expect an administration with this policy to stop testing the very weapons upon which this policy is based? It is also unlikely that Congress will take the initiative and halt funds for nuclear weapons tests. Certainly they will not agree to ban all testing by August 6.

A Congress which has supported a freeze resolution and yet votes in favor of those weapons which a freeze would stop, should be challenged to end not only the

more immediately concerned with the deployment of nuclear weapons in their countries. And in the Pacific, an end to French nuclear weapons tests and also missile tests by the U.S. and other nations (not included in the CTB proposal) is but one aspect of the Nuclear Free Pacific Campaign. A strong and unified international movement will need to address these broader demands.

CHANGING U.S. MILITARY POLICY

It would be more effective for the peace movement to challenge the current U.S. policy of developing a nuclear force designed to fight and win a nuclear war, while continuing to oppose the newest weapons systems. Such a campaign would connect the new generation of weapons systems with the clearly offensive U.S. nuclear war-fighting policy.

The disarmament movement will find itself at an impasse if it does not address and challenge the fundamental issues of U.S. military policy. Both the Freeze and the CTB successfully appeal to a majority feeling that "enough is enough." However, both undercut their own efforts by failing to challenge the assumption underlying the arms race—that U.S. nuclear weapons are built to deter an increase in the Soviet arsenal. A freeze or test ban that leaves first-strike weapons and first-use policy unchallenged is not only unrealistic, it weakens the effort for global disarmament.

The 40th anniversary of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki provides a special opportunity to educate the public about the need to abolish nuclear weapons. We should not maximize our demands in the hope that "political will" will stop the arms race. Rather, we need to strengthen the already existing majority opposition to the arms race and deepen the challenge to address U.S. military and nuclear policies. Only then will the government find the political will to stop nuclear testing.

Judy Freiwirth is Mobilization for Survival New England Regional Facilitator and a member of Boston MFS.

With a majority of Americans already supporting a broader demand, what will we gain by focusing on testing alone?

nuclear weapons states have to do is simply stop testing nuclear weapons. The only requirement is the political will to stop." This strategy, however, has a singular perspective and ignores the significant gains made by the peace movement over the last number of years, particularly by the Freeze. In fact, it takes us a major step backward.

COMPROMISING THE FREEZE

The Freeze movement has built majority support among the American people, and a Freeze resolution has been approved by the House of Representatives. The movement has been able to mobilize millions of people around the demand for a comprehensive freeze that includes the research, production and deployment, as well as the testing of nuclear weapons. With a majority of Americans already

testing of the weapons but also their production and deployment.

CDI cites the success of the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty as a precedent for the winnability of this campaign. However, that treaty simply moved nuclear explosions underground; it did not restrict their numbers and strength. Many of those active in the peace movement in the early 1960s believe that the victory of the Limited Test Ban Treaty contributed to the decline of the movement at that time. Rather than leading to further steps toward ending the arms race, it ultimately took the pressure off the superpowers.

AN INTERNATIONAL PRIORITY?

The CTB coalition speaks of the need for an international movement. Yet, testing is not the most urgent issue facing international movements. Europeans are

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- CORNED BEEF HASH
- BACON OR SAUSAGE & EGGS
- VEGETARIAN

Soviet Treaty Violations?

by Marta Daniels

Treaty violations, by any nation, should not be excused or overlooked. The American people have the right to insist that the United States government monitor this important matter closely. We also have the responsibility to insist that our government observe the legal process in monitoring compliance.

The SALT I and SALT II treaties established a U.S.-U.S.S.R. Standing Consultative Commission (SCC) to provide a legal mechanism for resolving any questions concerning compliance with the provisions of those treaties. It is a formal process, written into the treaty, agreed to by both parties for bringing charges of violation, for hearing and examining the evidence, and for eliminating the offensive behavior.

Experts say the SCC is one of the few success stories in arms control. While admitting that at times the SCC has had delicate and very difficult issues to resolve, a report by the Center for Foreign Policy Development at Brown University concludes: "The SCC has been able to deal with potentially volatile matters in a timely and effective manner."

The purpose of using this process in arms control compliance is to ensure that the treaty is effective by protecting it from being undermined when suspicions about possible violation could be privately settled to mutual satisfaction. That is why Mr. Reagan's choice to go public, in defiance of the intent of the treaties, calls his good faith into question.

Any public pronouncement by the President that the Soviets are violating arms control agreements is unprecedented. Until 1981, before this Administration took office, all previous charges by the United States had been successfully resolved within the SCC, and were, by treaty agreement, kept in strict confidence.

Former SCC Commissioners have stated that the confidentiality of SCC proceedings had been particularly valuable in clarifying ambiguous activities, and even in getting both countries to change questionable procedures. They assert that "fiery rhetoric would be of no help at all."

Veteran diplomats have strongly criticized the President for publicizing these charges. Gerard Smith, SALT I negotiator, Paul Warnke, SALT II negotiator, and Herbert Scoville, former CIA deputy

sible, the achievement of our basic security objective of reducing the risk of nuclear war."

The diplomats' statement takes on additional importance when recognizing that all of the alleged violations charged by Mr. Reagan are possible marginal technical violations. According to the Arms Control Association, a private, non-profit group whose members are former government officials and experts in this field, none of the violations are a real threat to United States security. "The SALT agreements were carefully constructed to assure that failures in compliance would be prominent before they could pose any danger to the contracting parties," stated the Association last month.

More tragically, many of the President's charges may be charges that have resulted from ambiguities in the treaties them-

Neither side will halt its questionable activity in the glare of an official charge of cheating.

director, stated in their joint press conference on January 18, 1984, that "Presidential public accusations of bad faith before all consultative or diplomatic avenues have been exhausted only prejudice the eventual resolution of the issues, and make more difficult, if not impos-

sible. When negotiating the SALT I and SALT II treaties, the United States felt it was in our interest to deliberately word some of the provisions in an ambiguous manner, leaving the door wide open for both sides to exploit the spirit, without actually violating the letter of the law.

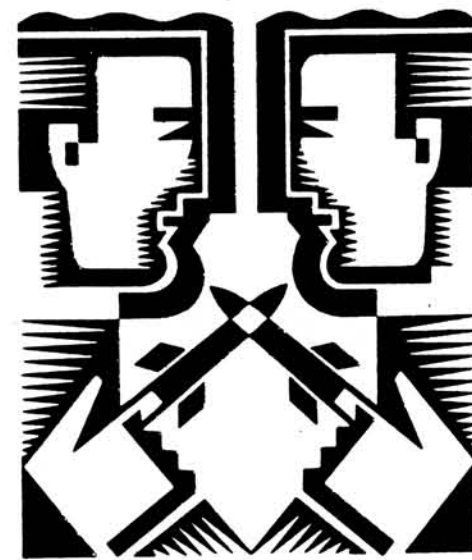
Paul Warnke has said that, for example, the subject of encryption (encoding data transmitted from test missiles) was purposely left fuzzy when the SALT II treaty was negotiated: "We want a certain amount of wiggle room, and therefore gave them a certain amount of wiggle room," he said.

It is well worth noting that in the past, the SCC has been able to clarify—to the satisfaction of both parties—previous ambiguous activity, and in some cases, halt it altogether. Neither side will halt its questionable activity in the glare of an official charge of cheating. The Soviet record shows that in general, they abide by the agreement, while exploiting its ambiguities.

The ambiguities in the Soviet record are an argument for more arms control, not less. Far from being a reason against a treaty that would stop the arms race, they show clearly why one is necessary. Good arms control agreements put the balance of security, for both nations, on the side of restraint, and reduce the anxieties that lead to spasmodic weapons build-up.

However, under the Reagan Administration, the United States itself has consistently sent signals to the Soviet Union indicating our lack of interest in accomplishing real arms control. By failing to ratify the last three agreements (the Threshold Test Ban Treaty, the Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty, and SALT II), and by terminating negotiations on Anti-Satellite Weapons, and the Comprehensive Test Ban, the United States has provided the U.S.S.R. with few incentives to reach a negotiated end to the arms race.

By not ratifying many of the treaties



the United States negotiated with the U.S.S.R., we have made verification of Soviet compliance much more difficult. For example, under the Threshold Test Ban Treaty, which limits nuclear weapons tests to 150 kilotons, the United States and the Soviet Union were to exchange calibration data, establishing the correlation between stated yields of explosions and seismic signals produced, thereby greatly improving the ability to assess measurements of test explosions. However, the United States failed to ratify the treaty, and the data exchange never took place.

Yet, in Mr. Reagan's compliance report, charging the Soviets with violating the 150 kiloton threshold, he states that the United States had unsatisfactory verification capabilities. More startling is the fact that the President's charges were made in the face of the advice of his own Arms Control Deputy Director, David Emery, who said in testimony before Congress in the spring of 1983, "I am convinced there is no proof the Soviets violated the Threshold Treaty."

