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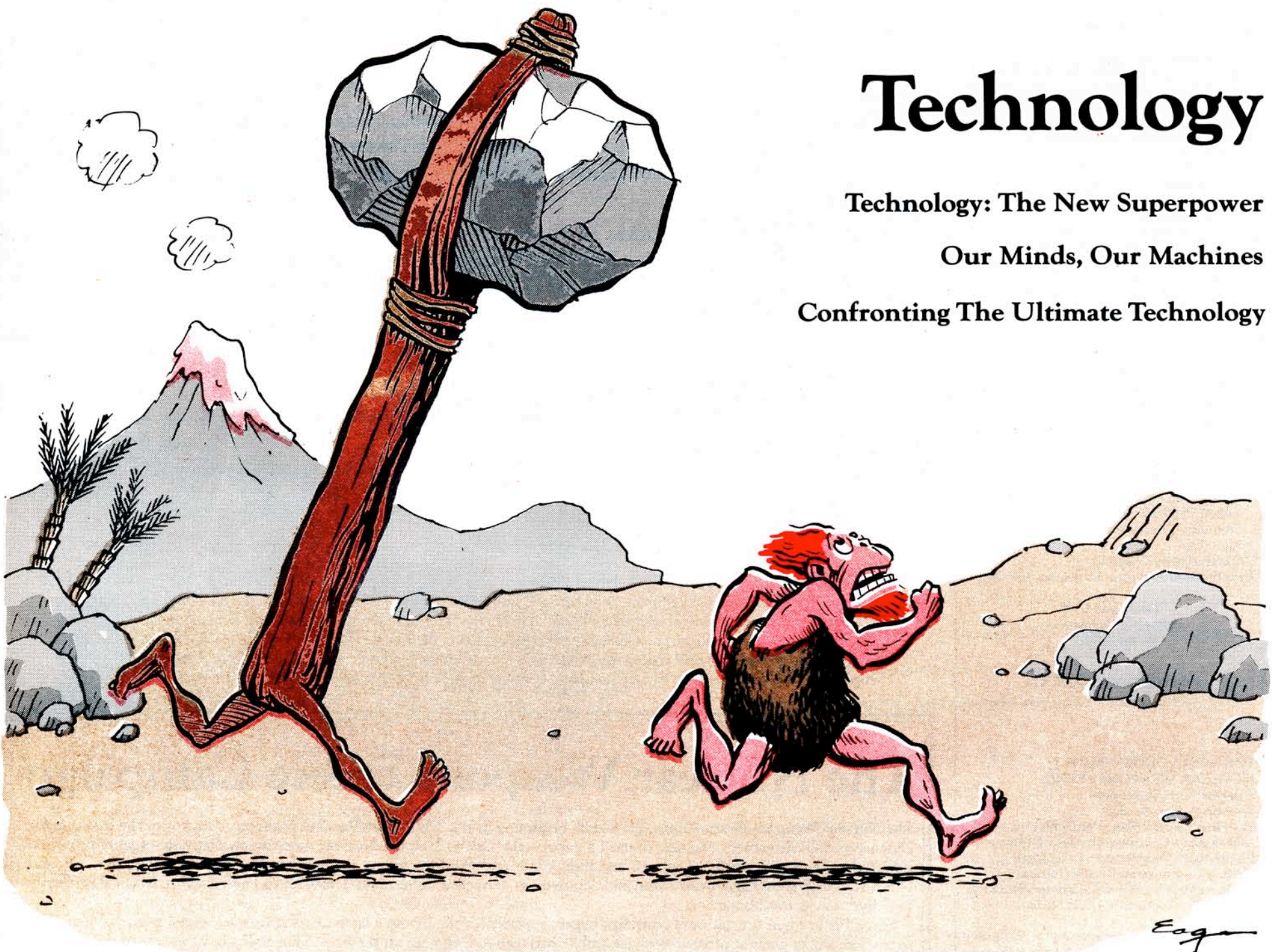
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c/o Nuclear Weapons Freeze

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THE FREEZE PROPOSAL

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

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



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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. National organizations and hundreds of regional and local groups and individuals 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.

Since 1981, when the national campaign began, support for the Freeze has broadened and deepened. In the fall of 1982, more than thirty percent of the American public had a chance to vote on the Freeze. Overall, sixty percent of those voting favored the Freeze. In 1983, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a Freeze resolution by almost a two-to-one victory.

In 1985 and '86, Freeze activists are focusing on the Comprehensive Test Ban as a first step to a comprehensive freeze on all testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons.

The Freeze Campaign is now active in all fifty states. It is broad-based and non-partisan. Through the Freeze, 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.

Join Hands For Test Ban

Dear Freeze,

I have just read your paper *The Monthly Planet* at the home of a friend. I am so impressed with your program of Comprehensive Test Ban—The First Step, because it joins hands with the other peace leaders such as the Union of Concerned Scientists, in targeting the same urgent initial goal of reversing the arms race.

I also approve of stressing the opportunity to follow the example of the U.S.S.R. test ban.

Sincerely,
Barbara Morel
Long Beach

Constructive Criticism

Dear Freeze,

I always enjoy your paper, but I have a little hopefully constructive criticism concerning your August edition.

My main problem was with Igal Dahari's article on the "unofficial" peace movement in Poland. The main purpose of this movement is apparently to encourage draft resistance in that country. As with all social phenomena, I think one needs to offer some concrete and historical context when discussing a question such as this. Are progressives against the draft at all times and in all places? Are we against the draft in Nicaragua, for instance, or do we recognize their legitimate need to defend their country?

To talk about the draft in Poland without uttering a single word about the recent troop reduction proposals which were made by Poland and the other Warsaw Pact nations to the NATO countries is misleading journalism. They offered massive reductions in all components of ground troops and tactical strike air forces, as well as of tactical nuclear weapons. If we wish to encourage draft resistance, let's not pick on a country which has just offered to cut its ground forces by 25%. It would seem that such a proposal would merit the whole-hearted support of someone who is against the draft in Poland.

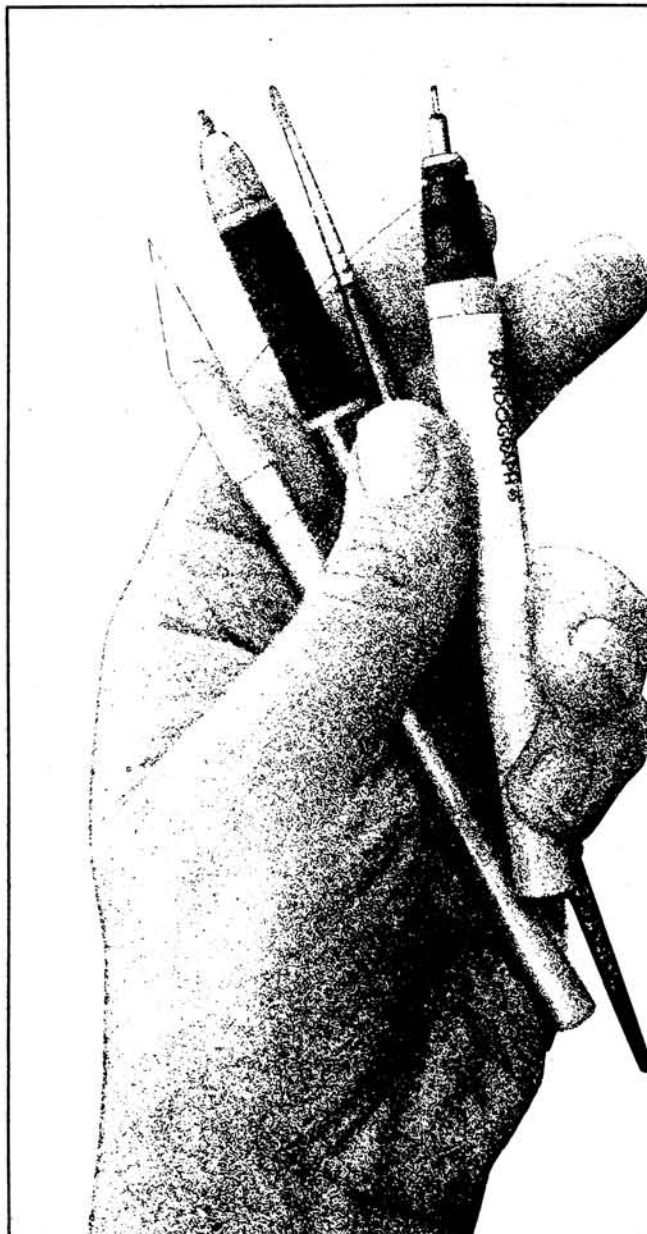
These extensive peace proposals were made early in June at the conference of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee held in Budapest.



It took the U.S. peace movement many, many years to realize that when the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact nations make peace proposals they are serious about them. But of course the Soviets cannot go on making unilateral moves toward disarmament . . . and their test moratorium has not been the only such move. *The Monthly Planet* has given good coverage to the Soviet moratorium, but I was rather surprised that for your August edition, which hit the streets well before Aug. 6, there wasn't one last major push to pressure the U.S. to agree to the Soviet "freeze." This was the biggest opportunity for disarmament that we may ever have. Due to technological advances, the point of no return is fast approaching when the Soviets will be helpless to slow the momentum of the arms race.

The writer of your article also does not mention the widespread, openly neo-fascist "revanchist" movements in Western Europe, especially in such places as West Germany. These movements do not accept the post World War II borders. They don't accept the East German borders, Polish borders, or Czechoslovakian borders. These movements have the tacit approval of several West European governments, and of course their goals are close to the heart of Ronald Reagan, who is openly looking forward to the dissolution of Socialism. Perhaps here is found the reason why NATO is not interested in peace proposals from the Warsaw Pact.

The Soviet test moratorium will hopefully not be forgotten by the U.S. peace movement. The Soviets, and the Warsaw Pact, have for many years been making serious proposals



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for troop and conventional and nuclear force reductions. Even those who would rather see the Polish government disappear should not let their objectivity be clouded by U.S. government instilled knee-jerk anti-communist stereotypical reactions. When the Warsaw Pact proposes to reduce their forces by 25%, that proposal should be supported. It is the surest way to fight the draft in Poland.

Enclosed for your readers, if you have room, is a short reprint from the *New Times* (Soviet) weekly magazine. It comprises a very small part of the coverage they gave to the Warsaw Pact peace proposals. Readers who would like access to such information regularly can subscribe to *New Times* by sending \$16.60 to Imported Publications, 320 West Ohio St., Chicago, Illinois 60610.

Alan Weinerman
Santa Cruz

Igal Dahari responds: Thank you for your letter concerning my article (August, 1986) on Poland's Freedom and Peace organization. I do feel that your letter misses the point of the article, which is to focus on a piece of the unofficial activist movement in Poland. I chose to write on Freedom and Peace simply because more information was available to me on this organization than on any other relatively small activist group. Although Freedom and Peace does not focus on military conscription only, it did have its start as an organization opposed to the draft and the required military oath. Therefore, I felt it necessary to give this aspect of the organization a considerable amount of space. However, if you re-read my article, you will find that it touches on more than just the draft in Poland.

Image Conscious

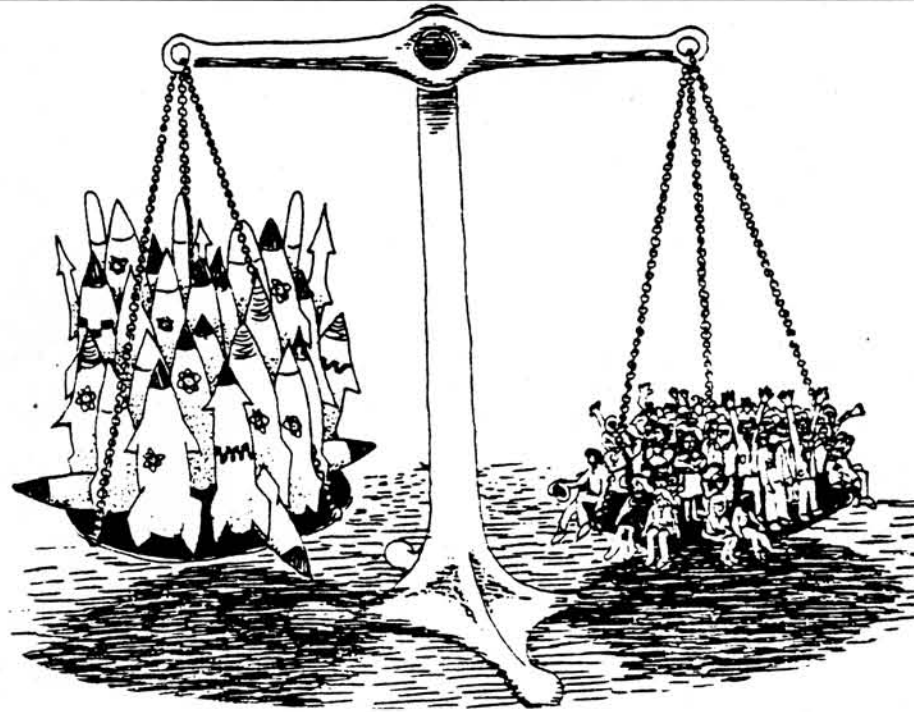
Dear Freeze,

The year I spent doing a study of Global Security was invaluable background for my recent trip to UNESCO, the Conference on Disarmament, and several agencies of the United Nations. The tour was organized by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, WILPF. The Geneva office had made contacts with these organizations in The Hague, Paris and Geneva.

There were many occasions when I reflected sadly upon the wisdom of the decisions made by the Reagan administration, the U.S. image abroad, and the impact this foreign policy has upon the international community. At The Hague Peace Palace, I walked into the chambers of the International Court of Justice. Above the door is the motto, "May the Sun of Justice Enlighten Us." I was reminded that our government recently defied the decision of the World Court regarding U.S. aggressive acts against Nicaragua.

In Paris, we visited UNESCO. The United States had withdrawn its membership, including its financial support. We were briefed by an American, one of 60 still on the International payroll. Part of this briefing included a description of the curriculum on Peace Education now taught globally in 2,000 schools. Peace, still a priority in many parts of the world, was underscored at many of our subsequent meetings.

At the Conference for Disarmament in Geneva we were observers. The Ministers of Indonesia, Poland, and Cuba voiced their grave concerns regarding the nuclear arms buildup, the implications of malfunctioning power plants, the urgent need for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and the potential that small incidents could escalate into nuclear confrontations. The U.S. Ambassador also



addressed the issue of nuclear arms buildup. He included a statement, "U.S. efforts to conclude a chemical weapons ban have intensified," and yet, legislation is being passed in Congress to begin production. What does this contradiction do to the U.S. image internationally? By the time the meetings were over, we were all overwhelmed with the gravity of international problems.

Our trip concluded with a tour through Dachau on the outskirts of Munich. This concentration camp was originally built to imprison political dissidents when Hitler came to power. The tour was a painful sobering experience—a reminder that liberty is fragile; it must be tenderly nurtured, and passionately guarded. We left Europe deeply committed to continue the work of WILPF for peaceful coexistence: to urge our lawmakers to treasure the American image abroad.

