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# The MONTHLY PLANET

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## Peacemaking In The Religious Community

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## THE FREEZE PROPOSAL

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

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



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## 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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# No Substance At The Summit

by Terry Teitelbaum

Now that the first summit meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev is history, many people are wondering what really happened to make the world safer. What progress was made in terms of arms control? As a result of the summit, are we any more secure?

Before the summit, national peace organizations and leading arms control experts provided prescriptions for what would amount to a meaningful summit meeting. In spite of administration attempts to downplay hopes for a breakthrough, activists as well as many world leaders worked hard to publicize their expectations and promote the summit as a golden opportunity for dealing with an out of control nuclear arms race.

A dozen national organizations, including the Council for a Livable World, Common Cause, and the Union of Concerned Scientists compiled an ambitious seven-point agenda for progress at the summit. These recommendations, which were characterized by some peace groups as not tough enough, were endorsed by Paul Warnke, chief negotiator of the SALT II treaty under President Carter; Gerard Smith, one of the principal negotiators of the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty; and William Colby, director of the CIA under Carter.

The seven points were: observing SALT I and II; abstaining from programs that might violate the ABM treaty; banning

Anti-Satellite (ASAT) tests; barring detection-proof coding of flight pattern data from strategic nuclear weapons tests; barring deployment of any new MIRVED ICBMs, including the MX and SS-X-24; mutual suspension of nuclear tests and resumption of Comprehensive Test Ban treaty negotiations; and agreeing in principle to an interim treaty with a strategic nuclear warhead ceiling and annual reductions of strategic launchers and warheads.

The statement also called for early "progress" on developing common ground for cutting nuclear delivery vehicles by 50 percent and on moving toward an interim agreement on medium-range forces in Europe. These points are being hailed as great successes by the Reagan Administration in terms of arms control progress. However, a condition for the U.S. to sign the joint agreement was that it contain no reference to Soviet opposition to Star Wars.

ferred to as an evil empire should not be overlooked. And the minimal agreements that were made, such as facilitating air travel between the two countries and promoting cultural and scientific exchanges, could go far in promoting understanding and reducing fear and suspicion.

Yet it is still difficult not to think of the summit as an opportunity not taken full advantage of. While it was perhaps not appropriate for the two leaders to sign an actual arms control accord, they could have gone farther in drawing up more substantial guidelines for the negotiators in Geneva. It seems that Reagan and Gorbachev wanted to avoid the level of optimism achieved after the 1955 summit with President Eisenhower and Nikolai A. Bulganin, where the term "Spirit of Geneva" was coined in light of the substantially improved relations between the two countries.

Leslie Gelb, writing in *The New York Times*, said much more could have been accomplished at the summit. "With respect to space-based defenses, the sides could have directed their negotiators in Geneva to focus on how and where to draw the line between permissible research and banned development and testing. It could have tried to narrow differences about which forces on each side were to be cut. Some openings could have been found on regional issues. For example, they could have agreed to certain principles for resolving the Afghan conflict."

Gelb added, "They could also have

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***It appears that the arms race will continue not only in spite of the summit but perhaps be facilitated by it.***

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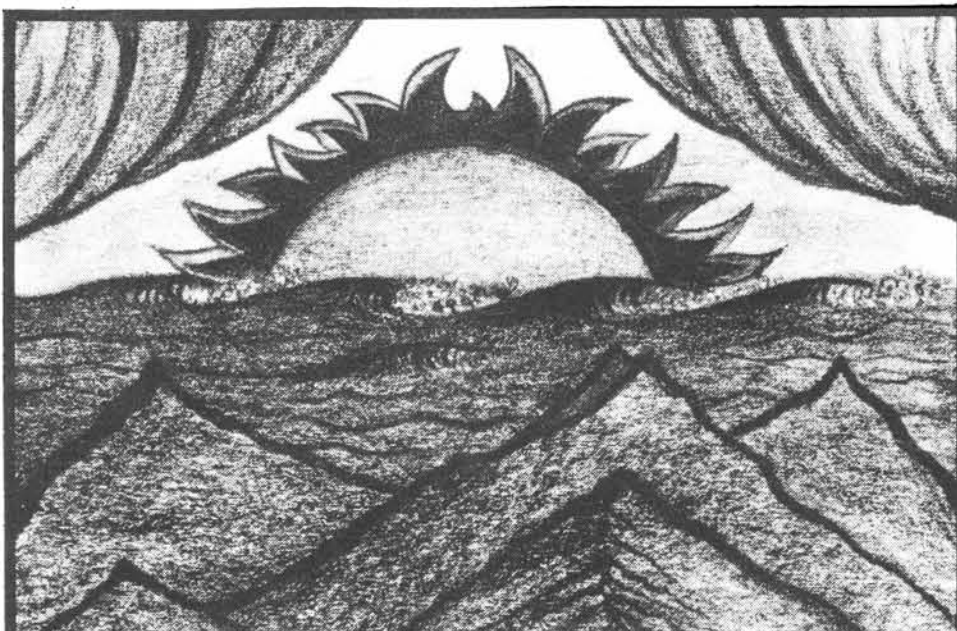
The statement accompanying the recommendations read, "Taking any one of these steps would be an important contribution toward a lessening of the risk of nuclear war."

The resulting agreements fell far short of even minimal expectations held by arms control proponents. Yet, the fact that President Reagan finally did what many felt he should have been doing all along in meeting his Soviet counterpart is widely believed to be a positive step in reducing dangerous tensions.

In a joint statement issued by the two leaders, they pledged "to prevent an arms race in space and to terminate it on earth."

Star Wars remains the main stumbling block to any substantial agreement as the summit did virtually nothing more than to highlight this deadlock. Since the summit, in spite of administration reports to the contrary, Gorbachev has held fast in his opposition to Star Wars and links any agreement on reducing nuclear weapons by 50% to a satisfactory agreement on the proposed U.S. space-based anti-missile system.

Overall, however, Gorbachev shares Reagan's public optimistic assessment of the meeting. The significance of President Reagan meeting on congenial terms with the leader of a country he previously re-



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## From The Grassroots

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### Give The Planet

Dear Freeze,

Thanks for your excellent publication. Readers, let's all disseminate this document—spread the word! Enclosed is \$50.00 for 5 gift subscriptions to *The Monthly Planet*. Please send to the people listed below, beginning in January.

Thanks again,  
Virginia Wheaton  
Oakland, CA

Editor's note: We do not publish in January; we will be happy to start your subscriptions in February, 1986. Thank you!

### Force Loses, Reason Wins

Dear Freeze,

Freedom from war is for all who are impelled to act through reason. All who are compelled to act through force will always be the slave.

Through reason we win. Through force we lose. We slaves of war do have the freedom of choice.

Virgil McComb  
Santa Cruz, CA

### New Zealander Thanks Us

Dear Freeze,

Congratulations to you and your team on *The Monthly Planet*—it makes for necessary and great reading!

I am a New Zealander. Please find enclosed information on my country's anti-nuclear stand.

There is no copyright on any of this information and it can be reproduced in whole or part as you see appropriate.

Any aid you and the Santa Cruz Nuclear Weapons Freeze can give to its circulation and continued print would be appreciated internationally!

Thank you for any support.

Sincerely,  
Wendy  
Santa Cruz, CA

### Food Irradiation Coverage Appreciated

Dear Freeze,

I want you to know how much I appreciate the latest issue of *The Monthly Planet*. Your paper has presented the most thorough and well documented coverage of the food irradiation issue that I have come across. I know that ordinarily your paper focuses on nuclear weapons issues but I am glad to know that *The Monthly Planet* is willing to broaden its scope when an important subject like food irradiation needs addressing. Keep up the good work.

Rosemary Gilman  
Capitola, CA





repeated their public statements to the effect that both would scrupulously observe the Antiballistic Missile (ABM) treaty of 1972, reaffirmed that the treaty restricted the parties to 'research,' but left undefined whether certain kinds of testing might be allowed under the rubric of research."

The leaders settled for a mere restatement of where they have been for the last two months on nuclear arms and broke no new ground. Their failure to reaffirm what many consider to be the most basic of arms control agreements—SALT II and the ABM treaty which restricts development of defensive systems—worries many arms control experts.

Paul Warnke fears that while negotiations in Geneva continue, the entire arms control regime may be deteriorating. He said, "The good news is that the President will meet again with General Secretary Gorbachev. The bad news is that no agreements were made to reaffirm adherence to existing treaties."

Gerard Smith commented in a radio interview that in spite of the summit and arms talks, "The arms race is continuing unabated." He said that while the joint U.S.-Soviet statement calls for a 50 percent decrease in nuclear forces, the reality will be a 100 percent increase in nuclear arsenals since neither SALT II nor the ABM treaty were reaffirmed.

Of particular concern is the eighth U.S. Trident submarine which is scheduled for sea-trials in May of 1986. If it is launched as planned, it will mark a violation of the SALT II treaty which both the U.S. and the Soviet Union signed in 1979. Although the U.S. Senate never ratified the treaty, both sides have so far



adhered to its provisions. Also, the first major tests of Star Wars components are predicted to take place by the turn of the century. This will undoubtedly be viewed by the Soviets as a flagrant violation of the 1972 ABM treaty which prohibits the testing of anti-missile systems.

It appears that the arms race will continue not only in spite of the summit but perhaps be facilitated by it. In his post-summit address to congress, President

Reagan said, "I need your continued support to keep America strong." Congress will now probably avoid "tying the president's hands" by refusing to fund new nuclear weapons systems and Star Wars research and testing. Anthony Lewis, a columnist on foreign policy, noted, "Despite the lack of substance and President Reagan's care to avoid euphoria, Congress early applauded his intimations of hope, his references to the need for

peace. The American public seems equally pleased to think that something was achieved in Geneva."

And in Europe, peace organizations will have a tougher time getting support to keep their soil free of U.S. nuclear missiles. The summit is being portrayed by U.S. allies West Germany, Britain, Denmark and the Netherlands as a great success. Columnist Flora Lewis commented, "[The summit] will take the spirit out of demonstrations and make it harder to mobilize anti-American opinion."

While the real impact of the summit on the chances for world peace may not be evident for several years, one cannot help but wonder about the implications for the continuing arms race in the absence of an agreement now to effectively curb it. The stubborn position of the U.S. on Star Wars alone effectively deadlocks the arms control process and encourages further offensive nuclear weapons developments by the Soviet Union.

Anthony Lewis concluded about American reaction to the summit, "The eagerness to applaud tells us two things about the feelings of Americans. First, how deep a desire for peace there is . . . Second, how low our expectations have become." These low expectations, in spite of our deep desire for peace, may contribute to an unchecked and unprecedented build-up of U.S. nuclear weapons and Soviet countermeasures. Thus the question remains: as a result of the summit, are we any more secure?

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

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# Planet Watch

by Igal Dahari



## New Zealand Two Get Ten

The two French agents who were arrested in New Zealand and charged with sinking the Rainbow Warrior, and killing a crewmember as a result, were sentenced on November 22 to ten years in prison. They will be eligible for parole in five years. The French Government, however, plans to expedite their release. The French paper *Le Monde* has said that defense lawyers plan to get Major Alain Mafart and Captain Dominique Prieur, the accused agents, back to France within three months.

The original charges against the agents were murder, conspiracy and arson, but these were later reduced to manslaughter and willful damage to a ship in exchange for a guilty plea. The reduction in charges immediately fueled speculation that a political deal had been struck between New Zealand and France, but New Zealand's Prime Minister David Lange has vehemently denied that any deal had been made.

## Australia

### Peace Down Under Moving Up

The leases of all three major U.S. military bases in Australia are up for renegotiation next year, and peace groups in that country are aware of that. The Australian peace movement is working to stop renewal of the leases for North West Cape, Pine Gap and Nurrungar military bases. The Reagan Administration will probably lobby hard to keep the bases, since North West Cape is the command center for U.S. submarines in the Pacific, and the other two may be important in Reagan's Star Wars program.

Reducing the presence of the U.S. military Down Under is not the only item on the movement's agenda. Putting a stop to the mining and export of uranium and banning port calls by nuclear ships and airfield landings by planes such as U.S. nuclear-equipped B-52's are other objectives peace groups are seriously pursuing. In short, Australian peace groups are working towards making their country completely nuclear-free.

Several events in the 1980's have facilitated the moves to eventually making Australia a nuclear-free zone. Most not-



able are the Labor Party's successive wins in the 1980 and 1983 national elections. Australia's Labor Government has been much more willing to stand up to the United States in matters pertaining to nuclear weapons than previous governments. For example, Australia's minister for foreign affairs, Bill Hayden, announced last August that his government was opposed to President Reagan's Star Wars plan. The Labor Government has also been taking steps on its own to promote peace, such as supporting a nuclear freeze resolution in the U.N. (despite U.S. opposition), creating a "Peace and Disarmament Branch" within the De-

partment of Foreign Affairs and adding a Peace Research Center to the Australian National University in Canberra.

## Kwajalein Home On The Missile Range

The tiny South Pacific island of Kwajalein, part of the United States trust territory Micronesia, is the target of intercontinental ballistic missiles fired from California. The missiles are launched from Vandenberg Air Force Base, travel 4,700 miles southwest in half an hour, and plunge into Kwajalein atoll's lagoon.

The missiles, which are unarmed, are not coming for the time being. Neither are payments on the \$8 million the U.S. Government pays the islanders as "rent" each year. The rent payment is for the Pentagon's billion dollar missile testing and surveillance base on Kwajalein. The base is especially important to the Reagan Administration since it serves as a testing ground for certain Star Wars components.

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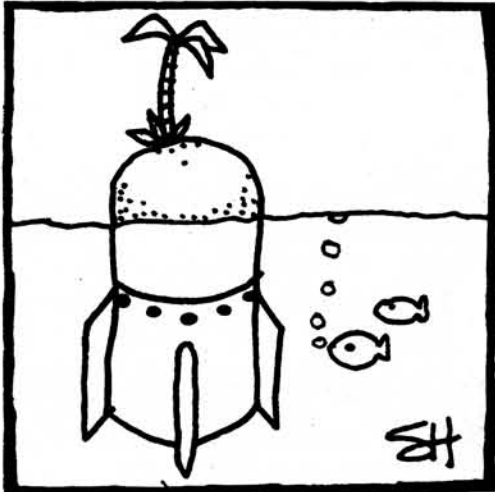
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But the old contract allowing for the base expired on October 1, and a new agreement, called the Compact of Free Association, has been stalled in the U.S. Senate due to various complicated arguments over details of the benefits to be given Micronesia. Basically, the Compact would give complete autonomy to the Micronesians, except where military contracts are concerned. The Compact would also remain in effect for fifteen years.

Even if the Compact does make its way through the U.S. Government, the islanders on Kwajalein say they'll refuse to accept it. They say the Compact offers them too few benefits, and freezes the amount of rent they are paid at \$9 million for the fifteen years it is in effect. Many of them have returned to farm the land they left when the base was first built, even though this is prohibited both under the old and the new contracts. Their move is seen as a revolt against the military authorities on the island, though the latter has not responded to the occupation.

Many people in Micronesia charge that during the time since the United States first held the trusteeship of the islands, it has neglected to foster economic independence. Instead, the islanders find themselves almost completely dependent on U.S. aid for survival.



## Britain Money Lures British

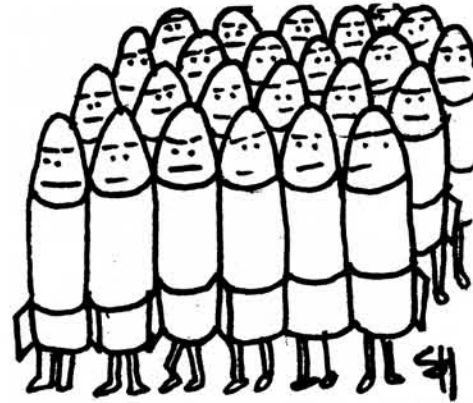
Although no formal agreement has been signed, the British have agreed to participate in the Reagan Administration's Star Wars plan. The announcement was made by British Defense Minister Michael Heseltine at a recent meeting of NATO defense ministers in Brussels. Heseltine had dropped a demand that British companies be guaranteed a minimum of \$1.5 billion, opting instead for the lucrative though unspecified contracts the Administration has been dangling in front of European noses.

The Reagan Administration is now hoping that West Germany, whose government is split over the issue, and Italy will follow the English in joining Star Wars. Both those governments, like their English counterpart, seem much less interested in the concept of Star Wars than in the amount of income the controversial project could bring to contractors. The Administration has played up to this aspect, since opposition to the idea of Star Wars is running high throughout Europe.

## Netherlands Cruise Invades Dutch

As expected the Dutch government of Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers has agreed to allow the United States to base 48 cruise missiles in the Netherlands by 1988. The decision follows six years of debates, demonstrations, civil disobedience and political maneuvering.

The Dutch remain highly split on the issue, with the opposition Labor Party, which opposes the deployment, gaining at the polls. Elections are only six months away, so the Lubbers government is seeking to complete formal and binding legislation on the deployment by early March, thereby sweeping the issue under the rug.



## Greece Broken Promises

Many Greeks are angry over their government's refusal to carry out its promises to end Greece's participation in NATO and to remove U.S. military bases from Greek territory, and that anger is beginning to take form. In mid-November, 100,000 Greeks took to the streets to demonstrate, and some threw fire bombs and clashed with police. At the same time, a group numbering about 1,000 and consisting mainly of students took over a part of the most prestigious university in Greece, Athens Polytechnic. A fifteen-year-old student protester was shot and killed by police.

The government of Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou is facing its worst crisis since being elected in 1981. Two Cabinet officials, the Interior Minister and his deputy, submitted their resignations the day following the demonstration, but Papandreou has asked them to remain. Papandreou is blaming the killing on the police and certain security officials, and he has suspended the country's top three police chiefs.

## Spain U.S. Bases Not Welcome

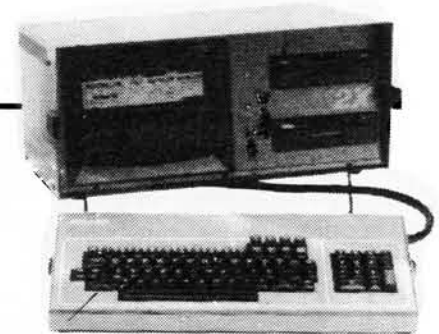
Several of Spain's biggest cities were the scene of recent large-scale protests calling for that country's withdrawal from NATO, along with the removal of U.S. military bases from Spanish soil. The total number of demonstrators at the nonviolent rallies was highly disputed, ranging from the organizers' high estimate of 500,000 to the police's low count of 15,000. Newspapers reported a total of 100,000 demonstrators. One observation that everyone seemed to agree on was that anti-American slogans and effigies of President Reagan abounded.

The protesters, who rallied in Madrid, Barcelona, Seville, Bilbao and other cities, demanded that their government go through with a promised review of its role in NATO.