Finally, there may be an important, though hidden motivation for Mr. Reagan's unprecedented breach of treaty process. Undermining the foundation of existing arms treaties with charges of Soviet violations would fit in well with Administration plans to move forward on an arms build-up on, for example, space-based systems designed to destroy ballistic missiles. Testing and pushing ahead with such a concept threatens to violate at least three existing treaties: SALT I/ABM, the Outer Space Treaty, and the Limited Test Ban Treaty. Deploying the MX and single warhead "Midgetman" missiles in existing silos runs counter to the SALT II Treaty provisions.

If it can be shown the Russians violate treaties, it will be all the easier for the United States to scrap them by doing the same. Such a scheme would also work to undermine public enthusiasm for the Freeze, or any other arms control plan.

Public accusations of Soviet cheating will not resolve the issues, bring the Soviets into compliance, or serve the broader security interests of the United States. Ratifying and clarifying existing treaties, using the process provided for resolving suspected violations, and moving forward on new treaties would do all of those things.

Marta Daniels is on the staff of the American Friends Service Committee and is one of the coordinators of the Connecticut Freeze campaign.

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Legislative Update

While we must keep pressing the President to support a FREEZE (such as through the petition drive), the Reagan Administration is not likely to negotiate a FREEZE or to support a moratorium during the Geneva talks. Therefore, the primary route to ending the arms race is through Congress and its appropriate powers. Pursuing FREEZE legislation can pressure the President to alter his opposition to the FREEZE, at least scale back his buildup.

The legislation listed below is a summary of our priorities. It is all mutually reinforcing, and can be presented to members of Congress as a package—the FREEZE 1985 legislative agenda. It's important for us to keep our comprehensive goal clear and to work hard towards it, while we seek to pass other legislation which can implement key parts of the comprehensive FREEZE and which can move us towards the passage of the FREEZE bill.

THE COMPREHENSIVE FREEZE BILL

The Comprehensive FREEZE and Arms Reduction Act of 1985 (Markey-Mavroules) is the centerpiece of the FREEZE strategy for this year. It clearly states our comprehensive goal, and provides a method for Congress to initiate the enactment of a mutual FREEZE, if the President refuses. According to Congressman Markey's office, the bill will be introduced in the House sometime in June.

Tip O'Neill has indicated to us that if we get 100 co-sponsors, he will call for hearings on the bill, possibly in early Fall. As of this moment (June 1), it has 61 co-sponsors (including 1 Republican). A clear first goal on this bill, then, is to get those 100 co-sponsors as quickly as possible. All local groups should make it a priority to get their Member of Congress to sponsor the bill now. We need as many co-sponsors as possible before the bill is introduced, but should continue to gather more throughout the summer. The Hiroshima/Nagasaki commemoration provides a special attention-drawing time for this effort.

TEST BAN LEGISLATION

Legislation focused on ending nuclear warhead testing provides us an important first step in the quest for a Comprehensive FREEZE. If your Congressperson won't support the Comprehensive FREEZE Bill now, support for test ban legislation is a minimal first step.

WHERE TO WRITE AND CALL:

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

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

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

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

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

HOTLINES

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

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

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

Central America Legislative Hotline
202-483-3391

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

Legislation on testing will come in two stages. First will be a debate and vote on HJR 3 (Bedell-Leach), which calls for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), but does not cut any funds. The Reagan Administration and its Congressional supporters are already gearing up for a big House floor fight over this bill, much like the battle over the 1983 FREEZE Resolution. Thus, it will be a big test of Congressional sentiment, and a big focus for FREEZE efforts. Since this July 16th is the 40th anniversary of the first test of nuclear weapons, we seek a House vote on HJR 3 on that date, and depending on the results, a Senate vote later.

The second stage will involve legisla-

tion to initiate a mutual testing moratorium, with suspension of funds for testing for a limited period of time. Which moratoria legislation we support and whether it will be brought to a vote will depend on whether HJR 3 passes.

OTHER LEGISLATION

The FREEZE Campaign will continue to support other legislative efforts to influence spending bills and votes on: cutting funds for "Stars Wars" research; eliminating MX production funds; continuing the SALT II provision, and extending the moratorium on ASAT testing.

Please call or write your representatives on these important issues.

SALT II Saved (For Now)

by Terry Teitelbaum

On June 10, the Reagan Administration announced it would continue to abide by the unratified 1979 SALT II treaty, which sets limits on various types of offensive long-range missiles and bombers. Amidst accusations of Soviet violations and top aides recommending he scrap the treaty, President Reagan resisted the temptation to undercut SALT II, at least for now.

"Despite my serious reservations about the inequities of the SALT I agreement and the serious flaws of the SALT II agreement," Mr. Reagan said, "I took this action in order to foster an atmosphere of mutual restraint conducive to serious negotiation."

U.S. plans to deploy a new Trident submarine with 24 missiles would raise

a mobile ICBM. The President instructed Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger to study actions the U.S. might take to modernize its strategic nuclear forces as a "proportionate response" to any treaty violations that the Soviet Union does not correct.

The Soviet Union views the President's pledge to continue abiding by SALT II as a cover for "crawling out of the treaty and discarding its provisions one by one." An official Soviet statement on June 11 claimed that the deployment of Pershing 2 medium range missiles in Western Europe was a "direct circumvention" of the treaty.

The Soviet analysis contends that the U.S. would find it too risky to renounce the treaty outright because of the unfavorable public opinion such a move would evoke. Their statement said, "The inten-

"If there really had been violations, the United States would have reacted in a totally different fashion."

the number of American multiple warhead missiles to 14 above the SALT II limit. The President decided to deactivate and dismantle an older Poseidon submarine with 16 missiles to keep the American arsenal within the treaty limit.

Continued U.S. compliance, however, remains contingent upon perceived Soviet compliance. The U.S. has charged the Soviets with violating the provision of the treaty which permits only one new type of land-based ICBM. The U.S. claims the Soviets are developing two new types—the SS-X-24 and the SS-X-25. The Soviets contend that these are two versions of the same missile.

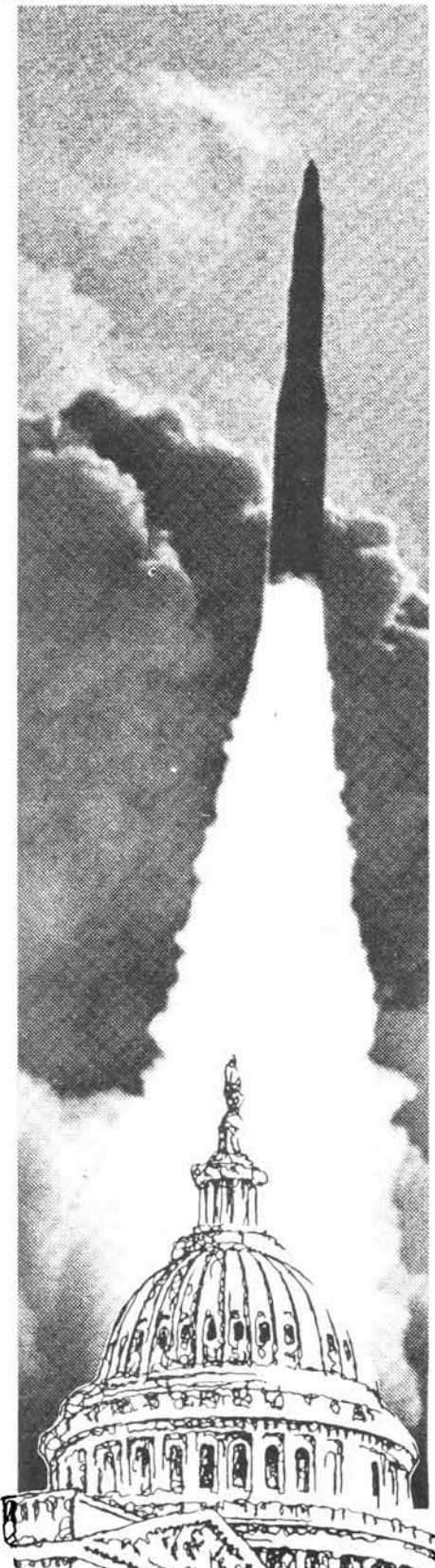
It is this purported violation which the administration may cite as justification for eventually breaking out of the treaty by developing the Midgetman, a second new type of land-based intercontinental missile, in addition to the projected MX,

tion is to eliminate the treaty's vital provisions as they become obstacles to the planned programs for the creation and buildup of strategic arms."

Vladimir B. Lomeiko, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesperson said, "If there really had been violations, the United States would have reacted in a totally different fashion," suggesting that the Americans would have abandoned the pact.

Defense Secretary Weinberger did encourage President Reagan to abandon the treaty outright. As it stands now, however, the U.S. will determine future U.S. compliance, military buildup and performance in the Geneva talks.

Terry Teitelbaum is the Executive Director of the Santa Cruz County Nuclear Weapons Freeze.



Women's Conference In Nairobi

Over 100 people from California, and many from the Monterey Bay area, are attending the End of the Decade (1976-1985) Women's Conference in Nairobi, Kenya, July 6-20. For further information and about receiving word about the results contact Patricia Schroeder, 429-6584.