Ruth Hunter
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Public Pressure Must Continue

by Shelly D'Amour

In an unprecedented move, the House of Representatives approved a measure that would ban underground nuclear weapons tests larger than one kiloton for a period of one year, so long as the Soviets do the same. The 234 to 155 vote marked the first time that the House has actually cut off funds for nuclear testing. The measure stipulates that the Soviets would have to allow on-site verification, a condition to which they had previously agreed. Thirty-four Republicans joined 200 Democrats in supporting the measure, while 31 Democrats joined 124 Republicans in opposing it. Representative Leon Panetta (D-CA), a longtime supporter of test ban legislation, voted in favor of the amendment. It is worth noting that Representative Ed Zschau (R-CA) did not vote at all. Mr. Zschau, whose district includes part of Santa Cruz County, had previously been on record in favor of a test ban, until he announced that he was seeking the Republican nomination for the U.S. Senate, at which time he changed his opinion.

In order for the bill to become law, the Senate must also approve the measure this year, which is unlikely. However, the very fact that the House passed a binding test ban bill at all is a tribute to all the disarmament activists who have worked so hard on the issue over the years. Arms control advocates should draw personal encouragement from this victory. The lesson to draw from this vote is not that the Congress is finally taking initiative toward genuine arms control, but rather, that the will of the people, if communicated clearly, strongly and persistently, will eventually make itself heard. Support for a halt to underground testing of nuclear weapons has grown, both in the United States and internationally. A recent Gallup poll revealed that 56 percent of Americans support a test ban. The Soviet Union recently extended its own unilateral moratorium for the third time. Now more than ever, peace activists must redouble their energies and work to bring the pressure of public opinion to bear upon our elected officials.

Crucial Senate elections are coming up in November. One of the pivotal Senate races this year is here in California between Democratic incumbent Alan Cranston and Republican challenger Representative Ed Zschau. Senator Cranston has been an ardent supporter of a nuclear test ban and, with few exceptions, has an excellent



JACK NELSON

voting record on weapons issues. Representative Zschau has shown himself to be highly inconsistent, frequently changing sides on issues. After announcing his bid for Senate, Mr. Zschau renounced his previous support for the test ban as well as his opposition to Contra aid.

Candidates for Senate need to be made aware of the public's growing dissatisfaction with the arms control record of the Reagan administration. It is incumbent upon all who work for peace to make their voices heard. Attend candidate forums where possible. Ask questions. Become informed. Write letters. Educate others. Demand accountability of your elected representatives on their voting records on arms control issues. Vote.

Public pressure does work. A test ban on nuclear weapons can become a reality. But not without each and every one of us working to achieve it.

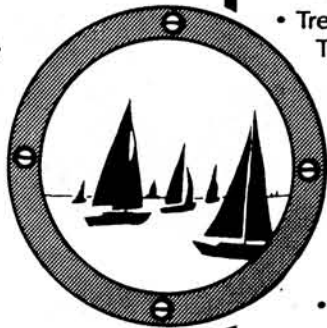
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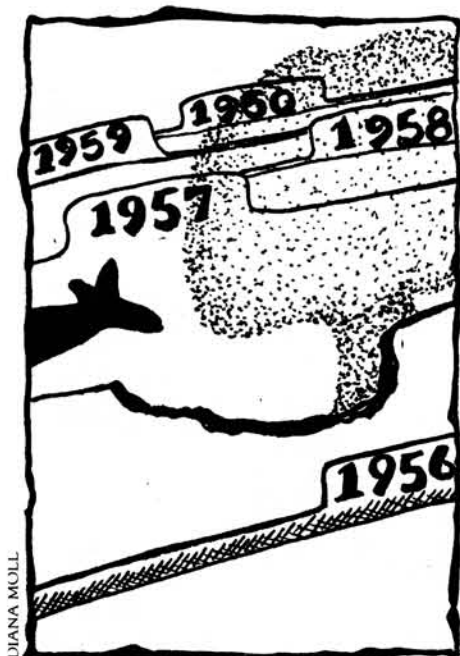
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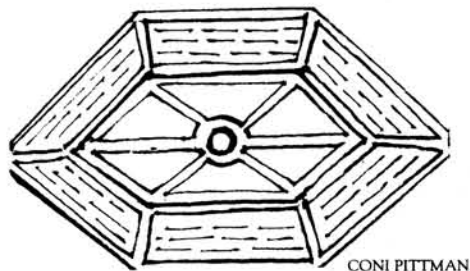
Oops!

On May 22, 1957 a 42,000-pound hydrogen bomb accidentally fell from an Air Force B-36 bomber. The *Albuquerque Journal* recently made the story public by obtaining government documents just released through the Freedom of Information Act. The incident happened near Kirtland Air Force Base just south of Albuquerque.

The Mark 17 bomb fell 1,700 feet into an uninhabited area, injuring no one, but some non-nuclear explosives in it did detonate, creating a large 12-foot deep and 25-foot diameter crater and releasing some radioactive contamination. Officials claim that there was never any danger of a nuclear blast. For the nuclear critical mass to be set off, non-nuclear explosives in the bomb must trigger in a precise sequence, which an accidental fall, according to officials, cannot duplicate. Full details as to why the bomb fell from the plane were not provided.

The size of the bomb has to make one stop and think a moment. The *Journal* quoted Stan Norris, a research associate with the National Resources Defense Council, as saying, "It is possibly the most powerful bomb we ever made." Most researchers, he said, believe that it was in excess of 10 megatons. The largest of today's bombs, at least in the U.S. arsenal, are about 9 megatons. The Mark 17 "was very primitive by today's standards, in terms of safety devices," Norris said. Just how serious the accident was still remained unclear.

—RL



The Hexagon?

The people at the Pentagon have decided to do a little remodeling, to the tune of nearly \$1 billion. The Defense Department is making plans to totally renovate the Pentagon and construct a four-building annex in its south parking lot. Plans include provisions for an additional three

million square feet of office space, half as much as the current structure provides, to accommodate 18,500 more employees. The Pentagon project is so large that the Reagan administration has asked Congress to use military construction funds spread over the next seven years. The increase in military spending has brought nearly a 15 percent growth in the number of Defense Department employees in the Washington area; over half the 70,000 employees are in 73 non-government, rented office buildings, a number officials hope to reduce to 45. The Pentagon cost \$83 million when it was built in 1942 and consolidated what was then called the War Department from 17 locations into one.

Chairperson of the House Appropriations subcommittee on military construction, Rep. W.G. Hefner, put a hold on the initial funding. The appropriations panel heard about the project only after questions were raised at a public hearing. There was additional criticism of the effect construction would have on the interstate highway running through the area. Water leaks, antiquated electrical systems, and the high cost of rented office space were cited as the main reasons for the multi-million dollar renovation.

—DMT



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Dressed For Success

Tomorrow's foot soldier may not look quite human. Researchers at Los Alamos National Laboratory are attempting to design an infantry robot suit that would actually bring us closer to the concept of an android. Jeff Moore, staff researcher in the Advanced Weapons Technology Group at Los Alamos, provided the *San Jose Mercury News* with some remarkable information on this never-ending frontier of high technology.

The 200-pound high-tech robot suit would not only protect the soldier from land mines, bullets, radiation, chemical and biological weapons; would not only have built-in "passive sensors to detect the enemy"; but would also be an armory of its own, packing, for instance, anti-



Hot Flashes

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

helicopter and anti-tank rockets, which the eye could aim by a mere look and a voice command could fire. But that still is not all. The computerized suit would help the soldier run and jump, too, by "mind reading." Brain patterns for each soldier would be recorded on a computer chip, which would then be plugged into the suit's built-in computer. The suit would thus be able to instantly read the soldier's motor impulses and duplicate every body movement. "It's the ultimate man-machine interface," said Moore.

According to Moore, though the idea is "just purely concept at this point, I think in principle it will be done. It obviously depends on funding." By the turn of the century, if the Pentagon is interested, researchers believe a prototype could be ready. The Advanced Weapons Technology Group is funded specifically for such new weapon concepts.

—RL

Dense Pack Is Back

Four years ago it was the "giggle factor" in Congress, according to one Air Force officer, that defeated the dense pack system for basing the MX missile. The system was backed by President Reagan, but too many in Congress ridiculed it, calling it the "dunce pack." The House rejected it in December 1982, one month after Reagan gave it his approval in a speech televised nationwide. The Air Force, responsible for the MX, has still had a difficult time finding an acceptable system for basing it, for the dense pack idea has once again been revived.

Dense packing the MX involves basing them close enough together so that, in theory, a concerted Soviet nuclear attack would be deflected by all the confusion resulting from the initial explosions. The MX missile silos, however, would have to survive the initial attack. Air Force officials believe that a "superhard silo" able to withstand a nuclear blast may be just around the corner.

The Air Force has been working on the problem of finding a system for protecting the MX for almost 20 years. Of the 100 MX missiles President Reagan has asked for, 50 are scheduled to be deployed in existing Minuteman silos. It is widely recognized that the Minuteman silos are vulnerable to attack. Before the other 50 are produced, however, Congress has demanded that an invulnerable basing system be developed first.

—RL



CONI PITTMAN

Don't Fence Me In

Federal officials have decided to locate the Star Wars laser weapon program at White Sands Missile Range in New Mexico, ending a bitter land feud with the cattle ranchers of Tracy, California. The struggle ended without a showdown, after the government cancelled plans to remove the ranchers from their pastures and farm land near the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory's explosives testing site along Corral Hollow Road. "The credit goes to these landowners who stood their ground," Pat Johnston, a San Joaquin County Supervisor, was quoted as saying in the *San Jose Mercury News*. "It was like the Cartwrights of Corral Hollow against the star warriors of the federal government, and it looks like we won." Officials were quick to dismiss pressure from the ranchers as a being a factor in the turnaround.

White Sands is one of two approved locations for anti-ballistic missile testing in a 1972 treaty with the Soviet Union, according to Ed Vaughn, spokesperson for the defense command in Huntsville, Alabama. The other location is the Kwajalein Missile Range in the Marshall Islands.

—DMT



DIANA MOLL

By The Dawn's Early Light

Early commuters in the Santa Clara Valley were shocked by an unexpected fireworks display in the pre-dawn hours on July 31. Anxious residents phoned police agencies all over the valley after

witnessing an extremely spectacular explosion shortly before 6:00 a.m. Imagine their relief to hear it was merely a test launch of an unarmed Minuteman III ICBM from Vandenberg Air Force Base, about 200 miles south of San Jose.

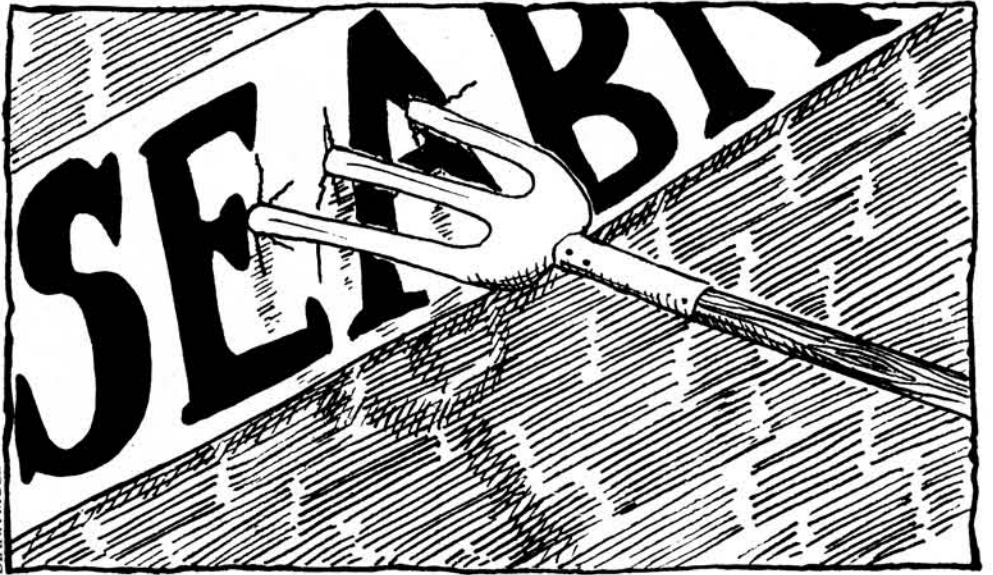
Vandenberg AFB regularly conducts tests of ICBMs "to make sure the weapons system performs in the manner expected if it's ever needed for national defense," according to Sgt. Fred Bolinger, a public affairs officer at Vandenberg. He said that the Minuteman III successfully completed its 30-minute mission, dropping dummy warheads 4,200 miles away at the Kwajalein Missile Range in the Marshall Islands. As for the local light show, Bolinger said residents either experienced the twilight effect, where the night sky prismatically reflects missile exhaust, or they saw one of the booster rockets dropping off, "which creates a burst of light for a split second."

—DMT

That Insecure Feeling

Mock attacks made in 1985 demonstrate the vulnerability of two U.S. nuclear weapons plants—the attackers succeeded in stealing plutonium from both facilities. Results of these simulations were recently made known when the transcript recording a secret hearing before an investigative subcommittee of the House Committee on Energy and Commerce was declassified. The Inspection and Evaluation (I&E) Unit of the Department of Energy conducted the security tests at the Savannah River Plant in South Carolina, which produces plutonium, and the Pantex Plant in Texas, which assembles nuclear weapons. Despite advance warning that an attack would occur, the security guards at Savannah River failed to stop one of the group of "armed intruders" from entering the plant and escaping with plutonium. Using another technique at the Pantex Plant, an I&E member who had been disguised as a plant employee stole plutonium from the facility, and delivered it to another I&E member who was waiting outside the plant.

Sylvester R. Foley, Jr., the assistant secretary of energy for defense programs, acknowledged there had been "bum drills" previously, and stated that security forces at the plants may have "cut some corners" during other tests to avoid



DIANA MOLL

revealing additional areas of vulnerability. DOE officials claim security at plants will be improved following recommendations made in response to a current federal study that is determining how best to spend \$2 billion allotted for tightening security.

—SM

Gaining Momentum

Using a three-pronged approach, grassroots antinuclear power groups are growing stronger and gaining momentum in New England. The Seabrook nuclear plant in New Hampshire has been the site of several demonstrations and mass arrests in recent weeks. Seabrook has known a tumultuous history. Nurtured

by Reagan administration policies, Seabrook has grown sporadically during the past 15 years, and was almost completed last winter. Citizens' groups such as the Seacoast Anti-Pollution League and the Clamshell Alliance have organized and effectively exercised their opposition, however. Foes of the nuclear industry found they could garner support by 1) challenging plant safety records and evacuation plans, 2) demonstrating the folly of developing nuclear energy, and 3) publicizing the link between nuclear plants and the problem of radioactive waste.

Given its protest activity of past months, the movement may very well make its strongest statement to date in the election booth this November. Seabrook is emerging as the main issue in the New Hampshire gubernatorial race.

—SM



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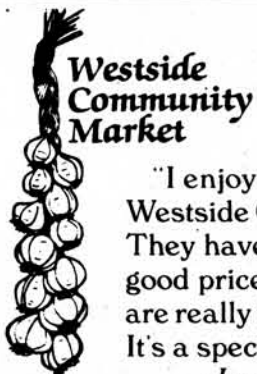


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Hiroshima Day, 1986



DAVID MICHAEL TROUTMAN

On August 6, the 41st anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima, as well as the one-year anniversary of the Soviet testing moratorium, local peace actions included a vigil at the town clock in Santa Cruz (top photos). Simultaneously, concerned citizens staged a "die-in" at Site 300, adjacent to Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (bottom).



