

January/February 1986

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The MONTHLY PLANET

Published by the Santa Cruz County Nuclear Weapons Freeze



The New Soviet Proposal: No Nukes By The Year 2000?

Food Irradiation
Gains Momentum

Nuclear Germany's
Past, Present,
And Potential Future

PRO-Peace
Marches On

The MONTHLY PLANET
c/o Nuclear Weapons Freeze
320-G Cedar St.
Santa Cruz, Ca. 95060

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THE FREEZE PROPOSAL

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

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



The Monthly Planet

Editor: John Govsky
International News Editor: Igal Dahari
Hot Flashes Editor: Ronald A. Lampi
Poetry Editor: Ronald A. Lampi
Advertising Coordinator: Risa Krive
Calendar Editor: Donna Teuteberg
Calendar Compilation: Lively Connections
Conversion Corner: Tim Strohane
Contractors Corner: Igal Dahari
Legislative Update: Shelly D'Amour
Staff Writers: Ronald A. Lampi, Igal Dahari, Terry Teitelbaum, Shelly D'Amour, Tim Strohane, Douglas Dirks, Colleen DeLaney, John Govsky, Arno Nording, Michael Stephen Katzman
Nuclear Age Education: Michael Stephen Katzman
Proofreading: Royale Ashley, Celia Quinn, Ronald A. Lampi, Igal Dahari
Graphics: Jordan Wolfson, Melissa Sikes, Kevin X
Typography: ASAP
Production: Terry Teitelbaum, Igal Dahari, Christopher Williams, Ronald A. Lampi, John Govsky, Kevin X, Rick Woods, Lee Dupont, Rebecca Skoler, Cindy Cornwall, Melissa Sikes
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January/February, 1986

Table Of Contents

Hot Flashes: Nuclear Briefs	Page 4
Food Irradiation Update: The FDA Forges Ahead	Page 6
Planet Watch: Global Nuclear News	Page 8
Planet Poetry: Words For Reflection	Page 10
Legislative Update: What Congress Has Been Up To	Page 11
PRO-Peace: Walk for Disarmament	Page 13
PRO-Peace: A Critical Look	Page 13
West Germany: Into The Nuclear Club?	Page 14
The Two Germanys: Life After Hitler	Page 15
The Soviet Offer: Nuclear-Free World By Year 2000?	Page 16
The Nuclear Button: Who Controls It After Reagan?	Page 18
Seven Steps To Peace: A Plan By The Freeze's Founder	Page 21
Star Wars: How It Could Cause Nuclear War	Page 22
Contractors Corner: Your Tax Dollars At Work	Page 24
Conversion Corner: Democracy Without Growth?	Page 25
Nuclear Plant Accident: Poisonous Gas Kills Worker	Page 26
Peace & Justice Calendar: A Look At Upcoming Local Events	Page 27

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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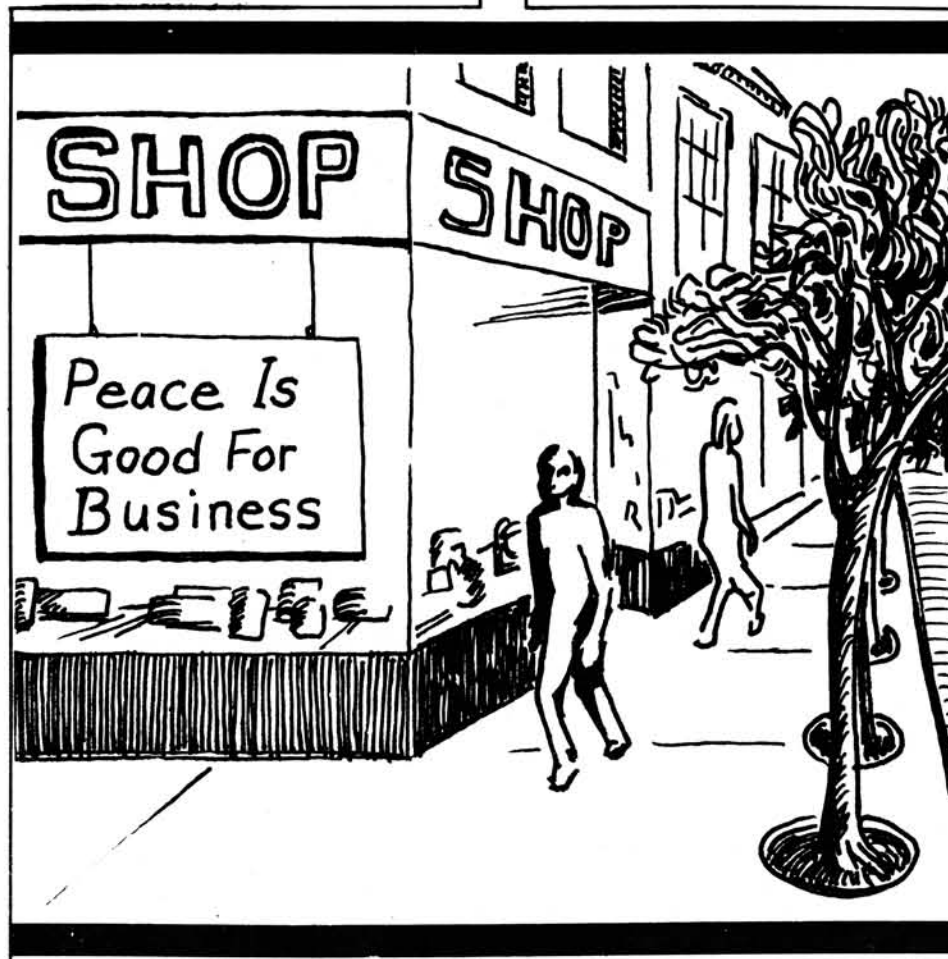
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Better Miniature Than Life-size

Imagine the entire nuclear arsenal of the U.S. laid out before you in miniature: tactical and strategic warheads; short-range and air-launched cruise missiles; as well as the submarines, B-52 bombers, and jet fighters that would deliver them. Denver artist Barbara Donachy has created an exhibit doing just that. While researching nuclear issues, she tried to visualize the nation's stockpile; discovering how difficult that was, she got the idea to duplicate it in miniature. The result: 35,000 small clay cones, representing missiles and warheads, that stand in neat rows, with models of the different delivery systems interspersed among them. The seven ton exhibit, titled "Amber Waves of Grain," presumably because the rows of cones look like fields of grain, thus allowing the title to make an interesting comment on "America the Beautiful," has been shown to various audiences since 1983. Presently it is on display in Boston.

—RL

Cuts—What Cuts?

"Pentagon Budget Grows Even as It Appears to Shrink" read the *Los Angeles Times* story headline. Talk about sleight-of-hand budget shuffling! Even with the cuts required by the new Gramm-Rudman deficit-reduction law, the Pentagon budget will grow by \$18.1 billion in fiscal 1986. This is a 2.8% increase over and above that needed (\$10.8 billion) to keep pace with a projected inflation rate of 4.3%. Compared with what President Reagan wanted to spend, which would have amounted to a 7% increase, there will be a "cutback," anticipated at \$5.85 billion. That the cutback is basically "a statistical exercise" is the opinion of Gordon Adams, director of the Defense Budget Project, a privately funded research organization; its impact on the military, he believes, will not be substantial. Certain favorite programs of the Pentagon and the Administration, such as Star Wars, will go untouched.

Though howls of protest, aptly enough from Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger

for one, have gone up, the Administration itself has cautiously stated that the new budget measure would have little effect on the military in this current fiscal year. In a case of washing its hands of any future political fallout, the Administration is placing the burden of serious future military cuts upon Congress. The Administration hopes that Congress would rather find alternatives within the Gramm-Rudman budget ceiling that would continue to spare the military than make the necessary cuts.

The battle over real military budget cuts will apparently be put off again till next year.

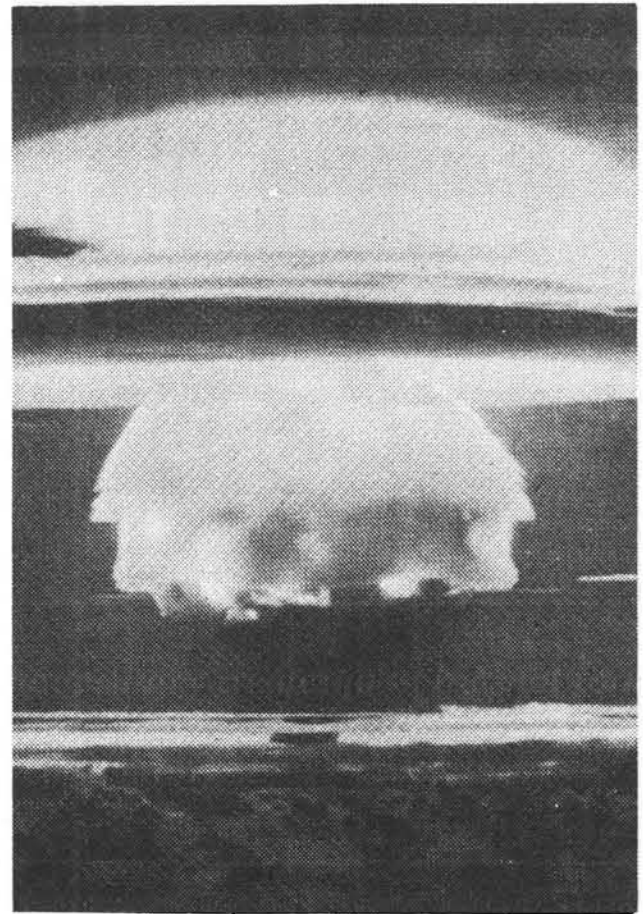
—RL

"Catastrophic Failure"

Star Wars could be a monumental flop if the military-industrial complex doesn't change its ways. That is the opinion of a recent panel of computer experts; they have taken the Defense Department to task for neglecting one whole area of Star Wars research — the computer software. The problems of designing the enormously complicated computer programs necessary for Star Wars to work has been grossly underestimated, they have stated; the research funding has fallen way below that allocated to the system's hardware. According to the panel, appointed by the Pentagon itself, old ways of thinking about new technologies have got to go. The panel characterized the military-industrial complex as "an industrial culture that resists change."

New, creative ways of thinking about how the Star Wars system is to be developed are obviously being recommended. The panel concluded that theoretically the challenge can still be met. But one member of the panel, David L. Parnas, a computer scientist at the University of Victoria in Canada, last summer resigned, disputing the feasibility of developing the necessary software that could measure up to what the system is expected to do. He warned that the whole system could turn out to be a "catastrophic failure." Perhaps new, creative ways of thinking about the necessity for Star Wars itself should also be recommended.

—RL



Hot Flashes

by Ronald A. Lampi and Douglas Dirks

Tit For Tat

The proper response to alleged violations of the SALT II treaty by the Soviet Union, according to Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, is for the United States to break the treaty itself.

According to the *New York Times*, Weinberger recommended in a report to President Reagan that the U.S. retire, but not dismantle, two Poseidon submarines this May when the next Trident submarine begins its sea trials. If the submarines or some equivalent number of missile launchers are not dismantled, the U.S. will exceed the treaty limit of 1,200 multiple warhead missiles. The report, titled "Responding to Soviet Violations Policy Study," also recommends that some single-warhead Minuteman missiles be replaced with 3-warhead Minuteman 3 missiles. And, tit for tat, Weinberger argues that signals sent back by U.S. test missiles should be encoded in response to Soviet encoding. The SALT treaty calls for verification of compliance via monitoring of unencoded test data.

The details of the report have been kept secret, according to White House officials, to avoid the perception that the Administration is divided on the subject of arms control. Although the official administration policy is to continue to comply with the never-ratified 1979 treaty as long as the Soviet Union does, the Defense Department claims that a Soviet "policy of treaty violations" requires U.S. countermoves. Officials in the State Department disagree, however, as shown by the congressional testimony of Lieut. Gen. John T. Chain, Jr. early last year. Chain, who was then director of the State Department's bureau of political-military

affairs, told the Senate Armed Services Committee that "[the Soviets] have complied with the large majority of the treaties."

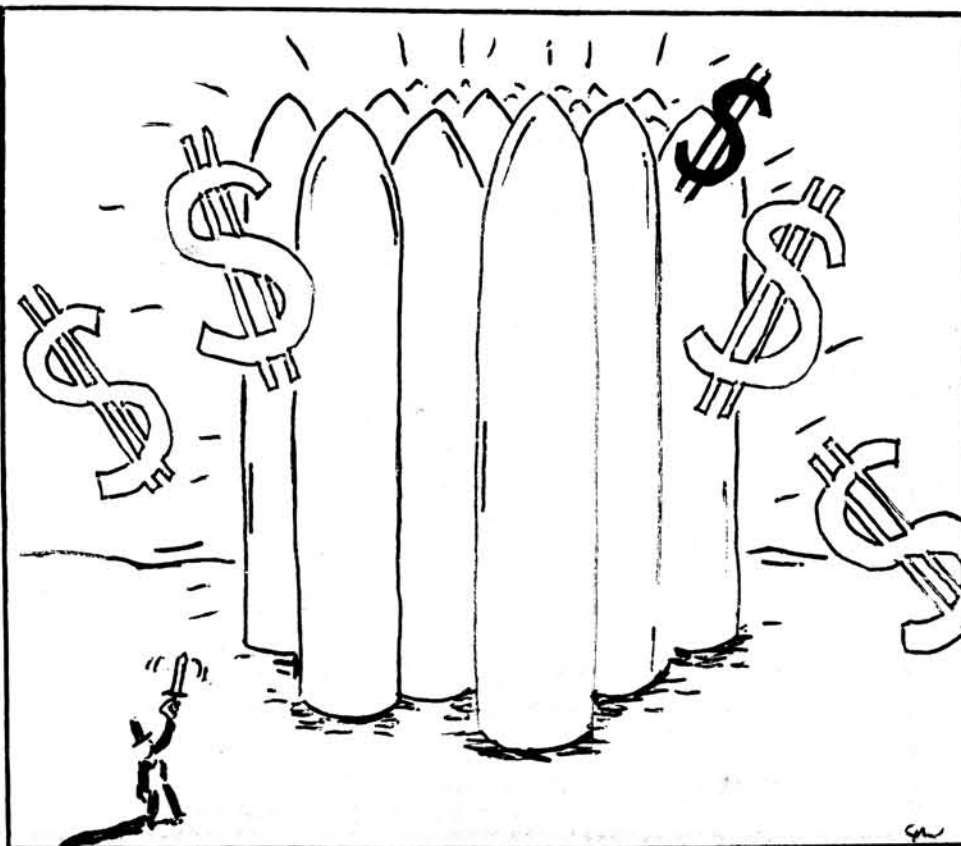
—DD

Try Something New

Will San Francisco become a sister city to Leningrad? The proposal, backed by Mayor Dianne Feinstein, would have to be approved by the city's Board of Supervisors. Though she has not yet introduced it, it has already met with strong opposition from a state legislator and from organizations supporting Soviet Jews. Human rights is the issue; the emigration policy of the Soviet Union with regard to Jews has worsened in recent years. In addition, Leningrad itself may be a questionable choice for a sister city relationship. Not only is it the "worst place" in the Soviet Union for Jews, according to David Waksberg, executive director of the Bay Area Council for Soviet Jews, but it has also acquired a record for harassing visiting Americans.

Mayor Feinstein is not unaware of the situation, having visited the Soviet Union only last month, but has said that such a relationship could foster a "nonthreatening atmosphere in which serious questions" about human rights could be broached. In the same vein, she has also said, "The path we are on has not worked, so why not try something new?"

—RL



Accidents Will Happen

Safety incidents related to nuclear weapons do happen. In fact, 630 of them, from 1965 through 1985, were cited by the Navy in conjunction with a lawsuit brought against the Navy by the American Friends Service Committee, better known as the Quakers, in Hawaii. The group has been fighting to get information from the Navy on nuclear accidents and was able to obtain Navy records under the Freedom of Information Act; the Navy felt compelled to publicly discuss the record as a result. A Navy spokesperson has said that none of the incidents created a threat to the public, or to property, or the environment, or even to a sailor. Radiation was never released in any of the incidents.

The two most serious cases, however, were called "accidents" (defined by the Navy as an unexpected event involving a nuclear weapon that might detonate, release radioactivity or cause a public hazard). One involved the loss of a Navy bomber carrying a dummy nuclear bomb in the western Pacific in 1965. The other involved the loss of the submarine Scorpion in the mid-Atlantic in 1968. The submarine was capable of carrying nuclear weapons; given Navy policy, we may never know if it did or not.

A statement by Ian Lind, director of the Quaker's office in Honolulu, reads, "The documents reveal that the Navy's nuclear accident record is far more extensive than the public had previously been led to believe and is of immediate concern, especially to those living near nuclear installations."

—RL

ABC To Air "Amerika"

If Sly Stallone can do it, why not ABC? Apparently noticing that anti-Soviet line movies have been selling well, executives at ABC Entertainment have made plans to cash in with a 16-hour mini-series called "Amerika" depicting life in the United States 10 years after a Soviet takeover. The mini-series, which was originally budgeted at \$40 million, was to be ABC's centerpiece for the next prime-time season.

