

THE

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MONTHLY PLANET



ELLEN HODGES

The MONTHLY PLANET
 c/o Nuclear Weapons Freeze
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Holiday Message

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by Risa Krive

One of the truly delightful aspects of the coming season is the giving of gifts to our friends and loved ones. As holiday season approaches we would like to remind the readers of *The Monthly Planet* that you, together with our advertisers and business members, make this publication possible. Our business community provides the finances that keep the *Planet* in motion. Please keep them in motion as consumers. Please make a point of patronizing the businesses that advertise in and support this newspaper during the holiday season, and throughout the year.

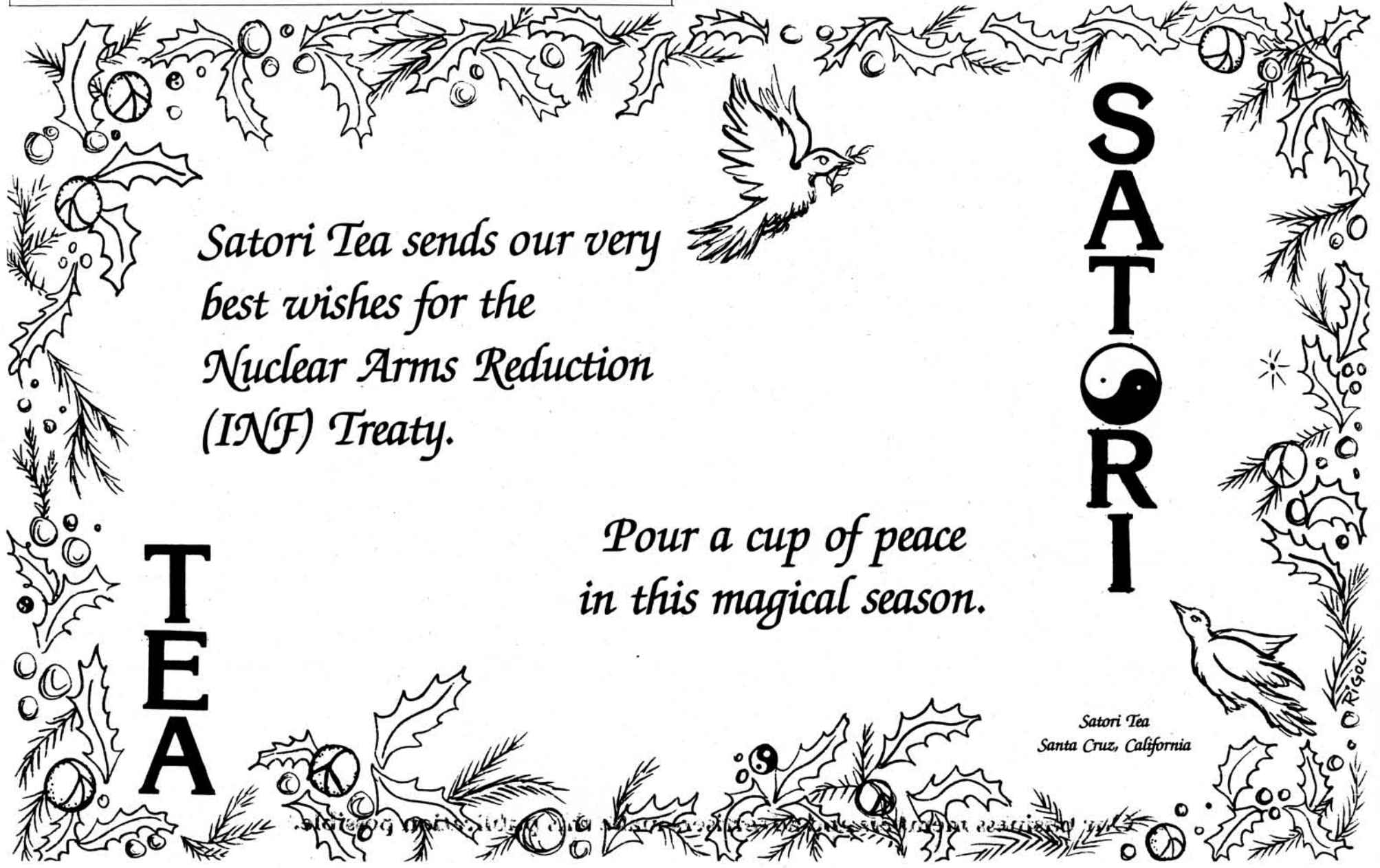
When we as consumers choose to buy products and services from the advertisers and business members of *The Monthly Planet*, we send a clear message to the marketplace that peace is good for business. And local business is good for peace. As a local economy we provide and partake of goods and services produced for our common welfare. We create the conditions for peace in our own community. We create a peacetime economy. We become an example for the national transition from a wartime economy based on the production of weapons to a peacetime economy based on goods and services that sustain and improve the quality of life.

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So let's strengthen our commitment to peace and to each other by renewing our support of the businesses which invest in the *Planet*. And, equally important, let our business community know how effective their advertising in *The Monthly Planet* is. Tell them you saw their ad or name here. Or drop a note in their tip box. They'll appreciate it, and so will we.

A warm thank you to our readers, our advertisers, and our contributors for your ongoing support of *The Monthly Planet* and the Nuclear Weapons Freeze. We wish you happy holidays, peace at home, health and prosperity in the new year. May we be strengthened in our vision of peace on earth, and in our ability to live accordingly.

Risa Krive is the advertising and business membership director of *The Monthly Planet*.



Satori Tea sends our very best wishes for the Nuclear Arms Reduction (INF) Treaty.

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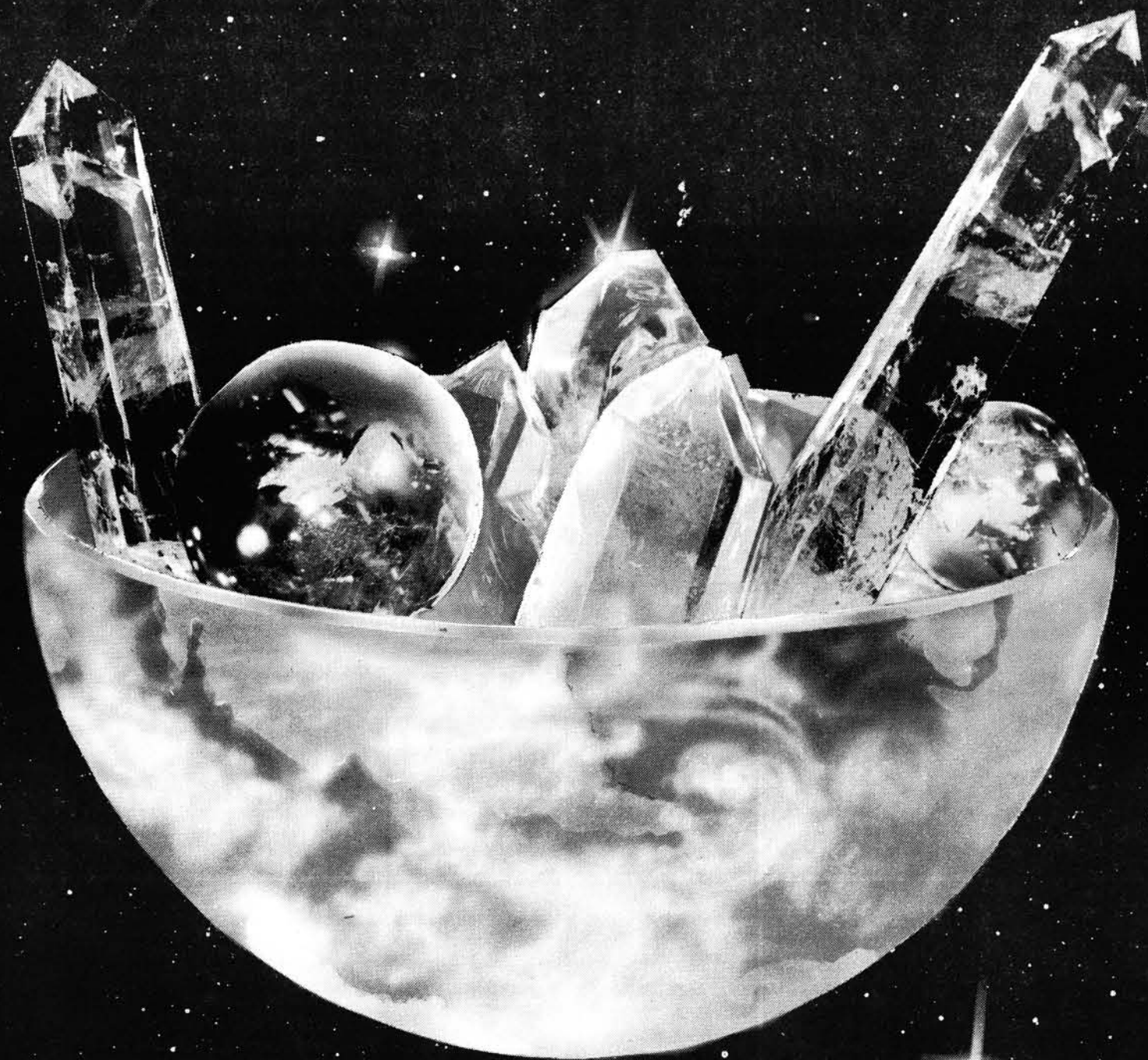
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Legislative Editor: Shelly D'Amour
Calendar Editor: Beth Mucatel
Poetry Editor: Ronald A. Lampi
Contributing Editor: Igal Dahari
Direct Action Notes: Noel Sturgeon
Advertising Coordinator: Risa Krive
Art Directors: Diana Moll, Diane Rigoli
Production Coordinator: John Govsky
Writers: Benny Thompson, Ralph Chernoff, Shelly D'Amour, R. Scott Kennedy, Dean Babst, Cap Pack, Robby Labovitz, Carolyn Overington-Edmonds, Deloris Selinsky, Susan C. Strong, Terry Teitelbaum, Noel Sturgeon
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Photographers: Tommy Chang, Benny Thompson, Dan Swerbilov, Daniel Vansand, Tarmo Hannula, Ann Glassner
Cover Artist: Ellen Hodges
Centerfold Design: Ellen Hodges
Production: Ellen Hodges, Elizabeth Sadoff, Celia Quinn, Katherine Munkhoff, Ronald A. Lampi, Catherine Banghart, Judy Lowenberg
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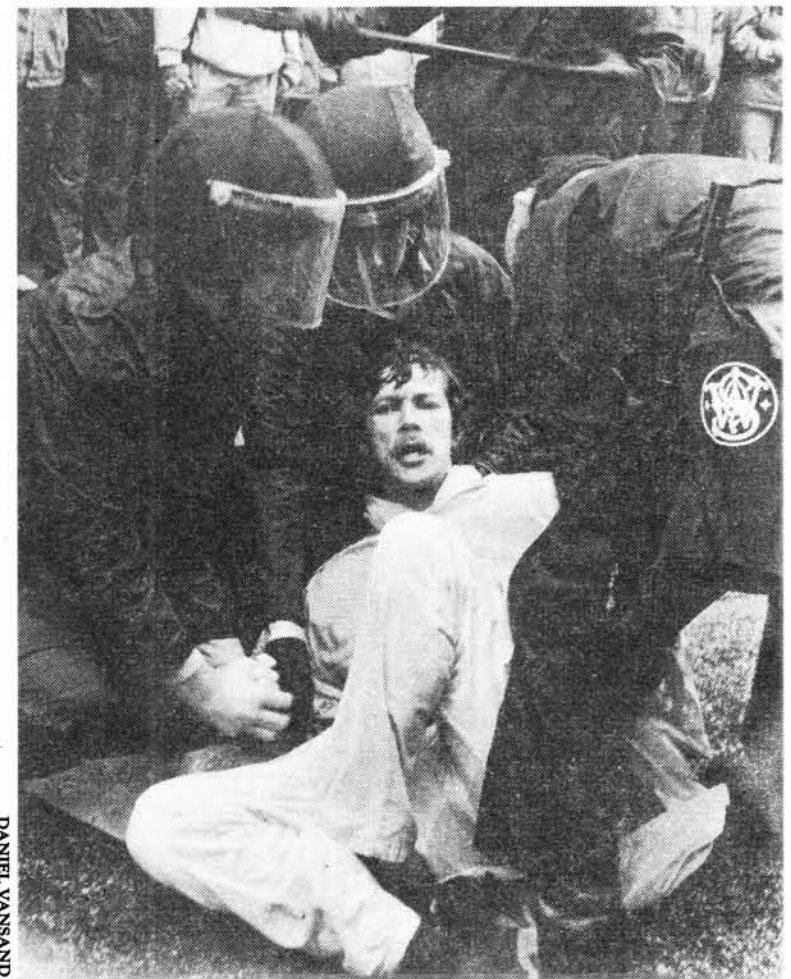
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circulation 15,000
 "Don't just try to influence the media—
 be the media"



DANIEL VANSAND

In late October, over the course of a week, 150 people were arrested for blocking worker access or trespassing at the Lockheed plant in the Santa Cruz Mountains. See the centerfold for a special photo essay.

The Monthly Planet is published at the beginning of every month (except January) by the Santa Cruz County Nuclear Weapons Freeze, 320-G Cedar Street, Santa Cruz, CA 95060. (408) 429-8755. The Planet is mailed free to all Santa Cruz County Freeze members. Memberships are available at \$15 for one year (\$10 low income). The views expressed in the Planet are those of the authors and are not necessarily the official views of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze. Articles, calendar items, and letters should be typed, double spaced, and sent to the above address. Letters must be signed and not more than two pages in length. We reserve the right to edit letters for brevity and clarity. Call for deadlines and advertising rates.

From the Grassroots



We prefer that letters to *The Monthly Planet* be typed, double spaced, and not more than two pages in length. Handwritten letters should be printed or written as legibly as possible. We reserve the right to edit for brevity and clarity.

Students for Peace

I'm writing to you representing Students for Peace. Students for Peace is a group in Mamaroneck High School that meets and talks about peace-related issues, such as the Freeze Movement. Last year we made our high school a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone. This year we are planning a lot of

projects—among them a march, getting involved in local politics and making a section for "peace" in our library.

We had a speaker come to our school a few weeks ago and he recommended your newspaper to us, and said to write to you for a free copy or to find out how to get a

subscription. If you could send some information to us at the address below, we'd be most grateful!

Thank You,
Pam Papish
Students for Peace
Mamaroneck, NY



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Thanks to Stop First Strike

A very belated thank you to all those who participated in the "Stop First Strike" Lockheed actions this October/November. Thank you for caring about the fate of the Earth, ourselves and our children enough to put your bodies on the line. Thank you for caring enough to go to jail and put up with the craziness of a society which tries to shut away and silence those who cry out for peace, rather than trying to stop those who prepare for global annihilation.

Yet remember that what you are doing is planting seeds, even if you don't see immediate blossoms. During the Vietnam war Nixon was seriously considering using nuclear bombs, but, as he mentions in his memoirs, when he realized the extent of the American people's protests, he could not do it. Without knowing it, the protesters had prevented a third nuclear bomb from being dropped.

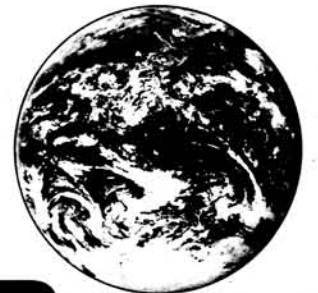
"We are at a moment when our lives must be placed on the line if our nation is to survive its own folly. Every person of humane convictions must decide on the protest that best suits their convictions but we must all protest."

—Martin Luther King

Keep it up! and I hope to see you all at the Nevada Test Site in March!

Jenny Wyant
(Moms are better than bombs)
Santa Cruz

The Great Peace towards which people of goodwill throughout the centuries have inclined their hearts, of which seers and poets for countless generations have expressed their vision, and for which from age to age the sacred scriptures of mankind have constantly held the promise, is now at long last within the reach of the nations.



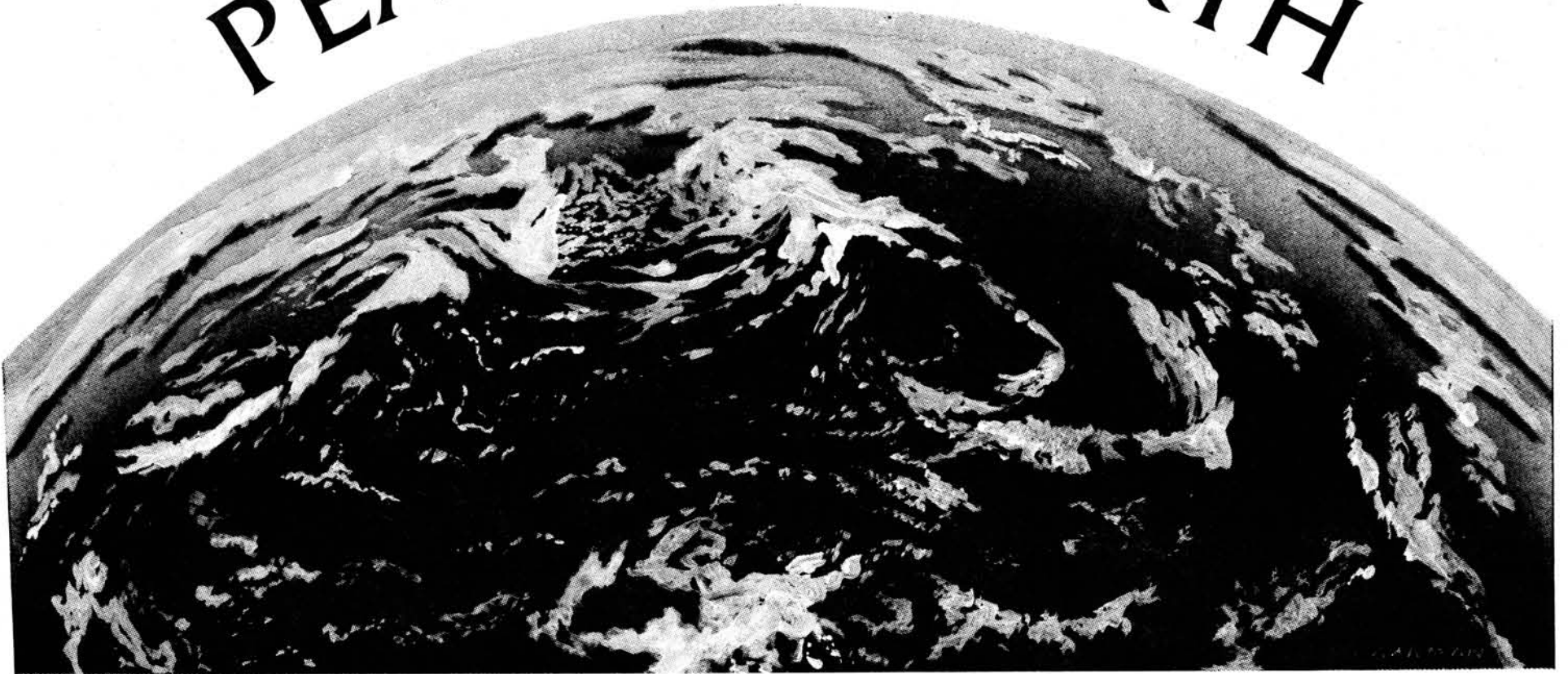
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Editorial

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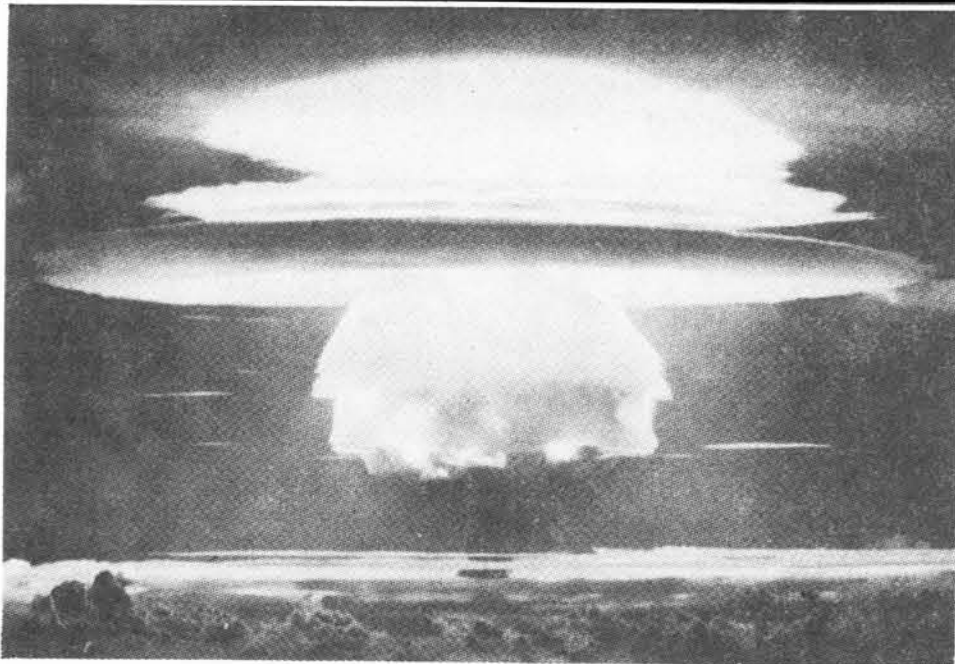
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Hot Flashes by Catherine Franke



Deceiving the "Enemy"

A cover-up of a radioactive spill on the Wright-Patterson Air Force base near Dayton was exposed last month by a special inquiry chaired by Ohio Democratic Senators John Glenn and Howard M. Metzenbaum. The secrecy around the spill of highly radioactive americium-241 in the fall of 1986 involved top officials at the base and raised question as to why the Nuclear Regulatory Commission failed to adequately investigate the accident.