DAVID MAUNG/TURNING POINT

A Closer Look

Our Minds, Our Machines

by Susan Strong

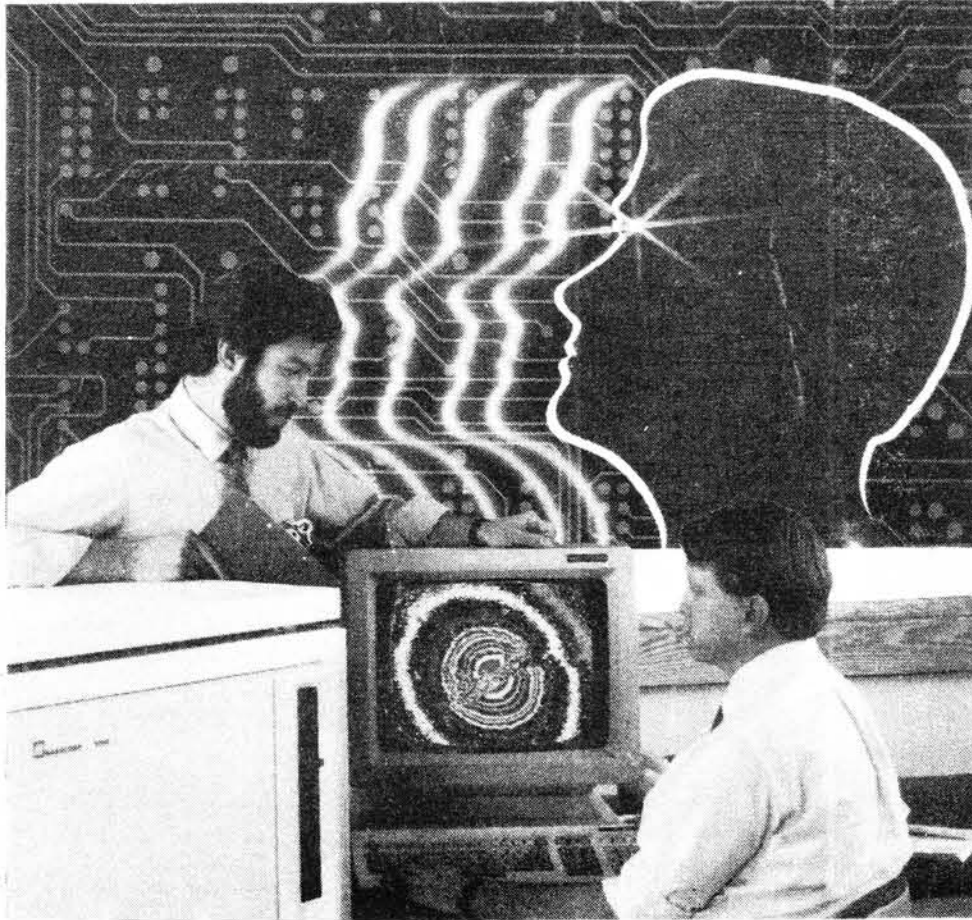
Love of machines and of technological progress is, as everyone knows, an enduring part of the American character. From the amazingly delicate "Spirit of St. Louis" proudly displayed in the airport lobby of that city to the dinosaur-like road building machines which created our vast interstate highway system, they are familiar, and we expect good things from them. We are offended and annoyed when they break or malfunction. Most of all, we expect them to make things "better."

The very definition of a machine is "any device, simple or complex, by which the intensity of an applied force is increased, its direction changed, or one form of motion or energy changed into another form" (Columbia Encyclopedia). Increase of power and the chance to transform outer or inner landscapes are also fundamental American cravings. In a single generation, our ancestors made forests into farms; now we make farms into futuristic looking cities, while we eye Mars and the moon.

The machine is also a particularly apt symbol of what does not die or decay; its parts replaceable, it can in theory live forever, like the Mariner space probe sent out into the depths of the universe. We will not hear from it again; it will survive all of us. The machine suggests immortality, and, so the fantasy goes, it may even be able to guarantee that of our species, via the space ship. In one of the most famous nuclear war fictions of all time, *A Canticle for Leibowitz*, by Walter Miller Jr., the species is preserved by sending off some representatives in a rocket to one of the other planets, just as a definitive doomsday begins.

This escape, one might say, represents the up side of our collective dream about the machine. The down side, as we know it, began during the industrial revolution, when labor began to understand what machines meant for a worker's daily life—child labor, maiming, economic exploitation, and a numbing and dehumanizing boredom still with us today. The popular, visual representation of our fear that machines will become smarter than us, turning into our masters, and malevolent ones at that, was vividly expressed by the maverick computer Hal in the film version of *2001*. Recently, we have added the space shuttle accident and the Chernobyl disaster to our stock of machine generated nightmares. The machine now has the power to blight the entire species. Even supposedly benevolent machines can be murderously and implacably fallible.

These images and incidents are everything that the specter of nuclear war or weapons accident is not—they have either already happened or they are only slight extrapolations of everyday experience, and therein lies their power. In fact, slight extrapolation is the way that most machines have been perfected.



peace movement in general have been criticized for focussing on the nature and number of killing machines in our arguments, for putting the cart before the horse. Those other pioneers of the inner landscape, American psychologists and psychiatrists, argue that the way to peace is by transforming our attitudes toward the idea of "the enemy," toward conflict, or merely toward the Soviets as a people, so that we can gain more conscious control of the world of machines.

Clearly, peacemakers of all persuasions seek the psychological equivalent of a machine, something which will change the energy and direction of a whole people—and fast. Chernobyl is particularly valuable since the Soviets obviously did not do it on purpose, they did not do it to us, and they are clearly suffering the most. The motif of the enemy is missing. The motif of the machine is strongly present—the machine escaped from human control.

Going back to the principle of slight extrapolation, what we need now might be a simple rhetorical machine, a mere lever perhaps, something to help Americans think more instrumentally about regaining control of the machines that will shape their future. Perhaps that simple lever is also the name of a popular form of therapy—responsibility therapy. In fact, the people *are* responsible. They pay the bills. We must point out to the American people that they *can* choose what kind of machines, and thus, what kind of future we will have, because they are the sources of technology's life blood: money, and the labor that creates it.

Susan Strong is a conflict resolution consultant and freelance writer living in Orinda, California. She is currently serving as Chairperson of the Northern California Freeze Campaign.

Noting the experiential character of the Chernobyl incident in the latest *Nuclear Times*, Robert Jay Lifton speaks of the necessity to *develop* the implications of Chernobyl and "make appropriate associations to the nuclear weapons threat and to the fate we share with the Soviets." The motifs he identifies are common vulnerability, or shared fate, leading to a recognition of mutual interest, and ultimately, cooperation. Yet in the same article, he comments that the public's perception of the Chernobyl disaster was "of a threat of annihilation that

is perceived as ultimate, uncontrollable and without limits." Thus it is comparable to what he says about the response to nuclear weapons: "an absoluteness that promotes a sense of resignation, of powerlessness before the whole thing." No slight extrapolations here.

But it seems clear to me that the feelings Lifton describes relate significantly to the *mechanical* character of the examples, and the psychology of the negative human-machine relationship: the nightmare of the implacable and unstoppable murdering machine. The Freeze and the



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Czech Activists Face Suppression

by Igal Dahari

The following is the second of a four-part series focusing on unofficial peace movements and activists in Eastern Europe. Since this is a vast subject, the series will concentrate on some of the specific groups and individuals who have been ignored by the mass media in this country.

It has been eighteen years since Soviet, East German, Hungarian, Polish and Bulgarian troops crossed into Czechoslovakia and ended the brief period known as the "Prague Spring." For nearly seven months—beginning in February of 1968—Czechoslovakia was the scene of activities that had been suppressed for nearly twenty years: government censorship was being phased out; various government officials and agencies were being



JORDAN WOLFSON

openly criticized; there was talk on the streets of restructuring Czech society; and there was public discussion of the present condition of Czechoslovakia.

The Czechoslovakian press and broadcast media wasted no time in utilizing this brief renaissance. Newspapers printed stories on favoritism as practiced among certain high officials of the Communist Party; radio talk shows hosted former political prisoners who told all; and television showed the living conditions of some of Czechoslovakia's poorer citizens. Even after well over a half-million Warsaw Pact troops crushed their flowering reformation, the Czechs took their newspapers underground, and continued publishing at a furious rate. Clandestine television broadcasts appeared on no fewer than eleven channels, and the unofficial Radio Prague was ruling the airwaves.

The invasion of Czechoslovakia came on August 20, and there followed a week of near chaos and nonviolent resistance. The end came when the Czech reformist leader Alexander Dubcek, returning from a meeting in Moscow, tearfully asked Czechoslovakians to cease from all resistance activities. The alternative was continued occupation, and the spilling of Czech blood. Dubcek, who had come to power in January of 1968 with the intent to loosen the government's grip on Czech society, lost his position as first general secretary of the Communist Party. This powerful station was filled in April of 1969 by Gustav Husák, who put the country back under the tight control of the government.

Husák is still in power today, and the authorities continue to clamp down on public dissenters. Even apolitical constructive criticism cannot find much tolerance, as the case of Pavel Krivka shows. Krivka, an ecologist who once was the youngest member of the Botanical Society of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, became interested in the effects of pollution on his country. Czechoslovakia, with about 45 percent of its gross national product coming from industry, has been named as the worst polluter in Central Europe. But the pessimistic findings of government scientists, which generally point towards impending ecological disaster, are routinely suppressed.

Krivka's troubles began last year, when he wrote a letter to a West German friend discussing the adverse effects of pollution on Czechoslovakia. The letter also contained some criticism of the way the government handled the 1984 floods in Eastern Bohemia. Krivka gave the letter to a friend who was leaving to vacation in Yugoslavia, where it would be safe to mail it to West Germany. But the letter was found by the authorities at a customs checkpoint, just as the friend was about to leave the country.

During the following months, many of Krivka's friends and acquaintances were interrogated, and the police conducted numerous house searches. Krivka was arrested, and then formally tried for engaging in "subversive activity." The charges against Krivka include: compil-

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ing crossword puzzles whose solutions were insulting to the government; changing the lyrics of a Czech Christmas carol to parody the Czech leadership; singing the modified Christmas carol, and inciting others to sing it; and using the term "iron curtain" in a 1983 letter to a Bavarian nature conservationists' magazine.

Krivka's prosecutors claimed he displayed "certain symptoms of hypersensitivity, schizophrenia and a tendency towards nonconformist attitudes and

sentence.

Krivka is not alone in being persecuted for activities the government considers a challenge to its authority, nor is he alone in his sentiments. Many young Czechs are beginning to agitate for social change and wider freedoms. Peace demonstrations, led mostly by students, have been occurring regularly for the past three years. One such demonstration, with 700 to 1000 participants, occurred in Prague on December 8, 1985. It began as a com-

Peace demonstrations, led mostly by students, have been occurring regularly for the past three years.

behavior." He was labeled a social threat, and was said to have a "negative" influence on the thinking and political attitudes of his acquaintances."

The 25-year-old Krivka was sentenced to three years in prison. He appealed his case to the Czechoslovakian Supreme Court, but the sentence was upheld on February 14 of this year. Even an appeal by West Germany's Willie Brandt, who was visiting Prague last November as part of a delegation of Social Democrats, failed to commute or reduce Krivka's

memoration of the shooting death of John Lennon, and ended as a march demanding peace and freedom.

Despite continued police harassment, it is unlikely that such demonstrations—or "subversive activities" such as Krivka's—will abate. The memory of the "Prague Spring" and its dormant potential is much too strong.

Next Month: Hungary

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

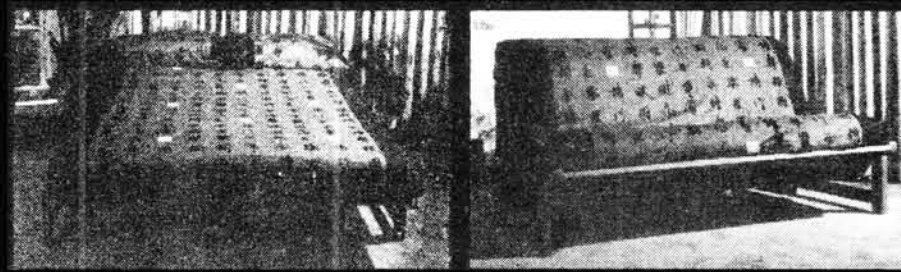


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House Limits Pentagon Plans

by Shelly D'Amour

SUMMARY

Congress has completed consideration of the 1987 Department of Defense Authorization Bill. The Authorization Bill sets the spending limits for weapons systems and other military expenditures for the year, beginning October 1, 1986.

In general, arms control advocates have much to celebrate this year. The House of Representatives held the line on Star Wars, chemical weapons, and anti-satellite testing. In addition, they passed binding legislation on SALT II and underground testing of nuclear weapons. The Senate, while approving funding for every weapons system requested by the Reagan administration, kept spending levels way below those proposed by the Pentagon.

In the end, the House authorized a total of \$292 billion for the Defense Department, for fiscal year 1987. The Senate authorized \$295 billion. Both figures stand in sharp contrast to the \$320 billion requested by the Reagan administration. This year's authorization figure gives a clear indication that Congress, while disagreeing sharply on where cuts should be made, is united in its general desire to hold the line on military spending. This shift in attitude did not go unnoticed by the Pentagon. The *San Jose Mercury News* reported an unidentified Pentagon official as commenting: "It's not the money that counts. It's the perception — the perception that the buildup is over — that hurt us." In

September, Congress will convene a joint House-Senate conference committee, which will iron out the differences between the two bills and present a unified version for a final vote from both houses of Congress.

Congress is on summer recess until September 8. This is an excellent opportunity for you to visit your representatives and let them know how you felt about their votes. A summary of the key legislative items follows:

Matthias, calling on the president to negotiate a comprehensive test ban treaty.
VOTE: 67 YEA - 35 NAY
Cranston: Yea Wilson: Nay

STAR WARS

The House approved an amendment to freeze funding for the Star Wars program at last year's level plus inflation, or \$2.85 billion. The Reagan administration had requested \$5.3 billion, a 77 percent increase over last year.

MX MISSILE

The House defeated two separate amendments aimed at deleting \$1.1 billion for 12 additional MX missiles, or "spares," which are used for testing purposes. In each amendment, a portion of the money would have gone for conventional armaments, and a percentage would have gone back into the treasury to ease the deficit.

VOTES: 210-178 and 217-179

Panetta: Yea Zschau: Not Voting

The Senate also approved funding for 21 "spare" MX missiles. There was no separate vote on this issue.

"It's not the money that counts. It's the perception—the perception that the buildup is over—that hurt us."

COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN

(see editorial in this issue)

On a vote of 234-155, the House passed the Schroeder/Markey/Downey amendment, which puts a mandatory halt to all underground nuclear testing of weapons over 1 kiloton, so long as the Soviets do the same.

VOTE: 234 YEA - 155 NAY

Panetta: Yea Zschau: Not Voting

The House bill will have to be approved by the Senate in order to take effect. It is unlikely that the Senate will approve such a strong measure. However, the Senate did approve a non-binding resolution offered by Senators Kennedy and

VOTE: 239 YEA - 176 NAY

Panetta: Yea Zschau: Nay

The Senate defeated two amendments on a vote of 50-49 aimed at cutting funding for Star Wars, and accepted the recommendation of its Armed Services Committee of \$3.95 billion, which represents a 28 percent increase over last year.