ABC ran into a problem Stallone has yet to face, however, when Walter Rodgers, the Moscow Bureau Chief of ABC News, was summoned to the Soviet Foreign Ministry last December 15. Rodgers was apparently told that ABC News operations in Moscow could be jeopardized if the mini-series aired. ABC postponed production of the series the first week in January, citing budgetary problems as the main cause. Brandon Stoddard, president of ABC Entertainment admitted, however, that the warning from the Soviets would play a part in the decision whether to continue the project.

After two weeks of criticism for appearing to bow to Soviet pressure, Stoddard announced that production would soon begin and that "Amerika" would air in the spring of 1987.

According to the *New York Times*, Boris Malakhov, a spokesperson at the Soviet Embassy in Washington claims "Amerika" would project a false view of Soviet intentions and "would not facilitate understanding between our countries." According to ABC's Stoddard, scenes of Soviet-occupied America would show long food lines, hope-

lessness, and drug and alcohol abuse. Writer/Director/Producer Donald Wrye, however, claims the project is misunderstood. "There's no Russky-bashing at all in the film," Wrye told the *Times*.

—DD

Beyond Boundaries

Something historic happened on December 14, 1985 — "Spacebridge." The organization Beyond War, which presents a peace award annually to the individual, group, or nation who they feel has made the most significant contribution to world peace, accomplished a first at their ceremony, centered at San Francisco's Masonic Auditorium. For the event, they organized a global telecast, linking 7 nations across 5 continents, requiring them to reserve all international commercial satellite time for the two hours it aired. No two-way broadcast of this magnitude had ever been attempted before.



The award went to the heads of state who in January 1985 signed the "Delhi Declaration" of The Five Continent Peace Initiative. The six leaders who did so were: President Raul Alfonsin of Argentina, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India, President Miguel de la Madrid of Mexico, President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Prime Minister Olof Palme of Sweden, and Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu of Greece. The declaration called for a nuclear weapons freeze, with an ultimate goal of total nuclear disarmament; in addition, special emphasis was made on two primary steps: a stop to a Star Wars type arms race and the need for a comprehensive test ban treaty.

The ceremony linked all six leaders by the live satellite "spacebridge." The 142 closed-circuit television "downlink" sites across the U.S. alone allowed thousands to watch the event. One of those downlink sites was located here in Santa Cruz, at Cabrillo College.

—RL

The Navy's Wild Card

After years of hedging about its strategic policy, the Navy has finally come forward to ensure us that it has a clear idea of how to engage in a naval war. Its Chief of Naval Operations, Adm. James D. Watkins, in a recently published article "The Maritime Strategy," has made some candid admissions as to naval strategy in the event of a nonnuclear conflict with the Soviet Union. Using conventional weapons, the Navy would seek to destroy Soviet submarines carrying nuclear ballistic missiles. The aim would be to tip the nuclear balance in our favor and to terminate the conflict on terms favorable to us and our allies. Since "the Soviets place great weight on the nuclear correlation of forces," it would be to our

advantage to quickly "alter the nuclear equation" in our favor.

Critics have argued that this could trigger off an immediate escalation of the conflict; the conventional war could turn nuclear overnight. For would the Soviets refrain from using their nuclear missiles, only to watch them be destroyed? That this aspect of the strategy "may seem dangerous" is admitted by Adm. Watkins. "Our strategy is not without risk," he states, and a rather considerable risk at that, according to critic Barry R. Posen, an assistant professor at Princeton University, who previously had ties with the Defense Department. He has put it succinctly: "Of all the possible Navy strategies, this one is the most likely to cause the other side to reach for nuclear weapons."

—RL

Waste Not Want Not

Would you relish the thought of a radioactive waste dump in your backyard? Well, states are no different. Already states have gone to court about the possibility of locating a high-level waste dump within their boundaries. High-level nuclear waste remaining radioactive for tens of thousands of years makes for a mighty long time commitment. Radioactive materials, mostly used fuel rods from nuclear power plants, have been accumulating for almost 30 years; they have been stored at various reactor sites around the country, but the measure has been only temporary, and is faster becoming a serious problem. By order of Congress, back in 1982, a permanent storage site must be found. The possible location for a first dump has been narrowed down to three states: Texas, Nevada, and Washington. This has created such a controversy that




lawsuits against the Federal Government have been filed.

But now a projected second dump is in the picture, and the seven states, this time all east of the Rockies, that have just been selected for their primary sites by the Department of Energy are also unhappy. A second dump was deemed necessary when a limit was placed on the capacity of the first, the rationale being that no one state should be responsible for storing high-level nuclear waste for the entire country.

Even low-level waste is unpopular, however. On Jan. 16, President Reagan had to sign legislation to keep South Carolina, Washington, and Nevada from closing the country's only authorized low-level waste dumps. Under penalty, states will also be responsible for seeing to it that low-level waste produced within their boundaries is properly disposed of.

—RL

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Food Irradiation Gains Momentum

by Brion Sprinsock

On her last day of office, December 14, 1985, Margaret Heckler wrote her final chapter in a long story about food irradiation. During her years as a Massachusetts Congressman, Health and Human Services (HHS) Secretary Heckler kept a watchful eye over the U.S. Army's food irradiation research program at Natick, Mass., part of her congressional district. When in 1982 she was appointed head of HHS, which oversees the Food and Drug Administration (FDA), Ms. Heckler brought with her a strong interest for irradiation. During the years Heckler led HHS, the FDA has approved the use of irradiation for 60 herbs and spices, pork, and most recently, fresh fruits and vegetables.

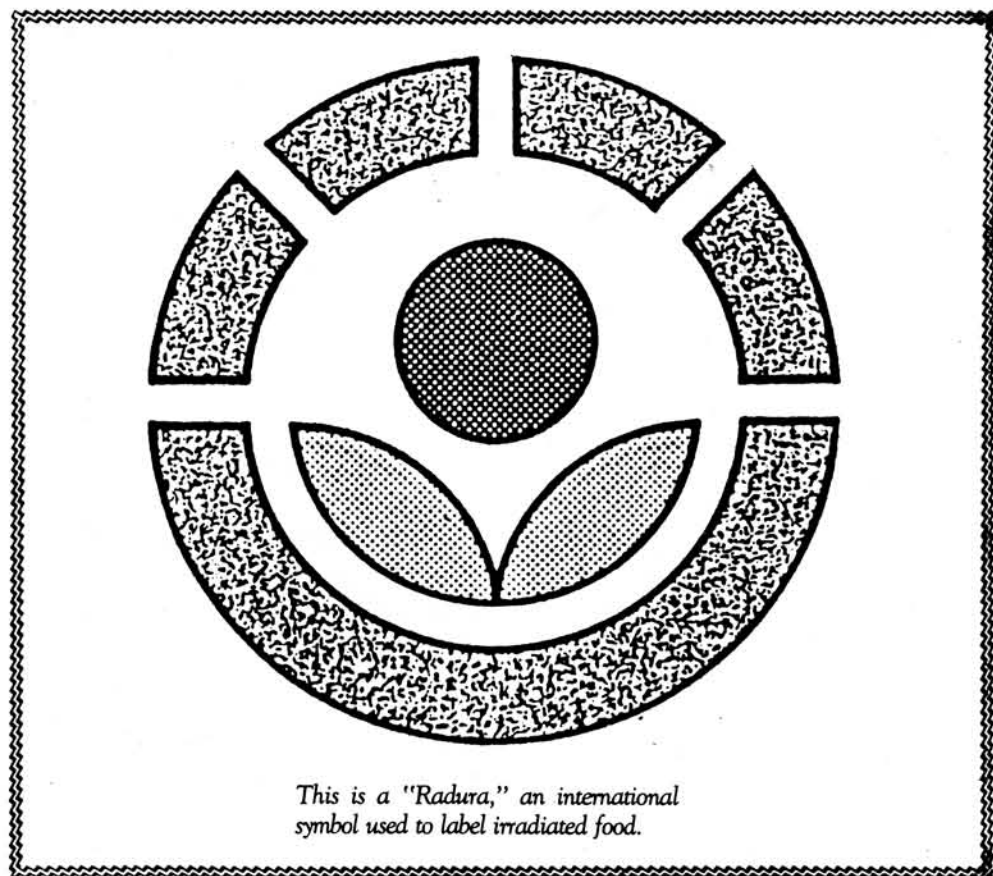
At her mid-December farewell press conference Ms. Heckler announced that she had signed the fruits and vegetables ruling and sent it to the White House Office of Management and Budget (OMB). OMB

Radura (flower) symbol, will be the only FDA required disclosure information on soon to be irradiated fresh fruits and vegetables. Don't scramble for your dictionary — picowaved is not a word in the English language. It was coined a few years ago by the president of a San Jose based



irradiation company. The Radura is an international food irradiation symbol. Created in the Netherlands, it is now in use throughout Europe and South Africa.

The FDA's new ruling and the "picowaved" label signal the beginnings of a food irradiation commercialization spiral. As the debate over irradiated foods heated up, food industry giants sat on the sidelines waiting



This is a "Radura," an international symbol used to label irradiated food.

The FDA has decided to do away with a food irradiation labeling requirement which has stood over 27 years.

will review the document, make suggestions to FDA in the areas that effect "burden of industry," and eventually release it for publication in the Federal Register. While the FDA ruling strikes a hard blow to irradiation foes, the most significant devel-



opment regards the consumers' right to know.

The FDA has decided to do away with a food irradiation labeling requirement which has stood over 27 years. The FDA is tossing out the labeling statement: "Treated with gamma radiation" in favor of the word "picowaved." That word, along with the

for the FDA to call the plays. Already, International Nutronics (INI), a Palo Alto irradiation company, has petitioned the FDA to begin treatment of mainland bound Hawaiian papayas. A New Jersey based irradiation firm, Radiation Technology, is building a new facility at the Port of Salem, N.J. to treat incoming tropical fruits.



Closer to home, the impact of the FDA's ruling is coming into focus. Central California farm communities are quickly being asked to play host to irradiation facilities and radioactive cobalt-60. In early December the Los Banos Planning Department

received an application for a building permit along with an Initial Environmental Study from International Nutronics. INI is hoping to build a garlic, onion and spice irradiator in Los Banos that would house 800,000



curies of radioactive cobalt-60. X-ray machines used to treat cancer patients carry 5,000 to 10,000 curies of cobalt-60. Los Banos is a Central Valley farm community about 60 miles east of Santa Cruz, known to many as an ice cream and restroom stop on the way to Yosemite. Los Banos Planners are now reviewing the INI Initial Study, and sometime in February they are expected to decide on whether or not they will require a full Environmental

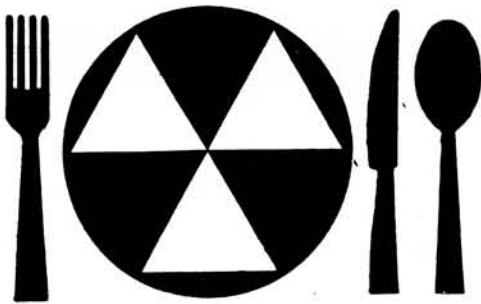
Impact Report before plans for the proposed facility can progress. The Santa Cruz Chapter of The Coalition to Stop Food Irradiation is already working in support of Los Banos residents who are organizing a local opposition to the INI proposal.

In the closing days of 1985 the Salinas



Californian broke a story outlining plans of an irradiation facility proposal in Salinas. Radiation Technology announced to the Californian that, based on the FDA's fruits and vegetables ruling, they have their eyes on the Salinas Valley because of its proximity to food growing and processing. Indeed, Salinas is home of processing plants bearing the names, Nestle, Smuckers, and McCormick. It is yet to be seen whether or

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not Radiation Technology's plans good to Salinas Valley residents. Radiation Technology is reportedly working with Ronald L. Martin, owner of Agraquad in Salinas. Martin says that Radiation Technology has "major plans" for the Salinas area, but that he does not want to reveal them yet because the public does not yet know enough about irradiation. Radiation Technology's Salinas proposal is still in the planning stage, and is being monitored by the Santa Cruz Coalition to Stop Food Irradiation.

On January 14th the Food Safety Inspection Service (FSIS) announced the approval

of radiation treatment in pork products. FSIS, part of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, is responsible for meat and poultry inspection and grading. Irradiation was approved as a method of eliminating the parasites which cause trichinosis. Because the United States does not inspect pork for trichinosis and other countries do, most Common Market countries will not accept U.S. pork. The National Pork Producers' Council has backed irradiation as a solution to pork producers' export problems. In 1985, after 35 years of study and ten million dollars, the USDA came up with a serological trichina test for hogs. This irradiation alternative costs just pennies per hog and is in use in other countries. The test, called ELISA, has yet to be implemented in the U.S.

Brion Sprinsock is the Director of The Santa Cruz Coalition to Stop Food Irradiation. For further information on food irradiation developments, call CSFI at 426-2734.

Santa Cruz County Passes Food Irradiation Ordinance

by Igal Dahari

Growing local concern over irradiated food prompted the Santa Cruz County Board of Supervisors to pass an ordinance requiring store owners to post signs advising shoppers of irradiated products. Board Chairperson Gary Patton introduced the matter to the board last November, asking that the food itself be labeled for irradiation. The board objected to the first proposal,

but passed the requirement to post signs on a 4-0 vote. The ordinance applies only to unincorporated areas of the county.

Food and Drug Administration (FDA) regulations say that irradiated food must be labeled with a green flower-like symbol and the phrase "Picowaved to retard spoilage." Patton charges that the FDA is trying to "disguise the fact that food is being treated with radiation."



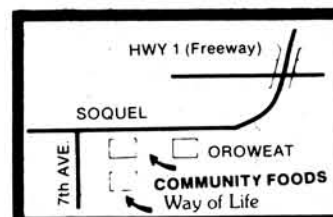
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Planet Watch

by Igal Dahari



Canada Peace Alliance

Canadian peace organizations have taken an unprecedented step toward a more unified approach to their common goals with the formation of the Canadian Peace Alliance (CPA). The CPA was born at a November 8-11 meeting in Toronto of 250 Canadian peace groups, though the idea was conceived at an earlier time. The CPA's charter was worked out so that a consensus could be reached among the present groups. The charter's final draft included support for a nuclear weapons freeze and the declaration of Canada as a nuclear-free zone. It was approved unanimously. The CPA's steering committee will hold its first meeting in Calgary, February 21-23.

Robert Penner, who helped organize the November convention, wrote in the January/February issue of *Nuclear Times* that before the convention there was a "year-long debate" dominated by "organizational questions." The most disagreement occurred over whether the CPA should be an "active coalition — initiating campaigns and main-

taining a public profile — " or simply be a clearinghouse. According to Brian Eng of the Toronto Disarmament Network, a coalition of peace groups, the CPA will be a more of a clearinghouse during its first year, though he indicated that in the future it will play a more active role. He said that so far the CPA itself "has no set goals, no formal policy." Eng said that the biggest problem in setting up an organization like the CPA is "getting people [in different parts of Canada] interested in each others problems."



Missile Crashes Prematurely

A cruise missile test over Canada went awry last month and prompted U.S. officials to cancel a similar test the following day. The January 22 test failed when the unarmed missile aborted its 1,500-mile flight and crashed 35 miles off target. The cruise has been touted as a highly accurate delivery vehicle for nuclear warheads.

Spain Out of NATO?

Spanish voters will go to the polls on March 12 to decide on whether Spain should remain a NATO member. The referendum's date was announced on January 31, nearly four years after the Socialist Government of Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalés first promised to hold the controversial vote. Gonzalés favors limited Spanish involvement in NATO. The Government

has worded the question in a way that has decreased the level of opposition.

Many Spaniards see NATO as a vehicle for the United States to dominate Europe. Memories of the Spanish-American War, American support for the Franco dictatorship and the current involvement of the United States in Central America are factors in the high anti-NATO feelings that exist.

The Day It Rained H-Bombs

The people of Palomares, Spain, recently marked the 20th anniversary of the day an American B-52 came close to obliterating their small village. On January 18, 1966, the B-52 collided in midair with another plane, spilling four 1.5-megaton hydrogen bombs on the village below. The town's church rang its bells at 10:22 a.m., the precise time the incident occurred twenty years before. Palomares' residents claim that the United States never fulfilled its promise to pay for the damages caused by the accident.



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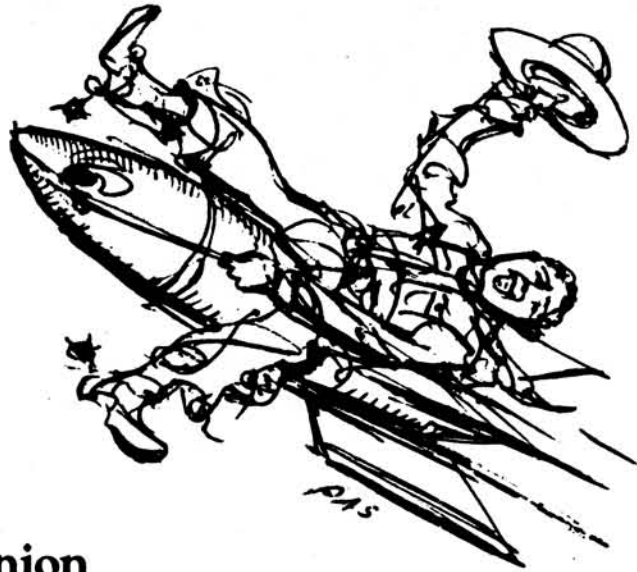
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Soviet Union Moves On Chem Weapons Ban

Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev's recent comprehensive disarmament proposal included provisions for the elimination of chemical weapons "and of the industrial base for their manufacture itself." Gorbachev's plan stated that the Soviet Union favors measures to publicize the location of chemical weapons production sites, the eventual dismantling of these sites, and international "on-site verifications" for compliance purposes. Kenneth L. Adelman, director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, said that the Soviet moves, if followed through, "can make progress on banning chemical weapons around the world." Both countries stock large amounts of chemical weapons in Europe.

