

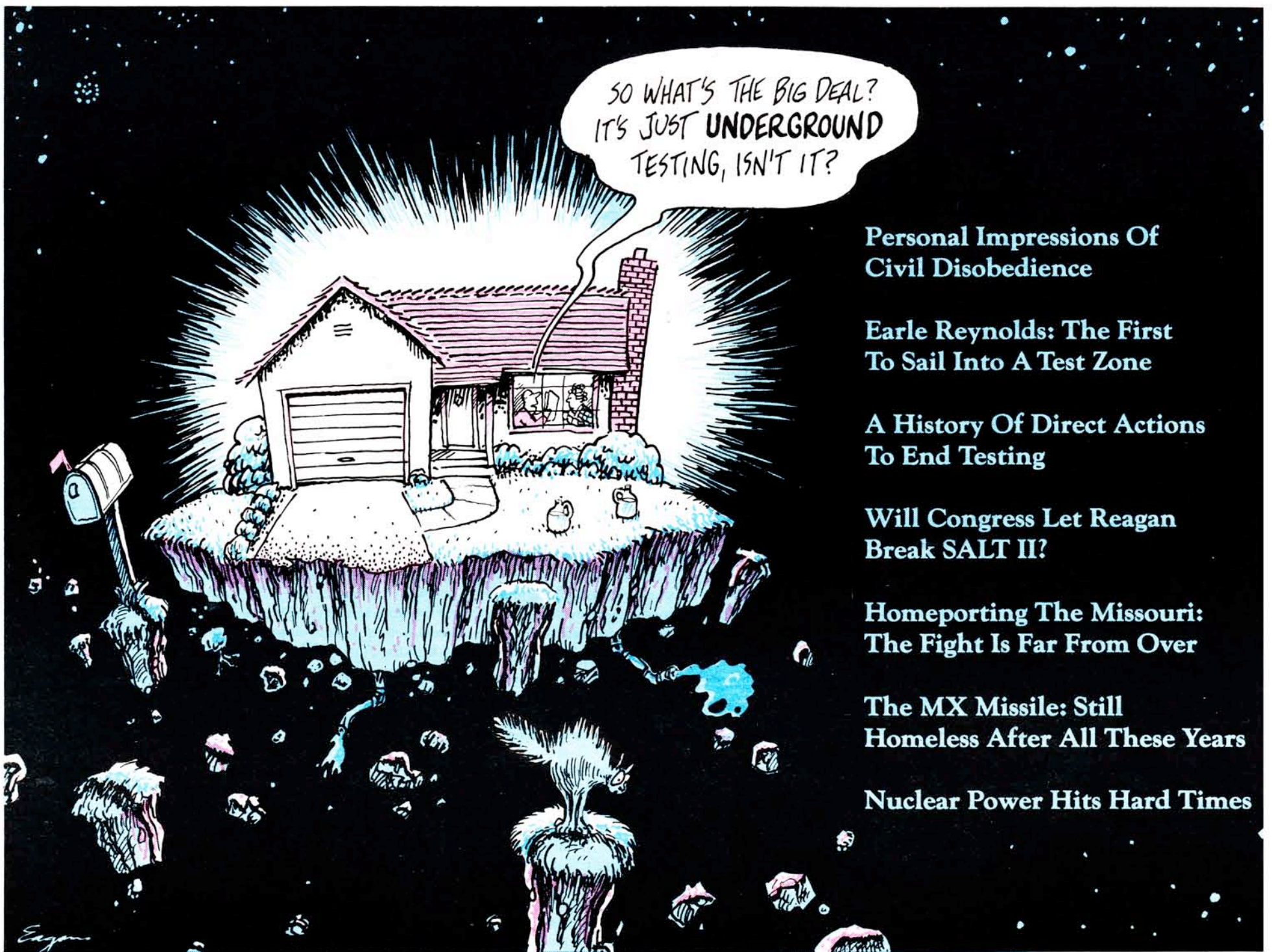
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The MONTHLY PLANET

The Movement To End Nuclear Testing



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THE FREEZE PROPOSAL

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

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



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The Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign

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

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

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

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From The Grassroots



Letters to the Freeze must be typed, double spaced, and not more than two pages in length. We reserve the right to edit for brevity and clarity.

Going Backwards

Dear Freeze,

On Sunday, May 15, I attended a dinner in honor of Dennis Banks, co-founder of the American Indian Movement, teacher and organizer. There was an exciting representa-

tion of indigenous peoples present in the evening's program and in the audience. One group particularly had a strong effect on me personally, and I wanted to write you and share some information I received.

A delegation of three Maori women and one man from New Zealand delivered a stunning blow: their government is considering reversing its nuclear-free-zone policy. They requested that we as Americans intervene in this process by writing David Lange, their prime minister, and expressing our concerns.

It would be heartrending if this one precious source of inspiration and hope were to be snuffed out.

The address is: David Lange
Prime Minister
Parliament Buildings
Wellington, New Zealand.

Thanks,
Gail Clark
Santa Cruz



Jordan Wolfson

Show Some Interest

Dear Freeze,

I just now arrived in Santa Cruz from the Middle East for a few days and was given your May 1986 edition of *The Monthly Planet* about

the Arab-Israeli conflict. As an American living in the Middle East for eight years and seeing the Palestinians in shanty towns in Jordan and Syria—hundreds of thousands of them—it appears to me that we can expect nothing but more "terrorism" as time passes, until the Palestinians again have a homeland. What I find impossible to comprehend is how our administration and Congress can be blinded from this possibility for so long and spend all our resources chasing ghosts and shadows.

If you people are genuinely interested in world peace, I hope you can give serious consideration to the enclosed material.

The Middle East people see the U.S. as the basic cause of their being driven from Palestine because the U.S. armed Israel with military power to drive the Palestinians out of their homeland.

Sincerely,
Lowell Myers
Tucson, Arizona

Happy Trails

Dear Freeze,

My husband and I want to congratulate you on the organization of this year's nuclear freeze walkathon and rally. A lot of work obviously went into the event, and I am sure we are not the only ones who appreciated all the time and effort donated towards this cause.

Last year, I wrote to you suggesting that the walkathon could be much more visible and effective if the march took a busy and central route through town. This year's route very obviously accomplished this! Also, I asked that you start on time and, again, this happened perfectly! Thank you! For many of us it is a real effort to make time to do this, and all the people I talked to felt that it was worth it this year. We also appreciated the care of the "marshalls" along the route, and the "rest stops" for refreshments.

Our thanks to all of you.

Sincerely,
Jan E. Garrison
Santa Cruz



Jordan Wolfson

Publishing For Peace

Dear Freeze,

I read about you in the *Nuclear Times* a couple of issues ago. I'd be very interested in hearing more about your efforts.

For four years in the mid-70s I published a monthly peace journal called *Lotus* which generated a great deal of praise and a great lack of income. I've recently begun to think about what it'd take to revive it and put it on a self-sustaining basis. Your experience could be of great value to me in developing the new incarnation.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Peace,
Larry Erickson
Berkley, Massachusetts

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Comprehensive Test Ban: The First Step

by John Govsky and Terry Teitelbaum

The usually stark Nevada desert was alive with activity on Saturday, May 31. More than 700 people gathered there to demonstrate their opposition to continued U.S. nuclear testing. At the largest rally ever held at the Nevada Test Site, Dr. Carl Sagan, Daniel Ellsberg and others spoke out in favor of a comprehensive nuclear test ban—an end to all nuclear explosions anywhere, for any purpose. On that same day, more than 200 Santa Cruz County citizens participated in a large local action to oppose nuclear testing—the March and Rally for a Nuclear Test Ban, sponsored by the local Freeze. On the following Monday, June 2, 149 citizens were arrested after committing civil disobedience at the desert test site to oppose testing.

These actions were only the latest in a series of efforts to end nuclear testing. Test ban supporters are also focusing on legislation which urges the president to negotiate a comprehensive test ban with the Soviet Union, as well as a bill introduced by House Democrat Patricia Schroeder of Colorado which actually cuts off funds for nuclear tests as long as the Soviets do not test.

How has testing become such an important issue? Last July, the Soviets stopped nuclear testing entirely, asking the United States to join the moratorium. They've extended their testing moratorium several times since then. The most recent news is that they will not test at least before August 6, 1986—the 41st anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima. Meanwhile, the United States has conducted over a dozen tests with plans to conduct many more by the end of this year.

The response of administration officials to the Soviet moratorium has thus been not only to continue, but to, in fact, accelerate nuclear testing. What are their reasons for continuing nuclear testing and refusing to join the Soviet moratorium?

First, they said a test ban is not verifiable and that the Soviets could somehow cheat. Yet the scientific evidence is overwhelming that a test ban can be fully verified and, in fact, is one of the easiest of all agreements to verify, especially now that the Soviets have agreed to on-site inspection. The only obstacles to verification are political, not technical.

Then they said that even if it were verifiable, a test ban would not be in our best interests because we need to ensure stockpile reliability. This means we couldn't be sure our weapons would work if we didn't keep testing. But only if we plan to launch a first strike would such an extremely high degree of reliability be necessary. To maintain deterrence it really wouldn't matter. A test ban would affect both sides equally. And this might be to everyone's advantage. The less confidence both sides have in the reliability of their nuclear weapons, the less chance there is that either side would ever use them.

The latest reason is the most absurd of all. Try to figure out this logic: Mr. Reagan claims that if we stopped nuclear testing, it would encourage the spread of nuclear weapons. Yes, a test ban would lead to further nuclear proliferation. This is like saying cutting taxes and increasing military spending will reduce the deficit. This bit of classic doublespeak contradicts the conventional wisdom of the last 15 years of arms control.

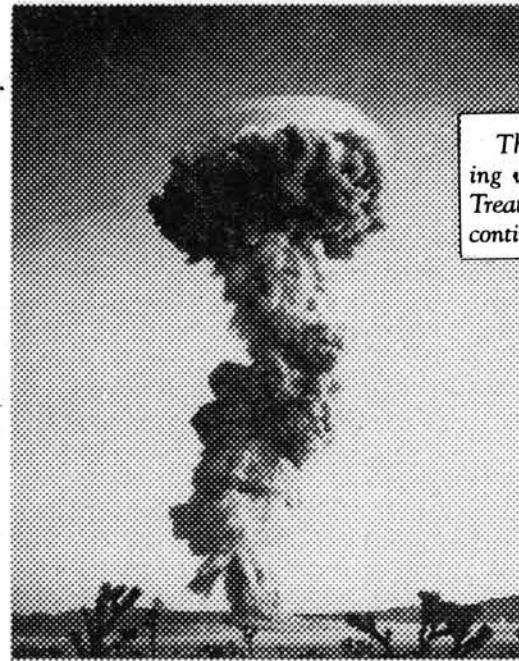
The real reason, however, that the administration wants to continue nuclear testing is obvious. An end to nuclear testing would prevent the Pentagon from developing yet another generation of even more threatening nuclear weapons, and, of course, Star Wars. Star Wars is portrayed as a non-nuclear "defense." Yet the most promising component of Star Wars is the X-ray laser which is powered by a nuclear explosion. An end to testing would, in effect, mean an end to Star Wars.

Star Wars is the epitome of the technological fix to a problem that is not ultimately technological. The problem we face is a human one, which requires human solutions. If there is one lesson to be learned from the Chernobyl tragedy, it's that when we rely on nuclear technology—whether for energy or for security—not only are we less secure, but our entire existence becomes threatened.

On the scale of nuclear possibilities, Chernobyl was small. Even a few of today's nuclear weapons exploded in a so-called "limited" nuclear war would make Chernobyl look like a campfire. We cannot continue to rely on nuclear technology, or any technology, for our security. Technology, used wisely, is a wonderful tool. But it is only a tool. Blind faith in the infallibility of technology can only lead to disaster as evidenced by Chernobyl.

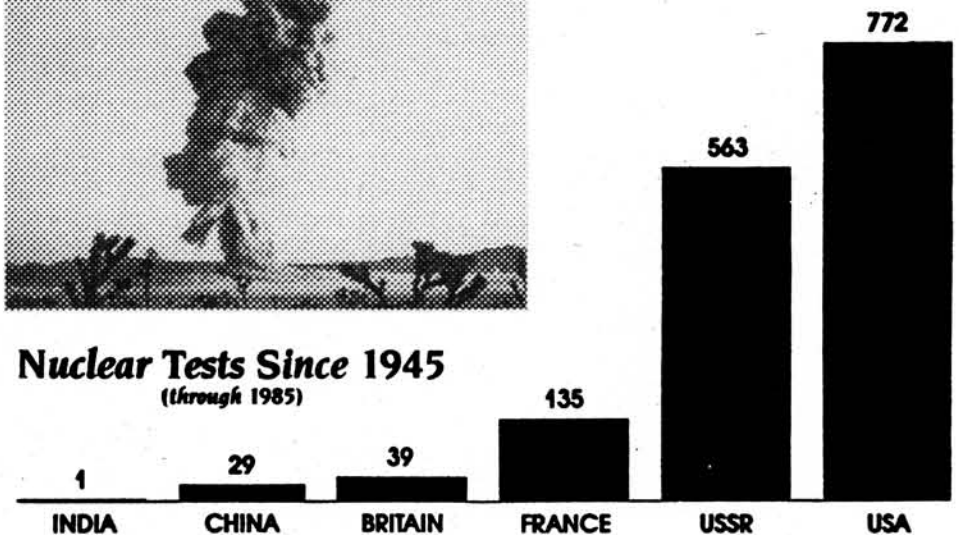
We are now faced with two very conflicting visions of security. There is the Reagan vision which involves Star Wars—security based on building more weapons. The alternative vision, held by citizens who have made their stand at the Nevada Test Site and by those who demonstrate their commitment in other ways, rests on the knowledge that true security does not require weapons and the use of violence. They know weapons do more to threaten our security than to enhance it.

Continuing nuclear testing is essential to the realization of the Reagan vision of "peace through strength." An end to nuclear testing is essential to the other vision—a world without nuclear weapons, a world where conflicts are resolved non-violently—a vision based on true national security and strength through peace. We must, we can, and we will end nuclear testing.



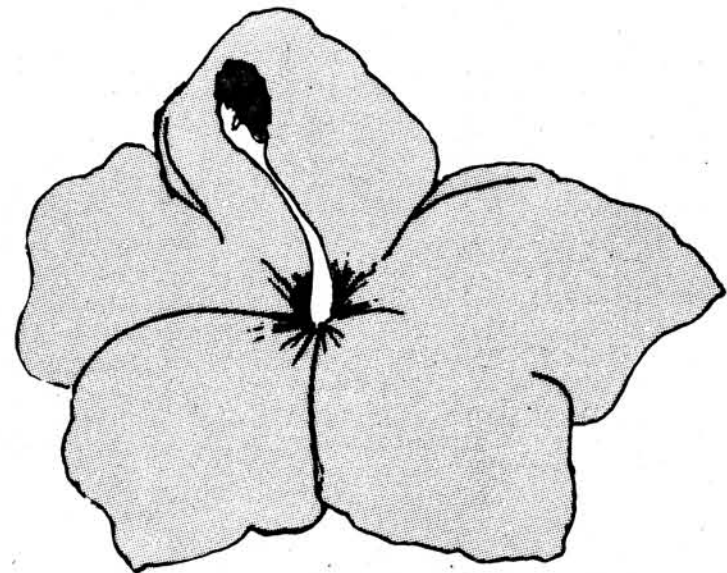
Though U.S. and Soviet atmospheric testing was stopped by the Limited Test Ban Treaty in 1963, underground nuclear testing continues at an alarming pace.

Nuclear Tests Since 1945
(through 1985)



SOURCE: CENTER FOR DEFENSE INFORMATION, WASHINGTON, DC

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Test Ban Popular

The Reagan administration's position that nuclear testing is essential to national security does not reflect the views of the majority of Americans. According to the latest Gallup Poll, 56 percent favor a ban on further underground tests if the Soviet Union continues its unilateral moratorium on testing, while 35 percent disagree and 9 percent are undecided.

The Soviet Union has banned underground nuclear weapons tests since last August, and has asked that the United States do the same. Not only has the administration conducted eight underground tests since then, but it has insisted that they are essential to developing bigger and better weapons and to ensuring the operational reliability of existing systems. In addition, Washington's reaction to the Soviet proposal asserts that it is merely a token gesture to make the United States appear unwilling to compromise.

An immediate, verifiable freeze on the testing, production, and emplacement of nuclear weapons has been consistently favored by Americans of all political persuasions. A bilateral freeze is favored by 78 percent of U.S. citizens, according to a 1984 Gallup Poll, while only 18 percent oppose such an agreement.

—DMT

"Code Blue"

Following a recent visit to Moscow where he and several colleagues visited radiation-burned victims of the Chernobyl nuclear reactor accident, Dr. Jack Geiger, president of Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), led a "Code Blue" rally on the steps of the U.S. Capitol on June 14. "Code Blue," a euphemism used over hospital paging systems, means that human life is in danger and summons attending physicians to the crisis. Hence, a group of some 200 fellow physicians joined Geiger to signal a global Code Blue, alerting Congress that nuclear weapons place all human beings in danger, and urging an immediate cut in federal funding for nuclear weapons testing.

Geiger and other PSR officials met with Oleg Sokolov, charge d'affaires at the Soviet Embassy, prior to the rally to urge the Soviets to continue observing the testing moratorium and weapons limits as specified in the (unratified) SALT II treaty. Three House members plan to introduce an amendment in the weeks ahead to cut off money for nuclear tests as long as the Soviets continue their moratorium.