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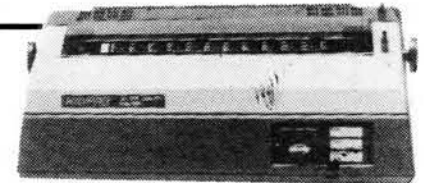
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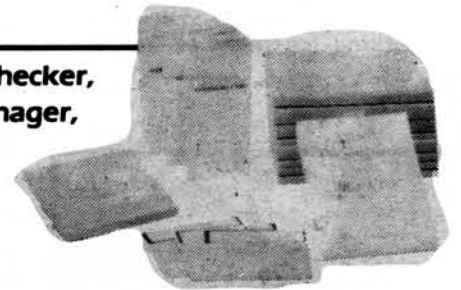
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## Sixth Annual National Conference

# Freeze Campaign Gears Up For 1986

by Donna Teuteberg and Terry Teitelbaum

"Meet the Challenge—Make History" was the message of the Sixth Annual National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Conference. Nearly 700 grassroots freeze activists from 40 states met to share skills and information and develop the 1986 strategy for the Freeze Campaign.

The Conference, held on November 15-17 in Chicago, hosted several prominent speakers including the Reverend Jesse Jackson; Representative Les AuCoin (D-OR), Ed Markey (D-MA), and Pat Schroeder (D-CO); and National Freeze Director Jane Gruenebaum.

Dr. Gruenebaum welcomed the conference participants, noting the large attendance of delegates as evidence of the strength of the freeze movement.

The Reverend Jesse Jackson stressed the importance of including social justice as a key element in working for peace. Jackson encouraged activists to expand their agenda and strengthen the movement by incorporating demands for economic equality into our work and the nuclear arms race. He wants to see all the colors of the rainbow included in the peace movement. He said, "We need to darken the face of the peace movement and whiten the face of the poverty movement." He believes that people of all colors working together will make a change.

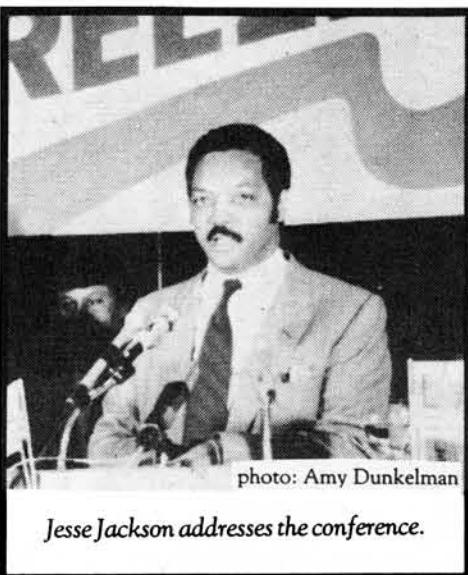


photo: Amy Dunkelman

Jesse Jackson addresses the conference.

Representative AuCoin, one of the freeze movement's most ardent supporters in Congress, believes a more narrow focus is the way to be effective. He acknowledged the importance of attracting diverse constituencies to the freeze, yet as a congressman he knows that specific, single issue legislation will be the most likely to be passed by his colleagues.

Representative Pat Schroeder agreed with Mr. AuCoin. Ms. Schroeder has a consistent, strong record on taking leadership on arms control and anti-war legislation. She believes the most effective way to slow the Reagan Administration's plans to escalate the arms race to

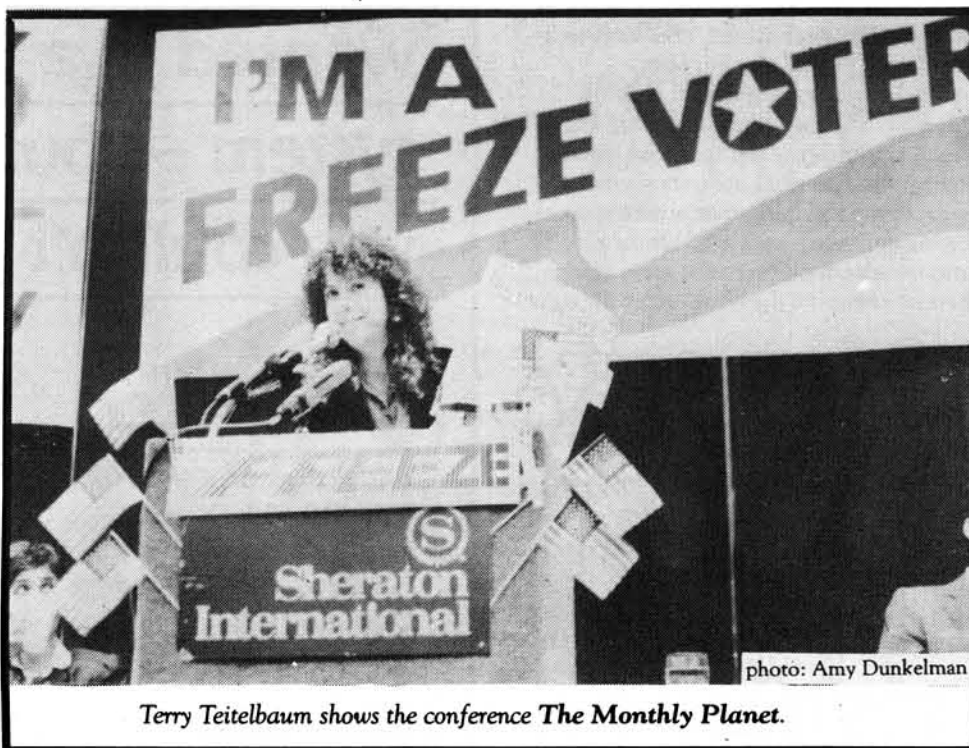


photo: Amy Dunkelman

Terry Teitelbaum shows the conference *The Monthly Planet*.

precedented levels is to cut off funds for nuclear testing. She related her experience in Congress during the Vietnam War. Congress sent unheeded communiques and recommendations to the White House pleading and demanding a withdrawal of troops from Vietnam. It wasn't until representatives had the bright idea of cutting off funds for the war that the administration was forced to do what the people wanted—end the war.

Representative Schroeder has introduced the Simultaneous Nuclear Test Ban Act in the House of Representatives. The Act (HR 344), requires a cutoff of funds authorized for nuclear weapons tests as long as the Soviets are not testing. The Soviet Union stopped nuclear testing on August 6, 1985. The Soviet moratorium will continue until January 1 or longer, if the U.S. also stops testing. Ms. Schroeder's bill, if passed, will be an effective way to take advantage of the Soviet challenge to stop nuclear testing and eventually, the entire arms race. She encouraged freeze activists to lobby their representatives to sign-on as sponsors of the bill.

The speakers' words of wisdom and inspiration helped the delegates get down to the real work at hand—hammering out the goals and strategies for the next year and beyond. As the activists packed into the grand ballroom for the plenary sessions, there was a feeling of high expectations for a productive conference. After heated and sometimes frustrating debates, the 700 participants approved a package of campaign priorities for 1986.

The campaign, in its decisions, seemed to follow the advice given by Representatives AuCoin and Schroeder. The legislative and educational focus of freeze work for next year will be on achieving a comprehensive test ban. The ultimate goal of an encompassing freeze on the testing of nuclear

weapons, as well as on testing, will remain as the essential first step to nuclear disarmament. For 1986, however, the campaign will bite off a smaller piece of the freeze goal—a test ban.

A nuclear test ban enjoys wide international support as an achievable and sensible step. The Soviets have stopped testing. And the Test Ban Act (HR 3442) is believed to stand a greater chance of being passed by Congress than the more widely Comprehensive Freeze Bill.

### *The legislative and educational focus of freeze work for the next year will be on achieving a comprehensive test ban.*

The second overall priority for the campaign in 1986 will be to stop (or at least slow) development of Star Wars. This fits well with the number one priority of stopping testing—a test ban would effectively curtail necessary tests on Star Wars components to make it a viable system. The campaign will work to educate the public about the offensive nature of Star Wars and present the freeze as an alternative to the Reagan Administration's fantasy for a space-based defense against nuclear missiles. In Congress, the freeze campaign will push for the adoption of the strongest legislation to stop the development of space weapons.

To help activists implement the strategy decisions and continue their ongoing organization building, there were numerous (some said too numerous) skills and issue workshops. To further this process of strengthening the grassroots, the freeze campaign will begin a national membership drive. National membership development, freeze leaders believe, will help

transfer the skills and techniques from well organized chapters to underdeveloped areas. A grassroots activist from an area with a strong membership program will be hired to launch pilot programs in states with no membership systems.

Throughout the entire conference, amidst the speakers, plenary sessions and workshops, thoughts of the Geneva Summit pervaded the atmosphere. Many delegates came to the conference immediately after working on carefully planned campaigns to raise public awareness and expectations about the possibilities the summit held for an agreement leading to an end to the arms race. Over one million signatures were gathered nationwide by The Freeze and SANE on a petition calling for a halt to the arms race while the arms talks proceed.

Jesse Jackson, leading a rally of freeze delegates to send the contingent of freeze and SANE representatives to Geneva bearing the petitions, said that the desire to end the arms race is a desire of the majority. He said that President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev "are the two minority people speaking for the world." He expressed hope that the two leaders would do more than "get acquainted. People get acquainted on the bus everyday," he said.

Jackson joined Dr. Gruenebaum, SANE Director David Cortright, and International Freeze Coordinator Melinda Fine in the mission to deliver the one

million signatures to Reagan and Gorbachev.

As the conference closed, there was little doubt among those present that the road ahead would not be smooth. Yet the process of defining goals as well as meeting with people working for the same ideals from all over the country was a nourishing one. The commitment of the delegates to work things out during the sometimes frustrating plenary sessions was an encouraging example of the best way to work for peace. Bolstered by the positive aspects of the conference and not discouraged by the tedious decision-making process nor the heavy issue at hand, the delegates left for the grassroots prepared to "meet the challenge" and "make history."

Donna Teuteberg and Terry Teitelbaum, Chairperson and Executive Director of the Santa Cruz County Nuclear Weapons Freeze, respectively, were part of the Santa Cruz delegation to the National Conference.



# Legislative Update by Shelly D'Amour

by Shelly D'Amour

## SUMMARY

The House has completed its action on the 1986 Department of Defense Appropriations bill, setting a spending limit of \$292.6 billion for all military programs—a full \$10 billion less than the Reagan Administration had requested. The Senate is continuing discussion on its own version of the Appropriations bill, which is expected to come to a vote on the Senate floor sometime during the first week in December. If the House and Senate versions of the Appropriations bill differ widely, then a committee comprised of selected members of the House and Senate armed services committees will meet to hammer out a compromise, and present a unified version of the bill.

In general, 1985 has been something of a washout for arms control advocates. One would think that the arms control talks between the superpowers and the Reagan-Gorbachev summit should have served as strong impetus for keeping military spending under tight control, but this was not the case. House Democrats deserve special recognition this year for initially putting up a fairly convincing verbal resistance to specific weapons systems—and then backing down to Administration pressure on almost every item. However, they managed to hold the line on a few (and I stress "few") items during the Appropriations debates, and put one of two temporary blocks in the path of the military juggernaut. What follows is a summary of specific items:

## STAR WARS

The House has agreed to appropriate \$2.5 billion for this program. In the Senate, Senator Dale Bumpers of Arkansas is expected to offer an amendment to reduce funding from the current Senate proposal of \$3 billion to \$2.1 billion.

## ANTI-SATELLITE WEAPONS (ASAT)

As expected, the House has restored a one year moratorium on the testing of anti-satellite weapons. No amendments or restrictions to this program are expected in the Senate.

## CHEMICAL WEAPONS

The House did not approve any additional funding for chemical weapons. The Senate approved the full \$163.6 million requested by the Administration for the production of binary nerve gas.

## MX

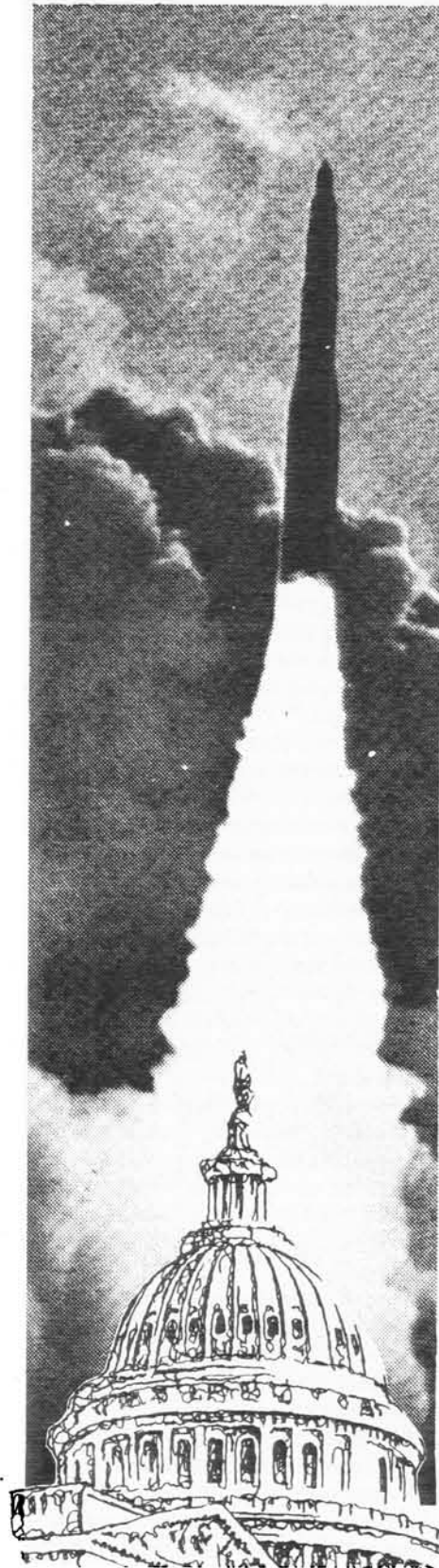
Initially, the House voted 211-208 to cut \$1.7 billion for the production of 12 additional missiles. In a surprising turn of events, due to intense and immediate White House lobbying, the House reversed itself two hours later, and on a vote of 214 to 210, voted to repeal the amendment it had just passed, restoring funding for the full 50 missiles. The Senate has already approved funding for the 50 missiles.

## CENTRAL AMERICA

A House foreign affairs subcommittee has placed a temporary hold on the Administration's request to reprogram \$4.5 million in funds for police aid and training for El Salvador. According to provisions set forth in the 1985 Foreign Aid Appropriations Bill, a separate congressional hearing must be held for any new funding programs designed to aid police and security forces in the governments of El Salvador or Honduras. The Administration must certify that police forces have made significant progress in eliminating torture and the detention of political prisoners. The chair of this subcommittee, Representative Michael Barnes (D-MD), is being urged to initiate Oversight hearings, which would call into question the Administration's certification of human rights progress.

In a separate issue, hearings on the Administration's request for a \$54 million regional "counter terrorism" program for Central America have concluded. Members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee heard public witnesses give testimony on human rights abuses in Central America. The Senate committee would like to complete its mark-up of the bill, and schedule a vote during the first week in December. Senator Alan Cranston of California sits on that committee.

Finally, on November 19, the House passed the Intelligence Authorization Bill, 384-21. The bill provides \$27 million in "humanitarian aid" to the Nicaraguan Contras, and would also provide for trucks and aircraft to the Contra unless they were being used for military purposes (come on—non military aircraft?!). The bill also allows intelligence sharing and authorizes the CIA to transfer certain communications equipment and provide communications training. The bill is now awaiting final approval in the Senate.



## LEGISLATION COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN (HR 3442)

Introduced by Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder (D-CO), HR 3442 would require the President or Congress to implement a moratorium on all testing of nuclear weapons, beginning no later than January 1986, provided that the Soviets continue their current testing moratorium. The bill currently has 44 sponsors.

A vote this year would be unlikely. However, Representative Schroeder intends to reintroduce and update the bill after the congressional Christmas recess. A bilateral ban on nuclear testing would be a serious first step toward enacting a freeze. The National Freeze Conference last month made the Comprehensive Test Ban its number one legislative priority for 1986.

## Contact Your Representatives Today!

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

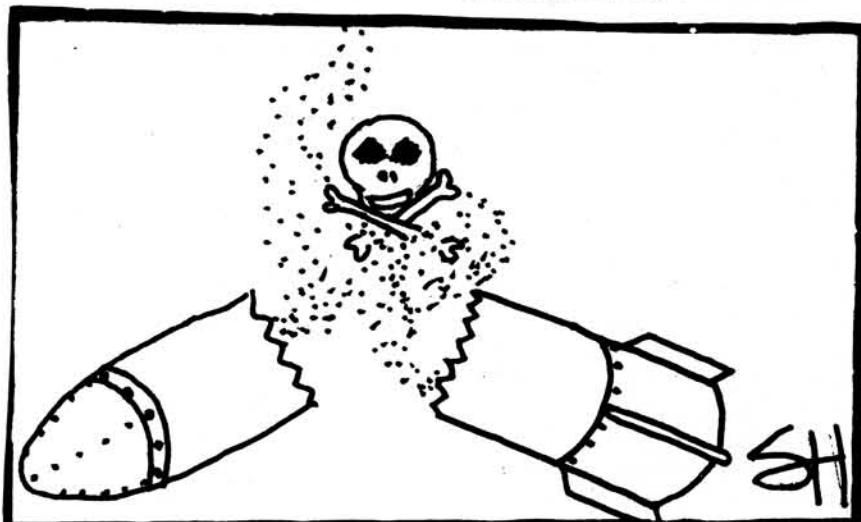
Witness for Peace Hotline  
(religious activists in Nicaragua)  
202-332-9230

## 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.





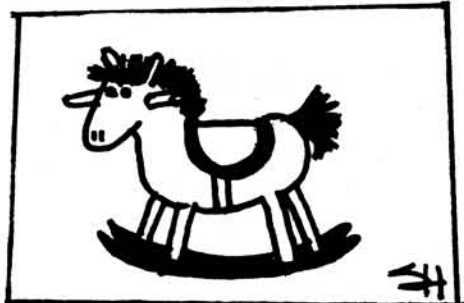
## War and Peace Toys

If you have children on your holiday shopping list and are concerned about world peace, here are some statistics to consider.

The National Coalition on Television (NCTV), which is sponsoring a War Toys Boycott this holiday season, has located six different studies which show that children who play with war toys and toy guns have an increase in violent and anti-social behavior. There has been a dramatic 350 percent increase in war toy sales in the past two years. War toys are part of a \$1 billion a year industry, including five of the six most popular toys in America: HeMan, Transformers, G.I. Joe, Gobots, and Voltron. This fall there were at least nine Monday through Friday cartoon shows designed solely to promote the sales of war toys. The average U.S. child will view nearly 800 ads and 250 episodes of war cartoons this year, all designed to sell war toys. This is equivalent to 22 days of classroom instruction in war thinking, according to NCTV.

NCTV is researching the impact on children of playing with G.I. Joe, HeMan and toy guns as compared with Cabbage Patch, Sesame Street, and Fraggle Rock toys. The coalition believes that war toys and violent cartoons are teaching pro-war attitudes to America's children and children around the world.

