

November 1986

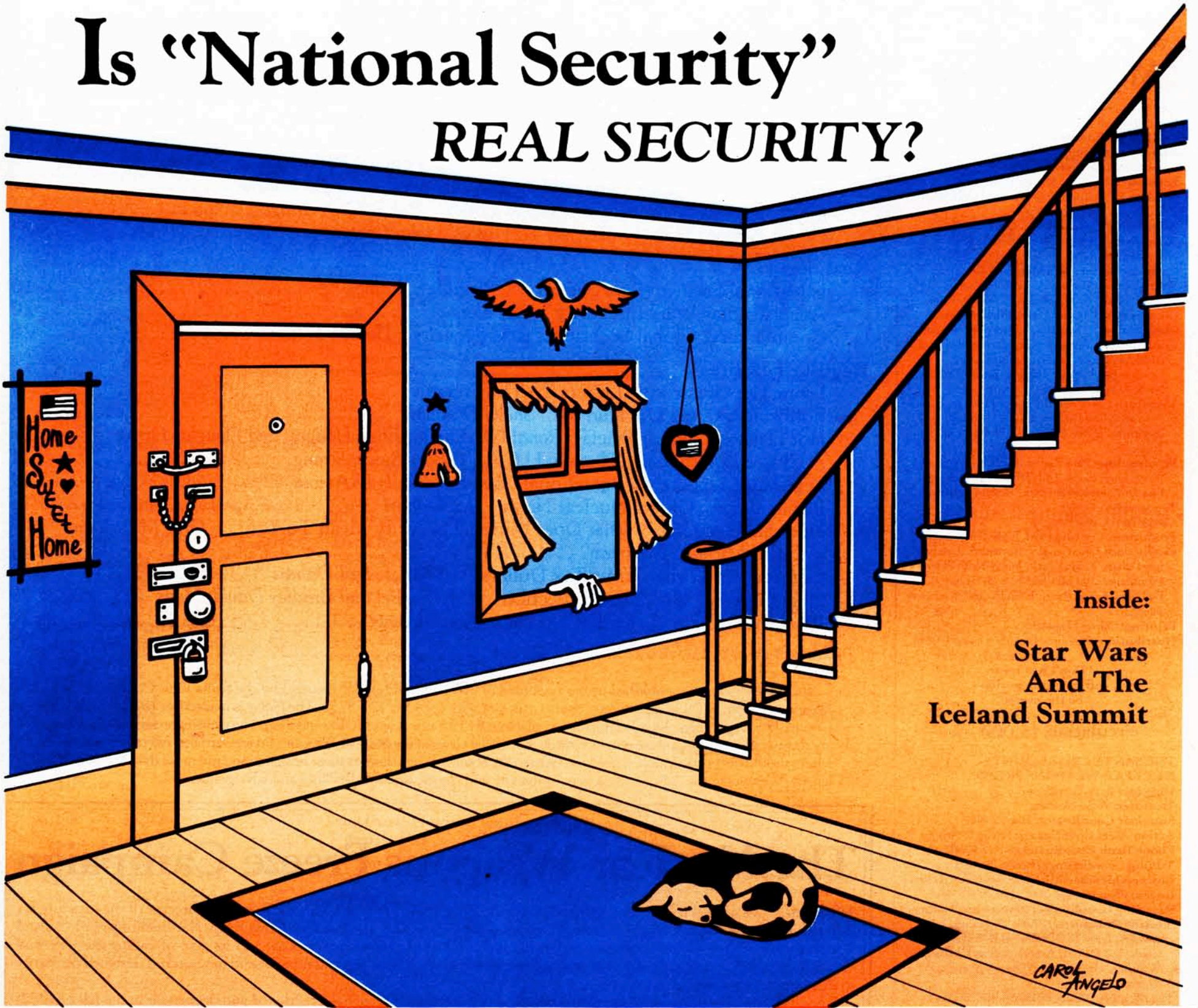
Volume 2, Number 10

The

MONTHLY PLANET

Is "National Security"

REAL SECURITY?



Inside:

Star Wars
And The
Iceland Summit

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THANKS TO PIZZA MY HEART

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



Contents

News and Commentary

Iceland Summit: Have We Missed Our Chance? Joe Palermo	6
Opinion: You Make The Difference On Nov. 4 Jacques Levy	10
The Unofficial Activists: East Germany Igal Dahari	12
Great Britain: Labor Challenged On Nuclear Policy Ricky Kelehar	19
Stop Trident II: Cape Canaveral Action Planned Peter Lumsdaine	21
Analysis: A Low Opinion On LOW Policy Robert C. Aldridge	22
Direct Action: How To Say No To Nukes John Longhurst	23

Real Security

Is National Security Real Security? Ronald A. Lampi	16
Analysis: Star Wars Insecurity Joe Palermo	20
Commentary: Global Security Is Real Security Gordon Feller	26

Regular Features

From The Grassroots: Letters To The Freeze	4
Editorial: Skating On Thin Ice Shelly D'Amour	5
Hot Flashes: Nuclear Briefs Ronald A. Lampi, Ellen Hodges, and Douglas Dirks	8
A Closer Look: Social Change, U.S.A., 1986 Susan Strong	11
Legislative Update: Congressional Cave-In Shelly D'Amour	14
Planet Watch: Global Nuclear News Igal Dahari	18
Nuclear Reactions: "What Does National Security Mean To You?" Greg Martin and David Michael Troutman	24
Contractors Corner: Your Tax Dollars At Work Igal Dahari	28
Planet Poetry: Words for Reflection Amy Trussel and Bradley David Neily	29
Peace And Justice Calendar: Upcoming Local Events	30

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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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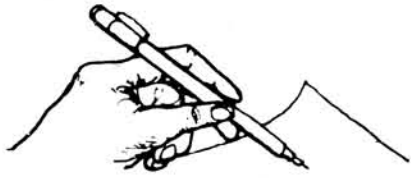
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From The Grassroots



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.

Adieu

Dear Freeze,

Thank you for your fine work and support of the cause. A special thank you to: Terry, Theresa, John and Gregg: whose words and work have kept me going.

To all of you who have thought of doing some peace work but just have not been able to get around to it—Nov. 8th is your golden

opportunity to help save this world. For if you don't do it who will??

After twenty years in and out of Santa Cruz I find myself leaving once again. I shall return, that is inevitable. For we all do! In the meantime I bid Adieu to all those I have come to know and love, and not love. May you all walk or roll in peace.

*Stephane Christophe Joyet
Santa Cruz*

News From England

Dear Freeze,

I enclose a news article that I have just written concerning statements made by Defense Secretary, Mr. Caspar Weinberger, and his assistant, Mr. Richard Perle, on British TV over this last weekend (28-29 Sept). Their remarks, which are now causing some controversy in both Washington and London, relate to their individual doubts about the British Labor Party's nuclear disar-

mament policies. Although the administration is seeking to distance itself from the remarks broadcast this weekend, the signs are that the White House is beginning a campaign to discredit Labor's leftist policies which it fears could be implemented should Labor win the forthcoming general election. The article contains a number of extensive quotes from the programs themselves, and from Labor leaders responding to the criticisms.

I trust that you will inform me should you publish this article. I would be happy to supply articles of interest to your domestic readership on a regular basis should you require me to do so. Maybe you could suggest an alternative speedier and more efficient way to communicate my material.

*Yours Sincerely,
Ricky Kelehar
Hertfordshire, England*

Editor's Note: Thank you for your letter and article. See this issue's Planet Watch section for the story.

Ultimate Responsibility

Dear Freeze,

The collapse of the summit meeting in Iceland is a betrayal of our international community, robbing us of the hope that harmony between the East and West could become a reality. There were a number of significant moves in this chess game of nuclear madness. Among Gorbachev's moves to rid the world of nuclear destruction were acceptance of "zero options," a U.S. proposal to remove all medium range nuclear weapons from Europe, plus a 50 percent cut in strategic weapons, both missiles and warheads. In addition, there was indication that the Soviet Union was willing to accept on-site verification. And Reagan also made his moves. He, too, accepted the "zero option" U.S. proposal and accepted the 50 percent cut in strategic weapons.

And the unforgiveable happened! The U.S.S.R., in making the above concessions, asked the U.S. to honor its commitment to the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. This treaty, in Article 5, confines the development of space-based defense systems to research only. The treaty states that no space weapon could be developed, tested, or deployed. Since the provisions of this treaty directly affect the continuation of testing for "Star Wars," President Reagan said that this was "not negotiable." A profound statement in one of our local papers sums up the implication of the disappointing ending to the summit meeting. "Gorbachev came asking only one thing; that America keep its word, that we continue to respect a treaty we have signed. Reagan declined, and for that he must bear all responsibility."

We must not allow one man, with his fantasy of Star Wars, to control the fate of our one and only Mother Earth. Reagan indeed must bear the responsibility for stalemating the move toward a sane nuclear policy. But, all of us have the ultimate responsibility to announce our outrage to the President in the White House; to demand that the U.S. honor the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty; to let our Congress know that they, too, carry the responsibility to prevent further escalation of nuclear arms.

*Ruth Hunter
Santa Cruz*

Thanks For The Help

Dear Freeze,

Thank you for your help in promoting the Santa Cruz Action Network's recent benefit by the San Francisco Mime Troupe. Running a photograph of the Troupers, and listing the event in the Peace and Social Justice calendar, certainly helped to get out the word. Thanks for all your hard work.

*Sincerely,
Glen Schaller
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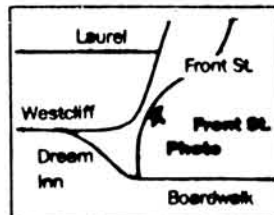


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Skating On Thin Ice

by Shelly D'Amour

It was not a surprise that President Reagan walked away from the Reykjavik summit without an arms control agreement, but it was a bitter disappointment. Up until Sunday afternoon it looked as if there might actually be an agreement that would significantly alter the direction of the arms race. In two days time, President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev came up with proposals that their negotiators in Geneva have not even come close to in years — the total elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe, and a 50 percent reduction in land- and sea-based missiles and in weapons delivery systems. It all fell apart over the president's unwillingness to make any significant concessions over the Star Wars program. The Soviets proposed to extend the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (which forbids the development of space-based systems) for another ten years, and restrict Star Wars research to the laboratory. The rationale was that the ten-year extension would cover the period necessary for the abolishment of strategic weapons, thus eliminating the need for the Star Wars system. Administration officials rejected the Soviet proposal, and offered instead to delay deployment of Star Wars for ten years, as long as the United States could engage in unrestricted research, development and testing of the system. Gorbachev responded, "only a madman would agree to such a thing."

Ever since Ronald Reagan became president, and long before, he has taken every opportunity to demonstrate his contempt for the Soviet Union. His commitment to a cold-war mentality never wavered, as evidenced by his repeated characterization of the Soviet Union as the "focus of evil in the modern world." Reagan has never supported any arms control treaty that the United States has entered into. He has surrounded himself with "arms control" advisors who are virulently anti-arms control. He has unilaterally announced his decision to break the SALT II treaty. He has agreed to a series of summit meetings with Gorbachev only after great pressure, and repeatedly stated that no one should expect agreements to come out of them.

In the days following Reykjavik, the only thing that speaks louder than Ronald Reagan's record is the silence of Congress. Just prior to the summit, Congress had in its grasp the most meaningful and far-reaching arms control measures it has ever passed: most notably, a mandatory one-year ban on nuclear weapons testing and a cutoff of funds for weapons that exceed the limits of the SALT II treaty. They threw it all away on the chance that Ronald Reagan, a man who had never shown the slightest genuine leanings toward nuclear weapons reductions, would come back from Iceland with a major agreement. They had the option of putting their arms control measures on hold until Reagan returned from Iceland, at which time they would have been able to assess the situation and make a decision. Once again, as so many times before, Congress was reluctant to "tie the president's hands" by imposing its agenda, leaving all the folks who work so hard on these issues out in the cold. The scenario is reminiscent of the "Peanuts" comic strip in which Lucy and Charlie Brown engage in an annual ritual. Lucy promises to hold the football so that Charlie Brown can run up and kick it. Except, of course, that when he gets close enough to kick it, she pulls it away and Charlie Brown lands flat on his back. Every year Lucy promises that this time she really will hold it, and every year Charlie Brown ends up flat on his back. This is the game that goes on between Reagan and the Congress, and, all too often, between Congress and the American people. If there is any member of Congress who seriously believes that Ronald Reagan will come back with an arms control agreement, then we've got a bridge we'd like to sell them.

The Nuclear Weapons Freeze has been working here in Santa Cruz County, as well as nationally, to educate voters and their congressional representatives on nuclear weapons issues. We track congressional votes on key arms measures and call our representatives into account for their votes. But it's not enough for Freeze staff and steering committee to be doing this. This is EVERYBODY'S work. It is critical that

each person take a measure of responsibility. Call your congressperson's office. Find out the next time s/he will be in town and make an appointment for a visit. Ask about their voting records (we can help you with that). Become informed on the issues and share that with others. Volunteer at the Freeze office. Vote.

The nuclear arms race isn't going to go away by itself. Congress isn't going to suddenly become responsive unless we make them accountable. We are pleased here in the 16th district that Rep. Panetta has shown such fine leadership on arms control issues. By contrast, right next door in the 12th district, Rep. Ed Zschau's record has been abysmal. But we can change that. We have to.

When the 100th Congress convenes in January, we'll be there too — informing people, tracking votes, demanding accountability. Won't you join us?

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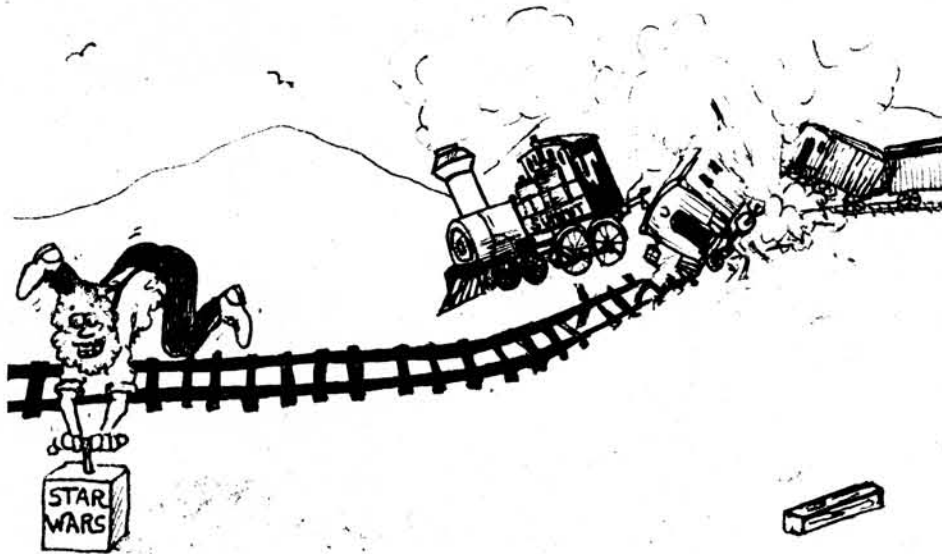
"we missed a historic chance, never have our positions been so close."

Star Wars Derails Iceland Summit

by Joe Palermo

After initial movements towards a tentative understanding on major arms control issues at Reykjavik, Iceland last month, talks between President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev went astray as a result of the U.S. determination to proceed with the Star Wars anti-ballistic missile system. During eleven hours of talks with Mr. Reagan, General Secretary Gorbachev could not persuade him to moderate his stand on Star Wars, and reportedly told the president: "we missed a historic chance, never have our positions been so close."