—SM

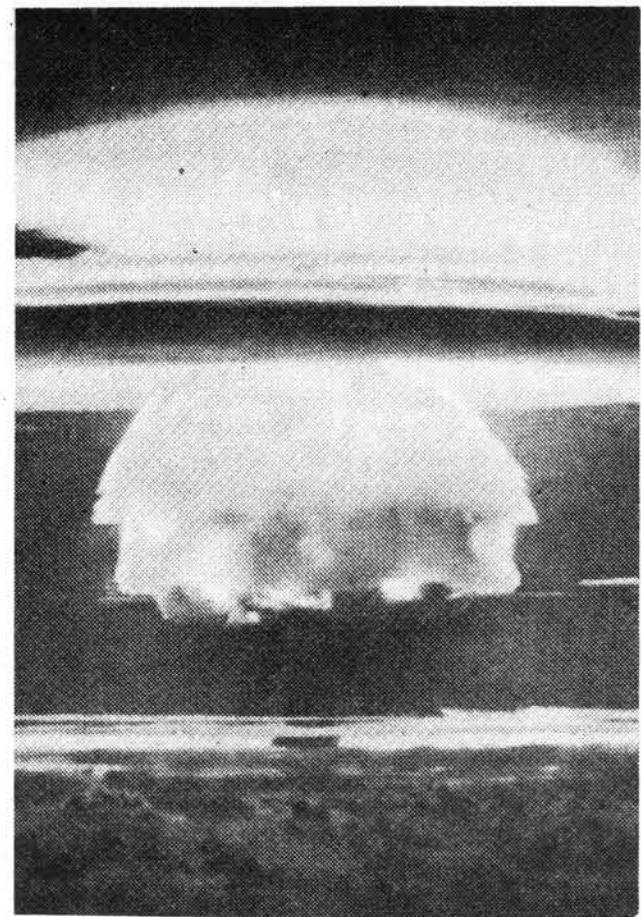
Insert-A-Nuke

The Reagan administration has announced that it is considering the development of weapons that are readily convertible from conventional to nuclear with the insertion of a "clip-in" warhead. According to designers at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (LLNL), this technology is applicable to almost any type of weapon. When this technology was first developed, the Carter administration recognized that its application would obfuscate the distinction between nuclear and conventional war, and rejected it. But in response to a congressional query last year, Richard Wagner, then top adviser on nuclear weapons with the Defense Department, wrote that clip-in warheads would improve the "survivability and operational flexibility of U.S. theater nuclear weapons." The current administration clearly found favor with Wagner's opinion, and mandated further investigation.

Many, however, disagree with Wagner's assessment of this technology's net



effect. Paul C. Warnke, director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency during the 1970s, believes that "any handle on the nuclear threat would be lost with this technology's advance and implementation." Likewise, Paul S. Brown, LLNL's arms control chief, said that it would "create an arms control nightmare" since conventional and nuclear arms would look alike. William M. Arkin, a nuclear weapons expert at the Institute for Policy Studies, agrees. Arkin said convertible weapons would make nuclear war more likely since the enemy is going to act on the assumption that the weapon that appears nuclear is nuclear.



Hot Flashes

by Ronald A. Lampi, Sue Marsh, and Michael David Troutman

At present, the Navy is not producing any such insertable weapons. The Army, however, has experimented with a clip-in warhead for the Lance missile.

—SM

A Separate Peace

Two UC San Diego seismologists, James Brune and Jonathan Berger, will be monitoring underground nuclear tests in the Soviet Union beginning later this summer as a result of an unprecedented agreement between a private U.S. environmental group and the Soviet Academy of Sciences. This is the first time the Soviets have ever permitted monitoring of their tests by outside observers within their boundaries. Chosen by the National Resources Defense Council, the private

New York-based group that opposes the nuclear arms race, the two well-respected seismologists will set up three monitoring stations for independent yearlong measurements within 125 miles of the main Soviet test site at Semipalatinsk. The agreement allows Soviet scientists to set up comparable monitoring stations on non-government land in Nevada, that is, if the State Department does not refuse them visas.

The primary intention behind the agreement is to show that scientific methods for the verification of nuclear tests are quite adequate. The hope is that this will eventually lead to a comprehensive test ban. The U.S. government, not a party to the agreement, apparently does not yet share the same enthusiasm.

—RL



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Bad Things To Life

General Electric claims to "Bring Good Things to Life." Nuclear weapons, however, do not exactly fall under the category of "good things."

INFACT, a national grassroots coalition that has already tasted success with its well-known Nestle Corp. boycott, has recently kicked off a Nuclear Weaponmakers Campaign aimed at boycotting GE products. General Electric happens to be the country's third largest producer of primary nuclear warfare systems; its profits in the nuclear weapons business are staggering. Some of the systems GE is directly involved with are the MX and Minuteman missiles, Trident missiles and submarines, B-1 and Stealth bombers, and Star Wars. "General Electric is a critical hub in the nuclear weapons industry," according to INFACT coalition Executive Director Nancy Cole.



The campaign's intentions are to expose and challenge corporations like GE in their role as nuclear weaponmakers. The multibillion-dollar weapons industry, INFACT maintains, has been helping to pull the strings of nuclear weapons policy in government for over 40 years. General Electric's own nuclear weapons work goes back to the Manhattan Project in World War II. A GE Internal Publication of 1972 even speaks of setting "the machinery in motion for a permanent war economy." INFACT wants this kind of corporate influence over nuclear weapons policy stopped, and wants GE to live up to its motto. It wants GE out of the nuclear weapons business.

The campaign to boycott familiar household GE products allows people to voice their displeasure about nuclear weapons in a most concrete way. INFACT plans to extend the boycott worldwide.

—RL

Minor Details

Is the purpose of Star Wars to protect human lives or missile silos? Apparently, top-level officials in the Defense Department disagree on the goal of the most ambitious and expensive military research project in the nation's history. Defense Secretary Casper Weinberger, quoted in the *Los Angeles Times*, said: "We're not interested in site defense. We're not interested in protecting the missiles. We're interested in protecting the people. We're not trying to protect any target in the United States."

However, Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle and Chief Strategic Defense Initiative Scientist Gerold Yonas point out that Star Wars is not intended to protect the population, as envisioned by Reagan. Richard Perle recently told *Time* magazine that the purpose of Star Wars is "the defense of America's capacity to retaliate."

—DMT



Political Science

Washington State and Nevada have filed lawsuits against the Department of Energy (DOE) on the grounds that politics, not science, is determining the location of the first permanent high-level radioactive waste repository. The White House announced on May 28 that five years of detailed studies, costing up to \$1 billion apiece, will be made of a volcanic rock site at Yucca Mountain in Nevada, and at a basalt rock site on the Hanford Nuclear Reservation in Washington. A third suit was also filed by Texas Attorney General Jim Mattox to block a similar study of a salt bed in Deaf Smith County, Texas.

Kenneth Eikenberry, Attorney General of Washington, said the states can no longer trust the DOE to administer the Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982. "On the one hand," he explained in *The New York Times*, "they abandoned the scientific process so elaborately fine-tuned after years of study and instead used geological diversity as an excuse to pick Hanford. On the other hand, U.S.D.O.E. dropped all the granite sites, all located in the Midwest or East." Hanford ranked fifth of five semifinalist states as a suitable burial ground for 75,000 tons of highly radioactive waste that must be isolated from the surrounding environment.

"How is it that Washington scientifically ranks fifth but is nominated third?" asked Eikenberry on June 4, when he

announced the lawsuit.

Rob Nielson, spokesperson for the Nevada Nuclear Waste Project Office, said DOE officials had made the decision from the start. "Now that they've dropped the second round sites, we're saying it's strictly political."

—DMT

Bad Pad

The nearly completed space shuttle launching complex at Vandenberg Air Force Base in California was built over a seven year period at a cost of \$2.8 billion. But according to a report authorized by Senator James Sasser, the top-ranking Democrat on the Senate subcommittee overseeing military construction, the Vandenberg facility has "significant technical and structural problems," and should be mothballed. At the earliest, with some major improvements, it might be ready for launches by July 1989. Senator Sasser believes, however, that it might have been a mistake to have built it to begin with. He recommended that the shuttle flights be left to the Kennedy Space Center in Florida and that Vandenberg focus on rocket programs. He said there was no longer a necessity for shuttle launches on the West Coast.

The Air Force, however, has confidence that the facility's problems are not unmanageable and that a shuttle launch from Vandenberg is still in the picture for the spring of 1988.

—RL

What A Gas

The United States has gone 17 years without producing any chemical weapons, but all that might be changing soon. At the same time that President Reagan has urged negotiators in Geneva to intensify their efforts to draw up a worldwide ban on chemical weapons, the United States is planning to produce a new generation of them. Congress rejected the Reagan administration's request to produce new chemical weapons for five years, until suddenly reversing its de-

cision last year; the "modernization" of chemical weapons is scheduled to begin in 1987.

Once again, it's the same logic: In order to outlaw chemical weapons, let's first produce new ones. President Reagan believes that our existing arsenal is not enough to offset the Soviets', which has been said to have been growing steadily. The new weapons, seen as a deterrent to the threat the Soviet arsenal poses, might then be used as "bargaining chips" in a familiar replay of other negotiation quagmires. Donald Lowitz, chief U.S. delegate in Geneva for the chemical arms talks,



said that he saw nothing contradictory about this. Naturally, the Soviets think otherwise.

The new generation of chemical weapons are called "binary weapons." The label refers to the fact that the weapons are composed of two relatively harmless chemicals separately contained, which, when mixed, produce a deadly gas. Of the three new weapons still in the development phase, the one getting the most attention right now is the Bigeye bomb; it would be dropped by plane.

A report released on June 10 by the General Accounting Office, an investigative agency of Congress, criticized the Bigeye for its numerous flaws and problems. It called the Bigeye "a horror story," and concluded it should be scrapped. "A turkey about to gobble up a lot of funds," is what Senator David Pryor (D-Ark.) called it. Opponents of chemical weapons on Capitol Hill will use the report to oppose President Reagan's request for the \$56.9 million needed to build them.

—RL

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Will Congress Let Reagan Break SALT II?

SALT II

Apparently President Reagan thinks that we should all go on a no-salt diet. That's SALT II, the Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty, which the United States has adhered to since 1979 even though it was never ratified by the Senate. On May 27, the president announced that he would scrap SALT II, declaring that it had outlived its usefulness and stood in the way of "meaningful arms control agreements." However, in a recent press

conference the president was ambiguous about the treaty's future and seemed to indicate that the treaty could be saved if the Soviets met certain criteria. After the press conference, White House aides scrambled to assure confused reporters that the treaty was indeed dead. When asked to clarify the matter himself the president replied, "I think you can trust what Larry Speakes said to you."

In Congress, Republicans and moderate Democrats, traditionally supportive of the president on his arms control positions, expressed concern that a new arms race will be unleashed if the United States pulls away from SALT II. The House of Representatives passed a non-binding resolution on a vote of 256 to 145, urging the president to adhere to the 1979 treaty. The Senate Armed

ANTI-SATELLITE (ASAT) WEAPONS

Initially the House Armed Services Committee voted to deny all funding requests for anti-satellite weapons and then reversed itself and allotted \$140 million for research. Currently there is a congressional ban on ASAT testing which the administration is seeking to overturn. In the Senate, John Kerry (D-MA) will introduce an amendment to the Defense Authorizations Bill to block funding for any ASAT testing.

COVERT AID TO ANGOLA

The House Foreign Affairs Committee voted to halt covert U.S. aid to Jonas Savimbi's rebel group unless such aid is "openly acknowledged and approved by a vote of Congress." The United States had previously given as much as \$15

a total of 50 missiles. The Reagan administration would like to have 100. In December the Pentagon is expected to make its decision on the basing mode for the MX and decide the format of the Midgetman missile. Some analysts believe that the Pentagon may turn the tables on Congress and make its support for the Midgetman program conditional on congressional support for additional MX missiles. We'll be watching this one closely and report to you as developments occur.

COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN H.R. 3442

Sponsored by Congressman Patricia Schroeder (D-CO), this bill would cut off funds for nuclear weapons testing so long as the Soviets also refrain from testing. The bill currently has 101 co-sponsors. It is unclear as to when the bill will be brought up for a vote in the House, and in any case it is not expected to win. A much more likely victory for a test ban will come in the form of an amendment. The Schroeder-Downey amendment will be attached to some as yet undetermined piece of legislation (probably either the Defense Authorization Bill or a Department of Energy bill) and voted on in July.

ACTION: Freeze supporters should thank Representative Leon Panetta for his support for H.R. 3442 and urge him to take leadership in the House, encouraging his fellow congressmembers to support test ban legislation. Freeze supporters in Representative Ed Zschau's district should ask for accountability as to why he switched his support away from test ban legislation. Inform Mr. Zschau that a test ban is a reasonable, verifiable, necessary first step toward achieving the

... White House aids scrambled to assure confused reporters that the treaty was indeed dead.

Services Committee passed a similar resolution on a vote of 10-9. The following legislation is expected to be introduced on the congressional floor during the defense authorizations debates:

H.R. 4919 (Dicks WA)

Would cut off funds for any weapons that exceed the SALT II limits.

S.2524 (Biden DE/Cohen ME)

Similar to the House provision. Details are not known at this time. **ACTION:** Freeze supporters should call their representatives in both the House and Senate and urge them to vote for any amendments to the Defense Authorization Bill which will enforce SALT II limits.

STAR WARS

The administration has requested \$4.8 billion for its Star Wars (Strategic Defense Initiative) program. On June 24, the House Armed Services Committee voted to trim that figure to \$3.4 billion. In a similar move, the Senate Armed Services Committee voted to allot \$3.6 billion for the program. Just prior to the Senate committee vote, a bipartisan group of 48 senators sent a letter to the committee, urging them to hold funding at \$3.1 billion. In the House, an amendment is expected to be attached to the 1987 Defense Authorizations Bill which would freeze Star Wars funding at last year's level of \$2.75 billion.

ACTION: Contact representatives Panetta and Zschau and urge them to support the most stringent restrictions possible on Star Wars funding.

million to the rebels, which was channeled through the CIA. Savimbi's forces are thought to have close ties to the South African government.

MX/MIDGETMAN

A battle is currently raging between Congress and the Pentagon over MX deployment and development of the Midgetman missile. Congress views the Midgetman missile as relatively "stable"



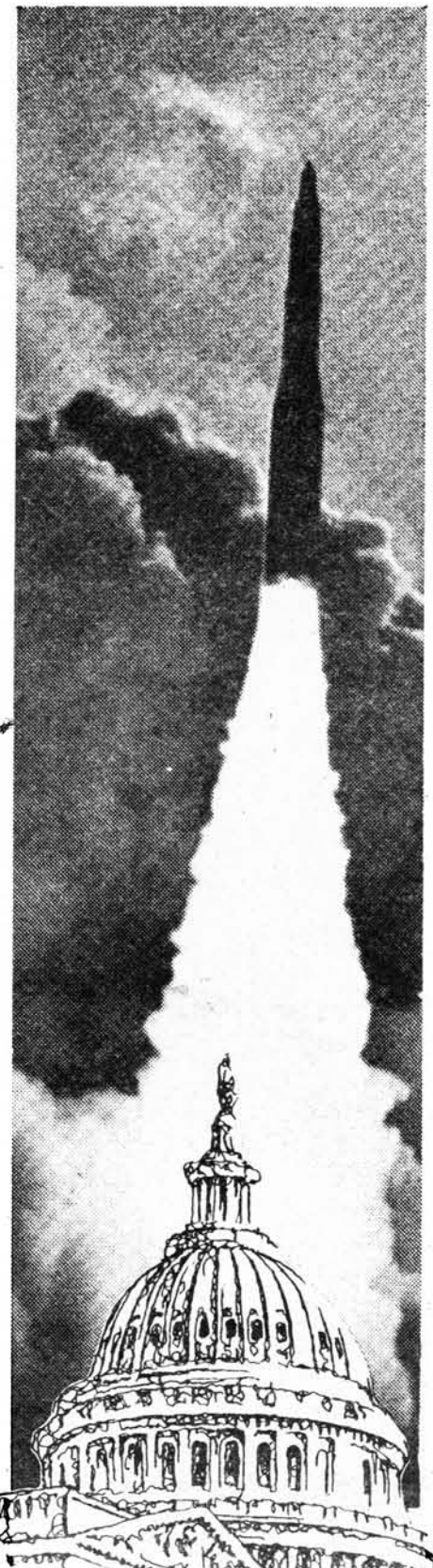
Cindy Cornwall

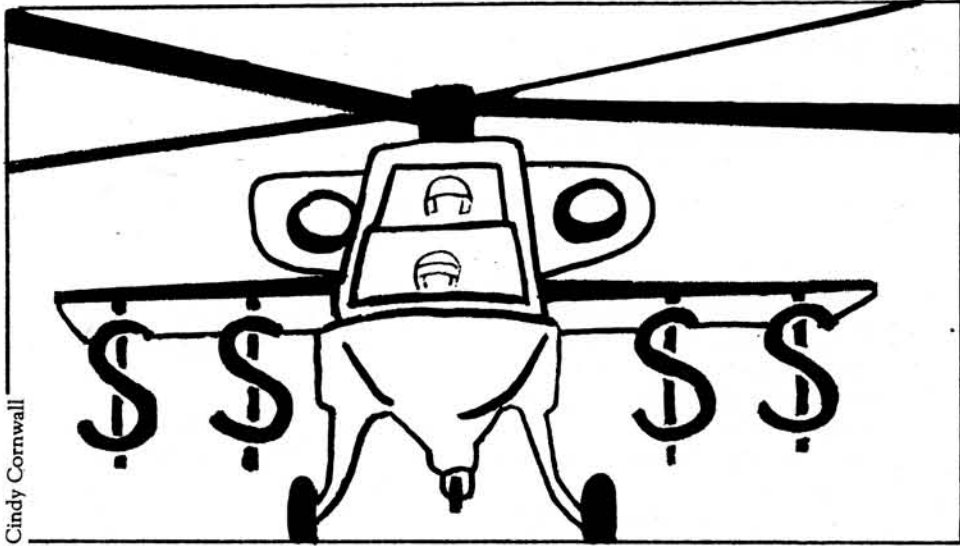
and would like to see it developed and deployed rather than the MX, which is viewed by many as a highly destabilizing first-strike weapon. The Pentagon in general has no objections to development of the Midgetman, but differs with Congress over the size and number of warheads. On June 24 the House Armed Services Committee voted to limit MX deployment to 10 missiles until major components of the Midgetman missile were tested and military contracts were awarded for the project. Currently MX production and deployment is limited to

freeze on nuclear weapons that he has claimed to support.