Also included in Gorbachev's plan is a proposal to have "permanent" checkpoints to monitor troop levels in central Europe. The United States and the Soviet Union are currently negotiating the reduction of troops in central Europe, in the Mutual Balanced and Force Reduction Talks. So far, no agreements have been reached.



China Student Protest

Several hundred students from the Chinese province Xinjiang held an illegal demonstration recently against atomic testing in their province. One demonstrator said that the protest was also against the government's policy of sending prisoners to areas near the Soviet border. The demonstrators also demanded that their province, predominantly populated by Uighurs and Moslems, be governed by their own residents. The Gobi desert, located in Xinjiang, was the site of the first Chinese atomic test in 1964.



Palau Compact Brings Pentagon

Palau, a chain of islands 500 miles east of the Philippines, has signed an agreement with the United States giving the Pentagon extensive military rights in the tiny Micronesian state. Palau's National Congress has not yet voted on the accord, which is part of a larger agreement called the Compact of Free Association. The Compact essentially states that Palau will conduct its own affairs, except for military matters, which will be handled by the United States. Congress must also approve the Compact.

The accord gives the Pentagon a multitude of access and building rights in various parts of Palau. James Berg, political and economic adviser of the Office for Micronesian Status and Negotiation, says that the country of 13,000 completes the "defensive arc" in the Pacific. Guam and the northern Marianas are also included in the "arc."

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Planet Poetry

Song of Peace

If I could have all the weapons in the basket of my bike,
I know just what I'd like to do with them.
I'd ride along a country road that no one lived around
And bury them all so deep that we'd be through with them.

Then I'd start collecting all the treasures of the Earth,
Like sunbeams, flowers, and rainbows, just to name a few.
As much as my basket could hold of these things of such great worth,
I'd pile 'em so high I could hardly see where I was riding to.

Then I'd need a little rest, some food and drink would help,
To prepare me for the journey that was facing me.
Better say good-bye to those I love, I'll see you when I return,
'Cause for at least a little while you'll see no trace of me.

'Cause I'm off around the world with my basketful of jewels,
Gonna ride this world over and pass them out,
And hope that this replacement for those weapons, oh, so cruel,
Will provide some extra love and help to change this world about.

Yes, if I could have all the weapons in the basket of my bike,
I'd know just what I'd like to do with them.
I'd ride along a country road that no one lived around
And bury them all so deep that we'd be through with them.

Robby Labovitz



The Ballad of John Q. Public

O! Johnny Q. was quite a lad,
He lived right here in town...
Camped out in front of his TV,
He always could be found.

His thoughts were shaped by ad-campaigns;
He didn't care to reason.
He hadn't time to take a stand.
(Not during football season!)

John, we hardly knew ya — you hardly
Knew yourself.
You'd still be here if you had put
The Missiles on the shelf.

The President told Johnny Q.
"You need a strong Defense!
"MX and Cruise and Pershing II's!"
— To Johnny that made sense.

Now John, he didn't spot the ruse
In this fatal game of chess.
He watched the sports — turned off the news —
Oblivious to the mess!

The world churned on...on towards the edge
Of nuclear abyss.
Poor Johnny never guessed the truth
'Till Death blew him a kiss.

John Q. Public and his TV
Flew up into the sky...
In flames, and smoke, and broken dreams,
The time had come to die.

John, we hardly knew ya — you hardly
Knew yourself.
You'd still be here if you had put
The Missiles on the shelf.

John Q. Public and his TV
Flew up into the sky...
In flames, and smoke, and shattered dreams,
And never knowing why.

Stephen Hinkel




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.

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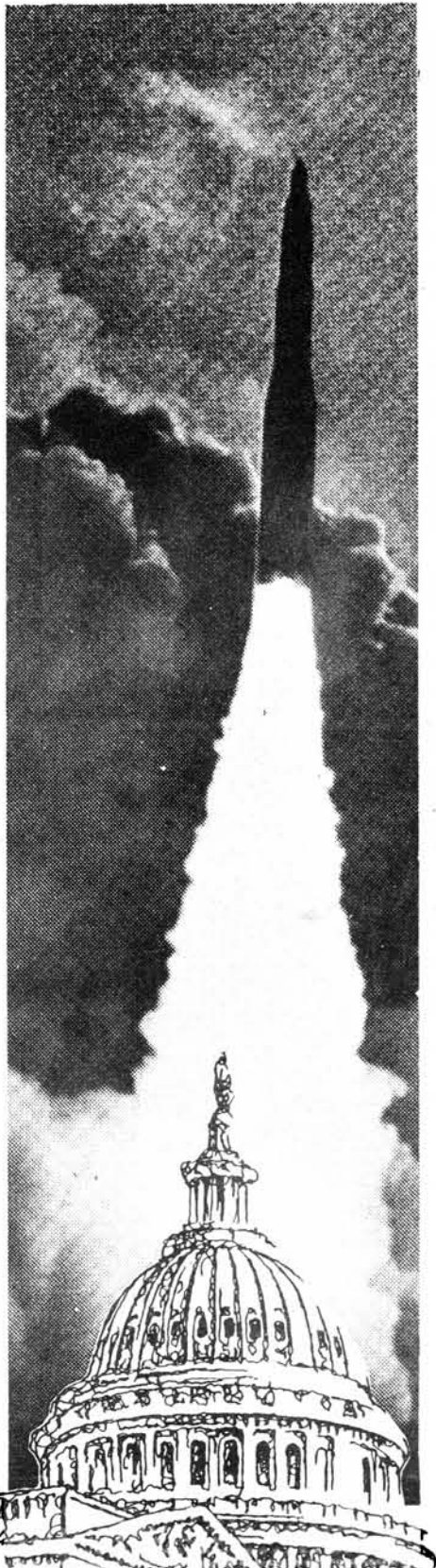
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SPECIAL OFFER

SPECIAL OFFER

SUMMARY

Well, it's been a relatively quiet month on Capitol Hill. Legislators recessed for the holidays in mid-December; however, the second session of the 99th Congress reconvened on January 21, and things are beginning to heat up. Without question, the hottest issue in 1986 is the Gramm-Rudman Deficit Reduction Act, which is currently being challenged in Federal Court. If the Gramm-Rudman bill is declared constitutional, Congress will be required to voluntarily trim \$60 billion from the deficit by October 1, or else face automatic reductions in all programs, which will be distributed equally across the board. In order to avoid automatic reductions, the president will almost surely have to agree to make deep cuts in the military and raise taxes, a step he has refused to take so far. Regardless of whatever deficit-cutting action taken, it is unlikely that any major weapons systems would be impacted.



COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN

Hope burned a little brighter in January when the Soviets announced their decision to extend their moratorium on nuclear weapons testing for an additional 90 days, and to continue the moratorium indefinitely if the United States would also agree to stop testing. Current test ban legislation is taking two forms:

H.J. Resolution 3

If passed, this legislation would urge the president to resume negotiations with the Soviet Union on a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. A vote on H.J. Resolution 3 was postponed last Fall due to the (then) upcoming Reagan-Gorbachev Summit. It is expected to come up for a vote as early as the end of February, and enjoys strong support in the House.

Schroeder Bill (no number yet)

Representative Patricia Schroeder (D-CO) will re-introduce her bill, which calls for the elimination of funding for all nuclear weapons testing if the administration does not agree voluntarily to a testing moratorium. The bill has 53 co-sponsors, including Representative Leon Panetta.

ACTION: *This really is a golden moment—a rare tangible opportunity to roll back the arms race. The Freeze urges its supporters to call and write Representatives Leon Panetta and Ed Zschau and urge them to support test ban legislation, and to encourage other members of Congress to do likewise.*

TRIDENT II

With another Trident II submarine scheduled to be launched in May, the administration will have to dismantle two Poseidon submarines in order to stay within the limits of Salt II. The Trident program has enjoyed the support of Congress, and any changes in that support will be incremental. However, Gramm-Rudman provides an excellent opportunity for legislators to trim back some of the monies designated to research and development. At this point, no amendments aimed at cutting funds have been proposed.

CENTRAL AMERICA

The administration has requested \$100 million in aid to the Nicaraguan Contras. \$60 million is to go for direct military aid, and the remainder for "food, clothing, medicine, boots, and other non-lethal logistical support." Congress has shown general displeasure at the recent civil rights restrictions of the Sandinista government, and it is possible that they will approve some kind of military aid. However, there is still the concern among members of Congress that any kind of direct military aid will only bring the United States one step closer to committing U.S. troops to the region.

On another front, Central American nations involved in the Contadora peace process resumed their discussions on January 15. They called on Washington to resume direct negotiations with Nicaragua. The Reagan administration continues to give verbal support to the Contadora process, but refuses to negotiate directly with Nicaragua or to pull back on its support of the Nicaraguan Contras. In a recent letter to the president, Representative Richard Gephardt urged Mr. Reagan to "withhold any decision on aid to the Nicaraguan Contras at least until the end of March, so that the Contadora process may

be given a chance to work."

ACTION: *Freeze supporters should contact Representatives Leon Panetta and Ed Zschau, and Senator Alan Cranston, and urge them to vote against any kind of aid to the Nicaraguan Contras.*



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
202-462-0777

Central America Legislative Hotline
202-543-0664

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

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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
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PRO-Peace Marches Forward

by Peter Kleiner

The Great Peace March is coming. Starting on March 1st, 1986, 5,000 people will walk from Los Angeles to Washington, D.C., to carry the call for global nuclear disarmament to the citizens of this nation and the world.

The Great Peace March, what CBS News has called "the greatest civilian undertaking of this century," is being organized by PRO-Peace, the Los Angeles based non-profit, non-partisan group.

Since PRO-Peace began, great strides have been made in the areas of recruitment, fundraising, and national organization. Regional and state offices have opened across the country, a nationwide Peacewalk fundraiser took place November 3rd, and over 11,000 applications have already been distributed to prospective marchers.

BEGINNINGS

The idea for PRO-Peace began late in 1984, when Executive Director David Mixner's 9-year-old niece told him she thought she would die, before growing up, in a nuclear war. This prompted Mixner to search for a new way to fight nuclear proliferation. The problem, as he saw it, was the lack of hope that anything could be done. His answer was to create a groundswell for nuclear disarmament, both here and abroad, so powerful that the leaders of the world will have to listen.

The marchers, 5,000 strong, will leave their homes, schools, jobs and families, and

walk 15 miles a day for 255 days — across the Mojave Desert, the Great Basin, the two major continental mountain ranges and the Great Plains. Their sacrifice will capture the imagination of the world.

The logistical challenges faced in planning the Great Peace March are massive. Over the course of their nine-month cross-country journey, the marchers will wear out 20,000 pairs of shoes, eat 3,825,000 meals, take 1,275,000 showers and set up and take down 2,500 tents each night.

FINDING THE MARCHERS

The recruitment drive is underway, and before it is over, over 10,000 applications will be processed for the 5,000 marcher positions available. The PRO-Peace Field Department, responsible for community and campus support, has already visited over 100 colleges and universities across the country. In order to accommodate students wishing to go on the March, PRO-Peace is facilitating credit to be given in such subjects as "Nuclear Weapons and U.S. Foreign



...to create a groundswell for nuclear disarmament, both here and abroad, so powerful that the leaders of the world will have to listen.

PRO-Peace plans to meet these challenges through impressive recruitment and fundraising campaigns. PRO-Peace's organization is already in place. Its Los Angeles office houses over 80 full-time employees on three floors. Regional and state offices have opened along the March route, in Denver, Cleveland, Omaha, Des Moines, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Boston, New York and Washington, D.C. Two Advance Teams have just finished surveying the March route, cataloging campsites and charting every mile the marchers will walk.

Policy," "The Cold War," and "Theory and Politics of Non-Violence," in its College on Foot program.

One of the most important pre-March events took place November 3rd. A 10-kilometer Peacewalk was held at over 65 campuses all across America, and the money raised through pledges to student walkers will be used to pay for some of the many tents needed on the March.

These tents will bear the name or mascot of the school (or fraternity, sorority or campus organization) throughout the

March, and will be returned to those campuses when the March is complete. Through two sponsorship programs, "Adopt-a-Marcher," and "Gimme Shelter," students at colleges all across the country are able to make critical contributions to this historic endeavor. Many students are planning to have little "villages" of \$350 housing tents named after their schools. Others have pledged as much as \$15,000 to sponsor one of the 3,200 sq. ft. canopies that will house the cafeterias for the March.

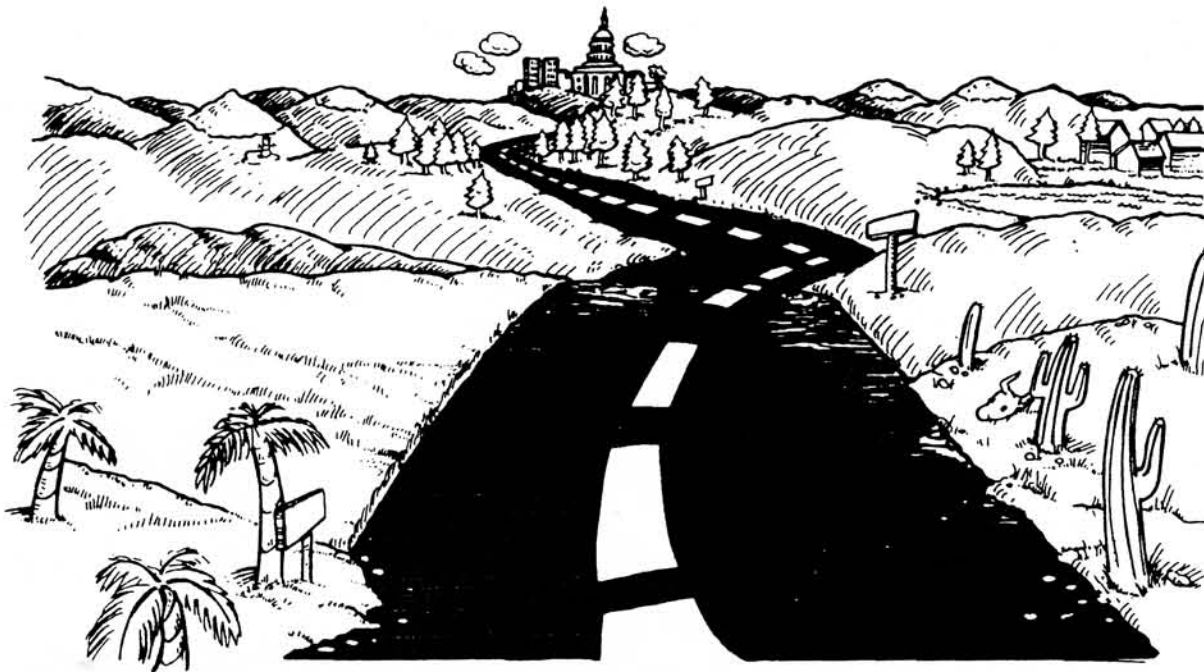
FUNDRAISING

There is also a way for individuals and groups to participate without leaving their communities — the "Adopt a Marcher" program. It is estimated that providing food, water and sanitation for each marcher will cost about \$1 per mile, or \$3,235 per marcher over the course of the March. Local groups can sponsor a marcher for that amount. Individuals can also "adopt" a marcher for \$1,000 in a single payment, or \$100 a month for 12 months. Each sponsoring organization or individual will receive a photo of their "adoptee" as well as a weekly letter or postcard from the road.

PRO-Peace plans to appeal to the nation as a whole for funds and marchers through a Public Service Announcement recently filmed in Los Angeles. PRO-Peace enlisted the aid of major Hollywood talent, in front of and behind the camera. The commercial was directed by Nicholas Meyer, the acclaimed director of "The Day After." Over 1,000 people came together for the filming, including such concerned celebrities as Martin Sheen, Rosanna Arquette, Rob Lowe, Leonard Nimoy, Madonna, Malcolm McDowell and Mary Steenburgen. Everything was donated, from camera equipment to coffee, from editing facilities to a satellite link-up to beam the commercial to over 650 television stations across the country. The toll-free number for applications and donations is 1-800-453-1234. The Great Peace March Public Service Announcement has been seen on local T.V. stations since October 23rd.

The logistics of the Great Peace March are massive, and the sacrifice displayed by the marchers will be inspiring. But in the words of David Mixner, "If we can accomplish this seemingly impossible task, if we can move 5,000 people, in peace coast to coast — and we will — then the citizens of this country will understand once and for all that they can undertake another seemingly impossible task: the task of abolishing nuclear weapons for good."

A number of people from Santa Cruz County will participate in the Great Peace March. For information on PRO-Peace activities in the Santa Cruz area call 475-5319



DON'T JUST TALK — FREEZE NOW!

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



PRO-Peace: Another View

by Leslie Cagan

This article is reprinted with permission from *The Mobilizer*, a publication of Mobilization for Survival (MfS). MfS is a national coalition of grassroots groups working for disarmament, non-intervention, safe energy and human needs.