Where The Bombs Are

A new book, *Nuclear Battlefields*, by William M. Arkin and Richard W. Fieldhouse of the Institute for Policy Studies, discusses the dispersal of nuclear bombs, missiles and artillery shells in the U.S. It says that nuclear weapons are deployed or stored in 28 states and that California has 1,437 warheads, the third highest number of any state. Contrary to a long-standing impression, nuclear sites are not concentrated at air bases and missile silos in the Middle West.

The book also contains figures on the deployment of nuclear weapons by other countries and says the Soviet Union has such weapons in at least four foreign countries: Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, and Poland.

In a *New York Times* interview, Mr. Arkin said he and his co-author collected information for three years by writing to more than 200 military commands and bases asking for innocuous information on their missions. They also pored over testimony before Congressional committees and obtained more than 500 items through the Freedom of Information Act. In addition, they visited many military bases where they found military and civilian officials "really quite forward about the roles they played."

Star Wars Logic

In an interview with *The Nation*, the new Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Politico-Military Affairs, John Hawes said, "there are no circumstances under which this Administration will abandon research on the Strategic Defense Initiative. I just don't see how you can avoid pursuing it... The Soviets are doing it." According to *The Nation*, his reasoning is as follows: We don't know whether the technology will work for ten years, at which time we will deploy the system only if (a) it has been proved to be effective

in knocking down offensive missiles, and (b) if it would be "cost effective"—that is, cheaper for us to deploy than for the Russians to overwhelm it by building thousands of new offensive missiles.

To counter arguments that Star Wars research will trigger an immediate Soviet build-up, Hawes claims, "The Soviets have no incentive to build new missiles today because (if) we... find in ten years that SDI works and is cost effective and so deploy the system... their missiles (would be) obsolete." On the other hand, if the United States doesn't deploy the system, the new Soviet missiles would be redundant.

When asked if it were possible that our perceptions of Soviet intentions might be wrong, Hawes replied, "No. I think our perceptions of them are accurate, while theirs of us are wrong. They have a long history of relying on force."

A "Living Accord"

Calling the 1976 treaty limiting anti-ballistic missiles a "living accord," Paul H. Nitze advocates amending it to permit development of Star Wars.

In spite of the mutual U.S./Soviet agreement on the need to stop development of defensive weapons, the Reagan administration is pushing ahead with Star Wars research.

Kenneth Adelman, head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, said that "eventually some modifications" to the 1972 treaty "may be warranted to permit more definitive demonstrations" of the new space-based technologies.

Mr. Nitze and Mr. Adelman both claim that research on space-based technologies could proceed under the treaty without violation. Representative Les Aspin, however, cautioned in a speech at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies that "we should slow down work on systems that threaten to undo agreed restraints on the development of anti-ballistic missile defenses."

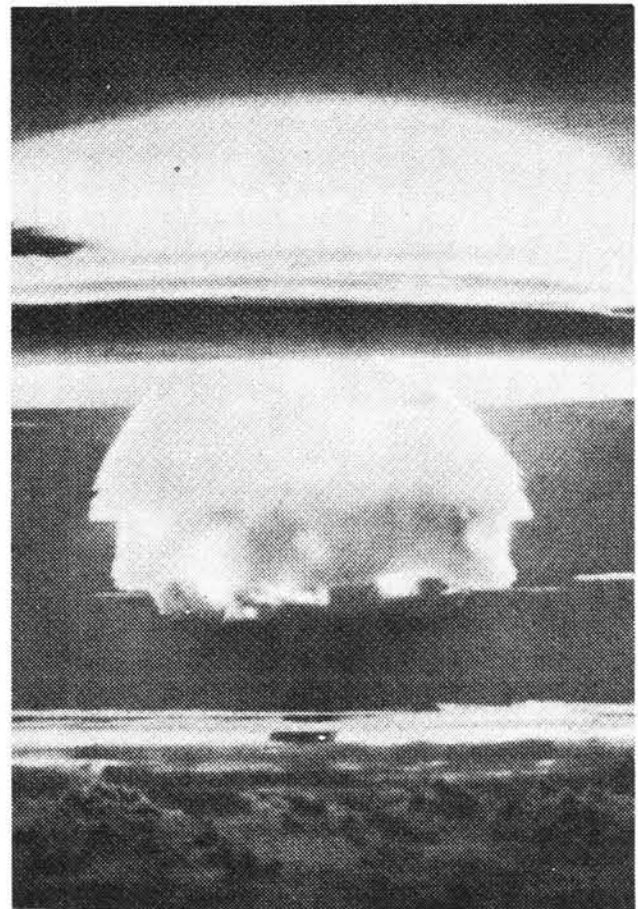
Peace Games

Nine year old Michele Alexander has created a more idealist board game than the "Nukies" version reported on in the last issue of *The Monthly Planet*. Her game is called "Give Peace a Chance."

The game, a third grade project at her school for gifted children in Fresno, is based on compromise by superpowers. Two players roll dice to move their pieces, carrying flags of the United States or Soviet Union, around the edge of a board. At the center of the board is a world map to remind players what is at stake. Players gain two points when they land on a space that says: "Welcome to Geneva, shake hands and smile." They can add five points when players pull troops out of an "important area."

But a player can lose 10 points and three turns by landing on a space where they invade a smaller country, or forfeit 15 points and two turns for rejecting a compromise in arms negotiations.

"I invented this game to stop war," Michele claims. "The object is to get the most points, hopefully by compromising and making your country a nuclear-free zone. This means the children of the world will be able to grow up."



Hot Flashes

by Terry Teitelbaum

Bomb Or Meteor?

A new study released by the Washington Office on Africa on the cause on the September 22, 1979 explosion off the coast of South Africa cited evidence which supports claims that it was a nuclear test rather than a meteoroid hitting a satellite as argued by scientists in 1979.

The evidence includes hydro-acoustic data, tests indicating an ionospheric disturbance at the time of the blast, and new evidence showing high levels of weather-tossed radioactivity in the thyroids of Australian sheep soon after the September flash.

The Office and Rep. John Conyers (D.-Mi.) speculate that the White House panel appointed by President Carter may have hushed up some of these findings based on Carter's desire to remain friends with Israel. Israel was suspected to have helped South Africa with their bomb tests.

Peace Dialogue

'Continuing the Peace Dialogue' has been sponsoring educational and peace tours to the Soviet Union since 1980. During July 1985, six Santa Cruz residents (Carl and Ruth Hunter, Ken Friedenbach, Liz Alpert, Helen Eidemiller and Dennis Noonan) will be travelling to the Soviet Union to explore a sister-city relationship with the Black Sea town of Alushta, situated on the Crimean Peninsula. Also considered a resort town, a small university and children's camp are located nearby. The Sister-city Commit-

tee and the City Council of Santa Cruz have officially endorsed the trip. Also accompanying the entourage will be a patch-work quilt by the Sterling Community and a packet from the children of Gault School. Personal gifts are being collected to present to the Mayor of Alushta as well as to friends in Leningrad, Moscow, Minsk, Kiev, and Yalta. For further information, please contact Helen Eidemiller at 336-5944.

Nuclear Prime Time

If you missed ABC's special documentary, "The Fire Unleashed," on Thursday, June 6, find a friend who videotaped it and watch it. The network devoted three hours of prime time television in a surprisingly comprehensive and fair analysis of nuclear issues.

The presentation included segments on nuclear proliferation, nuclear power, nuclear wastes, and the nuclear arms race between the superpowers. The depth into which the program delved is unprecedented in commercial television's treatment of the atomic age.

The final segment of the show examined President Reagan's proposed space-based "defense" or Star Wars. Experts on both sides of the Star Wars debate gave their arguments and the impression viewers were ultimately left with was that it won't work. Furthermore, it will encourage further escalation of the arms race, the horrific implications of which viewers had been shown.

Three cheers for ABC. Perhaps television is growing up.

Ted Turner's Global Television

Ted Turner, the Atlanta broadcasting entrepreneur who is attempting to take over CBS, announced on June 11 the formation of the "Better World Society." The society will produce "global television programming" about the environment, nuclear arms control and overpopulation.

Mr. Turner founded the society because important global issues "were not being addressed and people were not being informed about them." He has criticized the three commercial television networks, ABC, CBS, and NBC, for neglecting programs about issues like nuclear weapons, environmental, and population issues. He also criticized advertisers who, he said, avoid programs about issues like nuclear destruction but "don't have a problem sponsoring 'Dynasty' when the whole cast gets blown away."

The programs produced and distributed by the society will focus on solutions to world problems. "All solutions are readily available," Mr. Turner said. "The solution to the arms race is 'Stop it'; the solution to the nuclear threat is 'Get rid of nuclear weapons.'"

Santa Cruz County, or know anyone else who does, please call Michael A Lynn Soros of Redwood-Bay Properties at 475-6000 or 688-4900. If this referral results in a transaction in which a commission is paid to Redwood-Bay Properties, they will contribute 20% of the commission to the Santa Cruz County Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign.

In order to comply with real estate law, the person making the referral may not be involved in any negotiation or solicitation. The referral must be limited to an introduction of the client to Redwood-Bay Properties.