CONTRA AID

The House of Representatives voted 221 to 209 to approve President Reagan's request for \$100 million in aid to the Nicaraguan Contras. The House approved the president's original proposal, with few restrictions, allotting \$40 million immediately and \$60 million in two increments. The measure also authorizes \$300 million in military aid to the countries of Guatemala, Honduras, Costa





Rica and El Salvador. Two other proposals on Contra aid were defeated. One, sponsored by Representative Lee Hamilton (D-IN), banned all aid to the Contras. The other, offered by Representative David McCurdy (D-OK), would have sent \$40 million immediately and would have required a second affirmative vote of Congress after October 1 in order to release the military portion of the aid package. There are some minor restrictions on Contra aid. One restriction dictates that no arms can be supplied at all until after September 1. The other restriction bars any U.S. military personnel from going within 20 miles of the Nicaraguan border. Representatives Leon

Panetta and Michael Barnes (D-MD) offered an amendment to bar all military aid pending the outcome of the investigation into the misuse of the \$27 million in so-called "humanitarian aid" to the Contras granted by Congress last year. It lost on a 198-225 vote.

ACTION: Write or call Representative Panetta and thank him for the leadership he has shown on this issue. This is just the beginning. Mr. Reagan isn't going to stop here. Watch this space for further developments in the U.S. war on Nicaragua, and information on how you can act to stop it.

Shelly D'Amour is the Action Alert Coordinator of the Santa Cruz County Nuclear Weapons Freeze.

Contact Your Representatives Today!



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

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

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

Congressmember Leon Panetta
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-2861/local: 429-1976
(Sixteenth Congressional District)

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

Hotlines

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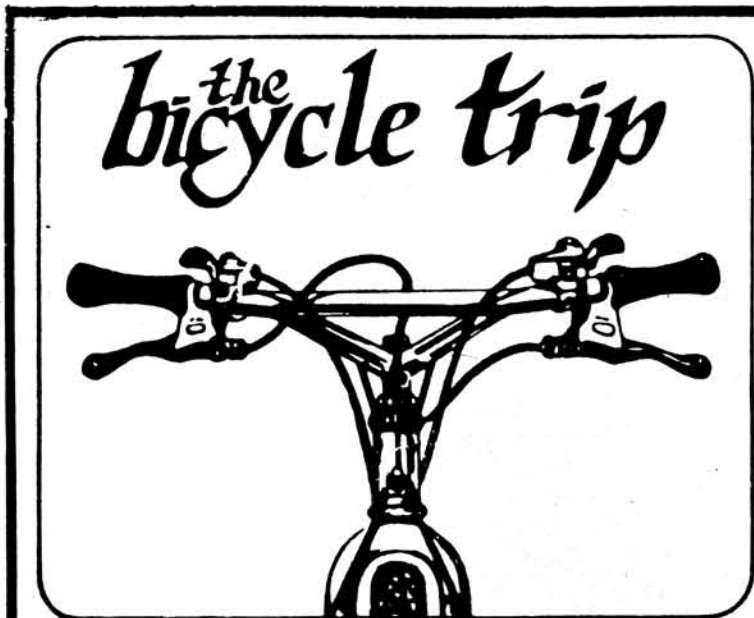
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(Council for a Liveable World)
202-543-0006

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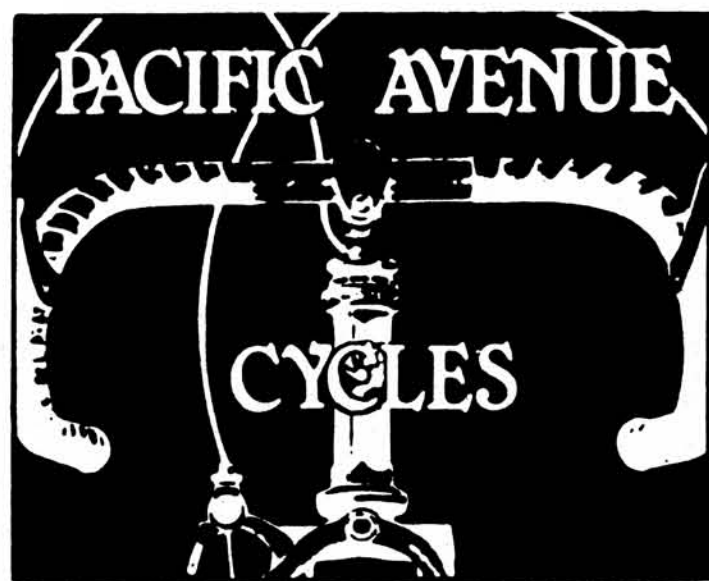
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Planet Watch

by Igal Dahari



Soviet Union An Offer You Can't Refuse

A new arms control proposal, hinging on the Reagan Administration's Star Wars project, was recently laid on the negotiations table by the Soviet Union. The Soviet plan calls for a 20-35% reduction in nuclear weapons, depending on the United States' flexibility on Star Wars. The idea is that the more Star Wars is restrained, the higher will be the number of nuclear weapons the Soviets are willing to give up. At their summit meeting last year, President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev agreed to strive for a 50% reduction of nuclear weapons.

The June 11 proposal also calls on the United States to agree to abide by the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, which effectively outlaws missile defense systems such as Star Wars. But the Soviets have dropped their previously held demand that a halt on all research work

on these systems be a part of any new arms control treaty.

So far the administration has reacted in a typical manner. Reagan has called the proposal a "serious effort," and other administration officials have publicly lauded it as an important step. But privately, administration officials have admitted that, as in the past, they are not willing to accept the proposal.

Chernobyl Update

Not all of the fallout from the Chernobyl nuclear power plant is in the form of radioactive isotopes. The plant's director and its chief engineer have both been fired from their posts for incompetence, while some technicians and others have been criticized for fleeing in the wake of the April 26 accident.

Twenty-six people have died since the accident, 400 to 500 others are receiving treatment for exposure to radiation, and tens of thousands have been evacuated from the area. There have been reports in the Soviet press, most notably in *Pravda*, that there is insufficient housing and basic necessities for the evacuees.

Work is being done to try to decontaminate the area around Chernobyl, but

no one expects a swift recovery to conditions previous to the accident. Although two other reactors in the Chernobyl complex are expected to be reactivated soon, it is unlikely that former residents will return to live near the site. There are signs that the area will be closed for a long time, including the digging of wells to provide alternative drinking water to those downstream on the Dnepr River, which runs near Chernobyl and may be contaminated by dissolved radioactive soil.



Su Tonge

West Germany The Actions Never Stop

Antinuclear demonstrations continued in Germany last month, with the number of arrests going over 400. More than 70,000 demonstrators participated in a rally at Hamburg, and 2,000 more broke a court order and protested in Wackersdorf. The protesters demanded that Germany abandon nuclear power. Wackersdorf is the construction site of a nuclear reprocessing plant that will begin producing plutonium in the year 1995. The demonstration in Hamburg was in protest of a nuclear power plant in nearby Brokdorf. The plant is due to begin operating next year.

Although the vast majority of demonstrators are committed to a nonviolent confrontation with authorities, about 800 people at the Hamburg rally battled police with firebombs, steel balls and rocks. Police attacked both the violent minority and the nonviolent majority of protesters with water cannons and chemical agents.

Finland Mystery Radiation Reading

Finland reported recently that a sharp rise in atmospheric radioactivity it detected early last month was caused by an instrument malfunction. A ten-second burst of radiation, four times as high as the level detected immediately after the Chernobyl accident, was recorded by a monitoring station at Kotka. Only the station at Kotka, located on Finland's southeastern coast, registered the radia-

tion. Other monitoring stations, including those in Sweden, reported no unusual readings during the same period.

Since the detection, there has been a slew of explanations offered for the cause, ranging from a controlled release of radiation from a Soviet nuclear power plant, to a railroad shipment of Soviet animal feed that passed near the station.

Dr. Olli Paakkola, director of surveillance at the Finnish Center for Radiation and Nuclear Safety, said he has heard "a dozen" such stories. He attributed them to "a general lack of technical understanding," from which "gross distortions arise." Paakkola said that there are "about two malfunctions like this one every year" in Finland.

New Zealand Settling The Sabotage

New Zealand's dispute with France over the sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior*, which resulted in the death of one crew member, may soon be settled. The two countries have asked United Nations' General Secretary Javier Pérez de Cuéllar to mediate the case, and he will have a decision "in the very near future," according to U.N. spokesperson Francois Guiliani. He added that both countries have agreed to abide by Cuéllar's ruling, which they are confident "will be equitable and principled."



Su Tonge

The *Rainbow Warrior* was sunk by explosives on July 10, while it was docked at Auckland, New Zealand. The *Warrior*, serving as the flagship for the environmental organization Greenpeace, was waiting to lead a flotilla of ships to the South Pacific's Mururoa Atoll to protest French nuclear testing there.

New Zealand accused several French agents of committing the sabotage. Two of the agents were later captured and imprisoned in New Zealand.

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Planet Poetry

Leap of Faith

I was six and performing
take cover drills at school,
crying, before the whole class,
for my mother and brother at home
who wouldn't know what to do
when it hit.

I believed in bombs
and those T.V. commercials
where the children
were incinerated in the sandbox.

"You're oversensitive,"
my mother would say,
"There's nothing to worry about,"
(Big Smile)
"Go out and play, Sweetheart."

So, I went to watch Carol's father
build his bomb shelter
while Mom inventoried our emergency rations,
rubbing at her headache.

I was six and eight and ten,
scissoring zillions of paperdolls
and coloring bright clothes for them,
naming each one,
quite convinced I would never have children,
preparing to die on my way to school
at Girl Scouts,
on the day before my birthday party.



Cindy Cornwall

Then, at 18,
with an easy sneer,
I packed up my birth control pills
and set out for a quick good time,
each orgasm with each new lover
a triumph over fate.
I could dance all night
in my frenzy to live
before I died.

And then I was 27
with an empty womb,
deeply in love with a man
I had come to call family,
every cell in my body alert and yearning
while my brain sought insurance policies
against imperfect futures.
For years this elemental battle raged while
sad poems poured out of me like quicksilver,
and I appeared to pursue my career.

Leap of Faith
Leap of Faith

How I laughed when the child performed
somersaults in my belly
and then, dissolved into loving relief
as I first touched his skin
as this boy child,
once a part of my body,
began to giggle and grin,
fell in beside me like a shadow.



Cindy Cornwall

How humbling to see
the flesh of one's flesh
become a muscle,
rolling over turn into sitting up,
crawling, standing, walking, running.
How a coo becomes a chirp,
a squeal of delight, belly laugh,
words, phrase, sentence:
"Me like it!"

And soon there will be complicated thoughts
and questions,
fears,

And I will talk with him
when the ugly words of war
scurry like rats through his mind,
spreading plague, poisoning childhood.

We will talk then.
This is what we have learned to do.
It is the best we can do, so far.

And for now, he likes my singing!
My voice is swelling in the room,
rising out through the chimney,
fluttering over the neighborhoods,
nursing the world
back to health.

How it needs us.
What power there is
in a nurturing voice.

Ellen Farmer

Poetry submissions are now being accepted for Planet Poetry. Poems must be typed, double spaced, and sent to The Monthly Planet address. Enclose SASE if you wish to have your work returned.

Reagan Tolls Bell For SALT II

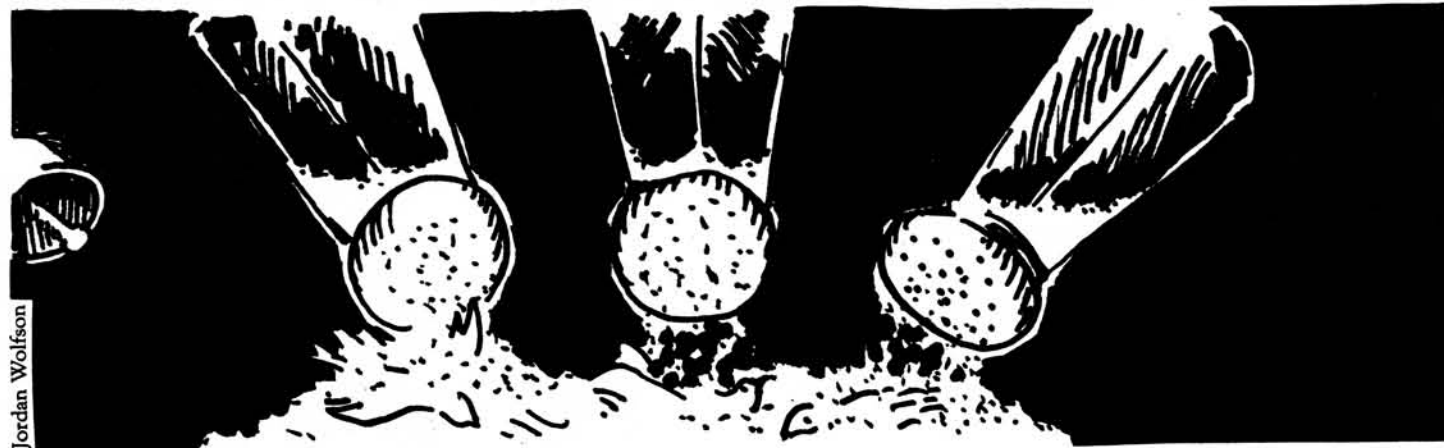
by Igal Dahari

If President Ronald Reagan leaves office without signing an arms control agreement with the Soviet Union, he will have been the first president elected since Eisenhower to do so. He could also become the first president to break an arms control treaty with the Soviets.

On May 27, in his "Statement on Interim Restraint," Reagan announced that the United States would no longer abide by the 1979 Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II). At a June 12 news conference, the President asserted that SALT II had failed "to reduce nuclear weapons or the nuclear threat," and that he wanted it replaced "with a realistic program of arms reduction." Reagan has also charged the Soviets with breaking several of SALT II's stipulations, and has used that accusation as the main argument for abandoning the treaty.

Although allegations of Soviet non-compliance have been out for some time, and have been disregarded by many experts as either basically untrue or politically-motivated nitpicking, it is only in 1986 that the administration has stepped up its attack on SALT. First, the administration announced earlier this year that the next Trident submarine to be launched would break SALT II's limits on the number of warheads allowed, and that steps to keep the United States within those limits were not forthcoming. The Trident was launched as scheduled on May 28, the day after Reagan declared the end of SALT II.

The United States was able to remain in compliance with SALT II by retiring two Poseidon submarines, ostensibly for economic reasons. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, and Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Richard Perle, two of SALT's most vocal detractors, had at first indicated that although the Poseidons would be removed from active duty, they would not be dismantled.



After the two submarines were finally dismantled, SALT II's enemies in the administration insisted that there were no plans to retire any more Poseidons this year. This makes it likely that the United States will break the treaty's limits sometime in November, when the 131st B-52 bomber will be modified to carry cruise missiles. Under SALT II, both the Soviet Union and the United States are limited to a certain number of nuclear weapons delivery systems.

While disavowing SALT II, Weinberger has also taken the time to warn that the administration may decide to

renounce the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, which is part of the SALT I package. The move to criticize this treaty, signed in 1972 to prohibit the development of anti-missile defense systems, is linked to the development of Reagan's Star Wars program. The program, which so far has received widespread criticism, is likely to violate the

treaty. The United States is allowed to pull out of the ABM Treaty with a six month notice, and according to Weinberger, it may do so to prevent taking "SDI (Star Wars) out of existence." But concern with the ABM treaty, at least at this time, is on the fringe of the fierce debate taking place over SALT II. Perle, who in the past has admitted his disdain for arms control, inflamed the debate by charging that if Congress does not back Reagan's position on SALT II, it would "stand with the Soviets."

Both Democratic and Republican congressmembers have been criticizing

ing 37 Republicans.

On the same date, the Republican-controlled Senate Arms Services Committee approved a similar resolution in a 10 to 9 vote. Members in both the House and Senate have also said that unless the administration changes its position on SALT II, binding resolutions will be on the drawing board for this summer.

NATO member states' response to Reagan's renouncement of SALT II has been at least as unsupportive as that of Congress. In a recent meeting in Canada, NATO ministers unanimously disapproved of the administration's move. Even West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, usually a staunch Reagan supporter, sent the president a letter urging him to continue complying with the treaty.

The main Soviet response to administration's decision to abandon SALT II has been to offer a sweeping arms control plan. The plan was put forth in Geneva, and was praised by American negotiators as important, but an actual agreement still does not seem near. Reagan has responded to the plan in a positive yet vague manner, saying it "could represent a turning point" in American-Soviet relations.

Whether or not anything substantial comes out of the Geneva talks stimulated by the latest Soviet offer, the administration continues to insist that SALT II is "dead," as a White House spokesperson put it, and that it will be broken by the United States later this year. But the administration has left its options intact. A third Poseidon is scheduled to be retired no later than June of next year, but there is no reason that date cannot be moved up to keep the United States within SALT II. The administration may be just testing the atmosphere to gauge reactions to abandonment of a single arms control treaty, perhaps to prepare for the abandonment of "the whole strategic framework" of arms control, according to Democratic Senator Joseph Biden of Delaware.

Furthermore, thinks Biden, Reagan's move could be the result of the influence of certain "right-wing" advisors who are obsessed with destroying SALT. Whatever is behind the administration's announcement to abandon SALT II, Biden believes that with regard to "strategic policy," the United States faces "the functional equivalent of a national emergency."

