

The MONTHLY PLANET

Free August 1985

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40 Years Ago

Santa Cruz Remembers . . .



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

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THE FREEZE PROPOSAL

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

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



The MONTHLY PLANET

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The Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign

The Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign had its beginning in late 1979 when Randall Forsberg, director of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, drafted a paper — *The Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race* — and circulated it to a number of well-known arms control experts, directors of national organizations, and peace groups around the country. In less than a year, some thirty national organizations and hundreds of regional and local groups and individuals had endorsed the Freeze proposal and its goal of calling the U.S. and U.S.S.R. to stop the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons. This would be an essential, verifiable first step toward lessening the risk of nuclear war and reducing nuclear arsenals.

Since March of 1981, when the national campaign began, support for the Freeze has broadened and deepened. The Freeze has been endorsed by 370 city councils, 71 county councils and 446 town meetings. One or both houses of the legislatures in 23 states have passed freeze resolutions. More than 150 national and international organizations support the Freeze. In the fall of 1982, more than 30% of the American electorate had a chance to vote on the freeze in 10 states, the District of Columbia and 38 cities and counties. As of June, 1983, there have been 58 state and local freeze referendums; overall, 60% of those voting favored the Freeze. On May 4, 1983, the House of Representatives passed a Freeze resolution by a vote of 278-149, almost a two-to-one victory.

The Freeze Campaign is now active in all 50 states. It is broad-based and it is non-partisan. It includes both conservatives and liberals, young and old, whites and non-whites. While it has found an enthusiastic response in the halls of Congress, the Campaign is rooted in town halls, union halls and parish halls in hundreds of communities all across America. American citizens are demanding that the nuclear arms race be stopped and then reversed.

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From The Grassroots

Are The Russians Our Enemy?

Dear Freeze,

A reading of your recent issue of *The Monthly Planet* devoted primarily to the U.S.S.R. prompts this letter from a fellow peace activist. There is hardly a subject of more timely interest in need of reasoned treatment as unfortunately we are still affected by the aftermath of the McCarthy era. The following quote from Abraham Brumberg re Central America in the 6/18/85 *New York Times* also applies to votes on the military budget: "The blame for this baleful state of affairs lies not only with the President, but also with those—whether Republicans or Democrats, conservatives or liberals—who so fear being branded 'soft' or 'naive' about communism. It is they, after all, who permit his contempt for the truth to go unchallenged, they who are allowing us to drift ever further from a realistic foreign policy. The four destructive years of McCarthyism provide a lesson that no one interested in a 'peaceful solution in Central America' can afford to ignore."

The article in the *Planet* titled "Why Are The Russians Our Enemies?" would have been more constructive if the "Why" had been omitted from the title. I'd like to point out a relevant quote from the 4/14/85 *Washington Spectator*: "The main appeal for an arms budget that eats into the American economy is the Soviet-Communist bogey-man. When the arms business was about to collapse at the end of WWII, an ogre was discovered: the Soviet Union, badly crippled by war, with 20 million casualties, 'was going to invade Western Europe and take over the world by a combination of military moves and subversion.' The idea was privately scoffed at by the military, but was seen to have a useful

emotional appeal and so continues in heavy use."

It seems to me that you could do a real service to yourself and to your readers by reviewing the enclosed 1983 WILPF booklet, "Give Peace a Chance." I particularly recommend Dave McFadden's Introduction plus Background and Overview sections. Perhaps you could consider publishing at least some excerpts from the latter if not the total section.

Most sincerely,
Mrs. Betty Brown
Kensington, CA

Underground Distribution

Dear Freeze,

Hello! Recently I came across your zine and was greatly interested in what I saw. I am involved in a project entitled the Concrete Underground: an underground art/politico meeting ground. We are also greatly concerned with the distribution of publications such as yours, feeling that the further such info. is disseminated, the greater its effect. I ask, therefore, for a sampling of publications, flyers, addresses, etc.; we will respond, if you wish, with propaganda packs of our own, or reprinting your original material, etc., etc. In any case, I am interested in distributing *The Monthly Planet* and/or anything else you are involved in. How's that sound? Interested? A stamp is enclosed and our address is — The Concrete Underground, P.O. BOX 2138, Chino, CA. 91709.

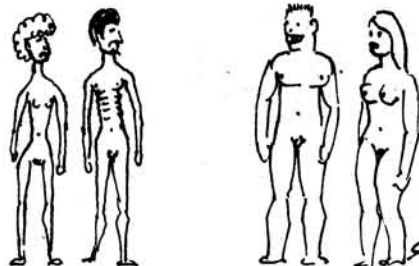
Many thanks; love, peace, and more!
Vena Cava
Chino, CA.

Soviets "Choked"

Dear Freeze,

Colleen DeLaney in "Why are the Soviets Our Enemies?" (July 1985) has concisely stated what I have previously had a general sense of for years regarding the similarities between the USSR and the USA. However, her comment about not being able to tell the difference between naked Americans and Russians is one about which I would like to comment. While traveling in the Soviet Union last summer I was discouraged by the poor (involuntary) diet of average Russian citizens and how they, in general, appeared to be less well nourished than their American counterparts. For as much as Americans are "squeezed" in order to afford a massive military force, the Soviets/Russians are undeniably "choked" which manifests itself in the physical. I do not wish, however, to downplay Ms. DeLaney's message which is rational, factual, and insightful, and I very much appreciate *The Monthly Planet* for providing an opportunity for her to share her knowledge and educate the community.

Sincerely,
Karen E. Hayes
Arcata, CA



come to master.

The present rocking of the human boat could be a divine attempt to restore our humility, which may be the great equalizer to bring our inner and outer lives back into balance.

Joy Nager
Capitola, CA

The Truth About Hiroshima

Dear Freeze,

Why do people all over the world each year hold remembrance of Hiroshima? Why don't we just forget about it and consider it water under the bridge? Who are these people who want to keep reminding us of this horrifying event? There are two groups with opposing views and interpretations of the event who take part in this dialog each year. There are those who agree with President Truman that the bombing of Hiroshima was the "greatest day in history" and believe that the "bomb" saved millions of American and Japanese lives.

The other group are those who consider the dropping of the bombs a highly immoral and unnecessary act. To them it amounted to murder of over 200,000 innocent men, women and children by a few American leaders who were determined to: (1) prove that their 2 billion dollar investment worked through a "combat" demonstration, (2) stop the Soviet Union from taking part in the occupation of Japan and Manchuria and start the "cold war" in Europe, and (3) demonstrate to the world that we were the dominating society and had the will to use our new weapons of destruction.

What is the truth? Does it lie somewhere between these two views or is one side wrong? Possibly you can make up your mind with a few quotes from military and political leaders of the time. General Curtis LeMay: "even without the atomic bomb and the Russian entry into the war, Japan would have surrendered in two weeks — the atomic bomb had nothing to do with the end of the war." Chief of Staff, Admiral Leahy: "their use of this barbarous weapon at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was of no material assistance in our war against Japan. The Japanese were already defeated and ready to surrender." Winston Churchill: "it would be a mistake to suppose that the fate of Japan was settled by the atomic bomb. Her defeat was certain before the first bomb fell."

How about the politicians? Vannevar Bush said, "it was delivered on time so that there was no necessity for any concession to Russia at the end of the war." The Russians had attacked Japan's forces in Manchuria on August 8. Did the "bomb" make it easier for us to get along with the Soviet Union? Here is what President Eisenhower had to say: "before the atom bomb was used I would have said, yes, I was sure we could keep peace with Russia. Now I don't know—people are frightened and disturbed all over. Every one feels insecure again."

Why should we bring this subject up every year? Because we still haven't learned from Hiroshima that the nuclear arms race is suicidal and that our government is heading us toward disaster, especially if "star wars" proceed much further. The next war (certainly the last) will be an accidental computer war if we don't stop where we are now and negotiate into a safer world. Our government leaders seem to be as ignorant as was General Leslie Groves (in charge of making the original bombs) after the attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Asked about the effects of radiation on a human, he said, quoting from doctors at the time, "He can have enough so that he will be killed instantly — he can have a smaller amount which will cause him to die rather soon—without undue suffering. In fact, they say it is a very pleasant way to die."

Daniel J. Miller
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Rebuttal To Soviet Articles

Dear Freeze,

I am an ardent fan of the *Monthly Planet*. It's clever, entertaining, and a long-needed source of information about the arms race. However the July issue, devoted mainly to the Soviet Union, contained articles with stylish criticisms which are only partly true.

If Americans return from the Soviet Union with positive information, that information has to be stated very carefully or deleted. Otherwise you'll be labeled "soft on communism." The "soft on communism" threat to citizens and elected officials is frightening and leads to startling consequences, such as many people accepting the thesis that the escalation of the arms race is the only path to "peace" and security. And we're supposed to believe that Nicaragua is a military threat to the United States and is infested with Soviet soldiers and arms. To say otherwise is supposedly in some way disloyal. Not so. Official information often does not reflect so much as an attempt at the truth.

I have a cousin now living in the Soviet Union who I knew as a child here until she was about six years old. During the great depression her parents lost a lot of their money when the banks declared a holiday and returned only a small portion on the dollar. At that time her parents decided to visit Russia where they were born. They decided to remain.

One gratuitous remark was, "Today we took the obligatory tour of the Kremlin, Red Square and Lenin's Tomb." At no time during our two tours of the SU was any tour "obligatory."

Several remarks were made about the food. "The only vegetables that appear regularly are tomatoes and cucumbers . . . or oily rice." Almost true. We ate a lot of cabbage and potatoes also. We never had "oily rice." The ice cream was outstanding and so was the bread.

If you look at a map, you will see that Russia is at a much more northern latitude than we are which affects their farming in many ways. Later

in the article, Mr. Hirsch makes the statement, "Certain basic requirements—housing, medical care, and income—are fundamental rights of citizenship. . . ." With adequate income you don't starve.

A humorous aside is that the Russians like meat three times a day. When a Soviet official was challenged by a vegetarian member of our tour group about how wasteful meat three times a day is of grain, etc., a la *Diet for a Small Planet*, our informant immediately replied, "If we told our people that it is not good to have meat three times a day, they would call it propaganda." She went on to say that since Russia has been invaded so many times including twice in this century that the ordinary person on the street feels the best way to ward off starvation and hoard food is on their body.

Another evaluation, "Moscow is grim: the main streets are 10 to 15 lanes wide." That's grim? "There are belts of trees along many streets, but they are not in bloom yet and there are no flowers." Belts of trees are grim?

It is bureaucratic government policy to have a certain percent of green belt around every housing project. Also a certain percent of green belt in every city. It is considered necessary for biological and psychological health.

Also to the observation, "Many sidewalks, courtyards and building entrances look damaged or unfinished." coincides with what we saw. These are old buildings, especially with courtyards, which were damaged in WWII. Housing during the war was damaged down to five and ten percent in many cities. The aim in the USSR is an apartment for every family.

I want to comment on the remark about beach wear and suntans. At Sochi, "There are a few hearty souls trying out the chilly Black Sea: ponderous, pale people in tight little bathing suits." Pale comes from much less sunshine during winter in Northern latitudes. OK? Is tan that good? But tight little bathing suits? Have you been to our beach lately?

Another sign of possible Soviet ineptness and oppression is making phone calls, "I had three

wrong number phone calls in my hotel room in three different cities. Were the rooms bugged?" Here in the United States no one's phone is bugged! Here we never get wrong numbers! A recorded message comes on and says something like, "The number you have reached is incorrect, please check your number and dial again." You go through the requested procedure several times and finally, with the same number, you get through. Incidentally, I phoned my cousin from my hotel in Moscow several times each trip—for free, and had no trouble. Just happened that way. Wrong numbers here go aggravatingly smoothly to the recorded message. That's efficient. There, it's bureaucratic inefficiency with big brother overtones.

Moving from one city to another is a big problem in the USSR. Mr. Hirsch heard stories about marriages and divorces that hinge on moving from apartment to apartment. I didn't happen to hear those stories. I did hear that for rent, water, heat, electricity, and telephone it costs every family from 27 to 37 rubles a month, depending on the amount of floor space in the apartment. The average income is around 270 rubles a month. I also heard the only way you can move is to find someone who wants to move from another city—and trade. It's done all the time. Housing is still not sufficient so it is a problem of state control. It's one of their more serious problems. They want an apartment for each family. It's much different here. You can live anywhere—almost. To change your residence requires only one main and one chance item: MONEY, and luck.

The pleasant visit to the Jewish couple is also an important piece of information: "The couple said they were not worried about contact with foreigners because they do not hold sensitive jobs . . . and are not active in dissident causes . . . and they showed their home movies." They must live well. They were not afraid, and they showed their home movies. Again, my cousin has an important job with the biggest publishing house in Moscow. Her son is a working geological engineer and got his job immediately

upon graduation from the required institute. Her husband is a very successful writer. They're Jewish. All of them.

Surprisingly, even with all the "evil empire" talk by this administration as late as 1984, as Americans on the streets of their cities we were treated almost like celebrities. How would Russians on the streets here be treated, I wonder?

There was another boxed article from the Helsinki Watch which puzzled me. One remarkable quote.

"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 where the seminar was held."

The bureaucracy is humungous! Dozens of KGB agents to pick up 30 people! And why didn't they just go to the apartment and pick them up? Such inefficiency. The story is faulty somewhere, perhaps overstated?

The tone inferred from these two articles leaves you with the feeling that the Soviet Union is indeed the "evil empire," but not quite as evil as our president says it is. I don't want the whole world blown up because I don't have the courage to say what I see. The administration's billion dollar mind laundering is bound to be effective. It even affects the *Monthly Planet*. We must be aware.

Harriet Blue
Aptos, CA



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Planet Watch

by Igal Dahari



New Zealand Shultz Launches Criticism

New Zealand was the target of criticism from Secretary of State George P. Shultz in a speech he gave on July 17 at the East-West Center in Honolulu. New Zealand's refusal to allow American ships carrying nuclear weapons to dock was the main reason for Mr. Shultz's denunciation. The Secretary of State charged New Zealand with aiding the U.S.S.R.'s alleged attempts to weaken the U.S.'s alliances and causing regional instability and insecurity. Mr. Shultz said that by banning nuclear weapons from its soil and its waters New Zealand "has acted against its own interests."

Greenpeace Loses One

An explosion ripped a 6-by-8-foot hole in the hull of the *Rainbow Warrior*, a veteran protest ship belonging to the environmental group Greenpeace. The vessel sunk as a result of the explosion. One member of the crew, a photographer, was killed. The ship was docked at Auckland at the time, awaiting its return to the South Pacific to protest French nuclear tests there.

Investigators believe the blast occurred as a result of an explosive device deliberately placed on the ship's hull. Detective Superintendent Allan Galbraith stated that "we are dealing with a case of sabotage."

New Zealand's Prime Minister David Lange said his government was considering public suggestions to send a military vessel to the French testing sites in place of the sunken *Rainbow Warrior*. Mr. Lange called the sinking of the Greenpeace vessel "a major criminal act with terrorist overtones."