The Soviets put forth far-reaching arms control proposals, which included a global limit of 100 medium-range warheads for each side, breakthroughs in verification procedures for nuclear testing, and a dramatic 50 percent cut in strategic warheads. These proposals hinged on the willingness of the United States to agree to "strengthen" the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, which would limit Star Wars testing and development. The Soviets also sought to extend the withdrawal provision of the treaty, thereby preventing either side from abandoning it for a 15-year period. But the U.S. delegation argued that these Soviet requests warranted "an entirely



KAREN STACKPOLE


new agreement," rather than a "strengthening" of the existing one, and thus blocked Soviet efforts to negotiate a limit on Star Wars *within the framework* of the existing ABM Treaty. This eventually became the major stumbling block at the summit.

The Reagan administration would not soften its hard line on Star Wars, and the summit collapsed as a result. Gorbachev told the press shortly after his last meeting with Reagan that "only a madman

would accept" the American insistence that research and development of a space-based missile defense system be allowed to proceed under a broad agreement to reduce nuclear weapons. Reagan's response, which amounted to a charge that the Soviet proposals had been disingenuous, was that the United States needed Star Wars as "insurance" that the Soviets would comply with reductions in offensive weapons. In the aftermath of the summit, while Gorbachev

was publicly attributing the failure of the talks to the influence of the military-industrial complex in the United States, opinion polls showed that most Americans accepted Reagan's portrayal of the summit as a wonderful success in regard to global security.

Despite the claims of administration "experts" to the contrary, Star Wars research and development seem to violate both the *letter* and *spirit* of the 1972 ABM Treaty. Article V of the treaty explicitly bans the testing of ABM systems or their components in space, and most American officials who negotiated the treaty agree that Article V applies to the type of components the United States is now testing. The Reagan administration contends that Star Wars research does not violate the treaty, because its space experiments do not involve prohibited "tests" of "components." Rather, the administration maintains it is carrying out "experiments" with "devices." This purely semantic distinction was one of the reasons why the Soviets sought in Iceland to clarify and strengthen the treaty's articles, and offered such comprehensive proposals in exchange. But Star Wars has once again scuttled U.S.-Soviet moves towards arms control, and has blocked diplomacy at its most important level.



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The Plutonium Connection

Two plutonium processing plants at the Hanford Nuclear Reservation near Richland, Washington were ordered closed by the U.S. Department of Energy in early October because of safety violations. The Hanford shutdown is the first ever at a government-owned nuclear facility.

The Hanford reservation, which is operated by a division of Rockwell International for the DOE, is one of the main suppliers of weapons-grade plutonium. The shutdown of the facility's Plutonium Finishing and Plutonium-Uranium Extraction Plants was ordered after an incident on September 29 during which workers violated storage procedures. While transferring plutonium from one



storage tank to another, workers failed to close off a transfer line that could have allowed the mixing of a critical amount of plutonium in one place. There was no release of radioactivity, but the DOE ranked the violation as a 4 (on a scale of 1 to 5, 5 being most serious), according to the *Washington Post*. Energy Department records show that up to 24 similar, if less serious, violations occur at the plants each year.

Rockwell's Hanford operations have also been accused of lax security and accounting. Apparently some 20 pounds of plutonium are unaccounted for back in a six-month period of 1985. Rockwell officials claim the missing plutonium is coating pipes in the processing plants or is the result of accounting errors, but critics claim the lack of strict security may make it possible to smuggle plutonium out of the facility.

—DD

Star Wars Exchange

The physicists and engineers who are supposed to be designing the Star Wars system don't seem to be getting very far. At a recent conference in Berkeley, debate on the technical merits of the idea quickly gave way to insult-throwing, as reported in the *San Jose Mercury News*.

At the very beginning of the conference Lowell Woods, the director of the group working on Star Wars technology at the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, accused Defense Department consultant Richard Garwin of being responsible for the doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) which he said, "holds two countries hostage."

"It's a particular pleasure to oppose someone who has helped operate the

murderous, terrorist doctrine [of MAD]," Woods said.

Critics of the program protested that the idea wouldn't work, and that enormous sums of money were being wasted on a project without a concrete goal to work towards. As UC Berkeley Professor John Holdren noted: "You cannot spend \$4 billion a year wisely, and the result is that we now have a crash program with no specific goals. They still haven't decided whether we should defend silos or people, so how do you know which programs to fund?"

Other critics pointed out that money spent on Star Wars had to be taken from other important scientific projects. Vera Kistiakowsky, a physics professor from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, pointed out that some 7,000 scientists and graduate students have signed a pledge not to accept Star Wars contract money. "They [supporters] haven't been able to prove that it would work, so how can they justify all the money being spent?" she asked.

—DD

Just Say No

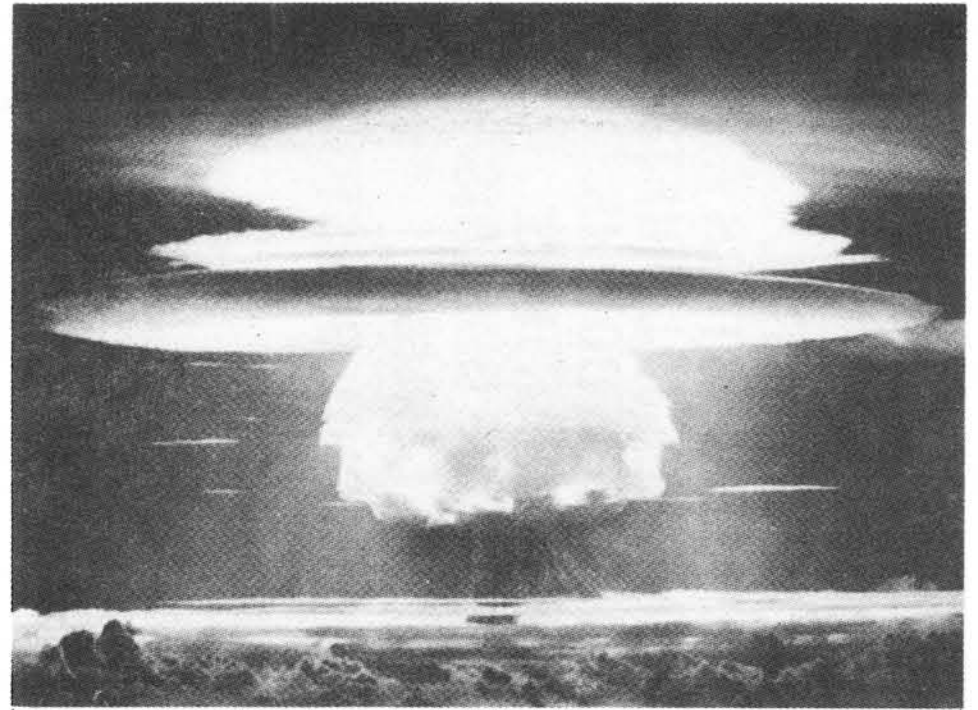
The Pentagon has discovered a new way to lure prospective high school graduates into the armed forces — the career guide. A 48-page, free career guide will be arriving in the mail at the homes of America's 3.1 million high school seniors this coming January. Articles will deal with the many aspects of choosing a career — setting goals, furthering one's education, finances, moving into new environments — but, interestingly, will not emphasize the military as a career choice. That will be accomplished by the advertising: all of the ads will be recruiting pitches for the various armed forces.

This will be the first time the Department of Defense Joint Recruiting Advertising Program has used this approach. Scholastic, Inc., publisher of books and magazines for the young and for teachers, will be bringing the career guide out as an example of their growth in the contract magazine field. The cost to the Defense Department will be under \$1 million.

—RL

FEMA Proposal Bombs

The Santa Cruz County Supervisors voted last month 3-1 to oppose a federal plan which would provide bomb shelters for local officials in the aftermath of a nuclear attack. One supervisor vociferously denounced the project, labeling it



Hot Flashes

by Ronald A. Lampi, Ellen Hodges, and Douglas Dirks

"bunkers for bureaucrats."

The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), which has submitted the proposal, wants local jurisdictions nationwide to prepare themselves for nuclear war. Traditionally, FEMA is involved only in dealing with natural disasters, such as hurricanes, earthquakes, winter floods, and mud slides.

Yet recently, the agency seems to be making some changes in its priorities. Instead of focusing on the prospect of natural disasters, FEMA has been vigorously funneling time, energy, and money into programs which emphasize ways to endure a nuclear war.

Santa Cruz County Supervisors Joe Cucchiara, Robley Levy and Gary Patton all assert they do not wish to plan for a nuclear war, and do not want any special treatment in the wake of an atomic attack. Supervisor E. Wayne Moore Jr., who abstained from voting on FEMA's proposal, said that "we shouldn't provide for a special class of citizens in the case of a nuclear attack or disaster."

Cucchiara, Levy and Patton sent a letter to the agency stating their opposition to the proposed shelters and encouraged FEMA to redirect its energy back to natural disaster assistance. According to Levy, FEMA should focus "on the kind of emergencies we have here winter after winter." And as Cucchiara said, "It's money down the drain."

—EH

Full Steam Ahead

Two of the most controversial nuclear power plants in the country have just overcome major stumbling blocks to their operations.

The builder of the Seabrook, New Hampshire plant received permission from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to begin loading fuel on October 17. Seabrook has been the focal point of some of the earliest and largest anti-



nuclear power demonstrations, and is now facing opposition from neighboring Massachusetts state officials. New Hampshire Yankee, the plant's owners, plan to put Seabrook into commercial operation in late spring.

In California, the Diablo Canyon Nuclear Plant, owned by Pacific Gas and Electric Company, was given final court approval to obtain an operating license after 21 years of legal challenges.

The Diablo plant gained notoriety when its blueprints were found to have been read upside down by builders, and when the NRC's top engineer found more than 100 safety violations after construction on the reactor was completed. The fact that the plant is just a few miles from an active earthquake fault has also hurt its image.

—EH

Base Invaders

Six peace activists were arrested on October 14 at the Department of Energy's Nevada test site when they tried to stop the underground test of a nuclear weapon by walking across the desert to ground zero.

Four of the protesters were arrested the day before the scheduled test. The other two separated and each made it to within one mile of ground zero before being picked up only moments before the scheduled time for the blast.

Said DOE spokesperson Dave Miller of the sixth protester, "He got close enough that we were concerned that if we fired he might get injured." The blast had a yield of between 20 and 150 kilotons, and registered 5.4 on the Richter scale at the National Earthquake Information center in Boulder, Colorado.

The six protesters were from the Rocky Mountain Peace Center, also based in Boulder, Colorado. Center spokesperson Steve Rohl said the group felt a "heightened sense of urgency" after the breakdown of the summit in Iceland, and took action to try to stop the October 16 test. According to Rohl, the test, code-named "Belmont," was the 22nd underground nuclear test conducted by the United States since the Soviet Union began its moratorium on testing on August 6, 1985.

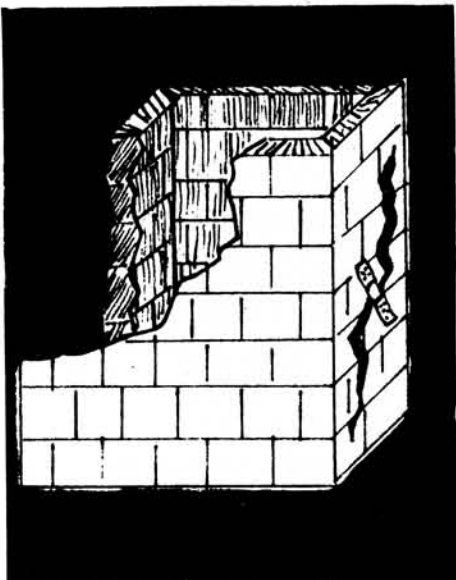
The protest followed by only two weeks another test at the Nevada Test Site, when 139 people were arrested, among them the co-president of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, astronomer Carl Sagan, and numerous members of the American Public Health Association.

—DD

Fine, Says NRC

On October 15, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission severely censured an Oklahoma uranium-processing plant for serious safety violations. The commission also ruled that the plant could resume processing uranium hexafluoride only under the direct supervision of outside experts. With these stipulations, the NRC effectively relegated its responsibility for nuclear regulation to individuals outside of the commission.

The company under scrutiny, Sequoyah Fuels, is a subsidiary of the Kerr-



ELLEN HODGES

McGee Corporation of Oklahoma City. The NRC fined the plant \$310,000 for safety infringements that resulted in an explosion and a worker's death last January; it also reprimanded Sequoyah Fuels for reaching Level 1, the highest of five violation levels.

According to Representative Edward J. Markey (D-MA), chairperson of the House Subcommittee on Energy Conservation and Power, which is responsible for overseeing nuclear safety, the fatal accident on January 4 was attributed to lax regulation standards and the penalty represented an attempt by the commission "to seal up the regulatory cracks." He also questions the NRC's decision to seek outside supervision, and is strongly concerned about its implications. "Clearly this call for an independent supervisory organization at Sequoyah Fuels is a concession that the commission and the licensee are ill-equipped to insure the safe operation of this facility, and this calls into question the regulation of all nuclear fuel facilities."

—EH



Nuclear Truck Stop

Yet another nuclear accident has occurred: this time twenty wooden crates containing low-level radioactive uranium plummeted to the bottom of Snake River near Twin Falls, Idaho, on October 13, after the truck carrying the cargo veered off a bridge. Sixteen tons of uranium rods remained intact inside the trailer.

In order to remove the crates from the watery depths, divers had to cut through the trailer. According to radiation experts, the radioactive material posed no immediate or future contamination threat to the environment.

But antinuclear groups adamantly disagree. "Anytime you're talking about something that is labeled a hazardous material, it's just that, a hazardous material," asserted Lisa Shultz of the Snake River Alliance in Boise. "If it weren't, it wouldn't be labeled."

The uranium, coming from Ohio, was destined for the Hanford Nuclear Reservation near Richland, Washington.

—EH



DIANNA MOLL

Accidental Disarmament

Another nuclear submarine has met its end at the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean. On October 7, the Soviets lost one of their Yankee-class submarines approximately 1,200 miles southeast of New York. Three days earlier an explosion had ripped through one of the submarine's nuclear missile launching tubes (as gathered by U.S. intelligence photos), starting a fire; three crew members were reported killed. It was thought by U.S. Navy sources that the explosion might have involved the liquid fuel, said to be extremely dangerous, used in propulsion of the missiles. The submarine carried 16 ballistic missiles, armed with two nuclear warheads apiece.

Soviet ships that had come to the crippled submarine's aid attempted to tug it but by the third day the remaining crew on board had to be quickly evacuated and the tow lines cut; the submarine had taken on too much water and was on its way down. The 20-year-old vessel, an older class of submarine, given the designation "Yankee" by NATO, was not considered an especially significant loss to the Soviet navy.

What had come as a surprise to White House officials was the promptness with which the Soviet Union alerted them to

the accident. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev himself sent message of it to President Reagan the day following the explosion, though U.S. Navy intelligence was already aware of it. The president commended Gorbachev for the prompt disclosure.

The submarine sank in 18,000 feet of water. Official opinion is that it poses no threat of radioactive contamination to either land or marine life, and no threat of a nuclear explosion. Air and water samples from the area were tested and the results for radioactivity were thus far negative.

The Atlantic is becoming a submarine graveyard. One other known Soviet nuclear submarine sank on April 13, 1970. Two U.S. nuclear submarines have also sunk, with large casualties. These were the Thresher, on April 10, 1963, with 129 dead, and the Scorpion, on May 21, 1968, with 99 dead.

—RL

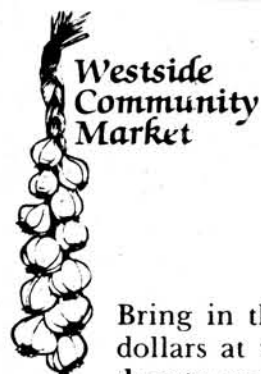
Headlines Of The Month

Reagan Terms 'Star Wars' Peaceful Project Like Radar

—New York Times, 10-18-86, page 5

SAC [Strategic Air Command] Head Seeks To Put MX Missiles On Trains

—New York Times, 10-27-86, page 10



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We Can Make A Difference On Nov. 4

by Jacques Levy

On November 4, we can make a difference. Ronald Reagan's accelerated nuclear arms race can be stopped! The federal elections to the Senate and House finally can turn this country around on the issue of nuclear arms control.