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

... the United States faces "the functional equivalent of a national emergency."

—Senator Joseph Biden

renounce the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, which is part of the SALT I package. The move to criticize this treaty, signed in 1972 to prohibit the development of anti-missile defense systems, is linked to the development of Reagan's Star Wars program. The program, which so far has received widespread criticism, is likely to violate the

the administration's position, and have urged the President to remain within the numerical limits of the treaty. On June 19, the House approved a nonbinding resolution requesting that the president "adhere to the numerical sublimits of the SALT agreements as long as the Soviet Union does likewise." The vote was 256 to 145, with the majority includ-

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No Excuse To Break Salt II

by Robert C. Aldridge

"The President has traveled that last mile and we are no longer bound by the flawed agreement," declared Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger regarding the Reagan administration's decision to exceed SALT II limits. To justify continued deployment of air-launched cruise missiles on B-52 bombers in excess of those limits, the administration in February 1986 published a report listing seven Soviet SALT II violations. That list deserves closer inspection.

1. The SS-25 ICBM is alleged to be an illegal second new intercontinental ballistic missile, not an allowed modification of the SS-13 as claimed by the Soviets, because (a) it exceeds the SS-13 throw weight by more than five percent and (b) the single warhead weighs less than 50 percent of the throw weight. This dispute stems from the United States claiming ambiguous SS-13 data because it was tested in the 1960s prior to modern surveillance methods, along with differences in the U.S. and U.S.S.R. throw weight

definitions. Nevertheless, throw weight, launch weight, and missile dimensions can be precisely determined by spectroscopic monitoring of exhaust plumes and radar monitoring of missile dimensions, acceleration, speed, altitude and range. SS-13 characteristics are well known and the throw weight is published as 1,000 pounds. A reasonable evaluation substantiates the SS-25 as a legal modification of the SS-13. It then follows that the warhead weight is not less than half the

indeed a violation, compensating steps have been taken.

6. SALT II prohibits encrypting of ballistic missile telemetry only if it impedes verification of treaty limits. Encrypting to protect information on missile performance, accuracy, etc. is perfectly legal. The administration, however, claims that encrypting is a violation but won't specify what information is being hindered or what channels are illegally encrypted. Since all necessary verification informa-

able intermediate-range tactical missile launcher might be upgraded for strategic ICBMs. Verifying the types and numbers of missiles deployed is frequently accomplished by counting the types of launchers. But since the SS-25 is a single warhead missile there is no need for multiple warhead concern. And modifying a tactical launcher for ICBM use without surveillance satellites noting the structural change would not be possible.

In the history of treaty compliance both the United States and the Soviet Union have found technical loopholes, but the violations listed in the administration's report are pure fabrication and do not justify withdrawing from SALT II compliance. The political obligations incurred by both superpowers to observe SALT II limits has had a restraining influence on the arms race. In the absence of those restraints the proliferation of weapons will intensify. It is critical that such escalation not occur. For the benefit of humanity and the environment a reversal is necessary and long past due.

... the violations listed in the administration's report are pure fabrication and do not justify withdrawing from SALT II compliance.

throw weight.

2. The administration's report claims that Soviet strategic nuclear delivery vehicles (SNDVs) exceeded the 2,504 level existing when SALT II was signed. According to the Pentagon's fiscal year 1987 posture statement, however, the number of SALT accountable SNDVs is only 2,477. The only way to arrive at the administration's figure of "approximately 2,520" is to include 39 submarine-launched SS-N-5 missiles which are excluded from SALT because of their short range.

3. It is claimed that the Soviets deployed a few SS-16 ICBMs which are specifically forbidden by SALT II, but during 1985 have "probably removed" them. The administration admits the "evidence is somewhat ambiguous and we cannot reach a definite conclusion." Nevertheless, that evidence also indicates the violation has been corrected. Furthermore, no SS-16 tests have taken place for ten years and the last one was a failure. Deployment under those conditions would be technologically foolhardy.

4. Because Backfire bombers temporarily visited arctic bases on two occasions, the administration judges there "is cause for concern and continued careful monitoring." The action, the report reads, could possibly indicate training for attack on some portions of the United States which could be reached from those bases without refueling and is, therefore, a violation of the Soviet promise not to give the Backfire intercontinental capability. Aside from being a highly speculative charge, it is unreasonable to construe the Soviet Union's voluntary unilateral statement as restricting the movement of airplanes within its own country.

5. It is alleged that Backfire bomber production has exceeded the allowed 30 aircraft per year. While admitting to "ambiguities concerning the data," the administration claims that "the Soviet Backfire production was slightly more than 30 per year until 1984, and decreased since that time to slightly below 30 per year." Again, it appears that if there were

tion, including warhead dispensing maneuvers, are obtainable by other means, verification is not obstructed.

7. The final alleged SALT II violation is obstructing verification by concealing the relationship between the SS-25 ICBM and its launcher during testing. The concern is that a single warhead missile launcher might be used for multiple warhead missiles or that a non-account-

Robert C. Aldridge is a former strategic missile engineer who is now engaged in private research to improve 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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A History Of Direct Action Against Nuclear Testing

by Judy Kowalok

The first testing of nuclear weapons on people conducted by the United States took place on August 6, 1945 on the city of Hiroshima. The second test followed three days later on the city of Nagasaki.

THE BEGINNING OF PROTEST

The Nevada Test Site covers an area of 1,350 square miles and since 1951 has provided an on-continent site for about 650 announced nuclear tests. Between the years 1951 to 1958, the Department of Energy conducted 100 atmospheric

tests of pacifist organizations which adopted a united educational and action program to rally all opponents of the H-bomb tests—nonpacifists as well as pacifists. On the 12th anniversary of Hiroshima day in 1957, eleven people, including Albert Bigelow, Prentiss Choate and Jim

settled over the area. Suddenly a blinding flash and slowly the mushroom form appeared from behind the mountains—grey and pink. I have seen this often in pictures, but to see it in reality . . . was a horrifying experience. It was a nightmare come true." This was the beginning of a long history of protest for the NVAANW.

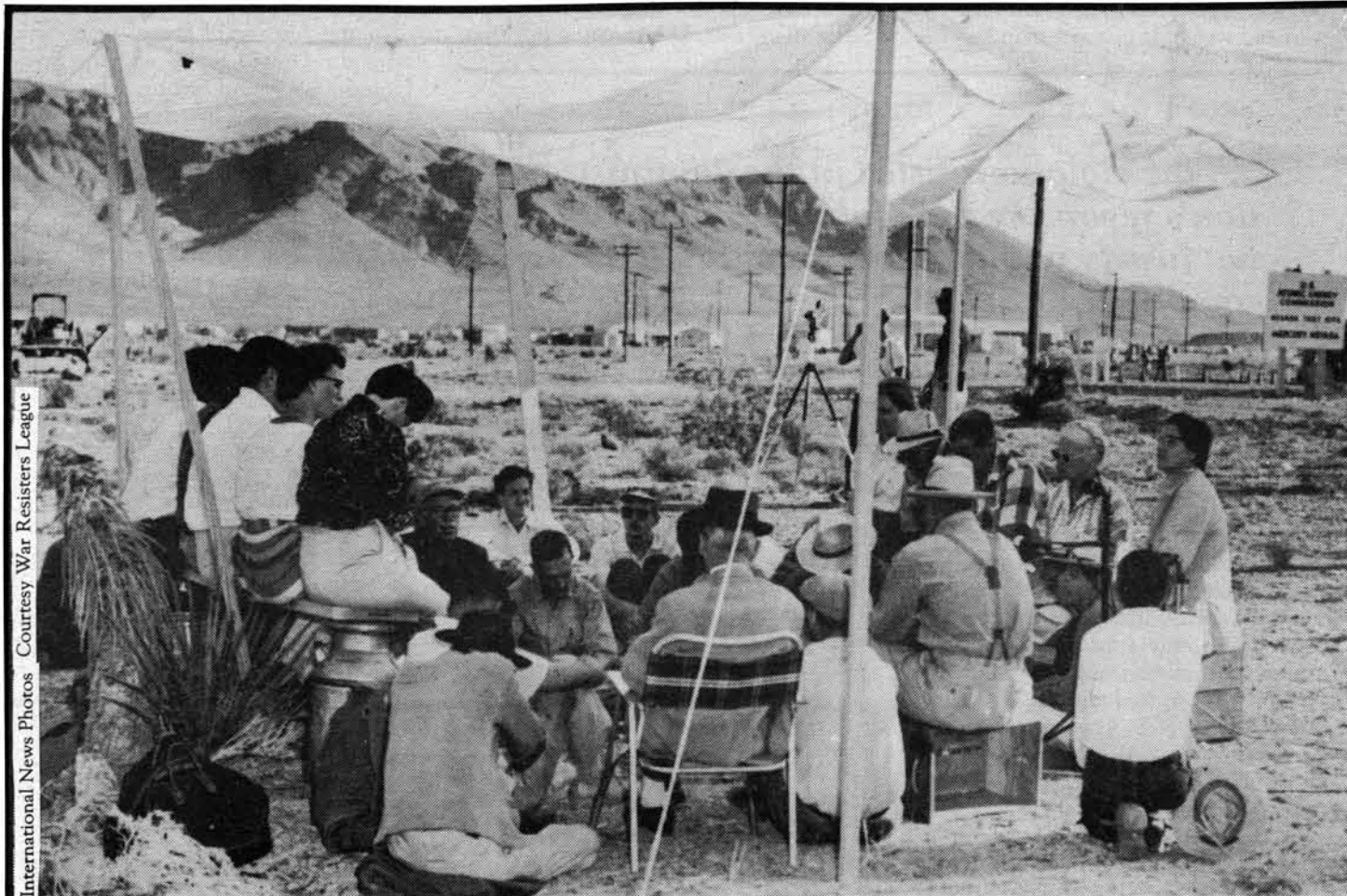
That same year Dr. Linus Pauling, a Nobel Prize biochemist initiated a petition signed by over 2,200 American scientists. Their plea can be summed up with this excerpt from their statement. "We have in common . . . a deep concern for the welfare of all human beings. As scientists we have the knowledge of the dangers involved and there is a special responsibility to make those dangers known. We deem it imperative that immediate action be taken to effect an international agreement to stop the testing of all nuclear weapons." Dr. Pauling traveled throughout Europe encouraging scientists from other countries to study this position.

THE GOLDEN RULE AND THE PHOENIX

In 1958 a new tactic of protest was employed. The *Golden Rule* set sail to the Marshall Island of Eniwetok where the United States was to begin nuclear testing. The crew departed from San Pedro, California on February 10 intending to reach the test site by April 5 when testing would begin. Their mission was thwarted first by bad weather and later by government officials. On June 4 the vessel left Honolulu on the last leg of its journey. By the end of that day the vessel had come within six miles of its destination and all crew members had been arrested.

The foiled attempts by the *Golden Rule* to sail into nuclear testing zones caused a great stir and drew international attention to the issue of testing. Likewise as the publicity of the prosecution of the crews of the *Golden Rule* increased, so did the number of protests and vigils at various Atomic Energy Commission sites around the country.

continued on page 20



International News Photos Courtesy War Resisters League

Members of the Nonviolent Action Against Nuclear Weapons hold a prayer vigil outside the gate of the Nevada Test Site in 1957. This gathering marked the start of protests at the Nevada site. Eleven members of the group crossed onto government property and were arrested.

Since then the other nuclear weapon states—the Soviet Union, Britain, France, China, and India—have conducted their tests in deserts, oceans and islands around the world. The U.S. peace movement has drawn international attention to the issue of nuclear testing not only by the U.S. but all nuclear countries.

nuclear tests. The Nevada Test Site is located 65 miles northwest of Las Vegas.

It was at the Nevada Test Site in 1957 that the Nonviolent Action Against Nuclear Weapons held its first protest and civil disobedience action. Largely through the efforts of Lawrence Scott, the NVAANW was founded as a coal-

ition of pacifist organizations which adopted a united educational and action program to rally all opponents of the H-bomb tests—nonpacifists as well as pacifists. Meanwhile an all-night vigil of supporters led by A.J. Muste, stood outside the entrance to the test site. One participant wrote, "At 5:25 a.m., as the hour of the explosion approached, a strange quiet

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Going To Mercury

Crossing The Line

by Sue Strong

Four a.m., Saturday, May 30—my turn to drive on the trip to the American Peace Test demonstration at Mercury, Nevada, one of the entry points to the U.S. Nuclear Testing Site. At four a.m. we were still 250 miles away, driving through the dawn, enjoying the delicate beiges and pale blues of an early Nevada morning. Very beautiful and very fragile, with no margin for mistakes by plants, animals or people. By 9:00 on Saturday morning, we were approaching Mercury. On the left side of the road a long plain stretched out to the distant mountains, and several roads ran at oblique angles from the freeway to what looked like some sort of industrial facility at the foot of the hills. From the freeway, it looked metallic and inhuman, shimmering in the heat waves already rising from the earth. No children or pregnant women are allowed in Mercury, nor were any allowed to come to the demonstration. On the right side of the road, the first thing one saw was a United Nations flag. Strung out behind it, clustered thinly around the freeway offramp on that side, were a small group of ordinary citizen campers, measuring themselves against the distant mechanism of Mercury, in the already punishing heat. Just planning to get out of the car and join them felt sacrificial.

It was an illuminating experience to go from camping in the blistering sun beside the freeway across from Mercury to Las Vegas, one hour away, probably the capital of ordinary vice in the United States. To see how much money was spent in electricity alone on the neon-flooded streets of the big casino-hotels made it easier to understand why there were few of us out at the test site, relative to the number of Americans. The ordinary American is thinking more about the things that Las Vegas represents, the hope of a fast financial windfall, and the manufactured glamour and excitement of neon and moving parts.

One would think that as a long-time, four-year veteran of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign I would find these contrasts in reality just depressing—

the small band of camper-activists in the scorching desert, the mechanical and desolate test facility, probably leaking radioactive poison as we stood there, the frantic glitter and exploitation of Las Vegas. I certainly have found the puzzling and frustrating day-to-day grind of trying to reach an apathetic public depressing; it often feels like living permanently in a

both emotional and intellectual. In Las Vegas, I saw the American dream (or at least one version of it) materialized and built in concrete, buzzing and zinging. Amazing machines that will give you money—just like the amazing machines at Mercury which are supposed to make you safe. The problem is the same—we are gambling. Compulsive gamblers

this national character trait to our advantage and away from our desperate risk.

It is hard to say what our witness meant to the state of Nevada, or even to the nation, at least that small part of it which was allowed to hear or read about what we did. The fact that Ann Druyan, Carl Sagan's wife, was arrested, along



Dan Miller

Carl Sagan addresses the American Peace Test gathering on May 31, 1986. The three-day demonstration was the largest ever held at the Nevada Test Site. On June 2, 149 citizens were arrested.

vacuum. To my surprise, though, going to Mercury and then to Las Vegas gave me what those same people need—concrete and powerful symbols in my own personal experience of what the problems are. I found the direct contact with the landscape, the test site, and the city enormously moving and energizing, because it gave me deeper understanding,

always refuse to believe that luck is not on their side, that mistakes are possible and even probable, that you have to pay for what you get. Americans came from other lands, gambling on the future here in the new land. That one paid off; we will surely not stop being a nation of gamblers soon. The question for us in the peace movement is how can we turn

with Harvard professor John Mack and his whole family did make headlines in a few papers we saw. As for myself, I found that among my friends, people not involved in peace work who have watched me gradually turn over almost my entire life to Freeze work over the past four

continued on page 21

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Earle Reynolds Takes The Plunge

by Colleen DeLaney

Earle Reynolds shatters the stereotype of the desk-bound intellectual who issues safe proclamations about world politics from a university ivory tower. While this Ben Lomond resident has done his share of monograph writing and professoring, he has also lived a life of direct action. When Reynolds became convinced that atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons was dangerously wrong, he wasn't content with publishing a study or writing a letter to his congressman. Instead, he became the first person to sail a ship into the heart of a nuclear test zone in protest.

It started in 1951 when Reynolds, a physical anthropologist and associate professor at Antioch College, was sent to Hiroshima for a six-month stint of studying the physical effects of radiation on the child survivors of Hiroshima's bombing. Reynolds saw the task as a purely scientific problem and entered into the study with no political opinions on the subject. He found the research opportunity so compelling that the six month assignment grew into a three-year study.

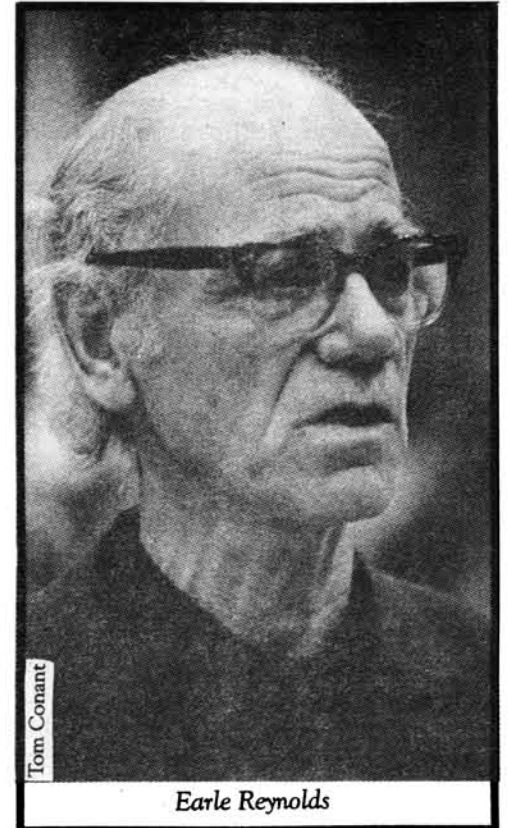
Reynolds concluded that excessive exposure to radiation was not good for the health and growth of children. "Now that may seem the obvious thing, now in 1986," says Reynolds. "But it wasn't so obvious in 1953—in fact, it was contro-

versial. The Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) was of the opinion that there were no meaningful changes taking place—either in the growth or the genetics area."