Canada U.S. War Package Swallowed

Last spring Canada struck a deal with the United States which provides for the upgrading of the old Distant Warning Line in northern Canada, landing strips for American interceptor planes, and facilities for the stationing of American AWAC planes. The deal was described as a plan to "modernize" Canada's "defense," but last March the US Senate armed Services Committee admitted that the agreement was one more step in getting Canada to participate in "Star Wars."



China U.S. Agrees To Nuclear Pact

The State Department and the Energy Department formally asked President Reagan on July 20 to approve a pending nuclear cooperation agreement with China. Kenneth L. Adelman, Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency affirmed that the agreement was consistent with the stated American policy opposed to the spread of nuclear weapons. These recommendations are required by U.S. Non-Proliferation law

before any agreement may be signed by the president. The agreement is limited to a general outline for commercial uses of nuclear energy.

In meetings preceding the recommendations, questions were raised about a group of Chinese nuclear specialists who had been seen at a nuclear plant in Pakistan, where American intelligence officials believe work on a nuclear device has been taking place. The Chinese are now thought to have left Pakistan and new statements have been made by China about its intention not to help other nations develop nuclear weapons, according to the *New York Times*.

An administration official reported that Secretary of State George P. Schultz removed himself from the agreement because his former company, the Bechtel Corp., could benefit from provisions in the agreement that open the way for American companies to bid on a multibillion-dollar network of atomic power stations.

Peace Groups Wanted

Historian and peace activist Edward Thompson notes in a letter to British peace groups that the Chinese government plans to form contacts with international disarmament groups. The Chinese will foster these contacts through the creation of a new organization which may begin operating this summer.

China's official stance is in favor of disarmament, but the Chinese maintain that the U.S. and U.S.S.R. must take the first steps.



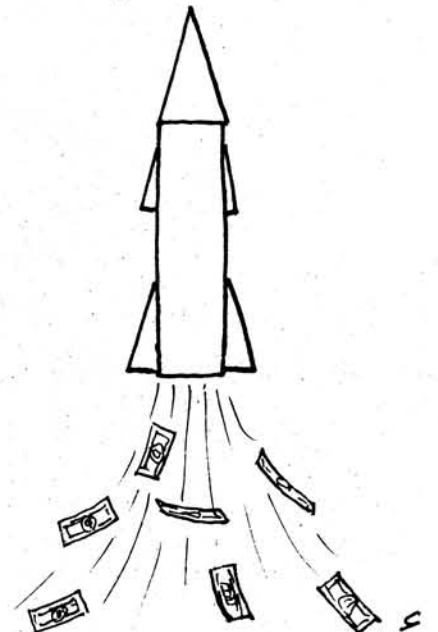
Britain Star Wars Confuses English

The British Ministry of Defense's recently created Central Defense Staff balked at giving an unconditional "yes" to the Reagan administration's invitation to participate in "Star Wars" research. After several months of investigation into the proposed research by the staff's chief science advisor, Richard Norman, the result was "a great confusion in our minds," according to one involved official. An official response to the U.S. invitation is unlikely until all the uncertainties are resolved, he added.

Letters of invitation to the research program were sent out on March 26 by Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger. The governments receiving the letters were given a 60 day deadline, soon after withdrawn, in which to officially respond. Many British government officials see the letter as a form of blackmail, where governments would be forced to commit themselves quickly and have only a vague idea as to what exactly is being offered them. One official pointed out that "[that's] one of the reasons why the French are out of it, why the Germans are uneasy, and the Japanese have a great deal less enthusiasm than the Pentagon anticipated."

Europe Eureka Takes Off

Eureka, the European research alternative to Reagan's "Star Wars," is one more step in getting off the ground with the signing of a pact between two giant European companies. Aérospatiale, the French state-owned aerospace company, and Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm of West Germany concluded a research agreement specifically concerning Eureka. The rival to the "Star Wars" project is gaining considerable support throughout Europe since it was first announced by France last April.



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Belau Island Dumps Pentagon

Six years ago the tiny island of Belau became the world's first nuclear free nation by popular vote. Since that time the US has unsuccessfully worked to change Belau's anti-nuclear stance because the Pentagon decided that it wanted a giant military base on the 180-square-mile archipelago. Belau's strategic location is what the US military finds most attractive about the island. "You could hit most of Southeast Asia from Belau," boasts an official at the National Security Council's Office for Micronesian Status Negotiations.

First the US threatened to cut off all aid to the island, but the Belauans wouldn't budge. Then they offered the island's 7,200 voters a gift package which included a billion dollars, in exchange for letting the US have land rights on Belau for the next 50 years. Again the Belauans chose to keep their island nuclear-free, rejecting the none too subtle bribe in five separate votes. This put the US military up in arms, and an excuse for invasion was sought. The chance came in 1981 when US paid civil servants in Belau went on strike, prompting the US to offer president Haruo Remeliik the services of the marines. President Remeliik refused the help.

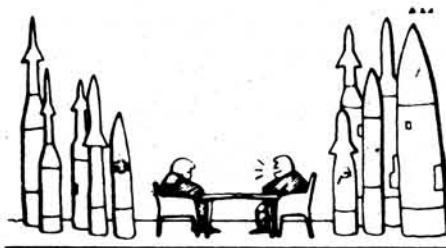
Belau's resolve seems to have set an example. In September 1983 the nation of Ponape, a member of the Federated States of Micronesia and a US trusteeship, declared its island nuclear-free, and this August the 14 member nations of the South Pacific Forum are to meet and probably do the same.



U.S.S.R. Soviets Show Flexibility

The Soviet Union has unofficially said that it would agree to include warheads as well as launchers in nuclear weapons reduction negotiations. In the past Moscow has insisted on reducing the number of missiles only, leaving the possibility of an actual increase in the number of warheads (since a single missile can carry several warheads). Word of the new flexibility was passed on to Representative Stephen Solarz,

Democrat of Brooklyn, while he was having a chat in Moscow with Col. Gen. Nikolai T. Chervov, arms control chief for the Soviet General Staff. Rep. Solarz disclosed that General Chervov also indicated Moscow was willing to tolerate "Star Wars" research in the laboratory but no testing. There has not, however, been any new official proposal from Moscow on these two issues.



West Germany Nuclear Liberties

Dr. Ulrich Gottstein, a co-founder of the West German chapter of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, says that the West German Parliament may soon pass a bill which would seriously infringe on civil liberties there. The bill concerns new and far-reaching "civil defense" laws, including the conscription of civilian men over 18 into a "civil defense corps" (with stiff penalties for objectors).

Dr. Gottstein points out that the bill is part of a preparation for a nuclear war in which Germany would be the front line.

Japan A-Bomb Pilot Not Invited

Kermit Beahan, an American who was in the crew of the plane that dropped the atomic bomb on Nagasaki, wanted to meet with survivors on the bombing's 40th anniversary. He was told, however, that he cannot attend the official ceremonies on August 9. An official in charge of relief to bomb victims felt that his presence would offend the many victims who were still suffering. The official, Teruaki Oobo, said, "If he wants to apologize to the victims, we hope he would come personally and visit the cemetery."



New Dinner Menu

Appetizers

Smoked Quail <small>(hot or cold)</small>	5.95
Assorted Smoked Fish	5.95
Smoked Nova Scotia Salmon	4.50
Bar-B-Que Salmon	3.25
Herring <small>(sour cream or hot pickled)</small>	2.95
Mushrooms Sauté	2.25
Stuffed Mushroom Crown	3.75
Stuffed Cabbage Leaf	1.95
Game Pâté	4.95
Chicken Liver Pâté	2.95

Entrées

Buffalo Prime Rib Steak	14.95
Denison Steak	13.95
Buffalo Roast	9.95
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Peppered Lavender Steak	13.95
Filet Mignon	13.95
Steak in Wine Sauce	11.95
Roast Brisket	9.95
Beef and Noodles	6.95
Stuffed Cabbage Leaves	6.95
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Bar-b-que Half Chicken	8.95
Roast Chicken Tarragon	7.95
Roast Turkey Breast	7.95
Chicken Liver Sauté	6.50

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Garden Vegetables, Steamed	6.95
Steamed Vegetables Parmesan	8.50
Sesame Nut Vegetable Sauté	7.95
Stuffed Mushroom Crowns	8.95
Walnut and Cheese Loaf	6.95

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Legislative Update

by Shelly D'Amour

Well, it's all over but the shouting, as they say. The House and Senate met separately during the months of May, June and July to offer amendments to the Fiscal Year 1986 Department of Defense Authorization Bill. In some instances, there were significant differences between the House and Senate recommendations on individual weapons programs. A joint House-Senate conference committee met last week to hammer out the differences and provide for a final Defense Authorization package, to be voted on by the full House and Senate by August 3rd. It is expected that the final bill will be approved in both houses.

The sentiment of Congress was much more pro-defense this year. The Beirut hostage crisis, increased concerns over international terrorism, and the Reagan Administration's rhetoric against Nicaragua played to a sympathetic and receptive audience on Capitol Hill. Arms control advocates worked hard, and won a few victories; but in general they were out-spent and out-lobbied by the Pentagon and the White House.

THE NEXT STEP is the Defense Appropriations vote, which will occur sometime around mid-September. This is when the House and Senate vote to actually spend the money that was budgeted this past week. This gives us one more chance to work for cuts and reductions in dangerous weapons systems, and to urge passage of key arms control legislation. Congress will be in recess August 3 to September 3. It is important that all Freeze supporters contact their representatives during this time and urge them to work for a strong arms control position during the Defense Appropriations debates.

The + indicates the legislator voted a pro-arms control stance. The - indicates that the legislator did not vote a pro-arms control stance.

TRIDENT II (D-5)

HOUSE: Rep. Ted Weiss (D-NY) offered an amendment to cut procurement funds for the D-5 missile. The amendment was defeated 80-342, receiving fifteen votes fewer than last year. Of the 100 congress-people considered to be "swing votes," 11 new votes were brought in to support the Weiss Amendment, including Rep. Leon

Panetta (see box).

FUTURE ACTION: In the Fall, Rep. Markey (D-MA) will offer an amendment to the Defense Appropriations Bill to limit the size of the warhead on the D-5 missile, thereby weakening the first strike capability of the weapon.

SENATE: There were no amendments offered in the Senate.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE: No action needed.



MX MISSILE

HOUSE: In a move to end the MX program once and for all, the House voted 233-184 to approve the Mavroules-McCurdy amendment, which set a permanent cap of 40 missiles to the MX program, and which prohibits funding for any new missiles in FY'86.

VOTE: PANETTA + ZSCHAU +

SENATE: In May, the Senate voted in support of the Nunn Amendment 78-20, to limit deployment of MX missiles to 50, with restrictions on further missiles holding for one year only. Due to provisions which allow the President to override this limit, a vote against the amendment is considered a pro-arms control vote.

VOTE: CRANSTON + (voted against the amendment) WILSON -

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE: Adopted the Senate version, approving up to \$2.6 billion for the MX program, including production of 12 new missiles next year. Earlier this year, the Reagan Administration conceded to public pressure on this issue, and agreed to drop its demand for 100 missiles, to 50 missiles. The approved 50 will be based in existing Minuteman silos. Approval for additional missiles will be conditional on Congress approving a new basing mode for the weapon, or on demonstration that national security would be jeopardized. In the course of this discussion, Rep. Les Aspin (D-CO), chair of the House Arms Services Committee, pushed for funding for the (as yet) unbuilt Midgetman missile as an alternative to the MX. The Midgetman is a smaller, single-warhead missile, and Aspin considers it as less of an obstacle to achieving arms control than the MX. The Pentagon requested

\$624 million for the Midgetman system. At Aspin's urging, the committee voted an additional \$100 million for this system, in addition to approving money for the MX.

FUTURE ACTION: It is still possible to introduce more restrictive amendments when the Appropriations vote is taken.

STAR WARS (Strategic Defense Initiative)

HOUSE: The House rejected every amendment aimed at freezing funding for SDI, the so-called "Star Wars" program, at last year's level of \$1.4 billion, as well as any amendment aimed at cutting said funding. In its final version, the House approved \$2.5 billion for the SDI program, an 80% increase over last year. A summary of House amendments follows:

1) Dellums (D-CA): to reduce SDI funding to \$950 million. Defeated 102-320.

PANETTA - ZSCHAU -

2) Mavroules (D-MA): to freeze funding at current level of \$1.4 billion. Defeated 155-268.

Both of the above defeated amendments included language protecting the ABM treaty.

3) Dicks (D-MA): to reduce Star Wars funding to \$2.1 billion. Defeated.

PANETTA + ZSCHAU -

SENATE: The Senate likewise rejected every attempt at cutting or freezing the SDI program. The following amendments were offered:

1) Kerry (D-MA): to freeze SDI funding at \$1.4 billion and eliminate demonstration tests. Defeated 21-78.

CRANSTON + WILSON -

2) Bumpers (D-AR), Proxmire (D-WI), Chafee (R-RI), Mathias (R-MA): to cut SDI funding to \$1.86 billion. Defeated 38-57.

CRANSTON + WILSON -

The Senate finally approved the recommendation of its own Armed Services Committee of \$2.9 billion.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE: The 39 member panel approved \$2.7 billion for the program, about \$1 billion less than requested by the Reagan Administration, but approximately double last year's appropriation.

ANTI-SATELLITE WEAPONS (ASAT)

HOUSE: The House voted 229-193 in support of the Brown-Coughlin amendment, which would preserve the current moratorium on ASAT testing against objects in space, provided the Soviets do the same. Included in this amendment was increased funding for verification equipment.

VOTE: PANETTA + ZSCHAU +

SENATE: The Senate rejected by a vote of 35-51 a similar amendment by Senator Kerry (D-MA); and voted instead to allow the President broad discretion with regard to testing.

CRANSTON + WILSON -

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE:

Conferees approved \$2.75 billion for the program, allowing for 3 tests of the anti-satellite weapon next year.

FUTURE ACTION: The broad support that the ASAT moratorium enjoys in Congress makes this a likely target for amendments aimed at restoring the moratorium.