The investigation has raised some disturbing questions. Why was a jeweler granted a dubious license by the NRC to

work with highly radioactive materials and how was he then able to smuggle a drum of hazardous americium-241 onto Wright-Patterson in order to avoid paying costly commercial dumping fees? Why did the drum remain unlabeled and undetected for 10 years on the base until it was finally uncovered by unsuspecting Wright-Patterson employees thus causing the spill? Why are there at least two other drums of hazardous materials on the base that are unlabeled and what has happened to a drum of plutonium that cannot be accounted for? Why did the NRC sit on a tip they received about the spill for four months before they made a cursory in-

spection of the base?

Central to the investigation is a tape recording of several Wright-Patterson employees discussing a plan to hide the accident and subsequent cleanup which cost taxpayers \$1 million. It seems officials involved in the coverup view the public as a threatening force, as did the Wright-Patterson employee who, the tape reveals, said: "We have to keep the information out of enemy hands."

Protests Still On Track

The navy weapons train that ran down Brian Willson at the Concord Naval Weapons Station was traveling two to three times over the normal speed limit there, according to a Navy captain's investigation. On November 18, Capt. Stanley J. Pryzby testified before a congressional subcommittee that "training of key personnel, particularly the train crew relative to the 5 m.p.h. speed limit at the crossings, was deficient . . ."

Prior to the incident, which cost Willson both his legs, the Concord station had received a letter from the protesters clearly outlining their plans to remain on the tracks until they were arrested. Harry Meserve of the Veterans Peace Action Team in Santa Cruz said that the protesters told the weapons station they would go peacefully once arrested, but that "officers on the base had decided to create a confrontation." Meserve said the weapons station had intended to "victimize" the

protesters. "The train did intend to go 20 miles per hour, it didn't intend to stop."

Ellen Danchik at the Mount Diablo Peace Center said that currently there is an ongoing vigil 24 hours a day with protesters blocking three entrances to the base as well as the tracks. "A few times a week a train will come through and people will block the trains." Danchik said last month was "real brutal" as arrests suddenly stopped and blockaders were physically and violently removed from the tracks. The last two weeks have seen an improvement in the way the protesters are treated, arrests once again resuming.

A highlight event at the weapons station this month will occur December 12 from 12-2 p.m. "Green Day" will feature music and environmental speakers including David Brower of the Earth Island Institute who will be speaking on restoring the environment and peace.

Morally Flawed

Last month the National Conference of Catholic Bishops at its meeting in Washington praised Costa Rican president Oscar Arias Sanchez's Regional Peace Plan and declared in a policy statement that the Reagan administration has been "morally flawed" in its support of the Nicaraguan Contras. The statement, which was adopted unanimously, went on to say, "We should not use Central American lives as pawns in a superpower struggle."

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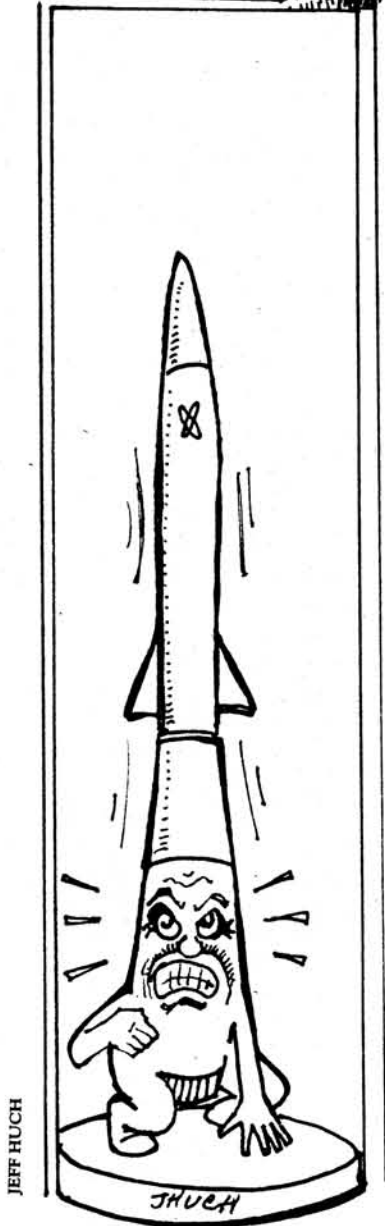
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Hot Flashes



ment of Energy "falls short of reasonable expectation." The study, released in late October, found major weaknesses in the management of the reactors and huge gaps in the understanding of how several important systems would function in a severe accident, including the equipment designed to prevent the escape of radioactivity.

In response to the study, Under Secretary of Energy, Joseph F. Salgado, admitted that the safety mechanisms in the bomb fuel-producing reactors were not as good as those in commercial reactors.

Some of the questions on safety procedures brought up by the study would take years to answer. Richard A. Meserve, who headed the study requested by the Department of Defense after the Chernobyl disaster, gave the "existence theorem" as a rationale for the continued operation of the plants: if the reactors have run without accident thus far, then they will continue to be able to meet the challenges of everyday operation.

Evacuation Rule Dropped

The Seabrook nuclear power plant, a focal point of anti-nuclear activities, for over 20 years, has had a major obstacle to preliminary licensing removed by a swift and much opposed rule change from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. In October the NRC voted 5-0 to nullify a rule which required state and local governments, in conjunction with nuclear utilities, participate in evacuation plans. Last month the NRC accepted a draft of an evacuation plan from the Seabrook plant in New Hampshire despite the heated objections of the bordering state of Massachusetts.

The Shoreham plant in Long Island has also been affected by the ruling as New York would not agree to an evacuation plan.

Governors Mario M. Cuomo of New

York and Michael S. Dukakis of Massachusetts believe that, due to geographical and other reasons, a safe evacuation of the areas surrounding these power plants in the event of an emergency is impossible.

Maine Yankee Lives

Maine voters rejected a proposal last month to shut down that state's only nuclear power plant by a 59 to 41 percent margin. People for Maine Yankee's Electricity conducted a massive \$5 million campaign to keep the Maine Yankee plant from being shut down. This group received 90 percent of its donations from the 11 utility companies that own Maine Yankee. Opponents of Maine Yankee, backed by private donations and environmental groups, were able to muster up just \$600,000 with which to fight the advertising campaign by the plant's supporters.

Added Precaution

In late October, the Air Force admitted that in January of 1984 a missile inside of a Minuteman 3 silo suddenly started to give off signals indicating that it might be preparing to launch. According to Capt. Bill Kalton of the F.E. Warren Air Force Base in Wyoming, the Air Force rapidly responded by parking an armored car on top of the silo as an "added precaution." The car "would have fallen on top of the missile and prevented it from going any place."

Existence Theorem

A report by the National Academy of Sciences criticized the nation's reactors that produce the fuel for nuclear bombs as unsafe and suffering from "acute aging," and that their management by the Depart-

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Feature

The Nuclear Free Zone Movement: New Zealand and Beyond

interview by Benny Thompson

Larry Ross is the founder and director of the New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone Committee. He began a speaking tour of the United States in Santa Cruz on November 10. He was interviewed that day by The Monthly Planet.

Interview

MONTHLY PLANET: To begin with, what exactly is the New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone Committee?

LARRY ROSS: I founded the committee in December 1981 with a view to make New Zealand a nuclear free zone, with a foreign policy based on international peacemaking. That included withdrawal from military alliances such as the ANZUS treaty which includes Australia, New Zealand and the U.S., and provides for visits from nuclear weapons-equipped warships from time to time. So we would want to get out of the ANZUS treaty which makes New Zealand a target, and also embrace a foreign policy that would take the place of ANZUS, based on international peacemaking rather than weapons.

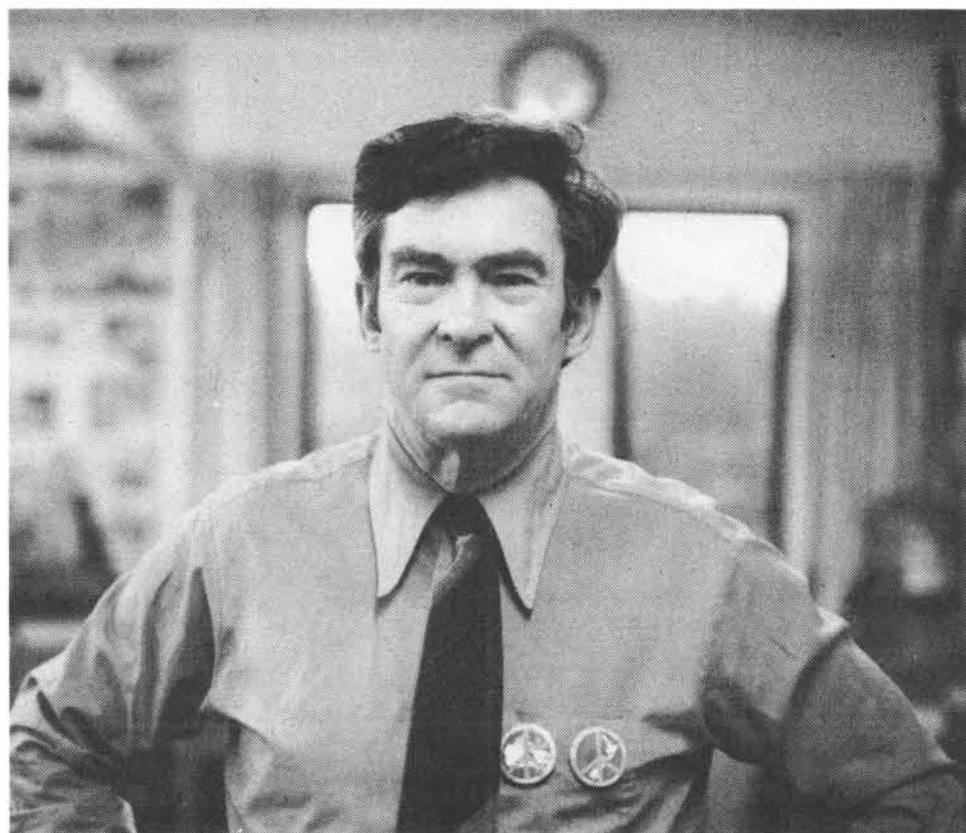
MP: Will you outline some of the goals of the Nuclear Free Zone Committee within the New Zealand political scene?

ROSS: We started out with a multi-level campaign . . . to have local areas declared nuclear weapon free zones. I did a lecture tour of the country, others did the same, and we tried to set up peace groups wherever there were none, and to strengthen groups where there were some, and give them the objective of declaring the local area nuclear free . . . as a symbolic gesture against the nuclear arms race. So for the first time in their lives many local council officials were debating the fate-of-the-earth questions. Local people were feeling empowered because they were getting this motion put before the local council. People were being educated about the nuclear threat as never before. By 1983, 28 percent of the population (of New Zealand) lived in nuclear free zones. By 1984 we had 61 percent covered, so there was a leap forward. This had a big impact on national politics. When they saw the discussion taking place at a local level, politicians began to take notice and at the same time we campaigned nationally to declare the country a nuclear free zone. We had several petitions over the period from 1982 through 1987. They requested the nuclear free zone plus the new foreign policy for New Zealand. That was door-to-door petitioning throughout the country, and lobbying the politicians both in their local offices and in their offices in the parliament by teams of people.

MP: Before David Lange was elected Prime Minister in 1984, what kind of

was the New Zealand government's position on nuclear weapons?

that remained very strong on being an obedient member of ANZUS and accepting nuclear warships, and also tying New Zealand territory to the nuclear war infrastructure and offering the use of New Zealand territory in actual prosecution of any kind of war, including nuclear war. We brought out the fact that the use of our territory and the visits made by nuclear ships would make New Zealand a target in a nuclear war. What kind of a defense is it for New Zealand to be under the nuclear umbrella when you can have nuclear war due to computer chip failure, or somebody instituting a policy that is dangerous, provocative, and



Larry Ross, founder and director of the New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone Committee.

ultimately results in war? Therefore it was dangerous to be under the so-called nuclear umbrella. So when the Labor Party did get in in 1984, it was a result of this enormous peace pressure.

There are still local areas declaring themselves nuclear free in spite of the fact that the whole country, by law, became a nuclear free zone June 8, 1987, with a penalty of up to 10 years in prison for anyone conspiring to bring nuclear weapons into the country, and a fine of up to \$100,000 for dumping nuclear waste.

MP: Is the Nuclear Free Zone Committee or the government of New Zealand working with other South Pacific nations to take a nuclear free stand?

ROSS: The committee has always had a policy that we want nuclear free zones everywhere. We've been reaching out since we were formed with information and discus-

sion. The construction of nuclear free zones throughout the world is a way to reduce potential nuclear battlefields and create good conditions for further disarmament steps by the nuclear states. The zone itself does not cause disarmament or the forfeiting of a missile by any side. It's like an end run around the superpowers. We can draw chunks of territory out of their nuclear war scenarios. Bear in mind that it is at least the policy of the Pentagon to use nuclear weapons first, and to use them in 'theaters' of combat—meaning, on allied territories and on enemy territory, avoiding the mainland of each side. We're recommending the

Fiji a nuclear weapons free zone patterned on New Zealand, and within weeks there was a coup d'etat there with Colonel Rambuka that got rid of that notion. In the same way the Palau administration was deposed in terms of its nuclear free constitution that the Americans worked very hard to get around in order to establish a nuclear naval base at Palau. We anticipate that the American government will establish bases perhaps in Fiji now that it's got what seems to be its man in power in Fiji, Col. Rambuka.

MP: Are there currently any other nuclear free states besides New Zealand in the South Pacific?

ROSS: Vanuatu was the very first. Well before New Zealand, it was part of their constitution when they first started out. Father Walter Lini set that up.

MP: Is there a chance that New Zealand might be able to influence North Atlantic countries to take a nuclear free stance?

ROSS: We've had reports from throughout the world that people feel encouraged and empowered by a nuclear free New Zealand and they want to emulate it. Of course the Pentagon calls this the "kiwi disease." It's about the only contagious disease that everybody wants to catch. I was recently on a lecture tour of Canada, invited to speak by the Operation Dismantle group, on "Nuclear Weapons Free Canada: the Possible Dream." The theme was that if New Zealand can do it, so can Canada. So I proposed that Canada be a nuclear free buffer zone between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. In this role, Canada would be able to do much more for the U.S. and its real interests, preventing nuclear war, than it can possibly do as a forward base of American nuclear war strategy. Now what we have to do in the States, what I'm doing here and what I hope the Canadians will do, is send high-powered sales delegations to Washington and also sell this idea right across the U.S., that Canada and other countries doing this are acting in America's best interest in reducing the likelihood of nuclear war. The peace movement here can help out by sending letters to Canadian publications, politicians, and peace groups, extolling the idea of a nuclear free Canada. It's one way Americans can do something, when you may feel blocked in your own country. I've talked to many people in this country who feel discouraged and disempowered in spite of the big percentages for the Freeze. It's as if you're dealing with deaf ears, even with politicians who are sympathetic. Somehow they manage to switch around when they get to Washington.

MP: Are there any nuclear power plants in New Zealand?

ROSS: No, it isn't an issue because we have sufficient power resources not to need that, and in the wake of Chernobyl it would be difficult for anybody to even consider

A Closer Look

A Preview of Coming Events

by Susan C. Strong

By the time these words reach print, the third summit will be almost upon us. And the first national SANE/FREEZE Congress will, I hope, have adopted a mission statement integrating most of the major world issues today, including concern for the ecosphere.

While we of SANE/FREEZE cannot be satisfied with the INF Treaty as more than a tentative first step, it may be the beginning of a series of shifts. These are needed in our government, in the world community, and among the broad array of groups dedicated to some aspect of a safe, just, and sustainable world.

The direction of these hoped for shifts must be to a holistic and unified political program that goes well beyond the organization currently known as SANE/FREEZE. Yet in a recent book entitled *Radical Citizenship*, author David Bouchier notes that the American antinuclear weapons movement believes most of the reform needed in every area of our national life is contingent on reducing artificially-hyped superpower conflict. It is that drama which, above all, fuels the power and authority of defense-obsessed nation states—those same states which seem so reluctant to recognize the rights of the individual to live in peace and safety, with justice.

However, Americans like drama. And not least because drama unifies. The most

fundamental American problem is a melting pot society, where diversity, individuality, and competition are worshipped, if not always obeyed. Any spectacle, dramatic event, or national myth which can make us feel like one people, even for a short period, even in shame, is secretly prized in and for itself. Witness the national focus on the Irangate hearings, the Bork hearings, poor Justice Ginsburg's meteoric rise and fall; these collective rituals temporarily unified the country, at least in terms of our attention. Brian Willson's sacrifice and the Christic Institute suit are unifying the grassroots' sense of connection between our issues. Coming up in early 1988 may be a fight in the Senate over ratifying the INF Treaty, which promises to be quite a spectacle. And last, but not least, there is the election.

The election, alas. So far, a lackluster theater piece with seemingly little power to draw people or ideas together. Predictable Republicans lacking charisma and a set of barely distinguishable Democrats, with one outstanding exception. No one, of course, except dyed-in-the-wool political types, is really thinking hard about the election yet, but it seems that the nation is already bored with it all. And no wonder. Almost all the candidates lack the strength, or maybe it is the wit, to address the real problems of the planetary community as a holistic system. This is where the *real* drama is, and it speaks to the unity of a melting pot world.

KATHLEEN KRUMBECK



What would happen if a presidential candidate had the courage to give a speech which went something like this?

"I am addressing mankind tonight and will use every means at my command to have this message brought home to every man, woman and child in every country on Earth. What I have to say may be a matter of life or death for every human being. I hope they listen carefully. This is a message of hope . . . We live in an age that breaks precedents. We need not be enslaved by historical precedents of war and catastrophe. It is predicted that by the year 2000 world population will exceed six billion people. Scientists and engineers tell us that we have within reach the means to produce the food, clothing, housing, warmth, health, education and welfare for all of these people. But nations are not producing to meet these human needs, because today the world spends [its] billions on an escalating arms race, producing anti-human forces of destruction.

"Nations have learned the secrets of the power of death for mankind because they have invested their human and natural resources in massive mobilizations for the specific purpose of learning these secrets . . .

"Black and terrifying, the escalating danger of global war looms today above mankind like a thunderstorm of death. But beyond that dark horror, I see a white light of hope. I believe that man can create global safety systems in time. I propose four great strides forward on the road to the permanent end of war between nations . . . to lasting peace and prosperity.

"*First Stride:* I propose construction of a new series of reconnaissance satellites. The use of these surveillance space stations will be made available to all nations. All nations will be invited to develop surveillance systems for experimental installation in these orbiting laboratories. All nations will be given full access to all information inputs and outputs from these global surveillance systems . . . *Second Stride:* I propose the construction of an advanced global command and control headquarters . . . with

duplicate synchronous display centers in the capitals of all cooperating nations and in the headquarters of all regional defense organizations. This center will be open to the public of all nations and to governments of all nations. The large illuminated display walls in this prototype global command center will be connected by direct communications lines to the national command center in the Pentagon in Washington . . . Every other nation will be invited to connect its national command center to this world display . . . all nations will gain practical everyday experience in the interface problems in the successful operation of a future war safety control system of global dimensions . . ."

Pretty dramatic, eh? This excerpt was taken from "Speech in Search of a Statesman Capable of Delivering It," by Howard Kurtz, father of the Peacesat concept described in earlier columns, which is itself based on the model of international air traffic control.

Susan C. Strong chairs Northern California SANE/FREEZE.