For a listing of realistic and fantasy war toys that are being sold in toy stores, contact NCTV: P.O. Box 12038, 1530 P Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. For information on alternatives to war toys, contact the Santa Cruz Freeze at (408) 458-9975.



## An Eloquent Gesture

Researchers on university campuses are questioning their role in developing Star Wars as a result of the campaign to get scientists and engineers to sign a pledge against doing such work. Those who sign pledge that they will neither apply for nor accept funds for Star Wars research.

Since last summer, over 1500 engineers, physicists and chemists on 70 campuses have signed the petition which points out that Star Wars is technologically infeasible, will jeopardize existing arms control agreements, is harmful to the open nature of academic research and will promote a strategy "likely to trigger a nuclear holocaust."

It is unclear what real impact the petition campaign will have on hindering Star Wars research for which \$1.3 billion has been earmarked. Vera Kistiakowsky, a physicist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) commented, "The Pentagon can always find scientists to do their work." But, she added, "If they can only get second-rate scientists, then they will get second-rate research."

Kosta Tsipis, a nuclear weapons expert who teaches at MIT, believes that the political impact is just as important as its substantial impact. He said, "As a gesture it is quite eloquent and effective. It shows the public that many people who are knowledgeable about these issues feel that [Star Wars] is technically infeasible and undesirable."

John Issacs, legislative director of Council for a Livable World, claims the scientists' efforts "will have the most critical impact on Congress since the ABM debate in the 1960's."

## Stay The Course

A recent national poll conducted by the Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND), has produced thought-provoking results on changing and conflicting views on nuclear policy. Fifty-eight percent of those polled said they would trust the Reagan Administration's information in a nuclear debate as opposed to 22 percent who would trust freeze experts. Yet, 46 percent said they believed the president's policies are based on fighting and winning a nuclear war and 58 percent agreed that "Reagan is actually trying to gain superiority over the Russians."

The survey also found:

Sixty-one percent of those polled consider themselves "very patriotic" and 68 percent felt that protesting Reagan's nuclear policies is patriotic.

When asked if there were a particular period when they felt the possibility of a nuclear war erupting was stronger than any other time, the public ranked the Cuban Missile Crisis first, the "President Reagan period" second, and "After the 'nuclear movie' (presumably *The Day After*) tenth.

Only 29 percent thought that the Geneva summit would be "very helpful" in reducing the chances of nuclear war and improving our relations with the Soviet Union. But 35 percent thought a mutual ban on nuclear weapons testing would be "very helpful."

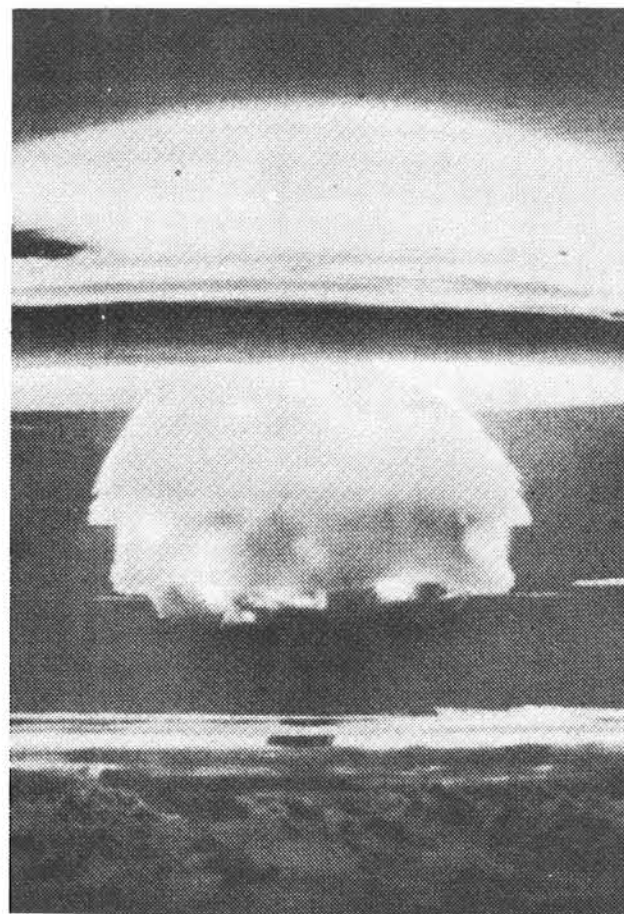
Sixty-four percent of those polled were not aware of the 1972 Antiballistic Missile (ABM) treaty; thirty-four percent had never heard of the Catholic Bishops' pastoral letter on nuclear war.

Thirty-six percent believe that the U.S. should take a dramatic new step to reverse the arms race, even if there's a risk that the Soviets will mistake it as a sign of weakness. But 56 percent believe that we should continue with the same policies we've been following in recent years.

## A Defensive Attack Submarine

Describing the nuclear-powered attack submarine *Pittsburgh* as "truly a defensive weapon," Pennsylvania Governor Richard Thornburgh dedicated the vessel at a ceremony in Groton, Connecticut last month. The 7,000-ton submarine was commissioned at the Groton base just up the Thames River from the Electric Boat shipyard where it was built.

Despite the simultaneous protest demonstrations in both Groton and Pittsburgh, Thornburgh claimed, "While the *Pittsburgh's* three predecessors have distinguished themselves in war, it is my hope that the newest *Pittsburgh* will distinguish itself in peace."



## Hot Flashes

by Terry Teitelbaum and Ann Maxcy

### "Thought Police"

University professors and many students are becoming alarmed over the activities of a new right-wing group called Accuracy in Academia, Inc. (AIA). AIA was founded by Reed Irvine, leader of Accuracy in Media, the influential watchdog of "liberal bias" in media.

The organization uses several hundred volunteer monitors on 85 campuses, including Harvard, Yale, and the University of Chicago. These monitors enroll primarily in peace studies and nuclear policy courses where AIA believes professors may be "propagandizing for disarmament."

According to the group's president Malcolm Lawrence, AIA aims to "raise the professional academic standards of objective truth." When monitors report what they consider factual inaccuracies or unsubstantiated opinions, AIA checks with its own expert sources. Among these expert sources on nuclear policy questions are High Frontier, the organization promoting Star Wars; the White House; and government agencies. If an "inaccuracy" is confirmed, AIA may publicize it through press conferences and its own newsletter.

Many educators view the group's activities as a threat to academic freedom. Howard Zinn, a Boston University professor and historian, said, "They are thought police who don't want the world to change." Iris Molotsky, public information officer at the American Association of University Professors in Washington, D.C., reports that "phones have been ringing off the hook with faculty

and students wanting more information. We believe Accuracy in Academia can have a chilling effect on the whole intellectual atmosphere in the classroom."

### House Schizo On MX

The House of Representatives has funded 12 new MX missiles. Hours after initially voting to eliminate money for the missiles, the House approved their construction and a \$276 billion military spending bill. The original vote on the missiles was 211 to 208, but the Administration and Republican leaders managed to gain enough votes for a reversal on the second vote. The spending bill also includes an 80% increase in Star Wars research money, providing \$2.5 billion to the program.

The bill limits the number of MX missiles to 50, and Congress has already funded 42 weapons in the past. The 12 new missiles will bring the total to 54, providing four missiles for spares and testing. The Air Force tested its tenth missile on November 12.

The MX vote reflects the current tension between pressure for a lower deficit (as evidenced by the Gramm-Rudman bill, which calls for budget-balancing) and the quest for more military spending. Representative Leon Panetta described the situation, "You can't argue for Gramm-Rudman and for an increase in defense—the two don't fit."

Adding in other military appropriations bills, the total Pentagon budget is now \$292 billion for the 1986 fiscal year. House Senate conferences could increase that to \$302 billion, which is the ceiling set by previous legislation.



## Lucas Strikes Back

Remember when Star Wars was just a fun movie and not a frightening prophecy? Recently, Star Wars director George Lucas expressed that he would prefer "his" title not be used to describe the Reagan Administration's plan for a space-based defense system, which many critics see as more of a fantasy than the Lucas film.

Lucas went as far as suing High Frontier, a private group that has been running a well-financed campaign to promote the so-called defense system. The lawsuit, which was thrown out of federal court last month, sought a restraining order to prohibit further broadcast of commercials mentioning the name.

Larry Speakes, spokesperson for the Reagan Administration, has offered a substitute term—"Star Shield." The administration was never crazy about the Star Wars label and sees "Star Shield" as more descriptive of the program it is selling as a shield against incoming missiles and a way to make nuclear weapons obsolete. Critics of the system, however, actually find Star Wars the more accurate term since they claim the system would contribute to a U.S. first strike capability and has many offensive components. It looks like the term Star Wars is a name that will stick.



## "A Sucker Deal"?

The United States and the Soviet Union have been arguing over the meanings of the terms of the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. In October the Pentagon and the State Department legal advisors formed a new interpretation of the treaty, claiming that it allows testing and development of space-based missile defenses. Alarmed NATO allies forced the Administration to back down on this blatant twisting of the treaty to support the Star Wars program. Article Five, Section 1 of the treaty states, "Each party undertakes not to develop, test or deploy ABM systems or components which are sea-based, air-based, space-based, or mobile land-based." The NATO allies are afraid that the Reagan Administration will continually try to change the meaning of the ABM treaty to fit its military policy.

The Reagan Administration also charged that development of a Soviet radar station near Krasnoyarsk in Siberia violates the ABM treaty because it will be able to track down and destroy incoming warheads and the radar station could become the core of a defensive land-based missile system. The ABM treaty allows only early warning radar systems, not defensive missile systems. The Soviets responded that the radar station cannot track land-based missiles because its

radar antennas are angled only to track in space.

In October the Russians made a surprising offer—they would stop construction on the Krasnoyarsk station if the U.S. would stop modification of its Flyingdales (Great Britain) and Thule (Greenland) radar stations. They contend that the remodeling violates the ABM treaty because it does not allow the upgrading of existing radar stations. The British reportedly have delayed remodeling Flyingdales because of concern that it might violate the treaty.

What was the United States' reaction to the Soviet offer? One State Department official said, "We have neither a positive nor a negative attitude overall to the Soviet proposal. By offering the trade, they admit they might be in violation, but there is no decision as of now on how to respond except to probe informally." From the Pentagon: "It is a non-offer, a sucker deal."

## Are Soviets Cheating?

A group of scientists preparing a report for the Pentagon has challenged the Reagan Administration's grounds for accusations that the Soviets have violated the Threshold Test Ban Treaty. The Reagan Administration said it was "likely" that the Soviet Union's underground nuclear tests were bigger than the 150 kiloton limit set by the treaty. The new study recommends that the Government change its estimates by about 20%.

The scientists, chosen by the Pentagon, studied the geologic effects of the nuclear tests and found that the differences in the U.S. and Soviet test sites had an influence on the blast readings. The Soviet site is an older and more stable geologic area, while the Nevada site is younger, and the rocks beneath it are probably still partly molten. The Soviet site would give higher readings because the area is less yielding.

Scientists measured the seismological waves resulting from the Soviet nuclear test by using a site in Ontario which they believe is comparable to the Soviet site. They measured the results from U.S. nuclear tests that affected the site. They also measured the surface waves that occurred in the upper layer of the earth after the nuclear blast, and they used results from a 1965 nuclear explosion that the Soviets used when they built a dam in the area of the test site. Based on all of this information, the scientists recommended that the U.S. recalculate its estimates of the Soviet test. "Based on the best estimate, we certainly cannot reject the hypothesis that the Soviets are complying" with the treaty, said one unidentified expert who reviewed the report.

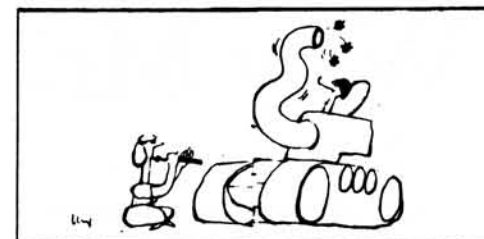
Ironically, the U.S. has not ratified the Threshold Test Ban Treaty. The Administration says that the treaty's conditions could only be verified with on-site measurements of the tests. Thomas H. Jordan, a geophysicist from MIT and the chairman of the report team, said "It appears to me right now that we can verify the Threshold Test Ban Treaty with existing national technical means." The Reagan Administration's budget called for \$17 billion for strategic weapon development in 1985, and only \$14 million for verification of nuclear test ban treaties.

## Cheater Repents

A senior reactor operator at the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant who was fired for cheating on three licensing exams is now training other operators. Gregory Hitz completed part of a take-home test for his supervisor, James Floyd, and allowed co-workers to copy his answers, according to a Nuclear Regulatory Commission investigation.

The investigator appointed by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) found in April 1982 that Hitz's "attitude toward his own guilt showed a total lack of respect for the NRC examination," and that "something stronger than dismissal will be required to convince him that the NRC licensing process is important." Although Floyd was convicted in Federal court of two counts of submitting false statements to the NRC and the Three Mile Island owners have been fined, Hitz was never indicted. He agreed to testify for the government in the Floyd trial.

Hitz now works for General Physics Corporation of Columbia, Maryland, supervising the department that trains operators for pressurized water reactors. Jay Whitney, Vice President of the company, defended hiring Hitz, saying that, "Because of his experience, he's done it (complied with NRC rules) with greater strength and fervor than people who haven't been through what he's been through." The NRC is also investigating General Physics' training manuals to see if they suggest practices that could mislead the NRC during inspections of its facilities.



## No End In Sight

The products of the Reagan Administration's 4-year push for more modern strategic nuclear forces are coming on the scene. The first B-1 bomber was delivered in June and three more should be ready by year-end. The military is training instructors for the B-1 and will begin to train crews in March.

The military is also training crews for the MX. The first MX missiles will be ready in June and the Air Force is pulling Minutemen missiles from their silos and enlarging the silos to house the MX missiles.

Cruise missile development continued and five B-52 squadrons (120 bombers) are now armed with cruise missiles. These missiles fly at low altitudes to avoid radar. Stealth technology will be a part of the new cruise missiles in production.

A \$20 billion communications system for the president to use to contact nuclear forces is now about halfway finished.

In contrast to all these developments, 54 Titan missiles are being removed from their silos, the silos destroyed, and the land sold. This is part of the provisions of the first Strategic Arms Limitation Agreement (SALT I) with the Soviet Union. The project will be complete in 1987.

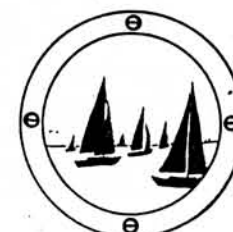
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# Why Mr. Reagan Wants Star Wars

by Michael Parenti

Why are the criticisms raised concerning the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) or "Star Wars" not heeded by President Reagan and other Star Warriors? It is because they are largely irrelevant to the Administration's goals and priorities. Those opposed to SDI are concerned about detente, lower defense budgets, arms limitations, and the like. And those goals simply are not part of the Reagan agenda.

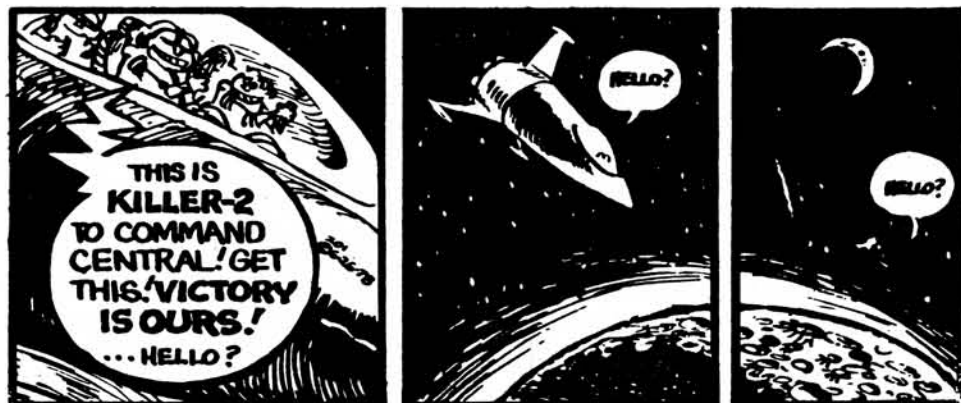
Critics of Star Wars note that the program will be enormously expensive, possibly as much as three trillion dollars. But since when have staggering defense bills deterred the Reagan Administration? The president has expended more on the military in his five years than all the previous presidents combined since 1945, producing budget deficits three and four times larger than President Carter's, and doubling the national debt, from \$900 billion to over \$1.8 trillion.

Unlike government spending in the nonprofit, human services sector of the economy, defense contracts are similar to any other contract business gets—except that they are much more lucrative, with their noncompetitive bids, guaranteed markets, cost overruns, and hidden subsidies. For a sluggish, recessive economy, Star Wars will provide a whole new area of investment and capital expansion, far greater than the railroads, the New Deal public works, the atom bomb project, and the federal highway system combined. For those who profit greatly from such ventures, whose interests are so faithfully defended by Mr. Reagan, the enormous expense of Star Wars is one of its irresistible attractions. There

sent our way in a Soviet first strike get through, that would be sufficient to destroy our society. President Reagan himself let the cat out of the bag some months ago when he said the SDI "doesn't have to work perfectly." It is meant to undermine the Soviet retaliatory, deterrence capacity, to be brandished as yet another component of the U.S. first-strike arsenal. The goal is to achieve a nuclear superiority that would enable the United States to extract compliance and subordination from the USSR on global and Third World matters.

Critics of Star Wars point out that the project would violate the ABM treaty, make a negotiated settlement impossible, and escalate the arms race. All true, but all beside the point. The White House has never been too concerned about the ABM treaty. Nor has it ever been keen about negotiating with Moscow, having belatedly and grudgingly agreed to do so only in response to pressures at home and abroad—all the while predicting that nothing much can come of the Geneva talks. Soviet overtures, be they the proposed cuts in bombers, strategic missiles and conventional forces, or a unilateral moratorium on anti-satellite weapons tests and nuclear tests, have been brushed off by Washington as propaganda bluffs—but bluffs which the President dares not call. And as for escalating the arms race: one of this Administration's primary goals has been expansion of the U.S. military arsenal, something that can best be done in an endless arms race.

Those who oppose Star Wars should persist in that struggle, directing their energies to public opinion and Congress. But they must not think that Mr. Reagan and his associates are confused. They



reprinted from the San Francisco Freeze Newsletter

## The White House has never been too concerned about the ABM treaty.

are big bucks to be made in preparing the heavens for war.

Opponents of SDI argue that the program won't work; its technical problems are insurmountable. But technical failure is not a very weighty consideration. For the defense industry, getting there is all the fun, and nothing is lost in a long, expensive (but lucrative) trip that leads nowhere. Pentagon history is strewn with examples of multibillion dollar weapon systems that have performed miserably—or not at all. Performance failure itself often serves as an excuse for still greater spending efforts.

While the Administration asserts that SDI is intended as a defensive shield against a Soviet first strike, many scientists have observed that Star Wars make sense only as a back-up shield to a U.S. first strike, designed to ward off the remaining Soviet missiles that might attempt a feeble retaliation. These critics note that there is no way Star Wars can be technologically faultless; even if only five percent of the many thousand missiles

know what they are doing. As the old joke goes: they may be crazy but they're not stupid.