KEY:

+ = PRO-ARMS CONTROL VOTE

- = VOTE AGAINST ARMS CONTROL

CHEMICAL WEAPONS

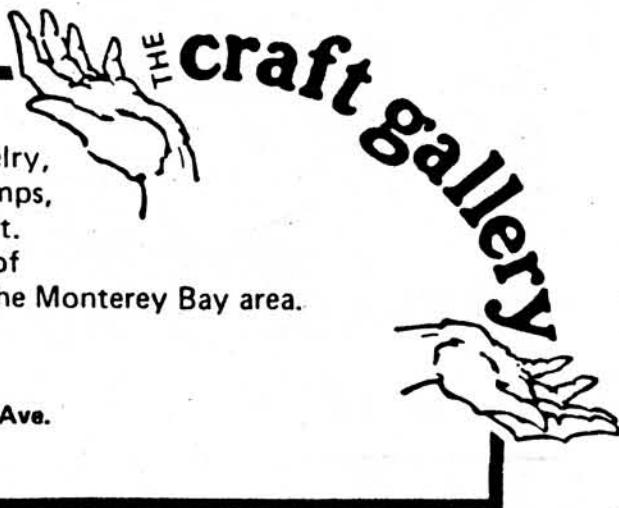
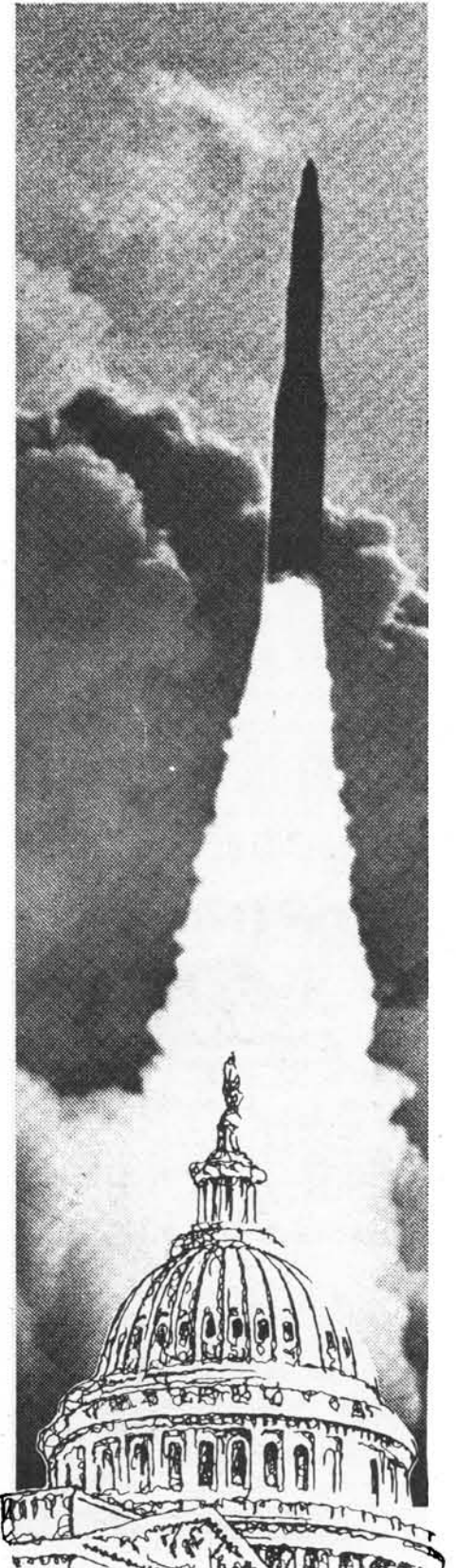
HOUSE: In a dramatic reversal of its three year opposition to nerve gas production, the House voted 229-196 to authorize funding for the production of binary nerve gas, provided that NATO makes a formal request for the weapon.

PANETTA + ZSCHAU -

SENATE: In May, the Senate also approved funding for nerve gas production, 50-46

CRANSTON + WILSON -

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE: Removed condition that NATO must officially request the weapon, saying instead that production of the weapons should be allowed unless there is an official objection by a European country that now deploys them.



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CENTRAL AMERICA

HOUSE: The House showed itself to be riding both sides of the fence on this issue—on the one hand denying military funding to the *contras* and affirming the prohibitions against the introduction of U.S. troops into Nicaragua; and on the other approving "humanitarian" aid to the *contras* and funding for CIA activity in Nicaragua. A summary follows:

1) June 12: The House approved \$27 million dollars in non-lethal aid to the Nicaraguan rebels, 248-184.

PANETTA + (voted against the amendment) ZSCHAU -

2) Boland (D-MA) Amendment: to extend the ban on any CIA or DOD aid for "military or paramilitary operations in Nicaragua." Defeated 196-232. The defeat of the Boland Amendment marks a reversal of the position that the House has held since 1983.

PANETTA + ZSCHAU +

3) Foley (D-WA): To prohibit the use of U.S. armed forces in or over Nicaragua for combat purposes without prior congressional approval. Approved 312-111. However, the Foley amendment was weakened somewhat before passage. Exceptions to this ban would include: a) acquisition by Nicaragua of Soviet-built MiG jet fighters or nuclear weapons; b) a need to respond to "hijacking, kidnapping, or other acts of terrorism involving citizens of the U.S. or . . . of any ally."

PANETTA: + ZSCHAU: -

SENATE:

1) Nunn (D-GA): To authorize \$38 million for FY'85 & '86 for nonlethal aid to the Nicaraguan rebels. Funds would be distributed through the National Security Council and the CIA. Approved 55-42.

CRANSTON: + (voted against the amendment) WILSON: -

2) Kennedy (D-MA): To express the sense of Congress that the United States should resume bilateral negotiations with Nicaragua. Defeated 48-48.

CRANSTON: + WILSON: -

3) Kennedy (D-MA): To prohibit the introduction of U.S. combat troops into Nicaragua without prior approval of Congress, except if the President determines there is a clear threat of attack upon the U.S. or U.S. citizens, or if Congress declares war. Defeated 31-64.

CRANSTON: + WILSON: -

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE: will decide how much money to authorize, who will distribute the funding, and over

what period of time the funding will be disbursed.

LEGISLATION

H.J.Res.3 Bedell (D-IA), Leach (R-IA): To urge the President to resume negotiations with the Soviet Union on a Comprehensive Test Ban, and to submit the Threshold Test Ban and Peaceful Nuclear Explosion treaties to the Senate for ratification. This resolution passed in the Senate last year. Currently there are 183 co-sponsors in the House, including Representatives Leon Panetta (D-16), and Ed Zschau (R-12). National observances to mark the 40th anniversary of the first atomic bombing on August 6 will focus, in

part, on pressing for a Comprehensive Test Ban. Discussions on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty will resume in September, with a vote likely in late September or early October. An additional 30 supporters in the House are needed to ensure passage.

FUTURE ACTION: Freeze supporters should contact their representatives during the August recess and urge them to work actively for passage of the Comprehensive Test Ban resolution. Freeze supporters should also thank their representatives for any of their pro-arms control votes during this past session of Congress, and urge them to maintain strong arms control positions during the Appropriations debates in September.

AUGUST 1
GENEVA WATCH
Since arms talks began March 12, 1985:
142 days have passed.
1,136 new U.S. and Soviet nuclear warheads built.
88 U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons tested.

Panetta Votes To Cut Trident II

After more than a year of phone calls, letters and Congressional visits from Freeze members and other arms control advocates, Representative Leon Panetta has switched his support for the D-5 missile and voted to cut procurement funds for the weapon.

In a letter dated June 27th to Nuclear Weapons Freeze director Terry Teitelbaum, Mr. Panetta stated: "Many critics of the Trident II insist that the Trident I is quite capable of providing an effective deterrent while, at the same time, not threatening peaceful coexistence because Trident I is not a first-strike weapon. This is an important distinction between the two missiles. Whereas Trident I is a classic retaliatory weapon, the Trident II represents the ultimate counterforce weapon. As a firm supporter of arms control negotiations and nuclear freeze legislation,

I believe that this distinction between the two weapons systems is the deciding factor. Although I know that it is important that this country maintain a strong retaliatory deterrent, I believe our pursuit of counterforce capability would signal a resumption in a fiscally and strategically devastating arms race. If we are to demonstrate our commitment to arms reduction to the Soviets, we must not pursue weapons which would provide for strategic instability and negotiatory stalemate. For this reason, I supported an unsuccessful amendment offered by my colleague Ted Weiss aimed at deleting funds for the Trident II."

ALL FREEZE SUPPORTERS SHOULD CALL OR WRITE MR. PANETTA AND THANK HIM FOR HIS VOTE.

GET INVOLVED! PARTICIPATE IN THE WORK OF BUILDING PEACE!!

ACTION ALERT PHONE TREE: Informs you of key weapons legislation so that you can call your Congressional representative and inform him of your opinion. People willing to serve as "branches" are urgently needed. Call 458-9975 and leave a message for Shelly.

CONGRESSIONAL VISITS: The Freeze keeps our representatives informed through personal visits during Congressional office hours. Call Terry at 458-9975 if you would like to join in on a delegation.

LETTER WRITING PARTIES: As announced. Watch the *Planet* for details.

WHERE TO WRITE AND CALL:

- President Ronald Reagan
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500
(202) 456-1414
- Senator Alan Cranston
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510
(202) 224-5353
- Senator Pete Wilson
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510
(202) 224-3841
- Congressman Leon Panetta
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-2861/local: 429-1976
(Sixteenth Congressional District)
- Congressman Ed Zschau
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-5411/local: 1-730-8555
(Twelfth Congressional District)

HOTLINES

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

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

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The Propaganda Race

There is a window of vulnerability in the Superpowers' propaganda race. Charles Wick, head of the U.S. Information Agency, recently claimed that the Soviets are ahead in the war of words with the U.S. He explained that "the Soviet Union spends more money jamming our Voice of America broadcasts than we spend to originate them." The Soviet propaganda arsenal also exceeds that of the U.S.. Wick said the Soviets have at least 70,000 propagandists while the U.S. has fewer than 9,400 people telling its story to the world. (These figures may be misleading due to the higher accuracy and firepower of U.S. propagandists.)

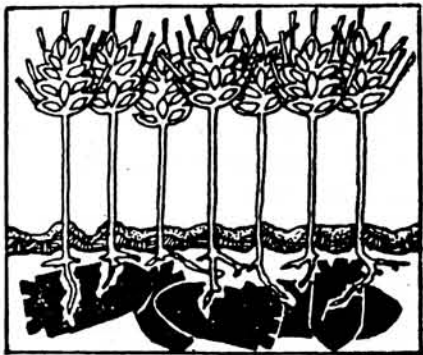
Wick fears that unless the U.S. closes the window of vulnerability and "if the Soviets win the war of ideas, much of the world will lose and share the fate of those unfortunate nations behind the iron curtain."

All's Well At Oak Ridge?

According to a panel from the National Academy of Sciences, the 50 million pounds of buried radioactive waste near the Government's nuclear weapon and research facilities at Oak Ridge, Tenn. pose no health threat to nearby residents.

However, the panel, from the independent organization of the nation's top scientists, warned that leaks of radiation from the burial sites into the nearby Clinch River would continue unless future practices were "radically different."

"Impacts on the health of people living offsite are so small as to be trivial," the July 9 report to the Energy Department claimed. Results of studies done by other independent organizations not commissioned by the government are not available at this time.



Meanwhile, In New Jersey

The Department of Defense has notified New Jersey Governor Kean that radioactive material from a nuclear weapon that burned at McGuire Air Force Base in 1960 was still contaminating a "sizeable" part of the former missile site. Governor Kean said on July 9 that his aides had learned of the seriousness of the problem almost by accident, and that he was "greatly concerned" that state officials had not been informed of the extent of the contamination or its potential dangers over the last 25 years.

"While we are not yet certain of all the details," the Governor said, "it is clear that an undetermined number of acres were contaminated by plutonium which was dispersed during the incident."

The Air Force claims, "The contami-

nation was restricted to an area immediately beneath the weapon and an adjacent elongated area approximately 100 feet long, caused by the draining off of fire fighting water." This claim is refuted by James R. Marshall, the Chief of Staff of the Federal Environmental Protection Agency for the New York region. According to Marshall, a wide area — about 400,000 square feet, or nearly 10 acres — had been sealed in concrete to contain the contamination. If the contamination contains plutonium or uranium, the problem will remain on the site for hundreds of years.

Scientists Blast Star Wars

In a move intended to start a wave of scientific opposition to Star Wars, physicists at the University of Illinois have signed a statement branding the proposal as "technically dubious" and refused to accept financing from the Pentagon's SDI organization. Illinois has the nation's second-largest physics department and one of the four designated national supercomputing centers. The professor said similar statements are circulating at other universities and research centers.

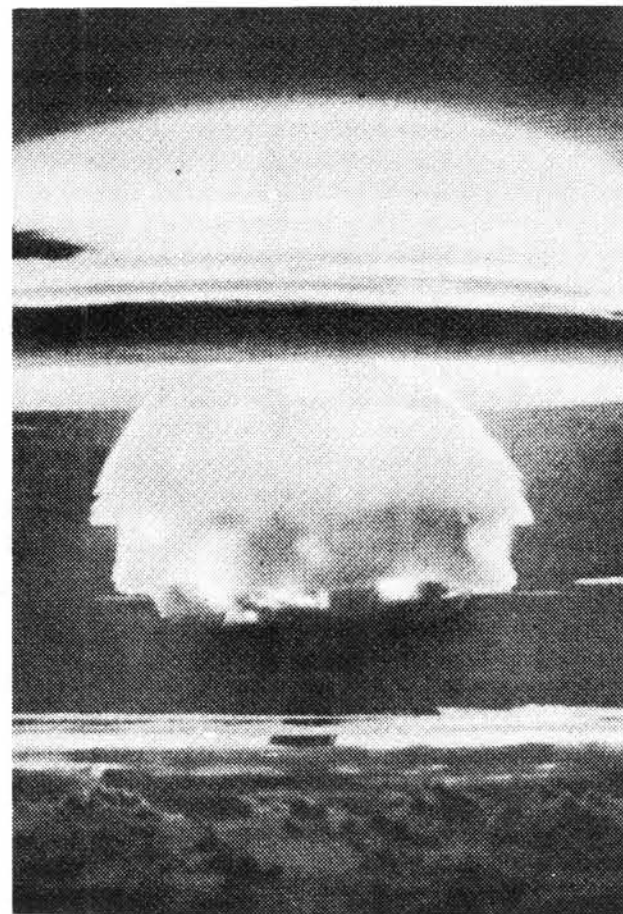
The scientists claim that the most dubious aspect of Star Wars is the kind of computer system it would require and its program or software. The system would have to operate so fast that it could be controlled only by computers much larger and far more complex than anything physicists believe could handle the job and do it perfectly the first time.

David L. Parnas, a professor at the University of Victoria in Victoria, British Columbia and a consultant to the Office of Naval Research in Washington, resigned on June 28 from an advisory panel on anti-missile defense. Parnas claims that it will never be possible to program a vast complex of battle management computers reliably or to assume they will work when confronted with incoming nuclear missiles. "Because of the extreme demands on the system and our inability to test it, we will never be able to believe, with any confidence, that we have succeeded," he wrote in his letter of resignation. "Most of the money spent will be wasted."

The Strategic Defense Office is hoping to spend \$33 billion over six years for research and testing on components of an anti-missile defense. Parnas said in an interview with the *New York Times*, "The worst thing is that we wouldn't trust the system if we did build it." He also said that for many the anti-missile program was seen as a "pot of gold just waiting to be tapped," for research projects and also an "exciting puzzle that was fun to work on," but that he had concluded the plan was not feasible.

Computer Wars

A Stanford University computer expert seeking to keep nuclear war in the hands of humans and not computers has been encouraged by a hearing given by the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco. Last year Clifford Johnson at Stanford asked a Federal District Court to prohibit U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger from allowing computers to fire nuclear weapons automatically. The court dismissed the case but urged Johnson to appeal. The appellate court decision probably won't be issued for at least three weeks



Hot Flashes

by Terry Teitelbaum

and could take six months.

