

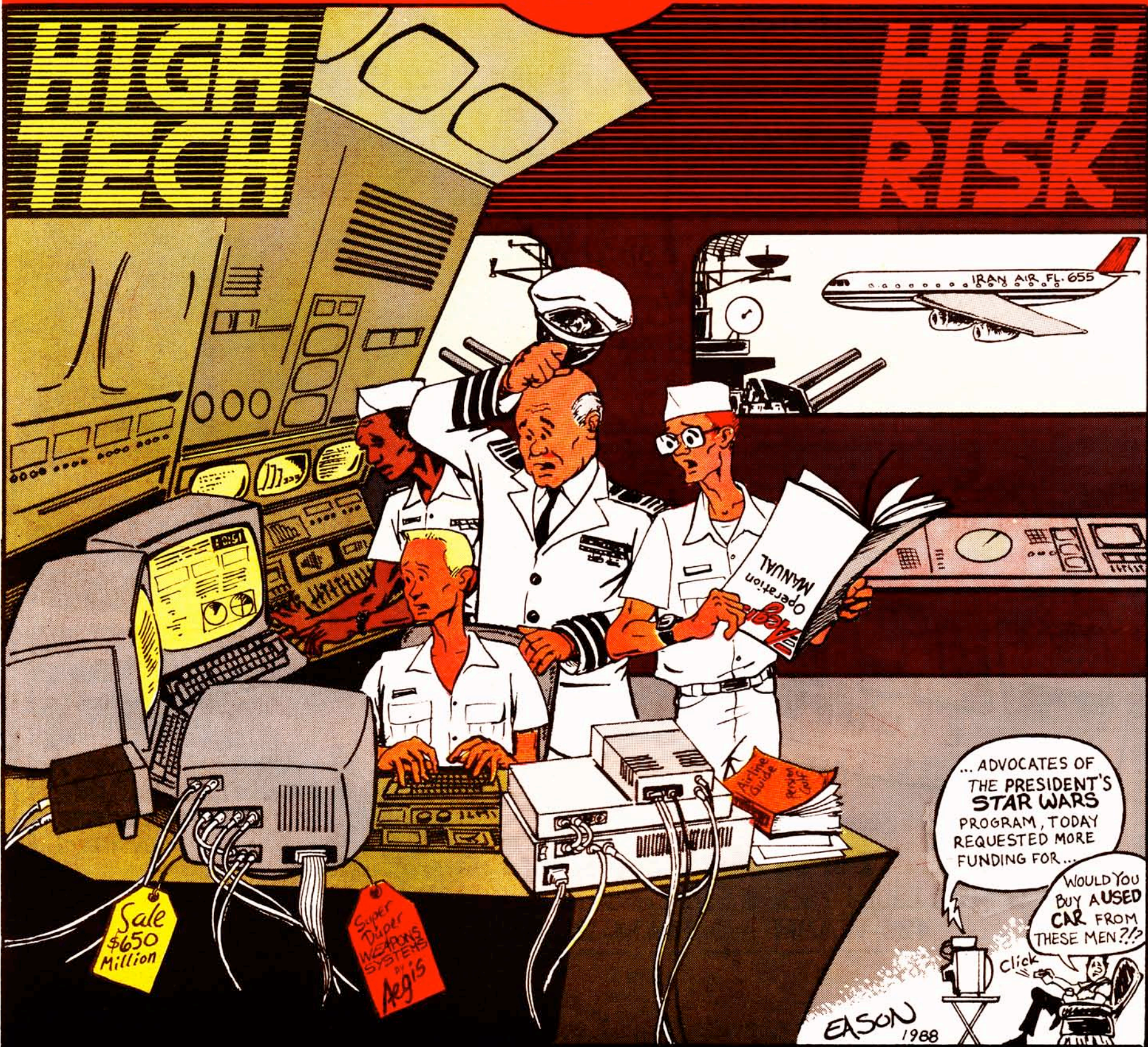
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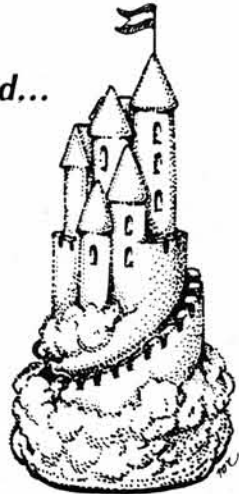
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DEADLINES for the October Monthly Planet