Unfortunately, while the nuclear arms race should not be a partisan issue, politics has turned it into one. So our tactics have taken on a partisan hue.

Let's look at the record for our opportunity and our tactics.

A preview of what can be done was demonstrated this August when the Democrat-controlled House of Representatives voted to cut off funds for nuclear tests above one kiloton for one year provided the Soviets do likewise. The House also voted to force Reagan to comply with the Salt II treaty, voted to continue a moratorium on research and development of anti-satellite weapons, and cut Reagan's Star Wars budget by \$2.2 billion. Unfortunately, the House later dropped most of these provisions after extreme pressure from the president. House Democrats knew that stiff opposition to these popular measures in the Republican-controlled Senate would kill most of these proposals.

Republican senators have proved time and again that they feel loyalty-bound to support the leader of their party on arms

control issues.

Only a Democrat-controlled Congress can challenge an intransigent Republican president. That's why the November elections are crucial. A shift of four votes would give the Democrats control and nuclear arms control advocates a majority.

Then both Houses of Congress can stop the nuclear arms race through the power of the purse—refusing to allocate

on great importance, not only to assure control of the Senate, but also to assure that the right kind of nuclear arms policy leadership is in control.

If any convincing is needed, though, we need but look at the record of Sen. Cranston's opponent to make the case for Cranston irrefutable.

Within one week in June of this year, Congressman Ed Zschau voted for and against compliance with the SALT II

A shift of four votes would give Democrats control and nuclear arms control advocates a majority.

funds that fuel the arms race. Such a move is veto-proof. The President can't veto non-existent funds.

Should the Democrats capture the Senate, a re-elected California Sen. Alan Cranston would hold one of the top three leadership positions in the Senate. As one of the strongest arms control advocates in the upper house, his influence and leadership would play a major role.

The California Senate race, then, takes

Treaty. In 1985 he co-sponsored a resolution urging the resumption of comprehensive test ban negotiations, then voted against his own resolution in February of 1986.

In the span of three years Zschau twice voted for, and twice voted against, nerve gas production. Zschau had similar flip flops on the MX, a moratorium on testing of anti-satellite weapons, and a mutual and verifiable freeze.

THE FREEZE VOTER PROGRAM

To help achieve an arms control majority nationally, Freeze Voter, the electoral arm of the Freeze Campaign, has targeted six key U.S. Senate races.

Three Republican hawks have been targeted for defeat. In their place we are supporting strong pro-arms control candidates—Representative Tom Daschle in South Dakota, Representative Bob Edgar in Pennsylvania, and Governor John Evans in Idaho.

To replace two retiring senators we have endorsed Lt. Governor Harriett Woods in Missouri and Representative Tim Wirth in Colorado. We also are helping Sen. Pat Leahy of Vermont who has been a strong arms control advocate. Their victories would help retain three existing Democratic seats.

The Democrats have an excellent chance of adding another seat to their ranks in Maryland where Representative Barbara Mikulski, a strong advocate of arms control, is facing newcomer Linda Chavez, a former Reagan administration aide, in a traditionally Democratic state.

Georgia also offers an opportunity to elect another strong arms control advocate. Congressman Wyche Fowler Jr. of Atlanta defeated President Carter's aide, Hamilton Jordan, in the primary and is now gaining momentum against hawk Mack Mattingly.

So the opportunity for change in November is great, but it is far from certain.

While Senator Cranston is slightly ahead in the polls, his victory is by no means assured. Two years ago, the polls showed George Deukmejian losing, but Republican absentee ballots put him over the top.

This year, President Reagan is going all



Ellen Hodges

ELLEN HODGES

out to defeat Cranston. At one September fundraiser alone in California he raised \$1.5 million for Zschau. We've seen many California favorites defeated by heavily-financed, last-minute TV and direct mail blitzes.

So the role of nuclear arms control advocates is clear. Freeze Voter will be doing door to door precinct work to re-elect Sen. Cranston. Many volunteers will be needed. A large voter turnout is essential to counter heavy conservative votes in Southern California.

Advocates of arms control can donate their time and provide critical funds to the Freeze Voter and Cranston campaigns. In addition, funds are needed in the other targeted states which, because of their much smaller size, can be influenced far more cheaply.

It's an opportunity we can't afford to miss. Two more years of the current Reagan nuclear race madness could put arms control out of reach. The Soviets have halted their testing of nuclear weapons for more than a year, and are willing to make that test halt permanent.

Their patience, however, is not limitless. They can't afford to let us race on unilaterally forever. And once they resume testing, the nuclear arms race will become more ferocious than ever.

We can—and must—make a difference: for our children, for our country, and for humanity.

Jacques Levy is a member of the national executive board of Freeze Voter.



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Social Change, U.S.A., 1986

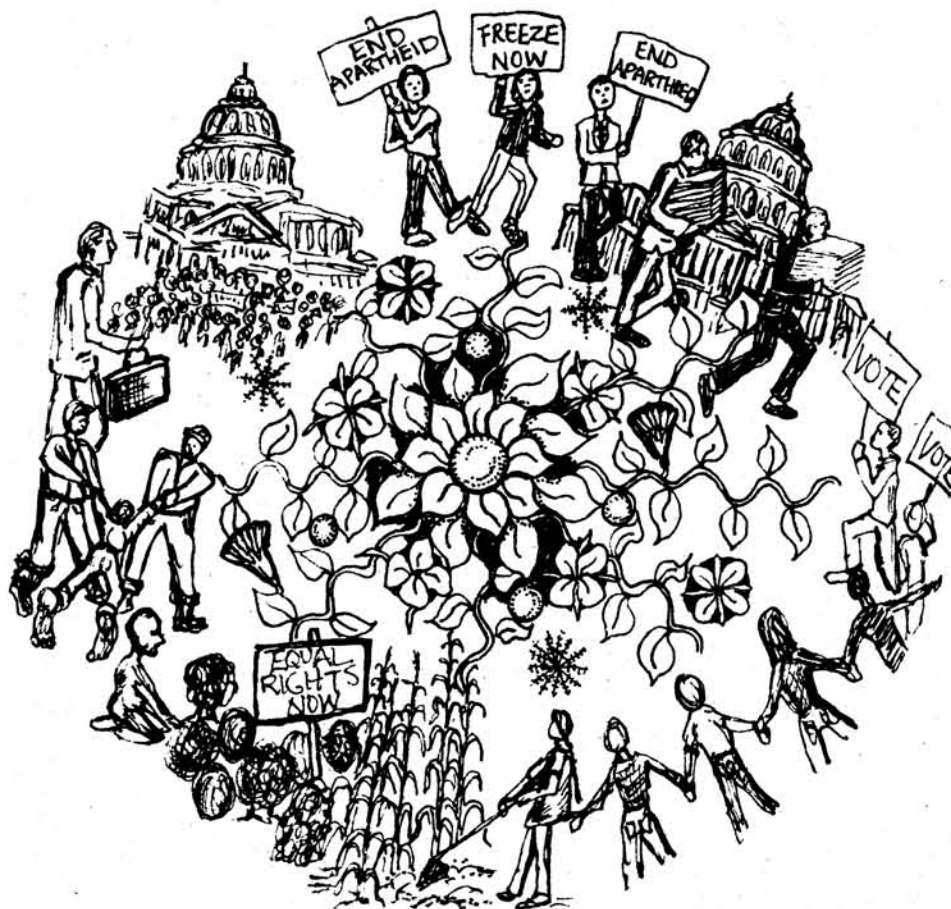
by Susan Strong

Among the range of groups and individuals working for peace today, some maintain that in order to end the nuclear threat or even successfully contain it, there will have to be "real social change." In the wake of the failed Iceland summit and going into congressional elections whose outcome is by no means sure, we need to stop and think about this argument (after voting for Senator Cranston, that is). What creates social change? And what kind of social change are we talking about? A little review of recent history might be useful. When the Freeze idea swept over the country in the early '80s, people thought, "this is it." When Congress dragged its feet over the Freeze bill, many went looking for "it" somewhere else. In some quarters, the Freeze idea was pronounced inadequate to the task, or downright injurious to the cause. Given the urgency of the nuclear threat, some of us became impatient and set to work analyzing the congressional roadblock. A theory developed that we need a new and larger vision of the American future, of our relationship with the Soviets, and of the global community—that focussing on fear and the negativity of struggling with Congress were part of the problem. The replacement for these time-honored but gritty methods was a long-term strategy aimed at reducing the tensions that created the desire for all weapons. In its purest form, this calls for a complete change in world view, termed paradigm change, as the only sure solution to the nuclear problem. The new paradigm implies a world of peace, joy, and light; the theory is that the pull of a dream is greater than the push of fear, anger, or the struggle for votes.

Meanwhile, two momentous things have occurred in 1986. The first is the continued extension of the Soviet test moratorium, with the legislative victory in the House of Representatives this August. In January of 1986, none of us focussing on the Comprehensive Test Ban believed such a vote possible, even in the House. Yet it is true, there were still not enough of us to sway the Senate, at least in August.

The other major event of 1986, at this writing is, of course, the apartheid vote. The entire Congress of the United States voted to override the threatened veto of the most popular president in living memory on sanctions for South Africa. How did this happen?

The South Africa vote was, in essence, an extension of an old American dream to the earth at large. The vision of racial equality has been imbedded in our constitution since the late 19th century, in the form of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments to the Bill of Rights. However, as we all know, it has required repeated court fights and a very recent era of tremendous personal sacrifice through civil disobedience to realize very much of the promise of that dream, and we have still very far to go today, over one hun-



dred years later.

Nevertheless, as a result of the civil rights movement, it was made clear once again what Americans *should* think. Deploring the situation in South Africa has long been the correct position. Before this fall our simply holding such views had not, however, moved the Congress

to action. What moves Congress is the belief that the majority of our people have moved from "holding views" to being "impatient." It is without doubt true that the continued deaths of black demonstrators, the arrest of children, and the imposition of severe press censorship have been the flashpoints of

American impatience. And the longer we delayed action, the more responsible we personally felt for those South African deaths.

A dream to which we all already give lip service, plus a heavy dose of being caught in public and flagrant inconsistency with our own most basic principles, created the vote in Congress. It was personal discomfort that caused people to take time from their own business to call, write, demonstrate, and risk arrest, to generate the vote. Certainly we need images of a better world. We need to have something pleasant and positive to reach for. But we need also to recognize that pleasant images and feelings alone may not generate the adrenalin and the will to action that legislative reform requires. We need to honor, lest we merely escape from, the fact that there is such a thing as healthy fear, honest guilt and discomfort, and that a firm, loving, and patient will to struggle nonviolently with a problem or an adversary for a long time is almost always essential to success.

Most of all, we need a dream that we can recognize as *already* being ours, something we take for granted as our birthright, something that we cannot risk destroying and still be able to face ourselves tomorrow in the mirror. With all of these tools, the pull of a *familiar* dream and the push of strong motives for citizen action, it might not matter what came of the election of 1986—we might still find enough impatient people to make Congress move.

Susan C. Strong is an organizational consultant. She has taught persuasion and communication at The University of California, Berkeley, and St. Mary's College. She is currently serving as Chairperson of the Northern California Freeze Campaign.

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Demand For Peace Rising In East Germany

by Igal Dahari

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

The mainstream media in the United States have chosen to almost completely ignore the struggles of the independent peace movement in the German Democratic Republic (GDR). Much of the press coverage it receives in the West comes from left-wing publications, while much of its international support comes from Western European peace movements. The peace movement in the GDR is pacifist, and its goals include a non-aligned, nuclear-free and united Germany.

The American press, guided by its automatic disdain for anything pacifist, antinuclear, or left-leaning, finds the GDR's independent peace movement somewhat unattractive.

On the other hand, the authorities in the GDR, or East Germany, are very careful these days about informing their own

public about the peace movement in Western Europe, especially across the border in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG). Until early 1982, East German television regularly showed mass gatherings and demonstrations taking

pacifying, diffusing and suppressing what has become Eastern Europe's foremost peace movement.

The first time East Germany's independent peace movement showed its strength was in February of 1982, on the

... while the church's hierarchy remains conservative and inclined to discourage activism, many of those who occupy the lower echelons are committed to helping or even joining pacifist groups.

place in Western Europe, and the government pointed with glee at the unrest caused by the coming of American cruise and Pershing II nuclear missiles.

But the intentions of painting a one-sided picture soon began to backfire. The government, fearing that it was fueling a home-grown peace movement, abruptly stopped showing films of protests. Instead, it began to focus on containing,

anniversary of the British-American fire-bombing of Dresden. Wearing headbands that read "Make Peace Without Weapons," 5000 people gathered in Dresden's Kreuzkirche cathedral, where church officials, fearing a government crackdown, took in the mostly young pacifists. But at the precise time of night that the bombs had begun to fall on Dresden in 1945, the group left the cathedral and silently

marched toward the ruins of the Frauenkirche, a cathedral left unrestored to commemorate the city's destruction. At the site, people sang, lit candles, and placed flowers among the ruins. Others simply stood silently.

The organizers of the nighttime peace rally remained shadowy, though most of them were probably youths. Neither the government nor the church hierarchy was involved in calling the participants to attend the illegal gathering (all legal gatherings are either organized or approved in advance by the government). Instead, the circulation of unsigned leaflets—their origin untraceable—informed people of the event months before the anniversary.

The portion of the rally held inside the Kreuzkirche included some very frank discussions of the government's intolerance for a nonviolent movement, bilateral disarmament in Europe, and the danger posed by American and Soviet missiles. Such critical talk, not often heard in the open in East Germany, helped galvanize the government's reaction on the following day. About 80 of the participants were arrested, interrogated, and later released. Police ransacked

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After the Appeal was published, Eppelmann was arrested and interrogated for two days. His quick release was probably due to pressure put on the government by the church, and his agreement to restrain his activism for a time. So far, however, thousands of East Germans have signed the Appeal.

The government has not ceased in its efforts to take the steam out of the unofficial movement. For example, it created the East German Peace Council, a government controlled peace group that citizens are encouraged to join. But in the four years since Eppelmann's arrest and expeditious release, the "illegal" East German peace movement has continued to grow. The Protestant Church's leaders, though they are reluctant to become entangled in political wrangles with the government, have indicated that they will continue to give activists the support that keeps their movements from being crushed.

Igal Dahari is the International Editor of The Monthly Planet.

several activists' apartments, annulled travel visas, and tore off clothing patches bearing peace symbols.

These actions, among others, served only to invigorate the peace movement, even as it was driven deeper into the Protestant Church's protective fold. The church, which has as many as eight million members, is the most independent institution in East Germany. Although it has been accused of collaborating with the government on some matters as a way of insuring its continued independence, the church remains powerful enough to defy the government on many issues. And while the church's hierarchy remains conservative and inclined to discourage activism, many of those who occupy the lower echelons are committed to helping or even joining pacifist groups.

The most notable example of a church official taking on the role of activist is Reiner Eppelmann, a 39-year-old Evangelical Lutheran pastor. Eppelmann had his first brush with the authorities when he served a jail term for refusing compulsory military service. Four years ago this resident of East Berlin began holding "peace masses," which included singing German translations of American folk songs and dealing with the dangers of nuclear war, among other subjects. The peace masses have become popular, sometimes drawing thousands of people. And despite the authorities' disapproval, peace masses have continued to spring up.