The suit challenges an automated "launch on warning" capability which is essential to Reagan's "Star Wars" and Pershing II missile program. Launch on warning means the U.S. would launch missiles after receiving a warning that Soviet missiles had been fired even if the Soviet launch has not been verified. Over 150 computer errors have put us on "Red Alert" in less than an 18 month period.

Peace Links

Peace Links, a national organization of women against nuclear war, is sponsoring an exchange with Soviet women. Fourteen Peace Links groups across the country will host a visit from a delegation of Soviet women this October. After fifteen Soviet women arrive in Washington, D.C., they will divide into four small groups and visit three or four communities each. The Soviet delegation will return to Washington D.C. for a conference addressing "What women can contribute to improving the understanding of the people of our two countries."

Through this program, Peace Links hopes to inform more Americans about the realities of Soviet people and government in a way that gives us confidence that we can learn to mutually survive on this planet.



No Guts, No Glory

Conservative Rep. Robert Dornan (R-Calif) recently accused the Democrats of being weak on defense and shouted at one, "You sit up here with your mouth dripping spleen and bile." The uproar began during the House debate that would have eliminated procurement funds for the Trident II (D-5) nuclear missile. Dornan, attacking statements against the missile, said that there is "a group of disarmament people in the majority part; pacifist-minded" and added "those of you that have no military record are the most offensive ones of all." As Rep. Les Aucoin (D-Ore) rose to object, Dornan waved at him and shouted, "You're for absolutely nothing. You voted for nothing in your life for defense. You sit up here with your mouth dripping spleen and bile." Facing prohibition from speaking on the House floor for the rest of the day, Dornan apologized for his remarks.

Dynamic Bribe?

The government of Turkey is investigating allegations that General Dynamics Corp. bribed Turkish officials in a bid to sell 160 F-16 Falcon fighter planes to Turkey in 1983.

General Dynamics claims the bribery allegations were based on "ridiculous and malicious" statements by a former company executive who has been indicated on kick-back charges.

The allegations are being investigated by the Securities and Exchange Commission and by the House Energy and Commerce Committee's subcommittee on oversight and investigation.

Soviet Missiles Reassessed

U.S. intelligence officials have revised their assessment of the SS-19 Soviet intercontinental missile and now say it is too inaccurate to threaten U.S. missile silos. The purported capacity of the SS-19 to destroy silos has been an important political factor in arms control talks and in the campaign to build a U.S. counterpart, the MX. That assessment was central to the view that the U.S. faced a "window of vulnerability."

Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger has frequently cited the accuracy of the missile system when arguing for the MX. A Pentagon official was quoted by the *National Journal* as saying that the new assessment of the Soviet SS-19 had reduced its projected accuracy by "better than a third."

The administration will now probably argue that while we are not as vulnerable as originally thought, the MX missile, which the earlier assessment justified, can now be housed in fixed silos. Critics have claimed that the MX would be a sitting duck because of the accuracy of Soviet missiles. An administration official said, "If they [the SS-19s] are not as accurate as we thought, it means we are not as vulnerable as we thought." Perhaps we didn't really need the MX after all, but now that we have it, at least it will be safe from Soviet attack.



CBS Strikes Back

Jumping on the nuclear TV bandwagon, CBS will air its own documentary on the nuclear age, following closely on the heels of the ABC program, "The Fire Unleashed." The hourlong CBS program, "Hiroshima Plus 40 Years . . . and Still Counting," offers no major revelations about the history of nuclear weapons and how they are regarded by those who control them, but presents a collection of interesting tidbits, according to the *San Jose Mercury*.

The documentary draws on declassified documents and interviews with top American officials, including former Presidents Nixon and Carter, four former Secretaries of Defense, and Paul Tibbets, who commanded the nation's first nuclear bomber group and piloted the B-29 aircraft that dropped the Hiroshima bomb.

The program focuses on how close the U.S. has come to launching nuclear weapons. Eisenhower asked the military to study whether nuclear weapons could be

used during the Korean War against Chinese communist troops fighting from caves, former White House aid Bromley Smith says in the show.

It was also reported in the program that U.S. war planners initially considered simultaneously dropping atomic bombs on Nazi Germany and Japan in a "split operation" to end the conflict. Germany surrendered before the plan neared fruition.

G.E. Recharged

Three former senior executives with a division of the General Electric Company were indicted on July 16 on charges of defrauding the Defense Department of \$800,000. The indictments grow out of a continuing investigation of fraudulent billing by G.E. involving a \$40.9 million Air Force contract awarded in 1977 to overhaul fuses on intercontinental ballistic missiles.

General Electric, the nation's sixth-largest military contractor, admitted in May that it had filed 108 false claims on the contract. It was fined \$1.04 million and ordered to repay the overcharges. Under the contract, the work was supposed to cost \$40.9 million. The company agreed to absorb 60 percent and the Air Force 40 percent of any cost overruns up to \$48 million. General Electric was to pay for any additional cost overruns.

"G.E. not only ate away its profit but also its cushion," said Ewald Zittlau Jr., the Assistant District Attorney handling the case. It contended it had spent \$51.6 million on the work and had lost \$3.5 million. In an attempt to reduce these losses, Mr. Zittlau said, G.E. falsified employees' time cards and charged \$800,000 in costs from the contract to overhaul the missiles to a contract to build testing equipment for the Air Force.

Pentagon Overcharged

The Pentagon is investigating evidence that General Dynamics Corporation overcharged the Defense Department at least \$1 million during its development of a prototype anti-aircraft gun, according to the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*. Government sources said that the investigation concerned evidence that the company's Pomona division had spent the extra money on the prototype Divad anti-aircraft gun in 1980 and 1981 and then had charged the expenditure illegally to another Pentagon contract.

Pentagon Should Pay

The Pentagon should pay for its own warheads, according to a Presidential panel on nuclear weapons. *Energy Daily*, a trade newsletter, reported last month that President Reagan's Blue Ribbon Panel on Nuclear Weapons has concluded that the Defense Department would be less extravagant in ordering new atomic warheads if it had to account for their costs in the defense budget.

Currently, the \$8 billion for atomic weapons research, development and production in the 1986 budget is folded into the Energy Department's \$12.5 billion budget. The DOE operates a dozen atomic weapons plants. The panel recommends that the DOE retain control of the building programs, but that the Pentagon should pay for the weapons.

Nuke Ship In S.F.?

The US Navy has announced its decision to permanently harbor the battleship USS Missouri in San Francisco, despite objections from the Board of Supervisors and angry residents who oppose its nuclear capabilities. Those who favor the decision cite the economic benefits — an estimated \$130 million and 3,100 military and 250 civilian jobs — that harboring the battleship will bring. Mayor Diane Feinstein, who launched a strenuous campaign to obtain the Missouri, said of the acquisition, "This is truly a great day in San Francisco history."

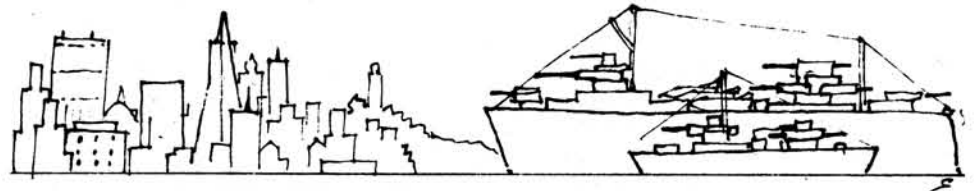
The battleship has been refurbished to carry nuclear weapons and will be joined by a guided missile cruiser, two minesweepers, and four Naval Reserve frigates.

Opponents of the homeporting fear its potential as a target for adversary bombings. The Coalition to Give Peace a Chance announced on July 22 that it is gathering 8000 signatures for an anti-Missouri petition for a November ballot initiative. The group is hoping an initiative vote against the battleship will prompt the Navy to change its mind about making San Francisco the home port for the Missouri and its supporting vessels. The initiative is expected to urge city officials to seek non-military industry for the city in the future.



Peace Party Poll

When voters were asked "Which political party do you think would be more likely to keep the U.S. out of World War III — the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?" in a recent Gallup Poll, the parties came out tied. The Republicans had 35 percent and the Democrats 37 percent of the respondents perceiving that party as better able to keep the peace.



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That It May Never Happen Again

The World Remembers

On the fortieth anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, organizations and individuals are planning special commemoration events on or around August 6. These events will honor the memories of Hiroshima's victims and pay tribute to its survivors, while reminding us of the horrific power of nuclear weapons — today many times more powerful than those used against Japan.

If you are unable to attend an event in your area, please take at least five minutes to think about what befell the people of Japan on that fateful day forty years ago.

The following is a partial listing of national and international Hiroshima commemoration events. For events in Santa Cruz, see the calendar.

Nuclear Test Ban Campaign

Over 150 organizations are engaged in a global effort to end all nuclear weapons explosions. The Center for Defense Information serves as a clearinghouse for information concerning participation in this effort. August 6, 1985 has been selected as a target date for achieving a simultaneous ban on the testing of nuclear weapons. Such a ban would prevent the development of new nuclear weapons, decrease confidence in existing nuclear weapons, check the proliferation of nuclear weapons and take an essential first step to end the nuclear arms race. For additional information, contact the Center for Defense Information, (202) 484-9490.

One Day For Peace

Physicians for Social Responsibility are asking each of their members to donate one day's income for peace. In addition, PSR is urging churches to toll their bells at the time of the bombings of Hiroshima, and asking local groups to participate in the Paper Lantern Ceremony. Simple paper lanterns will be placed on lakes and rivers throughout the U.S. at the same moment the actual bombing took place 40 years ago in Hiroshima.

World Hiroshima Day Telephone Project

The YMCA International Institute for Peace and various organizations in Hiroshima are working together to provide direct telephone contact from Peace Park to gatherings at various locations around the world. Every year on Hiroshima Day, tens of thousands of people gather at Peace Park near Ground Zero in Hiroshima. At 8:00am, local time, the ceremony will begin. The most powerful and moving moment will come at 8:15 when a voice will announce a minute of silent prayer. The Mayor of Hiroshima will then deliver the annual Peace Declaration. By tying the world together via telephone, people in all countries will be able to participate in this moving memory of a terrible moment.

Sing Out For Peace

For the third year in a row People for Peace is sponsoring a "World Sing Out for Peace." The annual event will be held this year on August 4th, Hiroshima Memorial Day. On that day at sunrise Sing Outs will start in Japan in the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. As the world turns, Sing Outs will take place in cities, towns and villages in all the countries of the world, including Washington, D.C.

Nevada Desert Experience

For forty years, we of the United States have tested nuclear weapons in the desert. People of religious faith see a parallel to the wanderings in the desert of the Hebrew people of old. We have wandered long enough. Because of this conviction, a coalition of religious-activist groups will gather at the Nevada Test Site in Mercury, Nevada (65 miles north and west of Las Vegas) between August 6 and 9 to commemorate the anniversaries of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and to call for an end to nuclear testing. They plan to take this message onto the Test site itself and many will risk arrest. For more information, contact: August Desert Witness, Box 4883, Las Vegas, NV 89127-0883 (702) 646-4814.



photo of Hiroshima, Japan, taken a

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World Remembers August 6th a



photo of Hiroshima, Japan, taken after the August 6, 1945 bombing

OPEN 6:30 AM
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DINNER SPECIALS

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- Coquilles St. Jacques
- Clams and Linguine
- Pacific Snapper Proven
- Halibut Sauce Mornay

DINNERS INCLUDE SALAD AND FRENCH BREAD

rs August 6th and 9th



after the August 6, 1945 bombing

Rocky Flats Event

An Ecumenical Prayer Service will be held at the Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Plant in Colorado on August 4. The service will commemorate the 40th Anniversary of Hiroshima, offer reparation to the Denver Japanese Community, and be in solidarity with the Washington Peace Ribbon encirclement.

Pantex Pilgrimage

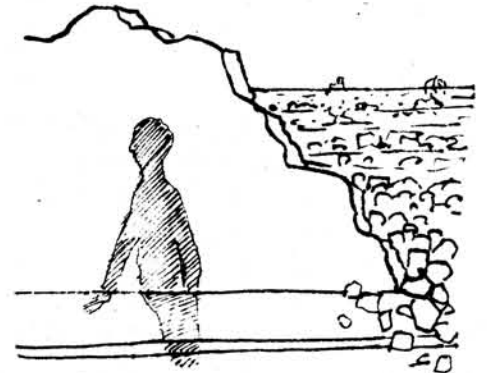
The Red River Peace Network is sponsoring a pilgrimage to the Pantex arsenal in the Texas panhandle, where 5-8 nuclear warheads are produced every day. The pilgrimage by bicycle begins at the Comanche Peak nuclear power plant July 26. The route will include vigils at a cruise missile base and the proposed high level nuclear waste dump site in Deaf Smith County. At the Peace Camp at Pantex August 3-9, there will be workshops by a number of well-known people, a visit from the HIBAKUSHA (Japanese survivors of August 6 & 9, 1945), symbolic civil disobedience and other activities. For more information write: RRPN, 1022 W. 6th, Austin, TX 78703 or call (512) 474-2399.

HIBAKUSHA Peace Tour

The HIBAKUSHA — survivors of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings — are living testimony to the horrors of nuclear weapons and the devastating effects of war. Since 1945, the HIBAKUSHA have appealed to the world to abolish nuclear weapons and to never again unleash the terror that fell upon Hiroshima and Nagasaki. On the 40th Anniversary of the nuclear arms race, the HIBAKUSHA will travel to many parts of the world to call attention to the need for disarmament. The tour is being sponsored by the Mobilization for Survival and the Japanese Council Against A & H Bombs. Six teams of HIBAKUSHA will tour the United States for two weeks during late July and early August.

The Shadow Project

The Shadow Project uses dramatic imagery as a testimony to life in the nuclear age. The project involves spray-painting human shadows, symbolizing the vaporizing effects of a nuclear blast, on sidewalks, streets and the sides of buildings. For a handbook on materials, volunteer coordination, legal research and fundraising, contact PAND (Performers and Artists for Nuclear Disarmament), PO Box 40223, Portland, Oregon 97240, (503) 248-9275.



The Ribbon Project

This event will culminate on August 4 in Washington, D.C. A multi-colored ribbon, estimated to be several miles long, has been handmade in segments by people around the country. The Ribbon represents people's hopes for peace and their love for the earth. Participants will join the pieces and unfurl the Ribbon around the Pentagon. "Our Ribbon is a visible symbol of 'all that we cannot bear to think of as lost forever.' By it, we say 'no' to nuclear war and to the preparation for war." (from the Ribbon Vision Statement.) For more information, contact the Center for New Creation, 845 N. Lincoln Street, Arlington, VA 22201 or call (703) 528-1446.