McPeace

McDonald's hamburger heiress Joan B. Kroc has initiated a full-fledged campaign against the build-up of nuclear weapons. Ms. Kroc said, "I have been blessed with the means to put my convictions to work, and no conviction I have is greater than that nothing makes sense in our lives unless we create the basis for a decent and workable peace."

Ms. Kroc supports a bilateral disarmament of nuclear weapons. As a first step in the campaign, she spent \$400,000 for full-page advertisements in 23 major newspapers across the nation on Thursday, May 30. The ad quoted the late President Dwight D. Eisenhower's condemnation of the arms race: "Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies in a final sense a theft from those who hunger and are not fed—those who are cold and not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone, it is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children."

On August 6, Ms. Kroc will be in Hiroshima to mark the 40th anniversary of the nuclear attack on that city. She will join leaders of the peace movement from around the world in urging a bilateral cessation of nuclear weapons testing. In addition, Ms. Kroc has commissioned the printing of 500,000 paperback copies of Helen Caldicott's book, *Missile Envy*. The books will be distributed free to prominent educators, government officials and opinion makers throughout the country.

Homeporting Referendum

Peace activists in New York City are collecting signatures on a petition to put a referendum on the November ballot asking voters whether the city charter should be amended to prevent the Navy from stationing a battleship carrying nuclear missiles in New York harbor.

The Navy is awaiting funding from Congress for stationing the ship. If they get the funding and the referendum passes, the Navy intends to avoid going to the Board of Estimate (which leases and sells city property) by condemning the Staten Island land it needs for the port.

Members of several Democratic clubs and peace groups have already collected half of the 30,000 signatures needed for the referendum. In addition to the ballot drive, activists have filed a lawsuit in

federal court claiming the Navy violated the National Environmental Policy Act by refusing to consider the port's full economic and environmental impact on the city. The plaintiffs want to know the consequences of an accident involving the ship's nuclear weapons and how the Navy would prevent and deal with an accident—a scenario omitted in the Navy's environmental study.

Oak Ridge Closes

In response to what the Department of Energy called a "crisis" in American uranium enrichment operations, the United States Government will shut down its original enrichment plant in Oak Ridge, Tenn. and will halt construction on a second plant near Portsmouth, Ohio, into which it has sunk nearly \$2.6 billion.

The United States had enjoyed a \$2 billion-a-year Federal monopoly on enrichment operations which produced fuel for commercial nuclear power reactors and military programs, as well as for many foreign customers. The U.S. can no longer compete, however, with European competitors which charge prices 30 to 40 percent lower. The U.S. share of the world market has decreased to 47 percent.

By 1979, the Government had lost 26 percent of its market to the Soviet Union and to a French-led consortium called Eurodif. Its market position worsened in the early 1980's, when another European group, Urenco, went into production and a secondary, or trading, market developed in enriched uranium.



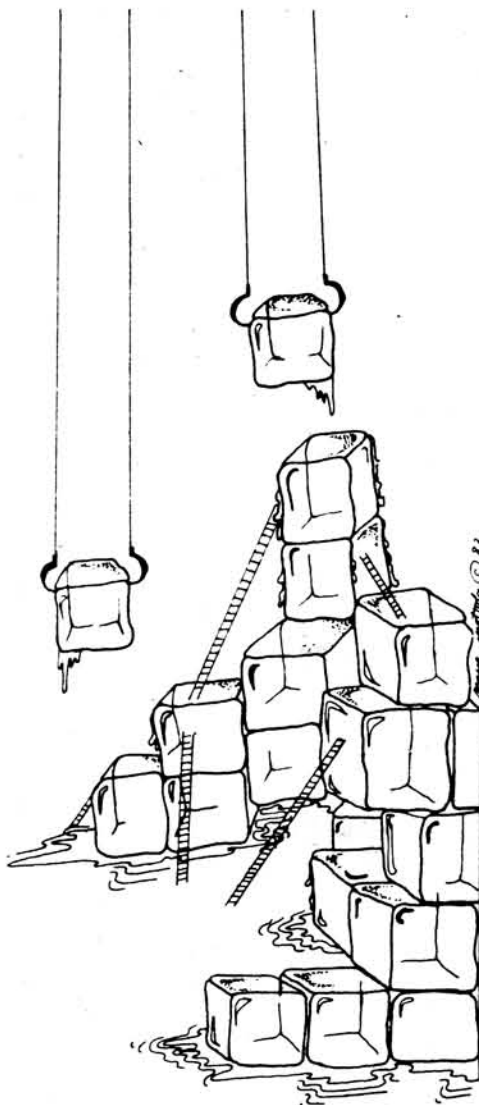
Missile Test

Two unarmed Minuteman 3 test missiles were launched on June 16 from the California coast. After flights of about 30 minutes, the unarmed warheads of the missiles were tracked to their targets in Kwajalein Missile Range, 4,200 miles southwest of Vandenberg Air Force Base, from where they were launched.

G.M. Buys Hughes Aircraft

General Motors will buy the Hughes Aircraft Company for more than \$5 billion in cash and stock. Hughes Aircraft is the nation's seventh largest military supplier and the biggest maker of communication satellites. The purchase is part of a long-term effort by G.M. to diversify into non-automotive fields and improve the company's competitive position by embracing new technology. Last year G.M. bought Electronic Data Systems Inc., one of the nation's leading data-processing companies and a major military supplier.

General Motors won the Hughes Aircraft bid from competing companies Ford Motor Company and Boeing Company.



Real Estate For The Freeze

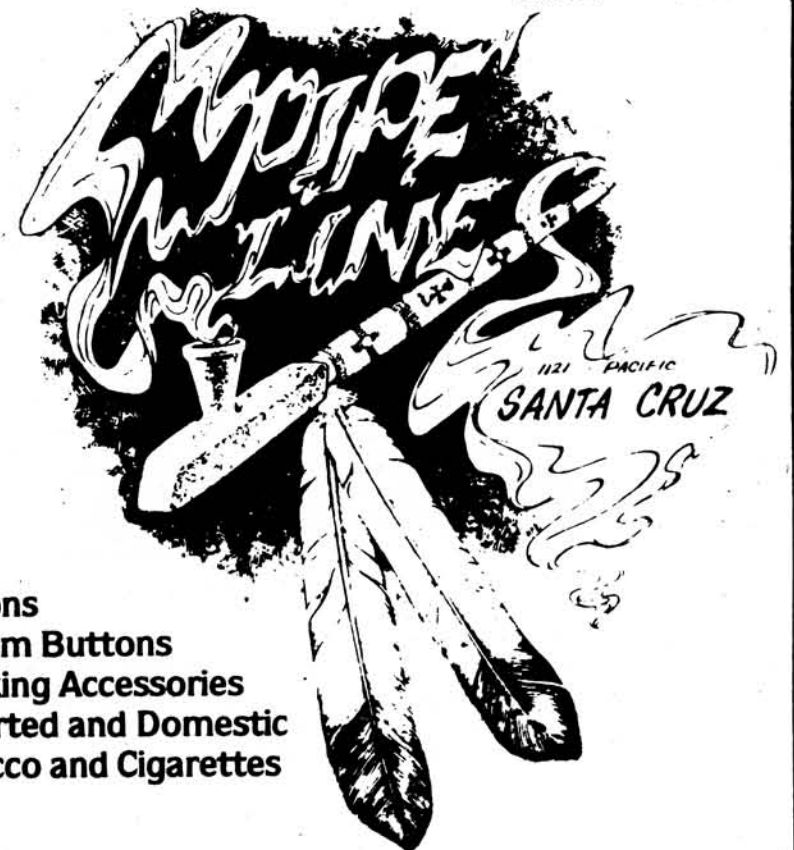
A local real estate agent and Freeze supporter, Redwood-Bay Properties, will make a contribution to the Santa Cruz County Freeze Campaign from any real estate commissions earned from referrals by Freeze supporters.

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Walking The Tightrope

by Joe Peacock

As the peace movement has grown in the West, it has turned its attention more and more to the task of finding partners in Eastern Europe. There are good reasons for this search: an awareness that East-West tension fuels the arms race, a desire to show that peace movements are not limited to the NATO countries, and a desire to rid all of Europe, both East and West, of nuclear weapons. But the effort to build a peace movement that bridges the East-West divide has proven to be one of the most complex and divisive issues confronting the peace movement. Some western groups favor contact with the "official" peace groups in the East, large groups which generally support the disarmament policy accepted by the Soviet Union and its allies. Other groups concentrate their interest and concern on the "independent" peace groups, small groups which have emerged in recent years and which are often regarded as dissident movements by their governments. Because the issues raised on either side go to the very heart of the ideological gulf dividing East and West, the debate within the peace movement has itself taken on some of the characteristics of the cold war and presents a monumental challenge to those who take on the work of reconciliation.