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Inside the Movement

New Directions, New Challenges

by Terry Teitelbaum

“Beyond the Cold War” was the slogan of the recent founding conference of the newly merged SANE/FREEZE national organization in Cleveland. It suggests a new agenda for a new organization.

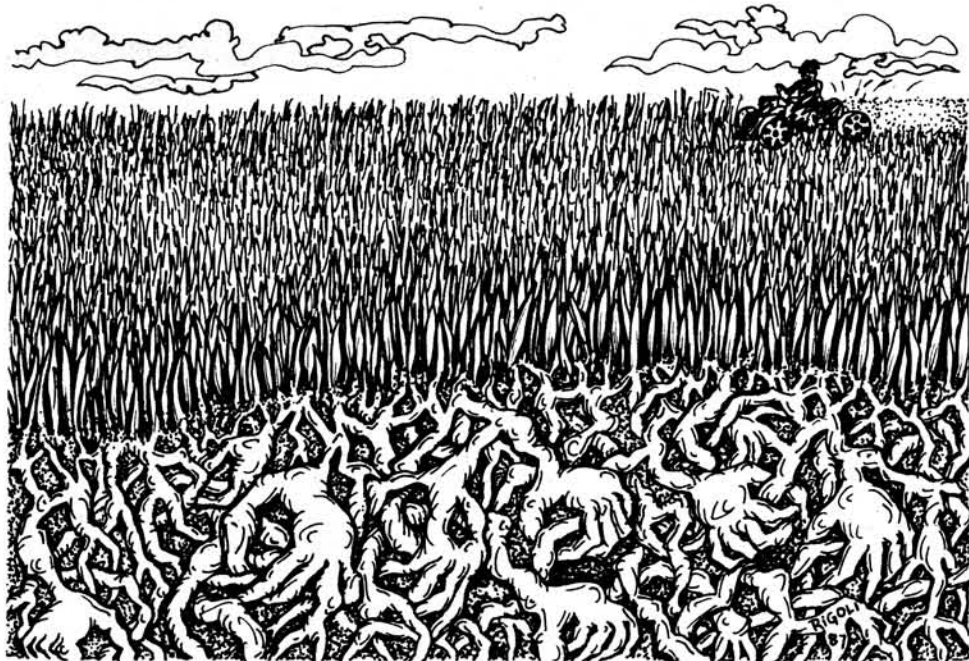
SANE (formally the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy) has been around since 1957, working mainly through legislative lobbying and through its political action committee (SANE/PAC), to end and reverse the nuclear arms race, stop U.S. military intervention and to reduce U.S. military spending.

The strategic menu of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze has basically included one very focussed goal—a mutual and verifiable halt to the production, testing and deployment of nuclear weapons by both the United States and the Soviet Union. This proposal, put forth by Randall Forsberg in 1979, was so simple and so timely that it caught on like wildfire among grassroots activists all over the country.

Since that time, the Freeze’s single focus orientation has been both praised and criticized. However, as many activists are making the commitment to hang in for the long haul, they are less motivated these days by their fear of nuclear war than by their desire for a better world. They are finding the need to branch out and make more connections between the nuclear arms race and issues such as military intervention in Third World countries, economic and social injustice, racism, sexism, national security and even environmental degradation.

The political objectives agreed upon by 900 activists at the three-day conference of the new SANE/FREEZE organization are:

1. To halt and reverse the nuclear arms race, ultimately to abolish nuclear weapons; to prevent the militarization of space; and to reduce non-nuclear “conventional forces.”
2. To adopt new foreign and military policies which exclude military intervention, protect human rights, and promote social and economic development.
3. To cut military spending and promote economic reconstruction through conversion from a military to civilian economy.



new organization should not be hasty to forsake the structural strengths of the Freeze. One reason the Freeze idea caught on so quickly was the simplicity and sensibility of the proposal. The main reason the organization has grown so quickly is the grassroots nature of Freeze organizing efforts all over the country. Thousands of local activists, beginning in 1979 and 1980, either formed Freeze groups or re-energized existing peace groups to promote the simple and popular notion of stopping the arms race by just stopping it. People felt ownership of their organizations. Such empowerment is rarely found in local chapters of large, centralized national organizations.

The new strategy, as presented and discussed at the “National SANE/FREEZE Congress,” was embraced enthusiastically. Congress participants welcomed the long-range vision of true global security and social and economic justice and the accompanying strategic steps for the new organization. Less unity, however, was evident regarding structural proposals.

The national SANE/FREEZE organization is eager to consolidate the membership and mailing lists of every local and state organization wishing to affiliate with the national into one massive membership list. This strategy rests on the theory that such a list will significantly increase the organiza-

tion, where almost all the resources are concentrated in Washington.

Our experience in Santa Cruz is that people want to be involved at the local level. They support the activities of their local group to which they have access and influence. Yet they also want to be part of a larger, national effort. They know local work is essential, but that we are not going to end the nuclear arms race in Santa Cruz.

They also know that when they sign up with the Freeze in Santa Cruz, their names go no further than right here. (Joining our local Freeze will not make you the automatic recipient of two tons of political mail—we guarantee it.)

The SANE/FREEZE merger enriches our work by combining the strengths of both organizations. The newly-installed president of SANE/FREEZE, the Reverend William Sloane Coffin, said that the merger represents much more than the sum of its parts. Yet if any of the participants end up having to sacrifice in this process, we’ll end up with less than we had before the merger. If we can resolve our structural issues creatively, without significant hardship on anyone’s part, we’ll be unstoppable. SANE/FREEZE would be wise to give the goal of building a sound structure which honors and values grassroots initiative an equal level of importance as that of developing an exciting and appealing national strategy. It is this effort, and no other, which will contribute most to the ability of this new organization to stick around for the long haul. It is to that end that the Santa Cruz County Nuclear Weapons Freeze will remain committed.

Terry Teitelbaum is the executive director of the Santa Cruz County Nuclear Weapons Freeze.

The SANE/FREEZE merger provides an excellent vehicle for working on a broader agenda as long as we go about it in the right way.

4. To encourage international efforts to alleviate the fears and distrust that fuel the arms race and armed conflict between nations; to basically move the world “beyond the cold war.”

The SANE/FREEZE merger provides an excellent vehicle for working on this broader agenda as long as we go about it in the right way. By abandoning the single focus which characterized the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign for the last six years, the

organization’s political clout. This may or may not be true. What is true, however, is that many local and state Freeze organizations and some independent SANE groups already rely heavily on their locally developed lists of members and supporters for their financial resources. What must be worked out to everyone’s satisfaction is how to integrate local and state members into the national organization without SANE/FREEZE becoming just another national direct-mail

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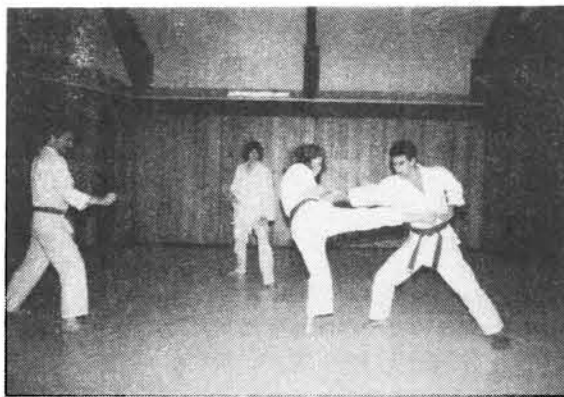
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Feature

The INF Treaty Is Finally a Reality

by Ralph Chernoff

As this issue of the *Planet* hits the streets, President Ronald Reagan and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev should be holding their third summit conference. The first two, Geneva in 1985 and Reykjavik in 1986, were unproductive. But the third summit will produce at least an Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty, an agreement banning all U.S. and Soviet "intermediate range" (500 to 5000 km) land-based missiles. Whether it produces anything else remains to be seen.

The INF Treaty is little enough to show for three summits and eight years of negotiations. Nevertheless it brings a happy and quite unexpected end to a process begun in 1977 when then-Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of West Germany demanded that

NATO be given new American missiles to counter a new Soviet medium-range missile called SS-20. Just why Schmidt chose this particular time to discover and proclaim a European missile gap isn't clear. Hundreds of Soviet missiles (mostly SS-4s) had been aimed at NATO targets since 1959. These obsolete missiles were already quite adequately matched by U.S., British and French nuclear forces, and their replacement by SS-20s would not materially affect the threat to Western Europe. Furthermore, there was no great mystery about why the Soviets wanted to replace the stationary, highly vulnerable SS-4s with mobile, less vulnerable SS-20s; they were afraid of a NATO/U.S. first strike against the older missiles.

The Carter administration responded promptly and favorably to the Schmidt demand. The Pentagon came up with a 1500-mile range ballistic missile, the Pershing IIA, which it had, with uncanny prescience, been developing since 1969. It also had a lot of cruise missiles (flying bombs, essentially, with ultra-precise automatic guidance systems) which it didn't seem to have any other use for. It offered to supply 108 of the Pershings and 464 of the cruises (called GLCMs in the trade) to NATO free gratis. Cost to U.S. taxpayers: about \$7 billion so far. Both missiles could hit Moscow from launch sites in Western Europe.

NATO announced this "Euromissile" program in December 1979. But many Europeans weren't happy about more nuclear missiles in their midst, and a strong and determined protest movement soon arose. In order to blunt this movement, NATO governments had to at least appear as if they were willing to negotiate. The result was the "zero-zero solution," first proposed by West Germany but quickly embraced by the new Reagan administration. "Zero-zero" said that the U.S. would deploy the Euromissiles unless the Soviets junked all their intermediate-range missiles, including not only the SS-20s but also their obsolete predecessors. Moreover, existing NATO nuclear forces (e.g., British Polaris subs, French ICBMs, U.S. Poseidon subs, etc.), which were being rapidly expanded and upgraded, were specifically exempted from the proposal. Reagan offered the Soviets "zero-zero" in 1981. Take it or leave it. They left it.

U.S. and Soviet negotiators continued to talk in Geneva for another five years but produced nothing. Then, at the Reykjavik Summit in October 1986, Gorbachev astonished everyone by accepting "zero-zero." But only if it was packaged with: 1) a 50 percent cut in long-range (longer than 5000 km) ICBMs, and 2) strict U.S. adherence to the ABM Treaty. "What?" exclaimed Reagan, "And give up Star Wars?" That wrecked Reykjavik.

The 13 months since Reykjavik have not been kind to Ronald Reagan. As his administration sinks deeper into a slough of despair from which rescue could come only with an arms control pact with the Evil Empire, everyone expected concessions, if any, from Washington, not Moscow. But in July, in the middle of Iran-Contragate, Gorbachev again surprises everyone by



accepting Reagan's 1981 "zero-zero" plan unconditionally: no linkage to a Star Wars ban or long-range missile reduction; all U.S. and Soviet medium-range missiles, whether in Europe, Siberia or anywhere else, to go; but no reduction (or even limits) for other NATO missiles (well over 1000 warheads). The Soviets have to junk 1565 warheads while we junk only 420.

Many weeks of detailed negotiations follow, mainly on verification procedures. For the first time ever the superpowers agree to mutual on-site inspection. Schultz and Shevardnadze fly to Geneva to wrap up the agreement on November 24.

Just why did the Soviets finally agree to "zero-zero," which, as we saw above, is zero only on one side, theirs? Did Reagan force the Soviets to give up SS-20s by

threatening them with the Euromissiles, i.e., by "negotiating from strength"? No; the Euromissiles made the Russians nervous, but not scared enough to be willing to pay any price to be rid of them. Furthermore, nothing prevented the Soviets from simply waiting till the 1988 elections before deciding whether to settle with the present U.S. administration or the next.

The reason the Soviets finally accepted "zero-zero" isn't all that mysterious; they simply decided (doubtless, after lengthy internal debate) that the practical political advantages of nailing down the Reagan administration to an arms control agreement outweighed the largely theoretical military disadvantages of the loss of the SS-20s. They apparently concluded that future U.S. administrations—especially Democratic—may be less inhibited in negotiating with the Soviets because the INF Treaty will serve as a "legitimizing" precedent. In other words, because it's Reagan's treaty, the "Soft on Russia" attack, the American Right's most effective weapon against arms control, will be easier to meet.

On the military side, the loss of 720 SS-20 warheads can be readily offset by reaiming some of the 9000 or so Soviet long-range warheads (which are not included in the treaty) at NATO targets. NATO strategists are, of course, aware of this.

As for the summit, will it be a mere treaty signing ceremony or will it make progress on the larger issue of strategic (intercontinental) weapons? That depends almost entirely on whether Reagan puts Star Wars on the table. He insists that he won't, but the departure of Caspar Weinberger and other die-hard opponents of arms control from his administration, and their replacement by more "pragmatic" people like Frank Carlucci and Howard Baker, may indicate otherwise. We'll soon know.

Ralph Chernoff is a staff writer of *The Monthly Planet*.

Is Star Wars Negotiable?

According to a *Washington Post* article, officials of the Reagan administration's Star Wars (SDI) project have concluded that restrictions demanded by the Soviets would prevent only a few of the tests that the project's managers plan to carry out by 1995. This view was argued by the Chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral William Crowe, Jr. at a secret White House meeting in October. The then-Secretary of Defense, Caspar Weinberger, disagreed with Admiral Crowe and urged the president to reject the Soviet proposal.

The article does not give many details about these restrictions, except to note that one would prevent the testing in space of any laser bright enough to destroy a missile. The restrictions apparently amount to the Soviet interpretation of the ABM Treaty as it applies to space-based missile defenses. The Soviets have insisted that observance of that treaty is a necessary condition for an agreement reducing long-range missiles, but the proposed restrictions imply that some Star Wars testing, even in space, is permissible under the treaty.

Although Reagan continues to insist that Star Wars is totally non-negotiable, the departure of Caspar Weinberger, the most influential hard-liner in the Reagan administration, may signal otherwise. Reagan's chief arms control adviser, Paul Nitze, also supports the more flexible approach. But the strongest indication of all that Star Wars may be on the table at the Washington summit is the *Post* article itself, which is clearly an official leak about a supposedly "secret" White House meeting.

—RC

Pentagon Study Says NATO's Conventional Forces Are Adequate

According to the latest assessment by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, NATO's conventional forces are strong enough to deter a Soviet attack. The report is consistent with previous assessments which came to the same conclusion. The study, which was done before the U.S. and the Soviet Union reached final agreement on the INF Treaty, thus contradicts opponents of the treaty who claim that Western Europe cannot be defended without the U.S. missiles banned by it.

The report points out that while—in the opinion of Western military authorities—the Warsaw Pact (the U.S.S.R. and its allies) outnumbers NATO in troops as well as in certain classes of weapons, NATO has the edge when all relevant factors are taken into account. These include factors which are difficult or impossible to quantify, such as the quality of weapons, troops, their leadership and morale, command and control systems, readiness of reserves, reliability of allies, transportation systems and industrial capacity. The study was based on computer-assisted war games which included both nuclear and non-nuclear "scenarios." The Pentagon press release on the report (the report itself is classified) does not reveal the results of the nuclear scenarios.

Soviet assessments contradict NATO's claims that it is vastly outnumbered by the Warsaw Pact and instead claim a rough equality of conventional forces. Nevertheless, in his recent interview by Tom Brokaw, Gorbachev admitted that "certain asymmetries" existed between the two forces, and he indicated that these might be subjects for negotiation between the superpowers.

—RC

Legislative Update

The 1987 Congress: Mixed Reviews

by Shelly D'Amour

As 1987 draws to a close, arms control advocates can look back at the congressional record with mixed reviews. As in past years, Congress started out by projecting a strong pro-arms control stance against a resistant administration—only to gradually negate almost all of its positions. Last year's excuse was Reykjavik. This year it's "The Summit." Once again, Congress dropped its support for a nuclear test ban amendment, and approved funding for the Trident II, Star Wars (\$3.9 billion) and 12 MX missiles. One of the few positive notes—it voted to continue the moratorium on anti-satellite weapons (ASAT) testing.

Here's a summary of this month's issues of interest:

Budget

Spurred by threats of impending mandatory budget cuts, a fragile coalition of congressional leaders and members of the Reagan administration have tentatively agreed upon a deficit-reducing package, which slices the \$148 billion deficit by \$30.2 billion next year, and by \$45.8 billion in 1989. If the agreement is affirmed in the Senate, it will cut the military budget by \$5 billion and provide for \$9 billion in new revenues through increased taxes.

Had the Congress and the Reagan administration been unable to agree upon a deficit plan, the Gramm-Rudman Deficit Reduction Act would have gone into effect, imposing \$23 billion in automatic cuts—half from the military and half from all other federally funded programs. The 1986 legislation establishes a five-year plan for cutting the federal deficit and balancing the budget.

Fiscal year 1988 began at midnight, October 1 without a budget. Congress has been obliged to pass a series of stop-gap funding measures called Continuing Resolutions (CR), until a new budget could be approved. At this juncture, it appears that Congress will pass a "long-term CR," which will extend through September 30, the end of the fiscal year. This is essentially the same as passing a budget, without actually passing a budget. The main difference is procedural.

In normal budgetary procedures, the appropriations bills for each of the 13 federal departments are debated, amended and voted upon individually. In the case of a CR, all 13 bills are rolled into one omnibus spending bill, which is usually voted upon without debate or amendment.

Military Budget

By a vote of 264-158, the House approved \$296 billion for the Pentagon next year. This figure represents a virtual freeze at last year's level (\$291.6 billion), and is likely to be cut by an additional \$5 billion by the deficit reduction plan now under consideration in the Senate. The bill is now part of the Continuing Resolution, which will be voted on shortly in the Senate.

This year was especially embarrassing, because when Congress acted to require presidential compliance with the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) and SALT II treaties, it couldn't even bring itself to name the treaties in the text of the defense bill.

President Reagan has repeatedly vowed to veto any military spending bill that restricted his interpretation of the ABM Treaty or forced him back into compliance with the terms of the SALT II Treaty. Even though Congress had the votes to override a presidential veto, it chose instead to achieve its goals by playing games with semantics—opting to set limits on the way funds can be spent, and avoiding any specific reference to the treaties.

For example, in the case of SALT II, the bill requires the Pentagon to withdraw one Poseidon submarine from service, temporarily bringing the U.S. back into compliance with the numerical limits of the treaty (however, an additional Trident II submarine will be commissioned next year, which will again place the U.S. out of compliance with the treaty.)

In terms of the ABM Treaty, both the House and Senate adopted, and then dropped, an amendment blocking the president from exercising his so-called "broad" interpretation of the treaty. (The ABM Treaty specifically prohibits the testing and deployment of any space-based system. The president would like to "re-interpret" the treaty to allow for development of his Star Wars program.) In its



JEFF HUCH

place, the Congress stipulated that funding allocated for Star Wars testing could only be used for those tests already scheduled for the 1988 fiscal year—all of which conform to the traditional "narrow" interpretation of the treaty.

In refusing to name names, Congress sets up an interesting dilemma for itself. First of all, it only temporarily forestalls what must eventually be a day of reckoning between the Congress and the presidency—that is, whether the Congress of the United States will allow any president to unilaterally abrogate or reinterpret an international treaty to which it (the Congress) is a party, and for which it is responsible. Secondly, at best the approach merely sets up procedural roadblocks which can be easily circumvented by an inventive and devious Pentagon. Finally, and most damningly, Congress shows itself to be a body of weak-willed politicians, afraid to assert its proper role in demanding presi-

dential compliance with United States treaties.

INF Treaty

When President Reagan and Soviet Premier Gorbachev sign the INF Treaty in December, it will only signal the first step of a process that could last well into next summer. It will be up to the Senate to either ratify or reject the treaty, and already battle lines are being drawn as the pro- and anti-INF forces are shaping their arguments and counting potential votes.

ACTION: Write or call Senators Cranton and Wilson and tell them to approve the INF Treaty when it comes up for a vote next year.

Central America

As we go to press, it appears that Contra aid is dead for 1987. Congratulations to all of you who put in so many hours on this issue! In January, pro-Contra congress-

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Legislative Update

members will be back in force, putting together yet another aid package they think they can sell their colleagues and the American people. It's incumbent on each of us to keep the pressure on.

The Continuing Resolution went through the House without the expected amendment calling for \$30 million in "non-lethal" funds for the Contras. Despite their best efforts, the Republican leadership realized that they just didn't have the votes to carry such an amendment, so they didn't bother offering one.

"Non-lethal" is a term that legislation-watchers should become familiar with. It covers military training and the purchase of helicopters as well as food, clothing and medicine. The use of the term represents an escalation in what the administration considers minimally acceptable from Congress, as opposed to last year's request for "humanitarian" aid.

One low note: the CR contains language permitting U.S. government agencies to share "intelligence" information with the Contras. The inclusion of such a provision serves once again to illustrate the schizophrenic, unfocused position of Congress on the issue of aid to the Contras.