Michael Parenti, a contributor to *IPS Features*, is a Visiting Professor of Political Science at Brooklyn College and the author of *Inventing Reality and Democracy for the Few*.



## Freeze Terrorists

by Terry Teitelbaum

"Most periods of domestic terrorism are ushered in by periods of social instability. The locus of that instability is circulating around the nuclear freeze movement . . .," says James R. Davis, proprietor of DanCor Ltd. DanCor is a consulting firm which leads workshops for police officers designed to teach them how to combat terrorism. According to *The Nation*, however, these "terrorism seminar briefings" deal less with actual acts of terrorism—such as abortion clinic bombings—than with providing information on peace groups, opponents of nuclear power and other protesters of U.S. foreign policy.

Some of the skills taught at the seminars include infiltrating protest movements, gathering intelligence and controlling political rallies. The information is treated with a heavy dose of anti-Communism and descriptions of alleged foreign links to domestic protest movements.

Davis, who runs the workshops, started his career as an instructor at the California Specialized Training Institute (C.S.T.I.), a state agency founded by then Governor Ronald Reagan and his assistant, Edwin Meese. C.S.T.I., where the SWAT team concept originated, taught police and National Guard officers from all over the country tactics to be used against fictional left-wing insurgents and skills needed for spying on activists.

Davis says his workshops teach the police that participants in movements like the Nuclear Weapons Freeze are well-meaning but that they are manipulated by Soviet front groups which "identify and target organizations that are peaceful, with the intent to dupe, fool and alter" them. He claims, "They're

interested in heading toward civil disorder."

Many community leaders, when they discover the right wing politics behind Davis' workshops, cancel scheduled programs. In the spring of 1983 his terrorism seminar was to be part of a police education course at Harrisburg Area Community College in Pennsylvania. It was promptly cancelled when Mayor Stephen Reed was alerted by his assistant Joe Sweeney that "It was essentially a program to provide police with an array of infiltration skills . . . It was clearly coming from an extreme right-wing perspective." Anti-nuclear groups are particularly strong and well supported in Harrisburg which is very near Three Mile Island Nuclear Power Plant, the site of the worst nuclear plant accident in history.

Police officers in Massachusetts also refused the training. Judith Panora, Massachusetts director of police training said, "[Davis'] materials seemed to indicate that anyone could be a terrorist. I felt it created an inappropriate sense of paranoia."

Bruce Shapiro, writing in *The Nation*, warns against treating Davis' seminars as a fringe or extremist program. He says "[Davis'] views on political dissent dovetail with the Reagan-Meese agenda." Also, he "is providing police departments with . . . a misleading picture of protest movements for often naive and ill-informed police officers."

Shapiro notes that Davis and his clients make no bones about their views on protest groups and their advocacy of spying on them. He says, in final warning, "Davis and his clients know that post-Watergate, post Cointelpro civil liberties consensus is shattered and that they have a friend in the White House."



# New York Homeporting Battle

by Terry Teitelbaum

New York City residents favoring a nuclear-free harbor were stopped in their tracks in an attempt to bring the issue before the voters. The Mobilization for Survival collected the requisite number of signatures to qualify their referendum for the city ballot. The referendum proposed a charter amendment which would prohibit the Navy from proceeding with plans to "homeport" nuclear equipped battleships in Staten Island harbor. Their measure, however, was removed from the ballot after New York's highest court ruled that it violated state law.

The anti-nuclear group Mobilization for Survival collected 111,954 signatures on petitions to put the homeporting referendum on the ballot. The city clerk's office ruled that the measure qualified for the ballot. However, before the organization could proceed with its campaign to gain voter approval of the measure, the Mobilization was challenged with a court battle to stop the referendum.

Homeporting opponents claim that Navy ships in New York's harbor would make the city more of a target in the event of war. New York Representative Ted Weiss said, "The same way New Yorkers would be horrified at putting a land-

based missile silo in New York, they ought to be horrified at putting a floating silo, in essence, in the middle of New York, in the middle of the most densely populated area in the country." Perhaps a more compelling argument against homeporting is based upon the danger of an accident involving the nuclear battleships. Michio Kaku, a physics professor at the City University of New York, said a fire or collision involving a ship carrying nuclear weapons could lead to a release of plutonium dust into the air. Professor Kaku warned that a release of plutonium from one missile could lead to an immediate panic and, over a period of 20 to 30 years, to 10,000 cases of lung cancer in the metropolitan area. Thomas DeLuca of the Mobilization for Survival said, "The bottom line is that the city already has enough problems. Why introduce something that's only going to cause more?"

New York Mayor Ed Koch led a drive to defeat the initiative before it could reach the voters. The mayor and other city and state officials opposing the referendum contend that the installation to accommodate the warships would create an economic boon for the city. The mayor also stressed that "New Yorkers enjoy the advantages of living in the United States" and "ought to be willing to assume some of the responsibilities of defending the U.S."

Therefore, when the New York State Court of Appeals ruled that the referendum violated state law and could not appear on the ballot the Mayor was pleased. Two lower courts had struck down the referendum primarily on constitutional grounds, finding that it would hinder Federal efforts to provide for defense. The Court of Appeals however, in a move which would make it difficult



for the Mobilization to appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, ruled that the referendum was in direct conflict with state law, ruling "there is no need to reach Federal constitutional questions."

DeLuca characterized the court's decision as "democracy denied." He said, "It has become very clear over the last few months that New Yorkers do not want nuclear missiles in New York. Some officials subverted the democratic process to win in the courthouse what they cannot win in the ballot box."

But DeLuca remains optimistic about the entire process. He said, "We sought a public debate and we got a public debate. We've got New Yorkers talking about missiles in their harbor. And we're going to do everything we can to keep them talking about it."

## Homeporting opponents claim that Navy ships in New York's harbor would make the city more of a target in the event of war.

Homeporting is the term for the Navy's plans under the Reagan Administration to increase the size of its fleet of ships from 479 to 600 by dispersing them around the country in so-called homeports. Homeporting has faced citizen opposition in San Francisco and Key West, Florida as well as in New York City.

based missile silo in New York, they ought to be horrified at putting a floating silo, in essence, in the middle of New York, in the middle of the most densely populated area in the country."

Perhaps a more compelling argument against homeporting is based upon the danger of an accident involving the nuclear battleships. Michio Kaku, a physics

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## Interview

# Peacemaking In The R

Recently a group of local clergy and lay church members were interviewed by *The Monthly Planet*. They discussed their own involvement in peacemaking, the direction and movement of their faith communities toward peace and justice issues, and their hopes for the future. Interviewed were: Darrell Yeaney, Director of Campus Ministry at UCSC; Diane Klein, chair of the Social Action Committee at Temple Beth El; David MacMillan, minister at the Unitarian Universalist Fellowship in Aptos; Laurie Bair, a parishioner of Holy Cross Church and a member of Peacemakers; Deaconess Betty Havey, Lutheran Campus Minister at UCSC; Sr. Ann Veronica Coyle, S.N.D., parish minister at Holy Eucharist Community in Corralitos, and active in community issues in Watsonville.

### WHAT MOTIVATES YOU TOWARD PEACEMAKING?

**YEANEY:** I grew up in a family that was in the church. Both my mother and father were active church members and I was raised in Presbyterian and Methodist churches. I did go through a personal experience when I was a middle-adolescent through which I became somehow personally aware, and adopted by personal choice a sense of the reality of the transcendent, of God, as a very real part of the universe, of my life, and that has been the controlling and centering factor in my life ever since.

In terms of issues, growing up in the church helped create a natural connection between my activist life and my faith life. In the last 30 years of professional ministry in the church, I had association with people who raised civil rights and peace issues. My folks were not issue-oriented in the sense that you think of it today. However, I received an inheritance from my family about issues of fairness, of just being fair. It was logical to me that when there was discrimination against blacks in America that it was clearly wrong, and it was right for the church to get involved. I continue to operate out of those basic concepts of my growing up, my inner convictions, and sense of spiritual direction.

**KLEIN:** I come from a point of view of the experience of a people. We Jews as a people, including those not affiliated religiously, have the experience of the Holocaust. That's where we come from. That gives us our sense of urgency in matters of peacemaking.

My parents were not activists. I learned to be an activist from my friends. My role models were all school leaders, so I

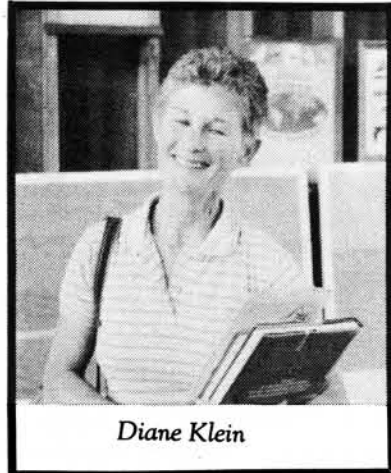


photo: Shelly D'Amour

Diane Klein

was very involved, particularly in high school and college. When I came to Santa Cruz, I just naturally drifted towards social action. I think I would have always felt that way, but the Holocaust adds something special to it and also my belief that we can't just read our religion, we can't just pray our religion. We have to live our metaphysical and philosophical beliefs. And so, social action, peacemaking—whatever the outgrowths of it are, are very definitely living what we believe.

I am currently involved in Sanctuary issues regarding Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees. There is a peoplehood basis and a spiritual basis for that. When I attended my first Sanctuary meeting, I had just finished reading a book called "Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed." It tells the story of a group of Protestants—Huguenots—in a small village in Southern France during World War II that lived out the commandment "thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and saved maybe a thousand or so lives, mostly Jewish, and put themselves on the line. I had the feeling that I had an obligation. That there were people in Europe who put their lives at stake to save the lives of Jews. Now these (Central American) refugees are in our community, and I have the obligation, so to speak, to return the favor—to try to do the same thing for somebody else.

**COYLE:** My first interaction with people that were actively involved in community issues was in high school. When I completed high school I entered the Sisters of Notre Dame. Since then, the direction of our community has definitely been one of social involvement and activism and I've been lucky to have been touched by that.

The thing that motivated me initially and continues to motivate me is that I have seen, firsthand, the effects of injustice. Having had that experience has always moved me to want to do something about it. I've been fortunate to have been able to spend time in Mexico with the poor, and to have had opportunities to be involved with people who are victims of injustice in our own society. That has definitely led me in the direction of being involved with justice and peace work and ministry.

**HAVEY:** I was not raised in the Church. I became interested in Christianity late in high school and early in college. Also, I was very early on exposed to Dietrich Bonhoeffer's writing: "The Cost of Discipleship," and was somehow emblazoned with the idea that there is something very important about being in relationship to this transcendent being that many of us call God. That bears some responsibility. As Bonhoeffer would say, grace is not cheap. It requires that we be open to the world around us, and the reality of the world, and that we put our faith to work. Also, my experience is that of being a woman in a church which, although it ordains women, is still, in my opinion, not as appreciative or as justice oriented about many issues, including women's issues, as it could be. And so, I take from that experience some knowledge, just a glimpse of what it's like for other people who are not part of the white, middle-class, male mainstream. And my own activism lately has been in the Sanctuary movement. This has grown out of my concern as a feminist with the militaristic posture which we, as North Americans, and our government, worship.

**BAIR:** I grew up Catholic—went to Catholic high school, and was taught by the Sisters of Notre Dame. The Jesuits arrived at our school right in the middle of Vatican II. At that point, the church was talking a lot about love. The church was going through all those changes, and the Jesuits were right on top of that. That put me into a certain frame. I arrived at UCSC in 1967, during the Vietnam era. I had never, ever, thought about anything—any military issues, feminist issues, etc. When I went to UCSC they were demonstrating against the war, and I had to think about what was going on over there.

Somewhere down the line, I had to take another look at my faith. Those of us who grew up in the Catholic Church, and who've stayed, have had to take another look at our faith, and I did. I thought, "If I'm really going to be Catholic, how can I be Catholic, and where does that come from?" I haven't done extensive reading of the Gospels, but I've read the Gospel enough to know what the Gospel says, and the Gospel says that we should love one another. My involvement in peacemaking has a lot to do with this commandment that we should love one another. If we're going to love one another, there are some things we have to do. I read an interesting quote, a 19th century agnostic read the Gospel and said "either these are not Christians or this is not the Gospel." This is what I feel like. I continue to be disappointed with a lot of what goes on in the Catholic Church—with the "people in the pews," because I don't think they read the Gospels. But I'm thrilled about what goes on in the higher levels—that they're talking as they are.

**CURRENTLY THERE IS MUCH CONTROVERSY OVER THE ISSUES OF CHURCH AND STATE, AND FAITH AND POLITICS. RELIGIOUS LEADERS SUCH AS**

**DESMOND TUTU AND JERRY FALWELL EXPOUND, AND GIVE LEADERSHIP TO, POLITICAL VIEWS THAT ARISE DIRECTLY OUT OF THEIR OWN FAITH EXPERIENCES, AND THIS IS UPSETTING TO SOME. WHAT IN YOUR OPINION IS THE APPROPRIATE RELATIONSHIP OF RELIGIOUS PEOPLE/INSTITUTIONS TO POLITICAL QUESTIONS? WHERE DO THE LIMITS AND BOUNDARIES LIE?**

**KLEIN:** There are moral issues that transcend politics, and we have an obligation to speak to them, but we must not tell other people how to vote. That's where so many of the problems come in—when religious bodies engage in fundraising for political candidates and inform their membership how to vote—that's where church and state lines have merged. I'm a reformed Jew, and I know that the governing body of Reformed Judaism has a social action branch, and they look to the Torah for guidance in being active in community moral, social and economic issues.

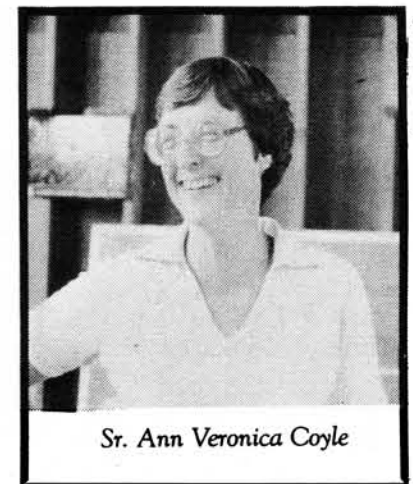


photo: Shelly D'Amour

Sr. Ann Veronica Coyle

**COYLE:** As a Christian, I try to imagine what Jesus would do today. When there is something that has to be decided I actually stop and say to myself, "what would Jesus do here? If Jesus were in Watsonville, and there were a strike, what would he do?" I try to help myself come to a position based on that. I think that Jesus would respond to many issues that some people would say are economic or political or somewhat out of the realm of the Church.

**YEANEY:** It seems to me that religion and politics have always been linked, and cannot be separated, and ought not to be. One's faith and one's action in the world are necessarily connected, and that means that religion and politics are related, necessarily so. Politics has to do with the exercises of power in a social setting. And if your faith has nothing to do with the way you exercise power in a social setting, then you're a schizophrenic individual. People who complain of others being involved in religion and politics are really saying "I don't agree with that point of view." On the other hand, church and state refers to more institutional relationships, and there you

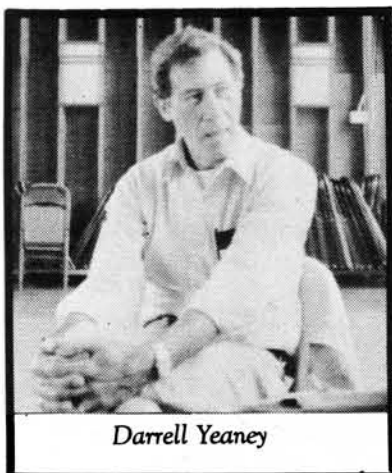


photo: Shelly D'Amour

Darrell Yeaney



# Religious Community

can begin to draw some distinctions. Other governments and other modern democracies besides this one have made that separation between institutions, and it seems to me wisely, based on the history of those institutions merging and influencing each other.

**BAIR:** I look to my church to speak up on the issues. I think it's important for the church to make statements, and to make them out loud; to guide us on what we ought to be thinking about, and why. I'm not sure I think specific solutions are the place for the church. If the church were louder about what direction our thinking needs to go in—e.g. if the (U.S. Catholic) Bishops really followed through on their Peace Pastoral, then all of us Catholics would have to become pacifists. I think that's the conclusion of the Pastoral. But I think they back away. If the institution were louder, and spoke more clearly, then the specific pieces of legislation would be more obvious. I look for that teaching, and then in the end, I want to make up my own mind.

**ALL OF YOU WHO ARE HERE TODAY ARE REPRESENTED BY DENOMINATIONAL BODIES OR CONFERENCES THAT HAVE MADE VERY STRONG STATEMENTS ON THE ARMS RACE, AND THE NEED FOR DISARMAMENT. IN YOUR OPINION, ARE THERE STATEMENTS GETTING TO THE EVERYDAY "PEOPLE IN THE PEWS?" ARE THEY HAVING ANY IMPACT? WHERE IS THE AVERAGE MEMBER OF THE CONGREGATION WITH REGARD TO PEACEMAKING?**

**YEANEY:** A few weeks ago local historian Page Smith talked about the relationship between religion and American society in history, and pointed out that throughout American history, religion has had a major, in fact the major influence in social change in this country. Today, he feels, it is religion and religious institutions that are leading the prophetic movement in peace. Not unions, not labor, not intellectual circles, not the university, but the church. That's an interesting observation—one which is also substantiated by national polls. It seems to me that the government today is reacting very much against that. It seems that at least the churches are trying very hard to be prophetic on a national level to convey

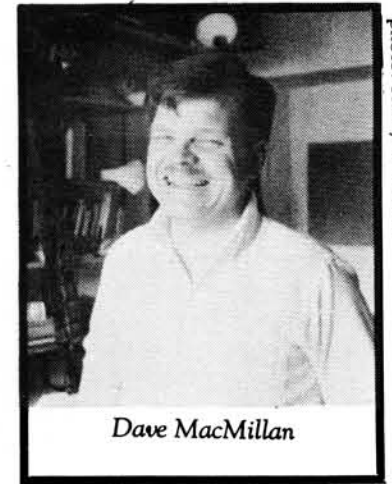
that message to the local levels in a variety of ways. Sometimes it gets there, and often it doesn't. On the local level it seems to me, church people are as much acculturated to the national political propaganda picture as anyone else. Local folks are sometimes attuned to hear the messages that come down from national bodies and sometimes they're very resistant to it, because they're conditioned by a whole other political and ideological apparatus . . . so I think the church is doing as good a job as any institution today about being prophetic about issues of peace. That gives me heart.