Disarmament initiatives endorsed by the Soviet Union and official groups include such important steps as a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze, regional nuclear weapon-free zones and a policy of no-first-use of nuclear weapons. They do not include, however, some other important initiatives, such as unilateral steps of disarmament as a means of "negotiation by action," or the goal of a Europe which is both nuclear-free and non-aligned. Far from offering criticism of the military policies of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, they often support Soviet military measures (such as the installation of new missiles in Eastern Europe) as necessary to preserve "balance." The official groups generally have little interest in nonviolence or pacifism, take no action on behalf of conscientious objectors, and include high-ranking military officers in their active membership.

It is best not to generalize about the independent peace groups which have appeared in Eastern Europe in recent years, since their approach and history is significantly different in each country. Many people, but particularly students and the young, agree with the peace initiatives of their governments, yet find the official approach to be lacking in spontaneity, vitality and opportunity for open dialogue. Inspired by the achievements of the western peace movement, these groups want to take their own initiative for peace, to exercise their own creativity and to open the discussion beyond those initiatives endorsed by their governments. These are not anti-Socialist groups and they usually try to avoid being dismissed as "dissidents" by their governments. But faced with the inevitable hardships of being an indepen-



dent movement in these societies, independent activists often disagree among themselves on the proper approach to take: some favor maximum possible cooperation with official groups while others have less patience with such efforts and choose instead to undertake actions, such as publishing their own newsletters, which the government may perceive as "dissident."

Many western peace groups favor the independent groups in the East. Accused at home of favoring Soviet foreign policy, they are often eager to demonstrate both to their followers and their opponents that they are non-aligned movements, critical of both superpowers. Official groups, however, find this preference irritating and even insulting to their own work. They argue that the movements

have been deported or denied visas for supporting or even simply visiting these groups. And those independent activists in the East who have had the most contact with westerners have generally suffered the most persecution, which, depending on the country, can range from minor harassment to imprisonment or hospitalization and even deportation.

One of the most outspoken supporters of the independent peace groups has been the British-based group, European Nuclear Disarmament (END). From the END perspective, independent peace activity in the East is an essential part of the process of shedding both military blocs and of creating a neutral, nuclear-free and non-aligned Europe. This approach has provoked particularly hostile reactions from official groups in the East,

... the debate within the peace movement has itself taken on some of the characteristics of the cold war ...

which they represent are much larger and more important than these tiny, young, independent groups. This argument carries little weight with western peace activists who remember that it was not so long ago that their own movements were seen as small and insignificant in the West, and who themselves may have experienced the hardships of being a persecuted minority. Because of this tension, western contact with independent groups has often led to poor relations with official peace groups and governments in the East. Many western activists,

but even within the western peace movement the END perspective is controversial. Some believe it is unrealistic and even dangerous to try to destabilize the military bloc structures that divide Europe, given the kind of economic and social changes that would need to come first, particularly in the East. Others maintain that the military bloc system is itself one of the motors behind the cold war, and that no significant disarmament will be achieved until those structures are shaken loose. What seems clear, in any case, is that the present environment

is not conducive to political or military relaxation in the East. One senses that Eastern governments are frightened to the point of paranoia about the prospects of another independent movement arising on the scale of Solidarity in Poland. It is no simple matter to encourage Eastern governments to reduce their commitment to the Warsaw Pact without further aggravating their paranoia and thereby increasing their closed-mindedness and the resort to repression.

An equally complex debate concerns the proper relationship between peace activity and human rights. Those who are particularly active in supporting independent groups often do so out of a conviction that human rights are inseparable from a commitment to disarmament and peace. Groups such as the Dutch Interchurch Peace Council (IKV) insist that the human rights guaranteed by the Helsinki Accords are an essential ingredient in the recipe for *detente*. In a recent END publication entitled *Voices from Prague*, members of the Czech human rights group Charter 77 express their solidarity with the western peace movement and request, in turn, the peace movement's support for those working for human rights. And in the booklet *Beyond the Cold War*, British historian E.P. Thompson, a leading figure in END, calls upon the movement for peace in the West and the movement for freedom in the East to recognize each other as "mutual allies."

The prophetic warning about crying "peace, peace where there is no peace" reminds us of the peril of allowing human rights to be separated from the questions of peace and disarmament. However, human rights are extremely difficult to define in the East-West context, since the Socialist states emphasize economic and social rights, while western states emphasize political, religious and individual rights. The western peace movement generally gives considerably more attention to political rights in the East than to economic rights in the West, perhaps with the view that the problems here at home are well known and require less editorial attention. Thus from the point of view of many in Eastern Europe, the western peace movement shares the western temptation to point out the human rights speck in the eye of its enemy while ignoring the human rights log in its own eye. Furthermore, if disarmament and human rights are inseparable, and if peace groups should take up human rights concerns, it logically follows that human rights groups should take up the issue of disarmament. Most groups inevitably concentrate on either one or the other, and while there are groups, such as the International Fellowship Of Reconciliation (IFOR), which consistently work for both, this choice has its cost in terms of effectiveness and division of efforts.

Maintaining peace contacts in Eastern Europe is rather like walking on a tightrope: it requires a well-developed sense of balance and it often seems that there is great peril on either side. But one must ultimately venture forth and take the risk, variously leaning to one side and then to the other and learning from the slips and stumbles—even falls—that one makes along the way.

A longer version of this article originally appeared in the April 1984 IFOR Report.

The Executive Bomb Shelter

By Ted Lahti & Colleen DeLaney

What is the most prized possession of Washington bureaucrats these days? Control of some key Senate committee? A massive Federal program in their home Congressional state not cut by David Stockman? No, the top Washington prize is a special "B-Team" pass allowing access to the huge underground government survival fortress deep within the solid granite of Mt. Weather near Berryville, Virginia, in the event of a nuclear attack. This subterranean city, complete with street, sidewalks, a fleet of

on the back of the Harley and head for the camp." Alcorn himself will try to make it to Mt. Weather.

What happens to the rest of us when the Emergency Broadcast Network declares, "This is NOT a test"? One hundred and fifty million Americans in 400 high-risk areas are to evacuate to 2,000 countryside "host" areas in order to survive a Soviet attack. Those bearing odd-numbered license plates must wait until those with even-numbered plates have left the city first, and the Postal Service is planning on issuing change of address cards "postage free" to those

What happens to the rest of us when the Emergency Broadcast Network declares, "This is NOT a test"?

electric cars, underground lake, and dormitories with 2,000 beds was designed as the key "communications and logistical support, to function as the center of administrative and decision-making authority in wartime."

Just which carefully selected 4,000 Washington bureaucrats have received the coveted "B-Team" pass is one of the most closely guarded secrets of our government today. Upon a "nuclear alert" all A-Team members (lucky them!) are to remain at headquarters and carry on while Washington is being evacuated. Members of the B-Team head for the huge Mt. Weather bomb shelter, tightly clutching their special B-Team passes, each carrying the bearer's photo, blood type, and a message asking that "full assistance and unrestricted movement be afforded the person to whom this card is issued." Members of the C-Team are to report to one of 19 emergency operating centers located in a 300-mile radius of the Capitol, called the "Federal Arc."

First Lady Nancy Reagan is known to have a pass, but other Washington spouses do not. When late Chief Justice Earl Warren learned that his wife would not be included, he said, "If she's not important enough to save, neither am I," and he gave up his pass. Bill Alcorn, the emergency coordinator for the National Labor Relations Board, has another plan: "I've got a Harley Davidson in the garage and an Airstream trailer 85 miles from Washington. My son will put his mother

evacuating. No mention is made in any Civil Defense literature of what we are supposed to do about the massive traffic jams fleeing the cities (Soviet missiles only take 30 minutes to arrive), or what to do about the well-established anti civil defense network set up in most "host" areas that plan to blow up the roads and bridges and post sharpshooters to keep out the surviving masses.

Many feel that our new Civil Defense evacuation program, if ever used, will in itself trigger a world war and that it is designed solely to just give the American people something to do as they are waiting to die. It is comforting to know, however, that at least 4,000 Federal bureaucrats will be busy planning the post-war United States. Or have Soviet military planners already painted a huge bulls-eye on Mt. Weather, Virginia?

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



photo: Terry Teitelbaum

Emergency Response

Members of the Emergency Response Network blockaded the doorway to the armed forces recruiting station on Seabright Ave. to protest U.S. intervention in Central America on June 12. Twenty-eight people were arrested.