In a related matter, the Senate is expected to vote on the CR during the second week of December. At that time they will also vote on the Moakley-DeConcini bill (S.332) which would halt the deportation of Salvadoran refugees for a period of two years. After being locked in committee for over three years, the bill finally passed the House several months ago.

Finally, Representatives Barbara Boxer, Joe Moakley, and Joe Kennedy will sponsor an amendment to the Foreign Aid Authorization Bill which would withhold military and economic support funds from the government of El Salvador, until 15 days after President Reagan assures that the govern-

ment of El Salvador has conducted a thorough investigation into the death of Salvadoran human rights leader Herbert Anaya. The bill also requires that the United States offer its assistance in that investigation.

ACTION: 1) Contact Senators Cranston and Wilson immediately and urge their support for the Moakley-DeConcini bill; 2) Contact your local representatives (in Santa Cruz County, Leon Panetta or Ernest Konnyu) and urge them to support the Boxer/Moakley/Kennedy amendment to the Foreign Aid Authorization Bill; 3) Finally, your representatives will be in town during the congressional holiday recess. This is an excellent time to make an appointment and share your concerns with them for the coming year.

Nuclear Waste

The Senate voted 86 to 9 to scrap a plan to build two permanent repositories for high-level nuclear waste; and to concentrate on one facility—probably to be located in Nevada. Originally, the Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982 (NWPA), mostly for political reasons, stipulated that two repositories should be built—one in the west and one in the east. However, rock conditions in the eastern states have been found geologically inadequate to support repositories which will be buried 4000 feet deep.

The United States currently has almost 40,000 metric tons of high-level radioactive waste, stored mostly in deep pools next to nuclear power plants. Under the plan just approved in the Senate, the Energy Department would have to choose a site for exploration by January 1, 1989. Besides Yucca Mountain, Nevada, other potential sites include Hanford, Washington and Deaf Smith County, Texas.

Shelly D'Amour is the legislative editor of The Monthly Planet.

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) 224-3553

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 Ernest Konnyu
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-5411/local 257-7051
(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:

American Peace Test Hotline
(up-to-date information on all testing activities at the Nevada Test Site)
702-363-7780

Nuclear Arms Control Hotline
(Council for a Liveable World)
202-543-0006

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

Central America Legislative Hotline
202-543-0664

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

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Feature

How to Make Your Voice Heard in Congress

by Shelly D'Amour

Editor's note: As our way of honoring the 200th anniversary of the Constitution, The Monthly Planet is publishing a series of articles on "How Congress Works." This is the fifth and final part of the series.

So, Representative Warbucks just voted another round of funding for the Trident II missile. You'd like to tell him how you feel about it but you're not sure how to get your message across. Maybe you think your opinion doesn't count for much.

As a matter of fact, your opinion, when expressed, counts for a great deal. Congressional office staff tabulate every phone call and letter, and most letters receive an answer. And when concerned individuals join with others, they can mobilize public opinion and make an impact on Capitol Hill. Central America activists and lobbyists, for example, can take great credit for raising the public consciousness both in Congress and around the country concerning the role of U.S. foreign policy in Central America.

Many national organizations have professional lobbyists who work full time to educate and persuade senators and representatives to vote progressively on nuclear weapons and foreign policy issues. But you don't have to be a professional lobbyist in



order to make your voice heard. In fact, contacting our representatives and expressing our opinions is a responsibility that belongs to each of us. When we use it, we become actors in shaping the political process.

Here are some tips on various ways you can effectively lobby your representative or senator:

Letter Writing

- A typewritten, one-page letter is best. If hand written, write legibly. As a rule, don't include articles or other photocopied materials. They won't get read, unless you happen to know the congressman's staff personally, and they have a personal interest in your issue.

- If writing about a specific piece of legislation, cite the name, number and

sponsor of the bill. Briefly explain why you are for or against the legislation. Provide clear, factual arguments.

- Stick to one subject per letter. If you are concerned about a variety of issues, e.g. nuclear weapons, contra aid, and food programs, write a separate letter on each subject.

- If your representative or senator voted favorably on an issue, especially on a controversial one, write and tell him/her you appreciate it. These kinds of letters help your representative gauge support for his/her position, and may well determine how s/he votes next time.

- Close the letter asking for your congressman's support for your position. Remember to include your return address.

- These letters can also be adapted as "letters to the editor" for your local news-

paper. If your letter appears, clip it and send it to your representative.

Group Activities

If you belong to local or national political organizations, they afford you the opportunity to work with others on legislation which is of interest to you. Some of these activities include letter-writing parties, signing full-page newspaper ads, and joining legislative phone trees in which you will be informed by phone of critically-timed legislation. Such organizations also keep you informed through newsletters, which outline upcoming votes on legislation of interest.

Congressional Visits

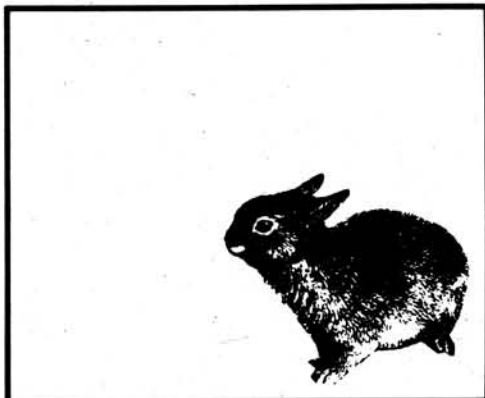
A visit to your congressman is one of the most effective ways to make your voice



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—Puppets

AND LOTS MORE TOO!

Feature

heard. During congressional recesses, your representative and senators set aside specific times to meet with constituents. To find out when your representative or senators will be in town, call their local office. Tell the staff person that you would like to make an appointment, and request to be notified the next time your congressman holds constituent hours.

Often the congressional staff will not book appointments in advance. You will

support within his/her community for a controversial issue. The delegation might be composed of representatives from labor, church, political or community groups. Include, when possible, someone the congressman knows personally. Keep the delegation to five members or less. This maintains a personal atmosphere and allows each person time to say something.

• Focus on one issue per visit. Use your time to build a credible case on a single

tion passed. Ask how you might support him/her on the issue.

• Organize your visit. If the visit involves more than one person, make sure everyone understands the issue and agrees on the approach. Decide beforehand who will say what. It's best to have a spokesperson introduce the group and make the opening remarks. Other members of the delegation should have specific questions or comments prepared. Ask questions about anything you don't understand. If your representative disagrees with you, or is unclear about where s/he stands, ask the representative what kind of information s/he would need in order to support your position. If appropriate, ask about follow-up steps.

• At the end of the visit, thank your congressman for his/her time, and leave promptly. Send a follow-up note, outlining the basic points covered in the visit, again thanking him/her for taking time to listen to your concerns.

In all of your lobbying efforts, don't expect changes overnight. Your legislators may not agree with you initially, but they will listen and respond in some measure. In time, given well-reasoned arguments and a well-mobilized constituency, they may be persuaded to change their votes. The important thing is that you the constituent have now entered into the process as a participant; and as such, you do make a difference.

Shelly D'Amour is the legislative editor of The Monthly Planet

Contacting our representatives and expressing our opinions is a responsibility that belongs to each of us.

have to sign up the same day that constituent hours are held, and wait your turn. Go early, and be prepared to wait. When you are finally shown in, you will only have 10 minutes as a rule. This may not seem like much time; but if you organize your visit well, you will be surprised at how much can be accomplished. Here are some tips on making the most of your visit:

• Present a crisp, orderly appearance. This may seem a little too basic to mention for some, or not important at all to others. However, the impression you make will impact the way your message is received.

• If appropriate, organize a delegation. A delegation strategy is especially effective if you are trying to demonstrate to the congressman that there is a breadth of

issue that concerns you. Multi-issue visits create an unfocused impression with your representative, and generally accomplish very little.

• Research your issue. If it concerns a specific piece of legislation, know the title, number and sponsor of the bill. Research your representative's voting record on the issue. Find out if s/he is a co-sponsor of the legislation. If you are in disagreement with your representative's position on the issue, find out beforehand what his/her objections are. Be clear about the points you disagree on, and be ready to suggest alternative ideas. If you agree with your representative's position, tell him/her. Encourage your congressman to take leadership among his/her colleagues to get the legisla-

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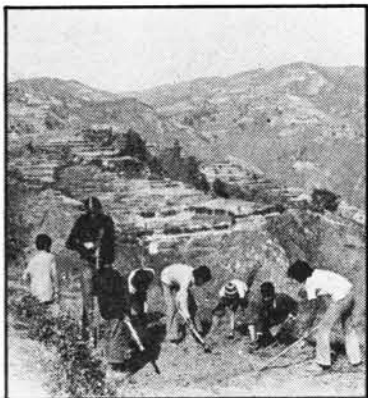
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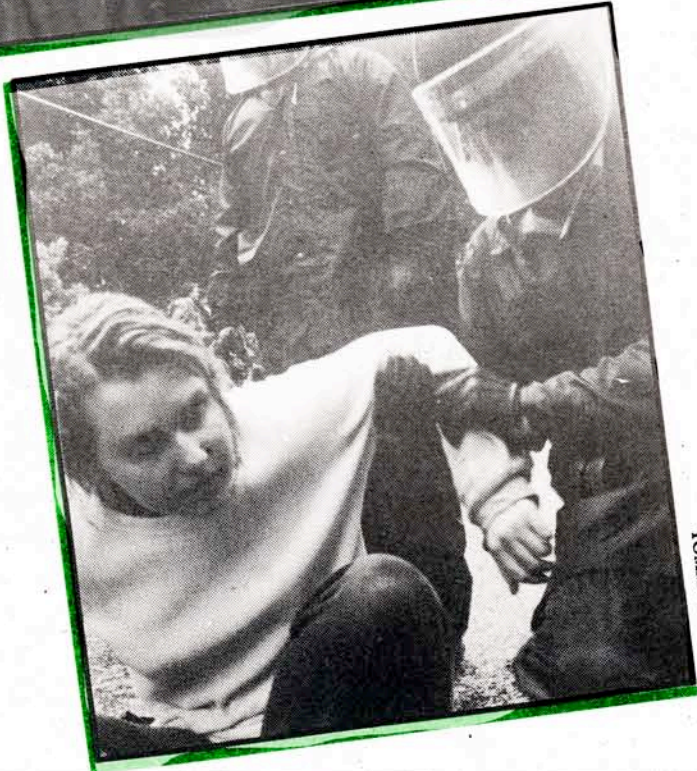
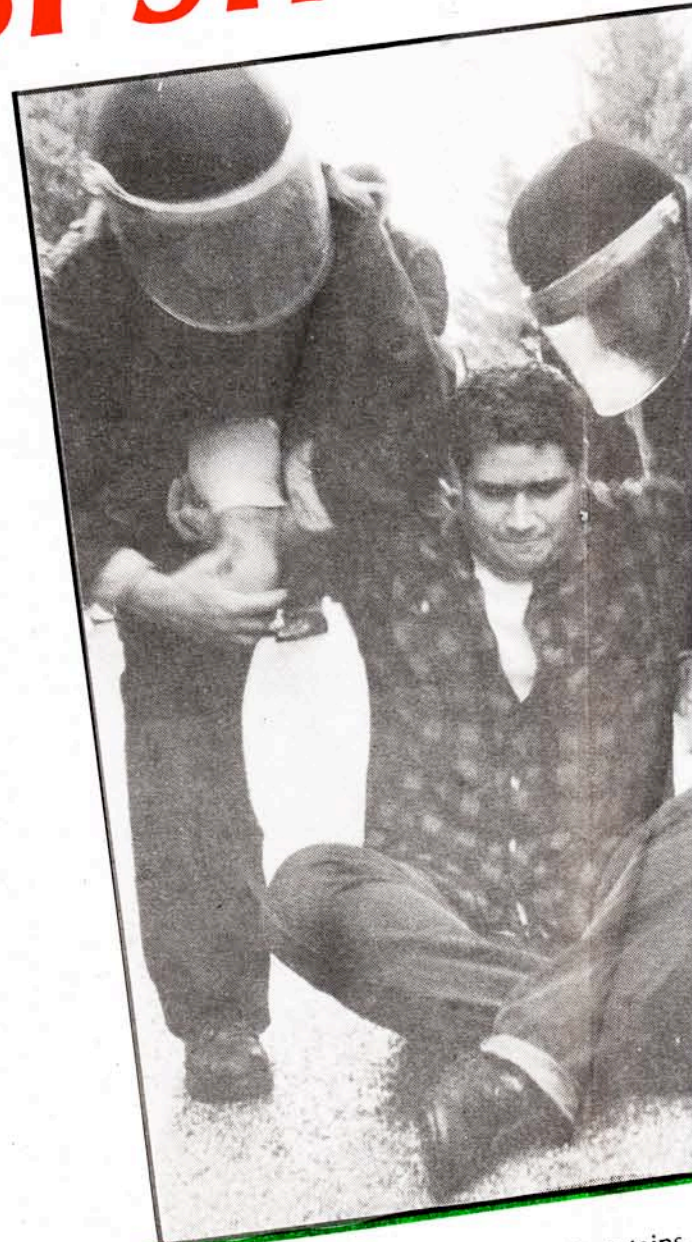
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STOP FIRST STRIKE



TOMMY CHANG



TOMMY CHANG

design by Ellen Hodges

Up in the beautiful hills of the Santa Cruz Mountains, a one-lane road in the tiny community of Bonny Doon, Lockheed has quietly operated a 4,000 acre testing facility for a part of submarine-based nuclear missiles. During a quiet of Lockheed's Santa Cruz operation was a strike against Lockheed, the prime contractor of the Ti-45, a dangerous first strike weapon. By the end of the week, Lockheed had closed its doors. A week of activities, starting with a Peace Walk and direct action at Lockheed Santa Cruz, was organized and called "California Alliance."

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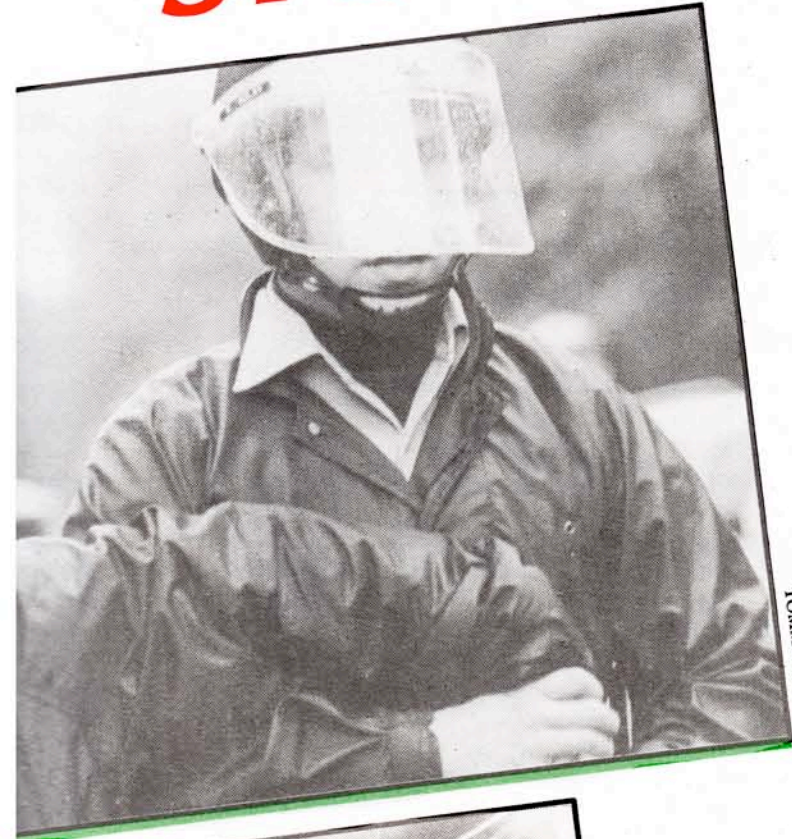
The place with the train around

POSITION
FRONT ST

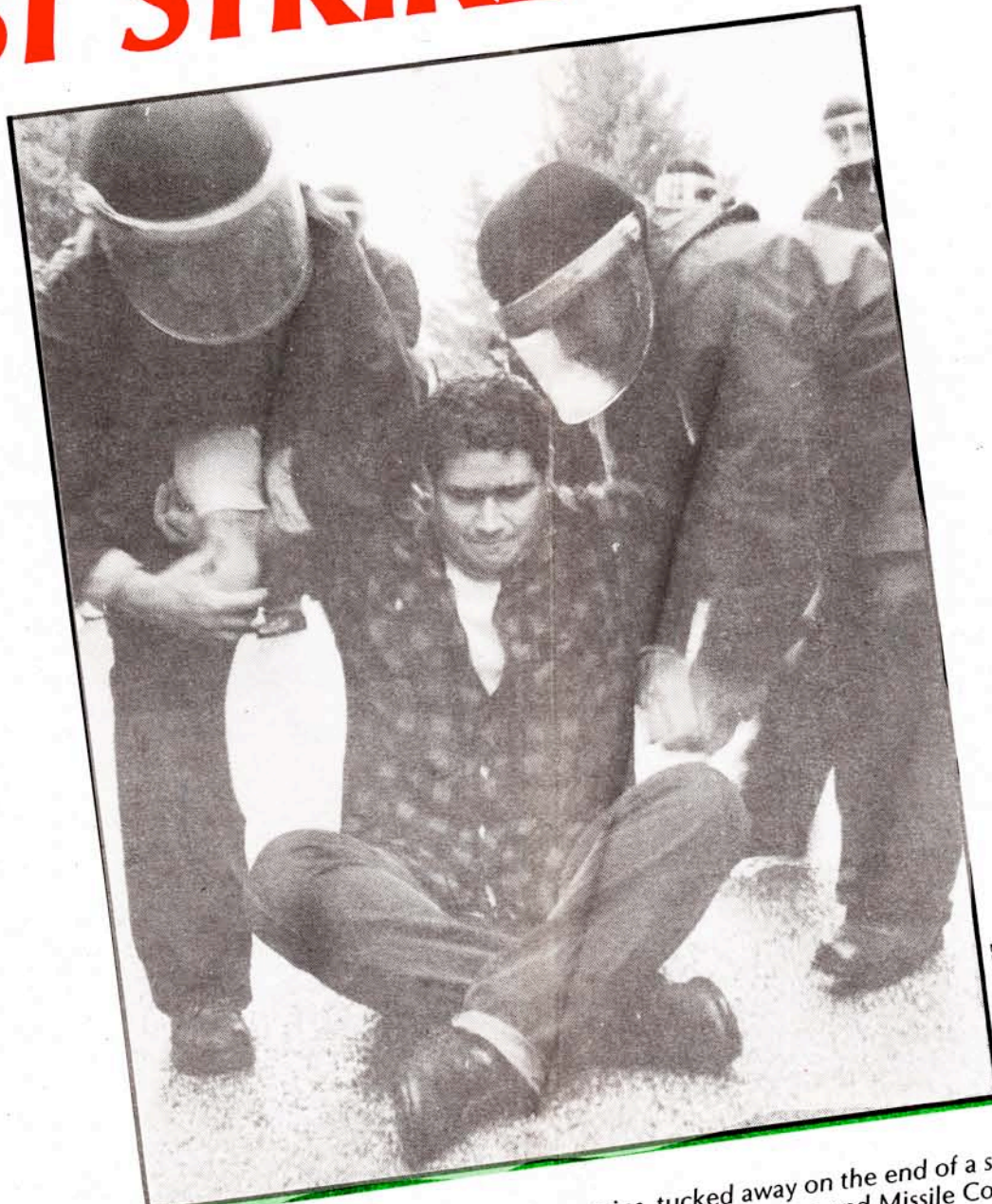
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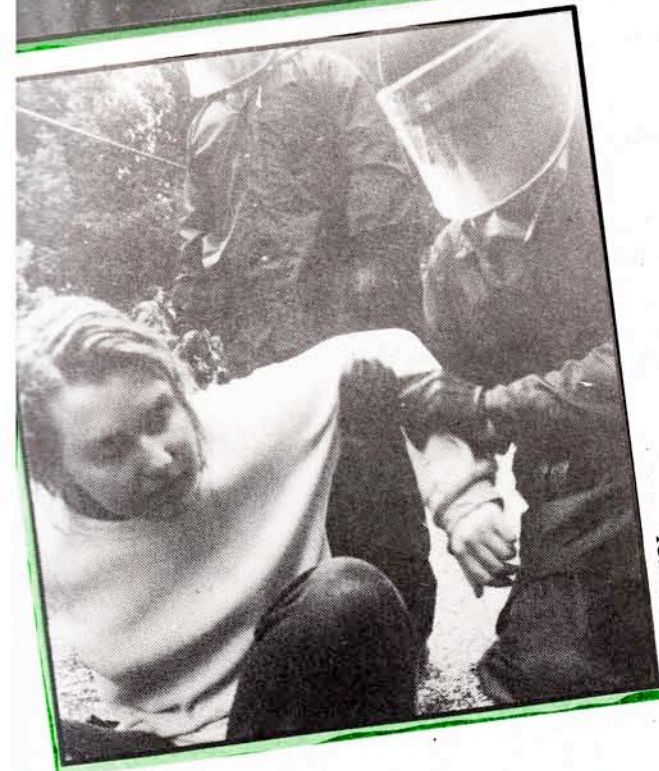
STOP FIRST STRIKE