In early 1982, after writing two letters to East German leader Erich Honecker and not receiving any answer, Eppelmann teamed up with the late renegade Marxist philosopher Robert Havemann and wrote a third letter, this time to be read to his congregation. The letter, which became known as the Berlin Appeal, found its way into West Germany, and was published by the press there.

The Berlin Appeal's contents immediately struck a nerve. It asked that all NATO and Warsaw Pact troops, tanks and missiles be removed from the two Germanys, leaving them neutral and nuclear free. It also criticized the militarization of East German society, especially in public schools, where children are taught to prepare for warfare from an early age.

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Congress Caves In On Arms Control

SUMMARY

The 1987 Defense Appropriations Bill is now history. The bill authorizes expenditures of \$291.8 billion, compared with last year's budget of \$286 billion. This is the smallest increase in the defense budget since President Reagan took office. However, in terms of real arms control achievements, the 99th session of Congress was a disaster.

If you've been following this column over the past several months, you know that Congress was well on its way toward passing the most meaningful arms control measures in its history: namely, a mandatory ban on nuclear testing, mandatory adherence to SALT II limits, continuance of the anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons testing moratorium, banning of chemical weapons, and drastic reductions in Star Wars funding. Despite threats of a presidential veto, Congress appeared to be determined to hold firm on its arms control measures—until the president announced he was going to the Iceland summit. Congress was faced with three choices: pass the defense bill with the arms control measures intact prior to the summit; wait until after the summit to decide about the final construction of the defense bill; or pass the defense bill prior to the summit with few or no arms control restrictions. The most logical choice would be to wait until after the summit to finalize the defense bill. However, Congress chose to give the president a free hand in his negotiations with Gorba-

chev, and voted on a much weakened version of the bill. There were several reasons for this. The fiscal year ended October 1, and Congress was obliged to pass a series of stop-gap measures to keep the government funded until a final budget bill could be passed. Also, House and Senate members were anxious to adjourn the 99th session of Congress in order to get back to their home districts and campaign for the November 4 elections. Finally, President Reagan pledged that if he came back from Iceland with

defense bill on a vote of 283-128, and the Senate approved it on a voice vote. It is worth mentioning that Representative Leon Panetta (D-CA) voted against the final defense bill because the Congress had gutted the most significant arms control portions and had also approved Contra Aid. Representative Ed Zschau (R-CA) voted for the measure.

Congress is adjourned until January. This is an excellent time to visit your representatives and tell them how you feel about their votes and express your con-

CONTRA AID

This was part of the Military Construction Bill, not the Defense Appropriations Bill. Congress approved the president's request for \$100 million with no restrictions on CIA activity. The CIA will now also be able to dip into its own funds, probably coming up with another \$300 to \$500 million in military aid. Representative Leon Panetta voted against Contra aid and Representative Ed Zschau voted for it.

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

... in terms of real arms control achievements, the 99th session of Congress was a disaster.

positive results he would submit the Threshold Test Ban Treaty and the Peaceful Explosions Treaty to the Senate for ratification; and, once they were signed, he would begin negotiations on a comprehensive test ban treaty—in exchange for Congress dropping their insistence on a mandatory test ban now and adherence to SALT II limits. At this point, it is unclear as to whether the president will actually submit the aforementioned treaties to the Senate.

In the end, the House approved the

cerns about arms control legislation.

What follows is a brief summary of the key issues contained in the 1987 Department of Defense Appropriations Bill.

TEST BAN

A mandatory ban on underground nuclear testing of weapons exceeding one kiloton was removed from the final version of the defense bill. We have to start all over again next year.

SALT II

A measure to require the president to adhere to SALT II limits was removed from the defense bill. However, resolutions from both houses of Congress urging the president to adhere to the limits of the treaty were left intact.

STAR WARS

\$3.5 billion was allocated for this program, a compromise level between what the House and Senate had each approved separately. The president had requested \$5.3 billion.

CHEMICAL WEAPONS

Congress removed its restrictions on production of binary nerve gas by releasing funds for 1986. 1987 funds will be held up for another year pending Congressional review.

ANTI-SATELLITE (ASAT) TESTING

Congress continued the moratorium on ASAT testing for another year.

MX MISSILE

Congress approved \$1.1 billion for testing 12 additional MX missiles, called "spares."

TRIDENT II

Congress approved \$1.5 billion for production of another Trident submarine.

Contact Your Representatives Today!

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

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

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

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

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



Hotlines

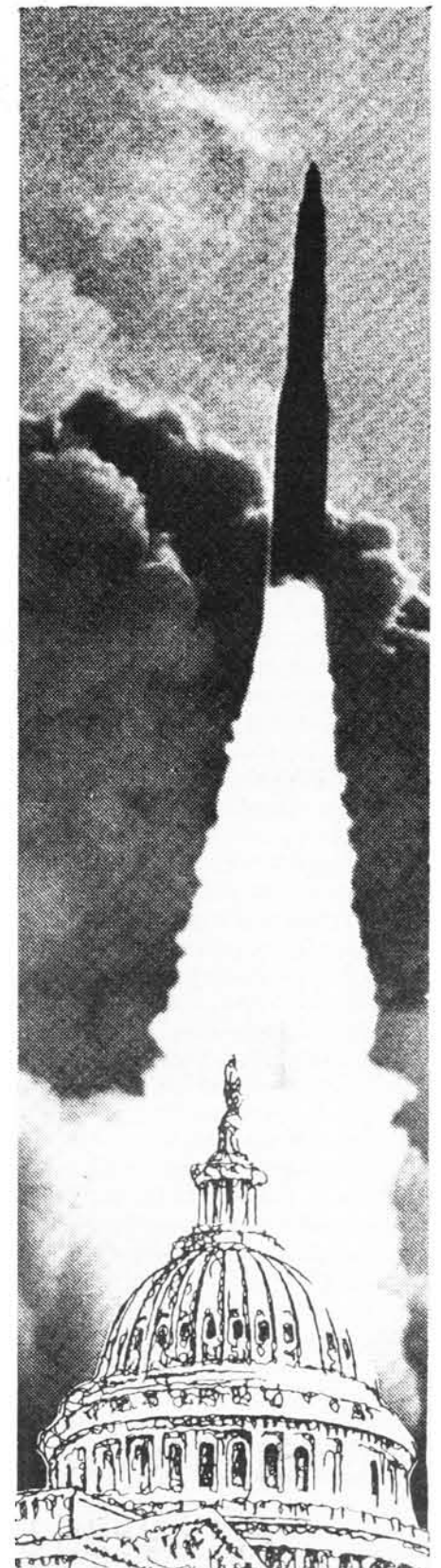
To keep you abreast of late-breaking events on peace and arms control issues, the following organizations run regularly-updated taped messages:

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

S.O.S.—Save Outer Space Alert
202-462-0777

Central America Legislative Hotline
202-543-0664

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



Plane Takes Off From Pork Barrel

by Igal Dahari

Once in a blue moon the Air Force does not get a weapons system that it wants because of congressional opposition. But what happens when the Air Force rejects an airplane, yet, Congress decides to shove it down the Air Force's throat? The Air Force gets a new plane, that's what happens.

Last year the Air Force decided to drop the T-46A jet trainer because it found "numerous management and production deficiencies" at the plant where the plane is made. It figured \$2 billion dollars would be saved if the existing T-37 jet trainer was upgraded. A deal like that should please almost everybody, including a "stingy" Congress, right?

Unfortunately, the Fairchild Company's plant building the T-46A is in Long Island, while the Cessna plant about to upgrade the T-37 is in Wichita. When New York's finest found out that the Fairchild plant in their state may have to be closed due to lack of business, they immediately swung into action. Both New York senators and several of the state's representatives went to bat for Fairchild, and managed to convince enough of their colleagues (who might, after all, find themselves in the same position someday) to reverse their original agreement with the Air Force's position.

Now the Air Force will not only get the weapons it does want, but one that it doesn't want.



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Is "National Security

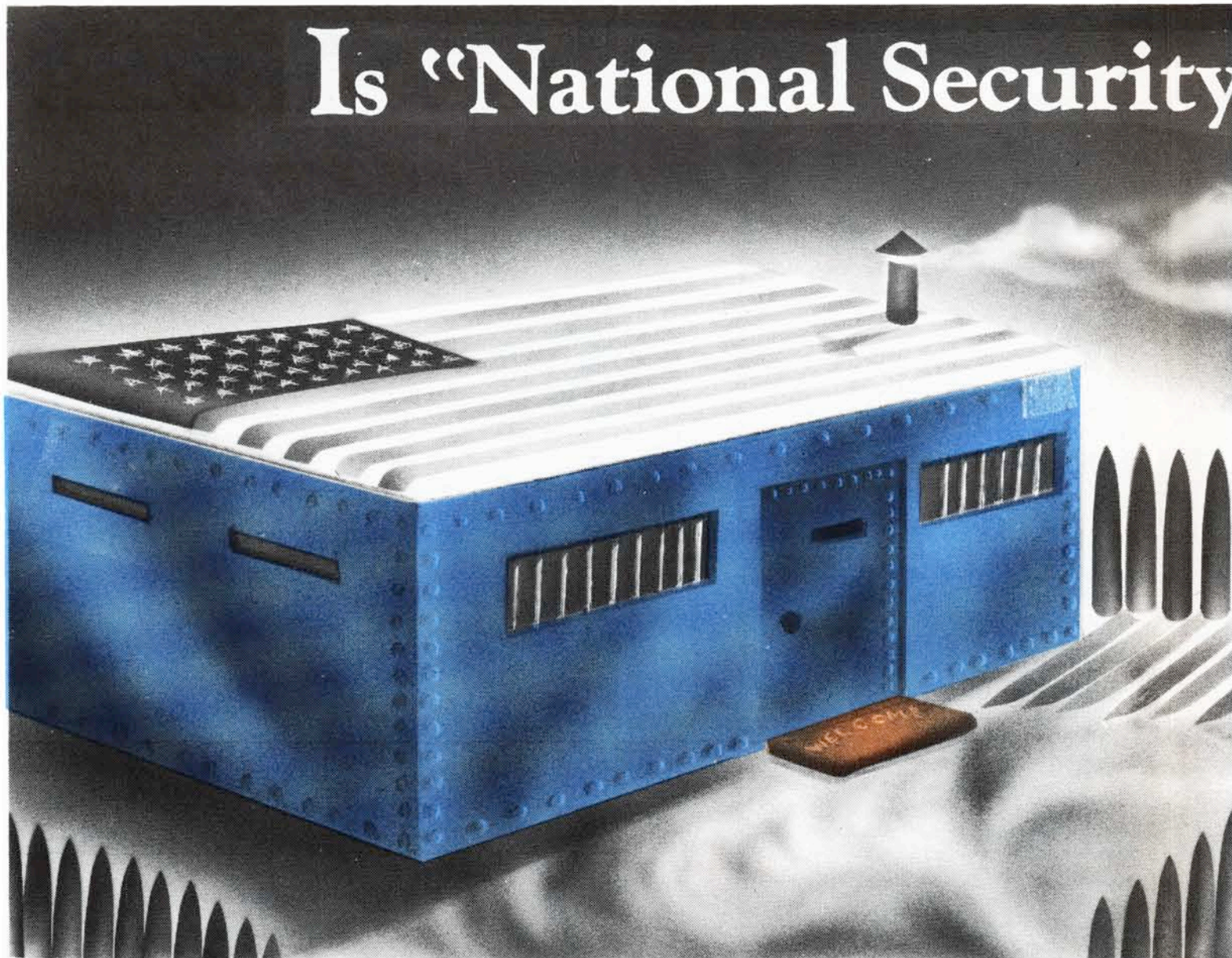
by Ronald A. Lampi

Of the common phrases that come out of Washington, "our national security" has to be one of the most frequently heard. But what makes for national security? And is today's national security *real* security? A new debate on this increasingly critical issue of *real* security has been heating up among a wide range of arms control circles, peace organizations, political groups and scholars. At the center of the debate is the question of whether the traditional notion of national security corresponds to the realities of today's world. National security is not only undergoing a reexamination, but is also being redefined by many today as well.

THE MILITARY ANSWER AND ITS LIMITS

Traditionally, national security has been almost solely identified with a nation's military strength, and the view has not changed in official Washington to this day. "National security" and "national defense" are still used as roughly equivalent terms. The other factor of this traditional equation is the "adversary" who we must defend ourselves from. President Reagan's military buildup is a perfect expression as to how tenaciously this view is still held.

At the close of World War II, the United States easily projected the image of being the number one military power in the world; of all the countries involved in the war, ours emerged from it in the most enviable light. Above all, we had a whole new weapon—the atom bomb. There was no doubt then about our national security being fully intact. But new devel-



became dependent, then, on staying ahead in a soon-to-escalate arms race. It was sometime in the 1970s that the Soviets were said to have caught up with the U.S. militarily; our strategic military positions had reached that point of relative balance called parity. But something even worse happened, according to alarmists. They asserted that in the early years of this decade the Soviets had actually overtaken

game, where each bomber, each missile, each submarine is counted and matched one for one against the Soviet arsenal. But the days of gaining any security advantage by the sheer superiority of numbers are over. The days when more weapons could simply translate into security are long over. Actually, the reverse has come true. Peace researcher and author Kenneth Boulding has made the strongest statement one can make here: "National defense is now the greatest enemy of national security."

Contrary to the policy of deterrence, the logic of the nuclear arms buildup has actually come to undermine national security. Most everyone knows this, though many pretend not to. One wonders whether the public sales pitch for Star Wars as a defensive missile shield would carry any weight at all if the present policy of mutual assured destruction (MAD) did not inherently undermine all sense of real security. The constant threat, that of swift, massive retaliation, if ever one of the two superpowers dared to strike first, should be no consolation to anyone. The extremely dangerous notion of limited nuclear war equally invites disaster. And the very possibility of an accidental start of war only underscores the fact—security, for everyone, has been undermined.

Even conventional military power no longer guarantees the national interest as set forth by our government in the global arena. We discovered that in Vietnam. We could cite as other examples our

backing of the Shah of Iran and what resulted there, or the results of our military presence in Beirut. How effective have all our military forces been against terrorism? The world *has* changed. It is no longer neatly divided into two cold war camps where we know who sides with whom. The multitude of new, developing countries in the Third World has created a far more complex picture. Many Third World countries, through experience, are wary of both the United States and Russia. With all our advanced technological weapons, all our billions spent, all our muscle posturing, the United States still finds itself a helpless giant in so many Third World situations. And the Soviet Union has been learning the same lesson. For all its efforts over the years with military aid and influence in countries like Egypt, Iraq, Angola, Somalia, Mozambique, Sudan, Indonesia, and now Afghanistan, its record of success is not exactly impressive. Supporting Communist China's revolution certainly didn't prevent it from breaking camp with the Soviets altogether. The lesson here for all is that military power today *does have limits*. In much of the world, political leverage and victory is no longer a simple function of superpower military strength.