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- Coquilles St. Jacques
- Clams and Linguine
- Pacific Snapper Provencale
- Halibut Sauce Mornay

DINNERS INCLUDE SALAD AND FRENCH BREAD

BREAKFAST 6:30-1:30

- POSITIVELY JOE'S
- HANGTOWN FRY
- CORNED BEEF HASH
- BACON OR SAUSAGE & EGGS
- VEGETARIAN

Direct Action At Weapons Facilities

The Bomb Stops Here

In commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, nonviolent actions are planned at 40 nuclear weapons facilities. The actions will challenge the government's "right" to develop nuclear weapons. Actions are planned at the following facilities:

McDonnell Douglas, Titusville, Florida — August 9 civil disobedience and vigil: Florida Coalition for Peace and Justice; (305) 422-3479.

Livermore Lab and the Site 300 Missile Test Area, San Francisco, California — August 6-9 blockade/occupation: Livermore Action Group; (415) 644-2028.

Pantex Warhead Assembly Plant, Amarillo, Texas — August 6 pilgrimage and civil disobedience; Red River Peace Network; (512) 474-2399.

Seneca Army Depot, Seneca, New York — August 9 civil disobedience and August 10 demonstration: Women's Peace Camp; (607) 869-5825 and Finger Lakes Peace Initiative; (315) 365-2241.

Pease Air Force Base, New Hampshire — August 10 demonstration: AFSC; (603) 224-2407.

Williams International, Walled Lake, Michigan — August 6 civil disobedience: Michigan Alliance for Disarmament; (313) 995-5971 and Covenant for Peace; (517) 355-3012.

G.E. Space Division, Valley Forge, Pennsylvania — August 6 and 9 civil disobedience; Brandywine Peace Community; (215) 544-1818.

Project Elf, Upper Michigan/Wisconsin — August 6-9 vigil, civil disobedience: Citizens Against Trident/ELF; (715) 866-8322 or (906) 875-4341.

Hanford Nuclear Reservation, Richland, Washington — (date unknown at this time) die-in, rally: Coalition for a Co-operative Society; (206) 325-5202.

Knolls Atomic Power Lab, Niskayuna, New York — August 9 civil disobedience: Knolls Action Project; (518) 434-4037.

Davis-Monthan Air Force Base, Tucson, Arizona — (details unknown at this time): Nuclear Free State; (602) 792-3517.

Kirtland Air Force Base, near Albuquerque, New Mexico — August 6 peace ceremony: Peace Action Group; (505) 268-9557.

Wurtsmith Air Force Base, Oscoda, Michigan — August 6 nonviolent action: Crossroads; (517) 754-0015.

Savannah River Plant, Aiken, South Carolina — August 4 demonstration: Lynn Miller, (704) 885-2461.

Boeing, Wichita, Kansas — August 6 vigil: Mary Harren; (316) 265-1292.

General Dynamics Electric Boat Company, Groton, Connecticut — August 6 civil disobedience: Coalition Against Trident; (203) 562-7935.

General Electric, St. Petersburg, Florida — August 6 demonstration: Immanuel House; (813) 894-2832.

Long Beach Navy Station, Long Beach, California — August 6 (details unknown at this time): Long Beach Area Peace Network; (213) 425-3955.

Lockheed Missiles and Space Facility, San Jose, California — August 6-9 march, rally, and civil disobedience: San Jose Peace Center; (408) 297-2299.

Martin Marietta, Denver, Colorado — August 6 vigil: AFSC; (303) 832-4508.

Strategic Air Command Base, Omaha, Nebraska — August 6-10 civil disobedience: Greenfield Community; (402) 453-1547.

Bendix Corporation and Whiteman Air Force Base, Kansas City, Missouri — August 6-9 march: Kansas City Peace Alliance; (816) 931-1310.

General Electric World Headquarters, Fairfield, Connecticut — August 6 (details unknown at this time): Good Things Committee; (203) 366-2415.

GTE Strategic Systems Division, Westboro, Massachusetts — August 9 blockade and vigil: Peace Witness at GTE; (617) 753-3588.

Ground Wave Emergency Network (USAF), Cape Cod, Massachusetts — August 9 candlelight vigil and rally: Action for Nuclear Disarmament; (617) 477-1386.

Rocky Flats, near Denver, Colorado — August 6 civil disobedience and rally: Rocky Mountain Peace Center; (303) 443-3680.

Wright Patterson Air Force Base, Wilmington, Ohio — August 6 vigil: Larry Gara; (515) 382-3569.

Teledyne, near Toledo, Ohio — (date unknown at this time) vigil: N.W. Ohio Freeze; (419) 536-8882.

Romeo-29 Minuteman Missile Silo, near Missoula, Montana — (date unknown at this time) civil disobedience: Silence One Silo; (406) 549-9449.

Applied Physics Lab (APL) at John Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland — August 6 civil disobedience and march: Project for Conversion of APL; (301) 235-8401.

Litton Systems, Toronto, Canada — August 6 civil disobedience: Cruise Missile Conversion Project; (416) 978-3032.

Riverside Research Lab, New York City — August 6 civil disobedience and picket: Kairos Community (Kathleen Wilkins); (212) 870-3691.

Earle Naval Weapons Station, Earle, New Jersey — (details unknown at this time): Rev. Bob Kaeding; (201) 493-4412.

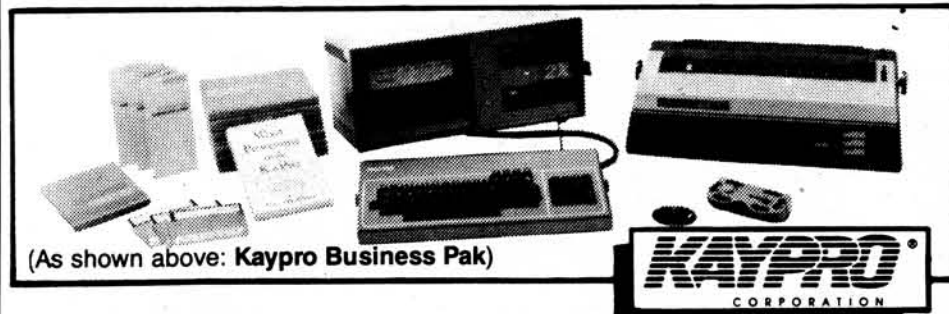
Sperry, Long Island, New York — (date unknown at this time) civil disobedience: Catholic Peace Fellowship; (516) 724-8730.

Los Alamos Research Center, Los Alamos, New Mexico — (details unknown at this time): Santa Fe Peace Coalition; (505) 471-7040.

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Cabrillo Offers Nuclear Courses

For the first time in its history, Cabrillo College offers three courses on living in the nuclear age. A number of instructors from different disciplines have developed these classes which mix lectures, guest speakers, discussions, and audio-visuals to present information and stimulate thought.

"The Nuclear Age" (Humanities 3) looks at historical, technical, and philosophical developments which have shaped the nuclear age. Formerly offered through the Political Science Department, this course will examine some of the social, political, economic, psychological and cultural consequences of these developments, as well as the prospects for peace. This class meets 6:00-9:00 PM on Wednesdays.

"Parenting in a Nuclear Age" (ECE 161 NA) looks at questions parents think about such as: How can we best respond to children's questions and fears about

the nuclear arms race?; How do we work with our own fears and anxieties?; What is an appropriate peace curriculum for young children? This class meets one weekend: Friday night, Nov. 1, 6:30-9:30 PM and Saturday, Nov. 2, 9:00-2:30 PM. This is the third time that this class has been offered.

"Women Working for Peace: Activism vs. Despair" (WS 39P) has never before been offered at Cabrillo. This course provides a quick look at how women have historically worked for peace. Theory of nonviolence, peacework, feminism, and how they relate to each other are examined along with interviews of women who have worked and are working for peace in the community. "Is there such a thing as a nuclear mentality, and if so, what are its roots?" The first meeting is on September 27.

Registration dates are August 19-21. Call Cabrillo at 425-6000 for further information.

U.S. Nuclear Threats Revealed

by Daniel Ellsberg

The notion common to nearly all Americans that "no nuclear weapons have been used since Nagasaki" is mistaken. It is not the case that U.S. nuclear weapons have simply piled up over the years—we have over 30,000 of them now, after dismantling many thousands of obsolete ones—unused and unusable, save for the single function of deterring their use against us by the Soviets. Again and again, generally in secret from the American public, U.S. nuclear weapons have been used, for quite different purposes: in the precise way that a gun is used when you point it at someone's head in a direct confrontation, whether or not the trigger is pulled.

In the forty years since Hiroshima, every president from Truman to Reagan, with the possible exception of Ford, has felt compelled to consider or direct serious preparations for possible imminent U.S. initiation of tactical or strategic nuclear warfare, in the midst of an ongoing, intense, non-nuclear conflict or crisis.

The Soviets know this because they were made to know it—often by explicit threats from the Oval Office, even when White House considerations of use of nuclear weapons was secret from other audiences—since they or their allies or client states were the intended targets of these preparations and warnings. Moreover, the Soviets will recall that the U.S. Strategic Air Command was established in early 1946 with the function of delivering nuclear attacks upon Russia when so directed, at a time when it was publicly proclaimed by the president and high military that the Soviet Union was not expected to possess operational nuclear weapons systems for a decade or longer. SAC's only mission in that initial period—which included the formation of NATO—was to threaten or carry out a U.S. first strike: not at all to deter or retaliate for a nuclear attack on the United States or anywhere else.

It is not the Russians but the rest of us who need to learn these hidden realities of the nuclear dimension to U.S. foreign policy. Here, briefly listed, are most of the actual nuclear crises that can now be docu-

mented from memoirs or other public sources:

Truman's deployment of B-29s, officially described as "atomic-capable," to bases in Britain and Germany at the outset of the Berlin Blockade, June 1948.

Truman's press conference warning that nuclear weapons were under consideration, the day after marines were surrounded by Chinese Communist troops at the Chosin Reservoir, Korea, November 30, 1950.

Eisenhower's secret nuclear threats

Much public discussion, in newspapers and in the Senate, of (true) reports that the White House had been advised of the possible necessity of nuclear weapons to defend marines surrounded at Khe Sanh, Vietnam, 1968.

Nixon's secret threats of massive escalation, including possible use of nuclear weapons, conveyed to the North Vietnamese by Henry Kissinger, 1969-72.

The Carter Doctrine on the Middle East (January 1980) as explained by Defense Secretary Harold Brown, Assistant Sec-

many of the recurrent circumstances were remarkably similar to the first use at Hiroshima.

In none of these cases, any more than in 1945, was there apprehension among U.S. officials that nuclear war might be initiated by an adversary or needed urgent deterring. In most of them, just as against Japan, the aim was to coerce in urgent circumstances a much weaker opponent that possessed no nuclear weapons at all. In the remaining cases the object—already important in August 1945—was to intimidate the Soviet Union in an otherwise non-nuclear conflict.

Whether the nuclear component of U.S. threats to escalate the level of hostilities was actually critical to the behavior of opponents is not the issue here. What matters is that presidents believed that past and current threats had succeeded: this was why, as they understood it, they or their predecessors had not been forced to carry them out, and why they and their successors kept making such threats, and buying more and more first-use and first-strike nuclear weapons systems to maintain and increase the credibility and effectiveness of threats they expected to make in the future. It is why, after all, each president has refused to make a "no first-use" commitment, even when the Soviet Union has proposed such a commitment bilaterally.

[For documentation of the cases listed in this article, see *Protest and Survive*; E. P. Thompson and Dan Smith, editors; Monthly Review Press; 1981; pp. xx-xxviii.]

Daniel Ellsberg is a former member of the national Freeze Campaign's Strategy Task Force.

U.S. nuclear weapons have been used . . . in the precise way that a gun is used when you point it at someone's head. . .

against China, to force and maintain a settlement in Korea, 1953.

Secretary of State Dulles' secret offer to Prime Minister Bidault of three tactical nuclear weapons in 1954 to relieve the French troops besieged by the Indochinese at Dienbienphu.

Eisenhower's secret directive to the Joint Chiefs during the "Lebanon Crisis" in 1958 to prepare to use nuclear weapons, if necessary, to prevent an Iraqi move into the oilfields of Kuwait.

Eisenhower's secret directive to the Joint Chiefs in 1958 to plan to use nuclear weapons, imminently, against China if the Chinese Communists should attempt to invade the island of Quemoy, occupied by Chiang's troops, a few miles offshore mainland China.

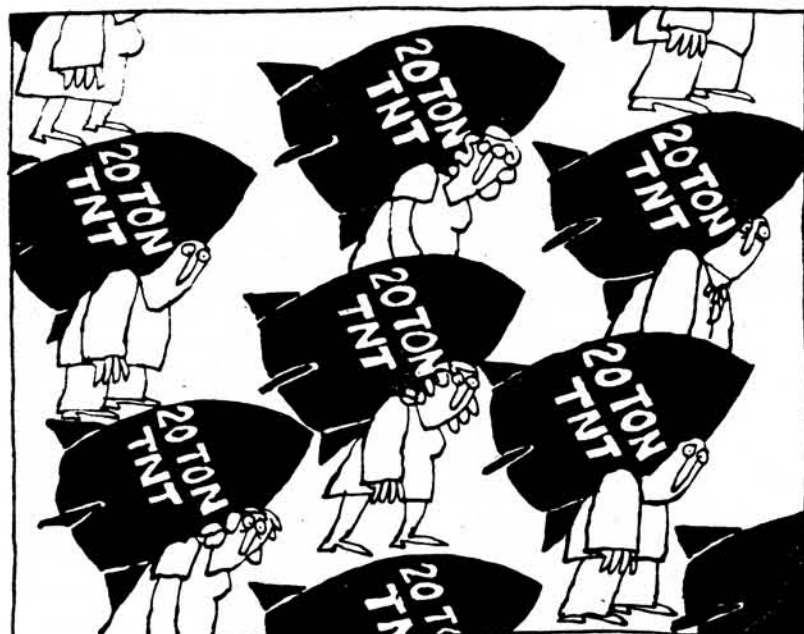
The Berlin crisis, 1961.

The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962.

Numerous "shows of nuclear force" involving demonstrative deployments or alerts—deliberately visible to adversaries and intended as a "nuclear signal"—of forces with a designated role in U.S. plans for strategic nuclear war.

retary of State William Dyess, and other spokesmen, reaffirmed, in essence, by President Reagan in 1981, i.e., that the U.S. would "use any means necessary, including military force" against a further Soviet move into the Persian Gulf region.

Although the current warnings and preparations for nuclear war in the Middle East are the most public threats since the crises over Berlin and Cuba a generation ago, it follows from this listing that there has been no forty-year moratorium upon the active consideration and use of nuclear weapons to support "nuclear diplomacy." Indeed,



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No More Hiroshimas!

by Lyle Butch Wing

It's early morning, August 6, 1945. Many families are sleeping. Others are eating breakfast. O-bachan is tending to her plants in the garden. Then it happens. The B-29s fly across a cobalt blue sky. The familiar sound of engines are heard below. PIKA DON—meaning "flash-boom"—the atom bomb explodes over Hiroshima.

A blinding flash gives off 4000 degrees C. of heat. Those near the blast are vaporized. Shadows burn into granite walls. Buildings are reduced to rubble. Within a minute, a fireball rises 10,000 feet. The ominous mushroom cloud envelops the sky—cobalt blue no more. For six hours, the radioactive "black rain" descends from the cloud. Fire winds ravage the city. Three days later, the atrocity is repeated at Nagasaki.