**KLEIN:** The leadership bodies within Judaism—the umbrella agencies, the social welfare organizations and the representation of Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox, have all made statements. I find that very interesting. Probably a majority of Jews would be pro-nuclear freeze. It doesn't mean that people are that more active because they're Jews. Many Jews are really active in the movement. But I think the same as everywhere else, there are people who nod their heads, but they don't get involved. I keep repeating the Holocaust, but really, for us it's looking back on this experience. A survivor of Auschwitz made this statement, and I guess it presents the Jewish point of view, "for us the Holocaust is not only an indelible memory of horror, it is a permanent warning. For we have seen the end of creation in the shadow of permanently flaming gas chambers where Eichmann's reality touched Dante's vision of hell. We have witnessed a pilot project for the destruction of humanity, the death rattle of the entire species on the eve of the atomic age, of thermonuclear proliferation. From where if not from us will come the warning that a new combination of brutality and technology can transform the planet into a crematorium."

**MACMILLAN:** It should be brought out that many of the people in the pews are not there for religious reasons, just as many people who are Americans are not here because they believe in democratic ideals. They're in church, and they're American, because they were born into that church and into this country. They continue to go there [church] because they're provided with a certain sense of security, familiarity, because they have access to a "better" class of people. I think a lot of people are in church for no more reason than that. They're in America because it's a safe place and it provides them with a sense of security. The fact that America has democratic ideals is superfluous. So, in that sense, to the extent that the church becomes a prophetic institution, it risks that part of the constituency that contributes financially, if not religiously, to their well being. So, in that sense I think the church risks its prominence in the culture to the extent that it challenges those secure things. I think the central justice issue of our era is the idolatry of the military security state. This is what we're seeing happen throughout Central America and here as well. I think it's a question whether we're

going to depend on our ultimate security in the military/industrial state, or are we going to worship God. And increasingly, in a church or in a nation, you can look at the budget and it will tell you a lot about where people's values are.

I think the new political right has risen to power hand in glove with the new religious right, which has served to provide the thinnest of moral veneer on policies which are nothing but avarice and self interest. I think we have to begin to call that for what it is, and not dance around the edges. In terms of separation of church and state, you could say I'm a born again liberal—a triumphalist liberal. I believe that my ideology has a right to triumph because it allows them to continue to exist, whereas their ideology does not allow me to continue to exist. Liberals have been too eager to give up, to be on morally equal stance with the new right. I think it's time we say that a pluralistic, tolerant, nonviolent perspective is morally superior, and that we intend to see that our country's constitution is upheld.



Dave MacMillan

photo: Shelly D'Amour

uity. I think there are connections that ongoing institutions like the church and synagogues can provide for us. I think what I've seen happen in this country recently, which is a sign of hope to me, is to watch religious institutions go from the traditional humanitarian forms of outreach—refugees, for example—to getting more involved in the issue of what is happening in Central America. They are asking—Why is the U.S. interfering? What's at stake in the region? What is U.S. foreign policy about? Why do we need to continue stockpiling nuclear weapons? All of those tangential but very linked, very, very important issues. To feel hope, to have faith, is a very special thing to have when we're talking about the kinds of issues that we are today. It would be very difficult to continue without it.

**KLEIN:** Bill and Pat Cane, who work with Sanctuary issues, dealt with this subject recently in their newsletter. They say "It wasn't the idea that you didn't have to complete a project to have hope. Because we rarely are able to see the project's completion. It was in making a beginning that hope lies, and hoping that somebody else will pick up where you leave off." I feel this community of Santa Cruz is open to change. We can make a difference here, so even if we can't do it on a national or an international level, we can have hope of making a change in our community. I guess Judaism, at least the Judaism I know, is existential really. The idea that man has a responsibility, and if you do believe in God, man is in partnership with God and has the responsibility to fulfill certain moral obligations. And so we have to have the hope to look to ourselves to get involved and be active and fulfill that promise.

**YEANEY:** There's no way of guaranteeing that the end will turn out well. But there's hope in the journey, excitement in the journey, and that's what turns me on as much as anything—without having to know that it will end up right, or that I will win, or whatever. The kind of guarantee—I sense it in this group—there's a kind of inner, unprovable, illogical, unscientific guarantee that what we are about it right, and somehow ultimately it will turn out. It's exciting, and it allows me to take risks, even when it's very likely that the risk will fail.

Shelly D'Amour is staff for the Resource Center for Nonviolence, where she works with local church congregations on issues of peace and justice.



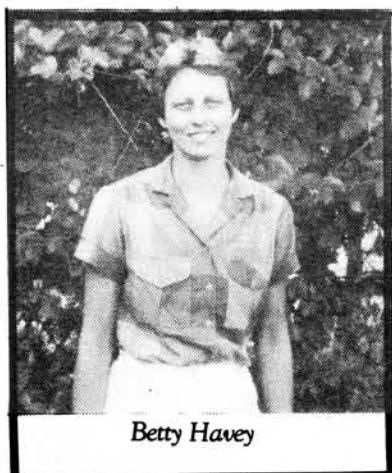
Laurie Bair

photo: Shelly D'Amour

**AS RELIGIOUSLY MOTIVATED PEOPLE, YOU HAVE A PARTICULAR SENSE OF HOPE THAT OTHERS SOMETIMES LOSE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE. WHAT IS IT THAT MAKES YOU KEEP GOING, THAT GIVES YOU HOPE IN THE FUTURE?**

**BAIR:** Hope is my favorite topic. A lot of where I get hope from is my church community, in the larger sense. I keep doing things even if nobody else around me agrees. I do things that I feel like I am supposed to be doing all the time, and it's right and I thought about it and I feel clear that it's right. And I end up feeling hopeful, even when everybody tells me that I'm crazy. And people tell me that I'm crazy all the time. It's important for me to be involved with people who will feed into my hope.

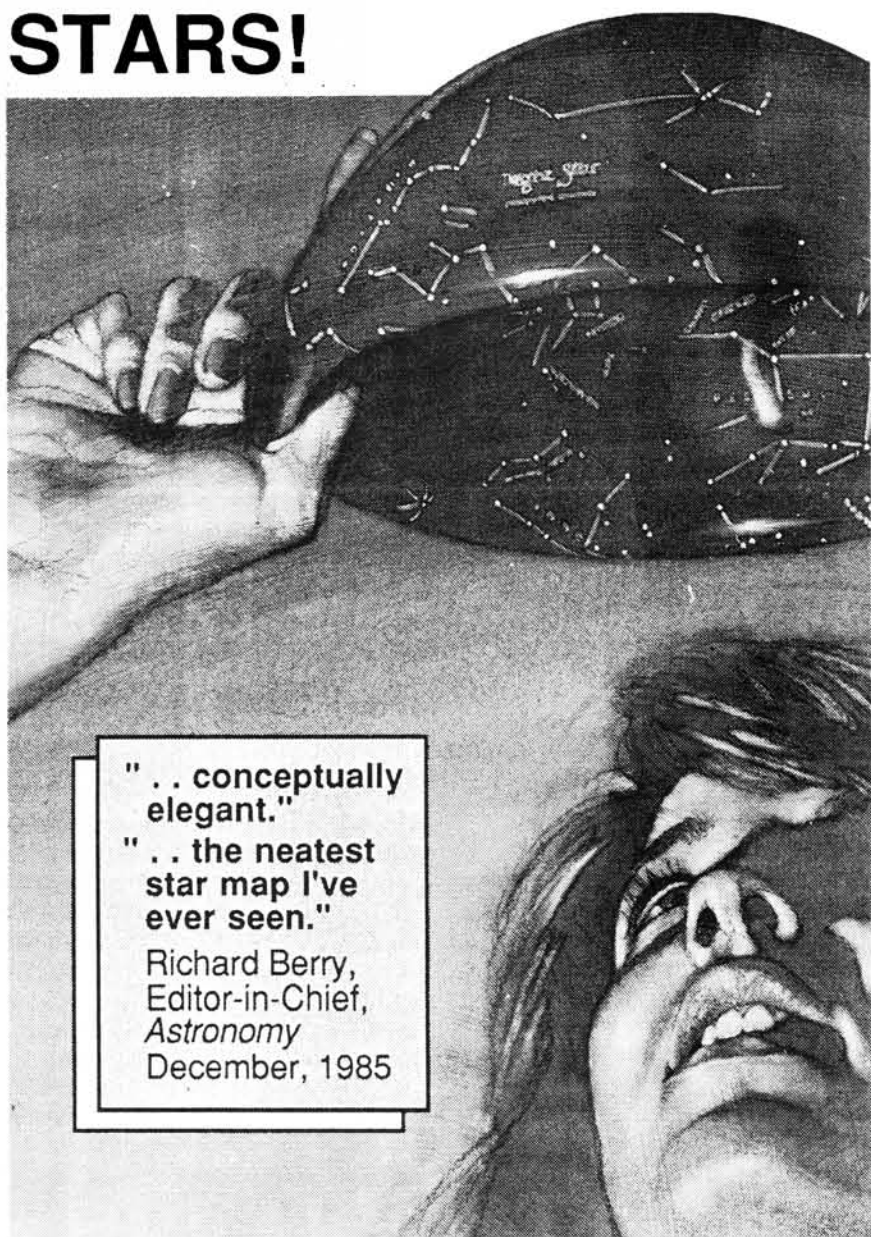
**HAVEY:** There have always been people who have embodied hope around me, and who have not stagnated, and who risk and grow and somehow that has been very helpful. It's inspiring to see other people overcome the barriers that all of us feel. One of the functions that religious communities provide is contin-



Betty Havey



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## Sukkat Shalom: A Tent Of Peace

by Jordan Wolfson

A couple of months ago two friends and I were sitting in my living room preparing for Yom Kippur. Yom Kippur is a Jewish fast day, a day of atonement, of self-reflection and introspection. Tami, Julie and I were discussing various aspects of the holiday when the topic of nuclear holocaust found its way into the conversation. We found ourselves confronted with the question, "What is our obligation as Jews to prevent a nuclear holocaust?" It was one thing to speak about our own personal lives, but now we were confronted by the fate of the whole world. Tami reminded me of a newsletter I had recently received, "The Shalom Report," sent out by The Shalom Center, a Jewish anti-nuclear organization in Philadelphia. Together we re-read the newsletter which spoke about a Sukkat Shalom, a tent of

backyards and eat and sleep in them for seven days. Both Tami and Julie were apprentices at the farm at UCSC and so we thought it would be ideal to build a sukkah there and have the celebration among the natural splendor of the garden.

We only had a week and a half to prepare but our inspiration and energy were strong. And when the day arrived, even though it was wet and drizzling over sixty people came to celebrate in the open sukkah. Earlier in the day children from Temple Beth-El came and helped decorate the sukkah. The farm provided colorful fruits and vegetables to hang from the walls and leafy thatched roof.

We gathered together under the sukkah, snuggling close to keep each other warm. We listened to Rabbi Rick Litvak from the temple speak about various traditions and meanings of the holiday. We sang songs together in Hebrew and Eng-

*"What is our obligation as Jews to prevent a nuclear holocaust?"*

lish about ending war and living in peace. We listened to Ellie Foster, a Quaker involved in Witness for Peace, who shared tradition and song. We broke bread together, drank wine and ate fruit from the farm. Also, a sermon was read that was written by Rabbi Dayle Friedman and reprinted here, dealing explicitly with the connections between Sukkot and nuclear disarmament.

The afternoon was powerfully moving: moving through sorrow and celebrating with joy. We were all touched by the time spent together and the meaning of the holiday. Hopefully it would be the beginning of a new tradition for the community in Santa Cruz—a Sukkat Shalom.

Anyone wishing more information concerning the Shalom Center can write: The Shalom Center, Church Road & Greenwood Ave., Wyncote, PA 19095. Those wishing to become a rodef shalom, a seeker of peace, are asked to pledge to do at least one action for peace each month and also send \$36 to the Shalom Center to receive "The Shalom Report."



# The Underground Sukkah

by Dayle Friedman

Once upon a time, in a certain town, there was a synagogue whose members, though they tried to be wise, often found their great ideas came to calamitous ends. They were forever seeking the best possible way of fulfilling God's commands. Whenever the festival of Sukkot came around, they would carefully construct a booth in the Temple courtyard in the manner they had learned from their parents.

But every year, their Sukkah proved disappointing. It just never seemed to be sturdy enough. One gust of wind and it was on the ground, a light rain would go right through the roof and leave the members soaked and discouraged. Birds and other pests would invariably abscond with the decorative fruits and vegetables.

One year, the people of the synagogue had had it. Determined to prevent this year's Sukkah from being a disaster, they decided to build a Sukkah guaranteed to provide comfort, warmth and security. In a flash of inspiration, they decided to put the Sukkah under ground, where no elements or pests could disturb it. They built their Sukkah with walls of poured concrete and a ceiling of solid cement. They decorated it with care, and anxiously awaited the start of the festival.

When the holiday began, the members eagerly came to eat in the Sukkah. While initially, they congratulated one another on their brilliant solution to the Sukkah problem, with time, it became clear that no one was having a very good time. They couldn't explain it, but somehow, Sukkot was just not the same in their spanking new, fail-safe Sukkah. This false Sukkah had none of the joy and spirit of their old, tumbledown Sukkah.

The people of our mythical synagogue, for all their zeal to perform the Mitzvah of the Sukkah, utterly failed to grasp its fundamental intent. When we are instructed in the book of Leviticus, "to live in booths for seven days," we are directed to recreate the wilderness experience of our ancestors, "in order that future generations may know that I made the Israelite people live in booths when I brought them out of the land of Egypt." The imperative *lashev basukkah*, to dwell in the Sukkah, bids us to dwell in a hut which embodies the fragility to human existence.

The Sukkah's structure mirrors the fundamental reality of human life: we are frail, transitory, vulnerable. So the Sukkah is meant to be flimsy, temporary. The Sukkah cannot be shielded from the elements. It *must* be built in the open air, not sheltered by a ceiling or even a tree. Its protective covering, the branches and fronds called S'chach cannot be so thick that it keeps the rain out, or prevents us from seeing the stars. It is in an open, exposed, shaky structure that we are commanded to dwell during Sukkot.

We place ourselves under the shelter of this tottery booth in order to live in the consciousness of the fleeting and fragile quality of our own lives. The Sukkah cannot be secured by efforts to make it invulnerable, for then it is no longer a Sukkah. So, too, no structure exists which can spare us the risks which are as inevitable a part of human life as the

winds and rain which buffet the Sukkah.

Never has this been more profoundly true than in our generation. In the nuclear age, human life is vulnerable as never before. Our power, awesome though it is, cannot protect us. Hence, for us "to dwell in the Sukkah" has special meaning. In dwelling in the Sukkah, we are enjoined to live in heightened awareness of our fragility in the face of the existence of nuclear weapons.

Many are those who, like the members of our mythical synagogue, dwell in a false Sukkah, one which gives the illusion of strength and permanence. The false Sukkah denies fragility, attempts to effect invulnerability. The false Sukkah is constructed of three walls: the quest for

that it owes its existence. We all help to build the false Sukkah because we cannot, will not confront our utter fragility in the nuclear age. We say:

It's too horrible to think about.

I just block it out.

Maybe it won't land here. Maybe we'll survive.

It won't ever be dropped. No one's that crazy.

If it happens, it happens. I just hope it's quick.

We exist in what Robert Jay Lifton has called "psychic numbing," we lead a curious "double life," in which we love, work, buy groceries, make plans, knowing all the while the world could end in "the blink of an eye." Meanwhile, nuclear

## We can no longer afford to believe the evil will go away, for we have learned from Auschwitz . . .

security through nuclear arms, the chimera of nuclear civil defense, and the denial of the nuclear danger. The false Sukkah pretends to protect us; in reality, it raises the risk we face.

Fundamentally, the false Sukkah rests on the notion that possession of more nuclear weapons can make us secure. When we and the Soviets have the capacity to destroy one another's cities 50 times over, the concept of nuclear superiority is meaningless. More bombs, far from making us more secure, serve only to give each side the capacity, in the words of Winston Churchill, "to make the rubble bounce."

The concept of nuclear security used to rest on the strategy of deterrence—we would build nuclear weapons not to use, but to deter our enemies from attacking. Now, the Reagan administration is arming us with weapons specifically intended to *fight—and win—a nuclear war.*

The first wall of the false Sukkah, security through nuclear arms, shields us only from understanding the danger these weapons pose.

Attempts to find shelter in the nuclear age have produced the second wall of the false Sukkah, the absurd efforts to plan civil defense against nuclear arms. The recent escalation of armament has been justified by the assertion that America can be protected, can survive a nuclear war. The Federal Emergency Management Agency presented Congress with plans for mass evacuation . . . which they guaranteed would be effective if there were a minimum of 8 days warning before a nuclear attack. But the newest intercontinental missiles reach their targets in 6 MINUTES!!!

Civil defense against nuclear attack is impossible. You cannot "duck and cover" from a 20-megaton bomb, nor can you find refuge in a bomb shelter. Survival, even if it were to occur, would be so horrible that the living would envy the dead. No, a Sukkah built with the wall of civil defense is not a real Sukkah; it represents a flight from reality.

The false Sukkah might stand with only two walls, as any Sukkah can. But it is bolstered immeasurably by a third wall, denial; in fact, it is largely to this one side

proliferation continues unabated, virtually unchallenged.

We as Jews know how illusory is the protection offered by a Sukkah constructed by denial, the failure to imagine the worse. We can no longer afford to believe the evil will go away, for we have learned from Auschwitz of the human willingness and capacity to destroy. In the words of one survivor: "From where if not from us will come the warning that a new combination of technology and brutality can transform the planet into a crematorium?"

Yes, we must dwell in the real Sukkah,

the flimsy structure which forces us to confront our fragility. The Sukkah, liable to collapse at any moment, reminds us that in the nuclear age, there is no assurance of human continuity.

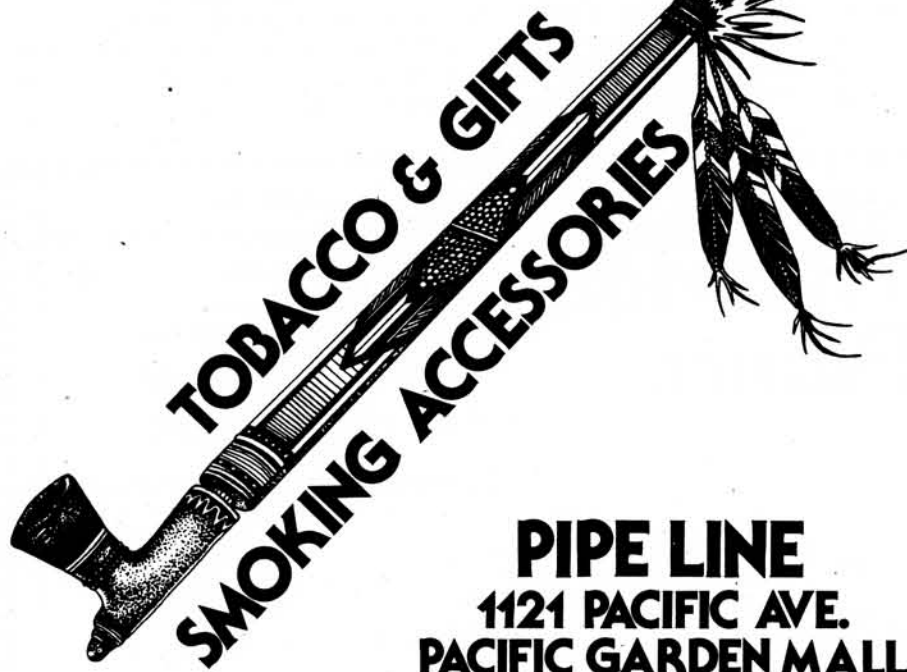
We dwell in this real Sukkah, painfully conscious of the risk before us and future generations; yet, we do not despair. For along with the commandment to dwell in the Sukkah, we are commanded to "rejoice in your festival . . . you shall have nothing but joy." How are we to fulfill both parts of the prescriptions? Just as it is a sin to fail to imagine the worse, it is a sin to fail to imagine the better. Thus, the Sukkah is not only the embodiment of the most frightening reality, but also the symbol for our hope. The Psalmist says: "God will shelter me in a Sukkah on an evil day, grant me the protection of the divine tent," and nightly, we pray, *ufros alenu sukkat shlomecha*, "Spread over us the Sukkah of Your peace." We hope for a Sukkah of peace which, unlike our earthly Sukkah, will provide ultimate protection, for it will cover a world of peace.