TOMMY CHANG



DANIEL VANSAND



TOMMY CHANG

Up in the beautiful hills of the Santa Cruz Mountains, tucked away on the end of a small two-lane road in the tiny community of Bonny Doon, Lockheed Space and Missile Company has quietly operated a 4,000 acre testing facility for ordinance systems, which are an essential part of submarine-based nuclear missiles. During an entire week in late October, the rural quiet of Lockheed's Santa Cruz operation was replaced by sustained public outcry against Lockheed, the prime contractor of the Trident II missile, the newest and most dangerous first strike weapon designed in the U.S. By the end of the week, Lockheed had closed for two and a half days, and 150 people had been arrested for blocking the access of workers and materials to the facility and for trespassing onto the property. A week of activities, starting with a Peace Walk and rally and ending with the nonviolent direct action at Lockheed Santa Cruz, was organized by a statewide ad hoc group called "California Alliance to Stop First Strike." —Noel Sturgeon

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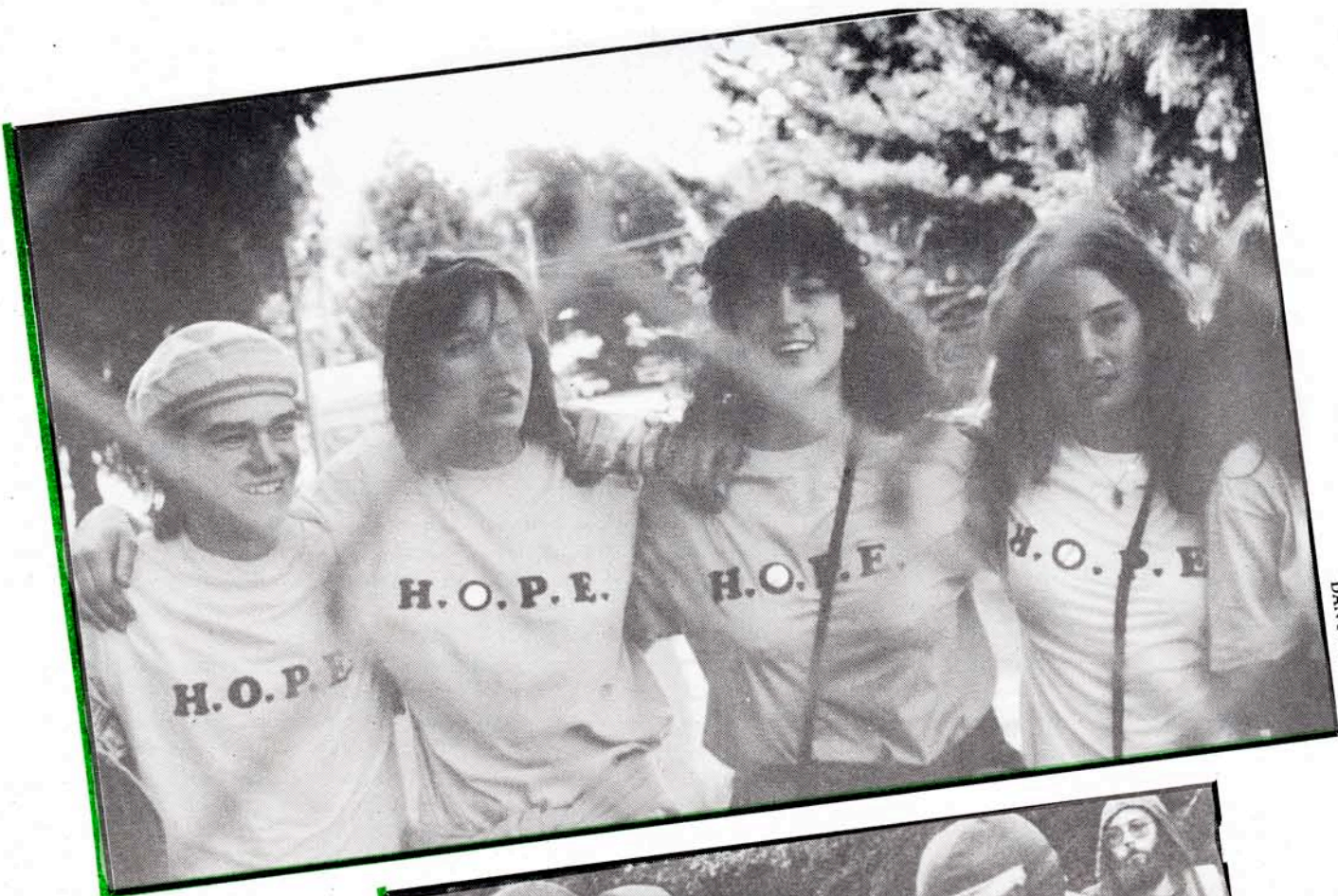
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DANIEL VANSAND



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TOMMY CLANG

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 "California Alliance to Stop First Strike."
 —Noel Sturgeon

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Direct Action Notes

Lockheed Closes Plant for 2 Days Due to Protest; 150 Arrested

by Noel Sturgeon

Before dawn on Monday, October 26, people began arriving at the front gate of Lockheed Space and Missile Company's testing facility in Bonny Doon. But these people weren't the normal morning shift coming into work. They were people from Santa Cruz, San Jose, Berkeley, San Francisco, and even Boulder, Colorado, concerned about Lockheed's design, production and testing of

the first-strike Trident II D-5 missile. And they intended to stop work on the Trident II for as long as possible.

When the sun rose on Monday morning, it found over 200 people at Lockheed's tightly-closed front gate. As time went by, and no workers appeared, spirits rose higher and higher. Then a Lockheed spokesperson came out to the gate and confirmed to the press that Lockheed would be closed for two days.

Cheers went up, and a general celebration

began. The action had succeeded in closing Lockheed, without any arrests! Hundreds of people formed a huge circle, and a joyful dance lifted everyone off their feet. A theater group from San Francisco performed a skit about nuclear war. The fence was decorated with signs, flowers, and balloons. The official sign on the gate, saying "Closed to Public," was altered to read "Closed Due To Public Outcry."

The excitement of success and the possibility of a continued action was heightened by the sudden appearance of backcountry protesters who came out from hiding inside the plant chanting "No nukes!" as they were detained by Lockheed security.

To show solidarity with them, 16 members of the affinity group H.O.P.E. (Humans Opposed to Pollution of the Earth), a group of Santa Cruz High School students, decided to commit civil disobedience by climbing over the front gate. Later in the day, the five adults arrested for backcountry trespass were released without charges. But the members of H.O.P.E., because they were "minors," were taken to juvenile detention and charged with trespassing before being released to their parents (who were uniformly supportive of their children's actions). As of press time, however, these charges had not been pressed by the

district attorney's office.

The rest of the people who went backcountry were never apprehended. They spent 11 hours on Lockheed property, examining the equipment and buildings and leaving leaflets for the workers. They even took a three-hour nap inside Lockheed before they hiked out, undetected.

Amid the hubbub and gaiety on Monday morning, spokespeople from each affinity group met in a circle on the road. If Lockheed hoped that by closing the plant it would dissipate the energy of the action without any public confrontation, they had badly misjudged the dedication and purpose of the affinity groups. The spokescouncil meeting agreed to continue the action, focussing on generating a large number of people for Wednesday morning.

Tuesday morning saw about 70 people at the front gate, to ensure that Lockheed remained closed. Tuesday then became a whirlwind of outreach activity, a day of organizing courtesy of Lockheed.

Wednesday morning, in the first pouring rain of the season, there were 300 people at Lockheed's gate. Many of these people were newcomers to the action, replacing those who could not afford to take more time off from work or school. As 7 a.m. came and went, and as the rain slowly

Direct Action Process

The nonviolent action was organized through an affinity group structure. Affinity groups are groups of about ten people, some willing to do civil disobedience and some who do support work. Affinity groups make independent decisions about what to do in an action. Some groups do support work for the action as a whole, and decisions that concern all participants are made by a spokescouncil formed of affinity group representatives. This decentralized and democratic organiza-

tional structure has been used successfully in many direct actions since 1976.

Most affinity groups were at the front gate because they intended to block the road to prevent workers and materials from entering. But some groups had gone "backcountry," that is, trespassed onto Lockheed property by hiking in through the surrounding hills. The intention of these groups was to leaflet workers inside the facility and to breach the secretive barrier surrounding Lockheed's operations.



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Direct Action Notes



TARMO HANNULA

stopped, many people assumed that Lockheed had decided to close again. Some began to drift off, to get dry clothes and salvage a day's work.

But around 8:15, word came that Lockheed was bringing in workers. Affinity groups quickly gathered to prepare themselves for a blockade. Soon, 10 carloads of workers appeared on the road, led by a CHP car. Three lines of blockaders sat down before the gate, halting the police car and the workers behind it.

Then sheriff's deputies, dressed in dark blue uniforms and full riot gear, marched out from the front gate and began arresting the blockaders. But as one line of people were removed by deputies, another line would sit down to replace them. Those who noncooperated with the arrests, that is, went limp and refused to walk, had their wrists and arms twisted in an attempt to force them to cooperate.

Wave after wave of blockaders placed themselves in between the police car and the front gate, halting the workers for a good two hours. Held at a barricade a distance away from the gate by police, a long line of workers waited in their cars for the blockade to end. All in all, 91 people

were arrested that morning.

Meanwhile, other protesters engaged in dialogue with the waiting workers. At first many workers refused to speak with protesters, or were overwhelmingly hostile. But as the time wore on, they began to roll down their windows, get out of their cars to see what was happening on the road ahead, and talk to the protesters. Some workers expressed surprise that the demonstrators were peaceful and nonviolent, saying that Lockheed management had told them that the protesters would be violent and dangerous. The protesters responded that they had been told, by Lockheed security and the sheriff's department, that the workers would be violent.

Another divide and conquer strategy concocted by Lockheed was a common topic of conversation: the fact that Lockheed, when closed for two days, had refused to pay its hourly workers. (Salaried and management workers were paid.) This decision by Lockheed, unprecedented in any other direct action, was clearly a ploy to raise tensions between workers and protesters. The protesters had repeatedly stated, before and during the action, that they were not trying to take away any worker's job,



TOMMY CHANG

but rather to insist that workers be able to make a living producing socially worthwhile products, instead of nuclear missiles.

After 91 arrests had cleared the road of people willing to do civil disobedience that day, workers entered the Lockheed plant while passing lines of waving people. Only two-thirds of the workforce reported to work on Wednesday.

At the spokescouncil meeting on Wednesday night, affinity groups were tired but energized. Publicity about the action had increased the numbers of people wanting to participate. The spokescouncil decided to continue, concentrating on having another large action on the following Monday, but keeping a small presence at the gate on Thursday, Friday and through the weekend to remind Lockheed that demonstrators would be back on Monday.

Although all of the adult protesters arrested on Wednesday were offered citations to be released and arraigned before a judge at a later date, many refused to sign the citations and thus chose to remain in

jail. Some wanted to serve their time right away because of job or school considerations. Others wanted to be arraigned together, to ensure that some people were not singled out for noncooperation.

This exercise of "jail solidarity," as it is called, proved to be a powerful and effective experience. Fifty people, about half men and half women, remained in jail until Friday afternoon, when they were finally arraigned. The judge gave them all, even two people who had been separated for noncooperation, the same sentence (two days with credit for time served) and released them.

Saturday and Sunday saw more outreach activities and nonviolence preparations. And on Monday there were once again about 300 people at Lockheed's front gate. As on the previous Wednesday, many of those present were new to the action, broadening the scope of participation. One new person was Robert Aldridge, a former

continued on page 24



Upcoming Direct Actions

Ongoing: Nuremberg Actions at the Concord Naval Weapons Station. Daily presence to protest U.S. war in Central America. (408) 426-7822 or (415) 933-7850

Middle East Alert Network. Meet at 5 p.m. at Powell and Market Streets, San Francisco, on the day after any major U.S. attack in the Middle East. (415) 549-3077

Peace Camp against nuclear testing, at the Nevada Test Site. (702) 642-0035

Dec. 13 Concerned Citizens and Elected Local Officials demonstration at the Nevada Test Site. Sponsored by SANE/FREEZE. (408) 458-9975 or (213) 452-5068

Updates on Previous Actions

- Katya Komisaruk was found guilty of destroying federal property for her White Rose disarmament action at Vandenberg Air Force Base. She faces a possible 10-year sentence.
- Conspiracy charges against American Peace Test organizers Jessie Cocks and Peter Bergel have been dropped.

Thanks to the *Take Action Networking Calendar*, P.O. Box 329, Eugene, OR, 97440 and *The Nuclear Resister*, P.O. Box 43383, Tucson, AZ, 85733.

Direct Action Notes

Lockheed Closes Plant

continued from page 23

design engineer for Lockheed who quit when he realized that Trident II was intended to be a first-strike weapon.

Many of the elements of the arrest on Wednesday were repeated on Monday. The convoy of workers brought in by the CHP officer was halted by a human blockade. Thirty-four people were arrested, including Aldridge and several senior citizen activists from San Jose and Santa Cruz. Friendly dialogue occurred between workers and protesters.

Afterwards, the affinity group spokesperson met, and decided that it would call an end to the action at its height. Many people present wanted to turn their attention to protesting before the NATO meeting that afternoon in Monterey.

The California Alliance to Stop First Strike, and the local group Stop First Strike Santa Cruz, were encouraged by the effectiveness of the action and the outpouring of support and participation which enabled it to continue for an entire week. The action produced a level of organization directed against first-strike weapons that promises ongoing work against Lockheed's activities in Santa Cruz. Further, the publicity about Trident II generated by the action made the dangers of first-strike weapons a public

issue with concrete local dimensions.

The theory of nonviolent direct action is that repeated and sustained campaigns, which engage larger and larger numbers of people, are able to create change in seemingly unchangeable areas through peaceful, if confrontative, methods. Change occurs when a moral crisis of conscience is created for those who support the status quo, or when the intervention of large numbers of people make it impossible for business as usual to continue. This is how the civil rights movement overcame legal segregation in the South, even though it took over a decade and required thousands of people to change their lives and risk their safety.

The California Alliance to Stop First Strike knows that the Lockheed action is only a small part of the same sort of struggle for the peace movement, but already it is gathering strength for the next time around.

[Stop First Strike meets the first Thursday of the month. Call 479-8781 for more information.]

Noel Sturgeon is an activist and student of the direct action movement. Any comments on this column, or information on past or upcoming direct actions can be sent to her c/o The Monthly Planet.



BENNY THOMPSON

Greenpeace Activists Block Hazardous Waste Dump

Ed Martinez of Santa Cruz and Traci Romine of North Hollywood chained themselves inside of a Greenpeace bus to block the entrance to the Casimira Resources hazardous waste dump site November 23. Both Martinez and Romine were arrested in the protest.

The day before, 72 physicians and surgeons had called for an immediate closure and cleanup of the Southern California dumpsite, citing a recent report by the State Water Resources Control Board that gave evidence of toxic chemicals in the groundwater underneath the dump. The doctors declared that the chemicals were in concentrations several thousand times higher than state drinking water standards.

Good News

For Cable

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This holiday season, Santa Cruz Cable TV, in conjunction with the Salvation Army, is collecting your donations to be distributed to those in need. If you could contribute an article of clothing, a new toy for a youngster, or some canned goods, you would be joining us in the true spirit of Christmas. Your generosity at this time will enable many of those less fortunate than ourselves to celebrate a joyous Christmas!

For cable subscribers who would like to donate goods, you may drop them by the Santa Cruz Cable TV office at 420 May Avenue throughout the month of December. If you are not currently subscribing to cable or would like to expand your services, you can receive a free installation by donating a new toy!

Thank you for your participation and Happy Holidays!

For More Information:
Contact Santa Cruz Cable TV 429-6781

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Feature

Lockheed's "Santa Cruz Test Base": What Do They Do Up There?

by Benny Thompson

"Sometimes the windows shake and the dishes rattle," says a Bonny Doon resident. "You'd almost never hear anything," says Bob Burgess of the Lockheed Missile and Space Company. What exactly does Lockheed do at its

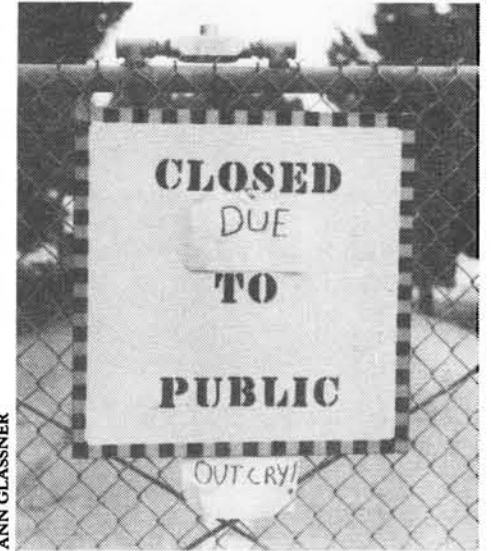
wastes. Some of these are disposed of by the I.T. Corporation, which has a poor record for protecting the health of people who live near its disposal sites. Lockheed also generates metal ash that is disposed by Casmalia Resources, Inc. Residents of Casmalia, California are currently trying to shut down the toxic waste dump that has been killing them for years with toxic

employees live in Santa Cruz County and work over the hill, bringing many more millions into the county.

Currently the Santa Cruz Test Base does testing of satellite antenna systems and manufactures and tests parts of missile self-destruct systems. In the past the base has been used to develop a variety of innovative gadgets, including an Ocean Thermal Energy Conversion unit and an all-terrain cargo vehicle called the "Dragon Wagon" which was sold to the Osh-Kosh Corp.

Development for a Homing Overlay Experiment (HOE) was done at the Santa Cruz Test Base. The HOE is a "kinetic kill device": a projectile designed to slam into missiles and destroy them with the force of impact. The successful fourth and final test of the HOE was conducted over the Pacific in June 1984. The HOE project has now been rolled into the Star Wars (SDI) program.

Several years ago Lockheed conducted a study which found that 65,000 job-years could be created in wind power machine production. Perhaps the Santa Cruz Test Base is windy enough for development of wind machines. But it is unlikely the Test Base will be converted to anything else,



except a four-and-a-half acre collection of rusty buildings, since it is located far from transportation lines and other support services. The site is ideal only for conducting tests of ordinance devices, notwithstanding a few neighbors, some deer and an occasional mountain lion.

Benny Thompson is a free-lance journalist and a former news director of KZSC radio in Santa Cruz.

Lockheed would neither confirm nor deny whether the company tests "conventional" explosives that are used to initiate nuclear explosions.

"Santa Cruz Test Base"? PEOPLE WANT TO KNOW, the grocery store tabloids might scream.

Lockheed opened the Santa Cruz Test Base in 1958 to test ordinance devices and rocket motors, tests that had to be made in a remote area for noise and safety considerations. Although there have been no rocket motor tests in years, Lockheed still manufactures and tests ordinance (explosive) devices. These include the "confined detonating fuse" (CDF), famous for its use to separate missile stages and to separate multiple warheads upon re-entry to the earth's atmosphere. Many CDF tests are carried out in a vacuum chamber to simulate conditions in space. Tests of these "cartridge-size devices" are silent; sound does not travel in a vacuum. But Lockheed also conducts noisy tests of other "ordnance initiation" devices. Lockheed's Burgess would neither confirm nor deny whether the company tests "conventional" explosives that are used to initiate nuclear explosions. But since nuclear weapons are designed to be triggered in the atmosphere, it might make sense to conduct atmospheric tests of the "triggers" at the Santa Cruz Test Base, where the noise would disturb few people.

Lockheed has made and tested parts for each of the "fleet ballistic missile systems," including the Poseidon and Trident systems. The D-5 missile is currently under development for the Trident submarine.