Early in 1985 MfS first heard about plans to have 5000 people march from coast-to-coast, adding their voices to the urgent cry for nuclear disarmament. In the months since, we have learned more about PRO-Peace and the Great Peace March they are organizing. Their ambitious plan calls for people to march 15 miles a day for 256 days covering 3235 miles, using 2500 tents and 20,000 pairs of shoes, taking 1,275,000 showers, eating 3,825,000 meals, and touching 65,000,000 American lives by taking 50,000,000,000 steps, according to their materials.

The idea for the march and the leadership of PRO-Peace come from David Mixner. A veteran of the movement to stop the U.S. war in Vietnam in the 60s, and other peace and justice struggles, Mixner says PRO-Peace "intends to create an atmosphere that will make it impossible for our leaders not to take nuclear weapons down." The total elimination of nuclear weapons is their goal.

The vagueness of their political program, the massive scale of the project and the organizational structure of PRO-Peace raise a complex set of questions for the peace and justice movement.

While the task is not easy, as activists and organizers we must think through the meaning of, and our relationship to, what promises to be a significant nuclear disarmament event in 1986.

The Great Peace March will take nine months, employ hundreds of people, spend over \$10 million and attract major media attention. With its narrow political focus, is the Great Peace March the wisest, best, most creative use of the human and financial resources it is calling upon? Will this tremendous expenditure of resources help bring us closer to the peaceful and just world we seek?

While recognizing the necessity of eliminating nuclear weapons, PRO-Peace's call is so vague that even Ronald Reagan could conceivably support it. MfS believes that a different political approach is needed: one that sees the struggle for nuclear disarmament as inseparable from the broader effort for peace and justice in this country and abroad.

Over the past few years, important steps have been taken by Mobilization for Survival and other organizations to demonstrate the connections between the nuclear arms race and military intervention, between mil-

itary spending and misplaced domestic priorities. In most of our political work, MfS tries to show connections between issues rather than project a single-issue theme or to define problems so narrowly as to exclude an understanding of the relationships between issues.

Whatever its strengths or weaknesses, the march will take place. There is no doubt that for those who participate this will be an exciting, perhaps life-changing experience. What will come next for these folks, and for the hundreds of thousands of people who

most pressing problems of our nation and the world, while giving special attention to certain critical issues or specific struggles when necessary? Can we offer concrete alternatives to the nuclear arms race, military intervention and excessive military spending? Can we develop new leadership while maintaining high levels of activism from large numbers of people? Can we create new forms of activism offering millions of people the chance to be heard?

While National MfS is not endorsing the march, we will be sending materials about PRO-Peace to our affiliates so that each group can make their own decisions. We encourage local groups to relate positively and creatively to the march and the marchers as they pass through their community. We hope this approach will allow and encourage groups to develop a relationship to the march best suited to their local needs and priorities.

MfS is not hostile to those involved in PRO-Peace. We admire the boldness of their approach, their call for the abolition of nuclear weapons and their serious commitment. We hope that the discussion of our political differences will lead to a greater understanding, and to a more unified peace and justice movement throughout the country.

Leslie Cagan is the Program Coordinator of National Mobilization for Survival and serves as a member of the national Coordinating Committee of MfS. This article is based on discussion within MfS and feedback from other Coordinating Committee members.

...PRO-Peace's call is so vague that even Ronald Reagan could conceivably support it.

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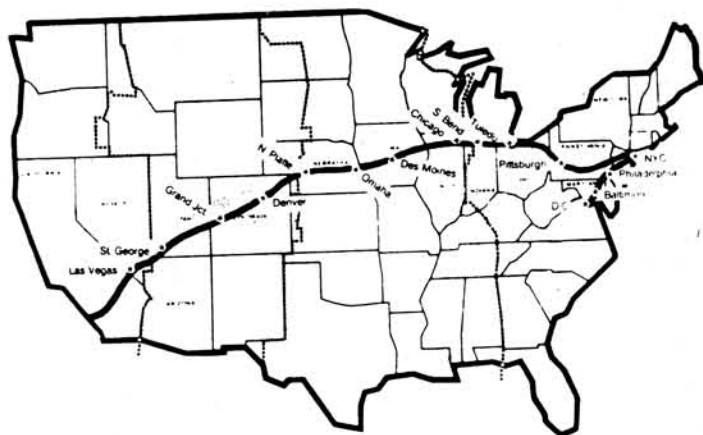
STRUCTURE AND PROCESS

The internal workings of PRO-Peace and the structure of the march itself also raise problems for those of us working to build a democratic and participatory movement as a model for the society we seek to create. While David Mixner has said that a democratic structure will be in place for march participants, for now he is the man in charge, with the final say on all political and organizational questions. I am suspicious when someone with access to very large amounts of money tries to set the agenda for a social movement, and Mixner has such access. While his commitment to nuclear disarmament is not in question, we wonder whether the hard-learned lessons about how structures can inhibit or empower will be applied to the march. The long-term nature of the struggle for peace and justice

will come in contact with the march? PRO-Peace literature is not clear on this. It should be noted that Mixner played a central role in both the McCarthy and Hart presidential campaigns, as well as serving as a major fundraiser in numerous electoral campaigns.

SERIOUS CHALLENGES

What can Mobilization for Survival, and the rest of the peace and justice movement, offer the thousands of people who will be touched by the Great Peace March? Our movement faces serious challenges. Can we find a way to make the links between the



POLITICAL APPROACHES

PRO-Peace's goal of abolishing nuclear weapons is also Mobilization for Survival's goal. Yet at our recent national convention MfS decided not to endorse the march. An endorsement would have given a nod of approval to the politics of PRO-Peace with which we differ so greatly. And an endorsement would not have given MfS avenues with which to participate in the decision-making or influence the structure of politics of PRO-Peace, important considerations when endorsing such a major undertaking.

makes it important that our internal structures lead to the development of new leadership and the empowerment of those involved.

The relationship of PRO-Peace to the rest of the peace, disarmament and social justice movement also raises concern. While it is exciting to see new ideas come forth and people take initiative, when and how do we begin to encourage greater coordination among diverse constituencies and groups? Given the massive scope of the march and the attention it will attract, prior consulta-

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Will West Germany Join The Nuclear Club?

by Igal Dahari

The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) has the highest concentration of nuclear weapons per square kilometer of any country, yet it does not own or control a single one of them. In fact, West Germany is prohibited by the Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) from manufacturing, buying or testing nuclear weapons. The NPT does not, however, forbid the stationing of another nation's nuclear armaments on German soil; hence the presence of a large number

tions on the German military remained for a time, held loosely in place by the Western European Union (WEU). The WEU, having risen from the ashes of the Community, binds several Western European countries together, primarily through military cooperation.

After 1954, West Germany concentrated on increasing its military strength within NATO. In the mid 1960's, it was set on gaining substantial control over some nuclear weapons by becoming a member of the ill-fated Multi-Lateral Force, an Ameri-

Treaty" by some Christian Democrats and "a new Morgenthau Plan" by others.

Thus, West Germany had no intention of signing the NPT. It's allies in the WEU had allowed unlimited growth to go on in the German "civil" nuclear program, making most of the ingredients for a nuclear bomb available to the once powerful central European state.

The Soviet Union, however, insisted that West Germany participate in the NPT, or else the Soviets and their allies would boycott the treaty. The Johnson Administration, anxious for its program of detente to take hold and so improve its failing domestic image, pressured West Germany to sign. At this time, the United States was West Germany's sole source of uranium, the life force of the German nuclear power industry.

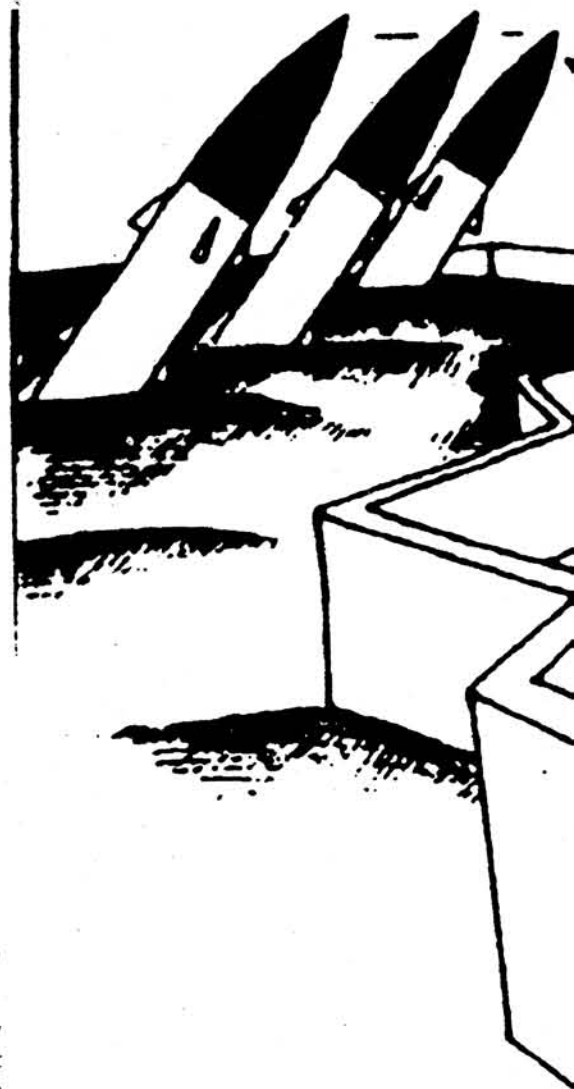
In 1974, the Bundestag finally approved the treaty — four years after it was formalized. The Christian Democratic vote was split, but this is not indicative of key points the West German leadership — then headed by the Social Democrats — managed to introduce into the treaty after years of internal and external debate and negotiation.

The most important way West Germany influenced the NPT is by forcing a time limit on the treaty. In 1995 the treaty must be renegotiated, or it will simply cease to exist. So far the treaty's future looks bleak. Although there has not been horizontal proliferation among the non-nuclear signatories, a continuing arms race between the superpowers has made many of those signatories unhappy with the results of the treaty. Forty countries refuse to sign the NPT altogether, adding a further strain to the prospect of a revitalized treaty.

The Rusk Interpretation of the NPT was another advantage for West Germany. Former Secretary of State Dean Rusk said that the treaty "would not bar succession by a new federated European state to the nuclear status of one of its members." In other words, several Western European countries, including West Germany, could form a military pact involving a shared nuclear arsenal. In such a situation, similar in ways to the Multi-Lateral Force, the FRG would essentially be a nuclear power and still remain within the limit of the NPT.

West Germany also managed to exempt its nuclear power industry from any meaningful NPT controls. For instance, German nuclear plants, unlike the plants of other non-nuclear signatories, are not subject to inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency, an arm of the United Nations. West Germany also gained the right to do what it pleases with the plutonium produced by its nuclear plants.

The current government, headed by Helmut Kohl and many of the Christian Democrats who opposed the NPT, continues to steer the country toward acquisition of nuclear weapons: West Germany has the capacity to begin production of nuclear weapons in less than a year; it stockpiles more plutonium than any other nation not possessing nuclear arms; in 1955, the year the NPT runs out, a reprocessing plant at Wackersdorf will begin producing five tons of plutonium a year (one ton of plutonium is enough for 100 modern nuclear war-



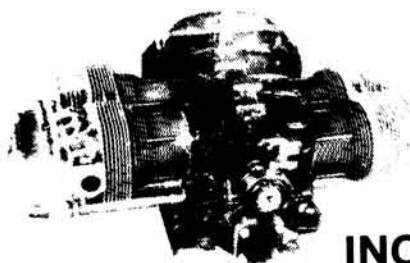
The more conservative political elements apparently see a German nuclear state as the path to a restored Germany.

of American nuclear weapons.

That West Germany signed a treaty prohibiting it from possessing nuclear weapons belies the country's past and possibly future intent to become a nuclear power. In 1954, the European Defense Community, composed of several Western European countries, ceased to exist. The Community's purpose was to keep a check on West German military growth. However, restric-

can sponsored proposal to form an exclusively European organization similar to NATO. When the Force did not become a reality, and the United States moved towards setting up the NPT with the Soviet Union, there was an outcry heard from German politicians. Many of those who rebelled against the treaty belonged to the conservative Christian Democratic Party. The NPT was called "a new Versailles

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heads); military cooperation with France, which refuses to recognize the NPT and hints at a joint nuclear weapons program with West Germany, is increasing. This last point seems more important since the resuscitated WEU recently lifted the 1954 rules prohibiting West Germany from building long range missiles.

West Germany has been and still is exporting its "civil" nuclear technology, many times to nonsignatories of the NPT who are suspected of seeking nuclear weapons — such as Pakistan, Brazil, South Africa and Argentina. When some of the 40 countries not part of the NPT begin to produce their own nuclear armaments, it will further destabilize the treaty and also seem unfair for West Germany not to have its own nuclear arsenal.

Having its own nuclear weapons, or a meaningful role in a joint European military nuclear program, would raise West Germany's image both in Europe and the rest of the world. Especially important to the Germans, though, is their position in central Europe. To regain their lost power in central Europe, it is crucial that West Germany reunite with East Germany. This is not a move opposed by the Soviet Union alone. Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti seemed to be speaking for many in Western Europe when he called "pan-Germanism" a danger and warned that Germany must remain divided.

But West Germany must convince the Soviet Union, more than any other country, that reunification will not be a danger to

Join The

Treaty" by some Christian Democrats and "a new Morgenthau Plan" by others.

Thus, West Germany had no intention of signing the NPT. It's allies in the WEU had allowed unlimited growth to go on in the German "civil" nuclear program, making most of the ingredients for a nuclear bomb available to the once powerful central European state.

The Soviet Union, however, insisted that West Germany participate in the NPT, or else the Soviets and their allies would boycott the treaty. The Johnson Administration, anxious for its program of detente to take hold and so improve its failing domestic image, pressured West Germany to sign. At this time, the United States was West Germany's sole source of uranium, the life force of the German nuclear power industry.

In 1974, the Bundestag finally approved the treaty — four years after it was formalized. The Christian Democratic vote was split, but this is not indicative of key points the West German leadership — then headed by the Social Democrats — managed to introduce into the treaty after years of internal and external debate and negotiation.

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European security. The more conservative political elements apparently see a German nuclear state as the path to a restored Germany.

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Igal Dahari is the International Editor of *The Monthly Planet*.

The Two After Hit

by Arno Nording

Forty years ago a development occurred that signaled the end of an era for the German people. With the fall of Hitler and the Third Reich came a turning point of history — the hierarchical white supremacist values had proven their fate. What happened to the survivors of this fate?

The immediate concern of the Versailles Treaty was to keep Germany demilitarized. Its land was divided into pieces by the Allied forces. The size of its army was to be kept under 100,000 troops. Technology was not to be devoted toward military purposes.

Later developments, however, changed the course of this "neutral state." With the Korean War came a massive wave of anti-communism. American-Soviet tensions played their influence in the German state. The NATO countries found it advantageous to re-arm West Germany — it could provide troops, money, and supplies to the European Army; it could send its own units to NATO; it could provide a defense along the eastern border; it could form an army that would not have to rely on NATO support. Parallel to this action, the Warsaw Pact countries passed Article 5, which made the defense of East Germany the responsibility of its own citizens. The *Volksarmee* developed, with the highest level of command under Soviet control.

The conflicts resulting from the militarization were intensified by the economic developments of the following two decades. Large investments by the United States led to more jobs, reparation payments to war victims, and many social services. Since the Soviet Union could not match these investments, East Germany developed at a much slower rate. The promising look of West Germany led to the emigration of over two-and-a-half million East Germany citizens. The Soviet Union acted to protect its

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The Two Germanys: Life After Hitler

by Arno Nording

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The conflicts resulting from the militarization were intensified by the economic developments of the following two decades. Large investments by the United States led to more jobs, reparation payments to war victims, and many social services. Since the Soviet Union could not match these investments, East Germany developed at a much slower rate. The promising look of West Germany led to the emigration of over two-and-a-half million East Germany citizens. The Soviet Union acted to protect its

interests in the East German economy by erecting the Berlin Wall in 1961, thereby cutting off the last safe means for Eastern Europeans to leave their country.

Since this action was taken suddenly and without the consent of the German people, many families were separated. East Germans were not allowed to leave their country, and it became more and more difficult for West Germans to obtain visas to visit relatives "on the other side." Contrary to American beliefs of anti-Communism, it was the separation of families that most irritated the

classes, whether they were rich or poor.

These bilateral changes separated the two cultures more and more. East German emigrants (legal and illegal) were required by the West German government to live in a *Durchgangslager* (detention camp) for a specified period of time, so they may become integrated into Western society. The visions of "land of plenty" that had motivated many to leave the East had also brought them many disappointments — they found themselves alienated in a society very different from the one in which they

The two Germanys are coming close to the beginning of a new era.

German people.

With the industrialization of West Germany came a cultural split between the two countries. American values, culture, and business ethics became more and more apparent — U.S. multinationals opened up businesses there, the development of "chain stores" led to harder times for small business owners, and taxpayer-financed media began advertising in a manner similar to that of the American media. American customs, music, films, and social trends found their way into West German culture.