Leo Baeck taught that in Judaism, every hope becomes a duty. So our vision of the Sukkah of peace becomes our task. We can rejoice in our Sukkah of fragility because we will commit ourselves to the construction of the Sukkah of peace. We fight denial with awareness, despair with hope, passivity with the struggle to eliminate the threat.

The Sukkah of fragility is temporary. The Sukkah of peace will last.

Rabbi Friedman gave this sermon at Central Synagogue in New York on Shabbat Chol Hamoed Sukkot in 1984. Reprinted from *The Shalom Report*, The Shalom Center, Church Road and Greenwood Ave., Wyncote, PA 19095.

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# The Rise Of Christian Conscience

by Jim Wallis

At a recent gathering of 200 top military leaders at the National War College, a revealing statement was made: "The greatest challenge to all that we do now comes from within the churches." The speaker was a high-ranking general who went on to say, "A whole new way of thinking is developing in the churches, and we have to know what to do with it."

The person who reported the story to me said the speaker's posture was not so much hostile as it was deeply concerned. The general held up copies of books from the emerging Christian peace movement and urged his listeners to read them. "No one should remain in the service unless they deal with the arguments of these books."

There are other signs of official concern about the new stirrings in the churches. The government now has "liaisons" assigned to the various churches whose job it is to monitor and maintain close contact with the peace activities of the different denominations. Bishops and other church leaders are receiving almost weekly mailings from the White House and government agencies defending policies related to Central America, nuclear weapons, and domestic priorities. Some have received personal visits from special government emissaries to "explain" administration policies.

Christian activists are reporting incidents of surveillance, break-ins, and even infiltration. The Internal Revenue Service is cracking down on war-tax resisters, and stiffer sentences are being given to those who commit nonviolent civil disobedience in protest of the arms race and U.S. war policies.

New executive orders and legislative proposals have lifted restrictions on government intelligence agencies, promise harsh measures against dissenters, and threaten constitutional rights. One recent proposal in Congress even suggested capital punishment for crimes of "treason," a word that history has shown is extremely vulnerable to changing political definitions. In her nationally televised speech at the 1984 Republican National Convention in Dallas, United Nations Ambassa-

dor Jeane Kirkpatrick said that those who disagree with U.S. military and foreign policy should not be tolerated.

A rigorous campaign of distortion and slander is now under way, aimed at discrediting those individuals, groups, publications, and churches who dare to dissent from official ideology and policy. The Right is especially afraid of such religiously based dissent. An independent movement of conscience whose cry for justice and appeal for peace is rooted in the Bible rather than political ideology is the hardest to discredit, ignore, or accuse of Communist sympathies.

The renewal of Christian conscience

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**Now, whenever the Nuclear Train moves,  
a national network of prayer and action  
springs into life with vigils along its route.**

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is now a worldwide phenomenon. In Latin America, bishops and priests used to be the honored guests at the tables of the rich; now many have become the companions of the poor. The clergy used to bless political prisoners before their executions; now priests, lay church leaders, and even bishops have become political prisoners themselves, and many have been killed or disappeared. At popular liturgies, names such as those of murdered Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Romero and countless other Christian martyrs are raised up to the response of the people, *Presente*—meaning, "they are with us." The faith of ordinary people, gathered together into hundreds of thousands of base communities, now fuels the engine of change in Latin America and is renewing the face of the church.

Karl Gaspar, a political prisoner in the Philippines, writes letters from his jail cell that read like modern day prison epistles. Priests murdered by government security forces are found at the bottom of reservoirs and ravines in Poland and El Salvador. Small groups of Christians working for peace meet and pray on both sides of the Berlin Wall.

Religious dissidents—Christians and Jews—suffer courageously in the Soviet Union. In South Africa, a "confessing church" is emerging with Christians like Bishop Desmond Tutu and Reformed Church minister Allan Boesak leading the people's struggle for freedom against apartheid. Even in highly secularized Western Europe, the threat of nuclear war is sparking religious renewal and revitalization in the churches.

In the United States, a new "peace church" is emerging that spans virtually every denomination, confession, and constituency. The threat of nuclear war has raised, for an increasing number of Chris-

tians, not only the question of survival, but a crisis of faith.

The nation's reliance on weapons of mass destruction, and its expressed willingness to use them, has become a profoundly theological and spiritual issue for the churches. For many, the heart of the matter is the idolatry, blasphemy, and heresy of nuclear weapons. The old distinctions between pacifists and just war adherents are breaking down and giving way to a "new abolitionist movement"—a commitment to abolish nuclear weapons rooted in the imperatives of faith.

It is at the grassroots where the movement can best be seen. The Nuclear Train that carries warheads from the Pantex bomb factory near Amarillo, Texas, to deployment sites around the country once traveled unnoticed and unhindered. That was before the White Train Campaign, begun by the Agape Community. Now, whenever the Nuclear Train moves, a national network of prayer and action springs to life with vigils along its route.

The time-honored practice of nonviolent protest and civil disobedience, so deeply rooted in both our biblical and democratic traditions, is being recovered in our nuclear age, and many Christians are going to jail for the sake of peace. One recent count of those arrested for nuclear protest in one year alone tallied 5,000, and the majority of them were Christians. Vigils, pilgrimages, public liturgies and prayer services, symbolic actions, war-tax resistance, sit-ins, direct-action campaigns, arrests, courtrooms, and jail cells are becoming more a part of the church's life as Christian clergy and laypeople come to believe that their acceptance of the bomb has been an evidence of false worship and faithlessness and as they rediscover the gospel of the Prince of Peace.

It is always appropriate for the religious community and people of conscience to try to prevent bloodshed and needless human suffering. It is in this spirit that the Pledge of Resistance, the Sanctuary movement, and Witness for Peace are offered. They are acts of faith and con-

science, developed not on behalf of any government, party, or ideology, but carried out on behalf of the victims of violence, in defense of justice, and in pursuit of peace.

The face of Jesus is being rediscovered not only among the poor of Central America, South Africa and the Philippines, but also right here at home. All across the United States, the "misery index" is rising. In our inner cities and rural areas, the poor swell in numbers and cry out in distress. The government's policy toward the poor is now one of official abandonment. Those least able to defend themselves will bear the burden of budget-cutting and deficit reductions.

But everywhere you look, Christians and churches are feeding the hungry, sheltering the homeless, ministering to the sick, organizing with the disenfranchised, visiting the prisoners, and advocating justice for the oppressed. Wherever there are works of mercy and acts of justice, Christians are in the midst of them. The faithful persistence of Christians like Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker is bearing much fruit. In many places Christians are finally beginning to heed the gospel message to bring good news to the poor and the warning that we will be judged by how we treat "the least of these."

What does the future hold? A movement of Christian conscience could spark the conscience of a nation and lead to changes beyond our imaginations. It has happened before. Christians were at the center of the abolitionist movement, the movement for women's suffrage, and the civil rights struggle. It could happen again.

A discernible movement from protest to resistance already exists in the churches. A new era of church/state relations in the United States may soon be upon us.

National church bodies are now seriously discussing the theological basis and spiritual imperative for civil disobedience. Issues such as war-tax resistance, prayerful trespass at nuclear facilities, sanctuary, nonviolent resistance over Central America and South Africa, and non-registration for the draft are all pressing issues in many churches. It is likely that a whole series of church statements on civil disobedience will follow the many church statements on peace. The churches and the U.S. government seem headed toward deeper conflict over militarism, fundamental questions of justice, and respect for human life.

We are entering a time when faith will be needed to overcome fear, when deep spiritual roots will be necessary to endure setbacks, when hope will be required to move beyond despair, and when vision will be called for to look beyond the present and see new possibilities.

*This was excerpted from a longer article which originally appeared in the January, 1985 issue of Sojourners Magazine, P.O. Box 29272, Washington, D.C. 20017. Reprinted with permission.*

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# The New Age Vision

by Ronald A. Lampi

What is the New Age perspective on our nuclear crisis? Do New Age advocates have a definite statement to make, different than, say, that made by the Christian community? First, let us not get lost here in questions as to what the New Age movement really is, who claims what, or whether there is even a unified movement at all. The New Age movement, widely diverse in the range of its religious affiliations and roots in tradition, is not, for one thing, the New Age; the New Age—Aquarius—is *still coming*. And if the New Age is to be a new spiritual dawn, then we must think from the perspective that a new Vision offers. That is its fundamental basis, not the smorgasbord of religions, cults, spiritual practices, occult arts, therapies, life-styles which today are being considered "New Age." If all this activity has deeper significance, it is this: it is the preparing of the soil for a whole new plant that will be the New Age.

To believe that a New Age is coming implies first of all that one believes in a future. In other words, one is not a holocaust fatalist, believing that none of us will even be around to have a future. To think in terms of the New Age is to assume that we can work through this crisis of nuclear madness, that there will be a time of collective spiritual awakening. It is a chilling thought, though, that there are Christian groups out there that believe that an Armageddon, nuclear or otherwise, is a preordained event, and so feel no compulsion to "interfere" with God's plan. I'm sure we have all met these Christians of the Fundamentalist school who actually seem to be looking forward to it.

Some will say that the New Age represents the power of love in the world. There is no need to argue this, but as it stands it doesn't say much about how it is to be manifested in a New Age setting. After all, Christians, too, have long spoken of love. What we must focus upon is the new Vision that is coming-to-us. The much quoted lines of Hölderlin apply here:

But where danger is, grows

The saving power also.

What does this saving power, this new Vision imply? We are speaking of a transformation of consciousness. At this time of absolute nuclear danger, Divinity is reaching out to us through the Spirit that a new *creative* relationship between humankind and Divinity might develop. The New Age perspective is one of total openness to the Vision that comes. The implication, when we speak of a transformation of consciousness, is that we are being challenged in the very way *we think*.

It should be apparent to everyone by now that realistically considered there is no simple, direct solution to the nuclear arms race, given the current international status quo. The attempt, for example, to pressure governments for an immediate ban on all nuclear weapons is unfortunately a futile one. A collective change of heart on the part of all humankind is what we hope for, but it may be long in coming. Remember, we *are* dealing with

madness. The response, therefore, that changing how we think is too tall an order, that we need something done *now*, is beside the point. Certainly activists will continue their valuable work; negotiations will continue as before. In the meantime, there are those of us who must be dedicated to new thought.

If we are dealing with an insidious kind of madness, then we must let the healing power come through. This healing power comes to us as the Spirit. Through a new spirituality—a new *enlightening*—we can begin to think around the thought forms that entrap us. All that remains hidden within us, all that is working behind the

that hitherto had been kept hidden, that had kept itself hidden. To do this requires courage, honesty, and an imagination for opening up the channels of communication, all of which are inspired by that saving power of the Spirit.

But what about the Soviets? we always hear. Of course, we must work on them also, to the extent that we can begin to influence their culture. History shows that revolutions in thought do manifest in the culture over time. And today, with our world reaching media networks, that manifestation will no longer be limited to one country, one continent, one hemisphere.

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***If we are dealing with an insidious kind of madness, then we must let the healing power come through.***

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collective scene to undermine us must be exposed. Nations are collectively neurotic—or might we say psychotic?—in different ways; these complexes that drive on our ideologies and policies toward destruction must be revealed and publicly worked through in the culture. A concept of mental health for nations is here in order. Why must we carry on an arms race? Because of the Soviet threat, we are told. This type of childhood logic and the gross masking of our own intentions have grown obsolete. We are constantly being indoctrinated to worry, in fact, about *our own self-interest*. This looking out for Number One idiocy, if we would only give some thought to it, is inherently destructive. Opposition to *our self-interest*, whether individual or national, can only result. Why is it that the two superpowers cannot tolerate the presence of the other on the planet? Exclusive concern with *our own self-interest* only intensifies polarizing thought, and such thought goes way back in our tradition; Christianity itself is a good example of it. Interestingly enough, the remark that the Soviets are servants of Satan or that theirs is an Evil Empire is one that sometimes comes to the lips of some of our good Christian leaders. The point is, the framework in which we think makes it all too easy to always see an opposing enemy somewhere. That the Soviets think within the same framework makes it a tightly closed circle of potential, untold disaster.

Are weapons the only way of keeping the peace? Why not continuous dialogue, nations helping one another to work through their collective complexes? We certainly let our leaders get away with madness. The psychological dimension of international affairs has up to now been scarcely addressed. Our anti-nuclear strategy cannot ignore the significance of the psychological dimension; to do so is only to continue thinking in the same, naive thought forms that have now brought us ever closer to the brink of disaster. This is an essential part of the Aquarian meaning of the New Age: to bring into the open and communicate all

We have become the pawns of self-interest. Could it be that what is in our interest and what is in their interest is actually best served by what is in both of our interest? And how is that decided? Surely not within the same thought framework that has become a revolving door for us, bringing about our present crisis. In fact, the root of *crisis* is "to decide"; we are at a point of decision then



for the entire planet. What better indication is there that our worldwide traditional modes of thought have reached the breaking point? We are being called to decide: Do we turn in a new spiritual direction or do we remain the puppets of traditional thought?

It is natural that people turn to some authority for the basis of their thought. In our case, speaking for the New Age, and at this point in time, that must be found in the Vision itself that comes to us. The efforts of religious leaders who support the Freeze, who speak out and draft statements directed to our politicians, are truly commendable. The fact, though, that Christianity as a system of polarizing thought has contributed, historically, to the development of our present crisis is another matter. As the crisis we face is global, the saving power must be able to speak to all people, reaching beyond the boundary lines drawn by the world's religions. The New Age attainment of complete openness to the new Word of Divinity allows that saving power to begin coming through.

Ronald A. Lampi is the Poetry Editor of *The Monthly Planet*.

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# The Baha'i Perspective

"There is not one soul whose conscience does not testify that in this day there is no more important matter in the world than that of Universal Peace."\*  
(\*All quotations are from the Baha'i Writings)

The long-cherished goal of humankind, previously no more than an utopian dream, has become this century's most pressing issue. Although the need for peace is evident, the means for attaining it remain elusive. Peace marches and efforts to achieve objectives like nuclear arms restrictions, while praiseworthy, have only limited effect. What is the alternative to a nuclear nightmare?

Over a century ago Baha'u'llah, founder of the Bahai Faith, identified principles for change in society necessary for universal peace. He called upon world leaders to gather together and put an end to war. "The time has come when the imperative necessity for the holding of a vast, an all-embracing assemblage of men will be universally realized. The rulers and kings of the earth must . . . consider such ways and means as will lay the foundation of the world's Great Peace among men . . ."

The world faces a critical transition. Yet there are flashes of hope as well. The League of Nations and the United Nations, born after worldwide conflicts, are evidence of humanity's desire for peace.

These organizations were not given the authority to establish or enforce peace, however. Must the earth experience a third world war before making the dramatic changes required to attain lasting peace?

Would it survive to even make another attempt? No agreement between the superpowers can alone eliminate the danger of war. Even creating the machinery for the political and economic unity of the world could not ensure a complete solution. Only a plan which changes people's hearts can result in the far reaching change

They must conclude a binding treaty and establish a covenant, the provisions of which shall be sound, inviolable, and definite. . . ."

Features of the international agreement envisioned in the Baha'i writings include specifying borders of every nation, determining principles for relations between governments, limiting the quantity of armaments to a level that maintains internal order, and creating an international governing agency.

The cornerstone of this agreement is the principle of collective security. Every



## Must the earth experience a third world war before making the dramatic changes required to attain lasting peace?

in relationships between individuals and nations required for lasting peace. Baha'u'llah identified the treaty provisions necessary for unity among nations, outlined principles for peace that go beyond the elimination of war, and developed a grass-roots model for global peace.

"True civilization will unfurl its banner in the midmost heart of the world whenever a certain number of its distinguished and high-minded sovereigns . . . arise, with firm resolve and clear vision, to establish the Cause of Universal Peace.

nation is dependent on other nations. When the cause of peace is considered important enough, unity will take precedence over factional objectives of nations. The country that then seeks to exploit its neighbors can be restrained. "All the forces of humanity must be mobilized to insure the stability and permanence of this Most Great Covenant, this solemn pact should be so fixed that if any government later violates any of its provisions, all the governments on earth should arise to reduce it to utter submission. . . ."

Peace cannot be limited to ending war. "If the question is restricted to Universal Peace alone, the remarkable results which are expected and desired will not be attained." Without being naive about partisan intention, the pattern of suspicion and hatred between nations must end. For this reason peace does not begin with governments, but with individuals. Among the principles which supplement and support peace are:

**INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATION OF TRUTH.** "In order to find truth . . . an open mind is essential . . . that we imagine ourselves to be right and everybody else wrong is the greatest obstacle in the path to unity, and unity is necessary if we would reach truth, for truth is one."

**ELIMINATION OF PREJUDICE.** National, religious, racial and other prejudices erect barriers without just cause. To eliminate prejudice, individuals must expand their concept of 'personal group' to embrace all mankind.

**UNIVERSAL EDUCATION.** All children are to receive an education, both spiritual and material, to serve mankind through the arts, trades, sciences, or other professions.

**THE EQUALITY OF WOMEN AND MEN.** "... woman must receive the same education as man and all inequality be adjusted . . . until this equality is established, true progress and attainment for the human race will not be facilitated."

**AUXILIARY LANGUAGE.** A common language is to be taught along with the mother tongue so that barriers to communication will be eliminated.

**ENDING EXTREMES IN WEALTH AND POVERTY.** Wealth must be more evenly distributed—though not through coercive means—to stop injustice and suffering of nations and individuals.

**INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT.** A world commonwealth, based on principles of federalism found in American government, needs to be created through agreement of all nations.

Nuclear war is not the inevitable fate of the world. Unity is the alternative. "The well-being of mankind, its peace and security, are unattainable unless and until its unity is firmly established."

In over 200 countries and territories the Baha'i Faith is building a world community that reflects the principles proclaimed by Baha'u'llah. Though not established as a peace movement, the Baha'i system contains elements of proposals made by leading peace proponents.

These include a pattern for a new governing order, a grassroots network of education about principles related to peace, and a decision making process that avoids confrontation and partisanship.