There is no fissionable material at Bonny Doon. Lockheed does have a permit for krypton gas, which, according to Pete Patel, a physicist with the California Department of Public Health Radiological Division, is a relatively innocuous radioactive gas with a half-life of about 10 years. Sealed sources of krypton gas are used in gauging systems to take measurements. Other substances used at the Santa Cruz Test Base are far more dangerous, such as chlorine gas and sulfuric and hydrochloric acids. Also used are solvents such as trichloroethane 1,1,1 (TCA). It is far less toxic than the industrial solvent it replaced, trichloroethylene (TCE).

The Santa Cruz Test Base produces hazardous wastes, including toluene, isobutal ketone, TCA and various flammable

poisoning. (It is fumes from liquid wastes that have given Casmalia residents health problems, not metal ash such as that from Lockheed.)

The Santa Cruz Test Base employs about 300 people, down from 370 employed in 1980. The current payroll is about \$13.5 million annually. The Test Base also spends another \$5.8 million in local purchases, taxes and contracts, according to Burgess, who also notes that another 700 Lockheed

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Feature

Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark on Civil Disobedience and the Trident II

On April 6, 1987, fifteen people went to trial in Seattle's Federal Court for acts of resistance to the Trident weapons system. One of the expert witnesses testifying at the trial was former Attorney General Ramsey Clark. In addition to writing extensively on civil rights and constitutional law, Clark has also written on international law and nuclear arms. He told the Court his special focus has been human rights, as the law might fulfill them.

Ramsey Clark has argued in all the U.S. Circuit Courts as well as the U.S. Supreme Court. He served during all eight years of the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations as Deputy Attorney General and Attorney General. Clark testified from the unique perspective of having lived through a time in our history when social change was brought about by the nonviolent actions of citizens.

Following are excerpts from Ramsey Clark's testimony. He was questioned by Kenneth Kagan, one of the volunteer attorneys for the defendants.

Kenneth Kagan: During the time that you focused on civil rights issues in the South, did you come to some kind of conclusions of, first of all, what steps had been taken in the 1950s by people who were concerned about civil rights issues, and what effect, if any, those appeals had on policy regarding segregation?

Ramsey Clark: Yes, I thought I saw that nonviolent social change may be the most important thing for humans to learn . . . the methods, that individuals can make an enormous difference—a very reassuring thing that hadn't impressed me as a youth. I saw how Rosa Parks, by an almost casual individual act, could set a whole course of dynamics in motion that would lead to a radical realization by the American people that there was something profoundly wrong in the way we treated and lived with our black peoples.

Kagan: If I recall correctly, she was charged with a crime, was she not?

Clark: Yes, she was charged with a crime, a misdemeanor. She was charged with violating an ordinance of the city of



DIANA MOLL

Mobile, Alabama, by refusing to move to the back of the bus when a white man came in and wanted her seat, and she wouldn't move. And that led to the bus boycott that first gave prominence to Dr. Martin Luther King, and brought early attention of the country to something that everybody felt and lived with every day of their lives. Except it was so subjective, we didn't realize it, like slaves unaware of their chains.

Kagan: That was approximately 1954 and 1955. What happened next in terms of the country's development and your own development in this area?

Clark: Well, as I look back, things moved amazingly quickly. I think it was inconceivable, for instance, to any of us who were working in the field that you could have a black Congressman from Atlanta or black Congresswoman from Houston in our lifetimes, and yet by 1972 you had both. And you had black school board chairs in Mississippi and sheriffs in Alabama—I shouldn't say the plural, you had only one, but that sure made a big difference. And you had members of the legislature in Jackson; a man named Robert Clark was the first one.

And it really changed things dramatically. Not that there's not a lot still to be done, but it showed how quickly they could be changed. I must say that I believe it took the courage of a few people like Dr. King, who were willing, however painful it was personally—and I worked closely enough to know how painful it was personally—to be willing to go to jail. And if he hadn't gone to the Birmingham jail, he would have been another preacher in another pulpit speaking to the congregation, but things wouldn't have happened as they did.

Kagan: Based on your experience in the 1960s within the executive branch of the government, do you have any conclusions, specifically referring to the civil rights issue, about the effectiveness of traditional forms of participation in the political system, such as letter-writing to either Congress or the president, such as letters to the editor, such as voting for candidates of choice? Expanding a little bit on the effectiveness of those efforts, when we're talking about an issue as emotional and as deeply entrenched in the psyche as the civil rights issues?

Clark: Let me give you an answer from the past, and recently. There were major organizations, beautiful organizations, working like fury, pouring out letters and pamphlets and talking to people all over the place on the race issue. Had been forever. I mean, Du Bois had written "The Defender" back in the first and second decades. And nothing happened; we still lynched 3,000 black people the first 30 years of this century. It was only when enough of the people felt because they could hear. I was in charge of the march, of protecting the marchers marching from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, under Judge Johnson's order. You had to keep people from killing. Of course, Viola Liuzzo got killed.

The Voting Rights Act revolutionized that, but only one percent of the blacks of voting age in Dallas County, Alabama were registered. And because Dr. King would step across the line as he did—for which he was never even charged, because we thought it was a form of speech, an essential form of speech—things moved. The march on Selma to Montgomery was, amazingly, about the right to vote. You would think there would be no controversy about the right to vote, but they wouldn't let them vote.

I feel in Chicago at the Democratic National Convention that the demonstrators had a right under our Constitution not just to talk, but to be heard. The hard part is being heard. Anybody can talk, but you have to be heard. I wanted to give them Soldier's Field, or something; I felt that their constitutional rights of free speech had been violated.

There was no indictment of those protesters while I was in the office; those came in March of 1969.

Now, in my judgment, nothing would have happened to change our tragic history flowing from human slavery itself, of vast, pervasive, powerful discrimination against black peoples, except for the courage of people speaking out. That's what they were doing; this was all speech. It was a funny kind of speech, but it was a way of saying something that could be heard.

Kagan: Now, when you say speaking out, are you talking about more than simply traditional notions of speech, you know, soapbox speech-making? You're talking about more drastic steps than that?

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Feature

Clark: Yes, indeed. The civil rights movement made its choices at night. They wouldn't get started until about midnight, and about 6 a.m. they'd have it figured out what they were going to do. I remember talking to Dr. King about 2 a.m. one morning. He said, "I hate to do this, I really do, but I'm going to have to step across that line tomorrow. It's the only way I can be heard. I can stand on this side of the line and I can shout and scream, and nobody will hear me. It's the only way I can be heard."

Kagan: Thank you. Let us move now to the subject at hand, which is the nuclear issue. Are you familiar with the Trident system?

it's unthinkable that we could use them, and it's really unthinkable that we should have them.

It's unthinkable that they could be controlled by constitutional means. They suspend the Constitution in their area, because it's impossible. Our Constitution is a deliberative process, forced upon the people to, as Hamilton wrote in Federalist Paper Number One, to base our life upon reason and choice, and not on accident and force.

Kagan: Now, you've stated the conclusion that the United States has a first-strike policy. What is the basis of your knowledge and your conclusion to that effect?

"We're saturated with communication, and we need the capacity within our First Amendment for dramatic expression that can make people think, and pay attention, and begin to wonder and ask why."

Clark: Yes, I am.

Kagan: Would you very briefly characterize for the Court your understanding of the nature of the Trident system.

Clark: Well, the Trident system is a part of the first-strike capacity that the United States has. Something like a Trident II nuclear submarine, in my judgment—it's inconceivable it could be lawful, because it is a system of mass destruction. One boat can launch 24 missiles simultaneously while submerged, with up to 17 independently targeted maneuverable nuclear warheads with a range of 4,000 nautical miles, and accuracy within 300 feet of a predetermined target. So that one finger pushing one button can hit 408 centers of human population and perhaps kill a million people each and bring on nuclear war.

And it's inconceivable that the law could tolerate that sort of thing. It's impossible even under what we call the rules of war—which is an oxymoron to me—that these could be lawful, because they can't possibly distinguish between the nursing babe and the armed soldier. They kill everything within a very large radius, and perhaps everything. They're designed to threaten others to have our way, but

Clark: Because there's no other use for the system as designed. You don't have to hit within 300 feet of a predetermined target, unless you're trying to knock out a missile in a silo.

Kagan: And that, to you, is the essence of a first-strike capability?

Clark: Well, the theory of first strike is that—I'm from Texas, but it's kind of like the battle of San Jacinto—you get them when they fall asleep. You hit them first, and knock out their capacity to respond. SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative] is essentially and unquestionably, by any rationale, a complement to the first-strike system. Because if your first strike is 90 percent effective, which is very unlikely, the 10 percent that they might send over could still wipe you out. So you need a shield to try to catch that, to thin it down as much as possible.

Kagan: For the Court's benefit, is it possible for you to draw an analogy between the civil rights issues in the South, that you had firsthand working knowledge of, and the nuclear, and more specifically, the Trident system? Is there a way to equate the two issues?

continued on page 34



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Cover Theme

Action in Search of a Policy: the U.S. and the Gulf War

by R. Scott Kennedy

The immediate cause of the Iraq/Iran war seems obvious enough. Both the non-Arab country of Iran and the Arab country of Iraq lay historical claim to the Shatt al-Arab waterway and the narrow strip of

Analysis

land bounding it on their common border. In the 1970s Henry Kissinger arranged for Iran's permanent possession of the disputed land. In return, he secured a promise from the Shah to end support for the Kur-

dish rebels fighting in the northeast frontier of neighboring Iraq.

After the fall of the Shah in 1979, Iran was in turmoil. Three democratic elections were held in its first year and a half as Iran wrestled with its new-found freedom. This period of experimentation deteriorated into a post-revolutionary internecine strife, a process culminated by the triumph of the Ayatollah Khomeini.

Iraq, meanwhile, was flushed with oil revenue, and buoyed by economic growth and military confidence. A new leader, Saddam Hussein, had seized power in July of 1979.

With the Shah (and Kissinger) gone,

Iraq's Hussein counted on Iran's considerable military might being rendered ineffectual by the internal divisions convulsing Iran in the post-Shah era. He believed Iraq could move quickly to abrogate the treaty and militarily retrieve the Shatt al-Arab. Iraq invaded Iran in September 1980.

Beyond the immediate strategic objective of recovering the Shatt al-Arab, however, Iraq's aggression was propelled by more ambitious designs.

A decisive victory would also serve to solidify the ascendancy of Iraqi Baathist "pan-Arabist" ideology over Khomeini's Islamic fundamentalism. If all worked out well, Hussein would simultaneously re-

claim its land and elevate Iraq to the pre-eminent position in the Gulf, with himself filling the power vacuum created by the fall of the Shah.

For its part, Iran had its own reasons for welcoming the war. As Mid East researcher Vahid Tehrani has written,

The ruling mullahs in Iran, led by Ayatollah Khomeini, and the Iraqi regime, under Saddam Hussein, each had their own reasons to welcome a war in 1980. Both leaders had recently come to power. . . . They represented significantly different forms of government, but each faced critical tests of legitimacy in the eyes of his own people and those of the world. Both states, murderously repressive and lacking meaningful economic and social agendas, saw in the war an opportunity to create national unity and solidify political power.

Despite these motivating factors, who would have thought that, seven years later, the Gulf War would still grind on?

Certainly not Saddam Hussein.

Casualties on both sides continue to



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Cover Theme



mount with an estimated 500,000 deaths suffered by Iran alone. Chemical warfare has been waged. Cities shelled. Nuclear facilities bombed. Petroleum production vital to the global economy disrupted. Numerous diplomatic initiatives, whether from the Arab or Islamic states or the United Nations, dashed.

Still there is no end in sight to the Gulf War.

Several reasons contributing to the prolongation of the war can be identified. Both leaders perceive that an end to the war might well spell the demise of their own regimes. The fighting has also been fueled by an unbridled conventional arms race.

The United States and the Soviet Union have feigned neutrality in the conflict. Their apparent ambivalence suggests that they have more to gain from the war continuing indefinitely than by a victory of one adversary over the other.

A powerful Iran, oil-rich and militantly non-aligned with either superpower, would present a genuine challenge to the U.S.'s historic hegemony and the U.S.S.R.'s historic aspirations in the Gulf region. Having failed to install a government more to their liking, they favor an Iranian Republic bogged down in incessant war.

Recent developments in the Gulf indicate the danger of this course. What began as a local conflict, involving two parties considered anathema by the United States, has now drawn the U.S. directly into the fighting. As a result, there is a very real threat that the U.S. may well be drawn more deeply into the fighting or, quite possibly, into direct conflict with the Soviet Union.

U.S. Gulf Objectives

The U.S. now has a major military force

committed in the Gulf region. The fleet of nearly four dozen ships reportedly includes guided missile cruisers, an aircraft carrier, and battleships (and no mine sweepers!). According to one estimate, these forces carry an estimated 2,000 nuclear weapons. In addition, a fighting force of 300,000 from the "Central Command" (formerly called the Rapid Deployment Force) may be committed to action there.

U.S. military bases, serving all four branches of the armed forces, have been built or expanded in Oman, Bahrain, Egypt, Somalia, Turkey and Pakistan. According to some sources, the U.S. expended more than \$1 billion in the first four years of war just on military construction.

This escalating U.S. presence in the Gulf is symbolized by the reflagging of Kuwaiti registered oil tankers and the armed escort of convoys of oil tankers into the Gulf.

There are three declared objectives for this beefed up U.S. military presence in the Gulf:

- 1) keeping international waterways free of interference;
- 2) containment of Soviet communism; and
- 3) propping up "moderate" Arab states.

The first objective is questionable on the face of it. It is Iraq that has systematically attacked tankers in the Gulf. It is Iran which depends on open seaways and the export of petroleum through the Strait of Hormuz.

Genuine concern for free passage of commercial shipping through the Gulf is belied by the failure of the U.S. to make an overt effort to dissuade Iraq from waging its tanker war. Iraq's air force continues almost daily attack on ships which frequent Iran's oil facilities. The claim that protection is afforded the shipping is made laugh-

able by photos showing the military convoy following the civilian tankers through the Gulf. On the other hand, the three Soviet vessels in the Gulf are in fact mine-sweepers, engaged in what the U.S. claims to be doing.

U.S. forces are clearly arrayed against Iran, rather than against threats to shipping.

Given its mining of Nicaraguan harbors, the sanctity of free passage is hardly sacrosanct to the U.S. The reason for U.S. presence in the Gulf must be sought elsewhere.

Containing supposed Soviet communist expansion is, of course, axiomatic to the Reagan Doctrine. In announcing U.S. military initiatives in the Gulf, President Reagan declared that the U.S. would not allow "Iran and the Soviet Union" to close the Straits of Hormuz to Western shipping.

This claim is ludicrous. There are few nations more ideologically opposed to

Soviet Marxist-Leninism than the Ayatollah's Islamic Republic. Acute awareness of past Russian aggression against Iran has created centuries of enmity between these neighboring countries and deep-seated suspicion of Soviet motives. This hostility is reinforced by Islamic abhorrence of "atheistic communism."

A more objective look at superpower interference in the Gulf demonstrates that the Gulf situation has been seized upon by the Reagan administration as a pretext for escalating U.S. intervention in the region.

At present, two-thirds of all U.S. "security assistance" is going to the Mid East, from Morocco to Pakistan. The covert operation in Afghanistan consistently runs five to ten times larger than U.S. support for the Contras fighting Nicaragua.

continued on page 30

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Cover Theme

U.S. and the Gulf War

continued from page 29

The Mid East has also been the scene of actual U.S. military action, including the bombardment of Lebanon, aerial attacks on Libya, firing on ships and shelling Iranian offshore platforms.

The "moderate Arab states" we seek to support are dictatorial regimes that enjoy none of the self-governing processes and guarantee none of the rights which the American public associates with democracy. The threat to their stability is from within rather than from Iran which is preoccupied with the war.

The higher U.S. military profile in the region has created leverage for extracting greater cooperation from friendly states in the region. The U.S. is now securing "forward bases" in the region for its military, a concession which the "moderate Arab states" had previously rejected.

These forward bases presumably will facilitate U.S. ability to "project power" in the region—against expected Soviet aggression, to defend the oil fields, or to suppress popular uprisings against any of the so-called "moderate" regimes.

If the stated U.S. objectives are an unconvincing justification for escalating U.S. military presence in the region, how can it be explained?

At least four dynamics can be identi-

fied . . .

Unilateralism vs. Multilateralism

The Reagan Doctrine has consistently preferred unilateral military responses in crises over multilateral approaches. This is evident in U.S. disruption of the Con-

dora peace process and its cold reception of the Arias Peace Plan in Central America.

Rather than offering substantive diplomatic or other backing to regional peace plans or to initiatives from the United Nations, the U.S. prefers to go it alone.

While describing its actions to the voting American public as a peacekeeping or policing role, the U.S. discredits, undercuts and often destroys multilateral diplomatic solutions. As with the Arias plan, multilateral approaches more often than not must overcome U.S. opposition rather

than rely on its support.

U.S. action in the Gulf is consistent with the U.S.'s posture elsewhere in the region, including both the Arab/Israeli conflict and Afghanistan. In each of these crises the U.S. has blocked moves towards negotiated settlement. Rather than seeking just and sustainable international diplomatic solutions to conflicts, the U.S. makes use of regional or local conflicts to extend U.S. influence and/or undermine Soviet influence.

Thus in the Gulf War the U.S. manipulates the tragedy of the Iranian and Iraqi

Iran/Iraq war as a belligerent on the side of the Iraqis.

Hence the Iraqi attack on the U.S.S. Stark, resulting in dozens of American casualties, goes unpunished. Meanwhile, Iran is subjected to constant verbal and diplomatic and occasional military attack by the U.S. Even private Iranian fishing boats are now vulnerable to attack as hostile targets!

The U.S. presence in the Gulf is characteristic of a too ready resort to military force. International cooperation or support are, at best, an afterthought. Other states are bullied into accepting or joining the action initiated by the U.S.

These dynamics all speak to the militarization of U.S. policy which is central to the Reagan Doctrine.

While scarcely 10 percent of our petroleum resources originate in the Gulf, it is our status as guarantor of oil for NATO (especially West Germany) and Japan that underlies our preoccupation with the region. It is the U.S. as Empire that prompts our presence in the Gulf.

Demonization of the Enemy

U.S. policy in the Gulf is made possible by the active creation and demonization of enemies. The use of force is justified by perpetuation of anti-Arab, anti-Moslem and anti-Iranian stereotypes in this country. Persistent racist caricatures, dehumanizing imagery and inflammatory rhetoric by the Reagan administration, echoed by the U.S. media, cultivate an attitude of contempt towards Iran.

The congressional debate on invoking the War Powers Act is geared towards guaranteeing Congress a part of the action rather than reservations about Reagan's intentions.

people to extend U.S. military power in the region.

Belligerency and the Militarization of U.S. Foreign Policy

The U.S. is a self-proclaimed neutral force or third-party seeking peace in the Gulf. And U.S. retaliation against Iran for missile attacks on ships in Kuwaiti waters were calculated to avoid the appearance of taking sides. However, in addition to sidestepping or subverting multilateral solutions, the U.S. has in effect entered the

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Cover Theme



DAVE EASON

No matter how catastrophic for the Iranians and Iraqis the Gulf War may be, or whatever justification they may feel for their actions, virtually any aggressive action by the U.S. will no doubt enjoy congressional and public support. Tellingly, the congressional debate on invoking the War Powers Act is geared towards guaranteeing Congress a part of the action rather than reservations about Reagan's intentions.

U.S. military action in the Gulf may serve to soothe the deep-seated psychological and chauvinistic needs of the U.S. public. Reagan was humiliated for selling arms to the terrorists in Iran to fund the Contra terrorists in Nicaragua. He is now attempting to regain the moral high ground of "anti-terrorism." The reflagging and escort operation may well compensate for the Iran/Contra debacle. And Iran is expected to pay the price for this rehabilitation.

Obsessive Anti-Sovietism

Anti-Sovietism has been a cornerstone of U.S. foreign policy since the second

beyond U.S. control is translated into a direct threat to the national security of the United States. Only recently a government official was pointing out that Nicaragua is only 10 minutes flight time from the continental U.S.!

The immediate pretext for U.S. military intervention in the Gulf was not disruption of shipping. It was, rather, Kuwait's request for Soviet protection of its shipping and a warming of relations between Iran and the U.S.S.R. An agreement to build a natural gas pipeline between Iran and the Soviet Union and a joint exploration for oil in the Caspian Sea were major diplomatic breakthroughs for the U.S.S.R. which, according to *Mid East International*, "has been systematically denied any access to Iranian oil deposits since oil was first found some 70 years ago."

Action in Search of a Policy

The Gulf conflict has confounded the public and government officials alike. Of the four major crisis areas in the Middle East region (Afghanistan, Lebanon, the

same percentage favor stronger military action by the U.S.

These figures reflect the susceptibility of the U.S. public to manipulation by the Reagan administration as well as the incoherence of U.S. action in the region.