Final Vote: Cranston: Nay Wilson: Yea

SALT II

The House approved an amendment sponsored by Representative Dicks that would cut off funding for any weapons system that exceeds SALT II limits.

VOTE: 225 YEA - 186 NAY

Panetta: Yea Zschau: Nay

There was no vote in the Senate on this issue.

ANTI-SATELLITE (ASAT) WEAPONS

The House approved an amendment sponsored by Representatives Brown and Coughlin, which would extend the current moratorium on anti-satellite testing for another year, until October 1, 1987.

VOTE: 222 YEA - 197 NAY

Panetta: Yea Zschau: Nay

The Senate defeated a similar amendment offered by Senator John Kerry.

VOTE: 55 NAY - 43 YEA

Cranston: Yea Wilson: Nay

CHEMICAL WEAPONS

The House, by a narrow margin, extended the current ban on binary nerve gas production for a period of one year, until October 1, 1987.

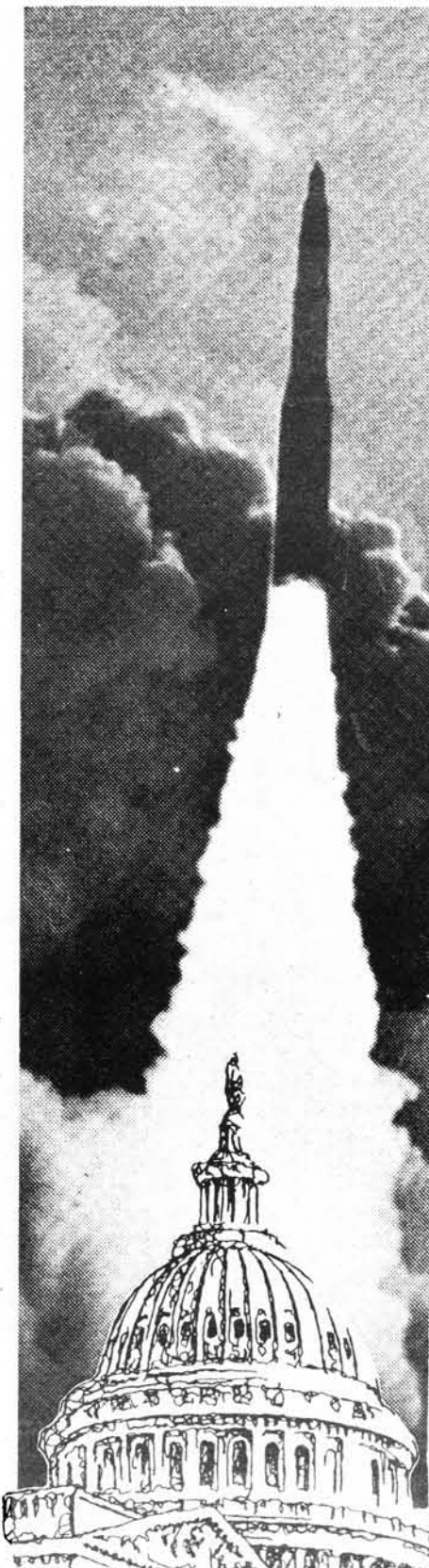
VOTE: 210 YEA - 209 NAY

Panetta: Yea Zschau: Nay

The Senate defeated an amendment offered by Senators Hatfield and Pryor, which would have deleted funding for binary nerve gas, on a vote of 51-50 with Vice President George Bush casting his third tie-breaking vote on the issue since 1983.

VOTE: 51 NAY - 50 YEA

Cranston: Yea Wilson: Nay



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

Congressman Ed Zschau
U.S. House of Representatives
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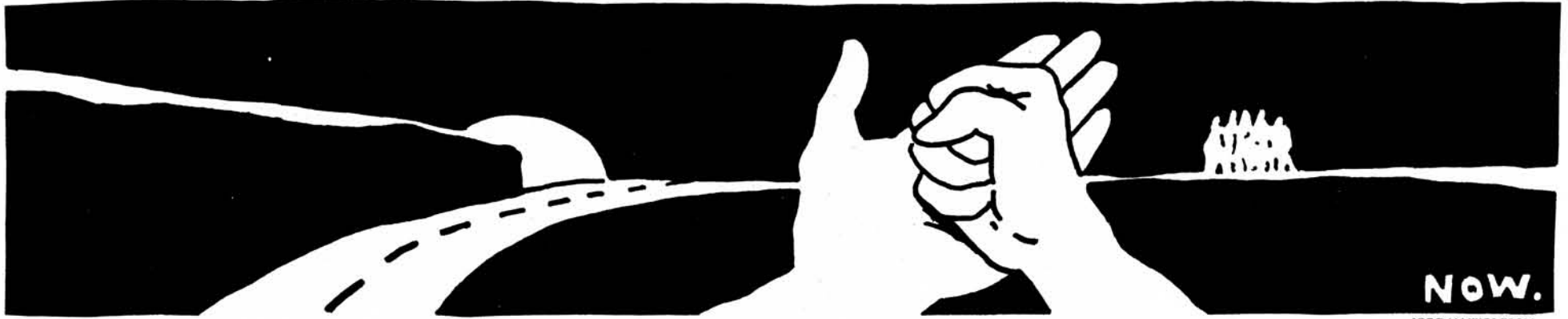
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JORDAN WOLFSON

CONTRA AID

After several days of hot debate, the Senate voted 62-37 to end a filibuster conducted by more than 16 senators opposed to Contra aid. Nine senators opposed to Contra aid also joined in the vote, making it possible to overturn the filibuster. The \$100 million provision was attached to the Military Construction Bill, which is a separate bill not connected to the Defense Authorization bill. Senator Mark Hatfield (R-OR) argued, "first American money, then American advisors, then American control of the war, then American troops."

In the end it was to no avail. Eleven Democrats joined 42 Republicans in supporting Contra aid, while 11 Republicans joined 36 Democrats in opposing it. VOTE: 53 YEA - 47 NAY
Cranston: Nay Wilson: Yea

The Senate went to great pains to ensure that its version of the Contra aid package was virtually identical to the House version, thus avoiding lengthy debate and possible alterations in the conference committee. An amendment to ban CIA participation in training contra forces failed 57-42. An amendment to preclude \$300 million in military/economic aid to El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Costa Rica failed on a vote of 51-49. This \$300 million will be taken out of monies already approved, but not spent, for African famine relief.

ACTION: Contact Representative Panetta and Senator Alan Cranston and thank them for their hard, consistent lobbying on behalf of this issue. Tell them you appreciate what they have done, and are looking forward to their continued leadership on this issue in the coming year.

NATIONAL GUARD

The House overwhelmingly approved an amendment to the Defense Authorization Bill that would strip state governors of their decision-making power over sending National Guard troops to Honduras for training and construction projects.

VOTE: 261 YEA - 159 NAY
Panetta: Nay Zschau: Nay

There was no separate Senate vote on this issue.

ACTION: You can see where this is going, can't you? The issue will go to the conference committee for resolution. Contact Senators Kennedy, Cohen and Hart at the Senate Office Building, and ask them to support the autonomy of state governors over National Guard troops.

REFUGEES

A bill by Representative Joseph Moakley (D-MA) and Senator Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ) to grant extended voluntary departure to Salvadoran refugees who are in the U.S. will most likely be attached as an amendment to the upcoming Immigration Reform Bill (H.R.

3810) to be voted upon on or around September 15. Approval of this measure would grant temporary asylum to thousands of Salvadorans fleeing torture and death, until the political situation in their homeland becomes stabilized and they can return. It is possible that an amendment will be added to include

Guatemalan refugees.

ACTION: Contact your representatives and urge their approval of this critical and humanitarian legislation.

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

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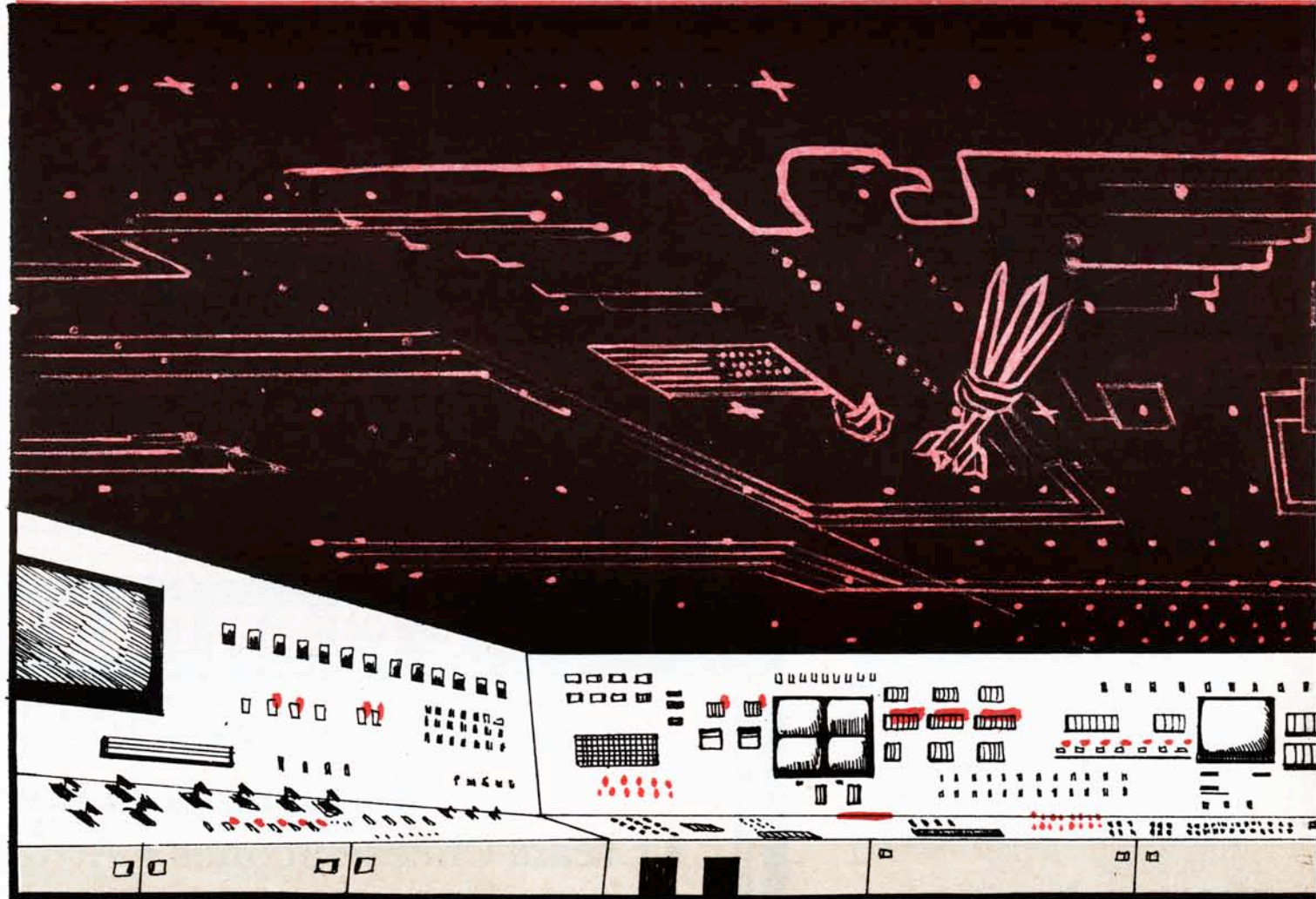
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Technology: The

by Ronald A. Lampi

Those of us concerned with arms control know that we face long uphill political battles. Along the way, we come to realize, too, that our problems are not only or strictly political, but involve social, cultural, and psychological realities as well. There are many issues here that have not yet been fully addressed, let alone acted upon. One area in this whole complex of realities that make up our world usually not even considered in arms race questions is technology itself. That reflection on technology might offer us insight here might sound somewhat unusual. Yet, technology itself may very well turn out to be an important piece of the puzzle, too.

Let us first present the popular view of technology, the one which our society adheres to so fondly. It goes something like this: technology is merely a tool, to use as we wish; it is "neutral" as regards motives, having no particular direction or will of its own. Now, if this were so, then it would not seem to offer us much in the way of any profound insight; in other words, technology itself would not present a problem, but only our making the right decisions with respect to it. Though technology is not worshipped outright, our society also puts tremendous faith in it solving all our problems, and it does inspire a kind of religious fervor in many of those who are directly involved in technical developments, or who enjoy great benefits from them, or who simply enjoy marveling at the latest technological feats. Actually, observers have long stated that our society (and the Soviet Union is now no different) has not only a passion for technology, but also an obsession with it. Technology has become the ultimate solution for all our ills, and each new development more wondrous than the last. Along with this popular view, though, it is often asked



why we are not making better use of our technology. Also, people are increasingly asking if it hasn't gotten out of control. According to the popular view, by all rights we should be in control, but for some unknown reason it has slipped from our hands.

Perhaps it is time that we pop this cherished bubble and present another view, unpopular because largely misunderstood. We may have been mistaken about technology all along. That technology is a "neutral" tool may unfortu-



nately be naive; at best, the view is premature. We may indeed reach a point at some future time—and let us hope we do—when technology is within our "control," but we are nowhere near that today. Those who would claim that we today are in a position to take technology in hand and do with it as we wish are probably wearing rose-colored glasses. Technology, according to the other, unpopular view, is an autonomous power of its own, developing in accordance to its own logic. And this is

not a recent phenomenon, though only recently has it come fully into its own, but one which was already apparent in the very beginnings of the Industrial Revolution, with roots going far back in our tradition. The control we believe we lost, we in fact never had.

The first difficulty in giving this view a fair appraisal is this: the eye is not focused on the real issue. What people always have in mind when speaking of technology is *the machine, the hardware*. Of course, we all agree, machines have no power over us; they sit there dumb until we turn them on. To back this up, we will sometimes hear the facile remark, Well, we can always pull the plug. (How often, though, do people actually pull the plug? Never.) The mistake, however, when speaking of a technological world is to look solely at machines; what we need to realize is that a technological world comes into being because of technological *consciousness*, a whole way of thinking and acting in the world. Though it sounds obvious, it needs stressing that machines are a product of technological consciousness, so it is to that that we must look. "It is the machine which is now entirely dependent upon technique" (i.e. technological consciousness), states Jacques Ellul in his classic study *The Technological Society*, "and the machine represents only a small part of technique." Technological consciousness is a particular mind-set which today has come to dominate the entire planet.