REAL SECURITY

If military might is no longer the sole guardian of national security, and, as we have seen, has actually come to compromise it, what in the national security

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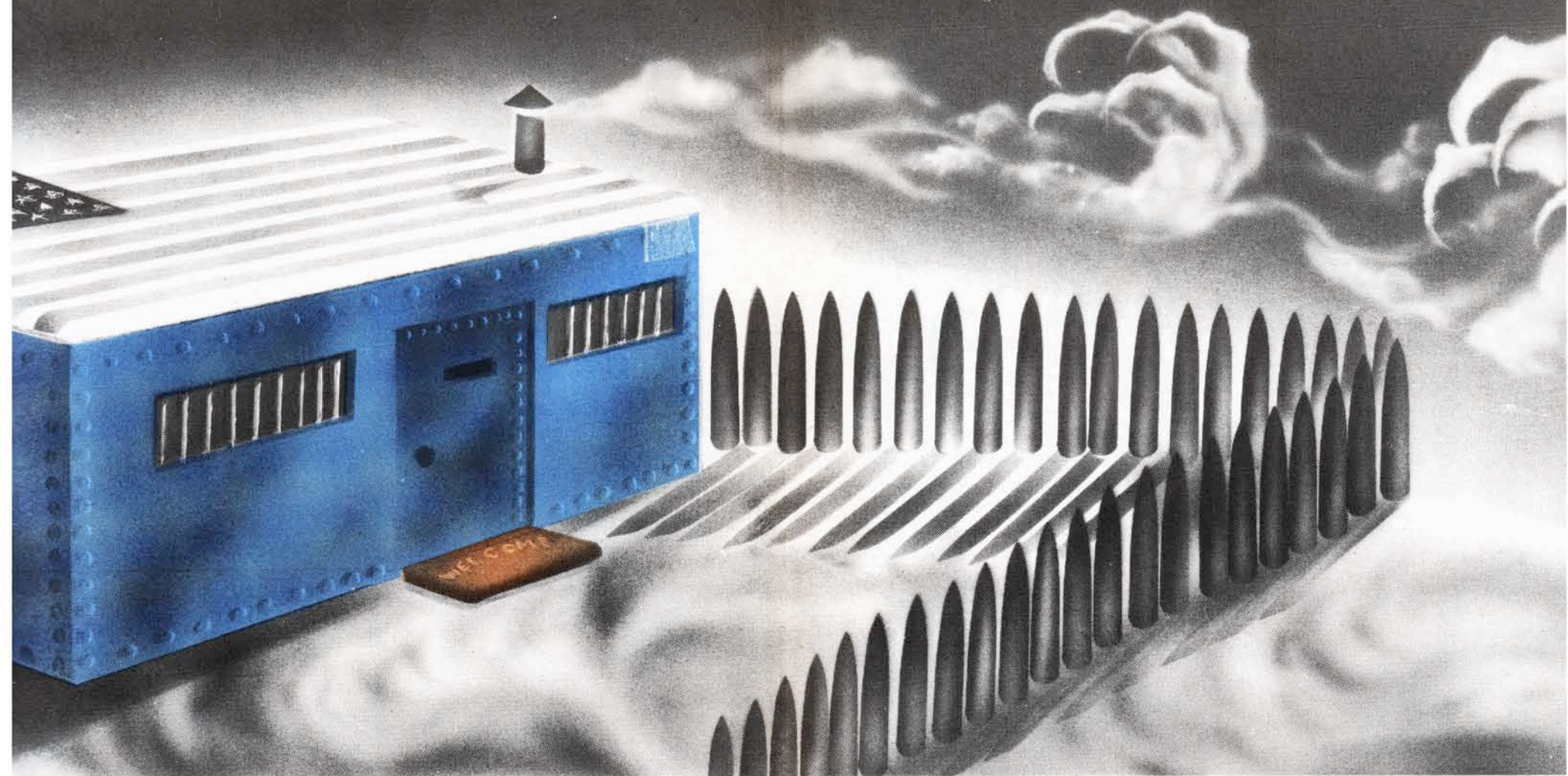
opments were already taking place that would 30 years later undermine the confident assurances that military power alone could totally guarantee our national security. For one thing, the U.S. political and military establishment committed itself to the full-scale development of nuclear weapons. This itself was to mark the beginning of the end of those old days of confidence.

In short time, the Soviet Union had its bomb too; the Soviet military buildup had begun. Fueled by the anti-communist rhetoric of the 1950s, fears were set off in Washington that our national security as well as our military advantage was being willfully challenged. National security

us. There was also talk of the decline of American power worldwide, that America had grown weak. And one of the biggest political issues of the '80s behind such talk has been the alleged "spending gap": the Soviets had spent far more on their military than we had on ours. We had, according to the arguments of the militarists, forfeited our superiority and thereby endangered the nation. President Reagan's military spending increases have had the aim of redressing the perceived imbalance, but, of course, only push the arms race up another notch.

We are still asking the question today, When is enough enough? National security has turned into a military numbers

s "National Security" REAL SECURITY?



game, where each bomber, each missile, each submarine is counted and matched one for one against the Soviet arsenal. But the days of gaining any security advantage by the sheer superiority of numbers are over. The days when more weapons could simply translate into security are long over. Actually, the reverse has come true. Peace researcher and author Kenneth Boulding has made the strongest statement one can make here: "National defense is now the greatest enemy of national security."

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picture is missing? If the security we have today is illusory, what then is *real* security? In his book *Real Security*, Richard Barnet writes, "The only basis of national power is a stable international order."

One of the greatest threats to security today is undoubtedly the obsession with security—that is, at another's expense. No longer can either the United States or the Soviet Union seek superiority of arms at the other's expense, even if that superiority is called simply "national security." What with psychological forces at work, like fear, suspicion, righteousness, the Other as adversary, any such superpower imbalance is today inherently destabilizing, for all concerned. The old model of the adversary who will destroy us if we don't defend ourselves, or destroy it first, is *now* the danger. Our interlocking, worldwide social, economic, technological, ecological systems have made Earth a small planet where each nation's security now depends upon a global "common security." Any destabilizing element has repercussions for all.

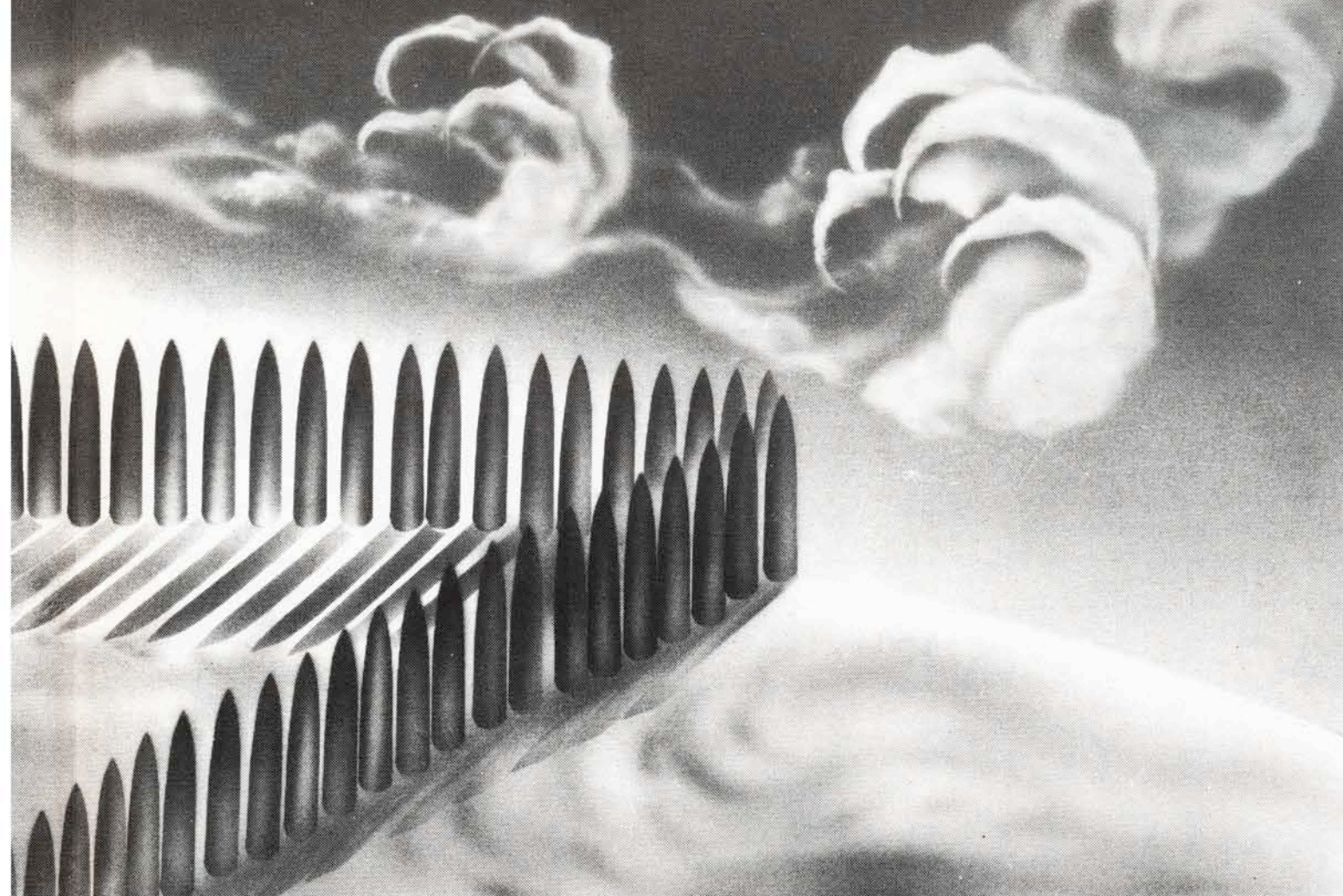
New missile systems—the MX, Trident II, cruise, ASAT—are especially destabilizing in superpower relations. We have yet to see the full impact of Star Wars. But the irony is, the "Soviet threat" may be the least of our worries; other threats are looming large on the horizon: world economic collapse, depleted resources, religious fanaticism, civil wars, racial conflict, terrorism, *and* our own psychological demons.

For real security, wise foreign relations

policies must be cultivated. A lessening of tensions between the superpowers is a must, to begin with. As Barnet states again, "The essential characteristic of a stable relationship with the Soviet Union is clarity." The bastion of clarity in this regard are treaties. Treaties have been upstaged by military buildups in recent years, yet hard-won, verifiable treaties are the new champions of national security in an age when mutual coexistence is our only option for survival. The intention, however, of President Reagan to break with SALT II and, in addition, proceed with Star Wars, a system banned by the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972, shows an ominous disregard for the significance of treaties. Not only does it show in what he has threatened to do, but also in what he has failed to do: no major arms control advances have been made during his years in office. His policy of building up arms to build down has been stuck at the halfway point. His pipe dream of Star Wars is another technological fix, totally neglecting the human dimension of our need to coexist. What must be fostered is a new attitude of *respect* for arms control agreements. This would be an essential part of wise foreign relations policy, helping to secure that stable international order.

"The most crucial elements of power are a strong economy and a strong spirit," Richard Barnet writes. For the longest time the United States took it for granted that it was also *the* economic superpower of the world. This was so unquestionable

ity" REAL SECURITY?



BRUCE HARMAN

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that the connection with national security was never explicitly an issue. But here, too, the world has changed. Japan and West Germany, both utterly defeated in World War II, have since emerged as leading, competitive economic superpowers of their own. Today we hear of a huge U.S. trade deficit, and the surprising fact that the United States has now joined the ranks of the debtor nations. Our huge

budget deficit is not exactly good news to anyone. The economy is sluggish. Funds that could be directed to the buildup of civilian services, education, energy development, fundamental research, new industry, in other words, *usable* investment, are being swallowed up by the military giant. Roughly over one half of our federal tax dollars goes to the military. Yet, as observers have pointed out, other countries, without firing a shot, have been able to take away American business, have intimidated us during an energy crisis, and have acquired economic power over people in our own country. More and more, it is the economic connection that is showing its

impact on our national security.

American leadership must realize that people need more from their government than simply a protective service from foreign adversaries. Availability of resources, education, social services, a safe and healthy environment: these, too, are part of the security picture in the everyday world. Fear of recession, unemployment, bankruptcy, ecological disaster have more direct bearing on people than the alleged Soviet threat. American leadership, too, that commands worldwide respect depends upon what we are offering the world besides arms. The international financial community expects the United States, for one thing, to stand tall economically. But there are not enough financial resources available for both a bloated military budget and a healthily functioning economy. The Soviet Union already knows this. Are we to follow its example here, against our own national interest? Or will we realize that ideology must step aside for more pragmatic realities?

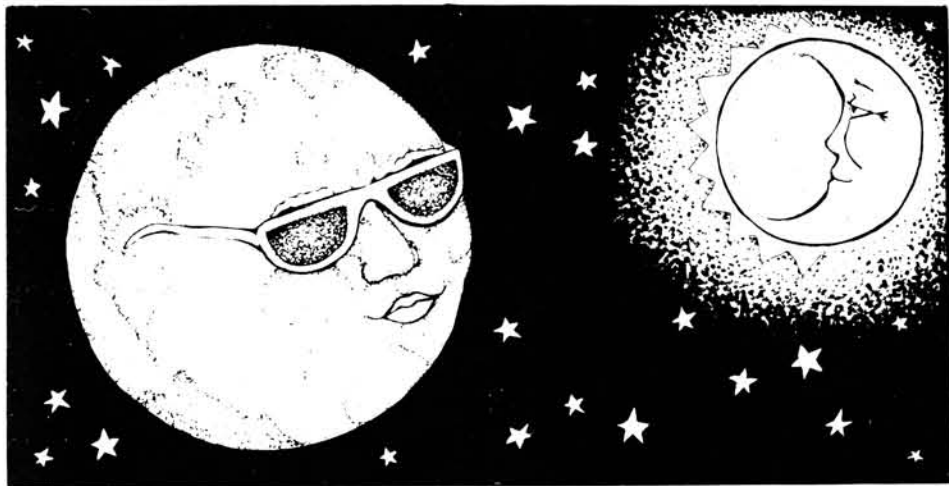
Yet, let us not reduce this to a dull gun-or-butter argument; let us not forget the "strong spirit." We must wonder if all the military posturing—and the Soviet Union is no different—is masking and compensating a grave cultural malaise. As Barnet points out, our enormous nuclear arsenals do not merely intimidate others, they are also demoralizing our own country. A country truly strong in spirit, in its cultural fiber, without all the hype, would not need to go to such enormous lengths for the sake of "defense." A nation's people would *exude* strength—in their well-being, work, art, their willingness to extend hands of friendship to all people, their willingness to *share*. In-

... treaties are the new champions of national security in an age when mutual coexistence is our only option for survival.

timidation with nuclear weapons has to be the most cowardly mind-set characterizing the world today.

Real security is defined by real arms control progress. Real security is defined by a new cooperation among members of the world community for the sake of our common global security. Real security is defined by the internal strengths of a nation. It is also defined by the security each individual should feel in daily life. The connection is crucial: *Real* security should reflect our *real* feelings of security.

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

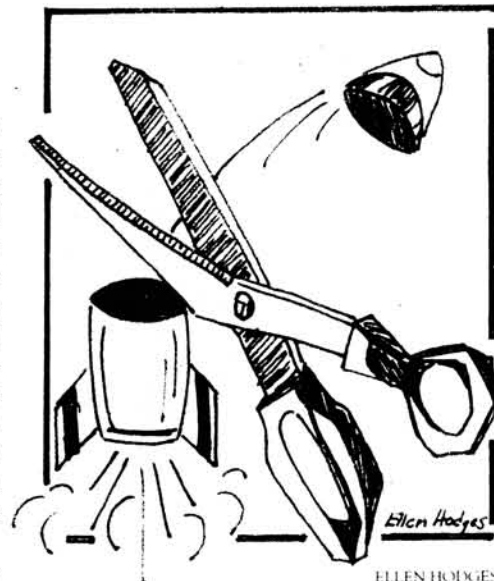


Planet Watch by Igal Dahari

West Germany Kohl's Cuts

In a move seen as part of his election campaign, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl wrote a letter to President Reagan supporting conditional unilateral cuts in American medium range nuclear missiles stationed in West Germany. The letter, which was sent to Reagan before his meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Iceland, endorses a reduction in the ultimate number of cruise and Pershing II missiles to be deployed in West Germany, while requiring the Soviets to begin negotiating the reduction of their own short-range nuclear missile systems based in Eastern Europe.