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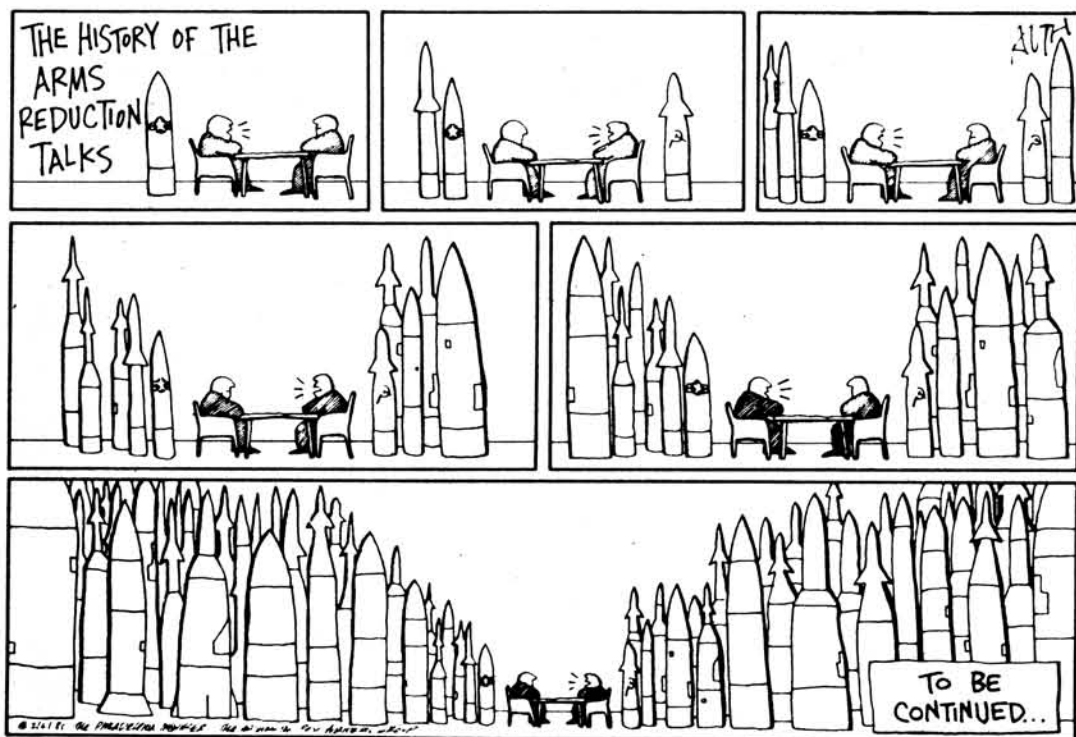
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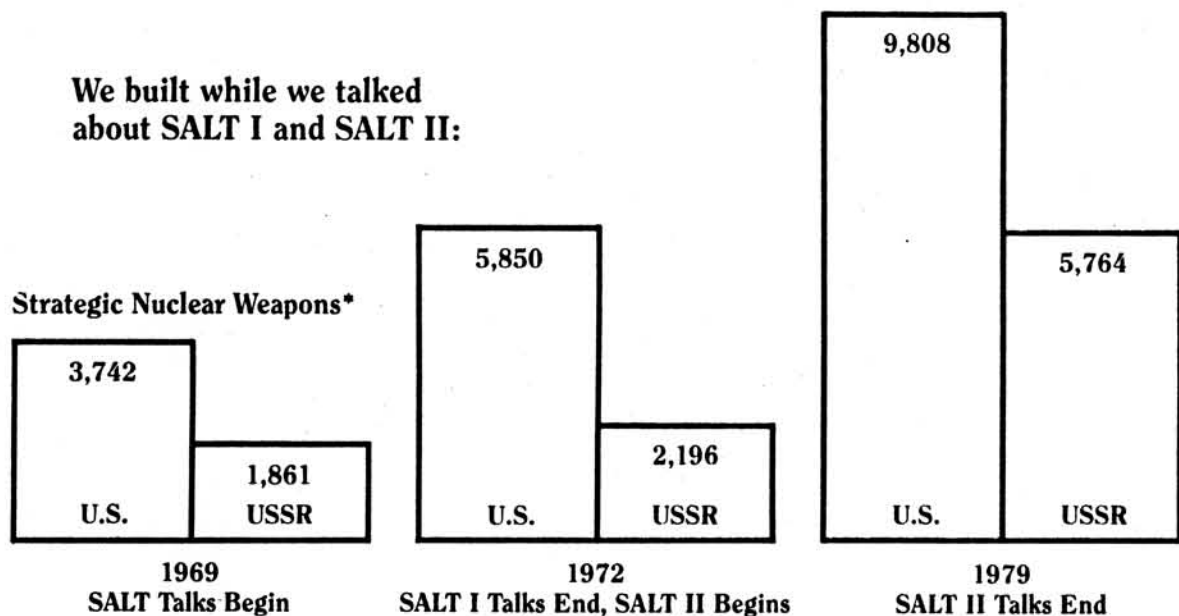
OCEAN ST AT 434 BARSON ST
END OF OCEAN - LOOK FOR THE RAINBOW



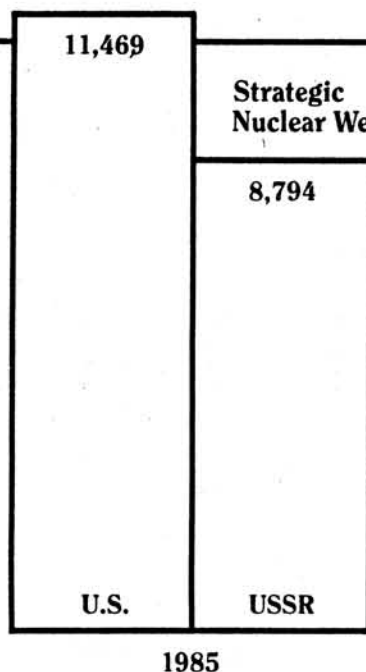
What if we don't Freeze While We Talk?



If we don't *freeze now*, the United States and the Soviet Union will continue building, testing and deploying new nuclear weapons while the talks drag on, perhaps for years!



Ten years of "Arms Control" has resulted in the current balance of terror:



- Every day the United States spends \$200 million on nuclear weapons—\$8.3 million every hour!
- The United States is now building an average of four new nuclear weapons a day, seven days a week.
- The Soviet Union is building at a similar rate.

*Source: Senate Armed Services Committee — "MX Missile Basing Systems and Related Issues," *Senate Hearing No. 98-532*, pp. 233-234.

**Source: Center for Defense Information, Washington, DC

The Nuclear Weapons Freeze is calling for the United States and the Soviet Union to declare a mutual, verifiable freeze on the testing, deployment and production of new nuclear weapons while the negotiations proceed.

Don't Just Talk—Freeze Now!

Public Access Television

by Sandy Cunha

What is public access television? Although public access can be a cable system's greatest asset to the community, it remains one of the least well-known and most often misunderstood aspects of the franchise agreement between a city or county government and the cable provider. Public access in the most basic sense is just what it says: the opportunity for the general public to access the cable system's resources for producing and airing television programs. In other words, a means for a group to inform the com-

on public access do all individuals and groups have an equal opportunity to voice their messages or present their work. There are no "rating" systems determining the monetary worth of the programs for advertising, so there is no necessity for producers to try to reproduce successful programs by an established formula. Divergent points-of-view are the norm, rather than the exception.

A good access system is spontaneous, original and creative, much like the early days of broadcast television, when a viewer could look forward to the whacky unpredictability of Jackie Gleason, or

ment are available; having the equipment is not enough, if there is no room to air it on a single channel. All of these things must work together to create a good access system.

The Cable Co-op's proposal to the City and County of Santa Cruz includes a strong interest in and commitment to public access. The Co-Op's proposal includes:

Public access funding —\$250,000 or 2% of gross annual revenues

Locally produced programming — \$250,000 or 2% of gross annual revenues

Camera and editing equipment — \$600,000 initially (with equipment to be completely replaced twice during the life of the franchise)

Studios —1 main and 2 mini-studios (with portable equipment for on-location taping)

Channels —5 channels initially allocated with 3 more held in reserve

Training workshops —In both basic and advanced skills for individuals and organizations

The goal of the Cable Co-Op is to serve the community and provide quality service and programming, which includes supporting a strong public access program. In addition to its financial commitment, the Co-Op is willing to provide staff assistance and training for those individuals and groups who wish to make use of the public access system. This will



enable access users to produce programs that are interesting and technically acceptable, as well as being informative or entertaining. The Co-Op's goal in public access will be to help every user find the most effective means of presenting their program, and to provide the human and physical resources to enable them to produce it.

For more information about public access or the Co-Op, contact: The Cable Co-Op of Greater Santa Cruz, P.O. Box 8471, Santa Cruz, CA 95061 (408) 425-0480.

Sandy Cunha is a member of the Cable Co-Op's Advisory Board and has three years of experience as a volunteer with Fresno Cable TV's public access studio.

The goal of public access is to provide a forum for interests and points-of-view other than those of the cable provider.

munity about its goals, a chance for an individual to explore or share a creative endeavor—such as a how-to program, a puppet show produced totally by kids, or a study of the work of a master painter, dancer, carpenter or other talented individual.

The concept of public access began with a Federal Communications Commission regulation in 1972, which required cable systems in the top 100 markets to provide channels for public access. In 1979, the Supreme Court eliminated this provision, saying that the FCC had overstepped its authority by this requirement. Now public access exists only to the extent that city and county governments mandate it in their contractual agreements with the cable TV operators.