An easy misunderstanding is to believe that such a view automatically means that technology is evil, or that it presents a basically anti-technology position. But that is not the case at all. These are

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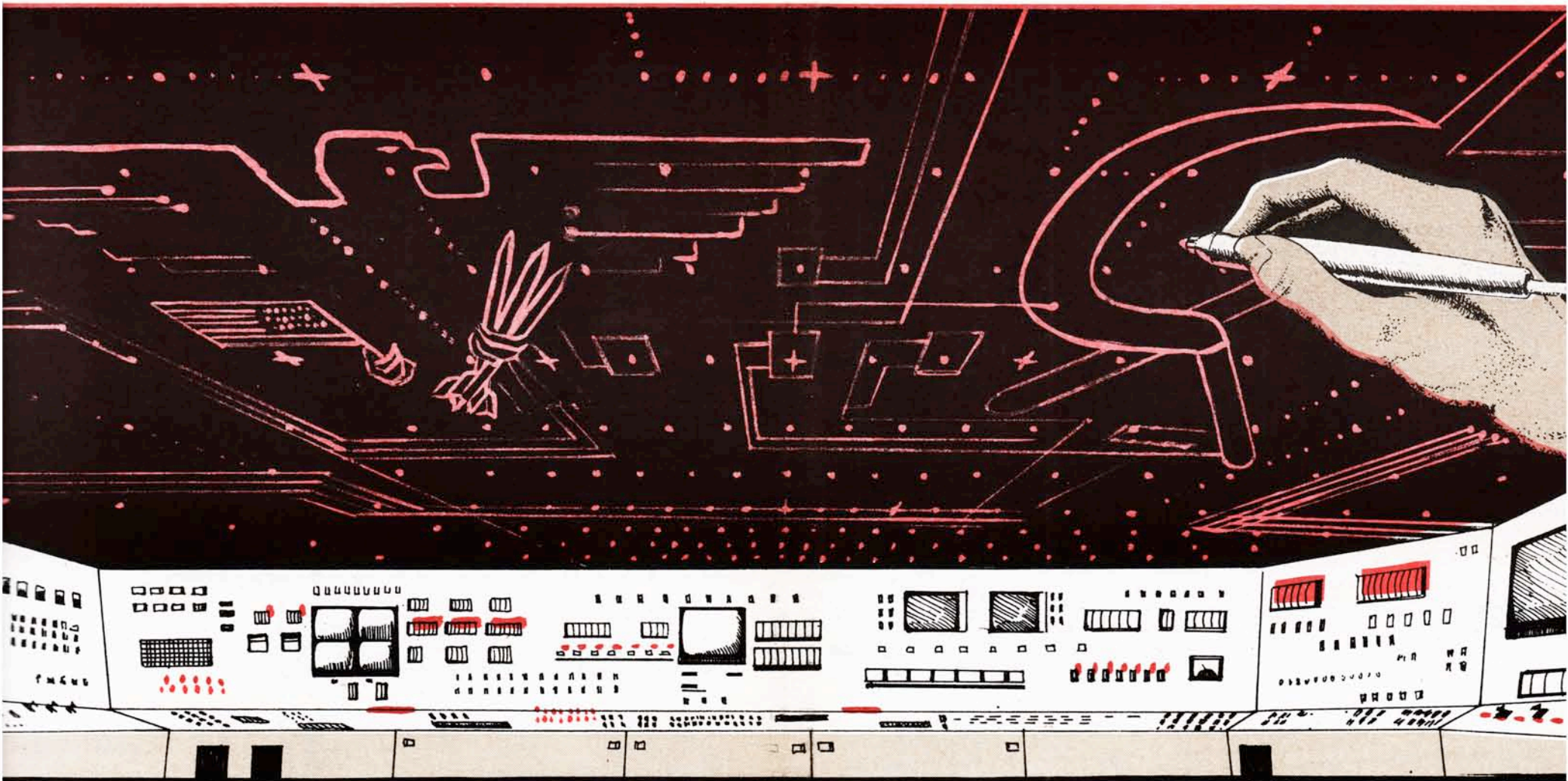
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Technology: The New Superpower



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simplistic reactions. To suggest that we need to or could rid ourselves of technology is downright senseless. Our intent here is to view our technological world realistically, to be honest about where we stand.

Technological consciousness defines the world in terms of its own logic, which has the practical result of producing an ever-expanding technology, intolerant of alternative ways of viewing the world. A common assertion is that technology has no will of its own, that it is basic human qualities like fear and greed and the need to control which are the prime movers behind it. True, fear and greed can contribute to the spread of technology, but, still, do not explain the logic of its particular kind of dominance; fear and greed have expressed themselves in other, age-old, nontechnological ways also. And what of our need to control our surroundings? Here we do approach the essence of technology. Technological consciousness does have a will to control, but, again, it is a will expressing itself in a particular way. Technological consciousness expands its dominion by constantly organizing, arranging, calculating, regulating, standardizing, mechanizing; by seeking efficient, uniform, rational procedures for all activities; by relegating all things, from automobiles to data banks, from nuclear weapons to the labor market, to a standby status, ready for use; by seeing a new technical challenge in every problem. “Technique has taken over all of man’s activities . . .” (Jacques Ellul). This cannot be over-emphasized: technological consciousness recognizes no limits; it must constantly expand and is today working its way into

every aspect of life. Our technological world has become a vast, interlocking system, in ways that most people are not fully aware of. Still, today, this technological expansionism is called *progress*. Indeed, our society is still a true believer in the 19th century ideal of Progress. One half hour of TV commercials is enough to convince us of that. Or witness our national passion—recently dampened—for the space program.

According to the logic of technological consciousness, if a new technology is

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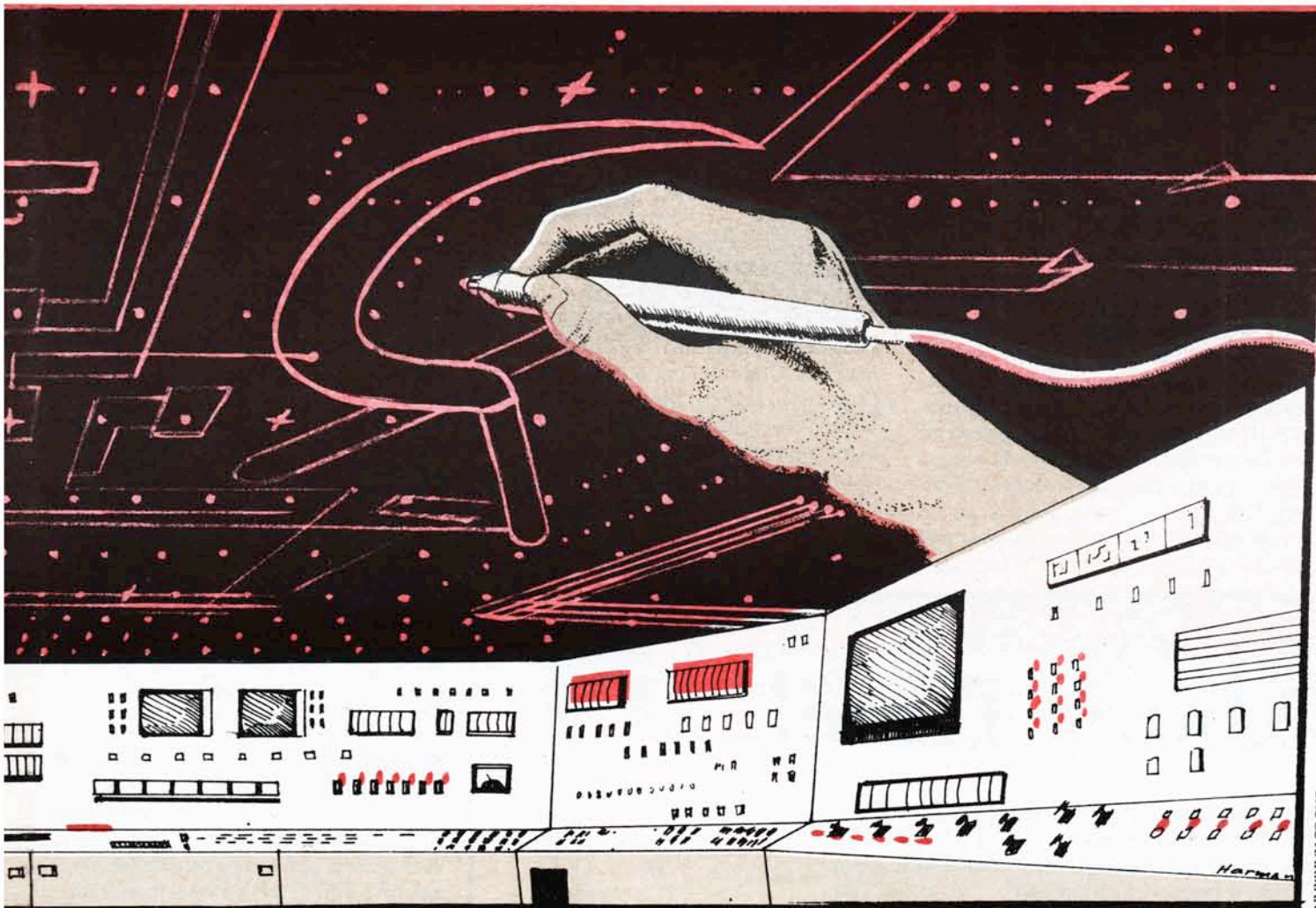
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According to the logic of technological consciousness, if a new technology is

possible, it then becomes a necessity to develop it; and technological developments are always leading to further developments. And each new development, in turn, must immediately be put to practical use. A good example of all this was the development of the atomic bomb. Why was the atomic bomb built? Because of the war? Certainly the war was a catalyst of the greatest urgency. For one thing, our government was afraid that Germany would develop it first. But even after our intelligence confirmed

that Germany was far from being in a position to do so, work on the bomb continued. After Germany's defeat, the rationale was that the bomb would bring about a speedy end to the war with Japan, saving untold American lives. Here, too, as we found out later, dropping the bomb was not a necessity for the war ending quickly; Japan was ready to capitulate to terms of surrender, but our government wasn't listening. As Robert Jungk writes in *Brighter than a Thousand Suns, A Personal History of the Atomic Scientists*, "On the other hand it would have been contrary to the spirit of modern science and technology to refrain voluntarily from further development of a new field of research, however dangerous it might be for the future, and leave it only half explored." He quotes the following from J. Robert Oppenheimer:

However, it is my judgement in these things that when you see something that is technically sweet you go ahead and do it and you argue about what to do about it only after you have had your technical success. That is the way it was with the atomic bomb. I do not think anybody opposed making it; there were some debates about what to do with it after it was made.

New "reasons" were thus constantly given for its continued development. According to technological consciousness, the bomb simply *had to be* built.

We could equally ask about the development of the H-bomb. Again, why? Because our government was afraid the Soviets were developing it? This whole line of reasoning has sidetracked us long enough; to continue like this would be to miss our point altogether. The Soviets are locked into the same technological

continued on page 22

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Planet Watch

by Igal Dahari



Soviet Union Extending The Extension

The Soviet Union extended its unilateral nuclear testing moratorium, a few days after its expiration last August 6. The moratorium has been in effect since August 6, 1985, after being announced by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. The

new extension will last until January 1, 1987, but could go on indefinitely if the United States were to halt its nuclear testing program.

To dramatize the fact that verification of a test ban moratorium would not be difficult, as the Reagan administration has claimed, the Soviets recently released information on three American nuclear tests not announced by the administration. The Soviets have also agreed to on-site verification, and are allowing a private group, the New York based Natural Resources Defense Council, to set up a seismic monitoring station near one test site.

Chernobyl's Aftermath

Two experts on radiation recently gave preliminary figures showing that as many as 24,000 more Soviets will die of cancer in the next 70 years, as a result of the April 26 Chernobyl accident. Dr. Dan Beninson of Argentina, head of the International Commission on Radiological Protection, and Dr. Morris Rosen of the United States, director of nuclear safety in the International Atomic Energy Agency, arrived at their conclusion by using internationally accepted methods to analyze the raw data in an official Soviet report on Chernobyl. The two doctors

gave their report on August 26, at a press conference in Vienna.

But the two experts' findings have been disputed by other knowledgeable sources. One of those sources, Dr. Thomas Cochran of the Natural Resources Defense Council, charged that Beninson and Rosen deliberately used low figures because "[they] get their livelihood from the nuclear industry . . ."

Dr. Robert Gale, who treated some of Chernobyl's radiation victims, put the latent casualty figure at 40,000 in the Soviet Union, and 35,000 in Europe and the rest of the world.

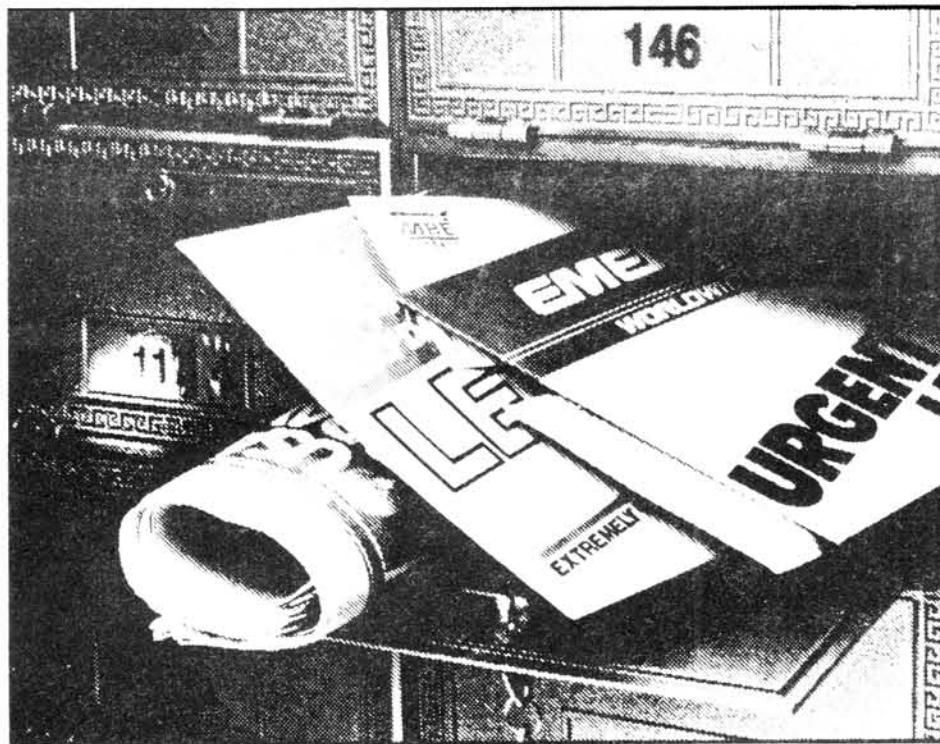
Many of the Soviet casualties will probably be found among the 135,000 people evacuated from an 18-mile zone surrounding the damaged nuclear power plant. According to the Soviet report, each person in that zone received an average of 1,200 chest X-rays—from radiation released by the plant—before the evacuation occurred.

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Japan When The Nukes Come Sailing In

Thousands of Japanese protested against the arrival of several United States Navy vessels recently, claiming that the visiting ships were carrying nuclear weapons. The Navy, as a matter of policy, refuses to specify whether a ship is armed with nuclear weapons, but at least three of the visitors are capable of firing cruise missiles. Part of Japan's post-World War II policy is to prohibit the production, possession, or introduction of nuclear weapons on Japanese territory.

The Navy vessels, including the battleship New Jersey, sailed into the port city of Sasebo, about 60 miles north of Nagasaki. They were greeted by dozens of small protest boats on sea, and more than 7,000 protestors on land. The protestors held rallies in Sasebo; smaller

rallies against the Navy ship visits and the complicity of Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's government were held in various other Japanese cities.