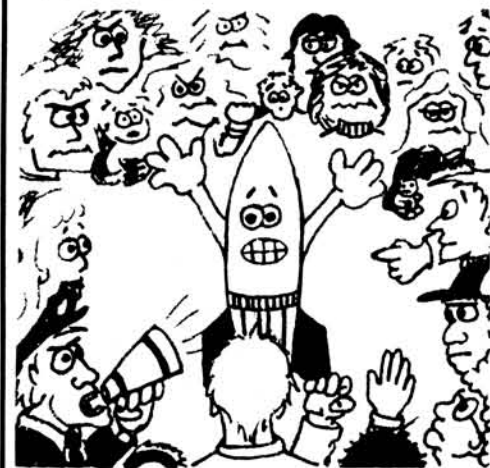
Kohl, who in the past has opposed the ideas he expressed in the letter, will face elections early next year.



Nukes Surrounded

A huge number of West German anti-nuclear demonstrators surrounded the seven-mile perimeter of a United States cruise missile base recently to protest the stationing of nuclear missiles there, and elsewhere in West Germany. The peaceful protest, which took place on October 11 near the town of Koblenz, involved 80,000 people by police estimates, and more than 100,000 according to the action's organizers.

Thirty-two nuclear cruise missiles have already been deployed in West Germany, and that total is due to reach 96 in 1987.



Britain Thatcher Attacks Labor

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher harshly criticized the opposition Labor Party's promise to unilaterally remove all nuclear weapons from Britain if it came to power, saying it "would fatally weaken the Atlantic alliance." Thatcher, speaking on October 10 to delegates at a convention of the Conservative Party, did not hide the fact that she hopes to make defense a winning election issue, predicting that Labor's antinuclear stance will "shock rank and file Labor voters." Elections for the British Parliament are expected sometime next year.

The Labor Party, at its own recently held convention, voted to remove all British and American nuclear weapons if it came to power. Instead, Labor Party leader Neil Kinnock has said that his party will focus on a strong conventional defense within NATO's framework.

United Nations French Arrogance

Speaking before the United Nations Assembly recently, the representatives of several Pacific nations severely criticized France for continuing nuclear tests at the Pacific atoll of Mururoa. Most nations in the region near Mururoa have long held that the testing is not safe, despite French

claims to the contrary.

"[If] the tests are as safe as claimed, then there is good reason to move testing to the Mediterranean island of Corsica, or to mainland France itself," said Mosese Quionibarawi, Deputy Prime Minister of Fiji. Quionibarawi also said that France was behaving "arrogantly" in ignoring the "strong and unanimous opposition" of Pacific nations to nuclear testing.

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Washington Hawks Threaten Britain

by Ricky Kelehar

Recent statements made by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and Secretary of Defense for International Security Richard Perle have been causing controversy in both Washington and London. Their separate remarks, broadcast on British television in September, concern doubts they have about a future Labor Government's non-nuclear defense policy. Although such views are often expressed by U.S. officials in private, it is regarded as unusual for high ranking officials to make public such criticisms of a potential governing party in a friendly country.

In his interview on a BBC TV documentary on September 29, Weinberger claimed that Labor's policies—which include the closure of all U.S. nuclear bases in Britain and the barring of American surface ships and submarines from British waters—would threaten the very existence of NATO. Demonstrating his deep dislike of Labor's plans, he argued that the nuclear bases are not exclusively for American benefit, but for the protection of all NATO allies.

In response, British Labor Party leader Neil Kinnock said that he was not surprised by Weinberger's remarks, which they had previously discussed together in private. He was alarmed, however, by the Defense Secretary's suggestion that U.S. conventional support could be withdrawn from Britain if the Labor Party persisted with its proposals.

"We are committed to the defense of Britain and the democracies of Europe and North America," Kinnock said, adding that "if, as a consequence of our decision to become another non-nuclear NATO country, the U.S. sought to remove all of their conventional forces, it is they who would be jeopardizing NATO."

Pentagon officials are describing Weinberger's remarks as the strongest public comment yet by a leading Reagan official on Labor's defense intentions. But it is known that many in Congress and the State Department share the view that such remarks are "irresponsible."

The Reagan administration has, however, been seeking to distance itself from the statements made by Perle in a separate British TV program. Officials have been quick to emphasize that the views expressed are strictly Perle's opinions.

"It is no secret that Mr. Perle has some very strong views of his own," one official noted, "but his views do not represent those of the President."

Labor's Foreign Affairs Spokesperson Denis Healy, Britain's most experienced active politician, dismissed Perle as "a middle ranking pipsqueak." Healy said that he thought Perle was using the British Labor Party as a punching bag, after being heavily defeated in recent Washington power struggles.

Speaking of the affair, Labor Defense Spokesperson Denzil Davies retorted: "Countries that are allies should not say these sorts of things about each other because governments change and they

must continue to deal with one another." But despite the apparent dismay, there is some thought in Labor circles that U.S. criticism could be counterproductive, coming at a time when U.S. foreign policy

currently ahead in the polls, the signs are that the administration is beginning a campaign to discredit the leftist policies it fears.

Kinnock is due to make an official

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is still the target of much abuse in Europe because of the unpopular bombing of Tripoli in April. Nevertheless, with a general election forecast for Britain within the next twelve months, and Labor

visit to Washington in November. He is bound to be pressed to modify Labor's stance by a White House that regards the retention of its nuclear bases in Europe as a linchpin of the NATO alliance.



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How Star Wars Adds To Insecurity

by Joe Palermo

The mainstream press was quick to herald President Reagan's "tough stance" at Reykjavik as a sign of moral virtue, and once again dutifully accepted the president's hyperbole regarding Star Wars without critically evaluating the system's potential effects on the current superpower balance of terror. But despite the president's moral stories and "firm and concrete assurances" that such a system would be purely "defensive" in nature, Star Wars, as envisioned by the administration, constitutes a dangerous augmentation to the Pentagon's first-strike capability, and has precipitated, in Reagan's own words, a "strategic revolution."

As a prelude to the collapsed October summit, Reagan promised in his speech

to the U.N. General Assembly in September that the United States is "moving toward a future of greater reliance upon strategic defense." At that time Reagan announced his offer to delay deployment

of Star Wars for seven years (provided the Soviets meet the ever changing U.S. criteria), but in the same speech vowed that future U.S. nuclear policy would increasingly rely upon the very "strate-

... Reagan is telling the Soviets that the hardware can be delayed, but the strategy cannot.

gic revolution" embodied in Star Wars. This was, and remains, a massive contradiction: Reagan is telling the Soviets that the hardware can be delayed, but the strategy cannot. This is part of the reason why the U.S. position on Star Wars sabotaged the Iceland summit. The Soviets wanted more than just a rhetorical promise to delay deployment; they wanted to reasonably limit the testing

and development of Star Wars within the framework of the existing ABM Treaty, and were willing to give up a great deal to achieve this end.

Far from being a "Peace Shield" (as it's called in the Reaganite lexicon), or a major departure from past U.S. policy, Star Wars is a destabilizing enhancement of existing U.S. nuclear strategy. Since Hiroshima, the United States has frequently depended upon the "first use" threat of nuclear attack as a means to attain specific geopolitical objectives. There have been some twenty publicly documented occasions when U.S. presidents have threatened to resort to nuclear war during crises; thus, a strong historical precedent exists for U.S. nuclear blackmail.

Unlike the Soviets, the United States has refused to issue a "no first use" clause regarding nuclear bombs, and adheres to a first-strike policy designed to deliver, (or at least credibly threaten to deliver), a totally disarming blow. Pentagon war-fighting strategy centers on the ability to pose a more credible threat than the Soviets can make of further escalating a non-nuclear, military conflict into the nuclear realm. This "counterforce" strategy, which targets vital Soviet military installations, ICBMs, and communications centers, allows the United States to use its nuclear weapons as a kind of shield for its interventionist foreign policy in the Third World, and to deter unilateral Soviet troop movements during crises, (such as the famous U.S. nuclear alert during the 1973 Yom Kippur War). Even a partially effective Star Wars system, with its promise of destroying the relatively small number of Soviet missiles that could survive a U.S. first-strike, enhances the *credibility* of this threatening nuclear policy. By giving greater credibility to presidential first-strike threats, the strategic effects of Star Wars are purely *offensive* in nature, and therefore repudiate Reagan's claim that it is strictly a "defensive" system.

The Soviet Union has held to a unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing since August 6, 1985, and has most recently extended it to January 1987. Although in his September U.N. speech, Reagan called upon the Soviets "to join us in practical, attainable progress in limiting nuclear testing," he has steadfastly refused to honor the testing moratorium, and it is Star Wars that is responsible. Reagan and his Cold War coterie well know that such a moratorium would stop Star Wars in its tracks, because, ironically, this supposedly "non-nuclear" solution to the nuclear arms race is itself dependent upon nuclear testing of its X-ray laser components.

No moral story or sci-fi fantasy can alter the deadly fact that if the United States proceeds with Star Wars, there can be no new arms control accord, and in all likelihood, either Reagan or a future U.S. president will someday face a challenge to a nuclear bluff, and emboldened by the illusion of Star Wars, order the "unthinkable."

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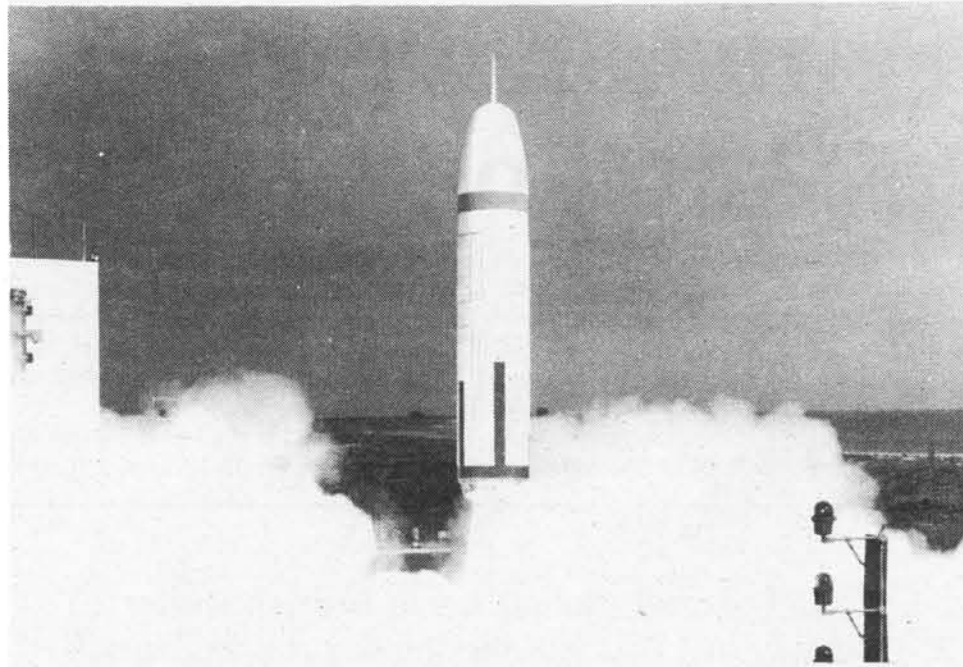
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Action Planned To Block Trident II Launch

by Peter Lumsdaine

On Martin Luther King Weekend this January people from throughout the country will converge on Cape Canaveral, Florida, the world-famous hub of America's space and missile program, to challenge the long-planned first test launch of the new Trident II D-5 nuclear missile. The D-5, which U.S. Rep. Thomas Downey and former Trident missile engineer Robert C. Aldridge have called "the ultimate first strike weapon," is only three years away from operational status and flight testing is the last crucial phase of its development. But several peace groups now say they are drawing the line at Canaveral, planning not only protests, but also a sustained occupation of the test area intended to nonviolently obstruct any launch there.

Seattle Archbishop Raymond Hunt-hausen, Gwyn Kirk from the Greenham Common women's peace camp, physicist Dr. Michio Kaku, and Chicago Bishop Thomas Gumbleton will be among featured speakers at the January 17 rally. Delegations from California, the Midwest, and other parts of the country are already forming to join thousands of Easterners and Southerners at the first national peace demonstration ever held in the South. Walkers from the Great Peace March will accompany participants from the December 27-28 Christian Witness at the Trident Submarine Base in Kings Bay, Georgia, on a 200 mile



Trident I C-4 nuclear missile as it lifts off from Cape Canaveral.

pilgrimage to Cape Canaveral Air Force Station.

Following the rally and final three-mile march to the gates of the Air Force Station, many people will enter the facility in what organizers are calling "Nuremberg actions." While arrests will doubtless occur, the organizers of these non-violent actions are emphasizing the Nuremberg obligation to resist preparations for crimes against humanity (and all life), rather than the symbolism of "getting

arrested" per se.

For over two years the Pentagon has consistently and publicly stated its plan to test launch the first Trident II D-5 in January 1987 (*Aviation Week* September 3, 1984), to be followed by 19 more launches from the Cape, one every 40 days. As the launch day approaches (the exact date is still being ascertained), people will hike into the test security zone, several square miles of brushy terrain which must be cleared of unauthor-

ized people before the launch can proceed. Three out of 17 Trident I missiles exploded at the Cape during flight testing. With the recent string of launch disasters and classified information leaks, Navy and Air Force officials may be particularly wary about the presence of non-violent peace activists near the missile.

Organizers are calling for affinity groups and concerned individuals to form non-violent occupation teams and sign up for rotating shifts to sustain the occupation as long as necessary. Nonviolent resistance to the first MX launch at Vandenberg AFB showed that occupiers can seriously disrupt launch preparations by making their presence in security zones known, while eluding capture for days at a time.

Cape Canaveral and Vandenberg are the cutting edges of a nuclear arms race spinning out of control. And "the MX," says Rand Corporation analyst William Martel, "is child's play compared to the D-5."

For more information, contact: FSPP, P.O. Box 7061, Santa Cruz CA 95061. (408) 479-8781.

Peter Lumsdaine, who proposed the Trident II Canaveral action in October 1985, is coordinator of the First Strike Prevention Project, which is co-sponsoring the action with national Mobilization for Survival and the Florida Coalition for Peace and Justice.

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Will The Pentagon Launch On Warning?

by Robert C. Aldridge

"The policy is to have a strong deterrent," Assistant Defense Secretary Donald Latham has said, "it is not one of Launch-On-Warning . . . However, our forces can react quickly . . . the president has the option to do just about anything he wants . . ." Whether Launch-On-Warning (LOW) is policy or option, the effect is just as devastating.

What would most likely motivate the United States to LOW is vulnerability of command and control centers. Only a few dozen missiles fired from Soviet submarines off the U.S. coast could decapitate the National Command Authority which must order the launch of retaliatory missiles. Vice Admiral R.Y. Kaufman, Navy Director of Command and Control, has acknowledged that this "is a very achievable thing for them to do."

Dr. Gerald P. Dinneen, as Assistant Secretary of Defense for Command, Control, Communications and Intelligence, defended LOW, saying he thinks "we should continue to have that as an option because there are many conditions of very heightened tension where all sorts of other indicators are there, where

we would want to have that option . . ."

The warning network for a ballistic missile attack comprises infrared early warning satellites and ground-based radar. This provides warning by two different sensing phenomena—infrared and radar. The term "Launch-Under-Attack" is generally understood to mean

warning from only one type of sensor. Either way, it is unnecessary for enemy warheads to reach the United States. Both schemes are nothing more than LOW as understood and feared by the public.

When asked in 1977 to verify that the United States would not launch ICBMs

" . . . It is not our policy to launch under attack, but it is not our policy not to launch under attack."

that the United States would launch ICBMs after enemy warheads detonate on American soil. "Launch-On-Warning" implies launching ICBMs when warning sensors detect an attack, but before the warheads actually arrive.