The damage: over 200,000 killed, and hundreds of thousands injured. Two entire cities devastated. In the ensuing 40 years, thousands more have died and

ing: "We have used it . . . to shorten the agony of war, to save the lives of thousands of young Americans." Supposedly, the atomic bombs were used to force Japan to surrender and end the war.

But historical facts refute this explanation. Japan sent out unofficial peace feelers in May, 1945. By early July, they requested formal negotiations with the Allies. Successful bombings with conventional weapons, an effective U.S. sea blockade, a domestic food shortage and other factors left Japan a beaten country. U.S. Navy Admiral Wm. Levy, Chief of Staff at the time, stated, "It is my opinion that the use of this barbarous weapon was of no material assistance to our war against Japan. The Japanese were already defeated and ready to surrender . . ." by August, 1945.

Yes, defeating Japanese militarism and halting its aggression in Asia was an absolute necessity. Their invasions of China, Korea, the Philippines, etc., cannot be forgotten. But there is absolutely no justification for the atomic bombings

Asia and other regions in the post WWII period.

An element of racism also existed. The U.S. government needed a live experiment to test the power and effectiveness of the bomb. The people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki—200,000 "expensible" Asian lives—were the human guinea pigs.

U.S. nuclear threats against China, Korea, and Vietnam, and its live tests of the Marshall Islands inhabited by Asian peoples, show further that racism has played a role in the use of nuclear weapons. The ultimate insult is that the U.S. has spent over \$100 million to "research and study" the effects of the atomic bombs, but not one cent to provide medical assistance to the human survivors.

LEARNING FROM HIROSHIMA/NAGASAKI

Nuclear weapons are indivisibly linked to war and destruction, despite Reagan's claim that nuclear weapons are carriers of "peace." Nuclear weapons are political instruments, too, part and parcel of the competition and rivalry between the world powers.

Today, the U.S.-U.S.S.R. arms race is reaching alarming proportions. With 50,000 nuclear warheads and more under production, the superpowers can blow up the world several times over. Each claims that their nuclear arsenal is for "defensive purposes" but in reality they represent an offensive threat to the people of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Europe. Nuclear weapons are the ultimate "back-up" to intervention and attempts to control these regions. Indeed, the U.S.-U.S.S.R. arms race is a dangerous source of international tension and threatens another Hiroshima/Nagasaki.

A halt to the U.S.-U.S.S.R. arms race is urgently needed. Reagan's practice of pouring billions into the military while slashing human needs and community services must stop. An immediate, bilateral U.S.-U.S.S.R. nuclear weapons freeze is needed—a demand that echoes across the oceans.

To achieve peace, efforts must also be



made to halt intervention and aggression from the East and West—in the Third World. Outside intervention could inflame local/regional conflicts into a global nuclear war. The peace/disarmament movement should support Third World self-determination. On another front, the people of Europe are protesting the deployment of missiles on their soil which would place them in the middle of a nuclear crossfire in the region.



HIROSHIMA/NAGASAKI REMEMBRANCE DAYS

The approaching Hiroshima/Nagasaki Peace Commemorations are occasion to remember those who died and to speak out on the consequences of nuclear weapons and war. It is also an occasion to learn from the Hibakusha, whose strength and courage to "walk forward out of HELL," to issue the plea, "NO MORE HIROSHIMAS! NO MORE NAGASAKIS!" is an inspiration to us all. As one Hibakusha stated, "I survived, but in the scars of my body is the need to curse the atomic bomb. Everyone must struggle for peace."

On the 40th anniversary of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, let us join hands with millions across the continents in a common quest for peace and disarmament. To work so that such a tragedy will never be repeated. For our communities, our children, our future generations.

Lyle Butch Wing works with Bay Area Asians for Nuclear Disarmament and is a co-chair of the national Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign.

Today, the U.S. and Soviet Union have a combined total of over 50,000 nuclear warheads with the explosive equivalent of one million Hiroshimas!

countless others suffer from the untold effects of the atomic bombs.

Hiroshima and Nagasaki ushered in the era of nuclear weapons and war. In the past 40 years, the world has seen a proliferation of nuclear weapons. Today, the U.S. and Soviet Union have a combined total of over 50,000 nuclear warheads with the explosive equivalent of one million Hiroshimas! MX, Cruise, SS 20s, ICBMs, SLCMs—even a new language has been created for the nuclear era.

WHY THE BOMB WAS DROPPED

President Truman expressed the common explanation for the atomic bomb-

of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

What is the truth behind the bomb?

The U.S. government used the bomb to "get a political advantage in the post-war strategy against the Soviet Union," admitted then-Secretary of War Henry Stimson. Having allied with Russia during WWII, the U.S. feared the ravages in Europe and Asia would fuel revolutions, and that Russia would extend its influence into these regions. The "bomb" demonstrated to the world the awesome power of nuclear weapons which were the exclusive property of the U.S. The atomic bombings displayed U.S. military superiority to the world, enabling it to assert its power and domination in

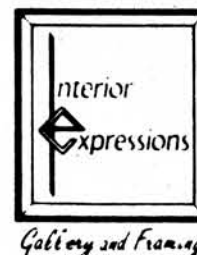


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Chronology Of The Bombing

On November 24, 1961, the United Nations General Assembly declared the use of nuclear weapons contrary to "the spirit, letter and aims of the United Nations," to "the rules of international law and to the laws of humanity," noting that such weapons are directed, not against one enemy alone, but against "mankind in general." This resolution, in effect, challenges the contention that atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945 as legitimate weapons of war. It is often suggested that the bombings were an attempt to compel early Japanese surrender, forestalling large numbers of allied casualties. But military, academic and diplomatic writings on the subject agree that Hiroshima and Nagasaki were bombed despite U.S. government awareness that by early 1945 Japan had broken down economically and that "a large element of the Japanese Cabinet was ready in the spring [of 1945] to accept substantially the same surrender terms as those finally agreed on."

The following is a chronology of events leading to the decision to drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki:

June 1944

U.S. scientists working on atomic bomb forecast project's success.

July 1944

Surrender movement develops in Tokyo following military reverses throughout Japan's Mariana island chain.

September 1944

Roosevelt discusses possible use of atomic bomb with advisors.

509th Composite Group forms in U.S. under rigid security to train for potential A-bomb strike.

December 1944

Washington learns that U.S. Army would probably enrich sufficient uranium for a gun-type (Hiroshima) bomb by about August 1, 1945, and would produce enough plutonium and master the more complicated technology for an implosion-type (Nagasaki) bomb by late July 1945.

U.S. Armed Forces begin to consider demonstrative mass destruction of Japanese cities after gaining control of bases in western Pacific. Target Committee of Army Air Force ordinance specialists and atomic scientists is formed.

February 1945

Yalta Agreement is signed by Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill specifies that "Soviet Union shall enter the war against Japan on the side of the Allies in two or three months" after the surrender of Germany [to occur May 8, 1945].

Tinian atoll chosen by U.S. as atomic strike launch site.

Japan's Prince Kenoe acknowledges in his Memorial to the Throne that Japan has "already lost the war" and recommends its termination "as speedily as possible."

April 1945

U.S.—U.S.S.R. relations break down over post-war plans for Poland and Eastern Europe.

May 1945

Germany surrenders to Allies.

U.S. Armed Forces Target Committee cites Kyoto, Hiroshima and Niigata as best A-bomb objectives and recommends not trying to pinpoint industrial zones, but to "shoot for the center" of those cities, agreeing that such initial use should be "sufficiently spectacular for the importance of the weapons to be internationally recognized when publicity on it is released."

U.S. Secretary of War Stimson gives general approval to bomb order and operations plan provisionally targeting Hiroshima, Niigata and Kokura, as soon as warhead becomes available.

509th Composite Group stationed at Tinian atoll.

U.S. Interim Committee on Atomic Policy set up by presidential authority with representatives from State, War and Navy Departments and scientists of the Manhattan Project. Committee advises President Truman that most profound psychological impact on Japan and the world would be achieved by using two atomic bombs in sequence without prior warning, on cities harboring military installations, or war plants employing a large number of workers closely surrounded by workers' homes and other buildings most susceptible to damage.

June 1945

Japan's Supreme Council for the Direction of the War admits defeat following fall of Okinawa.

July 12, 1945

Tokyo's Ambassador to Kremlin is instructed to enlist Soviet Union as mediator

between Anglo-U.S. and Japanese governments. With Truman's concurrence, Kremlin rebuffs initiative.

July 16, 1945

First atomic bomb successfully detonated at Alamogordo, New Mexico, preceding opening meeting at Potsdam Conference of Truman, Churchill and Stalin.

July 25, 1945

Truman issues strike order to Strategic Air Force to deliver "its first special bomb . . . after about 3 August 1945" and a second "as soon as made ready by Manhattan Project staff." [No pause was scheduled to monitor Japanese response to initial bombing and entry of U.S.S.R. into war, already set for August 8.]

July 26, 1945

Truman, Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek sign Potsdam Declaration calling for Japan's unconditional surrender. Stalin's signature not sought.

Japan rejects Declaration, seeking retention of imperial dynasty as condition of surrender.

August 6, 1945

U.S. atomic bombing of Hiroshima.

August 8, 1945

U.S.S.R. declares war on Japan and destroys bulk of Kwatung Army in Manchuria.

August 9, 1945

U.S. atomic bombing of Nagasaki.

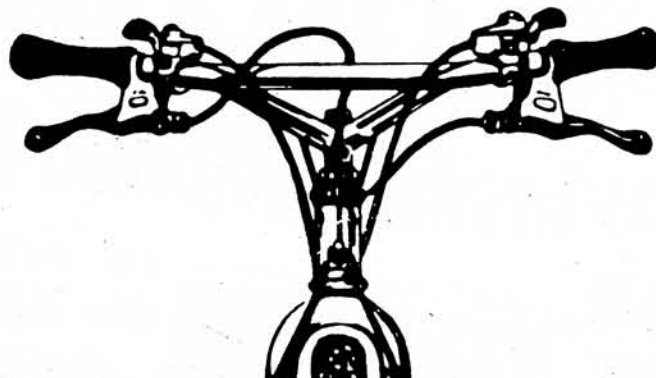
August 14, 1945

Japan accepts terms of Potsdam Proclamation.

September 2, 1945

Japan signs instruments of surrender, and U.S. permits retention of Japan's imperial dynasty.

the bicycle trip




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Santa Cruz Remembers . . .

Interviews With Three County Residents

by Colleen DeLaney

"ATOMIC BOMB BLASTS JAPS" screamed the headline in the Santa Cruz Sentinel-News on Tuesday, August 7th, 1945. And while actual details of the destruction wreaked on Hiroshima were slow in being released—all reports had to be cleared first by war department censors—the Sentinel-News was quick to speculate on the industrial uses of atomic energy. The harnessing of the atom was seen as being filled with potential for improving the lot of all humankind.

Days passed without editorial comment on this fantastically powerful new weapon in the Sentinel-News. When the first editorial on the effects of the bomb was run, seven days after Hiroshima, it did not focus on the moral or political implications of using such a weapon. Instead, it talked about the potential for atomic power to shorten the workday and replace steam and electricity.

Once the Japanese (referred to throughout the newspaper as "Japs" and "Nips") surrendered after the second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, articles in the Sentinel reflected the sentiment that here, as elsewhere in the country, life was finally, joyfully, about to get back to normal. In the excitement over the end of the war, the anticipation over the suspension of most rationing, and the relief over the prospect of our boys coming home from the front, one can understand how very few people realized that life would not ever return to pre-war "normal," as the nuclear cloud hanging over Japan would soon be hanging over us all.

In commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima, we at the Monthly Planet have contacted three local residents who recall the impact of this awful event on their lives.



A Survivor Recounts His Experience

by Colleen DeLaney

The following words of Francis Tomosawa are reprinted with his permission from two interviews with the *Watsonville Pajaronian*, conducted by Bill Akers.

Francis Tomosawa was 15 years old on August 6th, 1945, a native-born American receiving his education in Japan, when the first atomic bomb was dropped on the city of Hiroshima. Now an optometrist living in Watsonville, Dr. Tomosawa was witness to one of the world's greatest human-created catastrophes.

Through the subsequent years, despite the pain involved in dredging up his recollections, Dr. Tomosawa has spoken before the U.S. Senate and in front of civic groups in hopes that his testimony will help prevent another Hiroshima. Though talking about his experiences is "not an easy thing to do," Tomosawa persists, explaining, "I feel that God has spared some of our lives, and I think God has used us to relate our

sky. Frightened, I went to a shelter nearby; then I came out and helped free some people who were trapped in buildings. In the two mile walk home, I saw only two people. It was a young mother with her baby in a carriage. As I came closer I saw she was almost naked—her clothers were burned off. She was bleeding. Her baby sat in the carriage and stared straight ahead. There was a gaping wound in the baby's cheek, with a stick sticking out of it. The baby didn't cry; just stared straight ahead. As I passed, the mother did not realize I was there."

Tomosawa saw many other gruesome sights that day and in the days that followed. The seven rivers that flow through the city of Hiroshima were clogged with the bodies of those who had jumped in, trying to find relief from the heat and their burns. Streetcars were jammed with dead people, standing and sitting. Footprints burned into the pavements and ghostly shadows of human forms, burned into walls, were all

proper burial.

"When the shock lifted and the pain came the patients cried, most of them calling for their mothers.

"Later I looked out over the city. What had been the sixth largest city in Japan was rubble. It was gone. Not a living soul was visible, not even a dog or cat. The city I knew the day before was all gone. It was a desert—a desert of death.

"Of 280 doctors, 30 were left. Of 1,800 nurses, 135 survived. Of 45 hospitals, three could be used. Of 350,000 people, 80,000 died instantly, and 80,000 to 100,000 more within two years. Including the second bomb at Nagasaki, 250,000 were killed, and more are dying every day, even now.

"Those were crude bombs, the first ones—one sixtieth the power of the smallest nuclear bomb existing today. I survived because there was a hill between me and ground zero two miles away; that would save no one today. A nuclear bomb on Salinas or Gilroy would kill us here [Watsonville] too.

"We have to do something about these nuclear weapons, and that means the Russians, too," Tomosawa concludes. "If one weapon is fired anywhere, everyone will keep firing until we and the earth are destroyed. We should appeal to our congressmen and senators. There are no Hiroshima survivors permitted in the Soviet Union, but there are Soviet doctors who share the fears of our own doctors. If you don't think of others, at least think of yourself and your families."



Dr. Francis Tomosawa

"We should not forget the power we as individuals have," Tomosawa urged when asked for his comments on the 40th anniversary of Hiroshima. "Not doing anything is the worst action of all, worse even than people doing things *against* peace. Each of us has to realize—this won't go away."

"We should not forget the power we as individuals have . . . not doing anything is the worst action of all . . ."

experiences so people will understand what happened, to tell them they should heed the warnings of what happened . . . and not continue along the ways towards more destruction."

At 8:00 AM on August 6th, while Tomosawa stood outside with a group of high school students, the Enola Gay flew overhead carrying "Little Boy," the first atomic bomb to be dropped on a civilian population.