A forum for interchange among cultures and races is created, seeking the contribution each can make to world culture, while protecting them from arbitrary change or submergence.

Underlying these efforts is the objective of world-mindedness. "The earth is but one country and mankind its citizens." The concept of 'us' and 'them' can no longer continue in a world dependent on unity for its very survival. The spiritually transforming power within the teachings of Baha'u'llah offers the hope of peace by changing the hearts of individuals and the interaction between nations.

*The material above has been excerpted from the Baha'i Writings.*



## A Gift For Peace



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# A Guide To Religious Peacemaking Organizations

For more information regarding ongoing peacemaking work in the religious community, contact any of the following organizations:

## Local (Santa Cruz County)

**Kolaynu:** A progressive Jewish group offering cultural, spiritual, and educational events, and monthly Shabat pot-lucks with Shabat service and discussion. 219 Peyton St., Santa Cruz, 95060; contact Sally Schwartz: 425-4782.

**Pajaro Valley Religious Committee for Peacemaking:** an interfaith peace committee in Watsonville with active membership from 7 area churches. Meets twice each month. P.O. Box 1160, Watsonville, CA 95077; or contact Betty Emlen: 722-9638.

**Peacemakers:** an ecumenical peace committee with active membership from 12 area churches. Meets monthly. P.O. Box 2324, Santa Cruz, CA 95063; or contact Michael Turnerwright: 425-5629.

**Resource Center for Nonviolence:** works with local congregations from all faith perspectives to develop appropriate scripture studies, discussion groups, and worship resources along peace and justice themes. 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz, CA 95060; contact Shelly D'Amour, 423-1626.

**Regional/National:** Many denominations sponsor national and/or regional

peace fellowships. A few are listed below. For more information, contact Shelly D'Amour at 423-1626.

**Sojourners Peace Ministry** P.O. Box 29272, Washington, D.C. 20017.

**Jewish Peace Fellowship** 10345 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90064.

**Buddhist Peace Fellowship** P.O. Box 4650, Berkeley, CA 94704.

**Ecumenical Peace Institute** 944 Market St., Room 509, San Francisco, CA 94102.

**American Friends Service Committee-Disarmament Program** 2160 Lake St., San Francisco, CA 94121.

**Catholic Peace Fellowship** 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012.

**Clergy & Laity Concerned** 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038.

**Unitarian Universalist Peace Network** 5808 Greene St., Philadelphia, PA 19144.

**United Methodist Church Dept. of Peace & World Order** 777 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017.

**American Baptist Churches Peace Fellowship** Valley Forge, PA 19481.

**Additional Resources:** Study/discussion guides, books, and worship resources written from a religious perspective on the arms race, Central America, the Middle East, and social justice issues are available for purchase or loan at the Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz, CA 95060.



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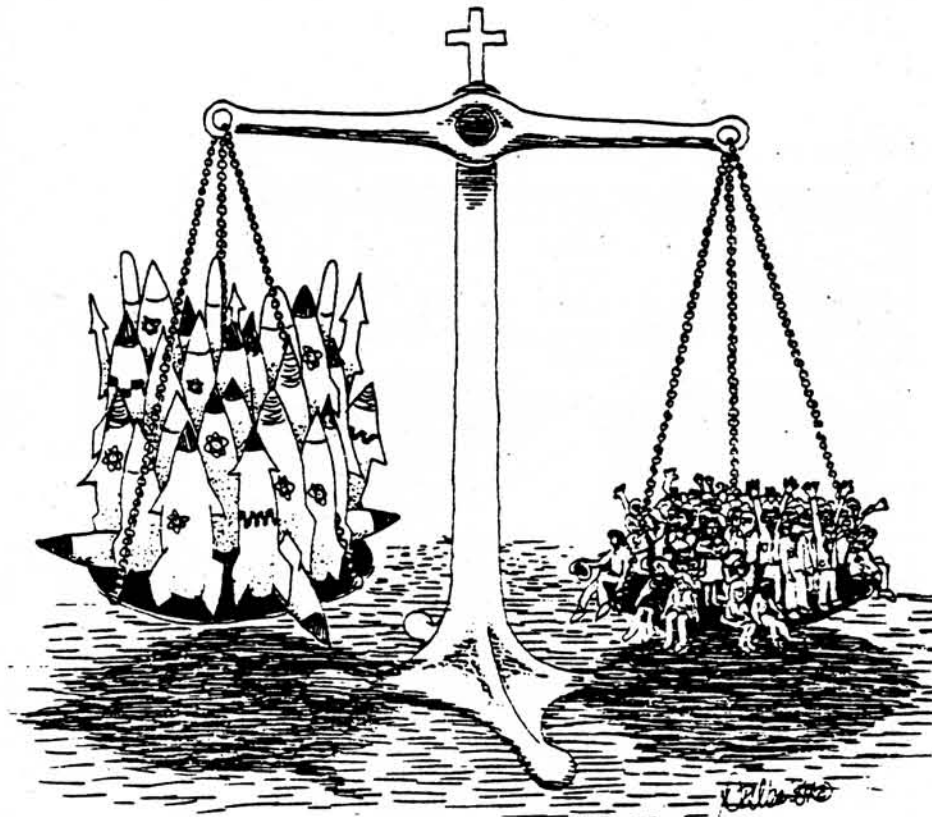
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## Bishops Reassess Deterrence

Roman Catholic bishops at the National Conference of Catholic Bishops called for a re-evaluation of part of the 1983 pastoral letter on war and peace. The part of the letter they are questioning provisionally accepted balanced nuclear strength as a deterrent to nuclear war. Nuclear deterrence was acceptable only if the nuclear powers pursued arms control and disarmament. The bishops at the conference objected to the continuing buildup of weapons by the United States and the Soviet Union, especially development of the MX missile and the Trident II. Six of the bishops requested that the

group "publicly recognize the increasing evidence that the conditions for the moral acceptance of deterrence are not being met." The dissenting bishops originally called for a re-evaluation of deterrence in June 1986, but they lost ground later. John Cardinal O'Connor, Chairperson of the bishops' Committee on Social Development and World Peace, persuaded them to wait until 1988, the fifth anniversary of the pastoral letter.

Bishop Leroy Mathieson said of the bishops' action, "People are calling on us to carry out what we ourselves said. Our moral credibility is at stake."



# Planet Poetry

## Spectre Of Soldier Unknown

Eulogized by the Cardinal/Rabbi/Bishop at his burial  
in Arlington Cemetery

he was in death memory's transient  
border of a naked eye

measuring all that he held vital and dear and poignant  
of meaning in the imagination

of his flesh elevated into a feast's  
sacrament of love for  
his fallen comrades.

But it became a great shock when he was discovered at  
the Houston Space Center straddled

to a giant missile with twelve  
nuclear warheads.

His humped figure, suspended by wires, were tied to  
Abraham Lincoln's rocking chair

climbing desperately to reach  
the missile's topmost

where the FUTURE was in great crisis and he aimed to  
regenerate it for

a troubled humanity.

In the humid delirium, words were scorpions. The air  
was hazed, then cleared sharply

and one could observe Unknown's  
strained efforts to defuse  
the warheads.

Electron eyes and computer intercoms summoned helicopters  
and guard forces, urging them

to persuade him from pursuing  
his maddened dangerous  
climb.

But the Center and its spectators succumbed suddenly  
into a mute state, awed

by the bravery of his heroic task.

Nor was it possible for them to behold the convergence  
of the nation's war-dead ghosts

hovering by him, chanting  
long into the night

alleluias of love to a noble spirit, the new prophet.

Joseph Drucker

## A Unity Of Fleshes

It is nuclear winter  
our season  
we made it  
about us no sadness  
no wailing  
it is over  
the stars remain  
and the sun and moon  
but even if we were here  
we could not see them  
we have blinded the earth  
nothing human or animal remains  
no trees  
there is nothing  
when the missiles came down  
we were all burned together  
the birds the flowers  
the incredible light  
of this once autumn day  
all sound all feeling erased  
in a matter of seconds  
the fires burn still  
the children of this generation  
were born for nothing  
had no chance  
this darkness will last  
beyond hope  
it is black it is freezing  
the sum of all knowledge  
in the unity of fleshes  
hapless in these clouds  
that seethe above our concept  
of hell

Stephen Meadows




Poetry submissions are now being accepted for Planet Poetry. Poems must be typed, double spaced, and sent to *The Monthly Planet* address. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.

*the bicycle trip*



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# Nuclear Age Education

by Michael Stephen Katzman, Santa Cruz County Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR)

November 30, 1985 was declared International Day Against War Toys. Groups and individuals around the world are being called upon to state their opposition to the militarization of children. You may want to write to the government and to toy manufacturers, explaining why war toys are not appropriate gifts and why sale of such items should not be permitted. In California, the Peace Resource Center of San Diego is spearheading a media and consumer campaign to change the holiday buying habits of parents. They can be contacted at: 5717 Lindo Pasao, San Diego, 92115, (619) 265-0730.

See Ms. magazine, November, 1985 for holiday toy ideas of a nonviolent nature.

## PEACE AND JUSTICE INDIVISIBLE

(From *pax et libertas*, newsletter of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom)

To us (wo)men, peace means justice in and among nations. It means cooperation and the meeting of the basic needs of health, education, food and shelter for all. War is not inevitable. A system of economic and social justice, work for all in decent conditions, equality—all these things are possible and are now crucial to attain if the world is not to be plunged into total catastrophe . . .

The arms trade alone involves well over \$35 billion a year, having tripled in value between 1968 and 1983 . . . Average world expenditure for every soldier now passes \$20,000 per year, while the world average for public education is \$380 per child. The arms trade ties the importer most subtly to the supplier and at the same time contributes to the transfer of wealth from the poor to the rich countries. It is difficult to see an end to this vicious cycle until the link between government and the military becomes much weaker in most countries.

WILPF Santa Cruz can be written at: Box 61, Santa Cruz, CA 95063.

## NEW RESOURCES FOR GLOBAL SECURITY

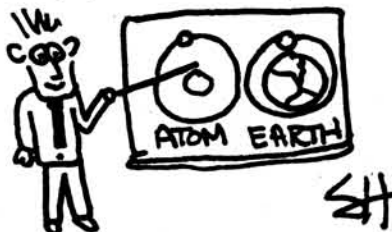
An international conference of non-violent alternatives was held at the University of California Berkeley campus November 7-10. The occasion of this gathering was the first annual meeting of the ten-year old Consortium of Peace Research Education and Development (COPRED) to be held on the West Coast. Sponsored by over thirty Northern California-based peace and educational organizations, this provided an unusual convocation of educators, researchers, and activists who turned their academic and public attention to the urgent conceptual and practical problems of peace, sharing experience and ideas on:

- alternative defense and nonviolent security systems;
- political, social, and economic institutions compatible with stable peace;
- peace-consciousness: what mental outlook would create environments where peace institutions flourish and weapons systems languish?

This national organization can be written to: COPRED, 911 High St., Room 100, Urbana, IL 61801, (217) 333-2069.

## IN OUR DEFENSE?

Over the past 30 years, the 'peace-time' American economy has gone military. From 1980 to 1986, the Pentagon's budget has gone from 146 to 300 billion dollars. This doesn't include other military items in the Federal Budget, (such as the Department of Energy). California leads with 25% of the nation's military contracts, with Los Angeles County ranking 2nd and Santa Clara County 6th in the nation (as part of that 25%).



Star Wars is based on an old machismo model of 'pumping iron' in dealing with humanity's communications problems. It would actually build-up rather than build down nuclear weapons (the projected Soviet response), besides being technologically flawed and vastly expensive.

The Soviets have a unilateral moratorium on the testing of nuclear weapons. Are we courageous enough to follow suit? There is a bill in the House of Representatives, H.R. 3442 which calls for President Reagan to abide by the moratorium as of January 1, 1986 or there will be future cuts for nuclear testing. *Make a point to write to your representative and express your interest/concern.* Though the U.S. agrees that a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty is a long-term goal, the government argues that we don't have the technology to discern compliance (meaning Soviet compliance). This is NOT TRUE . . .

There are global seismological capabilities to detect and identify nuclear explosions of one kiloton and more (the combined arsenals include bombs thousands of times as terrifying). We have satellite detection and reconnaissance that can pinpoint the license plates of cars driving in Moscow. We need to ask poignant questions of our legislators and military contractors. *Why not put the trillion dollars (conservative estimate) into mutual space exploration, ending hunger, famine and disease?*

The market for arms (conventional and nuclear) is escalating at an alarming rate. Arms sales to the Middle East has gone from 27.5 billion dollars in 1983 to over 50 billion dollars in 1985. Since 1979, in the Iran/Iraq war alone, over 3 million people have been wounded with an additional 500,000 deaths.

Are we willing to re-think our concepts of "living in peace"? In North America, does our "living in peace" support justice and perpetuate the ideas of world community?

The perfect answer to Star Wars may be found in an organization called the Institute for Security and Cooperation in Outer Space (ISCOS). It was founded by Carol Rosin, who is not your average peacenik. Her background is in corporate management of Fairchild Industries and she helped to build the MX missile. To her, Star Wars won't protect one person

and she has developed a list of projects to pursue. These include: space probes to obtain information from the planets and other solar systems; solar powered energy research; space laboratories and hospitals; space habitats, farms and schools; transportation to space stations, tourism and space hotels; moon and asteroid mining; among other ideas. ISCOS welcomes more ideas on the peaceful uses of outer space. Send your ideas on the peaceful uses of outer space to: ISCOS, 201 Massachusetts Ave., N.E., Suite 102A, Washington, D.C. 20002.

## UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE

Public Law 98-525, Title XVII, establishes the United States Institute of Peace as an independent, nonprofit national educational corporation with the purpose of educating the American people and the Government on means to promote international peace and the resolution of international conflicts without the use of violence. The institute is to achieve its aims through education, training, research and the distribution of information. It may not make or implement national policy.

The Institute is to be controlled by a 15-member Board of Directors appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. Four members are to be ex-officio members: the Secretaries of State and Defense, the Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

and the President of the National Defense University. Eleven members are to be private citizens with academic or practical experience in peace and conflict resolution efforts of the United States. No more than eight members of the Board may be of the same political party.

For further information contact: National Peace Institute Foundation, 110 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002 (202) 546-9500.

## LOCAL US/USSR CITIZEN DIPLOMACY

This past summer 7 Santa Cruz residents travelled to the Soviet Union to explore a Sister City relationship with Alushta, Ukraine on the Crimean Peninsula of the Black Sea. Due to the red carpet treatment and recent communique from the mayor of Alushta, "Continuing the Dialogue" is planning a "Summer in the Soviet Union" trip with a more extensive stay in Alushta. The trip will include 6 days on the Black Sea, winetasting in 3 republics, with other stops in the Caucasus Mountains (Armenia and Soviet Georgia), Kiev, Moscow and Leningrad. The trip will last 23 days and will cost \$2495. Helen Eide-miller and Michael S. Katzman will be co-leaders. For more information please call Michael at 688-2403.

For further information about Santa Cruz Educators for Social Responsibility please contact Gavin Kemp, 438-0528 or write: ESR, Box 785, Soquel, CA 95073.

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## How's Business?

In case you're worried that the nation's largest military contractors are not earning enough, rest assured. Lockheed Corporation, based in Burbank, California, posted third quarter earnings of \$102 million. This marks a gain of 14.6 percent over the same period in 1984. Roy A. Anderson, the company's chairperson and chief executive, admitted that much of the earnings came from the D-5 nuclear missile, considered by many to be a first strike weapon because it is launched from the controversial submarine of the name Trident. The missiles are being built in Sunnyvale for a minimum cost of \$327.6 million to Americans.

General Dynamics Corporation has seen the value of its military contracts more than double in the present fiscal year, despite the fact that the giant cor-

poration has been accused of and penalized for numerous incidents of fraud and related wrongdoings. In fiscal 1984 the company's income was \$6.8 billion, and for the same period in 1985 its income was \$7.8 billion. During each of those years, all but \$1 billion came from government contracts. One senior Pentagon official, who preferred to remain anonymous, explained General Dynamics' success by pointing out that only they make the M-1 Abrams tank, the F-16 fighter plane and the Trident submarine, along with being one of only two builders of attack submarines in the country. He added that "the battle cry around here [the Pentagon] is diversity and competition, but the realities are different."

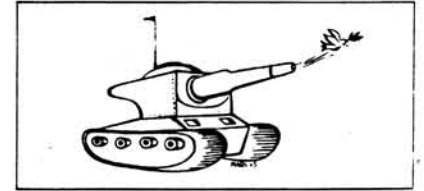
Meanwhile, other military contractors are also increasing their sales. So far this year the Raytheon Company has sales of \$4.1 billion, while Martin Marietta Cor-

poration has grossed \$2.9 billion. These figures reflect increases of 114.9 and 96.9 percent, respectively, over the same period last year. Rockwell International's sales have "slumped" this year, down to \$2.2 billion.

None of the sales figures given above show income from "sensitive" projects funded by the Pentagon's secret budget.

## Literary Dynamics

Would you believe that the founder of General Dynamics Corporation, one of the nation's largest military contractors, served as the inspiration for MAD magazine's Alfred E. Newman, of "What-me worry?" fame? This is the claim of a recently published book written by Jacob Goodwin, a reporter for several military industry journals. The book, "Brotherhood of Arms," tells the story of General



Dynamics, while also seeking to "demystify" the world of military contractors.

The book is not concerned with the recent troubles General Dynamics has experienced. Over the last year, the company was accused by the government of widespread fraud, faced an eight week strike by 5,000 of its workers, and has had the reputation of some of its top executives tarnished by allegations of wrongdoing. Most recently, General Dynamics executive vice president George A. Sawyer was indicted by the Justice Department on charges that he "falsified, concealed and covered up the fact" that he took job-hunting trips paid for by General Dynamics—while he was an assistant secretary of the Navy.

Besides telling the stories of some of the military industry's grandest figures, the book also professes bits of insight. For instance, Goodwin informs the reader that "designing a new weapon is not like designing a new toaster," and warns the layperson not to believe that the military-industrial complex is simply "a nefarious network of greedy, influence-peddling arms manufacturers, incompetent and tradition-bound military officers, self-serving political appointees in the Pentagon, and corruptible members of Congress."

## Rockwell's Rocky Road

The long arm of the law has caught up with Rockwell International Corporation. Recently, the nation's number two military contractor pleaded guilty to charges brought forward by the government that six Rockwell employees defrauded the Air Force for \$480,000. The employees falsified timecards and then added the overcharge to a \$1.3 million Air Force contract. The company denies that any of its management knew about the timecard scheme, which occurred over a three month period in 1982.

Rockwell is the maker of the B-1 bomber and is also the general contractor for the space shuttle. The company stands to lose quite a bit of money if it is suspended from acquiring military contracts for too long—last year it took in \$6.3 billion from military contracts—so it has tried to appease the Government as much as possible. The company is settling the case against it by paying a \$200,000 fine, a \$1 million restitution payment, the costs of the Government's investigation and it is implementing "a corrective action plan" to prevent a future recurrence of fraud. The company will still be barred from obtaining contracts "until I'm sure that Rockwell has taken all steps necessary to safeguard against a recurrence," says Air Force Secretary Verne Orr. Donald A. Poland, a spokesperson for Rockwell, said he expects "an early resolution to this matter."