Pentagon definitions are quite different. The official meaning of Launch-Under-Attack is to launch ICBMs when both types of sensors indicate that enemy missiles are on their way. LOW officially means to launch ICBMs after receiving

until Soviet missiles impacted the United States, Defense Secretary Harold Brown replied, "I am not answering that question one way or the other, Mr. Chairman. I think that it is not our doctrine to do so—neither is it our doctrine that under no circumstances would we ever do so." In early 1980, Under Secretary of Defense William J. Perry told the Senate essentially the same thing: "I think I can state our present policy as 'It is not our policy to launch under attack, but it is not our policy not to launch under attack.'"

During that same hearing, General Richard H. Ellis, then Strategic Air Commander, gave a more direct statement. When asked if he would be forced to LOW in a crisis management situation, he replied, "We could be forced to do that."

During other hearings in 1980, Air Force Chief of Staff, General Lew Allen, Jr., stated that "the United States has not foresworn the use of nuclear weapons launched under warning, and it is important that the Soviets not believe that they can rest in certainty that we will not do that." More recently, when General Charles A. Gabriel, as Air Force Chief of Staff, was asked if MX missiles in Minuteman silos wouldn't be sitting ducks, he said, "I would not use the term 'sitting duck' . . . There are options that I won't go into. There are options that obviously do not make them sitting ducks."

A 1982 Office of Technology Assessment study of MX silo-basing affirms that putting MX into silos while relying on the Launch-On-Warning option is the cheaper and more dangerous alternative. But the most revealing testimony came from NORAD commander General Robert T. Herres: "A cheaper way out . . . is referred to by some people as the Launch-On-Warning posture or strategy of policy, or whatever one might choose to call it . . . we have been able to keep up with the capability to Launch-On-Warning, but to go beyond that takes quite a bit of investment."

The LOW option grows more sinister as technologies become so complex



ELLEN HODGES

that human decision-making cannot enter the loop, except as a token button-pusher. Decisions must be pre-programmed on early warning computers, which have had hundreds of yearly false alerts publicized through 1984. Since then, however, such information has come under the secret stamp.

That could well be because more serious false alarms have occurred. According to the U.S. Comptroller General, the sensor-communications-computer network still has half of its 1980 problems, and furthermore: "We have been told by the [Department of Defense] that the state-of-the-art computer equipment will not be ready until 1992 at the earliest. Thus, we remain concerned that the solutions to the computer problem always seem to be a few years away."

The stark fact is that we don't have a perfect system and it is fantasy to believe we are going to achieve a perfect system. Yet a perfect system is absolutely mandatory when operating under a LOW option. If it isn't perfect we will eventually reach "probability zero," as the statisticians say. We can't keep pulling the trigger in Russian Roulette and not expect to get killed.

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

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11,000 Just Say No

by John Longhurst

The August arrests of seven Texans during the Pantex Peace Pilgrimage in Amarillo, TX, was only one of a growing number of acts of civil disobedience occurring around the country. According to figures published in the *National Catholic Reporter*, more than 11,000 Americans have been arrested for protesting the arms race, South Africa and Central America policies for the past 12 months.

Included in that figure are five Nuclear Train protestors from Georgia, who were found guilty in May of "intruding unlawfully" on railroad tracks during a non-violent witness. The five received the maximum sentence of one year in jail, the most severe sentence to date for Nuclear Train protestors. They were, however, released after serving only 50 days, following criticism of the heavy sentences.

And, if a gathering of over 600 Christians, Jews, Buddhists and others at West-on Priority in Weston, VT, is any indication, more Americans may be willing to risk arrest. Some at the August 30 conference, which focused on the subject of radical dissent, said that they might "cross the line" from usual forms of protest, such as letter writing and marches. Speaker John Schuchardt, a member of the original Plowshares Eight, a group which broke into and damaged a missile installation, said that he believed that the time was coming when people of all faiths would rather be in prison than have any complicity with nuclear weapons.

Reasons for committing an act of civil disobedience are probably as varied as the number of protestors, ranging from frustration with usual forms of dissent to acts of faith and conscience. Dallas resident Mavis Belisle, one of the seven arrested in Amarillo in August, says that she did it to "increase the visibility of the . . . opposition to the production of nuclear weapons at Pantex." At the trial, which she expects will receive media coverage, the defendants intend to argue that their action was justified by international treaties which the U.S. has signed, including the non-proliferation treaty.

They also intend to use the argument of necessity, which holds that citizens must sometimes break the law to prevent greater harm. The trial is not expected to begin until early next year.

This was not her first arrest; she has been arrested six other times at actions against nuclear war, nuclear power and nuclear waste disposal. One arrest resulted in a 37-day sentence, the longest she's had to date. "I used all my vacation and sick leave for two years for that," she says.

If convicted, Belisle and her six co-defendants could face a year in prison and a \$1,000 fine. "I knew it could result in a very serious disruption of my life," she reflects, "but I also knew that nuclear war could result in an even more serious interruption."

This article is reprinted from the Dallas Peace Times.



KIM BOYMAN, STANFORD DAILY

Participants in one of four nationwide No Business as Usual (NBAU) demonstrations block the entrance to the Lockheed Missiles and Space complex in Sunnyvale, CA on October 20. Close to 200 demonstrators took to the streets in the Lock-down Lockheed rally, proclaiming the No Business as Usual slogan:

*They won't listen to reason, They won't be bound by votes,
The governments must be stopped from launching World War III,
No matter what it takes!*

NBAU is campaigning against President Reagan's Star Wars program. To contact or donate to NBAU, write NBAU, 3309 1/2 Mission St. #127, San Francisco, CA 94110. Tel. 415-549-3077, 11am-2pm, M-F.

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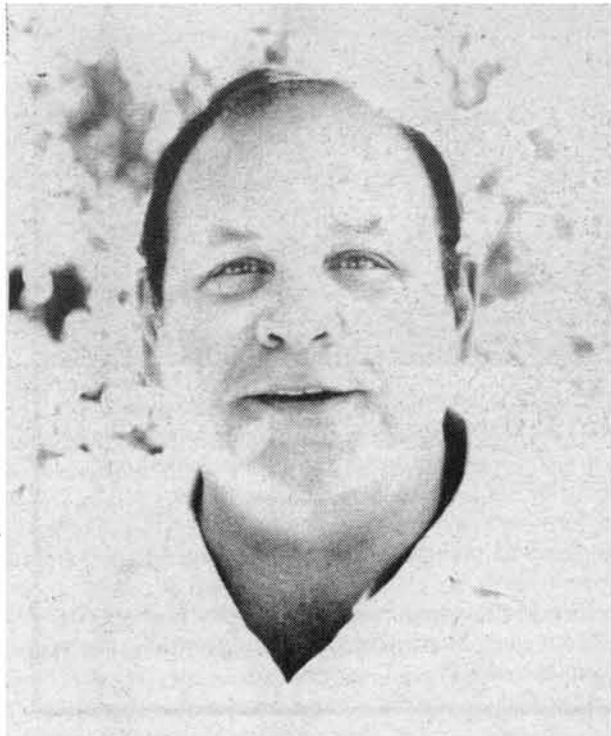
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National security is pretty much an illusion in this country. It consists of a lot of military and superficial business syndicate-type protection agencies that come in whenever lower echelon people get out of control.

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I think it's a good thing to have security, to have the government out there to keep us from war. But it seems like the government goes overboard with the bombs, submarines and the drug wars. It just seems like it is out of hand.



Lisa Freeman
Salesperson
Santa Cruz

I feel that the government spends a lot of money on nuclear weapons and not enough money feeding the people. National security is supposed to help everybody but it is hard to say if it really does.



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Security And Humanity's Next Step

by Gordon Feller

In the ultimate sense, there is no security for humanity. Here, I speak about the fundamental nature of things: that tendency, called by physicists "entropy dissolution," known by the Buddhist as "the factor of impermanence." The world is basically a very impermanent place. In addition, we human beings are a very impermanent fixture in it. Consequently, seeking security in the ultimate sense is not very satisfactory and apt to be very frustrating.

Security has to be sought somewhere else, in directions other than those based on an impermanent world. When we talk about security we talk about seeking "relative security," the kind in which we can pursue a life project, whatever it is. Some people, of course, seek to build a structure of security in their lives by material gain, obtaining as much physical security within the limited timeframe that they have to expend.

The fact that some find such a search very successful and others find it quite unsuccessful doesn't mean that they have succeeded in finding security—instead, the reverse may well be the case: a true sense of security may be absent. Many people have all the material goods in the

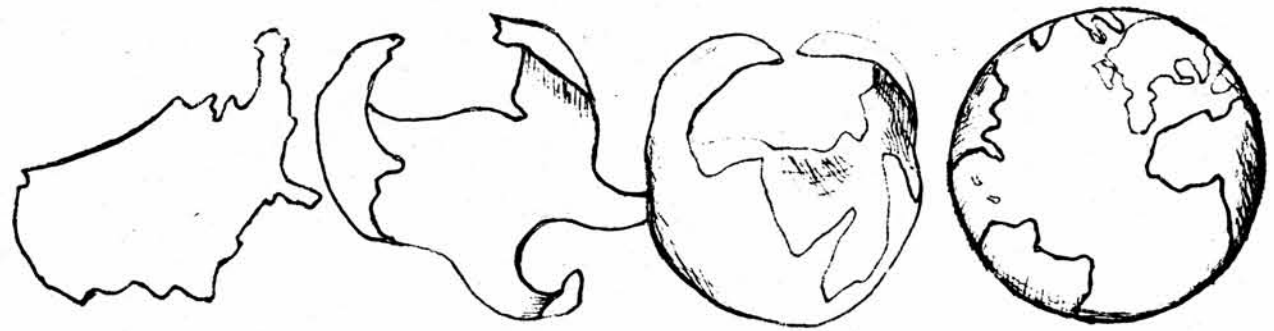
world they could need or want and yet still feel insecure. In fact, some who pursue such a path are obviously the ones who always feel the most insecure and in turn make others feel less secure. Finally, those who do fulfill those needs often have a kind of vacuum of meaning and values in their lives.

In our own society, the scramble for material security sets certain societal priorities. One of those priorities is that physical violence is forbidden in the pursuit of such material security. We don't condone bank robbery for instance, because of the presence of a sufficient common value base providing legal sanction for forceful restraint of violent selfishness. In other words, while not advocat-

ing it, we do allow people to be selfish, as long as it is not violently pursued against neighbors. Elements that try to do so are forcefully restrained through police, the courts, and other techniques. These characteristics, not very different from other societies in the world, are demonstrative of the relative imperfection of humans at this stage of evolution. The relative rate of the perfectibility of humans is rather slow, and it's unlikely that this situation is going to change very much during our lifetime. Consequently, there are still going to be a very substantial number of individuals who will have to be restrained from doing violence to their neighbors.

The only major difference between the characteristics and motivations of nation-

states and people as personalities is that since countries are human collectives acting on the lowest common denominator of motivation—namely, the collective—they tend to be less perfect than a large number of human beings individually. We find then that these nation-states act at an earlier state of human evolution than perhaps a fair number of individuals. Therefore, security in a world of competing and sovereign nation-states is a great deal less certain than it is within our acculturated societies. These, at least, have some consistency as to what is permissible and what is not. In international society, the context or matrix is too diverse and too unstable to admit even a crude world community focus for secur-



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ity at the present moment. The situation that exists in the international community today is very much like the lawlessness that existed before the formation of any other society, before the development of effective community. When it came, it was because there existed norms to help ensure the realization of values; so arose a legal system and its restraint mechanism.

Bearing all this in mind, the fabric of international conflict is made of two types of thread. First, there is the absence of consensus on values like caring and sharing in our communities, and on a post-ideological approach to the world's future. Second, there is no consensus on the rules of the game for a post-national or global society. Thus, violence in the international community today is rampant.

If a state holds that its view of the world is the only one, that it must protect its cherished perspective against all others, it will obviously adopt a very different stance than states that are committed to dialogue. Such a strong ideological and philosophic stance can predispose against common approaches to security—and in fact will militate against common security at whatever level it is measured.

If a state holds that its view of the world is the only one . . . it will obviously adopt a very different stance than states that are committed to dialogue.

TERRITORIALISM: DISCRIMINATORY FRONTIERS

We are faced today with a deadly form of discrimination, more insidious than racism, more virulent than religious persecution, more subtle than ageism, more blunt than ethnocentrism, and more timeworn than sexism.

This new/old discrimination, called territorialism, pits neighbor against neighbor in bloody battle. Its effects have been known to ravage and paralyze whole civilizations, destroying precious cultures.

One measure of the absurd power of the territorial mystique is that killing within national borders is called "murder," a capital offense punishable by death. Murder across borders is called "glory," rewarded with patriotic pomp and honor.

Paradoxically, territorialism knows no boundaries. It can be found everywhere, wherever there be partial and compartmentalized views of life of the world.

THE NEW TRIBAL GOD

Nation-states have come to dominate the globe. A glance at the religious origins of the state can help explain the extraordinary hold it has on the human imagination. Equally powerful legal and political manifestations of those roots are visible in the still operative Treaty of Westphalia. Kinship patterns that gave life to village culture later emerged into modern racism, Nazism, and the search for world government.

Territoriality is undergoing an immense change; two processes are impacting upon it simultaneously. On the one hand, news reports tell us of a pulling apart of the current global system by so-called devo-

lutionary movements in Wales, Scotland, Soviet Georgia, Basque country, Ecotopia, and hundreds of other small communities that want freedom from larger national structures in which they feel stuck and oppressed. On the other hand, a fusion and synthesis of national and international institutions toward a new global order is a trend visible within the U.N. system, multinational corporations, and regional institutions like the Common Market and COMECON.

These dual forces of change are operating, at once, to move the human imagination beyond the fix we are in at the nation-state level. As a result one can expect to see new kinds of local-to-global relations emerge within the space of a few years.

Advocates of a new political paradigm and a new breed of leadership for humanity point to several central components which must be altered for the total picture to perceptibly shift as it must.

One of these is "territorialism," the association of power and personal identity with land and its ownership. The territorialist mystique has dominated the loyalty and commitment of major and minor political leaders from time immemorial shaping their scope domain,

molding the consciousness of their followers. Thus, the best known political leaders in history are not those who organized and inspired non-territorial and transnational change movements, but are those who have controlled, conquered and expanded territory.

Territory offers political patterns a guiding motif, if not the guiding myth for the conduct of politics. Because it is tied to materialist definitions of ourselves, because it fixes the individual and the group consciousness into a physical box whose parameters are defined by the size of a given piece of land, territorialism offers little in the way of self-transcendent potential. Thus, those who live on it are community—however large the size: clan, village, town, city, state, province, region, nation. Identity stops there dead. Modern war is carefully legitimized by appeal to the territorial mentality, loyalty, and ethic. To kill one across a border is patriotism; to kill within the border is murder. In this warped prism, community becomes a relationship of exclusivity, rather than one whose principal thrust and effect is to unite and cohere.

Territoriality is part of our animal heritage. As we come more and more to recognize the evolutionary imperative to grow up into our humaneness, the need to transcend the fixed-territory view of ourselves will hopefully become more evident as well.

Gordon Feller is a Senior Associate at the Ark Communications Institute and the author of Taking the Next Steps: A Book of Discoveries (\$2.95—call 1-800-453-1906 to order).