Publication date: Thursday, September 29
Poetry submissions: Monday, September 12
Letters: Tuesday, September 20
Calendar listings: Tuesday, September 20, 5 p.m. (no phone calls please)
Display ads: Thursday, September 22, 5 p.m. (call Risa at 426-3792)

TOM STIBRIK



Sara, one of the women of peace encampment at Greenham Common, England, has been there since 1981, going home only two or three time a year. She has been arrested countless times and has spent numerous nights in jail protesting the cruise missile base there.

The Monthly Planet is published every month (except January) by the Nuclear Weapons Freeze of Santa Cruz County. Mailing Address: P.O. Box 8463, Santa Cruz, CA 95061. The Freeze office is located at 320-G Cedar St., Santa Cruz. Telephone (408) 458-9975 for the Freeze; 429-8755 for The Monthly Planet. 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, letters, or poetry submissions should be typed, double spaced, and sent to the above address. Letters must be signed and include a phone number. We reserve the right to edit letters for brevity and clarity.

From the Grassroots

We prefer that letters to *The Monthly Planet* be typed, double spaced, and not more than two pages in length. We reserve the right to edit for brevity and clarity. Send your letters to *The Monthly Planet*, P.O. Box 8463, Santa Cruz, CA 95061.

In Search of the Politically Correct Burger

I'm confused over which hamburgers to buy or not to buy. I don't eat a lot of beef—two hamburgers a month is about my limit on meat consumption—but I would prefer to eat politically correct hamburgers if I'm going to eat any of the stuff at all.

Last year my group was boycotting Burger King. It was our understanding that BK used Central American beef and was

thus contributing to rain forest destruction. Our understanding at the time was that McDonald's used only U.S.-grown beef. The result was that BK stopped using Central American beef and the boycott was called off.

Also, Joan Kroc, owner of the McDonald's chain, is a peace activist/angel. The Joan Kroc Foundation distributed thousands of copies of Helen Caldicott's *Missile Envy* and I've heard she's helped other groups as well.

What I need to know is whether my information re McDonald's vs. Burger King is correct. I can understand that a vegetarian diet is nonviolent and spiritually evolved. But for those who aren't yet up to vegetarianism, we need to be careful whom we target. If Joan Krock is still a big contributor to peace projects, that information needs to get out.

John Owen
Los Angeles



Expensive Seats

Q. What is one of the most expensive seats to be found in America?

A. The Senate seat.

To my and possibly your surprise, the word is out that the average cost to win a Senate seat is \$3 million. A breakdown of this is an average of approximately \$10,000 per week covering a six-year period.

This gives the incumbents, returning favored officials, an advantage of about six-to-one in comparison to the challengers. Not only does this become a deterrent for new politicians, but it also makes the idea of re-running more attractive. Yet there is a solution in sight. The House of Representatives introduced H.R. 2717 last year, which limits the spending in the House races to partial public financing and puts a cap on how much financial aid can be accepted from public action committees (PACs). Presently, there are 91 co-sponsors to this bill. This bill has the possibility of changing the unbalanced chances now present in governmental races.

Hopefully, with times and the increasing concern of American citizens, this government will end this money race and focus on those areas which are in need of much attention. This country was founded on the concept that we are the people and that is exactly what we are. The people who can and will make the difference.