On the other side of the border, material goods were too scarce to support this type of lifestyle. Emphasis in school was on shared responsibility and duties to the state. Education was very regimented, not allowing for the types of freedoms enjoyed at Western universities. However, people developed a sense of "We're all in the same boat." Everyone (except people with connections high up in the government) waited in the same lines for food, rode on the same buses and trains, and attended the same

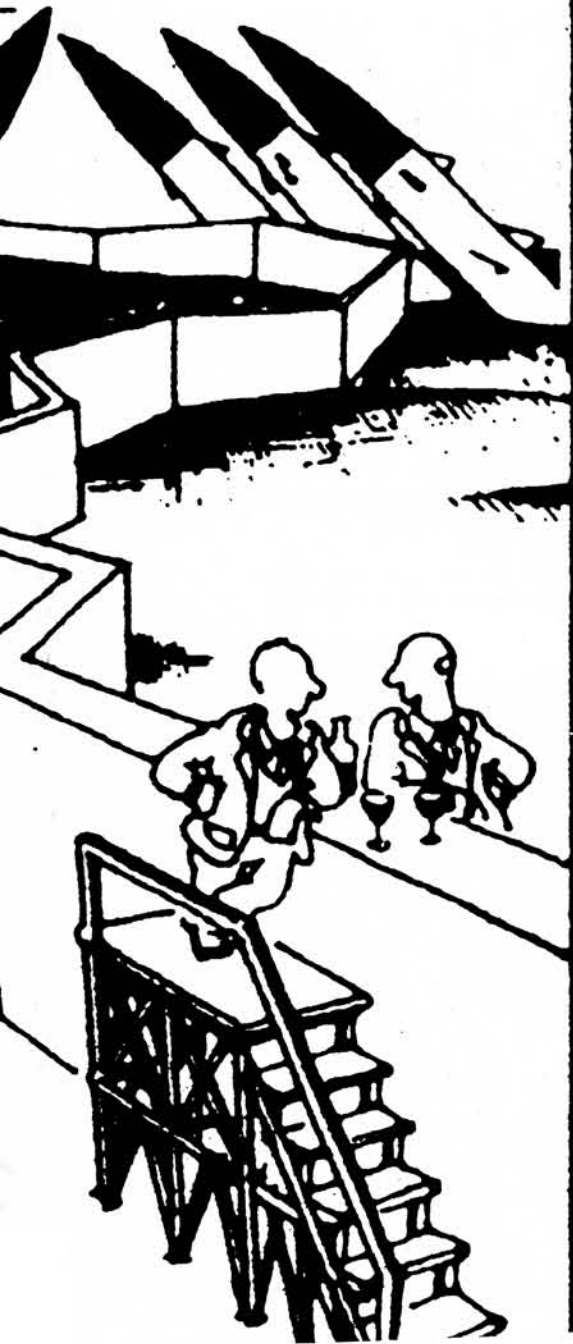
grew up.

Even the sixties, with its outgrowth of student demonstrations in the West, did not bridge this gap; the West German people were still critical of any left-wing activity. The *Berufsverbot*, which made individuals ineligible for all civil service jobs if they were found to be involved in demonstrations that were in any way connected to left-wing groups, was predominantly questioned by those directly affected. Communist newsletters were common, but were only read by a small minority.

While West Germans were increasingly standing up for their rights, they did not deal very much with East/West issues until 1980. The election of Ronald Reagan, the decline of the European economy, and the deployment of American missiles in West Germany shocked many Germans.

In a search for new solutions, a new party called the Green Party participated in its first election in 1980, and won representa-

continued on page 23



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No Nukes By The Year 2000?

by John Govsky

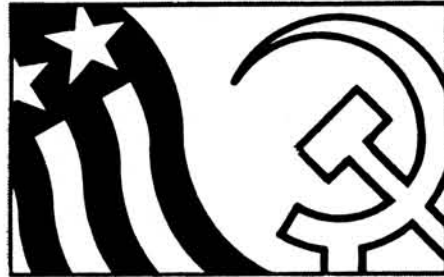
"The ball is in their court. The Soviets owe us a complete response." This comment on the situation in Geneva, made by Kenneth Adelman on January 14th, didn't stay true for long. Adelman, head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, was as surprised as the rest of the U.S. arms negotiators on the next day when Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev unveiled his sweeping proposal.

This new Soviet offer consists of a three phase plan to eliminate all nuclear weapons on earth by the end of the 20th century (see box). President Reagan initially responded, somewhat incorrectly, that "It's just about the first time that anyone has ever proposed actually eliminating nuclear weapons." Though the Soviets have proposed eliminating these weapons before, this is the first time a plan has been offered with a specific timetable and deadline for action.

Besides fixing stages for disarmament, the major change in the Soviet position involves the delicate situation in Europe. The proposed elimination of all U.S. and Soviet intermediate range missiles in Europe resembles the so-called "zero option" of 1981. This was Reagan's pledge not to deploy any new medium-range missiles in Europe if the Soviet Union dismantled its SS-20 medium-range missiles. At that time Moscow insisted on keeping at least 162 of these missiles — the same number of British and French missiles aimed at the Soviet Union. Negotiations were deadlocked and the Soviets walked out in protest of the

Euromissile deployments in November of 1963.

This time, however, the Soviets are calling for both the American and Soviet medium-range missiles to be removed without demanding enough in place to counter British and French missiles — provided that they do not add any more in the meantime.



The mainstream media were quick to highlight the utopian nature of the plan as unrealistic. Emphasizing the propaganda value involved, most news organizations failed to examine the plan's most important components, such as a continued push for a Comprehensive Test Ban and an apparent willingness to allow on-site inspection as part of the verification process.

Verification has always proved to be a point of disagreement in U.S.-Soviet arms negotiations. But Gorbachev, especially in the last few months or so, has stated his willingness to allow U.S. tamper-proof monitoring equipment to be stationed on Soviet territory. He has also noted that on-site inspections would be permitted if questions arose.

The Soviets have extended (for three

months) their self-imposed ban on nuclear testing, promising to continue the ban indefinitely if the United States joins the moratorium. President John F. Kennedy issued a similar challenge in the early 1960s to the Soviet Union on atmospheric testing which resulted in the Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963.

While most arms control experts see a Comprehensive Test Ban as a significant, achievable goal, the Reagan Administration

argues that testing is necessary for the development of a Star Wars system. This argument reveals the reason that no progress has been made in almost a year of arms control negotiations at Geneva. While Reagan is trying to attain security by building yet another generation of exotic weapons, Gorbachev is pushing for total elimination of nuclear weapons as the route to a safe world. Only time will tell which approach yields or fails to yield the desired result.

The New Soviet Proposal

by John Govsky

The new Soviet proposal calls for complete global nuclear disarmament by the year 2000 in three stages:

STAGE ONE

- The United States and the Soviet Union stop nuclear testing (Moscow has already stopped testing in an effort to persuade the Reagan administration to join in a moratorium.)
- Within the next five to eight years, both sides cut in half the number of nuclear weapons capable of reaching the other's territory.
- Each side renounces the development, testing, and deployment of weapons based in space.
- Both sides remove their medium-range missiles from Europe, while Britain and France agree to freeze their weapons at current levels.

STAGE TWO

- Beginning 1990, other nations stop building new nuclear weapons and agree not to deploy them on other countries' territory.
- All countries stop nuclear testing.
- The United States and the Soviet Union continue reductions started in phase one to a maximum of 6,000 warheads capable of reaching the other's territory.
- Both sides destroy any remaining medium-range nuclear weapons.
- Both sides destroy all nuclear weapons with a range of less than 642 miles.

STAGE THREE

- Between 1995 and the year 2000, all nuclear weapons still in existence are destroyed.
- A universal treaty banning all nuclear weapons is negotiated.

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Missile Envy

by Lisa Grayson

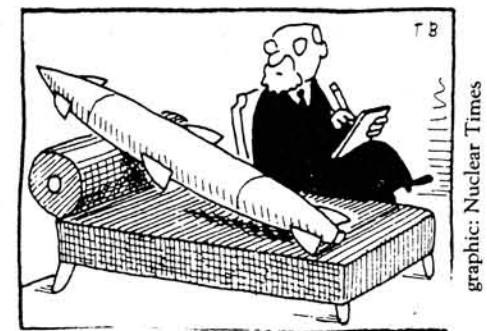
It might be our imagination: after all, to paraphrase Freud, sometimes a missile is just a missile. But when an air force general cooed that the MX "looked like a giant erection" emerging from its trench — a "Zipperditch" in military lingo — it got us to thinking. Maybe even Dr. Sigmund himself would have lost some cigar ash over what we found out.

The Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) maintains that the MX can be deployed vertically or horizontally, depending on "hardness" and "insertion and removal times." Its transporter "must perform missile raising and lowering operations with a strongback."

Alas, not even the MX is immune from difficulties. "Performance . . . might be degraded . . . by shortcomings in hardening," notes the OTA. "Dormancy increases response time since guidance systems require warm-up time to attain their design accuracy." Myriad problems are caused by "body wobble or misalignment," "uncertainties in the initial position," and "thrust termination errors."

Luckily, the MX can call upon "escort jamming for deep strike missions" and "active and passive penetration aids" such as "aerosols, jammers, and balloons."

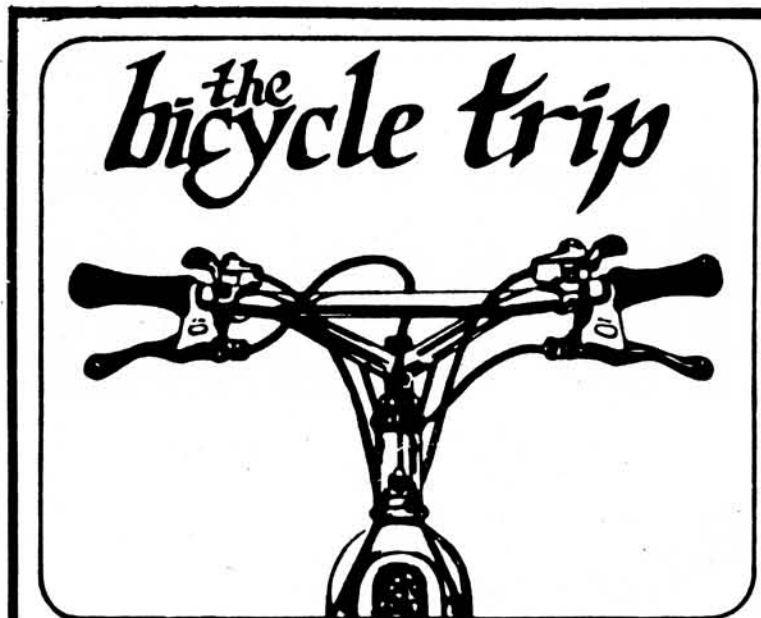
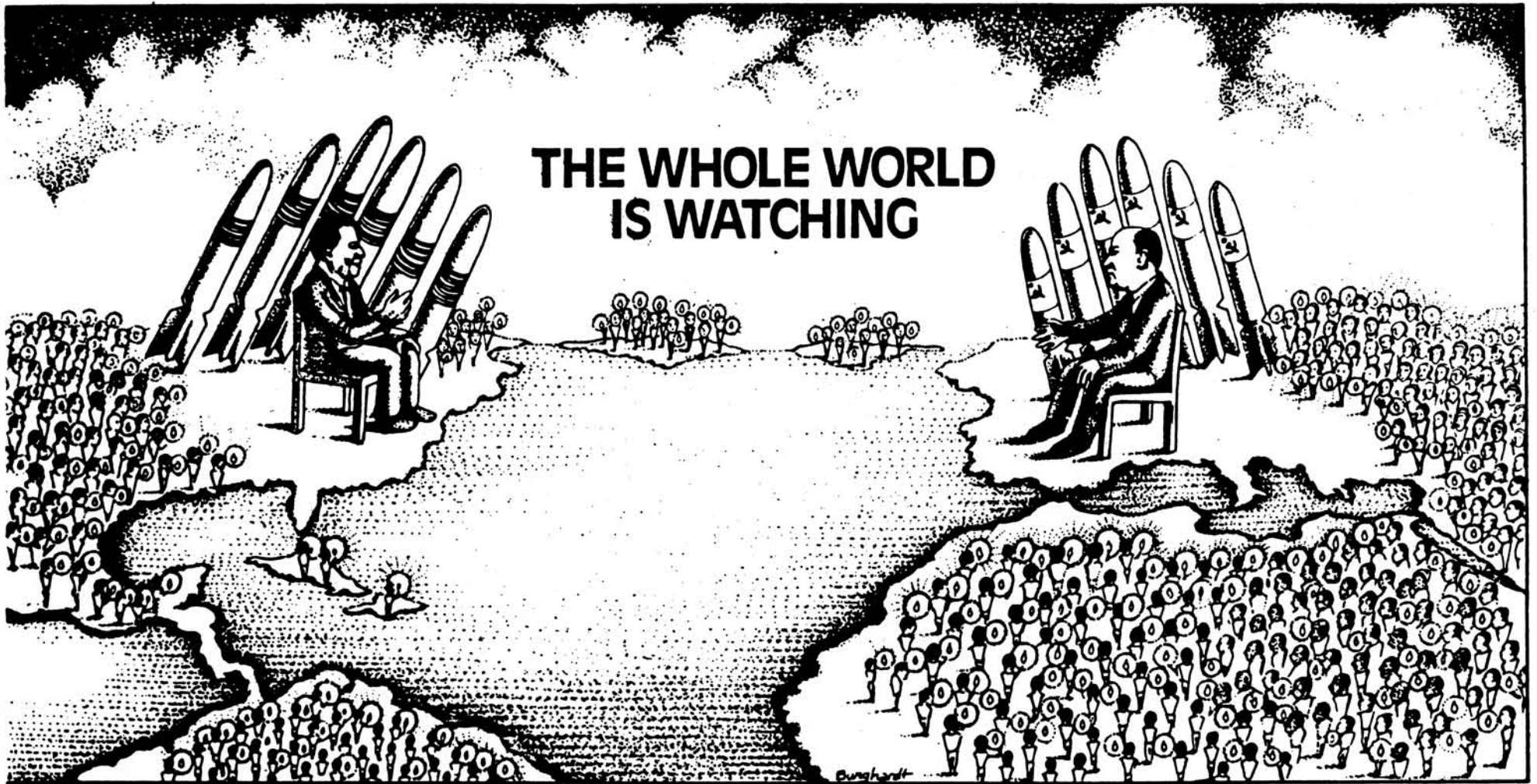
And to comfort those missiles with performance anxiety, the OTA says that "once the limited single-shot goal is accepted, a relatively poor system is as good as a perfect one."



The Pentagon, of course, stands firm for a potent defense, where the MX is especially valuable for its "ability to place at risk a portion of the most valued Soviet superhardened force structure."

As the Reagan administration has been saying all along, no use having an inferior bargaining tool.

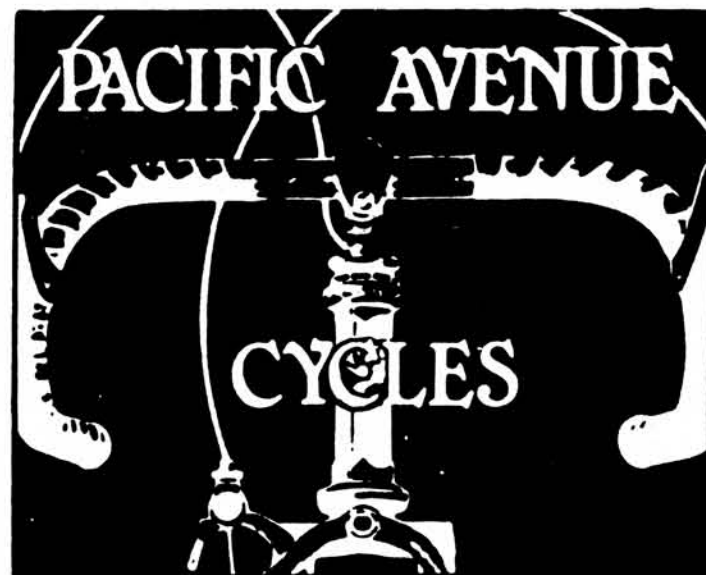
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Who Inherits The Nuclear Button?

by Robert C. Aldridge

We Americans may be overconfident regarding constitutional guarantees of democratic government. We seem convinced that civilian control is keeping military power in check—that nuclear weapons cannot be fired without the president's consent. How realistic are these beliefs? Are we on solid ground or are we naively ignoring the facts of life?

These are critical questions to which we should be finding answers. Would we feel so secure, for instance, knowing Caspar Weinberger's finger will be hovering over the nuclear button if something happens to our 74-year-old president? Befuddlement following the 1981 assassination attempt should have warned us. That incident disclosed how little we know about our government's operation and who will be in charge during emergencies.

Bullets were flying and people were ducking but news cameras caught a fleeing figure with a dark attache case. It was Lt. Col. Jose Muratti, continuous shadow of the president, carrying the "black box" containing codes and launching information for America's nuclear arsenal. Muratti quickly ducked into his assigned car as the presidential motorcade raced to George Washington University Hospital.

But on arrival, FBI investigators took President Reagan's secret personal identification card while gathering evidence.

Although the "black box" followed him to the hospital, the president couldn't have used it without his card containing coded letters and numbers to authenticate a nuclear release order. Presidential aides demanded immediate return of the card but Attorney General William French Smith ordered FBI agents to keep it—a decision described by one high official as an "inconceivable, myopic bureaucratic reaction."

Two days later the card was returned. Presumably new coding had already been

was enacted. Following the Vice President, the presidency goes to the Speaker of the House and then to the President Pro Tempore of the Senate. The lineup then proceeds in successive order through the secretaries of State, Treasury, Defense, the Attorney General, and on through the cabinet.