As the Fellowship of Reconciliation's David Schilling commented recently, the reflagging and escort operations constitute "an action in search of a policy."

Despite the risk, the U.S. is, as Schilling has pointed out, concerned to extend its influence and impress other nations with

its credibility in the wake of the U.S. defeat in Vietnam and the more recent Iran/Contra scandal.

So far as the dominant powers in the U.S. are concerned, including Congress and the Reagan administration, the credibility of the U.S. is at stake. Intervention in the Gulf War is a desperate attempt to reassert influence and credibility, much as the Lebanon debacle was followed by the invasion of Grenada.

The U.S. presence may be rationalized in public statements by reference to shipping and access to oil, defending our allies or stopping the Soviets.

But the major purpose of the U.S. military intervention in the Gulf is to reassert the U.S. as Empire.

Scott Kennedy is on the staff of the Resource Center for Nonviolence in Santa Cruz. Plans are underway for a series of public events regarding the Iraq/Iran Gulf War in Santa Cruz. If you are interested or wish to help, contact the Resource Center at 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz, CA 95060 or call 423-1626.

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The Reagan administration has placed 35,000 combat troops in this highly volatile situation.

World War. The tendency to construe local and regional problems as manifestations of Soviet ideological rigidity and incessant expansionism has reached a zenith during Reagan's two terms as president.

Anti-Sovietism is not identical to anti-communism, as continuing warm relations with The People's Republic of China illustrate. The Soviet Union invites unparalleled rancor from the extreme right in the U.S.

Anti-Sovietism has become obsessive among Reagan and his ilk since Vietnam. In their view, the American Empire was humiliated in Southeast Asia, hamstrung by the Vietnam Syndrome and weakened by a limpid Carter administration. It must reassert itself. Local or regional conflicts, whether the Nicaraguan revolution or the Gulf War, are perceived as part of the global superpower rivalry. Any development

Arab/Israeli Conflict and the Gulf War), the U.S. is only directly committing major time, attention and resources to the Gulf War. This war has in its own terms proven intractable and resistant to any military solution. Still, the Reagan administration has placed 35,000 combat troops in this highly volatile situation.

Reagan was twice burned in the region. He suffered major foreign policy defeats and embarrassments in Lebanon and in the Iran/Contra affair.

While Reagan's militarization of the Gulf appears to enjoy broad public support, a recent public opinion poll in *Time* magazine reflected a deep ambivalence of the American people. A majority said that U.S. action in the Gulf is likely to bring about *more* rather than less terrorism, and that it will likely bring about an armed clash with Iran. Nevertheless, approximately the

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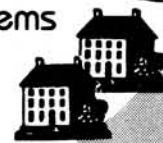
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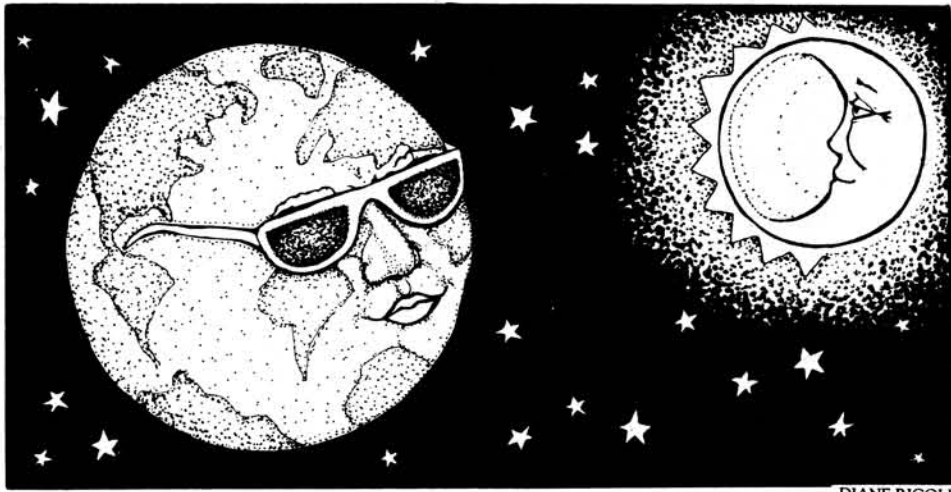
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Planet Watch by Ralph Chernoff



DIANE RIGOLI

U.S./U.S.S.R. Verification Measures Increase

After it complained that certain 15-year-old Soviet radars may be violations of the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, the

U.S. has accepted a Soviet invitation to inspect them. The radars are not presently associated with any known ABM system, but similar radars were once observed at ABM test sites in Siberia. That connection was apparently the sole basis for the U.S.

claim that it had "ambiguous" evidence of a "potential" ABM Treaty violation. The complaint was inspired by Pentagon and Senate hard-liners led by Senator Jesse Helms, and its main purpose seems to have been to appease them. The Soviet response is in line with their previous invitation (also accepted) to inspect the Krasnoyarsk radar, the object of an earlier complaint. Both are aimed at winning support for continued U.S. observance of the ABM Treaty and ratification of the new "Euromissiles" (INF) treaty. The latter contains provisions for mutual on-site inspections, the first U.S.-Soviet agreement to do so.

Also for the first time, the U.S. and U.S.S.R. have agreed to conduct joint on-site tests to evaluate competing methods of measuring the yield of nuclear weapons tested underground. Each will use the other's nuclear explosions to calibrate measuring instruments installed close to the test sites. The U.S. will install its preferred system, called CORTEX, at the Soviet

Semipalatinsk test site, while the Soviets will install their seismic-based instruments at the Nevada Test Site. Two tests at each site are tentatively scheduled for mid-1988.

U.S. Foreign Bases Hit Hard Times

In Spain, Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez said that his government would stick to its decision to oust U.S. F-16 jet fighters now based at Torrejon near Madrid. The U.S. maintains that the planes are needed to defend NATO's "Mediterranean flank." Spain disagrees and is particularly annoyed by U.S. attempts to apply pressure through NATO to get it to agree to renew the 34-year-old treaty which allows Torrejon and several other U.S. bases in Spain. The treaty expires next May. If a new agreement is not reached by then, all U.S. bases in Spain will be closed and their 12,500 personnel removed. Polls show that the Spanish people overwhelmingly support closing the bases.

In Greece, Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou said that his government would not renew an agreement permitting U.S. bases there unless several demands were met. The main demands were: 1) a U.S. pledge to defend Greece from a Turkish attack, and 2) an end to the Turkish occupation of Cyprus. "You have to prove that your presence here serves our own highest national interest," declared Mr. Papandreou. There are four large American bases in Greece occupied by 4500 U.S. personnel and dependents.

Philippine attempts to obtain the support of other Southeast Asian states for U.S. bases in that country have been cold-shouldered at a recent meeting in Malaysia. Some observers believe that President Corazon Aquino's government is trying to overcome domestic opposition to the bases by "internationalizing" the issue. But other members of the pro-Western Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), including Malaysia and Indonesia, are unwilling to support the Philippine move lest it harm their relations with nonaligned Third World nations.

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Moscow Opinion Poll Results Released

The results of a joint French-Soviet opinion poll of Moscow residents have been made public. The poll, using Western standards, was conducted in early October by phone interviews with a random sample of 1000 respondents. The percentage results, as reported in a November 1 *New York Times* article, do not add up to 100 percent, and the remainder is not accounted for, i.e., the article does not say how many gave alternative answers or "don't know." Here are some of the survey's results:

- Will the upcoming summit have a big or little result?
Big, 11%; Small, 29%.
- Name an enemy of the Soviet Union.
U.S., 52%; West Germany, 22%.
- Relations with the U.S. are:
Bad or very bad, 30%; Good or very good, 5%.
- Do you favor the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan?

Planet Watch

Yes, 53%; No, 27%.

• Who is the most important figure in Soviet history?

Lenin, 64%; Gorbachev, 31%; Stalin, 25%.

• Do you favor the release of dissidents?

No, 42%; Yes, 27%.

• Do you think Soviet citizens should be allowed to leave the USSR with their families?

Yes, 73%; No, 18%.

• Could there be another Chernobyl disaster?

Possible, 42%; Unlikely, 27%; Impossible, 20%.

Although the Nov. 10 *New York Times* article on the referendum fails to mention it, it is highly probable that the Chernobyl nuclear disaster influenced the Italian vote.

Canadian Nuclear Sub Plan Encounters Opposition

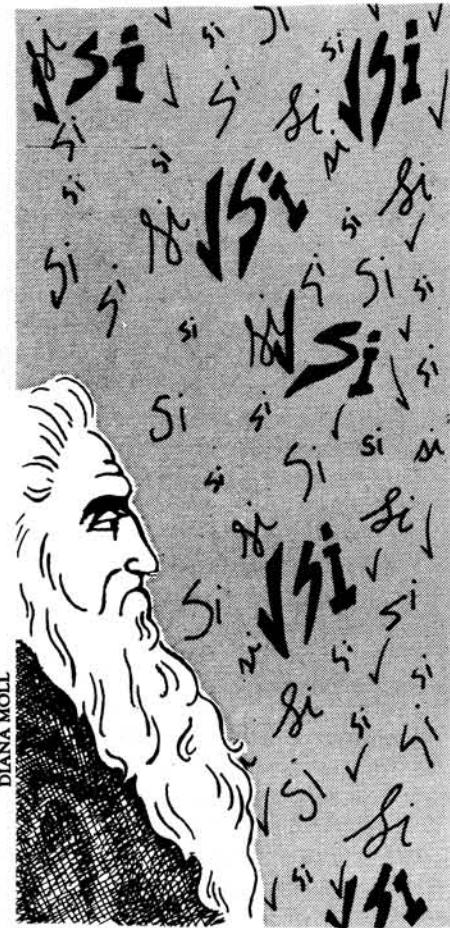
Canada's plans to build a small (10 to 12) fleet of nuclear-powered submarines has run aground due to both domestic and U.S. opposition. The boats, which would be "attack" subs rather than missile launchers, would patrol Canada's coastal waters. Domestic critics fear that the subs could end up costing over \$10 billion, more than Canada's entire defense budget.

The U.S. opposition comes from the Pentagon which worries that the submarines might be used to challenge U.S. subs which often poke about in Canada's arctic waters. Canada has long protested Washington's refusal to recognize Canadian sovereignty over these waters. Citing safety concerns, the U.S. naval attache in Ottawa hinted that the U.S. may block transfer to Canada of the necessary nuclear reactor technology. The U.S. Embassy, however, repudiated the attache's threat and said that the transfer had been approved.

Iran Claims Reactor Attack

Iran claimed that Iraqi planes twice bombed an Iranian reactor last month. Iran said that it had already moved nuclear fuel into the reactor, and that the attack could result in a nuclear disaster as bad as Chernobyl. Experts discount this claim, pointing out that the fresh, unused nuclear fuel in the reactor would not be highly radioactive. There have been no reports of radioactive fallout in the region since the time the attack is alleged to have occurred.

Iran claims that the raid killed 11 people. Iraq reports bombing a chemical plant 37 miles from the reactor but did not mention bombing the nuclear plant. A Nov. 18 *New York Times* article says the plant has been bombed at least five times since 1984. The article offers no explanation why, under these hazardous circumstances, the Iranians would put nuclear fuel into the plant.



DIANA MOLL

Italians Vote To Limit Nuclear Power

Italian voters approved a November referendum limiting the development of nuclear energy in that country. The referendum gives Parliament authority to determine where new plants shall be built, eliminates the subsidies now paid to local governments which host nuclear power plants, and prohibits Italy from helping build nuclear power plants elsewhere in Europe.

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Feature

Ramsey Clark

continued from page 27

Clark: Yes, I think there is. Both involve profound social dynamics, of which the people are fundamentally unaware. That is a process of psychic numbing, as one psychiatrist has called it—I don't like that very much. But, you know, you're born into your culture, and culture is lord of everything. We don't realize the degree of militarism.

The powerful illustration that comes immediately to mind in the nuclear issue is this: We've had, since I was in the government, a non-proliferation treaty which is essential to the hopes for survival on the planet. The nuclear powers agreed to stop testing as quickly as they could, if the non-nuclear powers would agree not to try to develop nuclear weapons. So far 139 non-nuclear powers have signed it, in faith that we will stop testing. We haven't stopped testing. That treaty was signed in 1968.

The Soviet Union, for whatever political or evil or other motives, unilaterally announced to the world on August 6th, 1985 that it would stop testing. A pretty desirable thing; each test has problems that we don't understand but the problems that we do understand are serious

enough. We unilaterally continued testing, and we went through 24 consecutive tests without any test by the Soviet Union. Nobody claims they tested; the government of the United States doesn't claim they tested.

In January of this year, the Soviet Union announced that it would have to start testing again if we tested again. We immediately said we would test on February 5th of this year. A protest at the Nevada Test Site was arranged, and we tested on February 3rd as kind of a preemptive strike to preempt the protest, which went forward. And people were arrested there; they got some little attention.

But the amazing thing about it was, at least my edition of the *New York Times*—it happened to be the first edition, because I was flying to Nevada on the 3rd—didn't even mention the test. I've been told that there was a mention of the test at the bottom of a column on another subject in later editions. Yet that test possibly, if not held, could have ended all nuclear testing on the planet. We don't know that, of course, but it's just possible. And the American people weren't



KAREN STACKPOLE

even aware of it, didn't even realize the meaning of it. Overwhelmingly they don't know at this moment that there was a test on the 3rd of February that may not have been necessary, and that if we hadn't done it, the Soviets had agreed not to test.

Kagan: Mr. Clark, is there a way to draw from the experiences in the 1960s and civil rights issues and apply them to issues facing us today involving nuclear arms, and Trident in particular?

Clark: The only way that I know, sadly, and I hope that it will be with grace and beauty. As President Kennedy said, "I look forward to the day when America is no longer afraid of grace and beauty." The only way that I know to get attention is the way that we have gotten attention throughout our history, going back to the 17th century, where there are powerful social-political dynamics impelling us on a course. And that is to stand with dignity and nonviolence, and speak so as you can be heard in resistance to that course.

If it hadn't been done in the civil rights movement, our pervasive symptomatic discrimination on account of race would prevail. If it's not done in the nuclear field, we'll continue as we've been doing for many years to build three to five nuclear warheads a day, when McNamara said, more than 20 years ago, now, we could destroy life on the planet 30 times over.

Kagan: Based on all that you've said today, and based on your experience in your entire lifetime, do you have a conclusion for the Court regarding the effectiveness—when you're dealing with an issue as deeply entrenched as nuclear technology is, do you have a conclusion about the effectiveness on governmental policy, governmental change, of traditional appeals through the traditional political process?

Clark: I think you have to be careful not to generalize too broadly. In many areas, the traditional political process can work pretty well, and does. But where you're meeting something that is as deeply engrained in our subconscious as the arms race—you have to realize how deeply engrained it is. Here with ten million infants starved to death last year, unnecessarily, when every one could have been saved, while the arms race expanded mercilessly,

The question of survival is whether we can see the truth in time, and the question of whether we can see it in time is whether it can be projected or whether it will be prevented from communication. We're saturated with communication, and we need the capacity within our First Amendment for dramatic expression that can make people think, and pay attention, and begin to wonder and ask why. And the traditional methods—a letter to your senator is almost useless for that. He's saturated with mail with everything under the sun; he can't read his mail; he has to hire people to answer his mail.

And I write him, not very often, but from time to time. But I realize that my capacity as a letter writer is negligible compared with the capacity of a major campaign contributor or a powerful constituent in their district. And there are members of what we've called, as President Eisenhower did, the military-industrial complex spread throughout 435 congressional districts in 50 states in this union. So it's imperative that there be some chance to hear these other voices. They may be the prophets.

Kagan: One final question, Mr. Clark. Is it your opinion that when you're dealing with an issue with the magnitude and ultimate consequences of nuclear war, that greater deference has to be given to the right to speak freely and right to petition the government, than an issue with lesser amplitude? Is there a way of balancing the First Amendment speech rights when you're dealing with something like the arms race, when you have to weigh in favor of speech?

Clark: You know, you're talking to someone who believes that the First Amendment means what it says; that is, that Congress shall make no law. . . . But obviously, from the history and purpose of the First Amendment, it was intended that the people have a chance to hear, deliberate, reason and choose about matters of most urgency, in relation to government. And there can be no matter of higher urgency for all life than the nuclear and general arms race.

This article is reprinted from *Ground Zero*, published by the Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action, 16195 Clear Creek Road, NW, Portland, OR 97229.

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Feature

Efforts to Prevent Accidental Nuclear War

by Dean Babst

Even with an intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) arms reduction agreement, the world will still have most of its 50,000 nuclear weapons with many set for hair-trigger release. Even if arms reduction agreements were achieved that cut nuclear weapons in half, an accidental nuclear war could still destroy much of our earth. It is important, therefore, to consider what efforts are being made to reduce the danger of an accidental nuclear war.

The United States and the Soviet Union have signed three accidental nuclear war prevention agreements in the last two years. Possibly because of the greater concern for the arms reduction negotiations, there is relatively little awareness of these crucial prevention agreements.

By considering the strengths and limitations of the accidental war agreements that exist, we can improve our security. Also the recent risk reduction agreements are encouraging in that they show that practical agreements for prevention are achievable.

Risk Reduction Centers

In September 1987, the United States and the Soviet Union signed an agreement to establish special nuclear risk reduction centers. There will be a center in each country to augment the superpower's ability to reduce the risk of nuclear war as the result of an accident, misunderstanding, or a third-party action.

Six years ago Senator Sam Nunn questioned the Pentagon about an accidental Soviet-American war. The frightening answers he got showed how easily a small country or terrorists could dupe the superpowers into mutual annihilation. Senators Nunn (D-Ga) and John Warner (R-Va) then began to work to create some sort of agency by which the superpowers could share information about nuclear accidents, weapons thefts or other world-endangering events. In June 1984 the U.S. Senate passed unanimously (82 to 0) a bill proposing the centers.

The new agreement leaves much unsettled but both Warner and Nunn are optimistic. The U.S. government still has to decide whether the State Department, Pentagon, or some other agency will operate the center and how many people will staff it. Under the agreement, the Soviet Union will pay the United States for its share of the risk center equipment.

Stockholm Agreement

In September 1986 the United States, the Soviet Union, and 33 other nations signed the Stockholm agreement to reduce the danger of an accidental war starting in Europe. The agreement creates confidence-building measures designed to enhance mutual knowledge and understanding about military forces and activities. The overall purpose is to reduce the possibility of an accidental East-West confrontation, miscalculation, or failure of communication; to inhibit opportunities for surprise attack; and to increase stability in times of calm or crises.



N. EGNOT

Updating Hot Line

Since 1963 the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have had a hot line, a direct communication link between their leaders. This system has been upgraded on a number of occasions, most recently in 1986. The latest agreement provides for the capability of transmitting charts, maps and other graphic materials over the hot line.

Adequacy of Agreements

While these accidental nuclear war prevention agreements are encouraging, still much remains to be done. For instance,

how would the unexpected use of nuclear weapons by some nation other than the United States or the Soviet Union be contained?

French physician, Dr. Michel Haag, said that when Georges Pompidou was president of France, he was treated with high doses of corticoids the last year of his presidency. This medication can alter the personality and even precipitate delusional psychosis. Although the appearance of his face underwent change at this time, no journalist in France or elsewhere raised the question then or after his death in 1974 as

to what safeguards had been adopted to ensure that the head of a nuclear weapons state did not make decisions in a psychotic condition.

For five months prior to the 1956 invasion of Egypt by joint British-French expeditionary forces, British Prime Minister Anthony Eden was very ill and was practically living on Benzedrine. Hugh Thomas in *The Suez Affair* writes that Eden was taking pills for a defective bile duct. At a time of high crisis (Oct. 5 on) and with nuclear weapons under his control, Eden was in a state of acute intoxication from his illness.

If either British or French leaders had used nuclear weapons, would the nuclear war have remained limited? If nuclear weapons are used unexpectedly by some nation's leader in the future, are our prevention measures adequate? Since the number of nations with nuclear weapons is increasing, we need to be considering with other countries how an unexpected launching of nuclear missiles can be contained so as not to go global.

While accidental war prevention measures can be helpful, the reduction and eventual elimination of nuclear weapons is the only way we can be fully confident of avoiding accidental nuclear war.

Dean Babst is the editor of Nuclear Alert, the International Accidental Nuclear War Prevention Newsletter.

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Planet Poetry

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I dreamed last night I slept on the tracks of the Concord Naval Weapons Station
While my sisters and brothers all around were singing this song to me.

CHORUS

Risin' up, risin' up, risin' up to the best we are,
Risin' up, risin' up, risin' up with love.

The marines came out to hear our song and saw our true elation,
They asked each other what's goin' on, whose side should we be on?