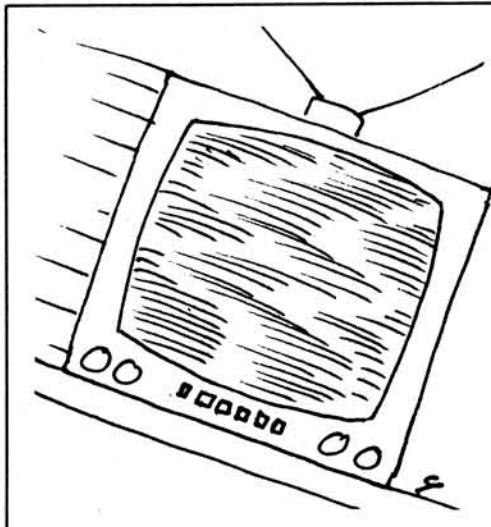
Cable operators have historically taken the position that public access is a loss of revenue for them and have tried to eliminate it wherever possible. If a cable system is losing money, which is common for new systems, public access is the first service to go. While it is true that it costs money to provide for access, and the revenues, if any, are not great, it is also true that in communities with a viable and lively system of public usage, there are usually more cable subscribers. In addition, some systems are beginning to realize the access provides an excellent training ground for the extensive number of skilled personnel that will be required by the fast-growing cable TV industry in the very near future.

There are probably as many definitions of public access as there are cable systems providing it. Some cable operators feel it is sufficient to provide a single channel, to cablecast locally-produced programs bought from independent videographers, or to produce programs themselves concerning local events. While all of these are part of public access, none of them alone is its entirety. There are a variety of needs to be addressed: educational, governmental, cultural, and social. The best system will not provide for some of these needs at the expense of the others.

The goal of public access is to provide a forum for interests and points-of-view other than those of the cable provider. Broadcast and cable television are both subject to the biases of networks, advertisers and the transmitting company. Only

observe actors adeptly ad-libbing lines to cover a mistake or the uncooperativeness of one of the props.

Without adequate resources, the programs offered through public access can sometimes seem amateurish or crude. These defects can be minimized by a system that provides sufficient support in terms of equipment, training, studios, staff and the number of channels allotted to access programming. Having the channels is not enough, if no studios or equip-



Public T.V.'s Rightward Shift

The Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) board chair, Sonia Landau (a fundraiser for President Reagan), introduced a resolution opposing a CPB trip to Moscow at a mid-May CPB conference in San Francisco. The purpose of the trip was to study Soviet TV production for an upcoming documentary, "Who Are the Russians," much like the recent series on PBS, "Inside China."

Ms. Landau feared that CPB staffers would be unable to discern Soviet culture from propaganda. CPB presi-

dent Ed Pfister, a personal enemy of Ms. Landau, resigned in anger over the proposal.

In *These Times* called the incident "the most flagrant evidence of a rightward shift in the [CPB] board since its membership was shrunk last year, along with appointments of right wing ideologues such as Richard Brookhiser." Brookhiser has said it would be "disastrous" if the Soviet version of history were allowed to be aired on public TV in the U.S.

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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.

Monday, July 1

General Meeting. Native American Support Group. (Meets every Monday, other days are July 8, 15, 22, and 29.) 128 Pearl Alley, Santa Cruz. 7pm. For info: 429-0327.

Wednesday, July 3

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

General Meeting. Rainbow Coalition. (Each Wednesday of the month—other days are July 10, 17, 24, and 31.) Loudon Nelson Center, 7pm. For info: 429-0327.

Sunday, July 7

Sing Along. Sharing songs of Peace and Justice. 515 Broadway St., Santa Cruz. 3-5pm. Sponsored by the Freedom Song Network. For info: 662-0324.

General Meeting. Unitarian-Universalist Social Action Committee. 6400 Freedom Blvd., Aptos. 12:30 to 2pm. For info: 684-0506.

Monday, July 8

Rummage Sale. Starts accepting clean whole clothes, working appliances, furniture, etc. Bring to 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz. Sponsored by Resource Center for Nonviolence. Sale is on July 27-28. For info: 423-1626.

General Meeting. Native American Support Group. See July 1.

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

Tuesday, July 9

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

General Meeting, Potluck and Video. Gray Panthers. Potluck-picnic from 12 noon to 1pm, general meeting and video on Juan Parra trial 1-3pm. 134 Dakota St., Santa Cruz. For info: 475-2435.

Introductory Meeting. The Humanist Party. 515 Broadway, 7:30pm.

Wednesday, July 10

Peace Vigil. See July 3.

General Meeting. Rainbow Coalition. See July 3.

Monday, July 15

General Meeting. Native American Support Group. See July 1.

Wednesday, July 17

Peace Vigil. See July 3.

General Meeting. Rainbow Coalition. See July 3.

Friday, July 19 through Tuesday, July 23

International Youth Telecongress. This is the second annual conference. The first at UCSC last year was attended by 125 youths aged 10 to 18. One of the policy statements from last year was "Problem-solving and nonviolent conflict must be developed and taught throughout the educational system as the world shrinks and multi-cultural, multi-racial, and international cooperation becomes vital for human survival." Sponsored by the Redwood Youth Foundation. (Registrants only) Porter College, UCSC. Arrival and registration at noon. Orientation 2-4pm. Opening ceremonies 7-9pm. For info: 476-2905.

Friday, July 19

Shabbot (potluck) dinner and Service. 4660 Portola Drive, Santa Cruz, 6:30 pm. Sponsored by Kolaynu, New Jewish Agenda. For info: 476-6929.

Celebration of Nicaraguan Independence. Sponsored by the Coalition for Nicaragua. Time and place to be announced. For info: 458-0303.

Saturday, July 20

Canvassing for material aid to Nicaragua. Meet at CASA office, 128 Pearl Alley, Santa Cruz. Free bagels and coffee. Assemble at 9am and canvass until noon. Sponsored by Coalition for Nicaragua. For info: Howie 425-7779.

Monday, July 22

General Session, Youth Telecongress. Open to the public at UCSC quarry. Report, recommendations, policy platform. 1:30-5pm. Sponsored by Redwood Youth Foundation. For info: 476-2905.

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

General Meeting. Native American Support Group. See July 1.



Tuesday, July 23

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

Wednesday, July 24

Peace Vigil. See July 3.

General Meeting. Rainbow Coalition. See July 3.

Thursday, July 25

General Meeting. People's Democratic Club. Sesnon House, Cabrillo College, 7:30pm. For info: 425-8671.

Saturday, July 27

Rummage Sale. 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz. Sponsored by Resource Center for Nonviolence. For info: 423-1626.

Sunday, July 28

Rummage Sale. See July 27.

Monday, July 29

General Meeting. Native American Support Group. See July 1.

Wednesday, July 31

Peace Vigil. See July 3.

General Meeting. Rainbow Coalition. See July 3.

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 _____

the poet
AND patriot
irish pub

NOW OPEN FOR LUNCH
Mon.-Fri. 11:30-2:30

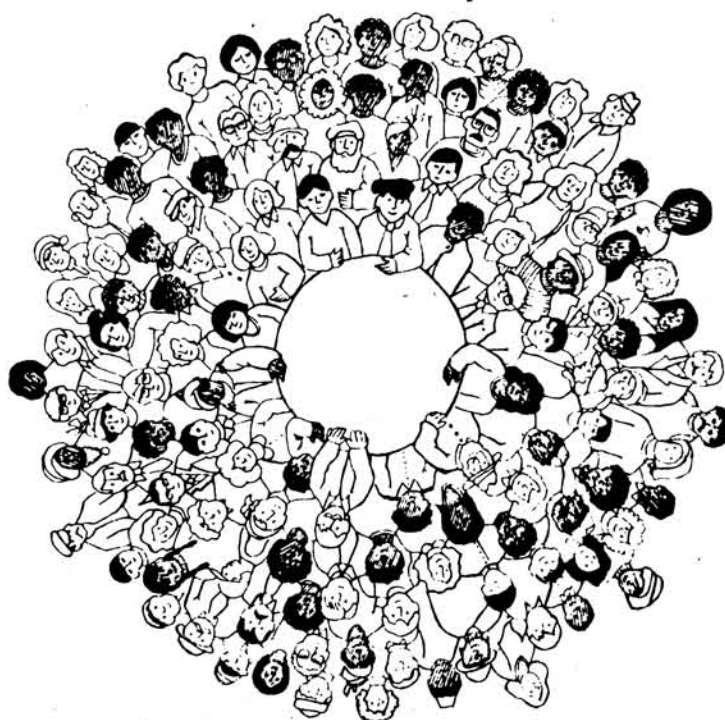
- Steak Sandwiches
 - Homemade soups & salads
 - Hot Turkey Sandwiches
 - Vegetarian Specials
 - Burgers, Corned Beef & More
- Imported Beers, Premium Wines, Natural Sodas