After publishing his findings, Reynolds and his family set out to sail around the world on his ship *The Phoenix*—a ship designed by him and built by Japanese shipwrights. But the years of study in Hiroshima had made their political mark

have war?" he mused. "Why can't we pass through this phase called war in our evolutionary process and get into the next stage before we manage to obliterate ourselves and make this particular creature one of the unsuccessful evolutionary events?"

Reynolds' opportunity for action arose as he prepared to make the last leg of his round-the-world voyage, from Honolulu



"I was arrested four times on the high seas by four different nations. Every one of those arrests was illegal."

on Reynolds, and during his voyage he became increasingly concerned about the effects of atmospheric testing. Not only did his studies of Hiroshima's children back him, but he was also privy to restricted material from the AEC indicating that Strontium 90, a product of fallout from weapons testing, was entering into children's bones at a time when their bones were actively growing.

Reynolds' concerns grew as he began to wonder what would happen if nuclear weapons continued to be made—and ultimately used. "Why do we have to

back to Hiroshima—a route that would mean sailing directly through the nuclear test zone in the Bikini Islands. And so Reynolds announced his intention to sail into the huge area of ocean that had been declared an out-of-bounds test zone as public evidence of his concern, especially for the children of the world.


"They said it was against the law for us to sail into there—of course, I knew perfectly well it wasn't against the law at all," Reynolds recalled. "They had no authority to put this area of open ocean out of bounds to anybody. Who's our government—or anybody else's government—to take open ocean and say you can't sail into it? The issue of freedom of the seas was an important issue here."

Reynolds was promptly arrested and sentenced to two years in prison. During the years of his subsequent trial—which he ultimately won on appeal on the grounds that the AEC had no legal authority to put the open ocean out of bounds—Reynolds' story was publicized before a wide audience, appearing on the front page of all the large newspapers in the world. "It was the first internationally recognized peace action which was concerned with weapons," said Reynolds.

medicines. And he was arrested time after time. "Here's one little statistic I'm kind of proud of," says Reynolds. "I was arrested four times on the high seas by four different nations. Every one of those arrests was illegal." Even so, his career as an anthropologist was, in his words, "shot to hell."

In 1970 Reynolds, a hero when he arrived in Japan in 1960, was kicked out of that country for his peace actions, and sailed back to the United States. He docked in Santa Cruz's harbor, intending to visit the Quaker Center in Ben Lomond, and there he has remained ever since. He found for himself a new kind of peace action in the framework of setting up and presenting a rigorous new field of academic study—the Peace Studies program at both UCSC and Cabrillo College from 1973–1980.

Now 75 years old and retired, Reynolds has still managed to get himself arrested and jailed four times in the last



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And it was the first event of its kind. The voyage of the *Phoenix* acted as a catalyst, arousing immediate public interest—public interest and outcry that ultimately culminated in the Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963.

Reynolds' peace actions may have begun with this voyage—but they certainly didn't end there. At the conclusion of his trial in Honolulu, Reynolds sailed back to Japan in 1960, where he lived on board his ship and continued peace actions throughout the troubled years of the '60s.

He made two voyages to the Soviet Union to protest their nuclear weapons testing. He made a goodwill voyage to the People's Republic of China. In 1967 he sailed to North Vietnam with a cargo of

few years—at Vandenberg, Diablo Canyon, and Livermore. Still, he has one regret—that nuclear weapons testing wasn't halted altogether instead of being driven underground. "In retrospect, we [the peace movement] made a big mistake. We only did one part of it. The testing just kept right on. And since it was no longer a big eyesore up in the air, since it was now like moles underground, it just kept going on and on. We actually lost, in retrospect, because we didn't keep the pressure on anymore."

"It's a race," Reynolds concluded, "But we haven't lost it yet."

Colleen DeLaney, one of the original writers for *The Monthly Planet*, regrets leaving the staff to pursue other studies.

Test Ban Coverage

What The New York Times Sees Fit To Print

by David M. Rubin

In a third editorial opposing a comprehensive nuclear test ban ("The Test Ban Shibboleth," March 31) *The New York Times* observed grimly that in "the battle for public opinion, Mr. Gorbachev seems to be advancing easily." Too easily for the *Times*. So as a molder of public opinion, the paper has done its best to slow Gorbachev's march. In its recent coverage of the arms race, particularly in March and April, the paper has sent clear signals to its readers that Gorbachev's siren song of peace should be stoutly resisted, as should the views of those Americans who question the president's nuclear policy.

One such American who has been cold-shouldered by the *Times* is Dr. Bernard Lown, who accepted the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize along with his Soviet counterpart, Dr. Yevgeny Chazov, on behalf of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. IPPNW was honored for its efforts to educate the public about the certain destruction of health care systems during a nuclear war. The organization has also strongly supported a comprehensive nuclear test ban, putting it at odds with the Reagan administration and the editorial position of the *Times*.

Much of the American press views Dr. Lown and IPPNW with a jaundiced eye, portraying him and the other American doctors involved as dupes of the Soviets. The press has withheld from them the usual status and credibility accorded winners of the Nobel Peace Prize. The *Times* devoted more space to the controversy surrounding Dr. Chazov's signature on a letter denouncing Andrei Sakharov than it did to explaining what IPPNW had accomplished to merit the award.

When Dr. Lown returned last December from the Soviet Union following a lengthy meeting with Gorbachev, at which they discussed an extension of the Soviet moratorium on nuclear testing, *Times* reporter Fox Butterfield asked Lown for an interview. According to Conn Nugent, executive director of IPPNW, Lown put off interview requests from *The Boston Globe* and other news organizations for the chance to break into the *Times*. Nugent says Butterfield interviewed Lown for more than two hours. No article ever appeared. Butterfield told Lown that the paper had killed the story, a rare occurrence for him in his years at the *Times*. (Butterfield has been covering events in the Philippines and has been unavailable for comment.)

Another example of the *Times* antipathy to domestic critics of the president appeared March 16: a mocking editorial aimed at the Chicago City Council. The council had the effrontery to declare the city a nuclear-weapon-free zone. The *Times* could easily have ignored the vote, or explored what discontents had fueled it. Instead, the paper challenged the council to also declare Chicago "A Corrup-

tion-Free Zone," "A Machine-Gun-Free Zone," and "A Snow-Free Zone." Max Frankel, editorial page editor, has refused to discuss the matter.

The paper's steadfast support of the president in opposing a moratorium on testing crept into the news pages a week later when the U.S. exploded a nuclear device in Nevada. This potentially important test seemed likely to convince the Soviets to end their moratorium, as they had been threatening to do if the U.S.

take up less than 10 percent of the interview, despite the then-impending underground nuclear test and its implications for a test ban. The president was first asked, "Do you feel personally deceived" by Gorbachev now that he might be backing away from a second summit? The spin on the question couldn't have been more to the administration's liking. Succeeding questions pressed the president ever-so-gently on whether there was time remaining in his administration to achieve

... the paper has sent clear signals to its readers that Gorbachev's siren song of peace should be stoutly resisted ...

continued testing. Both WNBC-TV in New York and NBC network news judged it significant enough to lead their newscasts on March 22, and *The Boston Globe* and *The Philadelphia Inquirer* led their Sunday papers with it on the 23rd. Readers of the *Times*, however, found the story on page eight reported by Reuters. Similarly, the Soviet response to the Nevada test appeared the next day in a six-inch AP story buried on page seven. By contrast, when the Soviets announced on April 11 that they felt free to resume testing, the *Times* played it on page one.

Earlier in April, in another decision on the allocation of space, David Shieler was given but 10 inches to report the findings of two panels of arms control experts—one American and one European—studying the value of a comprehensive test ban treaty. The panels concluded that a treaty is essential to halting the proliferation of nuclear weapons ("2 Panels Ask Atom Test Halt," April 4, page 2). Most of Shieler's short article was devoted to naming the members of the panels and recounting the reasons for U.S. opposition to the Gorbachev proposal. Gerard C. Smith, the chairman of the American panel and an experienced arms control negotiator, received only two sentences to outline his panel's objections to continued testing.

Headline writers at the *Times* have also joined the fray. On March 16, Elaine Sciolino wrote a sober account of how travel by Soviet diplomats is limited in the New York City area. The piece was occasioned by the administration's announcement that the size of the Soviet U.N. delegation was to be cut because of suspicions that many of the Soviets are spies. The headline on her story read: "How the Russians Cause a Nuisance By Their Presence."

On March 21, three *Times* reporters were granted an exclusive interview by President Reagan, the transcript of which was published on Sunday the 23rd. Questions on the superpower relationship

some arms control breakthrough. No question was put to Reagan about the nuclear test.

Some reporters and columnists are swimming against the management tide at the paper, and their work continues to make the *Times* required reading. Flora Lewis has focused on the selective leaking of information that distorts the Star Wars

debate. Michael Gordon has been on top of the verification issue and the degree to which the U.S. can monitor the strength of Soviet underground weapons tests. David Sanger and William Broad have contributed much to the debate over whether Star Wars can work. And Tom Wicker has challenged administration assertions at every turn. Their work appears all the more remarkable given the climate at the paper.

Yet if a reader were searching for one newspaper likely to present an aggressive and detailed account of the arms race and U.S.-Soviet relations, one would turn to a number of papers before the *Times*. *The Boston Globe*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Los Angeles Times* are all, at present, more instructive alternatives.

In "The Test Ban Shibboleth," the *Times* argued that for the administration "to hang toughest on the items the Russians want most [such as a test ban] is not a bad tactic provided the negotiations are sincerely pursued. And if the Administration were not sincere, there is no way to make it so except at the ballot box." The *Times*, however, ignores its own role in this simple civics lesson. An aggressive press can force an administration to be sincere, or at least honest, about any policy, including its nuclear policy. If the press does not explore the administration's sincerity about arms control, the public will have no reason to demand change through the ballot box.

This article is reprinted by permission of *Deadline*, a publication of the New York University Center for War, Peace, and the News Media, 1021 Main Building, New York, NY 10003. Phone (212) 598-7804. David M. Rubin is the Director of the Center.



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A Test Ban Is Verifiable, Pete

An Open Letter To Pete Wilson

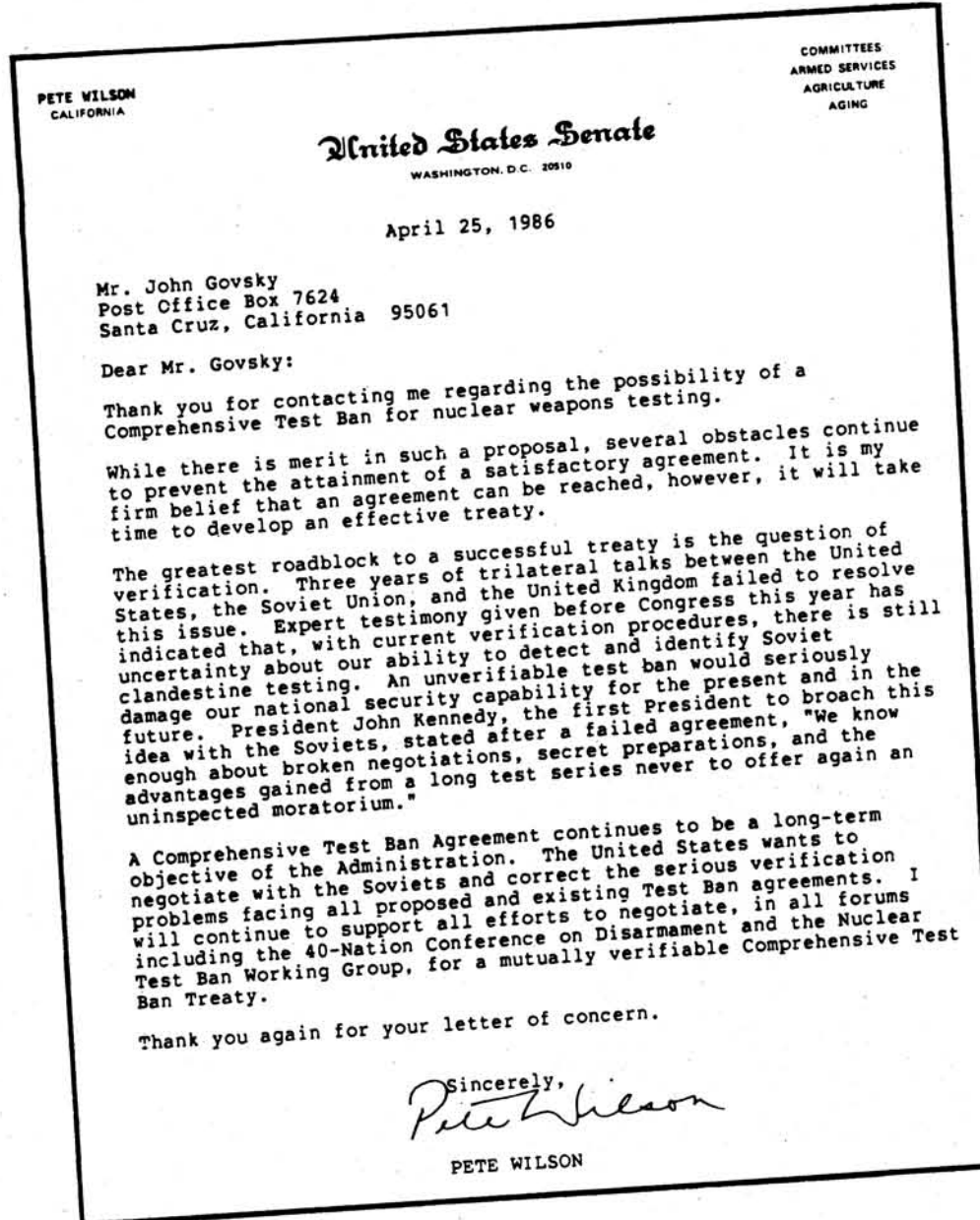
by Robert C. Aldridge

I received your form letter today, which I presume went to many people. That is too bad because your statement that verification is the greatest roadblock to a successful comprehensive test ban treaty doesn't square with the facts. I would like to correct the record.

You mentioned expert testimony before Congress which "indicated that, with current verification procedures, there is still uncertainty about our ability to detect and identify Soviet clandestine testing." (Emphasis added.) You don't identify that expert but I will cite Nobel Laureate Glenn T. Seaborg — a scientist who discovered plutonium, oversaw the nation's weapons laboratories and helped negotiate the 1963 ban on atmospheric tests. He disputes the lack-of-verification claim and refers to a new method which could detect underground detonations down to one kiloton.

What is that new method? As a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee you are certainly aware of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency's (DARPA's) Nuclear Monitoring Research Program. A large scale test using deep sea drilling technology to place seismic sensors beneath the sea floor has been completed. This led to installing a seismic array in Norway. Another thrust of the DARPA program is to characterize special nuclear materials by sensors in satellites and high flying aircraft.

The Department of Energy has also been active in verification technology. Deputy Assistant Secretary of Energy James W.



This letter, received by the editor, is apparently the same one received by the author.

Culpepper testified in 1984 that significant "improvements have also been made in developing the ionospheric and infrasonic techniques for monitoring underground explosions and applying these strategies to accurately distinguish between nuclear events and earthquakes." Ionospheric monitoring uses over-the-horizon radar to monitor electron density perturbations of the ionosphere. Infrasonic monitoring uses microphone arrays to monitor extremely

low frequency sound propagated in the upper atmosphere caused by underground nuclear explosions.

In your letter, Pete, you also say that "Three years of trilateral talks between the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom failed to resolve this [verification] issue." That statement is disputed by seismologist Lynn R. Sykes, who in a January 1983 congressional briefing stated that the "test ban talks that took

place from 1977 to 1980 resolved in principle all the longstanding issues about verification of a comprehensive test ban treaty." So far we have only been talking about non-intrusive verification. Cooperative verification is another type not classified under "current procedures." During the last session of those trilateral talks in 1980 the Kremlin agreed to three points: (1) to allow seismic stations on their soil, (2) to stop all "peaceful" nuclear explosions while a comprehensive ban is in effect, and (3) to allow on-site inspections in case of suspicious events. Although hailed as a breakthrough, the Reagan Administration suspended further negotiations.

This was not the first move toward cooperative verification. The 1974 Threshold Test Ban Treaty, if ratified, compels each country to exchange geographic locations and geological data on test sites along with extensive data — yield, date, time, depth and coordinates — for two nuclear calibration explosions at each geologically different site. Coordinates of each and every subsequent detonation would then be released after the test. The 1976 Peaceful Nuclear Explosion Treaty, also unratified, has even more stringent measures including observers and forecasts to the nearest second of when the explosion will take place.

The verification picture is not as bleak as you would have us believe, Pete. As Professor Sykes told Congress, "most of the scientific and technical methods needed to verify a comprehensive ban were clearly established by 1968, if not earlier. The problem of a comprehensive ban has always been largely political."

A comprehensive nuclear test ban is the surest and shortest way of putting the brakes on the arms race. A March 1983 Gallup Poll, showing that 70 percent of the people favor a bilateral and verifiable nuclear freeze, indicates a public mood for such a treaty. That poll was backed up by initiatives passed in many states — including California, which you represent. The climate is particularly ripe for a comprehensive ban in light of the Soviet testing moratorium since last August and their expressed eagerness to negotiate.

It is your mandate as our elected Senator to actively work for such a treaty and not just express vague words of support. It is time to move negotiations from a long-term goal, as you described it, to an immediate objective.