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It's fun! It's easy! And **all the answers can be found in this issue** of *The Monthly Planet*. To enter, simply answer all the questions and send this page to *The Monthly Planet Quiz*, 320-G Cedar St., Santa Cruz, CA 95060. To qualify for the prize, we must receive this page—with all the correct answers—by Wednesday, September 21, 5 p.m. If we receive more than one correct entry by the deadline, the winning entry will be pulled out of a hat. We'll notify you by mail if you're the

lucky one. Only one entry per person per issue is allowed. Good luck! (Congratulations to last month's winner, Ann Veronica Coyle.)

Name _____
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 Address _____

Short Answer

Congressional representatives will be in their home districts this fall through what date?

Who was recently called a "techno-weenie" by a Republican consultant?

Who claimed to be more in agreement with President Reagan than George Bush in a recent campaign speech?

What is the cost of the Aegis system?

True/False

____ Hibakusha means "peace worker" in Japanese.

____ "Brilliant Pebbles" is a new breakfast cereal.

____ 120,000 Japanese-Americans were interned during World War II.

____ The Joint Verification Experiment is a research project to measure the potency of marijuana cigarettes.

____ The Navy has proposed to spend \$10 million to build an overpass to thwart protesters at the Concord Naval Weapons Station.

Multiple Choice

What is Nevada Desert Experience?

- a) An annual Grateful Dead concert.
- b) The official tour of the Nevada Test Site.
- c) A wilderness education group.
- d) An organization which favors a comprehensive test ban.
- e) An underarm deodorant.

IFF stands for:

- a) Identification friend or foe.
- b) Intermediate Forces Fund.
- c) Institute for Foreign Finance.
- d) International Friends of Frogs.
- e) Incredibly frustrating filibuster.

Who introduced Contragate notables Rob Owen, John Hull, and Oliver North to each other?

- a) John Singlaub.
- b) Daniel Ortega.
- c) Ed Asner.
- d) Nancy Reagan.
- e) Dan Quayle.

The INF Treaty deals with what fraction of the nuclear arsenal?

- a) 0 percent.
- b) 4 percent.
- c) 12 percent.
- d) 25 percent.
- e) 111 percent.

AMNESTY

ATTENTION: pole climbers and splicers! It's all over. Santa Cruz Cable TV's **AMNESTY MONTH** has come to an end and we'd like to thank those individuals who called our hotline number and ordered our service legally. The honesty of these individuals has helped us clear up some of our service problems and enabled us to offer better picture quality to those who are paying. Thank you again for your help! If you have any questions, we're here to serve you.

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Hot Flashes

Nuclear Free Zone Fracas in Marin

In 1986, voters in Marin County, California approved a Nuclear Free Zone initiative, demonstrating public support for "thinking globally, and acting locally." Winning the election was the easy part. Building consensus on implementing the initiative and agreement on just what would make Marin nuclear free has proven more difficult.

On August 16th, four members of Marin's Peace Conversion Commission resigned in anger after being stripped of their authority by the county board of supervisors. The commission was established by the voter-approved ordinance to oversee implementation of the Nuclear Freeze Zone initiative, which involved a boycott by Marin County of products manufactured by companies in nuclear weapons research and production. Such firms include General Motors, Ford and IBM.

The trouble started when county purchasing agents sought to circumvent the new ordinance by doing business with local "third party" companies which bought products from nuclear weapons companies. Commissioners responded by persuading supervisors to grant them authority to block these deals and then followed through by preventing Supervisor Robert Roumiguere from leasing a car from Ford, a nuclear weapons contractor.

Citing this and other commission actions as "crazy," Roumiguere led a successful campaign to convince enough supervisors to vote 3-to-2 to deny the commission of any real power to implement the ordinance. Four commission members subsequently resigned in protest, charging three supervisors with undermining the intent of the Nuclear Free Zone initiative. (The board of supervisors reluctantly formed the commission only after having been required to comply with the ordinance.)

The four members will continue to work

on making Marin nuclear free in spite of this setback. Richard Raznikov, the commission chairperson and one of the four to resign, said, "There is a large peace community here and we have a lot of possibilities." They plan to bring a lawsuit challenging the supervisors' action or start a drive for a new ballot initiative to put the teeth back into the commission.