Most of us believe this is the order in which nuclear control would also be inherited—even a well known newspaper published this list as the order of succession to the counterattack button. But

fense James P. Wade.

Once that awesome power is cornered, military leaders make their own rules. They have a continuing list of who shall take over if the Defense Secretary is not available. In sequence, they are a couple of assistant defense secretaries, the Secretaries of Army, Navy and Air Force, and then on down to lesser officials. This "NCA Successor List," as it is called, apparently changes hourly according to who is on duty.

The scenario becomes more ominous when we recognize that the President, himself, may be cut out of the loop when the fireworks start. For years the so-called doomsday plane was stationed at Andrews Air Base in Maryland, just minutes by helicopter from the White House. In this aircraft the President would escape to command US forces during World War III.

Recently, however, the Strategic Air Command moved all four of these planes to its Nebraska headquarters with one or two forward deployed in Indiana—ostensibly to get beyond range of Russian submarine-launched missiles. But now the planes are also out of the President's reach, so he would be removed from decision-making early. One plane could have remained in Maryland but the Pentagon is apparently more concerned about saving the aircraft than the Commander in Chief.

Clearly, military officials are bucking the line to Presidential control of nuclear

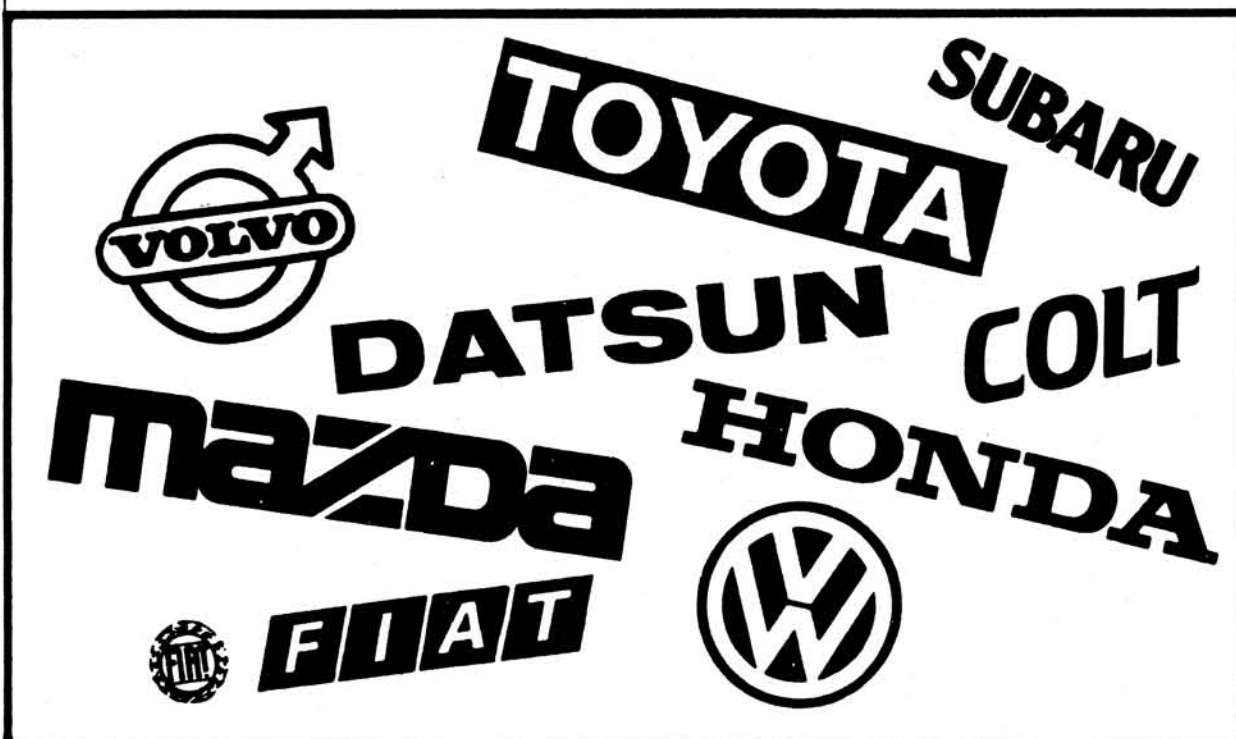
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issued but had this incident occurred during a serious international showdown, when decisions must be made in minutes, the consequences could have been profound. Pentagon leaders would have unquestionably been calling the shots.

Normal succession to the presidency is academic. Our constitution says the vice president will take over if the president can't function. After that it was left up to Congress so the Presidential Succession Act (Title 3, US Code Section 19)

the Pentagon has other plans. It interprets the Reorganization Act of 1958 (Title 10 US Code Section 124)—which provides for unified and specified military commands, including nuclear commands—as establishing that the National Command Authority (NCA) for nuclear forces flows directly from the President to the Secretary of Defense. "[O]nly the Secretary of Defense is involved in the chain of command" to inherit the nuclear button, claims interim Under Secretary of De-

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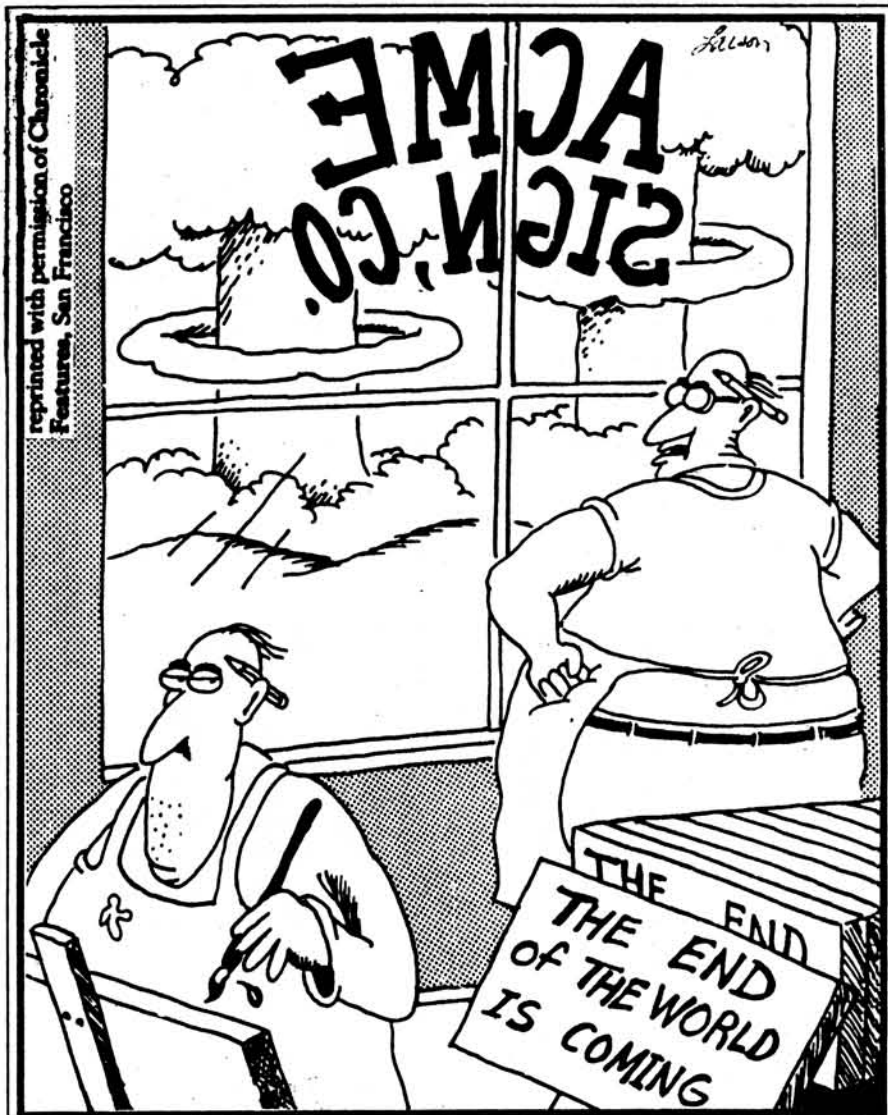
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weapons. Duplicity in such critical policy as presidential succession could lead to a military takeover and people would never know the difference. The confusion when Secretary of State Alexander Haig assumed control of the White House Situation Room was only the camel's nose under the tent as far as potential crisis chaos is concerned. Could it have been fear of such a takeover which prompted Haig to declare himself temporarily in charge while Vice President Bush was in Texas? Or was General Haig actually 34 years out of date in believing that the Secretary of State followed the Vice President in succession, which was the case prior to 1947? Whatever the reason, a disagreement flared between Haig and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger when Haig commandeered the Situation Room. Protocol (NCA succession?) puts the Defense Secretary in charge of that executive nerve center with cryptic communication to the Pentagon War Room.

As it turned out there were no serious consequences. Under different conditions there could have been a sinister conclusion. Changes are called for. When two apparently valid laws provide conflicting information of such gravity, we have the makings of a political takeover. As Pentagon power grows, secrecy fosters public indifference. Some future crisis, providential or engineered, may put us all in a police state. Curbing Pentagon power by correcting this statutory discrepancy before either ripens to climactic proportions is the wise thing to do. The question is: How smart are we?

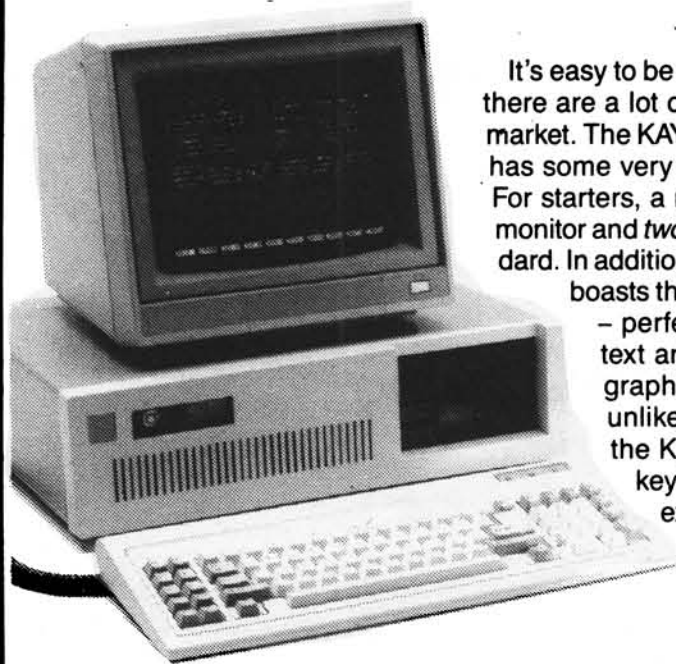
*Robert C. Aldridge, an aerospace engineer who has worked twenty-eight years designing and researching nuclear weapons, is now engaged in private research aimed at better public understanding of military activities. He is the author of **First Strike: The Pentagon's Strategy for Nuclear War** (Boston, South End Press; 1983).*



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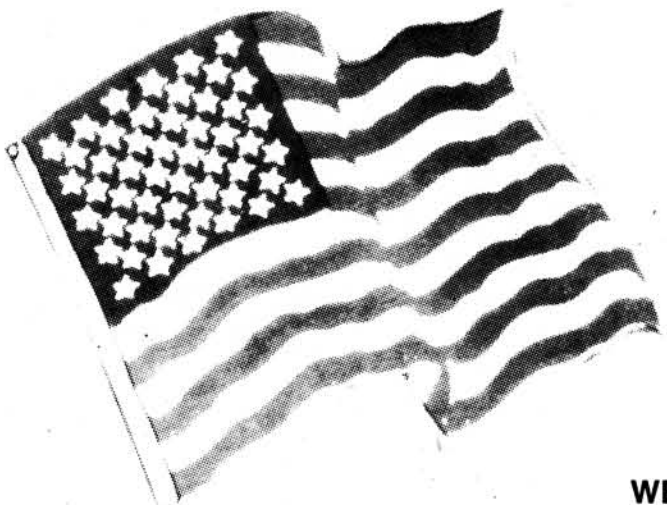
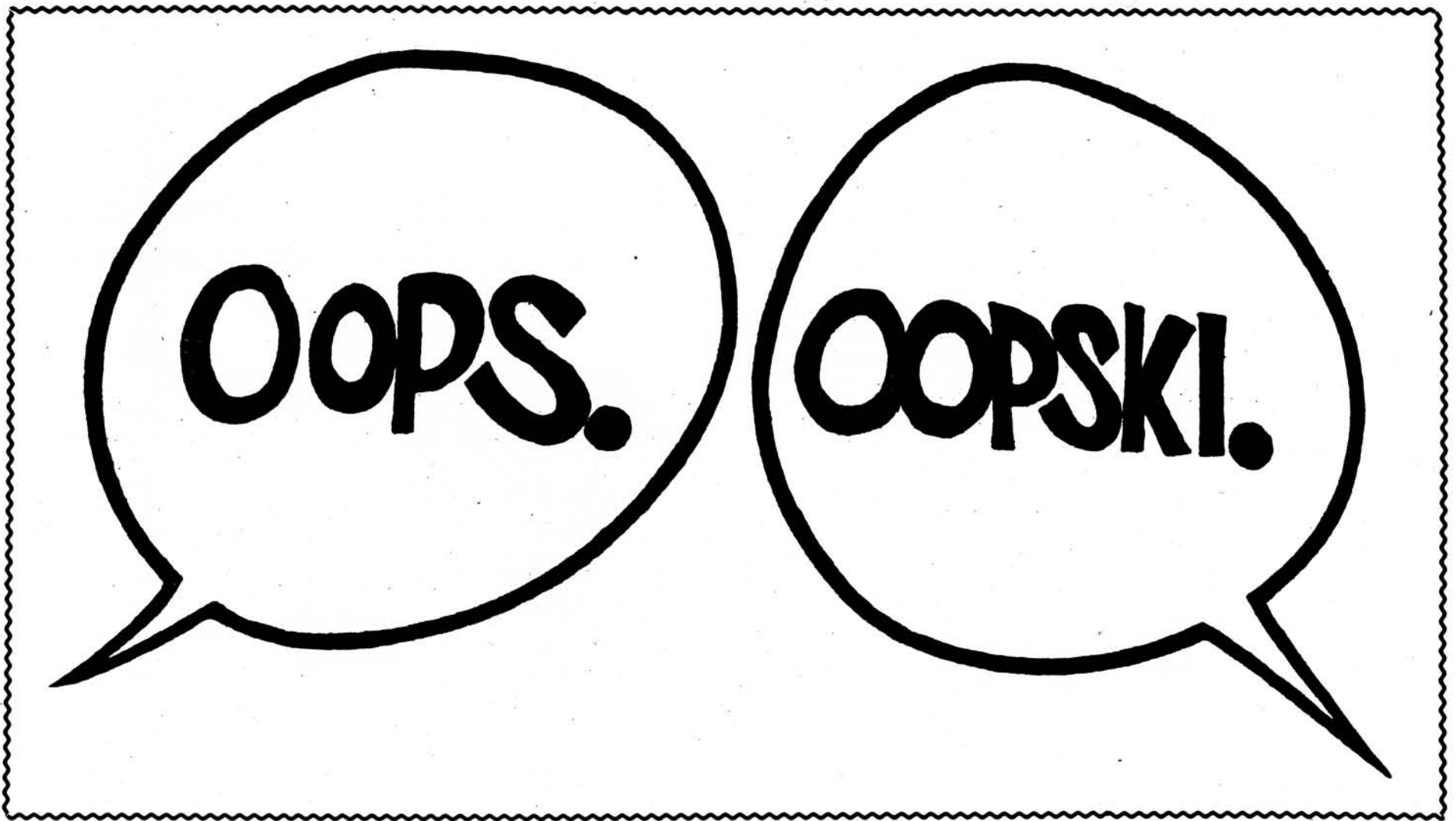
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Seven Steps To Peace

by Randall Forsberg

There are many plausible plans for world-wide disarmament. For example, all countries in the world could simply reduce their military forces, their military spending, their nuclear weapons by some amount, say 10 percent a year.

But many people feel that disarmament plans cannot work because there would be no substitute for the military system in international affairs. What is needed, they say, is to supplant the military system with an international legal system, a world court, and peace keeping forces that can back up the court. If, in addition to reducing military forces and spending, we could establish a treaty or a set of conventions that would bring a world government, world court and world peacekeeping force into place to replace the national military arms of different countries, that would do the trick.

Why have neither the plans for dismantling armaments nor the plans for putting in their place a federated world government succeeded? The reason, I believe, is that both of these conceptions are based on the assumption that people generally believe we should not use military force and warfare as a means to an end, but only for self-defense.

But the majority of people and world leaders are not convinced that military force should not be used for any other purpose than defense against aggression. In order to move toward a stable, disarmed international peace, we need not merely peacekeeping institutions; we need a process that will alter attitudes which now accept the use of force as a means to an end.

What I would like to describe is a step-wise approach to international disarmament

in which each step serves the function of dealing with one of those aspects of attitudes that accept and condone the use of force. Each step then plays a role in the process of attitude change throughout the world in such a way that people understand that the attitudes of those they fear are being changed. In order to explain this step-wise process, it is useful to look at the attitudes that condone the use of force as falling into three groups.