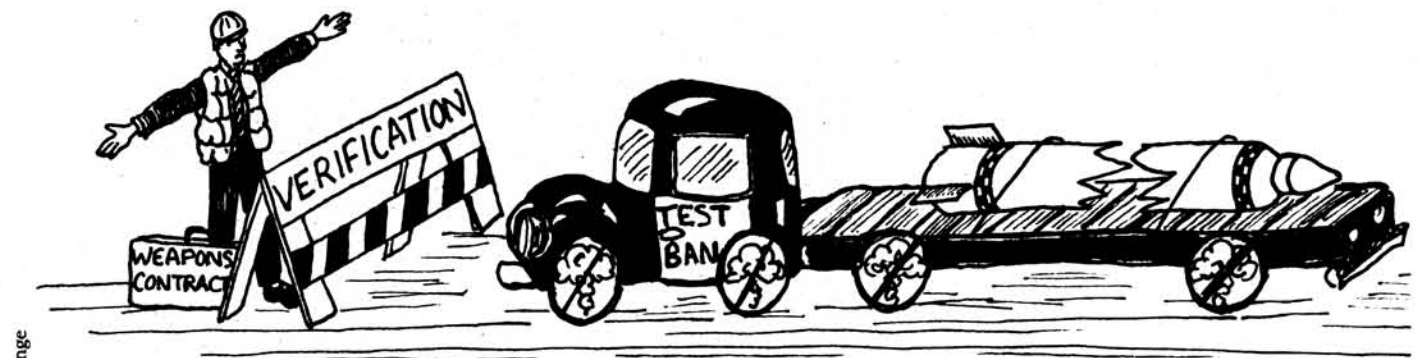
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Analysis

First-Strike Testing?

by Peter Lumsdaine

In the late 1970s and early-to-mid '80s, as verification from distant monitoring stations was made possible by improved technology, and as the Soviets publicly accepted (first partially and then fully) U.S. demands for on-site inspection, the old argument against a comprehensive test ban unravelled. But instead of completing a treaty with the Soviet Union, government officials in this country instead switched to a new set of excuses: the Russian "lead" in testing; the need to maintain stockpile reliability; the need to develop a Star Wars "strategic defense"; and even (incredibly) the morale of young weapons designers.

because even a 10 percent failure rate could mean catastrophic second-strike retaliation by the other side.

Along with large numbers of fast, accurate, very reliable nuclear weapons, a limited but workable "strategic defense" is the other main component of a first-strike capacity. Most scientists and generals realize that a Star Wars defense system could not stop an all-out Soviet surprise attack. However, what Star Wars *could* do is to block the ragged retaliation of the few Soviet missiles surviving an all-out surprise first strike by the United States in the late 1980s or the '90s. This, warned the late Herbert Scoville, a former CIA research director, is the real purpose and central danger of Star Wars.

The government's official excuses for refusing to end the tests do not hold water in the context of a strictly retaliatory deterrence posture.

Department of Defense reports and the historical record show that the Soviet Union was neither qualitatively nor quantitatively "ahead" of the United States, even *before* the Soviet 12-month unilateral testing moratorium began. They had exploded fewer bombs in both the recent past and in the last four decades, while *at most* staying even with the United States in the field of nuclear explosive design.

The other three arguments are strongly connected by a thread of unstated policy: the high-risk bid by U.S. leaders to regain unchallenged dominance over an increasingly restless world through the development of a nuclear first-strike capability. Threats to launch a nuclear attack on the Soviet Union if it challenges U.S. intervention in key Third World regions, first made in the '40s and '50s, became obsolete with the development of a credible Soviet retaliatory deterrent force in the '60s. America's global power, and the threats on which it ultimately depends, can regain credibility only if a U.S. military strike could eliminate the Soviets' ability to retaliate.

The new super-accurate missiles (such as the Trident II, MX, and Midgetman), needed for this task of wiping out Soviet ICBMs in their silos, often incorporate new warhead designs which must first be tested in Nevada. Like the desire for new warhead designs, the reliability and "strategic defense" arguments lead inexorably back to the Pentagon's drive for a first-strike capacity. If we were only interested in a retaliatory deterrent force, then moderate reliability, which we already know very well how to maintain, would be sufficient. Even if *half* of our securely submarine-based missile warheads did not work (and in fact their reliability is much better than that), the other half could still annihilate the Soviet Union. But if we are seeking a first-strike capacity, it is crucial for nearly every high-accuracy warhead to reliably explode near the targeted silo

Thus, the development of the Star Wars X-ray laser and increasing the survivability of space weapons and battle management systems in a "nuclear environment" are both parts of the government's scenario for fighting, surviving, and winning (or "prevailing" in) World War III. Both the X-ray laser and equipment survivability enhancement are key priorities for the underground nuclear testing program in Nevada.

The recent nuclear test explosion code-named "Mighty Oak," which was temporarily delayed by the nonviolent peace occupation at the Nevada Test Site, was an encapsulation of the ongoing arms race: a complex weapons effects test involving Trident II, MX, Midgetman and space weapons components. This test, like the arms race, was shown to be capable of causing unforeseen and covered-up problems: accidental radioactive contamination and fires that apparently burned out of control for days. Like the arms race, or *as* the arms race, the test was being pushed forward despite warnings, protests, and opportunities for a bilateral halt. Yet the microcosm of that week in Nevada may also have shown that, like the test, the arms race is not unstoppable.

The government's official excuses for refusing to end the tests do not hold water in the context of a strictly retaliatory deterrence posture. But it would be a profound mistake to explain warhead testing, Star Wars, or other major strategic weapons programs as irrational boondoggles or simply a result of techno-emotional machismo. There is a logical pattern behind the national security rhetoric. How clearly the peace movement focuses on exposing, challenging and resisting this pattern of first-strike development will have an enormous influence on the future course of national and international events.

Peter Lumsdaine is the coordinator of the First Strike Prevention Project.



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History Of Actions

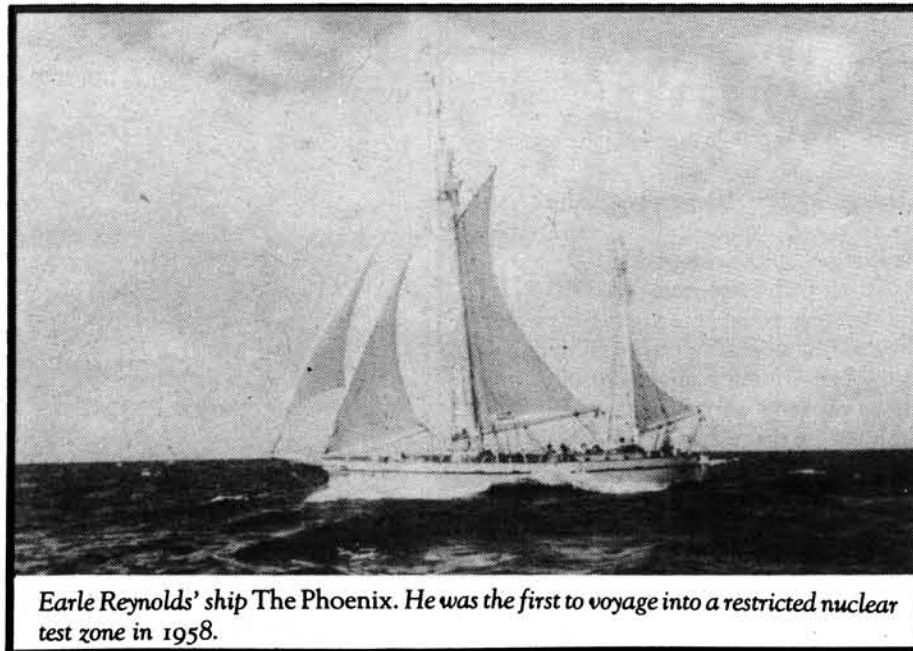
continued from page 14

Coincidental with the sailing of the *Golden Rule*, a Walk for Peace was organized beginning in Philadelphia and New Haven, Connecticut and ending at the United Nations in New York City. Under the slogan "Stop the A-Bomb Testing," over 700 participants joined in for the final day of the march on April 4. The demo became the largest pacifist action in the United States since the 1930s and was organized by the Committee for Non-violent Action.

In September of 1958 the crew of a 50-foot ketch, the *Phoenix*, having circled the world, ended its journey by sailing 65 miles into the Marshall Islands testing area. The crew, including Earle and Barbara Reynolds, their children, Jessica and Ted and a yachtsman from Hiroshima, Nicki Mikami, had not originally planned to sail into the test site. By chance they had met with the crew from the *Golden Rule* in Honolulu and were so inspired that they felt that such a protest against further nuclear testing would be the most meaningful climax to their global voyage.

OPPOSING TESTS BY OTHER COUNTRIES

In December 1960, several organizations took their protest against nuclear testing to the Sahara Desert. They formed an international delegation including representatives from the U.S., France, England, Ghana, Nigeria and Basutoland with plans to march through Ghana and enter the French nuclear testing site at Reggan. During their time in Africa



Earle Reynolds' ship The Phoenix. He was the first to voyage into a restricted nuclear test zone in 1958.

members of the delegation organized workshops on nonviolence and managed to block the highway leading to the Reggan test site. The French did explode their nuclear bomb on February 12, 1960, but not without strong public opposition as members of the international delegation organized large demonstrations in Tunis and Casablanca.

December 1960 also saw the start of the Transcontinental San Francisco to Moscow Peace Walk, a project of the Committee for Nonviolent Action. As the American walkers crossed Europe they were joined by walkers from eight other countries. On October 3, 1961, the walkers entered Moscow's Red Square, exhibiting there for the first time the slogan, "No Tests East or West." A deputa-

tion of women invited to tea with Mrs. Krushchev urged her to appeal to her husband to stop nuclear testing.

Resumption in September 1961 of Soviet tests, which include the dropping of a 50 megaton bomb, prompted a spontaneous mobilization of women in the United States known as the Women's Strike for Peace. The name was based on its first major demonstration on November 1st, 1961 in which several thousand women from all over the country participated. In Washington, D.C. 100 women marched in front of the White House and delivered a letter to Mrs. Kennedy protesting nuclear testing. They proceeded on to the Soviet Embassy and delivered a similar letter to Mrs. Krushchev.

SAILING AGAIN AND ESCALATION OF PROTEST

In 1962 three vessels, *Everyman I, II, and III*, sailed to protest nuclear testing. The *Everyman I* planned to sail from San Francisco to test zones in the Pacific. The crew was arrested, however, only fifteen miles outside of San Francisco. Meanwhile, the *Everyman II* was readied by the sponsoring organization, The Committee for Nonviolent Action, to sail from Honolulu to the Pacific test sites. This vessel picketed the perimeter of the test zone and later entered it for four days. The Coast Guard then forced the crew to return to Honolulu to face charges.

The *Everyman III* carried crewmembers from various countries, sailing from London to the Soviet Union to urge the cessation of nuclear testing. The crew lacked visas and were not permitted to enter the port of Leningrad. After an unsuccessful attempt by crewmembers to scuttle the boat, it was towed from Leningrad.

A March 3, 1962 demonstration against testing met with hostile and brutal actions on the part of the New York City police. Thousands of people began to gather in Times Square in protest of an announced atmospheric test by President Kennedy scheduled for the next day. At 5:00 p.m. a moment of silence was observed and a quiet hush fell upon the usually noisy area. Meanwhile a squadron of mounted police backed by others on foot gathered on the south end of the square. Around 5:15 a group of individuals sat down in front of traffic on Broadway and were immediately arrested. The small group's action was not part of the planned demonstration but within minutes of the arrests, police took reprisal by attacking the silently standing mass of demonstra-

tors. Several protesters were hospitalized and many were badly shaken up.

The immediate protests over the police brutality helped to prevent a repeat performance two days later in connection with the Committee for Nonviolent Action's sit-down and picket demonstration at the New York office of the Atomic Energy Commission. There was no police violence that day in connection with the arrests of 19 sit-downers at the office's opening time and 13 more at closing time. Throughout the day the office was picketed by over 100 people.

In the late 1960s and throughout the 70s the issue of nuclear testing was overshadowed by the movement against the Vietnam War and the civil rights movement. Today, however, as the arms race continues to escalate with no end in sight, nuclear testing is once again being addressed in a more focused way.

ACTIONS IN THE '80s

In 1982 a group of Franciscans residing outside Las Vegas began the "Lenten Desert Experience" project. During the 40 days of the Christian Lenten season preceding Easter the Franciscans have organized continual vigils and civil disobedience actions at the Nevada Test site. During the Lenten Desert Experience, held annually since 1982, over 100 people have been arrested on multiple counts. The Franciscans also organized the "August Desert Witness" in 1985 commemorating the 40th anniversary of Hiroshima and Nagasaki victims. Through prayer, vigil, civil disobedience and their presence at the site, the Franciscans are trying to reach the consciences of the workers on the site.

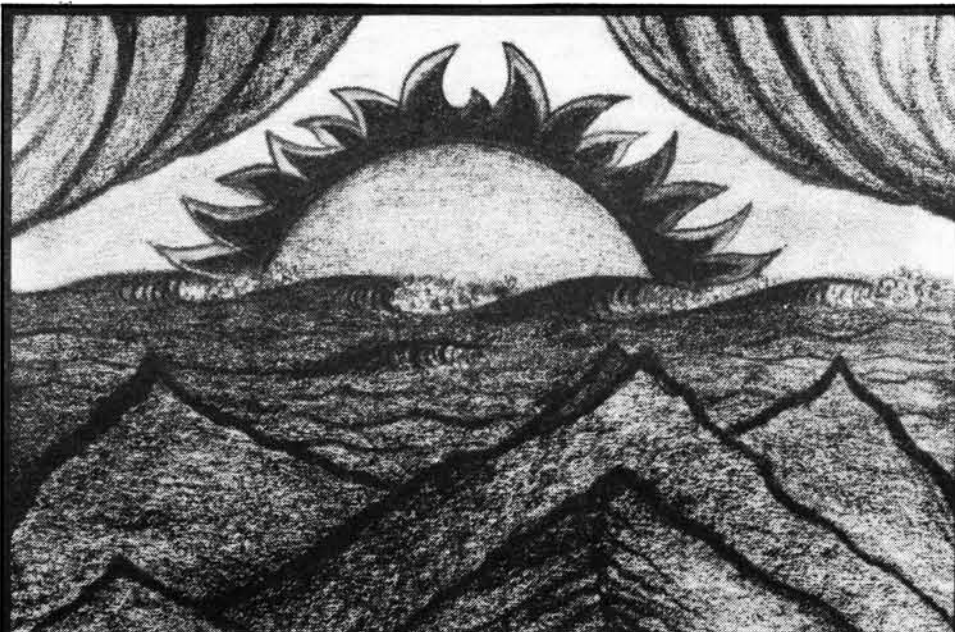
Greenpeace has also had a presence on the test site. In 1984, five people from Greenpeace entered the test site prepared with desert survival equipment. The Department of Energy is not permitted to conduct any tests with unauthorized persons on the site. Greenpeace then tried to halt the tests by making it known they were on the site yet evading searching test site personnel. Finally the Greenpeace protestors gave themselves up. Greenpeace throughout its history has used the tactic of the earlier Nonviolent Action Against Nuclear Weapons by sailing into the testing zone in small boats and ships.

During 1985 a new group, The American Peace Test (APT), came into existence raising the issue of testing not only in Nevada but nation-wide. From October 18 through November 18, 1985, the month leading up to the U.S.-U.S.S.R. summit, the American Peace Test organized small delegations from the U.S. states to cross onto the test site. Delegations from 28 states participated, resulting in 113 arrests.

In 1986 the APT's May 31-June 2 demonstration, the largest ever held at the Nevada Test Site, attracted over 700 people to the desert and culminated in the arrest of 149 test ban supporters.

Since 1945 over 1,574 announced nuclear tests have been conducted by the United States, U.S.S.R., China, Britain, France and India. As determined as the nuclear nations are in conducting the tests, so are the world's peace movements determined to end the tests.

This article was adapted from "A WRL History of Protest Against Nuclear Testing," a brochure published by the War Resisters League.



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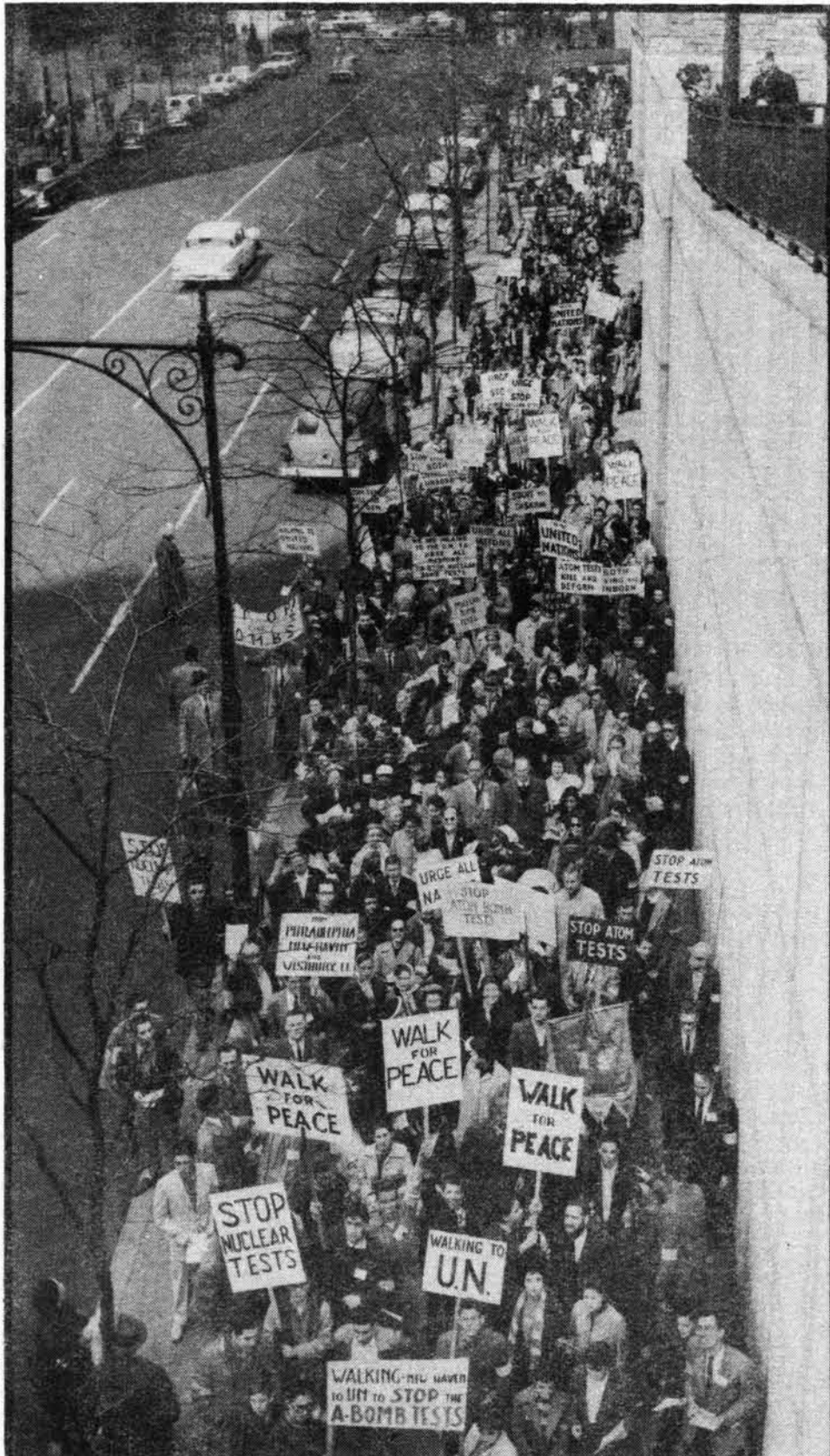
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The Walk for Peace march on its way to the United Nations in New York City, spring 1958.