"There were two B-29s, flying toward Tokyo. Then they came back. I saw something shiny under one of the parachutes—it must have caught the sun—and I saw it drop lower and lower. It dropped behind a hill on the city. There was a brilliant flash of light. It was like a million flash bulbs going off all at once. For the moment, I couldn't see anything." Fortunately for Tomosawa and the other students, that hill was the only thing standing between them and instant death.

"I was blown off my feet, unconscious, when the blast wave struck. When I awoke I saw the mushroom cloud billowing in the

that remained to mark the passing of countless lives, vaporized instantly.

Relieved from rescue work to go find his own family, he found his mother, who had miraculously missed her streetcar into the heart of the city that morning. She had taken his best friend to a nearby army hospital, where Tomosawa then went in search of his friend.

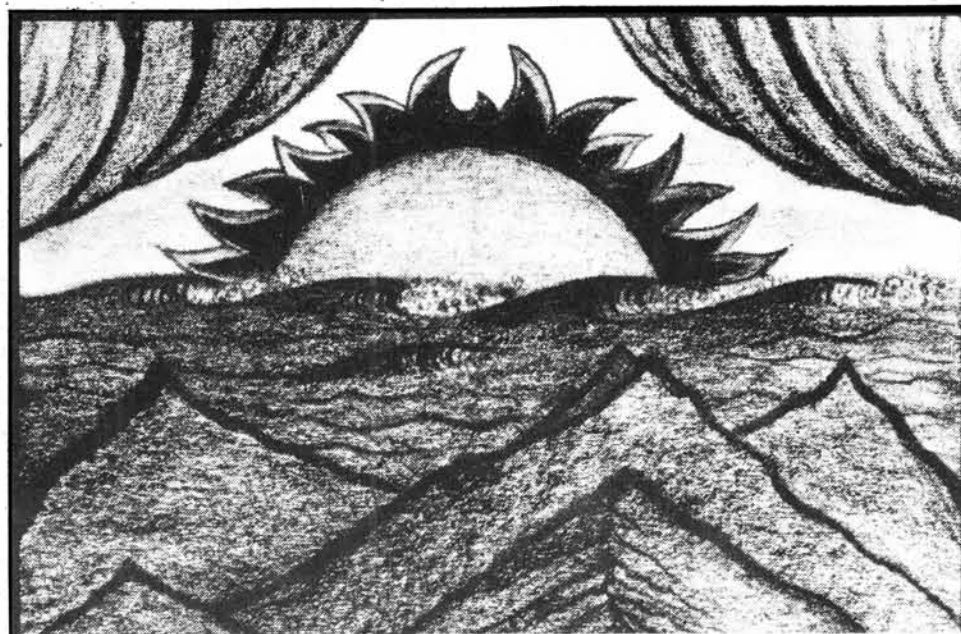
"The hospital was filled with burned and bleeding people," Tomosawa recalls. "We had to walk between and step over the bodies, and finally we found him. I didn't recognize him, so badly was he burned." The friend died later that night. "Then I saw hundreds of people walking out of the city—burned, bleeding, some naked, walking with their knees bent and their hands held before them—a procession of ghosts, without a sound, no crying, no screaming, in total shock.

"At the hospital we stacked the bodies of those who died out in the open; there was an odor unusual for burns. When there were too many bodies, they were cremated where they lay. There was no time for a

The Thousand Cranes

There is an old Japanese legend which tells that if you fold one thousand paper cranes, your wish will be granted. Ten years after the atomic bomb fell on Hiroshima, twelve year old Sadako lay dying in a hospital bed from radiation inflicted illness. Her wish was that the bombs would never fall again. She and her family folded 966 paper cranes before she died. Sadako's young friends completed her task with the fervent hope her wish would be granted. Children in Japan keep the wish alive and hang a thousand paper cranes on Sada-

ko's statue on each anniversary of the bombing. The cranes are hung like flowers expressing the prayer that the bombs will never fall again.



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A Pastor Speaks Out

by Colleen DeLaney

Reverend Immel's lifelong commitment to "preach a gospel of love in a world of violence" has brought him much grief, but it has never stopped him from speaking out. The Reverend, outraged by the bombing of Hiroshima, immediately sat down and wrote an impassioned letter to *The Sacramento Bee* in protest—the first letter received by that newspaper speaking out against the bomb, and as far as Reverend Immel knows, the only letter by a minister publicly protesting the bombing (see box).

That letter started a firestorm of its own. The response to Immel's letter was overwhelming—and furious. The *Bee* soon had to print extra pages of letters to the editor to cover the replies—74 wrathful replies in all. And then the threatening phone calls began to come in. The Reverend's wife, Mary, at home during the day, fielded most of the angry, anonymous phone calls. The calls were mostly from men, threatening to tar and feather the Reverend, or ride him out of town on a rail.

Speaking out against the war was not only unpopular, it was downright dangerous, but Reverend Immel now laughs at the memory of the threats. "No one ever hit me," he says, "but they came close." One man who crossed the Reverend's path on

the street grabbed him by his shirt and threatened him, but stopped short of striking him. The man had a son who was in the service, and was incensed by what he considered to be Reverend Immel's unpatriotic stance.

"I knew precisely that this [bombing] was dead wrong," said Reverend Immel, who continued on, not worried about the outraged response he was drawing. "I was ordained to preach what I thought was the Kingdom of God, not what I think my parishioners want to hear."

It was not the first time that Wilder Immel, a pacifist since his student days, had drawn ire for his outspokenness. Formerly a minister in Hayward, he was forced to leave town after denouncing the bombing of Dresden earlier in the war. Barely relocated in Sacramento when the first atomic weapon was used, the Reverend nonetheless was compelled to speak out again. "As long as good people remain silent, gangsters like Hitler can do all their devilment," he explained. In Sacramento, however, he found that his congregation supported him, even as he was being daily roasted in the letters to the editor.

Other ministers remained silent. Only one, in a private letter, supported Reverend Immel's stand. No other minister spoke out publicly in support of him as he continued taking a public beating on the pages of *The Sacramento Bee*—and the letters rolled in for weeks.

Said one letter, "I am very sorry the United States didn't drop many, many more atomic bombs on the dirty rats."

"After all, we didn't start this war," wrote another. "If the Japanese had discovered the atomic bomb before we did, they wouldn't have hesitated to use it on us . . ."

". . . Rev. Immel, I feel the Lord has interceded on the side of right and justice in



Reverend Wilder and Mary Immel

had, indeed, been an alternative to using this new weapon to bring an end to the war with Japan. In the *Encyclopedia of World War II* Reverend Immel found the following:

"After Okinawa, most Japanese leaders realized that the situation was hopeless. As early as May, approaches were made through the Soviet Union for a conditional surrender. Since the Allies, as highlighted by the famous Potsdam Declaration in 1945, insisted on unconditional surrender, nothing was accomplished."

The Japanese, Reverend Immel found, would have surrendered in May of 1945 under the condition that they be permitted to keep their emperor. The Allies said no to this, insisting on the "unconditional surrender" above. *But after the bombings and the consequent "unconditional surrender", we let them keep their emperor. Why couldn't this concession have been made three months earlier, saving thousands of lives?*

Although Wilder Immel had no fear of speaking out against the bomb, he paid the

(Excerpts from the letter to *The Sacramento Bee* that started all the furor)

MINISTER BELIEVES USE OF NEW BOMB IS BARBAROUS

. . . Remember how we regarded the Nazis as "inhuman and barbarous" for their extermination policy towards the Jews? . . . We, too, have learned how to be cruel and inhuman and merciless. Yes, we have "advanced" to the day of the atomic bomb, said to blind anything living within 5 miles and to kill every living thing within 4 miles.

We have come far enough in our moral descent that at last we have sloughed off our last vestige of Christian ethics and have clearly branded ourselves as utter pagans.

Who dares to say we are a Christian nation? Does anyone think for a moment that we can revert to the savagery necessary to employ such hideous instruments of destruction and still have the consummate gall to call ourselves Christian? Surely we have lost all capacity for mercy, compassion, kindness, respect for the sacredness of human life when we can so brazenly destroy thousands of lives without a twinge of conscience.

As a Christian minister I am ashamed and humiliated that our military policy has dragged my beloved country to the level of the most hated and despised beasts on earth.

Woe unto us who sit silently by while our military drags our country into hell. Woe unto us who are representatives of the church of Jesus Christ when we fail to protest the flagrant and cynical denial of our most cherished Christian standards.

Woe unto our nation and its people—for be sure that they who take the atomic bomb shall perish by the atomic bomb. Thrice shame upon us!

Reverend Wilder Immel
August 8, 1945

"The Freeze is a step in the right direction . . . but elimination of the nuclear method of solving disputes has got to go."

giving our scientists the knowledge . . ." ("Poor God," laughed Mrs. Immel in reply as I read this letter aloud from their scrapbook containing the Reverend's initial letter and all the replies to it. "He takes the blame for the strangest things.")

"The Japanese asked for it when they bombed Pearl Harbor," wrote another. "When we brought the Japanese to their knees, we saved thousands of Americans."

And, in what was to be an often-echoed sentiment, "What did he prefer—to go on and lose another one million of our young men? The Japanese say the atomic bomb caused them to surrender."

The argument that using the atomic bomb ultimately saved lives was one the media vigorously promoted and everyone accepted—except Reverend Immel. Years later, as that question still nagged at him, the Reverend took himself to the library and researched this particular point in history—had the use of the atomic bomb really saved lives by bringing the war to a close? His conclusion was that it had not—that there

price in ruined health. Seven months later, as he gave a sermon, he collapsed from a heart attack. "It almost did me in," the Reverend recalls. Recovery was slow, and it was over a year before he was able to return to work, and several years before he was strong enough to take another church.

Now retired and living in Santa Cruz, the Reverend is "still a radical," still speaking out on issues that concern him, though he no longer speaks from a pulpit. "The Freeze is a step in the right direction," he mused. "But elimination of the nuclear method of solving disputes has got to go." He then amended this, saying, "What I would like to see is the elimination of the war method of solving disputes—not just nuclear weapons, but all of it—Star Wars, chemical warfare. We are a violent people, and we think we can solve problems by killing each other." He hopes to see Reagan and the Soviets sitting down and talking—engaging in the dialogue and negotiation that are the only way to prevent another such catastrophe from ever happening again.



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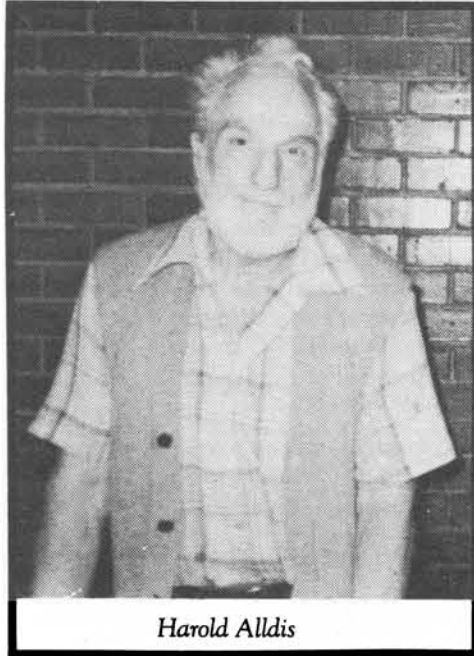
by Colleen DeLaney

Harold Alldis of Santa Cruz, like Reverend Immel, doesn't subscribe to the idea that using the atomic bomb against Japan was primarily done to bring the war to a rapid close, thereby saving lives.

Mr. Alldis, in charge of a large printing plant producing topographical maps when World War II broke out, was put to work secretly printing maps of Japan for the Air Force one year before the attack on Pearl Harbor, in obvious anticipation of war with Japan. From his vantage point in map-making, his personal observations, and his continued perusal of alternative newspapers and magazines, Alldis developed his own theories about the bombing of Hiroshima.

In June of 1945, recalls Alldis, the U.S. Air Force sank 21 ships in Tokyo Bay without meeting any aircraft opposition. Not one U.S. airplane was lost or even damaged in the raid. When an air raid of this magnitude can be pulled off over a major city without any losses, points out Alldis, you know the war is almost over.

Alldis found further evidence shortly after his discharge to support this view. Throughout the war, Japan had used "picket ships," that is, ships with radar, to scan the skies for approaching bombers. By June, Alldis found, all of Japan's picket ships had been destroyed. U.S. naval vessels were able to approach the shore and shell seacoast cities with impunity—another sign that the end of the war was imminent. Further, Kamikaze raids had ended by July. By August, Japan was helpless—cut off from military supplies, oil, and other essential items to their war machine.



Harold Alldis

the bomb may have been pointless from a military point of view, but it did send a clear message to the Russians that we had unprecedented military superiority—and that we would not hesitate to use it against a Communist threat.

In the days that followed the dropping of the first atomic bomb, Alldis had the opportunity to ask a number of soldiers returning from their tour of duty in the Pacific how they felt about using the atomic bomb. The answer from each soldier was the same—every soldier queried stated that he would rather have stayed in the Pacific another month or two than to have used such an extreme and ill-timed weapon.

Alldis wasn't the only one questioning the seemingly precipitous use of the bomb. In the initial week following the bombing,

"We had to prove to the world we were bastards enough to do it."

In Alldis' view, the motive behind dropping the bomb when the war with Japan was virtually over was a purely political move ("Atomic diplomacy"), done to intimidate the Russians and make them join the Allies in the war against Japan. (At this point in the war, Russia had joined with the United States in the war against Germany, but had not joined the war against Japan.) The bomb was used on Japan, he thinks, to convince the Soviets that we would use it on them, too, if necessary to maintain our superiority. "We had to prove to the world we were bastards enough to do it," maintains Alldis.

"The atomic bomb was complete and total overkill," Alldis declares, stating that Japan, isolated as it was, could not have lasted another 6 months. Even military invasion by the U.S. would have been unnecessary—that we could simply have starved them out, and not risked losing any more lives.

However, according to Alldis, starving Japan into submission would have raised a far greater danger in the U.S. government's eyes—the danger of Japan undergoing a Communist revolution, fomented by a disillusioned and hungry populace. Dropping

President Truman was personally criticized by various generals in the Pacific for his haste in dropping the bomb. But within ten days, all military criticisms had been silenced—no doubt in the same way that Alldis was silenced. After a week of casual conversations with returning soldiers, Alldis was hauled into the base commander's office and threatened with courtmartial if he discussed the subject of the bomb once more with anyone on base. As his discharge was due at any time, he was effectively silenced—for the time being.

As a result of the atomic bomb, Alldis, a revolutionary as a youth, became a pacifist for life. Looking at the current state of affairs as the 40th anniversary of Hiroshima approaches, Alldis succinctly summarizes our continued military build-up, saying, "We're doing the same thing that Japan did when they bombed Pearl Harbor and entered World War II: we're losing our ass to save our face."

Mr. Alldis, a resident of Santa Cruz, is currently working on a book about the use of atomic weapons on Japan.

Colleen DeLaney is a staff writer for *The Monthly Planet*.