First, there are attitudes which permit the exploitative use of force as a means to ends of the type reflected by the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and the current American military role in Central America. Here we find big powers using force in political and economic conflicts in the Third World — taking military forces into a small, poor country and using them to install or protect a particular government.

The second attitude toward condoning the use of force is expressed by the Soviet

armed revolutions, must be ended.

The third attitude is more frequently recognized. There are likely to be populations and leaders who are not fully humanized or civilized, who retain some violent substrata that can be manipulated in time of severe crisis. Such people and leaders could not be relied on during the process of dismantling armaments not to turn vicious in a crisis and express that viciousness in warfare—not to do what (the Nazis in) Germany did in fact.

So we need a series of steps that expressly and clearly confront these three types of war.

As a first step, the United States and the Soviet Union must stop the nuclear arms race. One cannot consciously allocate billions of dollars to developing improved means to destroy another country and at the same time build trust and confidence with that country.

Second, the United States and the Soviet

important. First, it would produce a tremendous amount of surplus military equipment — planes, tanks, missiles, ships. All these things can be stored, and then, when the ones being used in training and exercises are worn out, they can be replaced with the ones that were stored. That's important, because it means that the military industries could be closed down completely without necessarily implying that the military forces are going to be wiped out through rust within a few years. It also means that we can end the technological race in conventional weaponry and can stop the supply of major weapon systems to Third World countries. And it would free up an enormous amount of resources.

Step four is where the Soviet Union gets out of Eastern Europe and South Africa gives full rights to the black population and the current government of the Philippines is replaced — peacefully, of course. Step four is required to permit further reductions in military force.

Step five abolishes the military alliances which require long-range aircraft and ships and offensive forces and transforms the armament of industrialized countries into strictly defensive forces intended for national defense only — not mutual defense. Step five would reduce and transform conventional military forces so that they consist only of air defense, coastal defense and border guards.

Only after this degree of change has been achieved in conventional forces will it be possible in step six to abolish nuclear weapons, leaving only those defensively oriented, conventionally armed national defense forces. And after the world has lived during a period of time with strictly defensive military forces which are not used for oppression or aggression or intervention or exploitation we would have built enough confidence in the degree of civilization and humanization of human beings to establish a federated world government with a peacekeeping force which would replace those defensively oriented conventional forces. We would have a stable, reliable, democratic international peace.

Randall Forsberg is the founder and director of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies. Her 1980 statement, "A Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race," launched the nuclear freeze movement. This article is reprinted with permission from *World Federalist*.

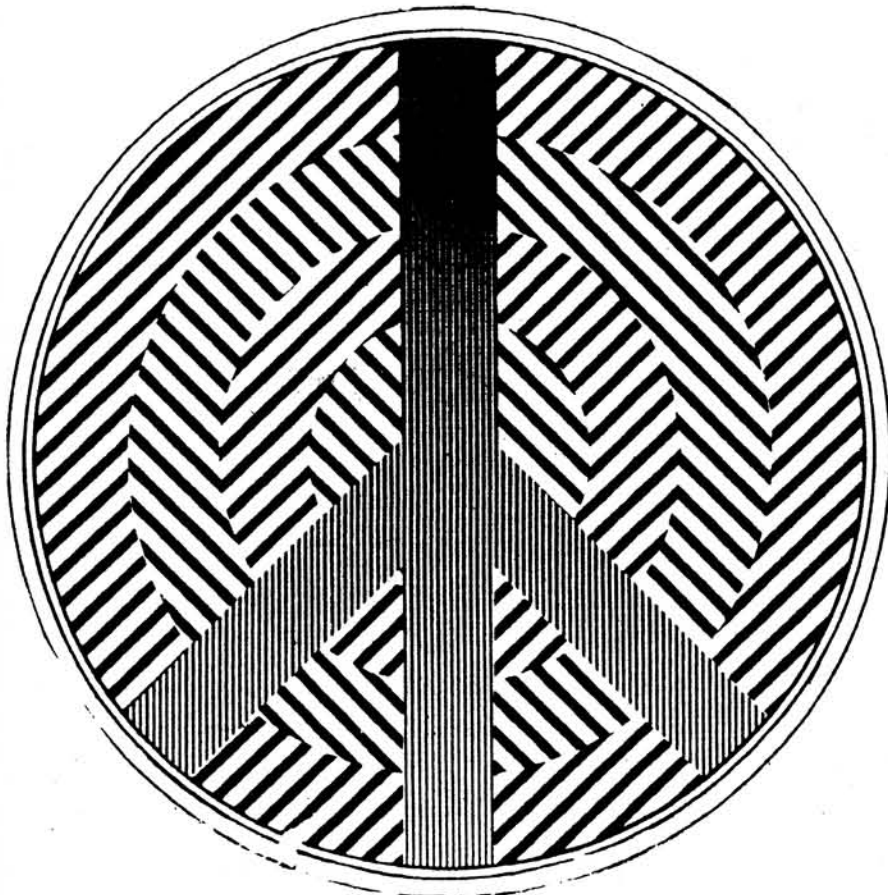
... we need a process that will alter attitudes which now accept the use of force as a means to an end.

military control of the governments of Eastern Europe and by the brutality of the regimes of South Africa, the Philippines, and certain countries in Latin America. The use of force as a means of maintaining control and the reactive use of force provoked by such oppression, expressed in

Union and the other big powers must end unilateral large-scale military intervention in the Third World. The big powers must allow self-determination. The people of the Third World must decide their own form of government, their own use of their natural resources and their own economic systems. The Soviet Union must get out of Afghanistan. The United States must abolish rapid deployment forces, get out of the Persian Gulf and get out of Central America. France must get out of Chad.

If we stop the production of nuclear weapons and end superpower intervention in the Third World, we will still have an enormous military system: \$300 billion a year in the U.S. and Soviet Union, huge standing armies, and 50,000 nuclear weapons. The third step should be to reduce these enormous standing forces on the two sides by 50 percent.

Reducing military forces by 50 percent would have two effects which are extremely



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Star Wars And Accidental Nuclear War

by Dean Babst, David Krieger and Robert Aldridge

The Pentagon plans to spend \$26 billion by 1989 on the Strategic Defense Initiative ("Star Wars"). The establishment of a "Star Wars" war-fighting system will decrease decision time so much that decisions will have to be made by computers. Human control will slip from our grip.

Defense Secretary Weinberger says that decision time for activating the first layer of "Star Wars" will be 2 to 3 minutes. As we move to an automated missile launch, with decreasing time to resolve false alarms, the danger of an accidental nuclear war grows. While it is difficult to know exactly how much time will be allowed to resolve false alarms under "Star Wars" schemes, reducing the already short time (6-7 minutes in some cases) adds greatly to our peril.

The multi-billion dollar missile warning network (NORAD) is the foundation on which Star Wars is planned. It has a history of crying "wolf."

—During an 18 month period in 1979-80 it had 147 false alarms, of which two lasted 3 minutes and one lasted 6 minutes. In these cases humans were in the loop to rectify the situation.

—During 1981, 1982 and 1983 the system experienced 186, 218 and 255 false alarms, respectively.

—In 1984 America's backup warning system failed during a routine test and headquarters wasn't notified for 34 minutes.

General Bennie Davis, recent Strategic Air Commander decried completely automated decision-making as very dangerous. He opposes launch-on-warning policies, which an automated launch decision would be.

In the *War Games* movie, World War III was almost started by a teenage computer hacker breaking into the missile warning system. In real life, troubled Defense officials attempted a computer security study but found they didn't even know how many computers are used.

per second could be devastating. This has happened and will become more frequent as space junk multiplies, and it may be mistaken for Star Wars activity.

Defense against ballistic missiles, which is what Star Wars is all about, is important to a disarming first strike capability. To be truly disarming, surviving missiles would have to be intercepted if they were launched in retaliation. Star Wars appears more credible in this less demanding role than in its advertised task of protecting against a full scale Soviet assault. Devel-

... Star Wars offers hope to the American people, but a false hope that increases the danger of accidental nuclear war ...

17,000 known units received survey sheets but less than a third responded. Robert Brotzman, director of the Pentagon computer security, admitted: "We don't have anything that isn't vulnerable to attack from a retarded 16-year-old." This dilemma will be magnified by Star Wars.

Star Wars anti-missile weapons could also destroy satellites. Malfunction of a crucial spacecraft during a tense crisis might prompt military leaders, believing they are under attack, to launch their missiles. Any fragment of the millions in space colliding with a satellite at six miles

opening first strike elements will put crisis situations on a short fuse. Anything motivating superpower escalation to higher states of alert increases the danger of accidental nuclear war.

Why, then, was Star Wars proposed in the first place? Maybe it is belief that nuclear war will only start intentionally. This inhibits serious examination of accidental nuclear war risks.

There is also a public desire to escape the nuclear threat. Star Wars offers illusory safety but our anxiety to find solutions should not blind us to the danger of nuclear war by accident.

Neither should we overlook the enormous profits for the defense industry. The \$26 billion planned for research and development is just the beginning. Enormous expenditures, and the resulting anticipated profits, is sure to have industry support regardless of strategic validity. Meanwhile, the national deficit, the budget deficit and the foreign trade deficit continue to undermine our economic security.

Star Wars keeps the arms race alive by developing a first strike capability. The Soviets have always kept pace and have threatened to develop new offensive weapons to saturate Star Wars. President Reagan offered to share Star Wars technology, once it is completed, but Moscow has no guarantee that Mr. Reagan's successors would uphold that offer. To truly show good faith, we should offer to initiate a joint project so information could be shared from the outset. This would relieve first strike concerns and allow a joint study of accidental nuclear war implications.

Star Wars also sends a message to other nations that the United States is more interested in defending against missile attack than reducing nuclear arsenals. In the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) we promised, along with the Soviet Union, to pursue good faith negotiations toward achieving general and complete disarmament under strict international control. Fifteen years later, few nations believe that either the U.S. or the U.S.S.R. has abided by their commitment. This has relaxed commitment of other nations that agreed not to develop nuclear weapons.

Thus, Star Wars offers hope to the



American people, but a false hope that increases the danger of accidental nuclear war; it offers profits to the defense industry, but at the expense of more productive ways to strengthen our economy; it gives the Soviets reason to believe we are committed to putting them at our mercy by making ourselves invulnerable; and by joint participation in the nuclear arms race, the latest upward leg of which promises to be triggered by Star Wars, the superpowers have set the example that nuclear weapons are prestigious and desirable. This undercuts the NPT and increases the potential for more nuclear weapons states, and perhaps even nuclear armed terrorists.

The need is urgent that we demand careful evaluation of accidental nuclear war dangers. Before spending \$26 billion just to see if Star Wars will work, it would be far safer and much less expensive to assess its accidental nuclear war potential. Such assessment can be done with analytical models at small cost that would involve no risk.

From an arms control perspective, the Soviets and other nations should be involved immediately in evaluating Star Wars. A multi-national study project will promote discussion and understanding of the accidental nuclear war implications. This should foster a global mood favoring mutually verifiable arms reduction agreements and no more Star Wars schemes.

Dean Babst, David Krieger and Robert Aldridge are three of the co-authors of *Accidental Nuclear War: The Growing Peril* (Peace Research Institute, Dundas, Canada, 1984.)



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The Two Germanys: Life After Hitler

continued from page 15

tion in the Bundestag (German Parliament) in 1983. This party was a coalition of environmentalists and socialists. Their philosophy was to live more in harmony with nature and to promote "voluntary association," a sense of shared responsibility combined with the individual's right to determine the course of his or her own life. They differed on their approaches to the East — some were very critical of the East German government and its environmental policies while others were more accepting.

This movement was paralleled in the East by a state-sponsored peace group and a separate underground, *Schwerter zu Pflugscharen* (Swords to Plowshares). While the official group spoke of peace without any evaluation of its own government's actions, the underground participated in civil disobedience, demonstrated, and attended rock concerts, criticizing both governments' policies. Notably, this also introduced the East Germans to much more Western culture.

While the Green Party of the West and the underground of the East started out to be small targeted minorities, some of their demands have found their way into mainstream politics. A proposal for cultural exchanges entered into back in 1972 was beginning to take effect. A meeting between SPD (Social Democratic Party) candidate Gerhard Schroeder and East German minister Erich Honeker set the stage for more cooperation between the two states — official recognition of East German citizenship, a relaxing of tensions regarding the border along the Elbe river, and a cooperation in the areas of effective use of natural resources, cleansing the air and waterways from pollution, and the recycling of wastes.

A meeting between Secretary of State George Schultz and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in West Berlin placed the West German halfway between the American and 4000 angry demonstrators. Genscher received Schultz's concerns about West European security; he also pointed out that the politics of reducing tensions is possible and realistic in spite of the division of Europe, and that important and practical improvements can be made for the people. Mayor Diepgen added that the hostile developments in the division of Germany is the responsibility of everyone — not just of the Germans.

A meeting between Chancellor Helmut Kohl (a member of the Christian Democratic Union, the major conservative party in West Germany) and France's President Francois Mitterrand indicated an increased willingness to resolve conflicts with the East as an independent party. Kohl was criticized



Vigilers at Vandenberg Air Force Base during the Santa Cruz Friends Meeting sponsored commemoration of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombings (here being arrested) had their charges dismissed Friday. The court found that the Air Force had violated the defendants' due process rights. The base, nerve center for the U.S. land-based nuclear missile tests, is currently escalating Star Wars development and preparing for military Space Shuttle launches which prompted the decision to limit individual Constitutional rights. Why? Testimony revealed that the Quakers, who have a history of nonviolent peace activism, were perceived by the military as a threat to base and national security.

by Mitterrand for refusing to cooperate with the United States nuclear policy. Mitterrand also commented that cooperation between France and West Germany is being inhibited by "pacifist and neutralist tendencies" in the German people.

The changes in mainstream politics have dealt a minor blow to the Green Party. Two factions have formed; one faction seeks to form a better coalition with the social democrats, while the other faction seeks to follow its grounding philosophies more closely. The real strength of this party and its values will show itself in the 1987 elections.

The two Germanys are coming close to the beginning of a new era. They were once a society that resorted to violence and prejudice in order to maintain themselves. One part of them learned the benefits of Western society, the other of Eastern society. Can the two nations join together again as an independent society? The events to follow in the next years will show whether two societies once considered separate can become friends again.

Arno Nording is a member of the Santa Cruz County Nuclear Weapons Freeze Steering Committee.



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No Competition

If you need a Trident nuclear missile submarine, where do you go? To General Dynamics Corporation's Electric Boat Division, of course. General Dynamics is the only maker of the highly controversial ship. But now the Navy thinks it has discovered another possible manufacturer for the Trident, namely Newport News Shipbuilding. Newport News has the facilities to build the submarine, which has been criticized by many as being a blatant first strike weapon. For starters, the Navy is expected to sign a \$10-15 million contract with Newport News to do maintenance work on the Trident. The Navy is calling this move "a first step toward competition."

Critics of the Navy's search for competition say it is looking in the wrong places. Newport News would have to make some extensive and expensive modifications to be able to build the Trident, and the costs would be passed on to the Government. General Dynamics has built eleven of the twenty Tridents the Navy wants, at a cost of more than \$1.3 billion each. The Trident would cost even more if the Navy attempted "competition," say the critics, some of them members of Congress. They add that competition makes sense when purchasing large quantities of relatively inexpensive items, and not when purchasing small numbers of very expensive submarines.



Accuracy in Army

Senator David Pryor called it "a classic example of buy now, test later — if ever — and then obfuscate the results." The Democrat from Arkansas is talking about the controversy surrounding the Bradley Fighting Vehicle, designed to carry troops into combat. Pryor recently released the unclassified portions of a report, written by

Air Force Colonel James G. Burton, evaluating Army tests of the Bradley. Burton's report criticizes the program of battlefield tests, implying that the tank-like vehicle may be unable to cope with real fighting conditions. Burton writes that while ten live shots were fired at a Bradley, "the impact points and attack directions were not random nor representative of the locations of combat impacts." Instead, it seems the shots were fired with the intent of causing minimal damage. Burton is a weapons test analyst in the office of the undersecretary of defense for research and engineering.

The Bradley, armed to the teeth with a multitude of weapons, has a price tag of approximately \$1.5 million per vehicle. It is built by FMC Corporation, located in San Jose. The Army is seeking to buy 6,832 Bradleys.

Pryor said he decided to release the report when the Army sent Congress a different report favorable of the tests. He said his goal was to "correct this deficiency." The Pentagon originally refused to release the Burton report.



Shifting Morals

The troubled General Dynamics Corporation announced recently it has "a new set of rules of the game." Stanley C. Pace, new chairperson of General Dynamics, said at a news conference that "new" rules on ethical conduct will help "to police ourselves so that it will not be necessary for others to do it for us." General Dynamics, one of the nation's largest military contractors, has been accused by the government of fraud on several contracts. The charges against the company came last year, and last December the Pentagon suspended General Dynamics from bidding on any new military contracts.

Pace said he hopes the Pentagon will lift the suspension very soon. He said "[the]

company has taken vigorous steps to prevent problems of unallowable billings from ever happening again." He added that violators of the new ethics rules will meet with "appropriate actions." Several of the executives found to be in connection with the company's previous "problems of unallowable billings" are still employed by General Dynamics.

Meanwhile, twenty missing classified documents have led the Pentagon to suspend the government security clearance of General Dynamics' Convair division. The Defense Investigative Service, an agency of the Defense Department, found that Convair's facilities lacked adequate security measures. The Service also found that there was no significant effort made to find the missing documents, and a failure to report their disappearance. At one plant, Convair employees told reporters that it would be easy for an intruder to slip into a Convair facility. The company, which has several plants and 9,400 employees in the San Diego area, is the maker of the cruise missile.