Crossing The Line

continued from page 15

years, who have had to change dinner dates or movie dates or give up seeing me at all because I had a meeting, the reaction to my arrest was one that I had not anticipated. Among these people, the fact that I had been arrested appeared like a new and amazing novelty—more than one said to me, "Well, you are finally going to do something," or words to that effect. The gulf between organizing lobbying, education, and voting

and taking a risk by stepping across the "white line" is far wider than I had ever dreamed, in the minds of others, and I have been thinking about this very much, ever since, in the few quiet moments I can spare from organizing and meeting, educating and lobbying.

Sue Strong is the Chairperson of the Northern California Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. She does consulting in conflict resolution and is a freelance writer living in Orinda, California.



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The Fight Is Far From Over

Homeporting The Missouri

by Philippa Winkler

The goal of the welcoming activities for the nuclear-capable battleship U.S.S. Missouri and its May 10 recommissioning ceremony was to convince the Bay Area that homeporting the Missouri in San Francisco is a foregone conclusion. Judging by the coverage of the multi-million dollar public relations events in the local media, the Navy came close to accomplishing what it set out to do.

The ceremonies, which were paid for by taxpayers, "were part of Mayor Feinstein's and the Navy's ongoing campaign of deceit to make San Francisco citizens believe that homeporting is a closed issue," said San Francisco Supervisor Richard Hongisto, a longtime opponent of the project.

The Navy pulled out all of the stops in its efforts to impress members of the press: this included helicopter rides to meet the battleship as it sailed under the Golden Gate Bridge (a minesweeper was also on hand) and full V.I.P. treatment, including a cream-puff breakfast, according to one media source.

Also, as the Navy's selection of Treasure Island is contingent on the city's providing money for the dredging of the bay, housing, schools and public transportation, as well as a suitable political environment, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors will have to vote on appropriating city funds for basing the Missouri and its flotilla here. The press

failed to mention that politicians such as Congressman Sala Burton remain strongly opposed to congressional funding of the project; that the General Accounting Office in a February draft report found that homeporting the Missouri in San Francisco would be a \$100-million mistake for taxpayers; that even Senator Barry Goldwater called the project "pure unadulterated politics."

The Mayor and the Navy are attempting to avoid the practical, moral and ethical

U.S.S. Missouri's Tomahawk nuclear-capable cruise missiles mathematically increase the likelihood of a nuclear accident in the bay.

PUBLIC OPPOSITION GROWS

But all did not go the Navy's way. The recommissioning ceremony, despite the advance publicity awarded to it by the media, did not draw the expected crowds. Those who did attend the ceremony were invited guests. Meanwhile, throughout the entire visit, opponents of the Missouri maintained

The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists has described these weapons as "most likely to start World War III."

concerns raised by the presence of the Missouri and the role it is to play. Mounting evidence now indicates that the probable use of the battleship will be in interventions against Third World countries such as Nicaragua and Libya. Also, a massive dredging project required to clear a shipping lane for the vessel will pose a serious danger to the ecosystem of the bay. In addition, the arrival of thousands of Navy personnel and their families will worsen the housing shortage, and create increased strain on public education and other social services. The

visible presence. On May 6, an emergency contingent of six Bay Area Peace Navy boats appeared to give its own "unwelcome ceremony" to the Missouri. On the evening of May 9, 450 people demonstrated outside the St. Francis Hotel, where top military brass, including Caspar Weinberger, were sitting down to a \$100-per-plate dinner billed as a "pre-commissioning banquet." On Saturday, the day of the recommissioning ceremony itself, 150 people on shore at Piers 30-32 staged a protest, with guerilla theater that included a "decommissioning ceremony of the U.S.S. Misery," and placards that read "Mobile Chernobyl." On the water, 15 boats from the Peace Navy with 100 people aboard showed banners carrying anti-intervention and antinuclear messages.

The tone of the coverage of these actions ranged from sympathetic to downright derogatory. But the pomp and patriotism, the swivelling, erect guns, and the World War II nostalgia seemed sufficient to dazzle most reporters. Their glowing descriptions of the warship's appearance neglected to mention its capacity to maim and kill thousands of people.

CASPAR WEINBERGER'S "SUPER NAVY"

In his address to the Navy brass and the onlookers at the recommissioning gala, the Secretary of Defense extolled the ceremony as "a day to celebrate the rebirth of American seapower after years of dangerous neglect," and praised the vessel as a symbol to the Soviets "of our intention never to be intimidated."

According to Secretary of the Navy Lehman, the Navy will "stress forward deployment, including operations capable of warfighting and winning in areas denoted as high risk." Critics of this policy have described it as destabilizing and provocative. The role of the Tomahawk sea-launched cruise missiles is crucial to the Navy's offensive role. Viewed by critics as first strike weapons, Tomahawks fly under radar and have identical-looking conventional and nuclear warheads, thus making them unverifiable for arms control purposes. The *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* has described these weapons as "most likely to start World War III."

The Navy has argued that homeporting the Missouri in San Francisco is necessary



for national defense, that "spreading the fleet gives us more flexibility and makes the Soviets' job that much harder." In reality, critics agree, Lehman is referring to World War II tactics that would be irrelevant in a confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union today. Spreading the fleet around, opponents argue, is a way to garner congressional support for the 600 ship Navy requested by President Reagan. These charges of "porkbarrel politics" were underscored recently by the General Accounting Office report, which states that the Navy has not proven that national homeporting plans are necessary for national defense.

The expanded offensive role of the Navy is clearly seen in gunboat diplomacy missions against Third World countries and in activities such as the mining of the Nicaraguan harbors, the shelling of Lebanon, and the recent attacks against Libya.

THE FIGHT CONTINUES

To counteract the impression that the homeporting of the Missouri in San Francisco is a *fait accompli*, the Freeze and the Coalition for a Safe Bay urge concerned citizens to write letters to local newspapers, to congressional representatives, and to the Board of Supervisors (especially Supervisor Willie Kennedy, who recently defected to the side of the Navy and Mayor Feinstein). Continued public and vocal opposition to the Navy's plans and to U.S. intervention around the world can still prevent the U.S.S. Missouri from being homeported in San Francisco.

The U.S.S. Missouri is docked at piers 30-32 in San Francisco. Call (415) 397-1452 for information on the July 4 vigil and other activities regarding the Missouri.

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Nuclear Power Hits Hard Times

by Ronald A. Lampi

Even before the Chernobyl disaster, the Tennessee Valley Authority nuclear power system was in trouble. TVA is the country's second largest nuclear power system, and today it is on a total hold. Its five operable reactors are shut down; eight more, all previously under construction, have now been cancelled; and four others have been put on delayed status indefinitely. Last month, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) made public its list of "best" and "worst" nuclear plants nationwide; all five TVA operable reactors were on the "worst" list.

TVA's own quality control engineers have had many complaints over the years about safety defects in the plants. Yet, what is most disturbing were their congressionally reported allegations that their own managers would retaliate with discriminatory actions when they reported these problems. It could even cost them their jobs. Outside investigators have alleged that some safety defects, as a result of the "fear of retaliation," were covered up for years.

In other nuclear industry developments, the start up of the Seabrook reactor on the coast of New Hampshire has been delayed at least another five months. A new NRC ruling since the 1979 accident at Three Mile Island calls for the establishing of emergency evacuation plans for areas around nuclear plants before full-power operating licenses are granted. Because Seabrook is within a mere few miles of the Massachusetts border, the state of Massachusetts must also approve emergency plans. Governor Michael S. Dukakis has not yet done so, and is not even sure the plant should operate. Seabrook also happens to be nestled among beaches to which tens of thousands flock during the summer months. All beachgoers must also be included in any evacuation plans, and there is not yet agreement as to how this should be done.

Another plant, the Shearon Harris in New Hill, North Carolina, has just been given the go-ahead to start low-level testing by the NRC. It, too, faces opposition, however, from citizen groups in the state; its most vulnerable point is again the question of emergency evacuation. The 10-mile evacuation zone does not include Raleigh, the state capital, only 18 miles from the plant; other important cities are not much further out. Opposition groups find this unacceptable. Though North Carolina has had nuclear power for some time now, opponents say that its two already operating plants have a bad safety record—actually, one of the worst.

Another development, which is quite surprising, considering that it is post-Chernobyl, are the NRC's new *more lenient* guidelines for fire safety at nuclear plants. Federal safety inspectors had just been complaining about fire safety shortcomings, and what happens: NRC commissioners recently told them to loosen up on interpreting the regulations. A source privy to the commission said this can only imply that to them "fire safety is just a minor issue."



Jordan Wolfson

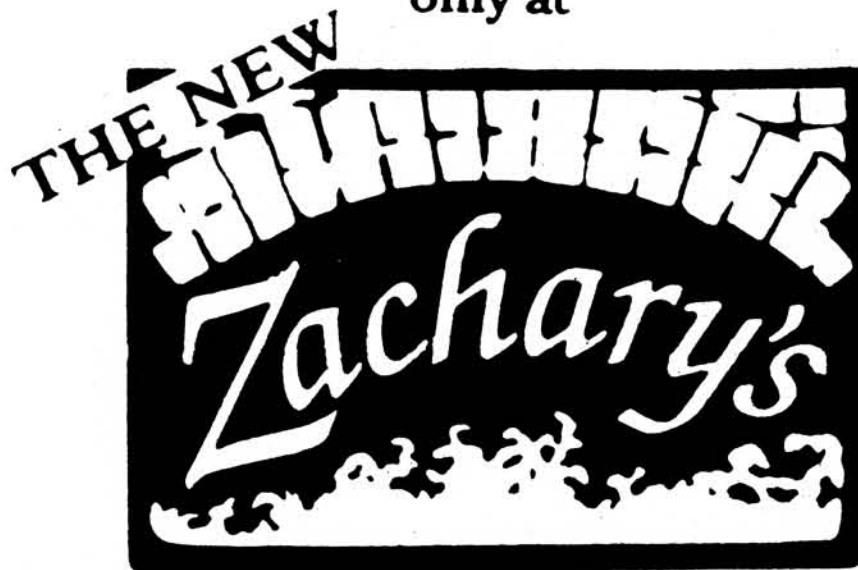
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MX Missile Still Homeless

by Robert C. Aldridge

Senator Pete Wilson now backs a "new" basing scheme for MX because it is less expensive than other plans being considered. It calls for shuttling the missiles among numerous soft silos. Less expensive, maybe, but not new. It is merely a flashback to Jimmy Carter's 1978 vertical shelter system.

There have been literally dozens of basing modes considered for MX since the missile was first conjured up in 1967. By 1974, the Pentagon had spent \$127 million looking at various types. Thirteen basing concepts were investigated that year—covering the gamut from road, rail and air mobility; through hard shelters and missile pods on the bottoms of ponds; to trenches and tunnels. These merged into three general concepts—silo improvements, land mobility and air mobility. All were justified by the "window of vulnerability" for silo-based missiles.

Basing schemes were narrowed in 1976 to the *buried trench* concept with semi-hard shelters as a backup. But when the financial impact of constructing tunnels longer than across the United States hit the economic logic of congressional minds, the concept was modified to a *hybrid trench* which would be "soft" except for numerous hardened spurs—one of which would contain the missile on

its mobile launcher.

A 1978 M.I.T. study showed that any trench concept would be more vulnerable than existing silos so the Air Force quickly switched to vertical shelters—the concept which now intrigues Senator Wilson. MX requirements were also reduced from 300 to 200.

Verification was exacerbated because silos, even if empty, are traditionally equated to launchers in treaty nomen-

tion. Meanwhile, some basing critics were arguing for air mobility and shallow underwater basing in canisters strapped to small submarines.

Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger kicked off the 1981 Townes Committee investigation with the plea: "We need the MX missile, please tell us where we should put it." But they couldn't do that so, in his October 2, 1981 speech, President Reagan reduced the requisite num-

"We need the MX missile, please tell us where we should put it."

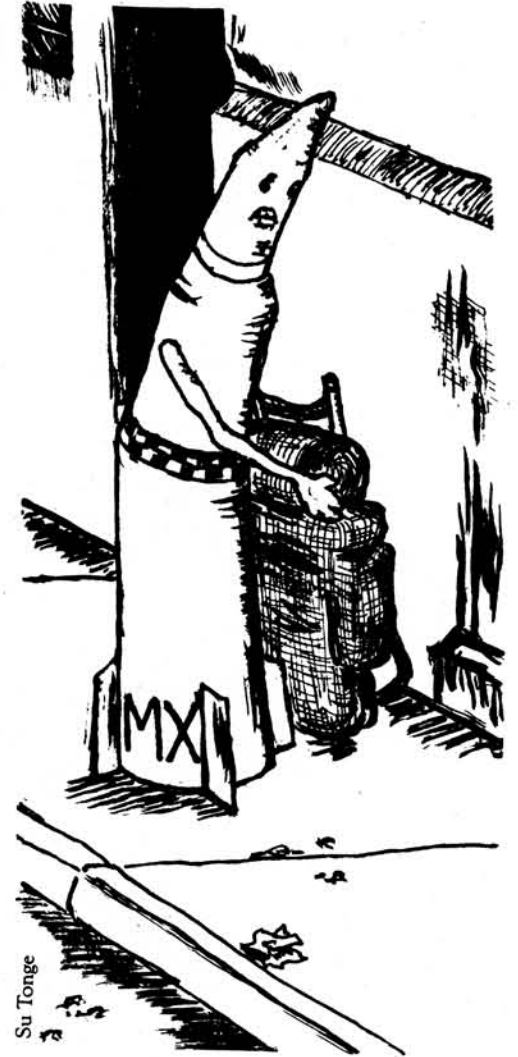
—Caspar Weinberger

clature. So in mid-1979, President Carter shifted to the *racetrack* system where a mobile launcher vehicle would shuttle each missile among 23 semi-hard shelters on a closed-loop road.

This brought tremendous opposition from the residents of Utah and Nevada where the 200 racetracks were proposed. Defense Secretary Harold Brown then retreated to the *loading dock* system which would use existing roads to shuttle the missiles among 4,600 shelters. Although cheaper and requiring less dedicated land, this concept failed to lessen opposi-

tion. Months before that deadline, the General Accounting Office shot down all three schemes—saying that air mobility had already been assessed as too costly with communication, retargeting and post-attack endurance problems; deep

number of MX missiles to 100, scrapped previous basing concepts, and announced a three-year plan to study more permanent basing schemes—air mobility, deep underground basing and silos protected by an ABM system. Congress objected that three years was too long so the deadline was moved up to June 1982.



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underground basing had previously been rejected as having a slow reaction time and potentially vulnerable communications; and placing MX missiles in silos does not reduce the "window of vulnerability" because ABM systems are too far downstream.

Faced with another complete wipeout of basing options and imminent denial of MX funds, President Reagan announced the *dense pack* basing concept in April 1982. This was controversial enough to keep the debate going for a while. Meanwhile, Reagan set up the Scowcroft Commission.

The Scowcroft Commission expanded on traditional concepts of hardening silos by introducing a crushable steel "shock absorber" structure around the silo. Commission member John H. Lyons, president of the Ironworkers Union, explained that this "can be very easily done on the existing Minuteman." From this commission came the recommendation that MX be put into existing Minuteman silos while superhard silo hardening is further investigated. Thus, the "window of vulnerability" was slammed shut.

Everything went fairly well for MX procurement until a skeptical Congress mandated in 1985 that no more than 50 missiles be put into existing silos. Pentagon planners again scrambled to search the well trampled field of basing methods. With a few cosmetic alterations, the silo shell game has been resurrected to start MX's second lap on the arms track.

Recent Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairperson, General John Vessey, shed some light on the MX basing vacillations when he admitted to Congress that, "Basing mode has never been as great a concern as having the weapon itself." The only

advantages of MX over existing Minuteman missiles is accuracy and number of warheads. Accuracy allows the silo destruction necessary for a first strike capability and multiple warheads create an incentive to shoot first during a crisis. Eliminating incentives to strike first during a crisis is the main justification for the single-warhead Midgetman missile.