One of the demonstration's organizers, Labor Unions Council Vice Chairperson Toshio Kamezaki, told the Associated Press that the purpose of "the visit of the New Jersey is to try to get Japanese accustomed to the idea of nuclear weapons, and increase the nuclear might of the United States."



J.W.

Europe Chernobyl Activates Europeans

The nuclear disaster at Chernobyl has significantly shifted the public sentiment in Europe against nuclear power, according to several recent polls and the renewed vigor of the antinuclear movement. In Italy, where nuclear power has not been an issue for years, 79 percent of those polled oppose the building of new nuclear plants; thirty-three percent believe that all existing nuclear plants should be shut down. In Sweden, where nuclear power is being phased out over a 30-year span, 60 percent favor an immediate phase-out. In West Germany, 70 percent oppose building more nuclear plants, as opposed to about 35 percent opposed before Chernobyl. The accident has also served to mobilize previously inactive sectors of European society, such as farmers.

The antinuclear movement has also come alive in response to Chernobyl, with protests taking place from Poland to the Netherlands. Austrian protestors, who live in a nuclear-free country, have crossed over to Hungary, Czechoslovakia and West Germany to demonstrate against nuclear plants in those countries that are near the Austrian border. The Austrians, despite police harassment, have also managed to pass out leaflets to locals in each of the targeted countries.

West Germany Party For Anti-Nuke Decisions

The opposition Social Democrats have recently decided to adopt several anti-nuclear measures as part of their election platform for next year. Some of the measures are: ending West Germany's participation in Star Wars; withdrawing American medium-range missiles from West German soil; and providing a 10-year time table for closing down the country's 20 nuclear power plants. The decisions came at a party congress, held in Bonn, that ended August 28.

World Ban The Test

The leaders of six nonnuclear nations issued a statement recently, saying they were "convinced that no issue is more urgent and crucial today than bringing to an end all nuclear tests." In light of that belief, Mexico, India, Greece, Tanzania, Sweden and Argentina are offering to underwrite a plan for ending nuclear tests to the United States and Soviet Union. The plan calls for setting up seismic stations at several points near each superpower's testing grounds, along with on-site inspection teams to investigate any disputes. The six leaders, who issued their statement at the end of a two-day conference in Ixtapa, Mexico, also spoke out against anti-satellite weapons.

The six countries first joined together in 1985, as part of the Five Continent Peace Initiative. They were organized by Parliamentarians Global Action, an association of more than 600 legislators from over 36 countries. The six countries,



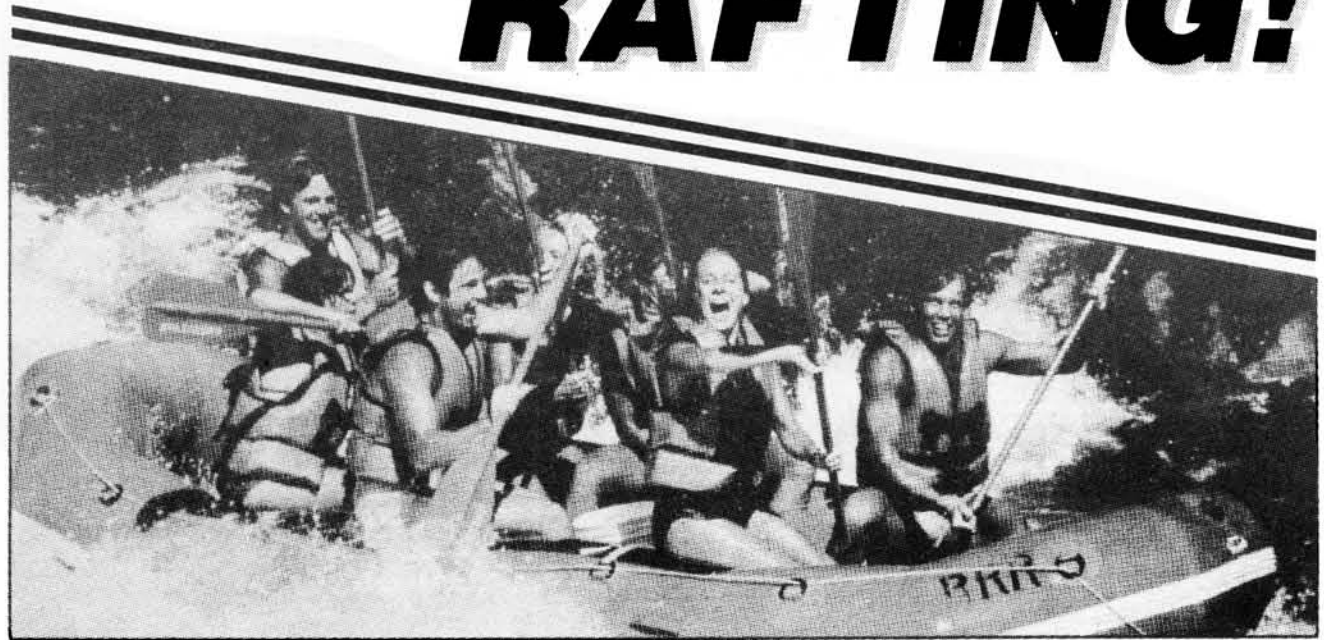
JORDAN WOLFSON

working through Global Action, commissioned a group of scientists to develop the nuclear testing verification plan.

One of the leaders, Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu, called the halting of all nuclear tests the "first step toward a subsequent conclusion of a comprehensive test ban treaty."

The Soviet Union, which has not exploded a nuclear weapon for more than a year, extended its unilateral moratorium to January 1, 1987. After that date, the Soviets have said that they will continue their moratorium if the United States will join them. The Soviet moratorium would have ended last August 6.

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Confronting The Ultimate Technology

by Peter Lumsdaine

Whether through the mindlessly automatic logic and momentum of technological development, or through the conscious use of new technology for goals as old as the Roman Empire, we are approaching an unprecedented turning point.

With the beginning of agriculture and civilization some eight or ten thousand years ago, more and more human societies began to dramatically depart from the sustaining patterns of hunter-gatherer culture which characterized over 95 percent of humanity's time on the Earth. During the past 80 centuries domestication and civilization have profoundly altered human society, along with the lives of those creatures we domesticated

or made captives, and the Earth's natural ecosystems, at an accelerating rate. These changes occurred largely through the ideology and methods of technological progress. Peoples choosing not to depart from their ancient ways of life have been steadily displaced, surrounded, subjugated and exterminated by more "advanced" societies, a process which is now nearing completion. Ironically, for almost all of this time civilization provided no overall improvement (indeed quite the opposite) in human health, life expectancy, freedom, or leisure time, until the social uprisings and medical advances of the last two or three hundred years. The 19th and 20th centuries, however, have also brought a massive escalation in destructive exploitation of the natural environment.

Finally, even the most violent pre-agricultural societies ever reported (by European anthropologists and colonizers) could barely match the inter-human killing rate of modern Europe, the pinnacle of civilization and advanced culture. But the violence of this century's first 86 years appears more and more likely to be only a minimal preview of the future.

The relentless drive for ever greater power over nature and ever larger bureaucracies of social control has been historically inseparable from the development of economic elites, nation states, police states, empires, and the persistently recurring patterns of organized official violence which we call war. Despite some previous "false alarms," it is by now quite clear that the intensifying manipulation of Nature, the pervasively expanding size

and complexity of socioeconomic power structures, and the vastly increased destructive capacity which the ruling elites can command are moving us all toward a rapidly approaching crisis point . . . the top of the exponential curve, "the outside of the envelope," as fighter pilots say.

Industrial, technological, transportation and telecommunications breakthroughs have pulled the old tribes, kingdoms and nation states into a global technocratic economy with the few remaining independent communities and cultures being annihilated or marginalized, generally into the masses of destitute Third World poor at the bottom of global society. Two great rival empires, the Western-based corporate-capitalist power structure and the Marxist-Leninist Soviet Bloc, each led by its own nuclear super-state, maneuver for world dominance or at least stable spheres of influence as they busily wire the planet's surface to explode on command.

Meanwhile the rainforests and piñon mesas, wildlife and native peoples reluctantly recede or crumble before the resource extraction projects of the techno-industrial complex; the strains on the natural life support systems build up as the topsoils are steadily destroyed, as the atmospheric and water cycles are disrupted, as the chemical and radioactive toxins accumulate and gradually seep into the biosphere. The air conditioned jetliners and computerized spacecraft of the developed nations soar over the heads of the dispossessed poor majority, including a billion or so desperate people in "absolute poverty" (World Bank phrase), the starving serfs of what Zbigniew Brzezinski calls the Technetronic Age. With the titanium cornucopia continuing to churn out Sony Walkmans, Gortex backpacks and Mark 21 warheads at almost full throttle, the Third World is pressed deeper into unpayable debt, austerity, and social turmoil.

Against this background the bulk of the United States' ruling elite (Democratic and Republican, civilian and military, corporate and governmental) are engaged in a reckless low-profile bid to regain strategic dominance over the resources of an increasingly unpredictable, uncontrollable, and restless world, through development of a nuclear first-strike capability. While the Soviet power brokers are willing to prudently settle for an approximately equal and limited imperial/superpower status, accept the nuclear stalemate and end the escalating arms race, this is anathema to the corporate Manifest Destiny of the U.S. upper class.

Threats to launch a nuclear attack on the Soviet Union if it directly or indirectly challenges future U.S. military intervention in key Third World regions, previously made in the 1940s and '50s, will be credible only if such an attack can wipe out the retaliatory nuclear deterrent forces of the U.S.S.R. (their reinforced silo-sheltered ICBMs and mobile missiles, along with their already vulner-



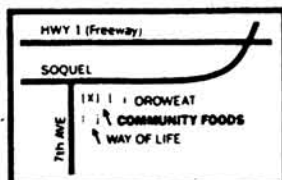
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Technology

continued from page 17

mind-set as we are. All of the weapons were built, including chemical and biological weapons, because it is a fundamental trait of technological consciousness to constantly expand, always providing us with new things ready for use. President Reagan's enthusiasm for Star Wars weaponry is a perfect expression of our national mania for new technologies; and, more pointedly, new technologies as the answer to our problems. Often, it is a result of limited funding when weapon systems are put on back burners; though technological consciousness knows no limits to developing everything, a limit is reached when the old-fashioned reality of a budget can only fund so much. Arms control treaties have also done their share in holding back the tide, but we can be sure that technological consciousness has not been asleep in the meantime; that new weapons are on the drawing board is nothing surprising.

We can begin to see then how technological consciousness, given free reign with education, industry, the military, government, has simply continued to produce bigger and better systems of destruction. Technological consciousness, as the obsession it has become, knows no self-restraint. Today, Star Wars is the new sales pitch, promoted as the answer to our international disparities, whereas yesterday, nuclear weapons were considered the answer. By now, this



should begin to sound like the same old story—we are being sold at great cost a new bill of technological goods. Not only will nothing have changed, to solve our disparities, but the planet will only be caught that much more in a dangerous technological web, spread across space. If the proliferation of nuclear weapons is out of control, then we can be sure Star Wars will also get out of control.

The situation in which we find ourselves today presents this curious picture: all this time while the superpowers have been arming themselves to the teeth in defense against "our adversaries" or "Satan's Empire," a new superpower has arisen in the world, dominating all—Technos. And the curious twist is that Technos comes to us not as an enemy but as a friend, a friend promising us greater security, comfort, convenience, productivity, mobility, efficiency, a longer and healthier life, and always more and more newer and better products. We can be sure, though, that unless we put limits on Technos, the day is drawing nearer when we will either be destroyed or be constrained to think and act only as Technos dictates. It is not my intention to depict Technos as the new enemy, only to show that if Technos is to be our friend, and not a harbinger of death or a towering Big Brother, then we had better develop a more conscious and sophisticated relationship to it. To balance the one-track mind of Technos, another perspective, another kind of consciousness is desperately needed.

Ronald A. Lampi is the Poetry and Hot Flashes Editor of The Monthly Planet.

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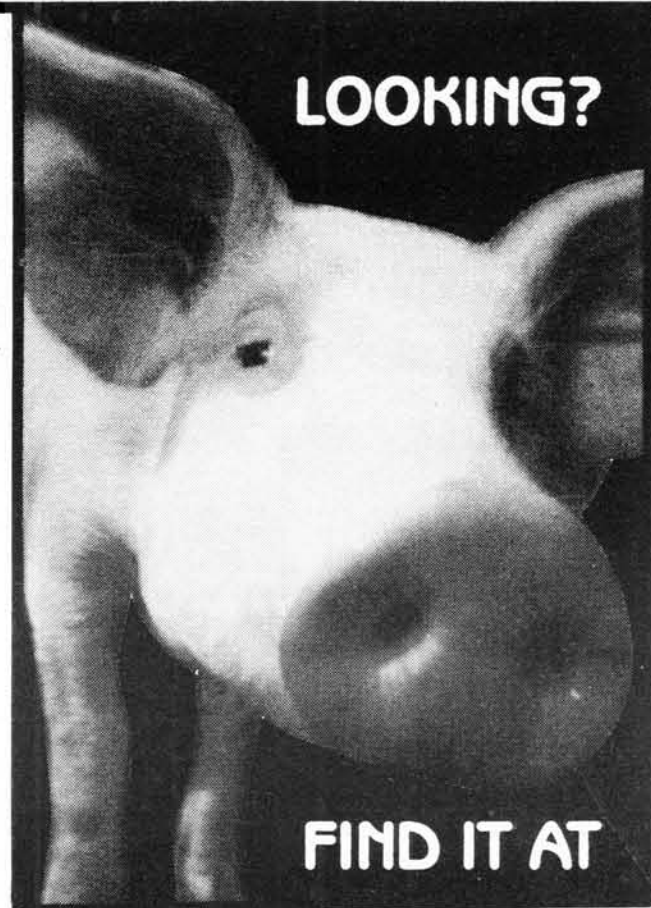
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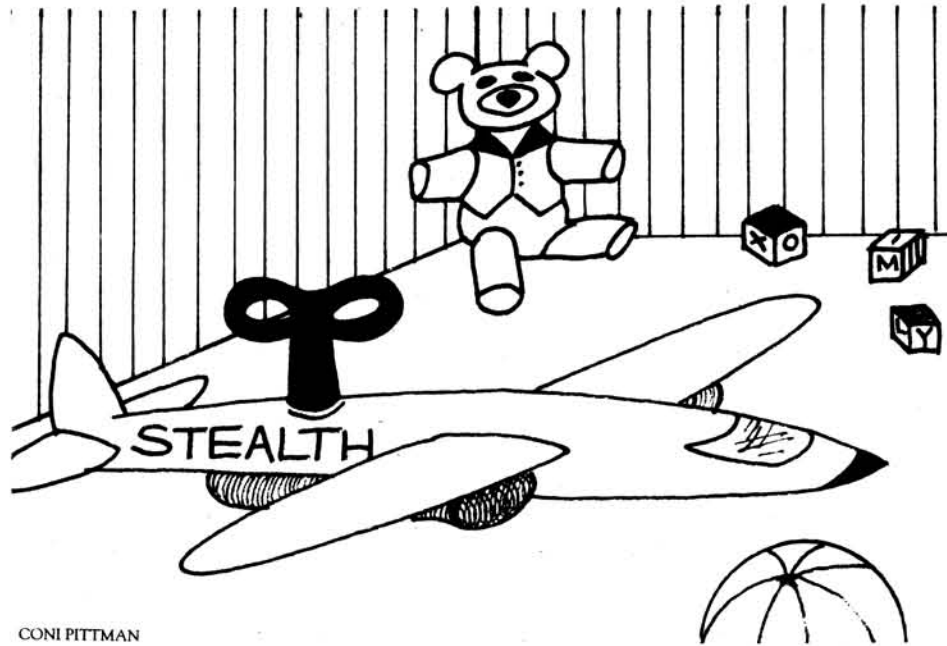
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New And Improved

In yet another attempt to convince its critics that it is doing all it can to curb massive fraud in the military contractor industry, the Pentagon has announced a new plan to deal with wrongdoers. The plan makes it slightly more attractive for companies to turn themselves in if they have defrauded the government. Any contractor who admits to wrongdoing, backed by "full cooperation" with investigators, will not necessarily be subject to a cutoff from future bidding on Pentagon contracts. Under the old policy, the Pentagon would have routinely suspended any contractor indicted or convicted of overcharging.