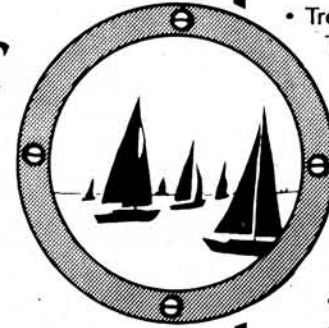
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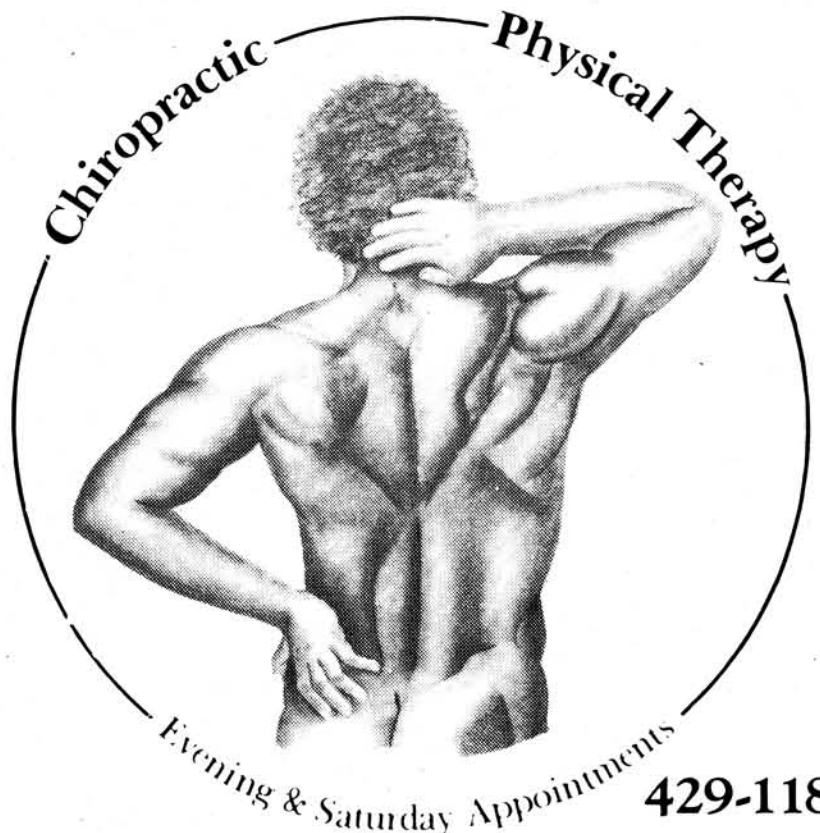


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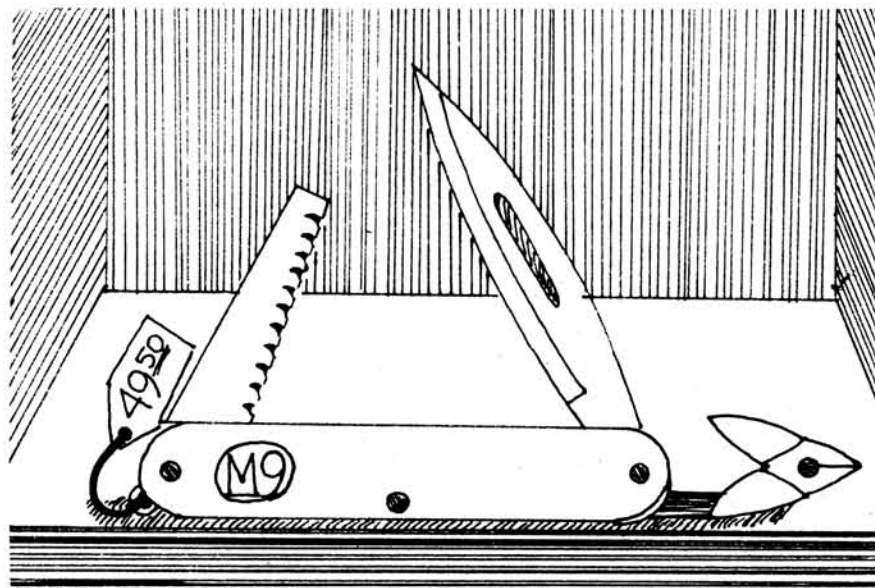
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Although the standard bayonet, a historic weapon, has many advantages, it has been outgrown by today's Army. The Army wanted a knife that would not only slice, but could also saw, cut wires, and be insulated from electricity. It found what it needed in the M9 Multipurpose Bayonet System, made by Phrobis III Ltd., of Oceanside, California.

Indeed, the only advantage the classic bayonet has over the M9 is a low pricetag. The old double-edged knife costs \$18 apiece, compared to \$49.50 for the M9. At this price, the Army is expected to spend \$15.6 million for 315,000 "systems."

"If all we were buying this for is combat, it wouldn't be worth the money," says Lieutenant Colonel Craig McNab, explaining the Army's shopping strategy.

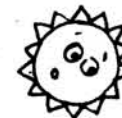


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Where do Pentagon officials go when they leave that military polygon? According to the findings of a recent survey, about 20 percent of those officials get a job with a military contractor—working on the same project they worked on while still government employees. The survey, taken by Congress' General Accounting Office (GAO), found that over 6,000 former Department of Defense employees who left in 1984-85 were directly involved with the company they now work for—or with a project that company later won a contract for—while still on the government's payroll.

The GAO survey was made public by certain congressmembers, including Representative Gerry Sikorsky, chairperson of the Investigations Subcommittee of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. The Minnesota Democrat believes the survey shows that military contractors use former Pentagon officials "to manipulate the procurement process for their own gain."



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Burrito	2.50
Beans, cheese, sprouts, tomato & onion in a whole wheat tortilla	
Super Burrito	3.50
Add avocado and sour cream	
Salsa	.30

Soups

	cup/bowl
Daily Miso Seaweed Vegetable	1.10/1.65
Soup of the Day	1.25/1.75

Grains & Sauces

Daily Rice (short grain brown)	.80/1.40
Cook's Choice Grain — see daily special board	
Simple Sesame Sauce	.50
(no oil or soy)	
Tofu Gravy	.60
Bread & Cheese	.95
Bread & Butter	.25

Garden Salads

Lettuces, selected vegetables, onion, mushrooms, olives, sprouts, and sprouted beans with our homemade herb dressing

	sm/lg
Garden Salad	2.25/3.00
Add one Avocado, hummus, tabouli, tofu salad, potato salad, egg salad	
	2.75/3.50
Chef's Salad	4.00/5.50
Garden salad with avocado and choice of two: Cheese, hummus, tabouli, tofu salad, potato salad, egg salad	
Served with bread & butter or tofu mayo	

Daily Cook's Special

Please see menu board.

Square Meal

Soup, grain, and sauce of choice, beans cooked with seaweed, steamed vegetables and pickle, garnished with gomasio and dried seaweed

5.25

Smoothies

Made with frozen banana, apple juice or milk, and fresh seasonal fruit

Fruit Smoothie	2.00
Frozen Oasis	2.20
Apple juice or milk, banana, dates, nuts, coconut & vanilla	
Coco Mocha	2.20
Milk, banana, carob, Cafix, and coconut	
Apple Cinnamon	2.00
Additions:	
extra-thick	.20
yeast	.25
soy protein	.25
yogurt	.35
nuts	.35

Beverages

Fresh juices	sm/lg		
Carrot	1.30/2.40	Amazake Float	3.25
Apple	1.15/2.00	Amazake, rice dream, fizz	
Orange	1.20/2.10	water, maple syrup, cinnamon	
Gold Rush	1.30/2.40	Cafix	.50
carrot-orange		Bancha Tea	.65
Pink Pleasure	1.30/2.40	Macro Chai	1.50
carrot-apple-beet		Spice tea with ginger,	
Raw Milk	.60/1.10	amazake and maple syrup,	
Hibiscus Cooler	.90/1.50	choice of bancha or black	
A Santé Waters	.75	tea base	
(bottle)		Yannoh	.75
		Grain beverage with barley	
		and chicory	

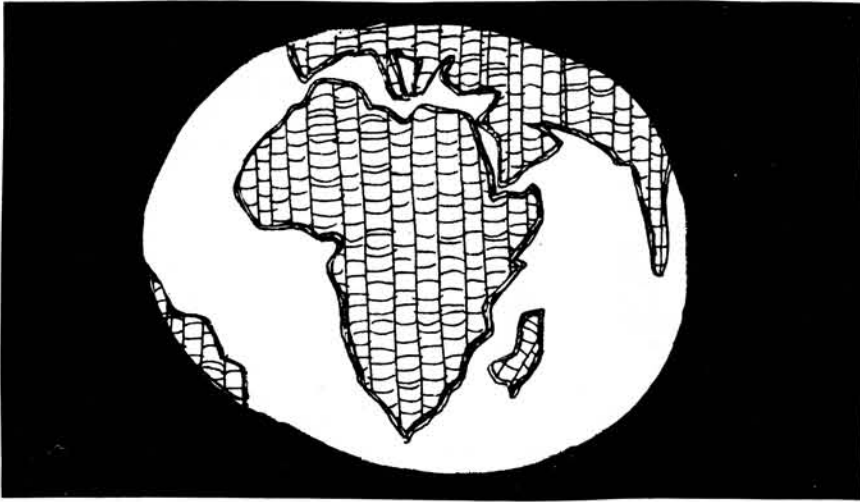
Sides & Condiments

Avocado	.55
Cream Cheese	.65
Raw Mild Cheddar Cheese	.75
Tofu Salad	.85
Egg Salad	.85
Salsa	.30
Steamed Vegetables	1.25
Greens when available	1.25
Beans cooked with Seaweed	1.25
Jane's Pickles	.75
Gomasio	.10
Mixed Dried Seaweed	.15

Open Daily Weekdays 11:00- 4:30 Weekends 11:00-6:00

2724 Soquel Avenue (behind Community Foods) 476-9840

Call Ahead for Meals or Brown Bag Lunches To Go



CONI PITTMAN

"SHE WOVE BACK INTO THE EARTH"

The mountain sends out signals
sun bursts like shining water
juniper push up from bones of the old ones
the People stand with a foot in each world

like threads drawing out of clouds
from every direction and binding together
at the earth's belly, so we must pull
together with them

tear down the attitudes that fence us in
burn a path to freedom
like the sun shooting down the mountain

Her umbilical cord was planted here
her blood fed the earth as it feeds her
with plants for food plants for dyeing
many bitter winters she wandered in the desert
from here to the horizon
with sheep, with snow
much spinning many prayers she wove back
into the earth
she wove back into the earth
growing juniper berries with her tears
at the injustice of the fences
that shred the immense, perfect design
she and her people have been laying down
on the warp of the world
fiber by fiber with their muscle and heart

So we must come and listen to them
tear down the fear of power that fences us in
that puts us in lines
burn a path to freedom
like the sun coming down the mountain

Genocide is like severing muscle from bone
bleeding sap from a tree, prying sunlight from stone
mining for uranium exposes raw nerves of the mountain
live wires, serpents that hate to be disturbed
it's like messing with medicine you know nothing about
or bringing down a deadly spider on your head
by shooting holes in her web
there's one thing we won't stand for:
someone throwing someone down

Like silk drawing out from every spinning planet
binding together at the heart of the mountain
so we must pull together
plant the corn of freedom
in the path of the sun, gushing down the mountain

Amy Trussell
© 1985

A WARNING OF SOMETHING COMING ALIVE

like us,
the weather is disturbed and can't make up its mind.
the newspapers report unusual currents,
and I find myself rising in the morning,
following this urgency in my stomach
gathering outside with blackbirds in the middle of fields
watching the sky intently as if I expect it to suddenly turn red,
a warning of something coming alive,
something artificial and created
the same plasticity found embedded in clay and language
the mud under the potter's wet hand forming our masks and words,
our tongues and bricks building walls, cities and nations
into a thing that engages
our hands, our minds, our hearts.

Bradley David Neily
poem first published in *Chinquapin*

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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Peace & Justice Calendar

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 Tuesday, November 25, for inclusion in the December issue (publication date: Thursday, December 4).

SUNDAY NOVEMBER 2

Stop the Trident II D-5 missile: this ultimate first strike nuclear weapon is being built here in our back yard. Organizational meeting of Campaign Against the Lockheed D-5 (CALD-5) for Santa Cruz County, Santa Clara County, and Bay Area. Will include information on local/regional campaign, and California

delegation now forming for the national "Cancel the Countdown" demonstration to nonviolently obstruct the first D-5 test launch at Cape Canaveral in January 1987. Meet 7pm at 160 S. 14th St., in San Jose, two blocks from SJ State. Info (including carpool): 458-9975, ask for Peter, First Strike Prevention Project.

TUESDAY NOVEMBER 4

The voting is over—the arms race continues. Discussion meeting at 7:30 pm, for people interested in local, regional or national nonviolent direct resistance actions and campaigns at nuclear weapons facilities. Call for location. Info: 458-9975, ask for Peter, First Strike Prevention Project.

WEDNESDAY NOVEMBER 5

Silent vigil. Town Clock, Santa Cruz, 4:30 to 5:50 pm. Sponsored by Friends Meeting. Info: 728-0636.

Nuclear Film Series: The Missiles of October, part 1. A dramatized version of 13 tense days in October, 1962 when the United States spotted Soviet nuclear missiles being stationed in Cuba. 7:30 pm, Cowell Fireside Lounge, UCSC, Free.



Women's International League for Peace and Freedom meeting to discuss "The Women's Budget—Real Security." Jane Podesta and Pat Arnold will be two of the members who will lead the discussion. Legislative letter writing will take

place. Trinity Presbyterian Church Social Hall, Poplar at Melrose, Santa Cruz. Info: 425-7618.

FRIDAY NOVEMBER 7

Planned Parenthood of Santa Cruz County Open House to celebrate its 15th anniversary of service to the local community, 5 - 7 pm in the agency's recently-remodeled main office at 212 Laurel Street, Santa Cruz. Info: 425-1551.

The Question of Libya is the topic of an educational evening featuring American Indian Movement co-founder Vernon Bellecourt and Ginny Krause, San Francisco Coordinator of the Nov. 29 Committee for Palestine. Both will speak on their visits to the Middle East. Sponsored by the Native American Support Group. 7 pm, Loudon Nelson Center, Santa Cruz. Info: 423-5349 or 426-9403.

SATURDAY NOVEMBER 8

Dance Your Nukes Off. First Annual 12-Hour Dance Marathon to benefit The Nuclear Weapons Freeze. Live music noon to midnight. Santa Cruz Civic Auditorium. To be a dancer or a sponsor, call 458-9975 now!

"Guatemala: The Indian Perspective" —a slide show and discussion. Presentation sponsored by Central Coast Sanctuary and Luz de Esperanza and is a benefit for communities in exile within Guatemala. Presented by Vernon Bellecourt, co-founder of the American Indian Movement. 7 pm. First Congregational Church, 900 High Street, Santa Cruz. Donation \$3-\$6. Children under 12: free. Info: 423-5349 or 335-4084.

Empowering Women In The 80's—A Day of Rethinking, Connecting, and Celebrating. Workshops, music and poetry reading. 9 am - 5:30 pm, Cabrillo College, 6500 Soquel Drive, Aptos. Registration at Forum, Room 450. Info: UCSC Women's Center, 429-2072 or Cabrillo College Women's Center, 479-6249.

SUNDAY NOVEMBER 9

Symposium on Sanctuary — The Struggle For Peace in Central America. Rabbi Joseph Weizenbaum from Temple Emmanuel in Tucson, the first synagogue to declare sanctuary, will be the keynote speaker. Vernon Bellecourt, co-founder of the American Indian Movement, will facilitate a workshop on Guatemala. 10 am - 4 pm, Unitarian Hall, 6401 Freedom Blvd., Aptos. \$5-\$25 sliding scale. Bring a lunch. Info: Central Coast Sanctuary, 426-4467.

TUESDAY NOVEMBER 11-

WEDNESDAY NOVEMBER 12
Nuclear Film Series: The Missiles of October, part II. The Cuban Missile Crisis continues as Kennedy and Krushchev attempt to maintain the balance of power without igniting a nuclear war. 7:30 pm, Cowell Fireside Lounge, UCSC, Free.

WEDNESDAY NOVEMBER 12

Silent vigil. See November 5.
Concert: Isabel Parra, Bruce Cockburn, Angel Parra with special guests: Angelito Parra & Tita Parra from Santiago



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