Meanwhile, even with no place to put it, MX development continues unabated. Now, with initial deployment less than a year away we are back on square one with basing. Furthermore, starting another missile shell game reverses our SALT 1 position that "the U.S. would consider the deployment of operational land-mobile ICBM launchers . . . as inconsistent with the objectives of the [SALT 1] Agreement."

The stated objectives of the SALT 1 Agreement are "creation of more favorable conditions for active negotiations on limiting strategic arms as well as to the relaxation of international tension and the strengthening of trust between states." MX fails that test. If we are really concerned about vulnerability of ICBMs, which General Vessey describes as only "about 20 percent of our strategic nuclear deterrent force," we would do better to harden the existing Minuteman system. It is only if we want a first strike weapon that we need MX. And the only ones who are profiting from MX development are the weapons builders.

Robert C. Aldridge, a former strategic missile engineer, first warned the public about MX in 1974. He is the author of *First Strike: The Pentagon's Strategy for Nuclear War* (Boston, South End Press; 1983).

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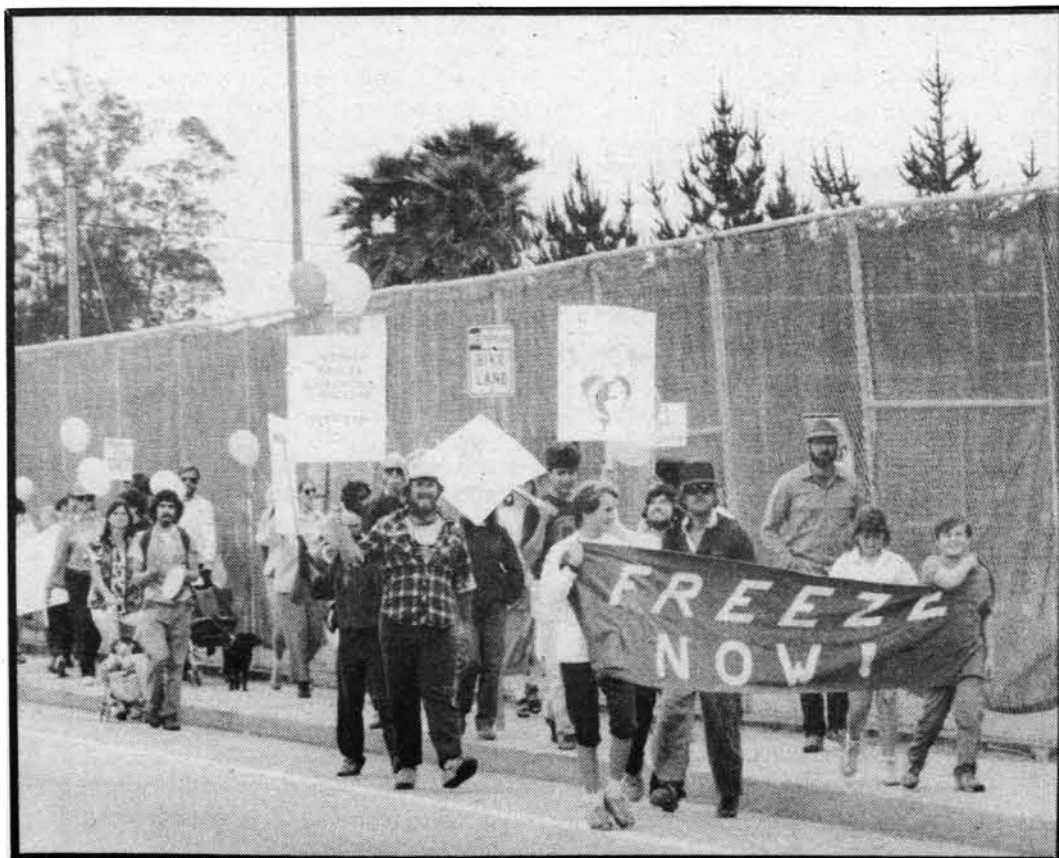
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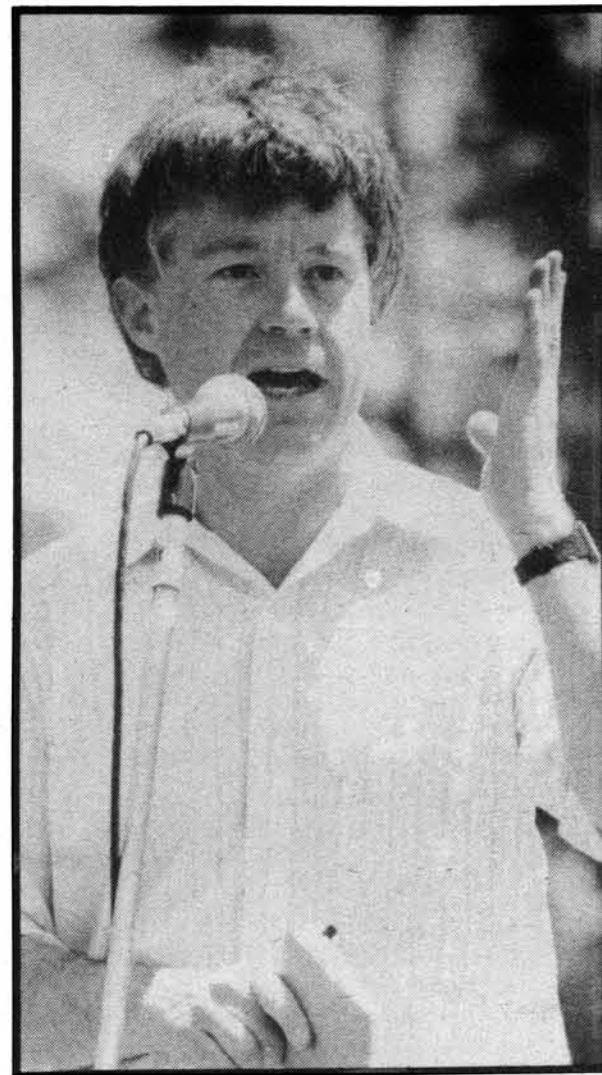
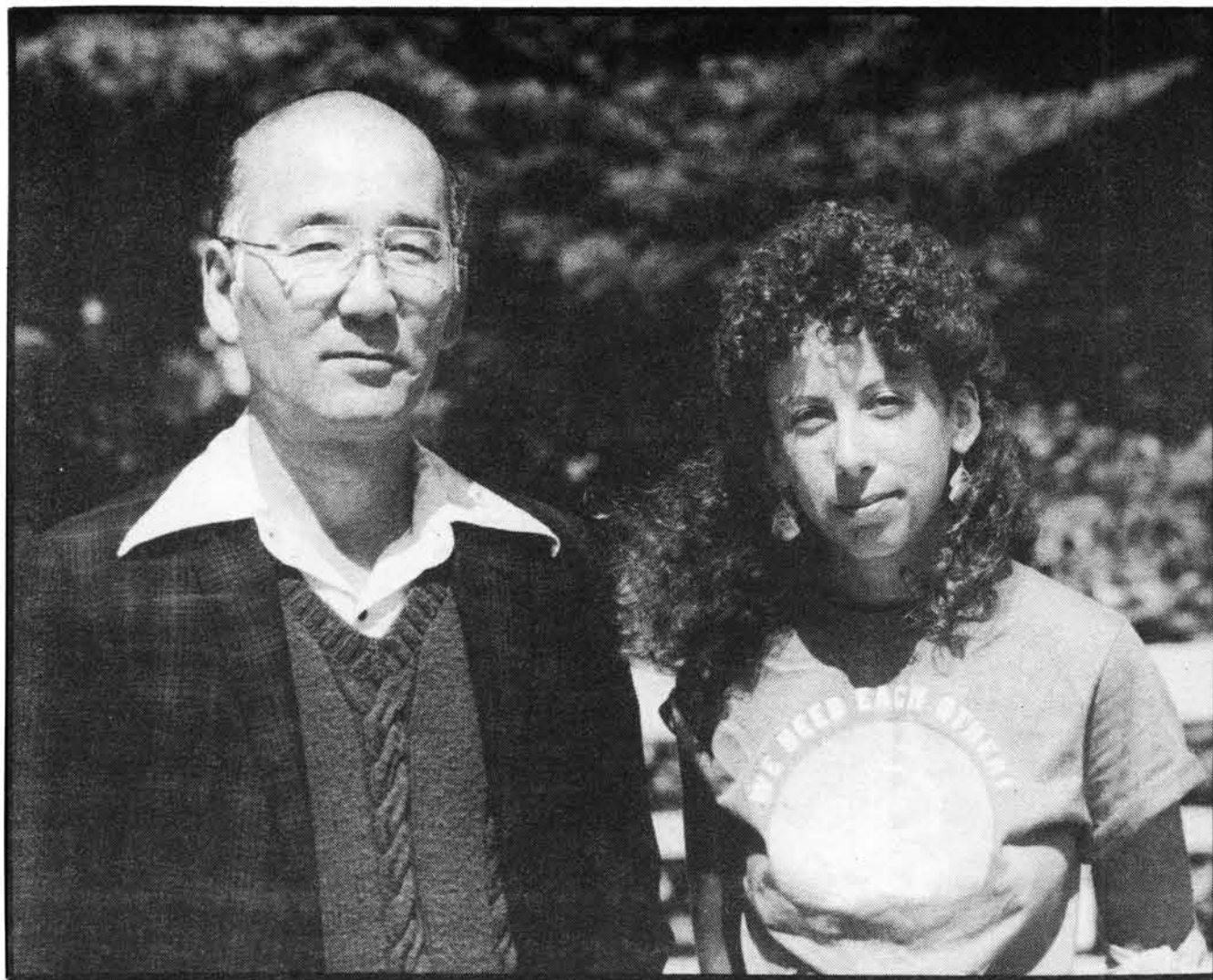


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Santa Cruz Marches For A Test Ban



On Saturday, May 31, the Santa Cruz County Nuclear Weapons Freeze held a March and Rally for a Test Ban in conjunction with its fifth annual walk-a-thon. More than 100 marchers showed support for an end to nuclear testing. Immediately following the march, Santa Cruz citizens gathered for speakers and music at the test ban rally in San Lorenzo Park. Top left and right: Freeze supporters marching for a test ban; bottom right: Hiroshima survivor Dr. Francis Tomosawa and local Freeze director Terry Teitelbaum at the test ban rally; lower left: Supervisor Gary Patton addresses crowd of more than 200 at San Lorenzo Park.



Peace & Justice Calendar

WEDNESDAY, JULY 2

Friends Meeting Vigil. 4:30-5:30 pm. Town Clock, Santa Cruz. Info: 427-2399.

SATURDAY, JULY 5

Inter-dependence Day Celebration and Psychic Fair. Promoting world peace through inner peace. Lectures, readers, Ramtha video, storytellers, crystals, food. 303 Walnut, 11 am to 5 pm, \$3 admission, children under 12 free. Info: 462-2388.

SUNDAY, JULY 6

Rally to Defend Big Mountain. 10 am, County Building, Santa Cruz. Sponsored by the Native American Support Group. Info: 479-0327.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 9

Friends Meeting Vigil. See July 2.

FRIDAY, JULY 11

Santa Cruz Westside Community Health Center will hold clinic on Fridays, beginning July 11 from 9 am to 3 pm. No clinic on Saturdays until September 6. For appointments: 425-5028.

SATURDAY, JULY 12

Big Mountain Demonstration in support of resistance at Big Mountain. Bohemian Grove, Occidental, CA. 1-4 pm. Info: 423-1626.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 16

Friends Meeting Vigil. See July 2.



SATURDAY, JULY 19

Peña Celebration. Seventh Anniversary of Nicaraguan Revolution. Orquesta Gitano, and a representative of Nicaraguan Embassy. \$6-\$10, sliding scale. Tickets at door. Veterans Hall. 8-11 pm. Info: 458-0303.

Coalition to Celebrate the 7th Anniversary of Nicaragua's July 19, 1979 Sandinista Revolution. Parade, rally and multicultural evening event in San Francisco. Info: (415) 549-1387 or (415) 695-9526.

Conflict Resolution Training. Sponsored by Children's Creative Response to Conflict. 8:30-4:30, 69 Lester Ave., San Jose. Info: Wendy Wheeler, 427-0893.

SUNDAY, JULY 20

Conflict Resolution Training. See July 19.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 23

Friends Meeting Vigil. See July 2.



THURSDAY, JULY 24

Conversations in Nonviolence with Liane Norman from the Peace Institute of Pittsburgh at the Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway. 7:30 pm. Info: 423-1626.

SATURDAY, JULY 26

Children's Creative Response to Conflict. Second Annual Potluck Meeting of supporters of CCRC. 11-4, 3190 Pleasant Valley Road. Info: 427-0893.

TUESDAY, JULY 29

Freedom Song Network Singalong. 7 pm. Trinity Presbyterian Church. Fire-side Room. 420 Melrose Street at Poplar. Info: 338-7283.

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WEDNESDAY, JULY 30

Friends Meeting Vigil. See July 2.

MONDAY, AUGUST 4-

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 6

Desert Witness, Nevada Test Site. In memory of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Vigil and civil disobedience to protest nuclear weapons testing. Info: Lucietta Joiner, 479-0412.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 6-

SATURDAY, AUGUST 9

Actions at Site 300 (near Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory) to protest nuclear testing and Star Wars. Aug. 6-8 nonviolent blockade and occupation. Aug. 9, 10:30 am gather at Site 300 and carpool to Tracy for a rally at noon. Info: (415) 644-3031, (415) 397-1452, or (415) 621-0858.

Experience Japan

On July 25, 1986, Japanese students will be arriving in the Santa Cruz area for a three-week visit. These students will be attending English classes and taking supervised tours during the day. They will be staying in individual homes so that what they learn during the day can be discussed at night with an American family.

We need a few more homes for these students. Many of your friends and neighbors have opened their homes, families, and hearts to these students. Now is an opportunity for you to show-off Santa Cruz and make a student's dream come true.

For more information on how you can participate in this fine program, please contact your Interstudy representative, Susan Willis at 476-4656.

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:

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

Yes! I want to join the Nuclear Weapons Freeze for 1986. Enclosed are my dues of:

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

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

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

_____ Enclosed is an additional contribution of \$_____.

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

___ Office Work ___ Typing ___ Phoning ___ Signature Gathering

___ Tabling ___ Events ___ Other _____

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

___ Newspaper ___ Education ___ Petition Drive ___ Steering Committee

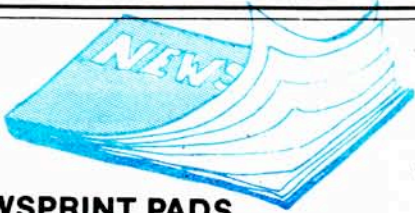
___ I'll host or co-host a housemeeting.

___ Here is my contribution of \$_____.

Name _____

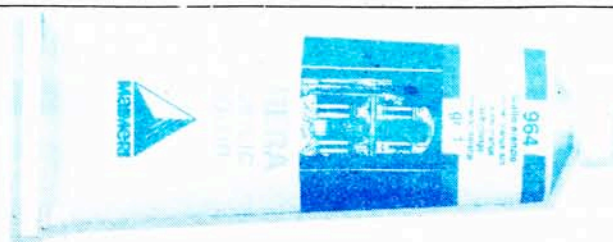
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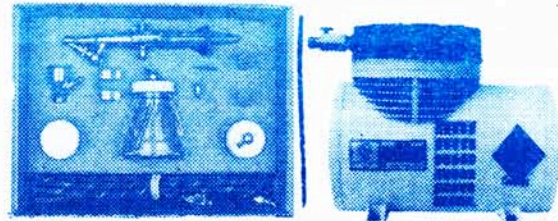
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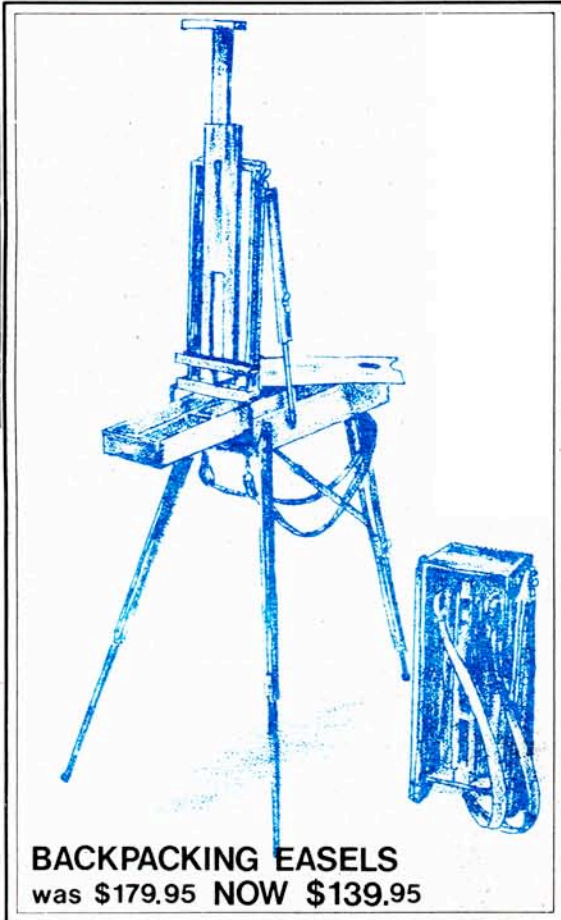


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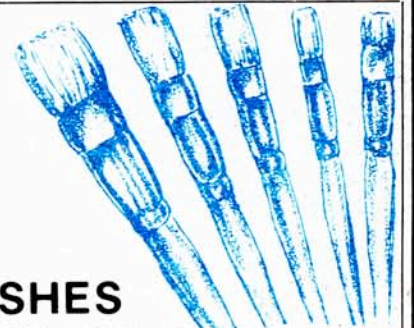


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