The new plan was introduced to 87 of the largest military contractors by a letter from Deputy Defense Secretary William Taft 4th. In his letter, Taft said: "I believe that your corporate commitment to complete timely disclosures of irregularities is essential to increasing confidence in our ability to provide for the national defense effectively and efficiently."



CONI PITTMAN

A Bomber Is Not A Toy

Sometime in late July, it was discovered that the Lockheed Corporation's plant in Burbank, California, "misplaced" 1400 classified documents. The Burbank plant is reportedly working on the Stealth Bomber, a project so secret that the Pentagon will not admit it exists. The only detail of the case that Pentagon officials and the House Subcommittee on Investigations and Oversight can agree on is that no one knows who might have seen those documents.

One of those who might have perused the documents, which include blueprints, may be a toy manufacturer. It seems that a toy version of the Stealth Bomber is now being marketed, complete with a box that lists the plane's characteristics.



SHAWNA HARVEY

The Plane Truth

The Lockheed Corporation has overcharged the government by as much as half a billion dollars, according to Pentagon auditors investigating the contract on the C-5B military transport plane. According to the government, which signed an \$8 billion contract in 1982 to buy the planes, Lockheed saved a bundle on its labor costs—but did not tell the Pentagon. It seems that as Lockheed was negotiating with the Pentagon for the C-5B, it was also negotiating with its workers, who voted for a two-tier pay system. The system paid new workers less than those already hired, thus saving Lockheed hundreds of millions of dollars. Or, according to the Air Force, Lockheed's actual labor costs were "far different and lower than the direct labor rates included in Lockheed's proposal for the C-5B."

Lockheed's chairperson, Lawrence Kitchen, described the government's charges against his company as "totally lacking in merit." He also said that Lockheed's proposal for the C-5B contained "complete, current and accurate pricing data." The C-5B's predecessor, also made by Lockheed and named the C-5A, became famous for having a coffee maker costing several thousand dollars.

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Lou Schwartz
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No, because I don't think the leaders of this world who have atom bombs are that stupid. But I don't know what would happen if someone like Qaddafi had the bomb, because he might use it.



Micah Robinson
Student
Santa Cruz

I think that if we could all get along better and talk with each other instead of making war, we could prevent nuclear conflict.



Mrs. Margaret Matthews
Retired
Menlo Park

No, I don't. I think that God has his hand over us a little bit more, and if somebody wants to push the button, someone will stop it. I believe there is enough faith and love in the world to control it.

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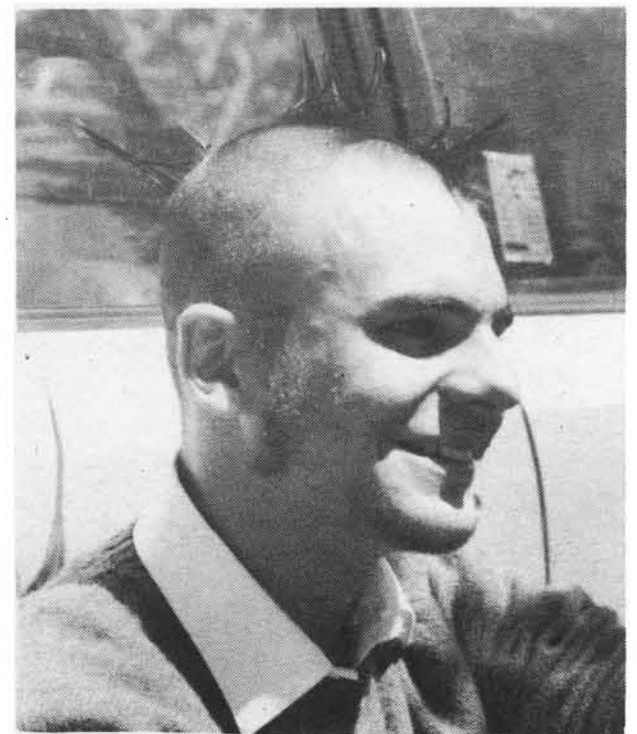
Jeffrey Lotus Heart
Musician/Healer
Bay Area

I feel the way we are going right now it is, because 60 percent of our economy is based on the manufacture, distribution, and deployment of the armaments of death; so either through mechanical failure, human error or ego, it is inevitable.



Kimberley O'Brien
Student
Santa Cruz

I think that nuclear war is inevitable unless people start treating each other with respect, looking each other in the eyes and being honest. This means not taking your insecurities out on other people and being responsible for yourself.



Bernard Bo
Student
Watsonville

Yes, I think it is right now. It seems like people are really screwed up and we have a screwed up government, and even if we get new people in the government they are still going to be screwed up and not take steps toward world peace.

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A BORDERLINE INCIDENT

Near the border, in old Juarez,
Way down in Mexico,
Across the sparkling Rio Grande;
Not far from the town of El Paso,
A story strange but true took place,
Involving the N.R.C.,
Some thieves, a Cancer Treatment Machine,
And eventually you and me.
The Picker Company of Cleveland Ohio,
From sentiments benign,
Sold for profit a wonderful box,
With a flaw in its design.
It was bought by the Methodist Hospital
Down in Lubbock Texas;
Filled with Cobalt-60 pellets,
The kind that give off X's.
But learning two thousand dollars were needed
To keep the machine in order,
They sold it to an X-ray broker,
Down south of the Mexican border.
What happened next is a bit unclear—
El Centro Medico bought
The device but lack of a therapist
Kept it from reaching the spot.
And there it sat in a storage-shed
Until, with a pick-up truck,
Some locals managed to steal it away,
Blessing their excellent luck.
So off to the nearest scrap-metal yard,
Where a hasty operation
Released six thousand tiny pellets
And some Gamma radiation.
From there the iron was carted off
To a foundry in Chihuahua,
Then melted down to rods of steel
For homes in Arizona.

Then a truckload of the radiant rods,
On the sixteenth of January,
Took a wrong turn in New Mexico,
At Los Alamos Laboratory—
Which just by chance set off an alarm,
From excessive radiation,
And that's how authorities finally learned
We are building an X-rated nation.
A hasty investigation ensued,
Which ultimately showed
The event took place on December sixth,
From the way the paperwork glowed.
So a thousand clients, in fifty states,
To the shame of Smith Pipe and Steel,
Learned that "Home Sweet Home" was built
With a poison no one could feel.
But then, as if that wasn't enough,
A multitude of places
Gave free X-rays while people ate,
From the restaurant table bases.
And the truck (Remember the pick-up truck)
Was noticed by chance one day,
With a geiger-counter in America,
About a mile away.
The police, it seems, kept the truck
Parked there as evidence,
Where on the hour it emitted
A hundred roentgens.
Children played within the bed,
And sat upon its hood,
So hundreds of them will surely die
In that poor neighborhood.
Not far from the town of El Paso Texas,
In Mexico's care-free land,
A pick-up truck is glowing still,
Across the sparkling Rio Grande.

Jeffrey Armstrong



NIGHT SOUNDS

Jeffrey is only two
and wakes up crying
every night. We try
never to mention it
in his presence but
he hears. He was born
screaming.

Jeffrey is five, and he
cries, "It is coming, and
it will take you away.
Then how will I find you?
You are lost, Mommy,
and everyone is
crying."

Jeffrey is nine, and sobs,
"I had a nightmare,
Mom, about the bomb.
Even whales are not safe.
If there is a God, why
is he so silent? All
I can hear are the sounds
of everything
crashing."

Jeff is sixteen, with
hair like an explosion,
a safety pin in each
ear, and long fingernails,
bloodred. "I am a
mutant," he says. "I am
adrenaline terror
chaos panic. It
doesn't even have
to drop, it's already
exploding."

Brittle and insistent,
he moans, yells, shouts out
machine-like amidst a
chaos of instruments
pushed beyond their limits
screaming out in protest,
and I wake up, crying,
"What is it?" "Go back to
sleep," Michael says. "It
is only our son.
Practising."

Nancy Gauquier

Poetry submissions are now being accepted for Planet Poetry. Poems must be typed, double spaced, and sent to the poetry editor at *The Monthly Planet* address. Enclose a SASE if you wish to have your poem returned.

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Greenpeace Opens Store In Santa Cruz

by David Michael Troutman

Greenpeace, an organization with 600,000 members in the United States and 2,000,000 abroad, has now expanded its presence here in Santa Cruz. The fifth official Greenpeace store, the first on the West Coast, has opened its doors downtown on the Pacific Garden Mall.

The objective of the new store, located at 1012½ Pacific Avenue (across from the Catalyst), is simple: to use merchandise as a vehicle for public awareness as well as fundraising. The politically conscious shopper can choose from a vast array of products, many made locally. Every available space is filled with ceramics, albums, books, shirts, candles, stuffed animals, posters, jewelry, kites, crystals, stickers, buttons, cards, inflatables, mobiles, towels, wind-socks, and much more.

educational value, according to manager

Diana Desnoyers. In the past, Greenpeace stores have done better than average retail stores. "People like to buy from Greenpeace," Diana explained. "The buyer is appreciated as a person and not just a shopper."

Santa Cruz was chosen because it is close to San Francisco, the main campaign area, and because the community has a reputation of being politically aware. The store was built entirely by volunteers in time for the summer season.

Diana is one of 200 paid Greenpeace USA staff members. She is a veteran of nine months service on the 44-foot *Alcyon*, one of two vessels in last year's campaign against toxic and nuclear waste pollutants. The *Alcyon* took direct actions against major refineries along the West Coast, arousing public controversy over federal regulation violations and unpaid fines. Diana piloted zodiacs for the divers who plugged waste outlets at

the El Segundo Chevron plant, and at Chevron's "dam" at Richmond, near San Francisco. The group then sailed up the Columbia River, stopping at refineries along the way and stirring up public interest and media coverage.

"The main key to the problem is recycling," Diana says in the calm atmosphere of her new role. "Pollutants are guaranteed by high-technology; recycling methods in many areas have not been modernized to meet federal regulations. Some rivers have nearly 100% recycling, and it works very well." Apparently, so does direct action; the Chevron plant in Vancouver, Washington, was shut down as a result of the Greenpeace waste campaign.

Concerned consumers can take direct action themselves by supporting Greenpeace and their continued efforts to protect our environment from thoughtless degradation.



DAVID MICHAEL TROUTMAN

The fifth Greenpeace store in the country is now open for business on Pacific Avenue in Santa Cruz. Diana Desnoyers, a veteran of last year's campaign against toxic waste, is manager of the new outlet.

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Deterrence: Catch-22 Of The Arms Race

by Robert C. Aldridge

Meaning is as perceived and that is the case with deterrence. The standard definition — to dissuade undesired behavior through fear — is clear, but misperception comes when applying it to policy. While seeming defensive, deterrence actually spurs the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Nuclear deterrence was born at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Historians agree that President Truman authorized those bombings to deter the Soviets from overrunning Europe and Asia after World War II. Deterrence then involved a handful of bombs and the U.S. monopoly left no fear of retaliation.

MASSIVE RETALIATION

By 1953 the Soviets had obtained both the atom and hydrogen bombs and a stronger deterrent threat was needed. John Foster Dulles promulgated the concept of *massive retaliation* in 1954. The message to Moscow was: "If you attack us, we'll devastate your cities and industry." Because this policy was publicly perceived to prevent nuclear war, the morality and legality of indiscriminately killing millions of innocent civilians was not seriously challenged. Bombers were then the only nuclear delivery vehicles and retaliation would take hours. Nevertheless, the nuclear stockpiles of both superpowers continued to swell.

Many Americans still equate massive retaliation to deterrence but that concept has faded into history. Significant shifts to a multiplicity of deterrent schemes has taken

place. During the 1960s, the ballistic missile became a nuclear delivery vehicle and re-attack time was cut to 30 minutes. As missiles became more accurate, and plentiful, missile silos and command posts found their place on the strategic targeting list.

SELECTIVITY AND FLEXIBILITY

To obtain funding for increased accuracy, however, Defense Secretary James Schlesinger introduced in 1974 the targeting doctrine of *selectivity and flexibility*.

is very sensitive to such a threat because it puts 75-80 percent of the Soviet strategic nuclear bombs at risk. During a time of severe crisis this unstable condition might cause Kremlin decision-makers to use their missiles before they lose them.

SECOND STRIKE COUNTERFORCE

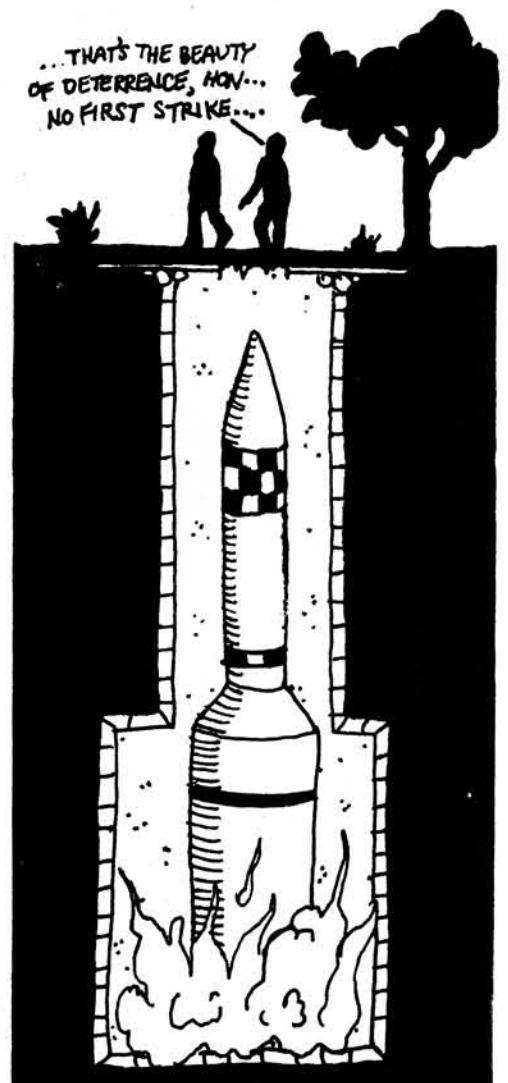
As public debate on this destabilizing trend continued, a new public definition of deterrence was set forth. It is called *second*

To abolish the nuclear menace we must once and for all abandon the notion that nuclear weapons provide security from nuclear war.