DINNER SERVED NIGHTLY
5:30 to 10:00 PM
INTERNATIONAL MEALS AT REASONABLE PRICES

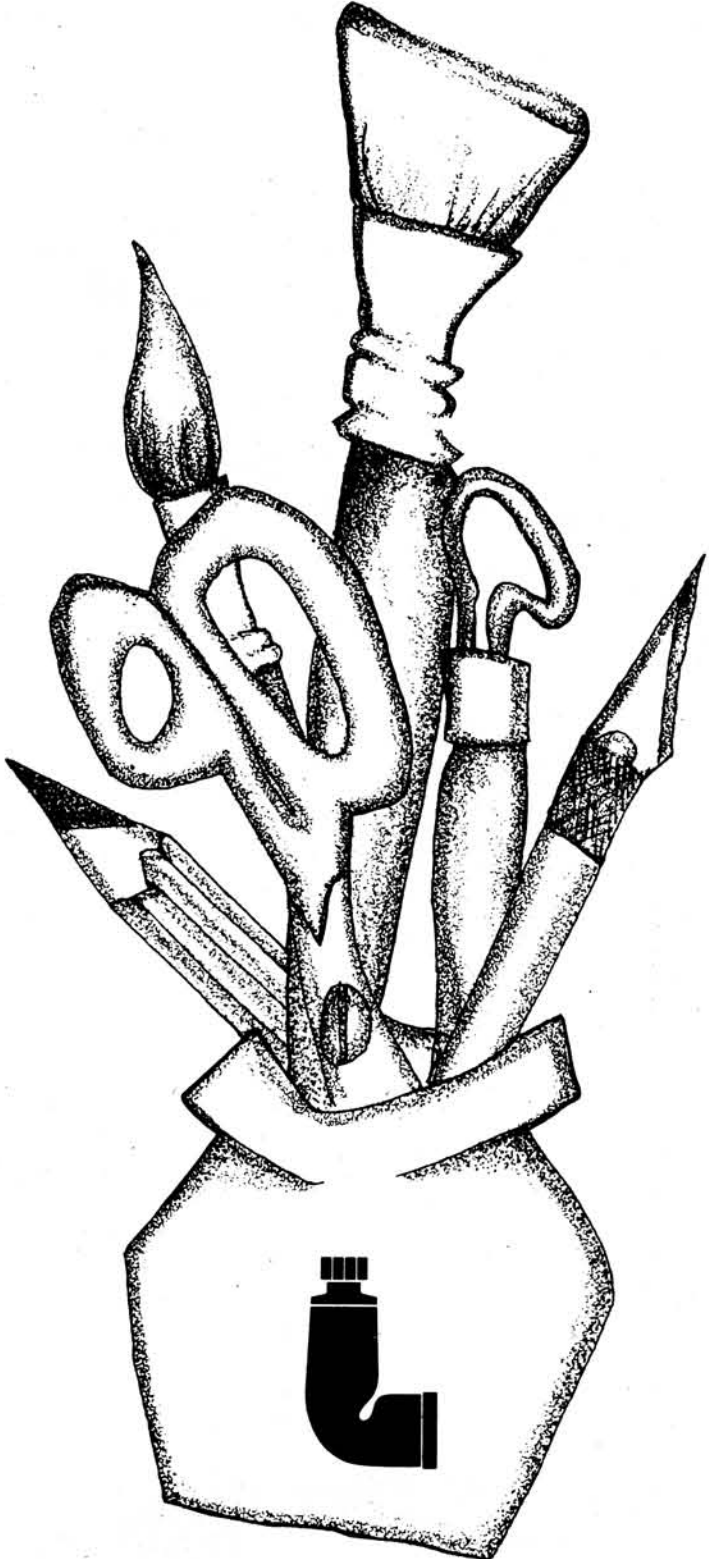
CALL FOR MUSIC CALENDAR

320-e Cedar Street
Downtown Santa Cruz
426-8620

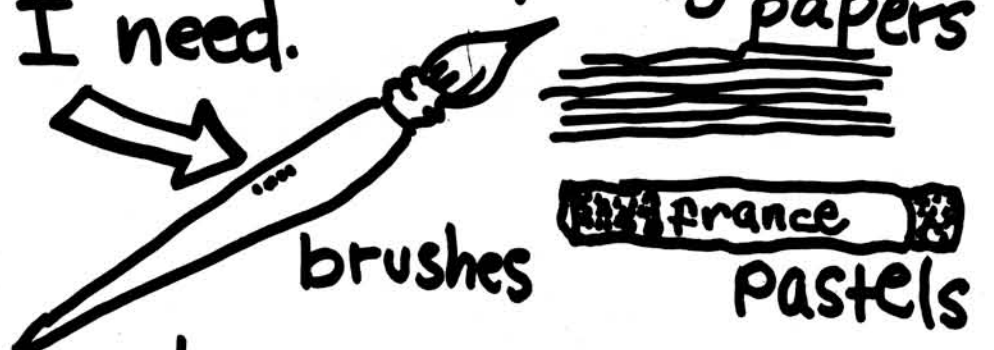
Santa Cruz County Peace & Justice Organizations



- | | | | |
|---|----------|--|------------------|
| Abraco
515 Broadway, Santa Cruz, 95060 | 423-1626 | Nuclear Weapons Freeze of Santa Cruz County
320-G Cedar, Santa Cruz, 95060 | 429-8755 |
| Center for American Studies and Activities (CASA)
128 Pearl Alley, Santa Cruz, 95060 | 429-1039 | Pajaro Valley Religious Committee for Peacemaking
P.O. Box 1160, Watsonville, 95076 | 722-5691 |
| Central Coast Sanctuary
c/o Amber Sumrall P.O. Box 756, Felton, 95018 | 335-4084 | Peace Education Project
P.O. Box 559, Felton, 95018 | 425-5211 ext 139 |
| Chile-Santa Cruz Friendship Committee
347 Fairmount, Santa Cruz, 95062 | 425-8493 | Peace Project
1770 King St., Santa Cruz, 95060 | 425-5061 |
| Coalition for Nicaragua
P.O. Box 366, Santa Cruz, 95061 | 458-0303 | Peace Resource Project
2046 N. Pacific Ave., Santa Cruz, 95060 | 423-2742 |
| Comite de Solidaridad con El Salvador
Box 467, Santa Cruz, 95061 | 429-1039 | Peacemakers
P.O.Box 2324, Santa Cruz, 95063 | 423-1626 |
| Committee in Solidarity with Peoples of the Americas (CISPA)
"A" Frame, UCSC, Santa Cruz, 95064 | 427-1937 | Peacemakers—United Presbyterian Church of Watsonville
112 E. Beach St., Watsonville, 95076 | 724-7169 |
| Common Cause
125 Felix St., #3, Santa Cruz, 95060 | 425-7474 | People's Action Network
P.O. Box 693, Santa Cruz, 95060 | 425-8897 |
| Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility
P.O. Box 7708, Santa Cruz, 95061-7708 | 425-8726 | Physicians for Social Responsibility
9053 Soquel Dr., Aptos, 95003 | 688-3868 |
| Continuing the Peace Dialog USA/USSR
219 Union St., Santa Cruz, 95060 | 429-6584 | Planetary Citizens
2355 Brommer, Space 23, Santa Cruz, 95063 | 462-0300 |
| Educators for Social Responsibility (Cabrillo)
P.O. Box 795, Soquel, 95073 | 662-0553 | Rainbow Coalition
1793A Harper St., Santa Cruz, 95060 | 476-7893 |
| Educators for Social Responsibility (UCSC)
441 High St., Santa Cruz, 95060 | 426-1597 | Redwood Youth Foundation
5300 Glenhaven Rd., Soquel, 95073 | 476-2905 |
| Emergency Response Network
P.O. Box 366, Santa Cruz, 95061 | 458-0303 | Resource Center for Nonviolence
515 Broadway, Santa Cruz, 95060 | 423-1626 |
| Families for Peace
229 Laguna, Santa Cruz, 95060 | 423-3095 | Santa Cruz Action Network
320-G Cedar St., Santa Cruz, 95060 | 458-9425 |
| Free South Africa Committee
519 Soquel Ave., Santa Cruz, 95062 | 425-4696 | Santa Cruz Friends Meeting
118 Miles St., Santa Cruz, 95060 | 425-5852 |
| Friends Committee on National Legislation
118 Miles St., Santa Cruz, 95060 | 423-2605 | Students for Social Responsibility
Student Activities Office, Cabrillo College
6500 Soquel Ave., Aptos, 95003 | 425-7299 |
| Gray Panthers
134 Dakota #220, Santa Cruz, 95060 | 427-2126 | Unitarian Fellowship Social Action Committee
6401 Freedom Blvd., Aptos, 95003 | 684-0506 |
| Harbinger Communications
50 Rustic Lane, Santa Cruz, 95060 | 427-2510 | Video Network Project
P.O. Box 1207, Felton, 95018 | 335-2205 |
| Kolaynu/Santa Cruz New Jewish Agenda
135 Spring St., Santa Cruz, 95060 | 423-5223 | War Tax Resistance Fund
316 King St., Santa Cruz, 95060 | 423-1626 |
| Lively Connections
735 Cathedral Drive, Aptos, 95003 | 688-3792 | Witness for Peace
P.O. Box 8137, Santa Cruz, 95061 | 425-3733 |
| Migrant Media Education
406 Main Street, Watsonville, 95076 | 724-2997 | Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
375-10th Avenue, Santa Cruz, 95062 | 475-2211 |
| Native American Support Group
P.O. Box 8260, Santa Cruz, 96061 | 423-5349 | | |



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