(source: *San Francisco Chronicle*, 8-17)

—Terry Teitelbaum

Brilliant Pebbles to the Rescue

Just when we thought Star Wars was about to receive a well-deserved death sentence, "brilliant pebbles" came to the rescue. Livermore weapons lab scientists conveniently unveiled this new space-based defense scheme as congressional and scientific support for Star Wars reached new lows.

Livermore scientists envision brilliant pebbles as very small (5-lb.) rockets which would independently attack incoming missiles, destroying them simply with the force of collision. According to lab scientist Bruce McWilliams, the rockets will "be up there flying around, and if they see any behavior that's out of line, they'll go after it."

The rockets would be very cheap (in Pentagonspeak)—a mere \$50,000 to \$100,000 per rocket, or \$10 billion for a missile defense system of 100,000 rockets.

Brilliant pebbles made their debut at a classified White House briefing given by Livermore physicist Lowell Wood, and attended by President Reagan, Vice President Bush, and General James Abrahamson (head of the Star Wars program), among others.

Advocates claim that brilliant pebbles would make a space-based defense cheap and effective (and a successful offensive "enemy" system prohibitively expensive), that the rockets will be very effective because they utilize "off-the-shelf" technology and function independently, and that their small size and great



NINA PALEY

numbers will make them very difficult to locate and destroy.

Critics argue that the proposal is a desperate attempt to resurrect funding and political support for a Star Wars system, and that the demise of Star Wars is more appropriate, given the tremendous cost and technical difficulty of a space-based defense. Even SDI organization scientists have their doubts—specifically, about the ability of the rockets' many sensors to function simultaneously and continuously.

To Roy Woodruff, formerly head of weapons development at Livermore Lab, the claims made for brilliant pebbles have a familiar, hollow ring. Woodruff resigned his position after scientists Edward Teller and Lowell Wood refused to correct overly optimistic claims they made for the X-ray laser.

"I've been there before," Woodruff stated. "Why would you believe Livermore if they came in with this proposal at the 11th hour in SDI and said it would make SDI work?"

(source: *San Jose Mercury News*, 8-9)

—Kai Siedenburg

Navy Frustrated by "Pesky Protesters"

As activists persist in blocking munitions trains from the Concord Naval Weapons Station, the Navy is threatening to go over their heads, literally. Faced with the unabated, ongoing vigil maintained on the tracks to prevent the shipment of U.S. weapons to Central America, the Navy is developing a plan to build an overpass for trucks and trains to roll over the highway while avoiding the blockading protesters.

Furthermore, the Navy wants to completely close the public highway which crosses the Concord base. It has asked the Department of Defense for \$10 million to build an overpass and \$5 million to buy the public access highway from Contra Costa County. If the plan is approved, the overpass would be completed by 1993 and the highway closed in 1996.

The Navy's plan, if accepted, may not have the desired impact on the overall protest at the weapons station, however. According to Mark Coplan, a spokesperson for the activists at the tracks, the Navy is missing the point of the protest. "The purpose for being at the weapons station is to protest illegal arms shipments. Blocking the trains happens to be one of the things we do here, but it's not the only purpose of being there."

The Navy isn't alone in its exasperation with what the *San Francisco Chronicle* dubbed the "pesky Concord war protesters." Also frustrated by the protesters "peskiness" are the Contra Costa County's sheriff's deputies and Deputy District Attorney Dodie Katague.

The sheriff's department has spent

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Feature

Dukakis Must Regain Initiative on Peace Issues

by Alex Forman

In the past few weeks those of us who had hoped that Michael Dukakis would offer a meaningful alternative to the Reagan Administration on arms control, disarmament and the military budget have been disappointed to hear

Analysis

the Democratic nominee proclaiming his total support for the Reagan approach. Despite Dukakis's deep programmatic differences with President Reagan on issues like a nuclear test ban, a missile flight test ban, the MX missile, Star Wars, and Contra aid, he is now stressing his agreement with Reagan in dealing with the Soviets on these and other issues.