A Growing Industry

General Electric Co., the nation's sixth largest military contractor, will soon swallow RCA Corp. Although the merger isn't official yet, it is virtually assured since RCA's board of directors voted unanimously to approve the move. RCA is the 22nd largest military contractor, but the GE-RCA "team" will slip into fourth place, with a promising future in securing government contracts. Last year, after filing fraud charges, the Government fined GE \$1 million and slapped it with a six month suspension on bidding for new contracts. The suspension was dropped after six weeks.

The GE-RCA merger is typical of the current trend in contractor industry. Large military contractors are buying smaller companies, especially high technology electronics firms like RCA, to increase their share of the Pentagon's pie. General Motors Corp. jumped from 23rd to seventh place after acquiring Hughes Aircraft Co. Meanwhile, the top 25 suppliers now collect 51 percent of the money flowing out of the Pentagon, as compared to 44 percent in 1981. The top five companies' shares is 22 percent.



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Democracy Without Growth?

Since ancient Greece invented and lost democracy in the fourth century, B.C., philosophers and politicians have long recognized how unstable and volatile democracies are. In modern times, democracy has come to mean a system of government in which people rule themselves so as to preserve and enhance their civil liberties and public morality. The price democracy exacts of a people is eternal vigilance over those charged with governance.

To this day, the vitality of economic life is at the core of the politics of the industrial "democracies" of the Western world. In the United States, there are, roughly speaking, two traditions of thought on the proper relation of the economy to politics. One emphasizes economic growth — the expansion of the total American economic pie — as the means to achieve our democratic goals of freedom and justice.

The other tradition believes that political democracy can only be buttressed by economic *democracy*, or democracy in the organization of economic activity. While the first view seeks to avoid politics by focusing on the technical means of creating and sustaining growth, the second view holds that the *constitution* of the economy is itself a properly political subject — not merely the object of technical manipulation — and esteems politics as an activity of all human life, the economy included.

Most of us easily recognize the first view. America relies on growth to sustain its politics; yet both our economy and our politics are dominated by large private corporations and the perceived needs of the military. Since our economy ceased to grow appreciably in the 1970's, our national politics has become increasingly conservative and devoid of common purpose.

Central to the maintenance of economic growth in America is a spreading permanent war economy. Military spending has consistently proved to be the least controversial form of U.S. government spending since 1945. Many believe that it works to

expand the economy while enhancing national security.

The effects of the permanent war economy are not all bad ones. As U.C. Berkeley city planner Ann R. Markusen points out, the permanent war economy is successful in two respects. First, it shows that government spending is perfectly capable of stimulating the manufacturing sector of the U.S. economy, even at a time when that sector is on the skids. Military spending creates jobs and promotes innovations.

mothers who need them most. Military spending is thus palatable to liberal Congressmembers because it shows they're not soft on the Soviets. And conservatives can support it because it creates jobs without the controversy of redistributing incomes more equitably.

Over the years, Big Labor has been a friend of the military because high military spending creates jobs and increases union memberships. Though military industries still require high levels of skilled labor, the

Sure, the military creates jobs, but not for the minorities, women, youths, and single mothers who need them most.

Second, Markusen states that military spending "acts as a long-term planning strategy, intentionally or not, because of its profound effects on the composition of the economy and our competitiveness in the international economy." These are notable successes, especially for a nation as ambivalent about national economic planning as ours.

But forty years of the permanent war economy are a mixed blessing at best. Clearly, from the seeds of military spending come jobs, regional prosperity, and technological change. But what *kinds* of jobs, growth, and technological changes have we reaped?

Jobs impacts: Robert DeGrasse, Jr., of the Council on Economic Priorities, in his book *Military Expansion, Economic Decline*, found that engineers, scientists, managers, and skilled labor — occupations dominated by white males — account for nearly two-thirds of all jobs in the defense industry. Sure, the military creates jobs, but not for the minorities, women, youths, and single

Pentagon underwrites research and development of factory automation, in addition to assisting defense companies with union-busting activities.

Growth impacts: DeGrasse found that "America's heavier military burden [than other industrial nations] seems to have stifled investment, and reduced our economic and productivity growth over the last few decades."

Economic concentration also accelerated. Windfall profits for military contractors and the 1981 tax cut prompted a spate of mega-mergers, the most recent and dramatic one being the takeover of RCA (and NBC-TV) by General Electric Corporation. Both of these corporate giants are major military contractors.

Geographically, military-related manufacturing is located mostly in a "defense perimeter" stretching from New England to Florida, through the South, Texas, California, and Washington state. It is a dark irony that most of the benefits of military spending go to these perimeter regions



while most of our land-based missile silos are located in the American heartland, where American farming undergoes its worst depression in 50 years.

Technological impacts: As one of the Pentagon's television commercials boasts: "Technology is taking over the world!" Having had a hand in developing computers, the integrated circuit, and numerical control machine tools, the Department of Defense is now funding the development of large-scale factory automation, and a generation of "artificially intelligent" machines called "expert systems" to be used in automated aircraft, attack vehicles, and naval decision-making systems. And the armed services hope that one day these systems will all be "survivable" in the event of a nuclear conflict!

Having abandoned democratic politics to pursue economic growth, and having (for now, at least) settled on military spending as the means for achieving growth, American democracy is now but a shadow of its former self. The question which may or may not get asked (let alone debated) is this: Soviet threat or not, will We the People have the courage to renew our other political tradition of economic democracy as it becomes more apparent that the other tradition is politically, economically, and morally bankrupt?

Tim Strohane is an occasional academic and a conversion activist.



Uranium Plant Accident Kills Worker

by Douglas Dirks

On January 5th, a steel cylinder containing 29,500 lbs. of uranium hexafluoride gas ruptured at a Sequoyah Fuels Corporation plant in Gore, Oklahoma. As the gas escaped, it combined chemically with water in the atmosphere to form a cloud of highly caustic hydrofluoric acid which spread over three square miles before dispersing. One plant worker was killed and 25 others were injured by the gas while still in the plant.

The rupture occurred, according to plant officials, because the container was filled beyond its capacity and plant workers heated the cylinder in order to remove some of the uranium hexafluoride gas — a procedure specifically banned by company regulations. As the gas escaped into the atmosphere, it formed two compounds: hydrofluoric acid, which is very caustic but not radioactive, and uranyl fluoride, a slightly radioactive solid that precipitated out of the gas, falling mostly on the plant grounds.

The Sequoyah Fuels plant, which is owned by Kerr-McGee corporation, processes uranium ore into uranium hexafluoride, which is in turn enriched to make weapons or fuel for nuclear reactors. Sequoyah Fuels has been cited by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) for safety violations 15 times since 1978. In fact, when the NRC renewed the plant's license to operate last September, it expressed concern over the potential for just the type of accident that occurred. The license was granted after the company promised

monthly safety inspections.

According to the NRC's report, the Sequoyah plant's violations, including inadequate surveys of airborne uranium and failure to insure that respirators were worn properly, were all in the "least significant" category of violations. Several were, however, repeat violations, and as a requirement for re-licensing the company agreed to make quarterly reports on measures to improve the plant's safety record. Some of those measures were supposed to apply to the safe handling of uranium hexafluoride, including the consequences of a ruptured cylinder. Despite the fact that the company could not confirm that the safety inspections had been done, a Kerr-McGee spokesperson told the *New York Times*, "We don't think we have an excessive violation record."

The NRC has been asking that Sequoyah Fuels draw up a detailed evacuation plan for use in emergencies such as the one that occurred since 1972, when a similar accident released a much smaller amount of gas. No plan was ever drawn up, and area residents say they have never received any specific instructions from the company about what to do in an emergency. The main response planned by the company was to call the highway patrol. According to Chief of Police Jerry Fields, no offsite emergency plan was communicated to the people of Gore. One resident commented, "ninety-nine percent of the people here didn't even know what the company did" before the accident, adding that many people didn't even know not to go outside



into the cloud of gas. Over 100 people were tested by local hospitals after exposure to the gas, 32 of whom were admitted for treatment, including seven non-plant workers. Kerr-McGee officials said they didn't know why no emergency plan had been produced after the NRC requests.

Public Not Invited

If the Nuclear Regulatory Commission could have its way, the public would be barred from more of its meetings. Apparently the requirements for public discussion are thought to interfere with the "collegiality" of decision-making and bog down the commission's work; at least that is the opinion of four of its five members, all of whom are appointees of President Reagan. One congressional voice, however, has risen to the attack — Representative Edward J. Markey, D. Mass, chairperson of the Subcommittee on Energy Conservation and Power, the House subcommittee that oversees the commission. He has threatened to make public "any secret meetings," and to introduce legislation barring them.

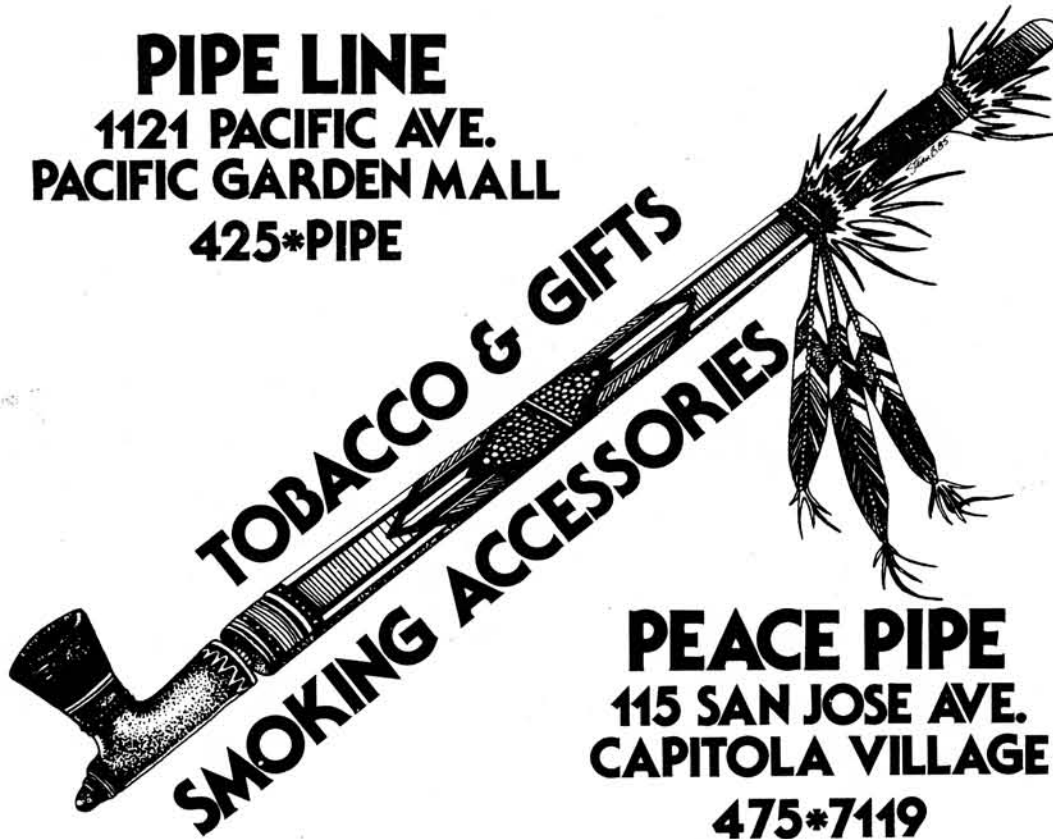
The rule allowing closed sessions was adopted in May, without advance notice or public hearing; it was up for final approval by the commission on Jan. 17. Mr. Markey has made public the commission's general counsel's opinion that the commission did not need public "chaperones" of its activities. When asked not to disclose this opinion before the Jan. 17 meeting, he responded, "It is hard to believe that the commission has the gall to ask the subcommittee to help maintain its conspiracy of silence about its plans to exclude the public until it is too late to voice objections."

That opinion is only one among others, however, found in the 31 page document signed by the commission's general counsel. There it is also stated that "with few exceptions" reaction to their rule barring the public had been "unfavorable," and to hold a public hearing for its final approval on Jan. 17, after the fact of its adoption, might give the impression "that the decision to omit prior public comment was a mistake." It appears that Mr. Markey had let the cat out of the bag at the right time.

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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.



Monday, February 10

General Meeting. Native American Support Group. First Congregational Church, 900 High St., Santa Cruz. 7 pm. For info: 423-5349.

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

Wednesday, February 12

Panel discussion. Careers in computer science. Sponsored by Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility. 7pm. UCSC. For info: 425-8726.

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

Lecture. "New Thinking in the Nuclear Age: Conflict Resolution and U.S.-Soviet Relations." Bruce Allyn, Harvard Nuclear Negotiation Project. 7:30-9pm, Unitarian Church, Franklin & Geary, San Francisco. \$8 reserved, \$10 at the door. For info: (415) 221-2290.

Saturday, February 15

Discussion. "Personal Disarmament: Precedent for Global Peace." Five hour participatory experience in personal and global conflict resolution with Bruce Allyn, Harvard Nuclear Negotiation Project. Registration 8am, Program 8:30-1:30pm, No-host luncheon follows. Lone Mountain Campus of USF, 2800 Turk, San Francisco. \$45 reserved, \$55 at the door. For info: (415) 221-2290.

Sunday, February 16

Women's Event. Kolaynu/New Jewish Agenda presents "A Celebration of Jewish Women's Culture" at Eagle Hall, 306 Mission St. 8pm. Guests appearing are Adrienne Rich, Ellen Bass, Pamela Wax, "My Kin Talk," Karen Belford, Paula Marcus, Bettina Aptheker. Tickets, \$6-8, available at Bookshop Santa Cruz, the Resource Center for Nonviolence, and at the door. For info: 423-1626.

Monday, February 17

General Meeting. Native American Support Group. See February 10.

Tuesday, February 18

Lecture. Saul Landau will speak on "National Security: Myths and Realities." Sponsored by American Civil Liberties Union, Lawyer's Guild, National Writer's Union Local 7, People's Democratic Club, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Resource Center for Nonviolence, Santa Cruz Action Network Witness for Peace, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Unitarian-Universalist Social Action Committee. First Congregational Church, 900 High St., 8pm. For info: 458-9425/423-1626.

Wednesday, February 19

Vigil. Sponsored by Friends Meeting. See February 12.

Friday, February 21

Concert. Singer/songwriter Fred Small will perform at Santa Cruz High School Auditorium, 8pm. Tickets are \$5 in advance and \$6 at the door, and are available at the Resource Center for Nonviolence, Cymbaline Records, Blue Rhythm Records. For info: 423-1626.

Saturday, February 22

Workshop. Training in activities specially designed to develop skills of children in cooperation and conflict resolution. Sponsored by Children's Creative Response to Conflict. 9am-9pm. Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz. For info: 427-0893.

Political Conference. Sponsored by the Coalition for Nicaragua. Congresspersons Leon Panetta, Norman Maneta, and Ed Zschau have been invited to participate in a discussion on pending request for military aid to the Contras by the administration. 2-5pm. Santa Cruz High School Auditorium. For info: 458-0303.



Monday, February 24

General Meeting. Native American Support Group. See February 10.

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

Tuesday, February 25

War Tax Resistance Workshop. Potluck and discussion. Sponsored by War Tax Resistance Fund. 6-7:30pm. Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz. For info: 423-1626.

Wednesday, February 26

Vigil. Sponsored by Friends Meeting. See February 12.

Thursday, February 27

General Meeting and Lecture. People's Democratic Club, Marge Franz will discuss "Aspects of the New McCarthyism." 7:30pm. Sesnon House, Cabrillo College. For info: 425-8671.

Women's Film. Vivienne Verdon-Roe's film "Women—For America, For the World" will premiere at the Palace of Fine Arts Theatre, 3301 Lyon, San Francisco. 7:30pm. Free to the public. For info: (415) 540-0734.

Saturday, March 22 - Saturday, March 29

The Coalition for Nicaragua is going to conduct a California Educators Easter Week Tour of Nicaragua. The cost is \$995 for eight days, air fare, lodging, 2 meals/day, interpreter. For info: 458-0303.



Saturday, March 1

The Great Peace March. Five thousand people begin their walk from Los Angeles to Washington, D.C. to call for global nuclear disarmament. For info on local PRO-Peace activities: 475-5319

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 1986 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:

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

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

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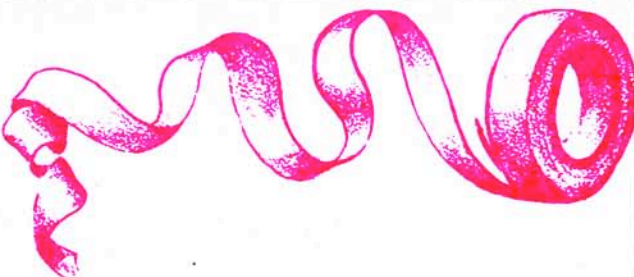
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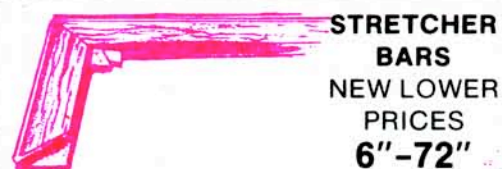
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