Massive retaliation was announced as far too severe to credibly deter a limited attack. Retaliation in kind was needed. Selectivity and flexibility, with its promise of clean surgical strikes, was the public debut of limited nuclear war. Accuracy improvement programs progressed and the doctrine has now been codified by Presidential Directive 59 and implemented by the Reagan administration's "Five Year Defense Guidance Document."

Strategic weapons also benefited from accuracy improvements and these posed a threat to Soviet silo-based missiles. Moscow

strike counterforce and postulates a Soviet attack which destroys most of America's silo-based missiles, but holding back enough Soviet missiles to destroy U.S. cities if the United States retaliates. To deter such an attack, the theory continues, U.S. forces must be able to destroy those remaining Russian missiles during retaliation. For this purpose silo-killing weapons are justified, but congressional studies demonstrate that a missile force large enough for second strike counterforce would inherently provide a first-strike capability. Meanwhile, deterrence deteriorates as instability grows.



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FLEXIBLE RESPONSE and FIRST USE

Flexible response, frequently referred to as multi-layered deterrence, calls for three escalatory responses to a conventional attack on Europe. The first would be with conventional weapons but the stockpile is limited and the supply line slow. After a few weeks it would be necessary to escalate to the second response — *first use* of tactical nuclear weapons in a limited fashion. Without first use there is no deterrence in Europe, claim high ranking military officials. But top generals have testified that limited nuclear war would quickly escalate to the third response — total thermonuclear exchanges between the superpowers. In the final sense, says General Bernard Rogers, Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, the third response, general nuclear war, is the ultimate guarantor of deterrence.

Flexible response led to NATO's nuclear modernization with Pershing-2 and ground-launched cruise missiles. By threatening decapitation of first echelon Soviet command and control centers, these weapons further destabilize the nuclear standoff and have led to increased Soviet submarine patrols off the U.S. coast to threaten decapitation of U.S. command and control.

LAUNCH ON WARNING

The quick flight time of decapitating missiles dictates a *launch on warning* capability. Assistant Defense Secretary Donald Latham told Congress last September that the President has the option to launch on warning. NORAD commander, General Herres, indicated that such a capability does exist. A launch on warning capability is supposed to deter a decapitating attack

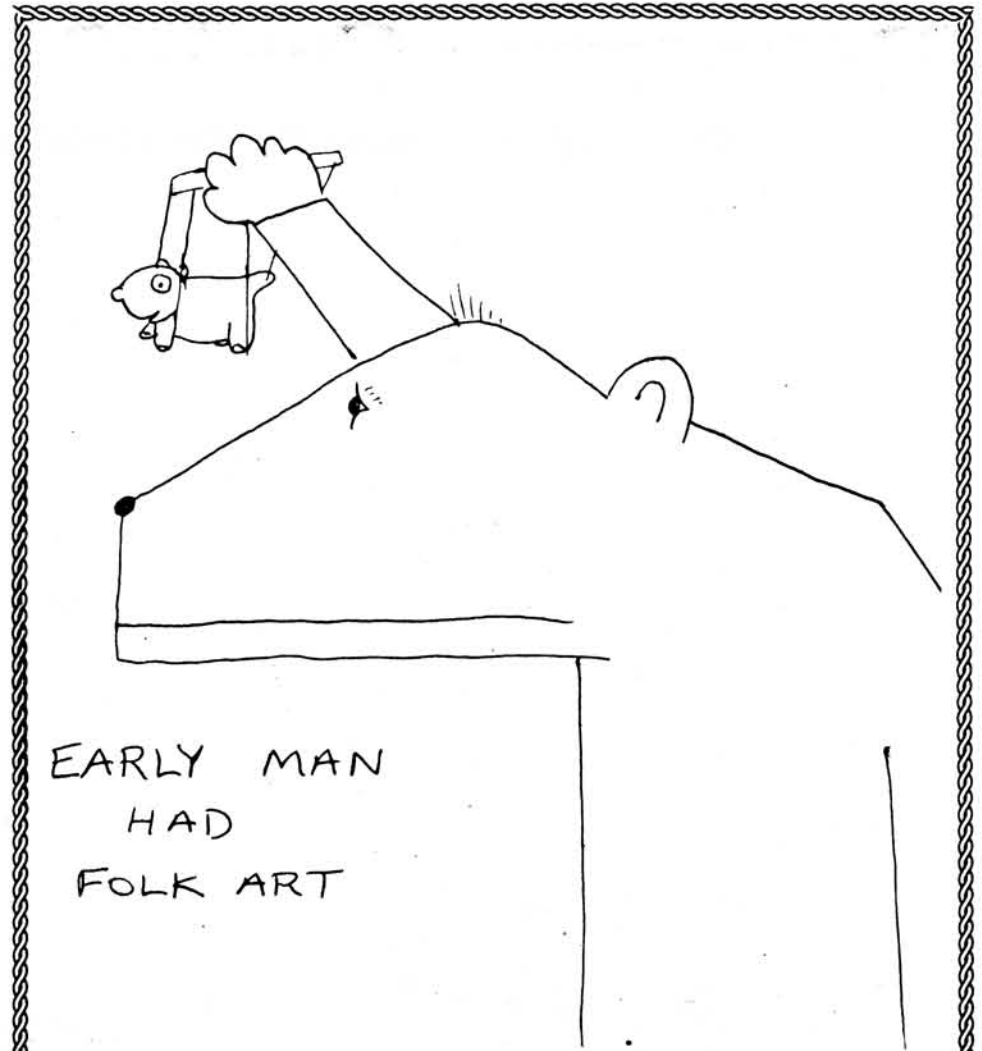
because it would diminish any advantage the opponent might hope to gain. It nevertheless is a very dangerous option. Submarine-launched missiles could reach targets in as little as six minutes and decisions under such pressure risks launching to a false alarm. Launch on warning could easily start World War III by accident.

FALSE SECURITY

Deterrence causes destabilization and possibility of accidental launches which contradict the purpose of deterrence. Deterrence lowers the threshold of nuclear war initiation. It stimulates the arms race because as nuclear warheads grow in numbers and complexity, *deterrent* weapons require modernization and the cycle begins anew. Deterrence is incompatible with arms reduction. To abolish the nuclear menace we must once and for all abandon the notion that nuclear weapons provide security from nuclear war.

Major church leaders have taken stands against the false concept of deterrence. Some waver, however, giving it temporary moral acceptance. The United Methodist Bishops, however, faced real life conditions in their recent pastoral letter: "The moral case for deterrence, even as an interim ethic, has been undermined by unrelenting arms escalation." The bishops denounce deterrence as "a position which cannot receive the church's blessing." The arms race will diminish when more people recognize that fact and exploit the many opportunities for nuclear arms reduction.

Robert C. Aldridge was a consultant to the National Council of Catholic Bishops' committee which drafted its pastoral letter entitled "The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response."



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Peace & Justice Calendar

Local Test Ban Resolutions

The Santa Cruz County Board of Supervisors and the Santa Cruz City Council will have an opportunity to endorse a U.S. nuclear testing moratorium. The Supervisors will consider a resolution in support of the House vote on September 9 at 9:00 am. Later that day, the City Council will vote on a similar resolution. Supporters of a nuclear test ban are urged to attend the City Council meeting to show that Santa Cruz citizens want an end to the nuclear arms race. Letters of support of the resolution are also in order and should be addressed to the Santa Cruz City Council, 809 Center St., Santa Cruz, 95060. For more information, contact the Nuclear Weapons Freeze at 458-9975.

All events listed are in Santa Cruz, unless otherwise noted.

Calendar items must be **typed, double spaced**, and sent (along with any photos) to *The Monthly Planet*, 320-G Cedar St., Santa Cruz, CA 95060. We must receive your listing no later than Monday, September 22, for inclusion in the October issue (publication date: Thursday, October 2).

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 3
Friends Meeting Vigil. 4:30-5:30 pm. Town Clock, Santa Cruz. Info: 427-2399.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. General Meeting. 7-9 pm. Trinity United Presbyterian Church Social Hall, Poplar and Melrose Streets. Program: Straight from Disar-

mament Talks in Geneva and Paris. Report from four members who attended WILPF's 23rd International Congress held in the Netherlands. Child care available upon prior request. Call: 423-3095 or 722-5691.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 6
Green Supper: Spaghetti dinner and entertainment (Leah Wood's "Emma Goldman" and Dan Faber on the ecology movement in Nicaragua). 5:30 pm, YWCA, Chestnut and Walnut. Sliding scale \$2.50-\$5. Sponsored by Coalition for Nicaragua and Santa Cruz Green Alliance. Info: 425-0452.

Memorial Service for Hugh De Lacy, carpenter, Congressman, writer, activist, friend, 1910-1986. 5 pm, Loudon Nelson Community Center, 301 Center Street. Info: 476-9088.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 9
Video Series: Whose Promised Land? A political tour of the land promised to two peoples. Israelis and Palestinians alternately describe their commitment to this land and divergent portraits (among each people as well as between them) for its future. A PBS documentary followed by discussion with Resource Center Middle East program staff Scott Kennedy and Deena Hurwitz. 7:30 pm, Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway. Info: 423-1626.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 10
Friends Meeting Vigil. See September 3.

Planning Meeting for Santa Cruz December 31st Committee. International events to be celebrated locally at the Santa Cruz Civic Auditorium on December 31, 1986: 4 am - Planetary Healing Meditation/Prayer, 4 pm - Celebration/Candle lighting, 5 pm - Planetary New Year Celebration. Meeting 7:30 pm, Aptos Library. Info: 458-1984, 662-0651, 335-7036.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 13
Film: Women - For America, For the World. Also four local women speaking and a debate or dialogue. Community Room at The Cross Roads in Carmel. 9:30 am-1pm. Info: 624-7494.

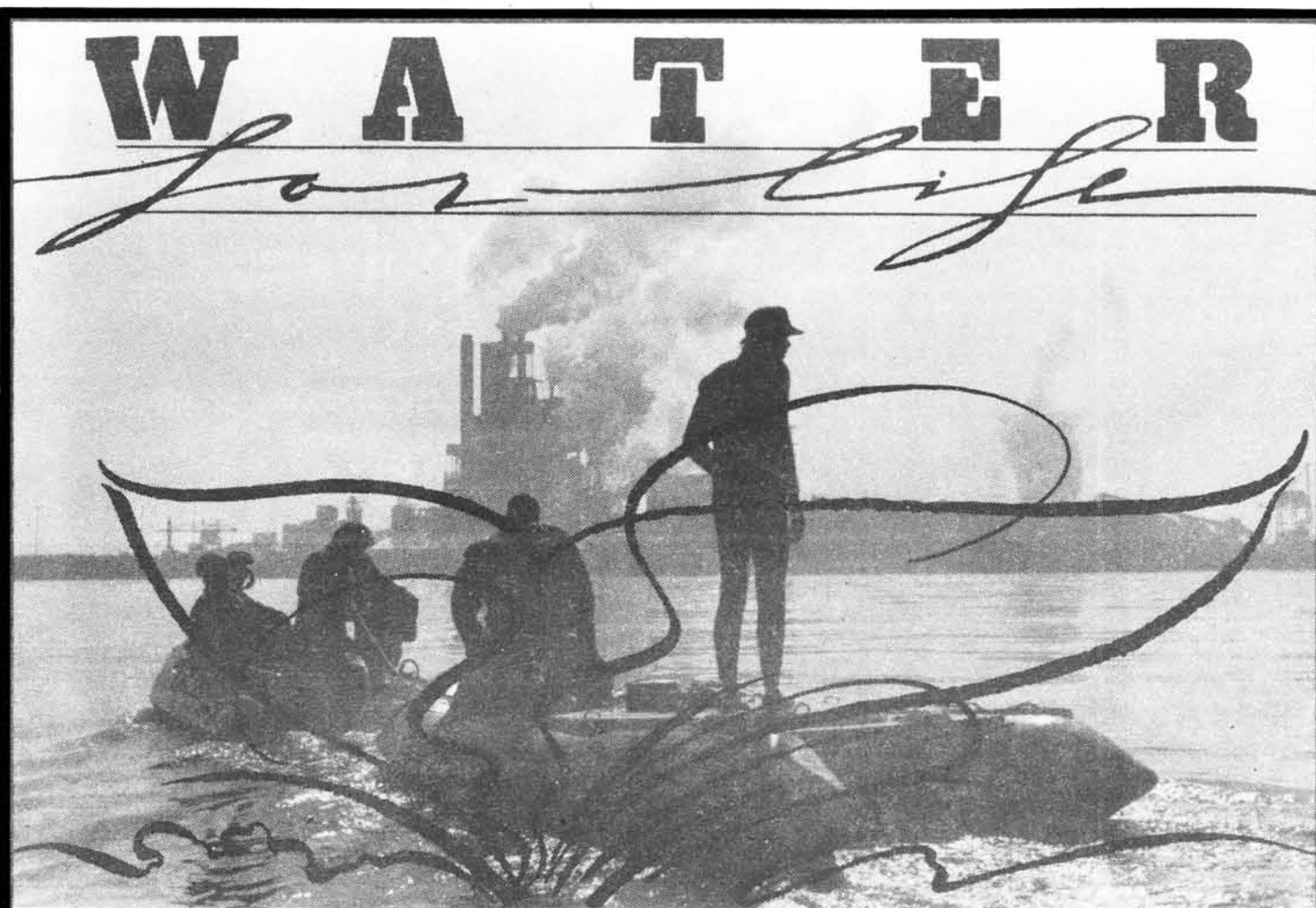
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 13 - SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 14
Annual Rummage and Bake Sale for the Resource Center for Nonviolence. Working appliances, children's toys, clothes, furniture and other choice items at 515 Broadway. 10 am-4 pm. Info: 423-1626.

National Weapons Facilities Strategy Conference (in San Francisco). This important national conference, sponsored by the Mobilization for Survival, will bring together organizers and activists from around the country to discuss and develop strategies for effectively confronting the military-industrial complex that drives the arms race. Info: 427-3939 or 429-8755.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 14
Junipero Serra Peace Pilgrimage. Begins 1:30 pm. San Carlos Cathedral, Monterey and travels to Carmel Mission. Public demonstration of U.S. Bishops' pastoral letter on war and peace.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16
Video Series: The Refusal. Depicting the life and death of Franz Jaegerstaetter, the heroic peasant beheaded August 9, 1943, for refusing to serve in Hitler's army. The story of a simple farmer whose total commitment to his Christian faith has brought him worldwide recognition. Filmed in St. Redegund, the village where Jaegerstaetter lived, and features comments and reminiscences of people who knew him at the time. 7:30 pm. Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway. Info: 423-1626.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 17
Friends Meeting Vigil. See September 3.



JAMES PEREZ

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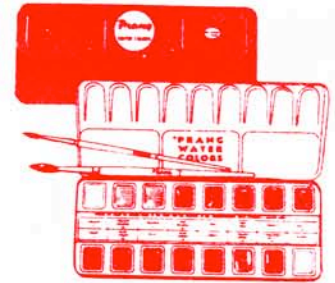
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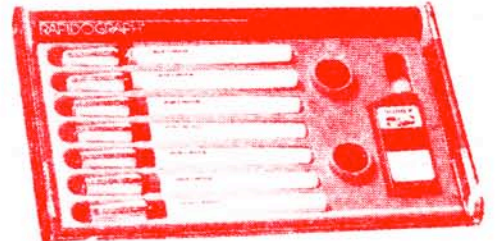
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