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Santa Cruz County Peace & Justice Calendar



Saturday, August 3

Conference. "Shaping The Future For Monterey Bay." An issues and strategies conference sponsored by the 28th Assembly District Democratic Committee featuring: U.S. Senator Alan Cranston, U.S. Representative Leon Panetta, State Senator Henry Mello, and State Assemblymember Sam Farr in a panel discussion about the future of the Democratic Party plus workshops on crime, civil rights, the homeless, voter registration, strategies for victory, war and peace, and many more. Registration will be from 1:00 pm to 1:30 pm at the Cabrillo College Forum. Workshops are from 1:30 to 4:45 pm; the panel will take place from 5:00 to 6:00 pm. Registration is \$3.00, payable at the door. For info: Dan Haifley, 475-7184.

Sunday, August 4

Public Worship Service and Candlelight Procession. In remembrance of Hiroshima; sponsored by Pajaro Valley Religious Committee for Peacemaking, Buddhist Temple, and Westview Presbyterian Church. Public worship starts at 7:30 pm at the United Presbyterian Church, 112 East Beach St., Watsonville. Candlelight procession starts at 8:30 pm from the church to the post office for vigil. For info: 722-5691.

Interfaith Service & Program. To commemorate the 40th anniversary of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Initiated by Hiroshima/Nagasaki Commemoration Committee. St. Mary's Cathedral, Geary/Gough Streets, San Francisco. 2 pm (tentative time). For info: Lyle Butch Wing, (415) 561-8297.

Monday, August 5

General Meeting. Native American Support Group. (Each Monday of the month.) 7:00 pm. For place and info: 429-0327.

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

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

Tuesday, August 6

Hiroshima Day Observances. For local activities, see box "Hiroshima Day in Santa Cruz." Today is the 40th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima.

Citywide Commemoration (San Francisco). Japantown Center Peace Plaza, Post/Buchanan streets, San Francisco. 6:30 pm (tentative time). Initiated by Hiroshima/Nagasaki Commemoration Committee. For info: Charlene Tschirhart, 415-621-0858.

For national and international Hiroshima Day Commemoration activities, see centerfold, this issue.

Project Victory. "A New View of How Americans Can Take the Lead in Building a Secure World in the Nuclear Age." Sponsored by Project Victory. The Project Victory Experience consists of discovery and dialog through personal reflection and interactive learning exercises. In the spirit of mutual respect, we will explore the steps necessary to build a positive future. The conductors encourage you to come, and if possible, to bring someone you know who has beliefs, attitudes or assumptions about our nuclear dilemma that are different from your own. 9 am-5 pm. First Presbyterian Church, 501 El Dorado, Monterey. \$40 general admission, \$25 seniors & students. Bring a sack lunch. For info: Darly Worth, 624-7494.

Hiroshima Day In Santa Cruz

- 5:00 PM Silent Vigil, Town Clock
Bring banners, signs.)
- 5:30 PM Process to City Hall
- 6:00 PM Public Observance, City Hall Plaza, Center St.
Speaker: Dr. Francis Tomosawa, Survivor of Hiroshima bombing
Proclamation: Mardi Wormhoudt, Mayor of Santa Cruz
- 7:00 PM Calvary Episcopal Church, 532 Center St. Main Hall: Discussion Groups Sanctuary: Opportunity for quiet personal reflection

Sponsored by: Resource Center for Non-violence, Nuclear Weapons Freeze, Social Action Committee of Unitarian Fellowship.

Saturday, August 10

Film Festival. Central American Films. At Unitarian Universalist Fellowship, 6401 Freedom Blvd., Aptos. Sponsored by the social action committee of the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship. 4:30 and 9:00 pm: *Taking Charge* slide show; 5:05 and 9:35 pm: *Americans in Transition*, a 29 min. color film; 5:40 and 10:10 pm: *Nicaragua: Report from the Front*, a 33 min. color film; 6:20 and 10:50 pm: *Witness to War*, a 30 color film; 6:55 and 11:25 pm: *Nicaragua: Where Everyone is Learning*, a 20 min. slide show; 7:20 and 11:50 pm: *Basta Ya! Women in Central America*.

There will also be a reception-fundraiser for the Fellowship of Reconciliation/Witness for Peace delegate Dave MacMillan from 8:00 to 9:00 pm at the Fellowship. Refreshments will be served. Musci by Diana Gray. Admission: \$3.00 to \$30.00 sliding scale. For info: 684-0506.

Wednesday, August 7

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). Louden Nelson Center. 7:30 pm. For info: 476-7893.

Friday, August 9

Public Observance of Nagasaki Bombing. At Santa Cruz City Hall Plaza. Release of paper cranes with peace messages tied to balloons. Sponsored by Resource Center for Nonviolence, Nuclear Weapons Freeze, and Unitarian Social Action Committee. Noon. For info: 423-1626.

International Workcamp. Through August 31. Sponsored by the Resource Center for Nonviolence and the City of Santa Cruz. Participants will include citizens from both East and West Europe, who will live and work in Santa Cruz. They will be painting the Resource Center's building at 515 Broadway and doing maintenance work for the City. Members of the community are welcome to participate during the work activity. For info: 423-1626.

Monday, August 12

General Meeting. Native American Support Group. see August 5.

Tuesday, August 13

General Meeting. Gray Panthers. 134 Dakota St., Santa Cruz. 1:30 pm. For info: 427-2126.

General Meeting. Comite de Solidaridad con El Salvador. For time and place call: 429-1039.

Wednesday, August 14

Peace Vigil. See August 7.

General Meeting. Rainbow Coalition. See August 7.

Slide show presentation. "In Defense of Sacred Land" is a close-up look at the struggle of Navajo people to stop forced removal from their ancestral homeland at Big Mountain, Arizona. Sponsored by Big Mountain Task Force. Louden Nelson Community Center, Santa Cruz, 7:30 pm. For info: 479-0327.

Monday, August 19

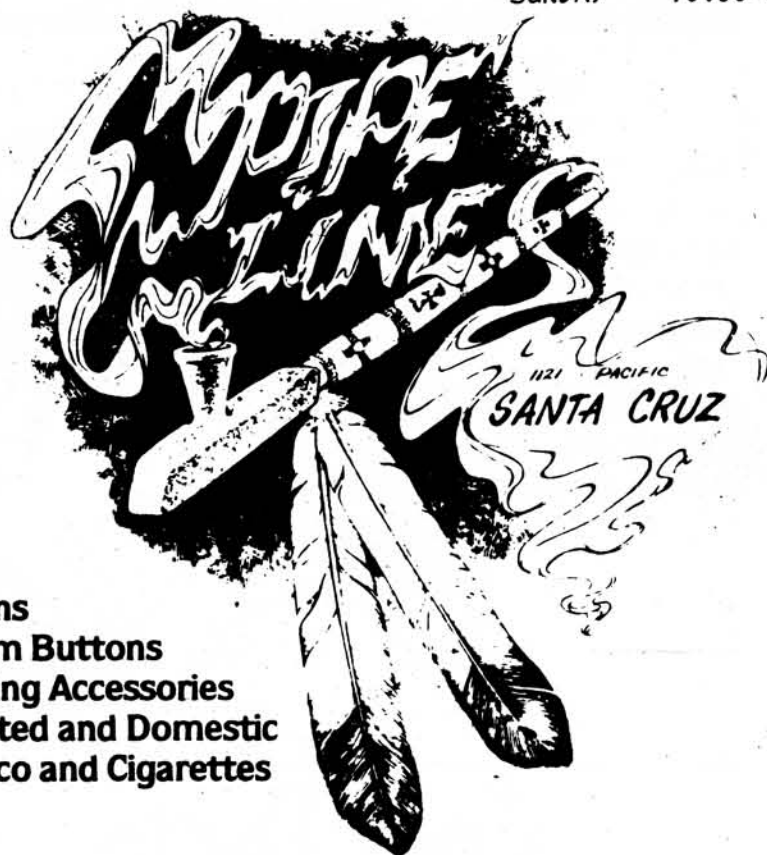
General Meeting. Coalition for Nicaragua. Louden Nelson Center. 7:00 pm. For info: 458-0303.

General Meeting. Native American Support Group. See August 5.

PIPE LINE

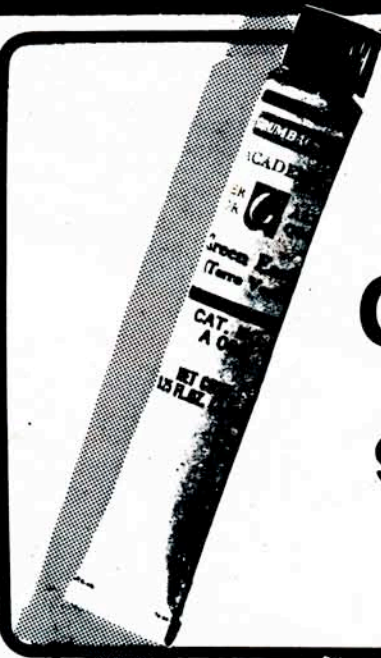
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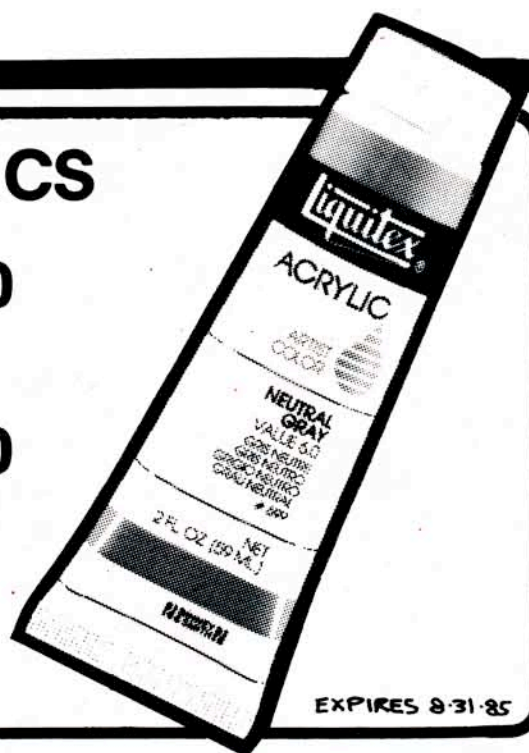
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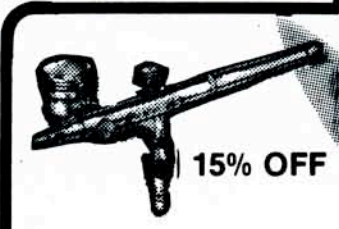
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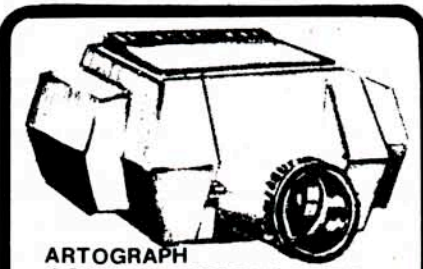


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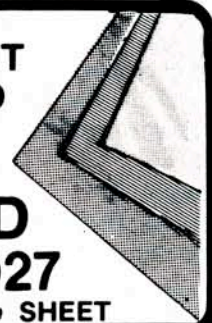
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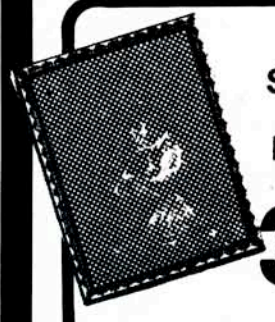
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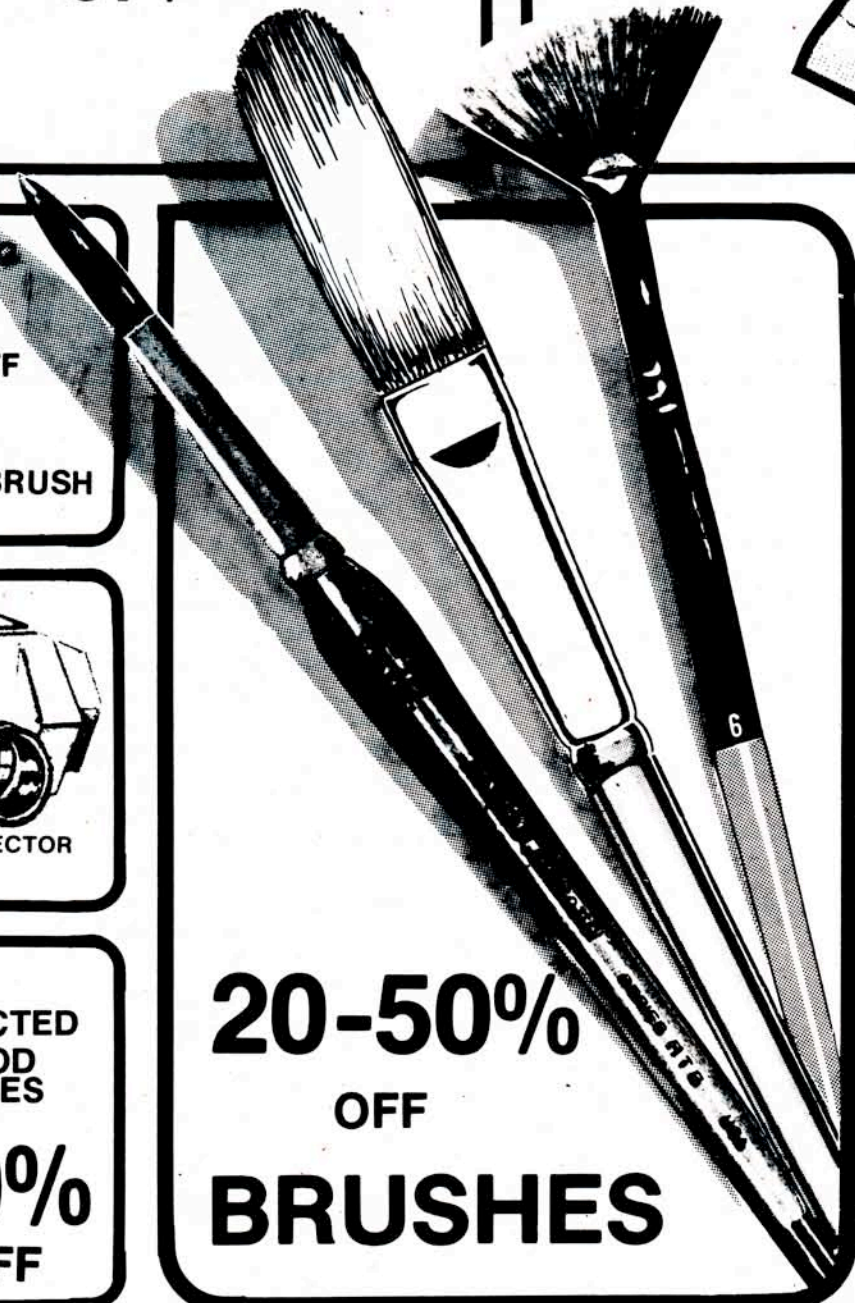
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