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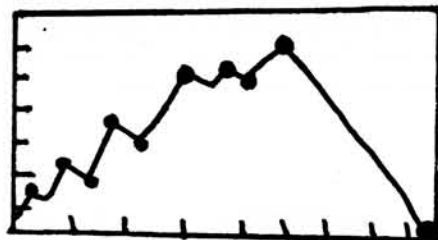


# Waiting For The Recovery

Every culture creates myths or illusions to justify the actions of its leaders to its members. Machiavelli noticed this about the role civil religion plays in society over 500 years ago. The current economic recovery proclaimed by the Reagan Administration is just such an illusion. It is being purchased in large measure by the massive U.S. military buildup begun by President Carter in 1981 and expanded by President Reagan in 1982. It is not spreading to the rest of the U.S. economy.

How is this illusion of recovery sustained? By what avenues is military spending fueling American economic "growth"? And why isn't President Reagan's "supply-side economics" responsible?

Let's take the last question first. According to the economic theory behind the President's tax cut of 1982-84, individuals and corporations were assumed to be too heavily taxed. If their tax burden was reduced, they would use their additional income to reinvest in productive enterprises and promote innovation. The increase in the supply of goods and services that resulted would cause prices to fall and consumer spending to increase.



As industries expanded to meet supply, incomes would rise as people worked harder. In addition, proponents of "Reaganomics" optimistically believed that tax revenues would increase from the expansion, and would in turn enable the Federal Government to finance the massive military build-up without running up the national debt.

These events, however, have not come to pass. Investment after the tax cut did not, as a general trend, go into upgrading capital equipment and stimulating innovation. Tax cut windfalls helped fuel, instead, a spate of large corporate mergers involving such industries as steel, energy, communications, defense and electronics. The economic pie has only been redivided by Reaganomics, not expanded.

The *Christian Science Monitor* noted in October of this year that "individuals have run up their debts to record levels and cut way back on savings, making robust growth in consumer spending quite doubtful." The *Monitor* went on to say that "growth in military spending through 1986 will outpace growth in other sectors of the economy." While inflation during the Reagan years has remained low, prices have not fallen, and wages and incomes, especially for working and lower income people, have not generally risen. Tack onto the federal budget the enormous outlays for the military and you have the recipe for a ballooning federal deficit.

And this is exactly what America has: a federal deficit that has hovered around the \$180-220 billion level for the last five years. It recently exceeded \$1 trillion total. Interest payments are beginning to consume increasing portions of the federal budget. And President Reagan continues to "stay the course."

tary spending, prosper, while others are still depressed in the wake of the recession earlier this decade. When data on these regions are added together it's like adding apples and oranges together. Indices such as the Consumer Price Index, the Index of Leading Economic Indicators, and even the unemployment rate

The public spending priorities contained in governmental budgets are good first approximations of the conscience and goals of a nation. As I wrote last month, American priorities (like those of the Soviet Union) presently harness the US economy to the dominant goal of "national security." But as we try to keep the peace by preparing for war, citizens all over the world reject such priorities. Thus, as we strive for political justice by resisting foreign interventionism, we must also seek economic justice for all as a founding basis for our national security.

The economy makes possible many avenues for justice in society. Today, the military's purpose has little to do with justice. Instead, it is committed to defense through a military spending spree and maintenance of the status quo. The illusion—and the genius, I must admit—lies in the blurring of the distinction of the economy and the military. But the real danger is that it could be sustained too long.

Tim Strohane is a conversion activist and occasional academic.

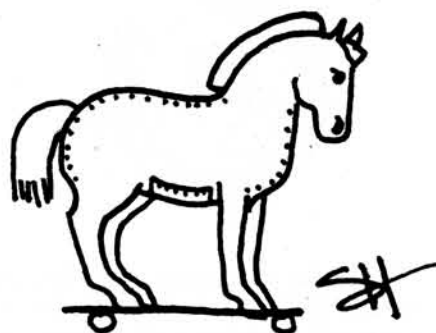
NEXT MONTH: Part II of Economic consequences of military spending: Industrial structure, technology and occupations.

## Why do we still have the outward appearance of economic recovery, even though none of the central tenets of Reaganomics holds water?

The crucial question here is: why do we still have the outward appearance of economic recovery, even though none of the central tenets of Reaganomics hold water?

The answer lies in part with the present importance of military spending to the American economy. For example, we get a glimpse of this from the following observation from a business newspaper: The Pentagon's "hardware purchases have helped prop up the U.S. manufacturing sector which has been damaged by imports." Overall manufacturing output fell slightly in recent months, yet "this performance would have been worse if defense and space production had not climbed" at the same time.

The irony here is that the supply-side theory conservatives embraced was a Trojan horse that brought in the very liberal strategy for economic stimulation that conservative ideology rejected. A fundamental notion in liberal economics is the willingness to use government spending to increase total demand for goods and services, which in turn increases supply. The economy would then grow synergistically as supply grew to keep pace with demand. In the 1980s, the twist is that military spending is President Reagan's preferred instrument for stimulating growth, guiding investment and creating employment.



Government economic indices promote this illusion of growth. They are composites of information about regions whose economics are very different from each other. Consequently, some areas, such as those heavily dependent on mili-

tary spending, prosper, while others are still depressed in the wake of the recession earlier this decade. When data on these regions are added together it's like adding apples and oranges together. Indices such as the Consumer Price Index, the Index of Leading Economic Indicators, and even the unemployment rate

tell us very little when things are bad, and even less in good times. They do not accurately describe the health of a nation as complex and diverse as ours. Such numbers hide more than they reveal. We must look beyond those numbers to the reality that our current economic expansion is largely a military economic expansion. Meanwhile, the Federal Government competes with private industry for capital and credit that might otherwise revitalize civilian industries and create genuine economic recovery.



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# Local Resolutions Favor Freeze

by Terry Teitelbaum

Santa Cruz is no island when it comes to foreign policy. This community has a strong tradition of speaking out on such issues considered beyond the scope of local government in other areas of the country.

Last month, the Santa Cruz City Council, the Santa Cruz County Board of Supervisors and the Capitola City Council all passed resolutions supporting a freeze on the nuclear arms race while the Geneva arms talks proceed. The vote on

The Santa Cruz City Council supported the resolution with a 6-1 vote. The dissenting vote was cast by councilmember Arnold Levine who believes such matters are not the concern of local government. The November 12 council vote followed immediately the 4-3 vote to declare Santa Cruz a "free-port" for trade with Nicaragua, a move aimed at countering the embargo placed by the Reagan Administration on that country. Of the free-port vote, Levine complained, "They keep leading us down the path on issues like this, and I don't think that's what

military goes unchecked."

The County Board of Supervisors passed the resolution on November 5 unanimously. Supervisor Gary Patton, who recommended the board pass the resolution, said, "By adopting this resolution, we can let both President Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev know we strongly urge meaningful discussions towards a genuine end to the proliferation of nuclear weapons in both countries."

In Capitola, the City Council adopted a similar resolution by a 3-2 vote. Councilmember Stephanie Harlan concurred with Mr. Patton and Ms. Weed that the arms race is a local government's concern. She recommended the Council pass the resolution because the nuclear arms race "is the most important issue of our time."



**"We need to make our voices heard from the village square."**

the resolutions, timed to express support for a meaningful summit meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev, also urged the two leaders to pledge to resume Comprehensive Test Ban negotiations immediately after the summit. The local government bodies responded to the nearly 6,000 Santa Cruz residents who signed a "Freeze While We Talk" petition which was presented to the superpower leaders with over one million signatures gathered nationwide on similar petitions.

we're elected to do."

Councilmember Jane Weed, who brought the resolution before the council, disagrees with Levine. She believes, "We need to make our voices heard from the village square." She pointed out that the money spent on building one F-14 fighter jet could fund all the child abuse prevention programs in the country for an entire year. She maintains that local governments are adversely affected by the arms race, and claims, "It's unfair that social programs get cut while the

## Food Irradiation Hearing

by Richard Buckminster

Amid mounting public interest about food irradiation, a House Agricultural subcommittee public hearing in Washington, D.C. on November 18 drew testimony from several legislators, food processors and many consumer interest groups, who spoke in opposition to a proposed bill that promotes the research and development of the controversial use of radiation to disinfect food and increase its shelf life.

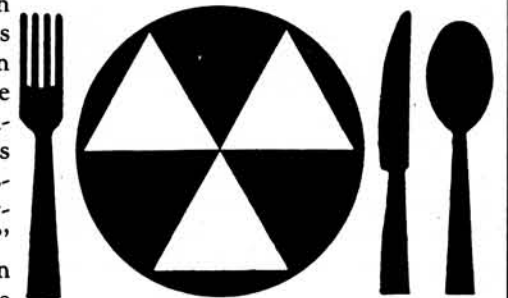
The House Bill H.R. 696 would also change the definition of Food Irradiation from an additive to a process, which has alarmed many critics. "Additives come under much closer scrutiny than processes," said Brion Sprinsock of the Santa Cruz Coalition to Stop Food Irradiation. "They have to jump over a series of hurdles not required of 'food processes,' including animal studies to determine toxicity of the products irradiated."

Robert Alvarez of the Washington based Environmental Policy Institute questioned its feasibility. "Food irradiation is another nuclear boondoggle that will require multi-million dollar subsidies from taxpayers for a technology with no proven history of success," Alvarez said.

strong opponent of proposed legislation that would effectively repeal the now required label, and preempt any state or local attempts at a labeling law.

Congress will vote on H.R. 696 by late 1986.

Gary Patton, Chairperson of the Santa Cruz County Board of Supervisors said, "In my opinion if you believe in labeling, you've got to stand up for local control." The Board has slated his local labeling ordinance for a January 28 hearing.



## And In Berkeley . . .

The Berkeley City Council is considering action on the issue of food irradiation and has scheduled a public debate for December 5 at 7:30 P.M. at the Berkeley City Council Chambers.

The debate panel speaking in favor of the use of radiation to preserve and disinfect food will be Neil Neilson of Emergent Technologies, and Manual Lagunas-Solar, a radiation chemist from the University of California at Davis.

The opposition will be represented by Noel F. Summer, a Professor of Pomology at U.C. Davis and Denis Mosgofian of the San Francisco Chapter of the Coalition To Stop Food Irradiation.

The public is encouraged to attend. For more information call (408) 426-CSFI.



Consumer acceptance is the greatest obstacle facing the food irradiation industry and the focus of the national and local debate has centered on the issue of labeling. "Consumers should have adequate information to make informed choices in the marketplace," said Senator Alan Cranston, Democrat California, a

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# Peace & Justice Calendar

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

## Thursday, December 5

*General Meeting.* CASA. For time and place: 458-9743

## Friday, December 6

*Peace Vigil.* Sponsored by the Pajaro Valley Religious Committee for peace-making. 4:45 to 5:30 pm. Watsonville Downtown Plaza, Beach and Main. For info: 722-5691.

*Concert and Dance.* Sponsored by the Coalition for Nicaragua and KUSP 89 FM. Luis Enrique Mejia Godoy and Grupo Mancotal. With special guests Holly Near and Swingshift. Veterans Memorial Building (Vets Hall), 842 Front St., Santa Cruz. 7:30 pm for sit-down concert; 10:00 pm for dance. For one show: \$5.50 advance; \$7.00 door. For both shows: \$8.00 advance; \$9.50 door. Tickets available at: Cymbaline Records, Blue Rhythm Records in Capitola, and Food and Nutrition in Watsonville. For info: 458-0303.

*General Meeting.* Local participants in the Great Peace March for nuclear disarmament will meet at 4:00 pm. All those interested in marching or support are welcome. For location and info: 475-5319.

## Saturday, December 7

*Public Forum.* Sponsored by Teachers Interested in Welfare of Children. The emphasis will be on the effects of the cannery workers strike on children in the Watsonville area. 1:00 - 3:00 pm. Watsonville High School. For info: Greg Baker; 728-6243.

*Chanukah Party.* Open to all but especially for children. 7:30 - 10:00 pm. YWCA building on Walnut St., Santa Cruz. For info: 425-4782.

## Sunday, December 8

*Singalong.* Freedom Song network. 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz. 3:00 - 5:00 pm. For info: 425-5211.

## Monday, December 9

*General Meeting.* Native American Support Group. 7:00 pm. For location and info: 423-5349.

## Tuesday, December 10

*General Meeting.* Gray Panthers Christmas meeting. Live Oak Senior Center Annex. 1:00 pm. For info: 475-2012.

## Wednesday, December 11

*Vigil.* Sponsored by Friends Meeting. At Santa Cruz Town Clock. 4:00 - 5:00 pm. For info: 423-2605.

## Friday, December 13

*Peace Vigil.* Sponsored by the Pajaro Valley Religious Committee for Peace-making. 4:45 - 5:30 pm. Watsonville Downtown Plaza, Beach and Main. For info: 722-5691.

*General Meeting.* For local participants in the Great Peace March. See December 6.

## Saturday, December 14

*Potluck.* Computer professionals for Social Responsibility. 6:00 pm. 419 Rigg St., Santa Cruz. For info: 425-8726.

*Holiday Party.* People's Democratic Club. At home of Sam Bloom. For info: 425-8671.

## Sunday, December 15

*Holiday Gift-Making and Singalong.* Sponsored by the Resource Center for Nonviolence. 1:00 - 5:30 pm. Trinity Episcopal Church, Melrose and Poplar, Santa Cruz. Singalong will be at end of session. The Resource Center also has a display of Christmas gifts throughout December from 10:00 am - 4:00 pm Mondays through Fridays and 10:00 am - 3:00 pm on Saturdays at 515 Broadway St., Santa Cruz. For info: 423-1626.

*Vigil.* Friends Meeting for this day will be held at 11:00 am at the Livermore Community Park. From there the group will vigil at the main gate of the Livermore Weapons Laboratory. For info: 423-2605.

*Walk-A-Thon.* A 10 kilometer Peace Walk-a-thon from Capitola Mall to Santa Cruz. The purpose is to publicize the Great Peace march for nuclear disarmament and to raise money for local marchers. For info: 475-5319.

## Monday, December 16

*General Meeting.* Native American Support Group. See December 9.

## Wednesday, December 18

*Vigil.* Sponsored by Friends Meeting. See December 11.

*Lecture and Discussion.* A talk on Guatemala and refugees by Riogberta Menchu. Sponsored by the Native American Support Group. 7:00 pm. Vets Hall, Santa Cruz. For info: 423-5349.

## Thursday, December 19

*General Meeting.* CASA. For time, location and info: 458-9743.

## Friday, December 20

*General Meeting.* For local participants in the Great Peace March. See December 6.

## Saturday, December 21

*Peace Vigil and Luminarias.* Sponsored by the Watsonville YWCA and the Pajaro Valley Committee for Peace-making. 4:45 - 5:30 pm. Watsonville Downtown Plaza, Beach and Main. For info: 722-5691.

## Monday, December 23

*General Meeting.* Native American Support Group. See December 9.

## Wednesday, December 25

*Vigil.* Sponsored by Friends Meeting. See December 11.

## Friday, December 27

*General Meeting.* For local participants in the Great Peace March. See December 6.

## Monday, December 30

*General Meeting.* Native American Support Group. See December 9.

## Sunday, January 5

*General Meeting.* Lively Connections. 2:00 - 4:00 pm, 515 Broadway St., Santa Cruz. For info: 688-3792.

## Tuesday, January 7

*Annual Public Meeting.* Redwood Youth Foundation. There will be a video presentation of the First International Telecongress held last summer. This video is now in the public archives at the Santa Cruz Public Library. There will also be a video of the channel 7 coverage of the Golden Bell Award which is given by the State Department of Education for the best scientific achievement won by Del Mar School in 1985. 7:30 pm. Santa Cruz Public Library. For info: 476-2905.



## Join The Freeze!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\_\_\_\_\_ Enclosed is an additional contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_.

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

\_\_\_ Office Work \_\_\_ Typing \_\_\_ Phoning \_\_\_ Signature Gathering

\_\_\_ Tabling \_\_\_ Events \_\_\_ Other \_\_\_\_\_

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

\_\_\_ Newspaper \_\_\_ Education \_\_\_ Petition Drive \_\_\_ Steering Committee

\_\_\_ I'll host or co-host a housemeeting.

\_\_\_ Here is my contribution of \$\_\_\_\_\_.

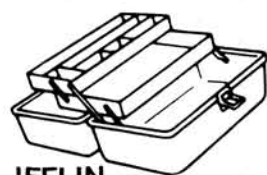
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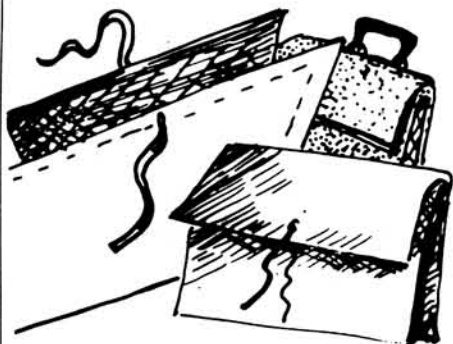


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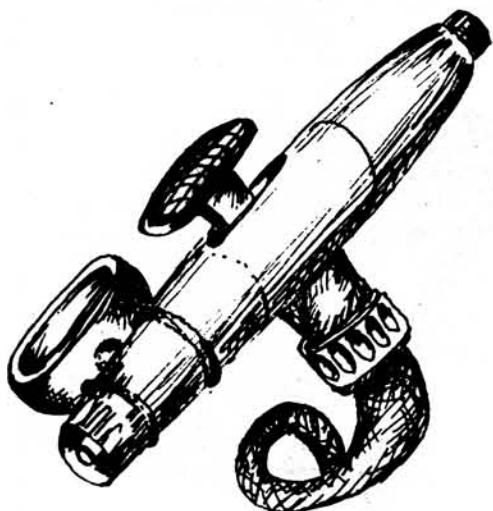
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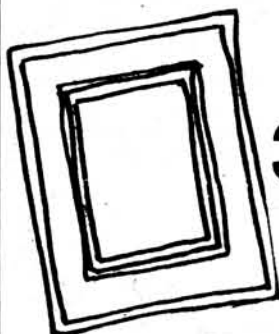
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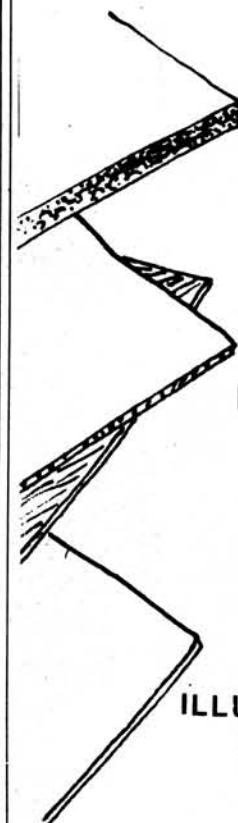
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