CHORUS

Risin' up, risin' up, risin' up to the best we are,
Risin' up, risin' up, risin' up with love.

They opened up their hearts to us as we opened ours to them,
We all joined hands and in harmony we sang this song again.

CHORUS

Risin' up, risin' up, risin' up to the best we are,
Risin' up, risin' up, risin' up with love.

Risin' up, risin' up, risin' up to the best we are,
Risin' up, risin' up, risin' up with love.

Robby Labovitz
Nov '87, Santa Cruz



ARSENAL OF WAR

Arsenal of war,
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Carolyn Overington-Edmonds
Lewes, DE

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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Feature

December 31st: Peace Gathering at 4 a.m.

by Cap Pack

At four a.m., on the morning of December 31st, thousands of residents throughout the Monterey Bay Area will gather to simultaneously meet in spirit with as many as a billion (1,000,000,000) people in a hundred nations, to visualize, contemplate, pray and meditate for world peace.

It will be noon Greenwich Mean Time around the world when organizers anticipate 20 percent of the global population pausing, for an hour in time, to participate in the Second Annual Dec. 31st Peace Gathering. It is also known as World Healing Day and World Peace Day.

This will be the most powerful affirmation of peace and goodwill in history, according to organizers networking at international levels.

And just who are these people?

The majority of individuals and organizations involved in this annual activity are operating under the umbrella of the "Planetary Commission"—a worldwide, non-denominational, non-political organization without a headquarters, structure or fundraising activities. The "Commission" is simply a grassroots movement, launched by the Quartus Foundation in Austin, Texas, as a way of uniting people in a cooperative effort for responsible action, peace, and world harmony.

The purpose of the global mind-link is to create greater understanding and mutual trust among people in all nations, explains Commission Coordinator at Quartus, Barbara Douthitt.

"We want to demonstrate that a sufficient number of world citizens can gather in a common bond to demand an end to hostilities, hunger, poverty, and the subjugation of individual freedoms," Douthitt said.



was soon established, and through materials distributed by The Quartus Foundation, word of the "goodwill task force" quickly spread.

Based on information gathered at Quartus, the number of individuals consenting to participate last year eventually totaled over 500 million, representing all major religious faiths on seven continents, in more than 70 countries, and in every state in the United States. Over 500 peace related and spiritual organizations around the world participated.

"Building on the '86 base, a billion people thinking, praying, visualizing and meditating for peace at the same time is certainly within reach," said Douthitt, "especially when you consider the reach and influence of the supporting organizations."

The list includes such groups as Peace

Dec. 30th (the night before New Year's Eve) and a program of music and sacred dance will commence at 1 a.m. Dec. 31st. Everyone is encouraged to arrive early for the 4 a.m., simultaneous, world meditation. Doors will be closed at 3:30 a.m. and will not be reopened until 5 a.m.

Last year's event filled the Civic Auditorium to capacity and many people had

to gather outside. This year, tickets are being sold which will both insure that those coming will have space reserved, and pay for the overhead costs. The Santa Cruz Committee is hoping that fundraisers will not be necessary this year so that it may concentrate on the global mind-link.

Tickets are available at the following stores: Aries Arts and Teva Natural Foods in Capitola; Staff of Life and The Food Bin in Santa Cruz; True Nature Natural Foods in Boulder Creek; and in Felton at the Sequoia Family Market.

A \$2.00 donation is necessary for tickets obtained at these stores, and includes a bumper sticker produced by the local committee. Anyone unable to afford tickets is asked to please contact the S.C. Dec. 31st Committee.

As tickets to the Civic are expected to be sold out, the local Dec. 31st group is encouraging others to offer alternative sites. Churches and other organizations are being asked to participate. Groups may also meet in private homes, schools, or anywhere it is convenient.

To help network these alternative sites, contact Dec. 31st, P.O. Box 357, Santa Cruz, CA 95061. Phone number, for networking only, is 425-3633. Evening calls are ok until 10 p.m. Ask for Cap.

For other information, you may leave a message at 458-1984 and a member of the local committee will get back to you.

"... a billion people thinking, praying, visualizing and meditating for peace at the same time is certainly within reach."

Quartus directors made the first formal announcement of the Commission on January 1, 1984, with the stated objective of having 500 million people consenting to peace on earth and the healing of this world—with a minimum of 50 million joining in the mind-link at the same hour in time. December 31, 1986 was designated as the first "World Healing Day" and noon Greenwich was selected as the hour in order to encompass all time zones within that 24-hour period.

A network of supporting organizations

International, the World Peace Center, the World Federation for Peace, the World Federation of U.N. Associations, the Human Unity Conference, the Society of Prayer for World Peace in Japan, the Asian Buddhists Conference for Peace in Mongolia, the Devotional Associates of Yogeshwar in India, and hundreds more Christian, Buddhist, Hindu, cultural, social, economic, educational, and peace-oriented organizations.

Douthitt noted that the goal of one billion represents two out of every 10 persons on the planet, "a task force with an attitude of mind that must be recognized by world leaders."

In Santa Cruz, the December 31st Committee has been meeting weekly to plan one of the largest gatherings on the West Coast. Again this year, it will be held at the Santa Cruz Civic Auditorium. Doors open at midnight, Wednesday,



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Child Care Switchboard & Studio 476-8585
809-H Bay St., Capitola 95010

Children's Creative Response to Conflict 425-3749
509 Broadway, Santa Cruz 95060

Chile/Santa Cruz Friendship Committee 425-8493
374 Fairmount Ave., Santa Cruz 95062 Dale Roche

Citizens for a Better Environment (CBE) 458-5053
1320 Mission St., Santa Cruz 95060 Ralph Stachan

Coalition for Meaningful Pay (COMP) 662-3633
c/o 10094 Soquel Dr., Aptos 95003 Penny Schantz

Coalition for Nicaragua 458-0303
512 Front St., Santa Cruz 95060 Sojeila Maria Silva

Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) 458-3555
Box 1553, Santa Cruz 95061

Community Resources for the Disabled 429-9969
340 Soquel Ave., Suite 115, Santa Cruz 95062

Common Cause 425-7474
125-3 Felix St., Santa Cruz 95060 Sylvia Knaption

Communist Party of Santa Cruz 429-9720
Box 7561, Santa Cruz 95061 Jim Brough

Community Action Board 662-3616
323-B Spreckles Dr., Aptos 95003

Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility 335-7068
Box 7708, Santa Cruz 95061 Mark Fillipak

Conflict Resolution Program 427-3234
Box 7224, Santa Cruz 95061 Lucy Van Elgort

Davenport Resource Service Center 425-8115
100 Church St., Davenport 95017 Amy Weiss

Democratic Central Committee 423-6445
Box 7763, Santa Cruz 95061 Don Lane

Democratic Management Services 425-7478
310 Locust St., Santa Cruz 95060

Democratic Socialists of America 688-3781
516 Humes Ave., Aptos 95003 Rachel Haskell

Democratic Women's Club 479-9948
Box 1499, Soquel, 95073 Elsie Beltram

Earth First! 335-7768
Box 344, Santa Cruz 95061 Karen DeBraal

Ecology Action of Santa Cruz 476-8088
Box 1188, Santa Cruz 95061

Educators for Social Responsibility (Cabrillo) 429-6302
Box 895, Soquel 95073 Rosmarie Greiner

Educators for Social Responsibility (UCSC) 426-1597
441 High St., Santa Cruz 95060 Sigrid McLaughlin

Environmental Council 429-9197
Box 1769, Santa Cruz 95061 Becky Luening

Familia Center 423-5747
302 Raymond St., Santa Cruz 95060 Lucy Trujillo

Filipino Community of Watsonville 722-6522
2448 Freedom Blvd., Watsonville 95076 Frank Irao

First Strike Prevention Project 479-8781
Box 7061, Santa Cruz 95061 Peter Lumsdaine

Food & Nutrition Services 688-8840
236 Santa Cruz Ave., Aptos 95003

Food Irradiation Response 426-2734
Box 5183, Santa Cruz 95061 Christine Albrecht

Freedom Song Network 338-7283
Box 559, Felton 95018 Mark Levy

Friends Committee on National Legislation 423-2605
118 Miles St., Santa Cruz 95060 Herb Foster

Friends of Porter-Sesnon 427-3572
106 Buena Vista Ave., Santa Cruz 95062 Vickie Powell-Murray

Friends Peace & Social Order Committee 427-2399
217 Marnell Ave., Santa Cruz 95062 Ned Van Valkenburgh

Gray Panthers 423-8091
Box 1015, Santa Cruz 95061 Jacob Litsky



Green City Program 479-0702
Box 906, Capitola 95010 Theresa Torrent

Greenpeace 458-3090
1012 Pacific Ave., Santa Cruz 95060 Joee Conroy

Harbinger Communications 429-8727
Box 624, Santa Cruz 95061 Bill Leland

Housing Law Center 458-1086
1522 Pacific Ave., Santa Cruz 95060

Janus Alcoholism Services 462-1060
718 Carmel St., Santa Cruz 95062

Kolaynu/Santa Cruz New Jewish Agenda 425-4782
219 Peyton St., Santa Cruz 95060 Sally Schwartz

Lavendar Reader
Box 7293, Santa Cruz 95061

League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)
Box 301, Watsonville 95077

Lesbian & Gay Action Alliance 423-7287
Box 7293, Santa Cruz 95061 Jo Kenny

Lively Connections 458-9425
320-H Cedar St., Santa Cruz 95060 Glen Schaller

Matrix Women's News Magazine 429-1238
418 Cedar St., Santa Cruz 95060

Media Watch 423-4299
1803-7 Mission St., Santa Cruz 95060 Ann Simonton

Men's Alternatives to Violence 425-5248
Box 2126, Santa Cruz 95061

Migrant Media Education Project 724-2997
101 E. Beach St., Watsonville 95076

Monterey Bay Pledge of Resistance 426-6916
Box 366, Santa Cruz 95061 John Hunter

Monterey Bay Women's Alliance 475-0251
Box 7945, Santa Cruz, 95061 Mary Bryant

The Monthly Planet 429-8755
320-G Cedar St., Santa Cruz 95060 John Govsky

Native American Support Group 479-0327
Box 8260, Santa Cruz 95061 Abalone Walsh

Natural Resources Employment Program 662-3616
323-F Spreckles Dr., Aptos 95003

New Society Publishers 458-1191
Box 582, Santa Cruz 95061

Nuclear Weapons Freeze of Santa Cruz Co. 458-9975
320-G Cedar St., Santa Cruz 95060 Terry Teitelbaum

Pajaro Valley Religious Committee for Peacemaking 722-5691
Box 1160, Watsonville 95076 Roz Reddick

Peace Day Steering Committee 479-8905
583 Mello Lane, Santa Cruz 95062 Bonita Mugnani

Peace Education Project 338-7283
Box 559, Felton 95018 Helen Oppenheimer

Peace & Freedom Party 426-7251
564 Santa Marguerita, Aptos 95003 Lucy Kemnitzer

Peacemakers 429-9737
515 Broadway, Santa Cruz 95060 Barry Scott

People's Democratic Club 458-1830
126 Auburn Ave., Santa Cruz 95062 William Allayaud

Personal Access to Self-Sufficiency 688-3674
331 Beach Dr., Aptos 95003

Physicians for Social Responsibility 422-9066
505 E. Romie Lane, Salinas 93901 Don King

Planned Parenthood, Santa Cruz 426-5550
212 Laurel St., Santa Cruz 95060

Planned Parenthood, Watsonville 724-7525
90 Mariposa Ave., Watsonville 95076

Progressive Business Network 458-1070
144 Seaside St., Santa Cruz 95060 Scott Roseman

Psychiatric Inmates Rights Collective
Box 299, Santa Cruz 95061

Rainbow Coalition 475-3426
320-F Cedar St., Santa Cruz 95060

Resource Center for Nonviolence 423-1626
515 Broadway, Santa Cruz 95060 Doug Rand

St. Francis Catholic Kitchen 425-9225
205 Mora St., Santa Cruz 95060

Salud Para la Gente 728-0222
10 Alexander St., Watsonville 95076

San Lorenzo Valley Women's Club 338-4669
Box 574, Ben Lomond 95005 Sherry Witt-Snow

Santa Cruz Action Network (SCAN) 458-9425
320-H Cedar St., Santa Cruz 95060 Glen Schaller

Santa Cruz AIDS Project 458-4999
Box 5142, Santa Cruz 95061

Santa Cruz Community Credit Union 425-7708
512 Front St., Santa Cruz 95060

Santa Cruz Community Housing Corporation 423-1318
340 Soquel Ave., Suite 110, Santa Cruz 95062

Santa Cruz County Immigration Project 724-5667
406 Main St. Suite 217, Watsonville 95076

Santa Cruz Green Alliance 429-8057
Box 7011, Santa Cruz 95061 Birdie Hunter

Santa Cruz Indian Council 475-0185
Box 1443, Soquel, 95073

Santa Cruz Westside Community Health Center 425-5028
1700 Mission St., Santa Cruz 95060

Santana Chirino Amaya Central American Refugee Committee 426-4467
509 Broadway, Santa Cruz 95060

Save Our Shores 425-1769
Box 1560, Santa Cruz 95061 Dan Haifley

Save Soquel 476-1871
4453 Fairway Dr., Soquel 95073 Judy Parsons

Senior Citizens Legal Services, Santa Cruz 426-8824
343 Church St., Santa Cruz 95060

Senior Citizens Legal Services, Watsonville 728-4711
127 E. Beach St., Watsonville 95076

Seniors Council 688-0400
234 Santa Cruz Ave, Aptos 95003

Sierra Club 426-4453
9010 Soquel Dr., Aptos 95003

Somos Hermanas 722-5614
Box 467, Santa Cruz 95061 Marcia Rincon

The Sun 429-8033
118 Union St., Santa Cruz 95060

UCSC Women's Center 429-2072
UCSC, Santa Cruz 95064

Unitarian/Universalist Fellowship Social Action Committee 684-0506
6401 Freedom Blvd., Aptos 95003 David McMillan

Veterans Peace Action Team 426-7822
Box 586, Santa Cruz, 95061

VFW Post 5888, Bill Motto 429-8345
Box 664, Santa Cruz 95061 Richard Moran

War Tax Resistance Fund 423-1626
316 King St., Santa Cruz 95060

Welfare Parents Support Group 458-9070
509 Broadway, Santa Cruz 95060

Westside Neighbors 423-4209
123 Liberty St., Santa Cruz 95060 Gill Greensite

Witness for Peace 423-3733
515 Broadway, Santa Cruz 95060 Frances Wright

Women Against Rape 426-7273
Box 711, Santa Cruz 95061

Women for International Peace and Arbitration 427-0278
106 Comstock Lane, Santa Cruz 95060 Jackie Rochelle

Women's Crisis Support & Shelter Services 425-5525
1025 Center St., Santa Cruz 95060

Women's Health Center 427-3500
250 Locust St., Santa Cruz 95060

Women's International League for Peace & Freedom (WILPF) 438-6094
Box 61, Santa Cruz 95063 Kathleen Tranchina

Women's Space 429-9007
418-C Cedar St., Santa Cruz 95060 Lucy Van Elgort

YWCA, Santa Cruz 426-3062
303 Walnut Ave., Santa Cruz 95060

This list was compiled by the Santa Cruz Action Network for Lively Connections, an informal network of Santa Cruz County peace, social justice, and community organizations. To update information on the Lively Connections list or to add your organization, call 458-9425. Mailing labels are available for \$1.00.

Peace & Justice Calendar

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

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 9

Environmental Council 1987 Annual Meeting. 7 pm Dessert potluck, 7:30-9 pm meeting. Jade Street Park Community Center, 4400 Jade St., Capitola. Info: 429-9197.

Break The Ice With The Freeze. Join the Summit Party at Zachary's. As the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. sign a treaty to eliminate intermediate-range nuclear weapons from Europe, join us for our own ice-breaking ceremony and champagne celebration. Everyone is welcome to celebrate this historic first step and acknowledge the hard work that made this possible. 6-8 pm, 819 Pacific Ave. Info: 458-9975.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 10

Second Annual Celebration of San Francisco as a City of Refuge. A benefit for the San Francisco Sanctuary Covenant and the Central American Refugee Committee (CRECE) honoring the San Francisco Department of Public Health. 6-9 pm, Green Room, War Memorial and Performing Arts Center, 401 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco. \$25 per person, light buffet and wine. Reservation held at the door. Info: (415) 824-6274 or (415) 340-7408.

Save Our Shores. Testify at the California Coastal Commission Meeting, 9 am (Item 6c). This will be the first on-shore facilities ordinance to go before the Coastal Commission. Therefore, what happens to San Mateo County Measure A will set a precedent for all other on-shore ordinances. It is important that you act now! Room 1194, State Building, 350 McAllister Street, San Francisco. Info: 425-1769.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 12

Kolaynu/Santa Cruz New Jewish Agenda presents a forum on Disarmament, Detente, and Soviet Jewry. Speakers: Jon Weisberger, chair of New Jewish Agenda's National Disarmament Task Force; Rabbi Rick Litvak of Santa Cruz's Temple Beth-El; and Boris Keyser, a Soviet refusenik for 13 years before coming to the U.S. First Congregational Church Lounge, 900 High Street. A donation will be asked. Info: Deena 423-1626.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 13

Nevada Test Site Demonstration - Non-violent Direct Action. Concerned citizens from across the country, and local elected officials who have pledged to join them, will gather at the main gate of the Nevada Test Site for a legal rally and nonviolent civil disobedience. Join SANE/FREEZE for this very special and timely witness for an end to nuclear tests. Info: 458-9975 or (213) 452-5068.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 17

Reclaim the Test Site - find out how at a special meeting sponsored by the Santa Cruz County Nuclear Weapons Freeze. The American Peace Test (APT) is planning the largest action ever at the Nevada Test Site, March 11-20, 1988. Local activist, Noel Sturgeon, will report on her recent meeting with APT organizers. An exciting video of recent test site actions will also be shown. Come to this meeting to learn the latest information about Nevada Test Site actions and find out how you can get involved. 7:30, 515 Broadway. Info: 458-9975 or 336-8960.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 19

Food Caravan to support the striking Teamster Cannery Workers of Salinas (Local 890



Michelle Keyser

and Modesto (Local 748). From San Francisco, Sacramento, Watsonville and San Jose to Salinas. Assemble 11 am in San Jose, 1452 N. 4th Street, Local 287. Press conference: 1 pm at Teamsters Local 890, 207 N. Sanborn Road, Salinas. Info: 424-5743.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 20

Peace Meditation Solstice Pot Luck. 5 pm, Academy for Peace Research, 214 Mott Ave. Info: 426-5474.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 31

The second annual December 31 global peace gathering, midnight to sunrise at the Santa Cruz Civic Auditorium. Millions of people in all nations will link in spirit for a one-hour silent meditation at Greenwich Mean Noon (4 am in Santa Cruz) to celebrate human unity and vision for a positive future. A program of music, dance, and other preparation will begin at 1 am in the same format as December 31, 1986, when nearly 2,500 people gathered at the Civic with hundreds on the steps outside. Bring cushions or blankets, canned or non-perishable food for redistribution to the needy, networking literature for tables, small crystals, incense, etc., for the central altar. Tick-

ets: Aries Arts, Capitola; Teva Natural Foods on 41st Ave; Staff Of Life, Soquel Ave; The Food Bin on Mission Street; Sequoia Family Market outside Felton; Tru Nature Foods in Boulder Creek. \$2 donation requested to defray costs. Info: 458-1984, 338-3828, or 427-2641.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 14

The Very First Planning Meeting for Dance Your Nukes Off '88. You are invited to help organize the second annual Nuclear Weapons Freeze 12-hour dance marathon, Dance Your Nukes Off (DYNO). (DYNO '88 will be from noon to midnight on Saturday, April 30 at the Civic Auditorium.) We need help with program, recruitment, logistics, publicity and every other aspect of putting together a spectacular event. 7:30 pm, Santa Cruz Civic Auditorium, room ABC, 307 Church St., Santa Cruz. Info: 458-9975.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 16

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom First Annual Banquet. Page Smith, well-known historian, and Eloise Smith, innovator of art programs in prisons, both community leaders in Santa Cruz, will be honored speakers. Community singing led by Carl Hunter. 6 pm, De Anza Clubhouse, 2395 Delaware Ave. Limited seating necessitates early reservations. Donation \$10. Info: 425-7618, 423-9707, 476-6347.

MARCH 11-

MARCH 20

Reclaim the Test Site - American Peace Test nonviolent occupation and blockade at the Nevada Test Site. Get involved now! Form an affinity group in your area, start fundraising now to send your group to Nevada, and get involved in planning the action. Info: 458-9975 or (503) 484-2877.

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