The public opinion polls show Reagan receiving high marks on his handling of relations with the Soviets. In response, Dukakis has adopted a "me too" strategy, proclaiming in a recent talk that he, Dukakis, was more in agreement with Reagan than was George Bush. These statements are a mistake for the Dukakis campaign, not only because they are blatantly untrue, but because they will weaken his chance to capture the White House, by giving the Republicans a powerful campaign theme.

If it is true that Reagan is doing such a

wonderful job on U.S./Soviet relations and on arms control, why should voters not elect Reagan's choice to continue that job? Why should the American voter reject an administration that has done so much for peace that even its opponent can only promise to continue their policy?

For the Democrats, the alternative to handing the Republicans a victory on the issue of war and peace is a campaign with a new approach to national security. The basic issues of such a campaign are already found within the Democratic Platform and in Dukakis's own positions articulated during the primaries. While the American voters give Reagan high marks for negotiating the INF Treaty, they also overwhelming support further moves

For the Democrats, the alternative to handing the Republicans a victory on the issue of war and peace is a campaign with a new approach to national security.

toward peace that are in the Democratic platform, like a nuclear test ban, trading Star Wars for major reductions in offensive strategic missiles and ending aid to the Contras.

Dukakis should couple any praise for

Reagan's INF efforts with a strong message that he would go far beyond the INF treaty in moving towards peace and mutual, verifiable arms reductions. He needs to point out that while the INF treaty is a good, small, first step, it only deals with 4 percent of the nuclear arsenal and that it does not eliminate any weapon capable of reaching the United States.

Dukakis should be pointing out that after 8 years and the spending of \$2 trillion, there are now 2,500 more Soviet nuclear warheads that can reach the United States than when Reagan took office. He needs to burst the bubble of the "peace through strength" mirage, by showing that building more weapons only makes us less secure, since the Soviets

will match us weapon for weapon, and that spending our resources on the arms race is hurting education, childcare, health care and related programs which the voters care most about.

Unfortunately, some of the advisors around Dukakis are afraid to deal with arms control and national security and are trying desperately to focus the campaign around personality and domestic issues. They perceive that the Republicans are running strong on the defense issue, so their solution is to appeal to the "Reagan Democrats" with a "we're for strong defense too" theme. This approach only serves to give all the power to the Republicans by placing the debate completely within their framework. If the choice is between a Republican and a Democrat who tries to sound like a Republican, the public will choose the real thing.

This campaign provides Dukakis with the opportunity to point out that moves toward peace will strengthen our defense far more than building new weapons. Polls show that the public endorses spending less on the military, and that there is strong support for making agreements with Gorbachev. What the Democrats need is the courage and the political wisdom to see that the peace issue can appeal to the swing voters; it relates to their concerns.

Dukakis must link the peace issue with the nationalism and economic concerns of the "Reagan Democrats", by using a simple message. For example, "America can have a strong defense without spending ourselves into bankruptcy. We can't afford four more years of the Reagan-Bush policy of big spending on weapons that don't work and that we don't need. It's time for new leadership that will maintain our strong military defenses, while seizing every opportunity to move the world toward peace by both negotiating verifiable treaties to end the nuclear arms race, and actively seeking peaceful



solutions in Central America and elsewhere. It's time to spend our resources here at home where they are most needed to create better jobs, schools, health care, childcare, and programs to benefit the people of this country, instead of lining the pockets of some corrupt Pentagon contractors."

Such a message will make the choice clear to the voters, and mobilize the large peace constituency to work hard for a Dukakis victory. In 1988, if given such a clear choice between continuing to build more weapons, or moving to end the arms race, the voters will be willing to give peace a chance. The question is, will they be given that choice?

Alex Forman is the director of Northern California SANE/FREEZE.

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by Bob Aldridge

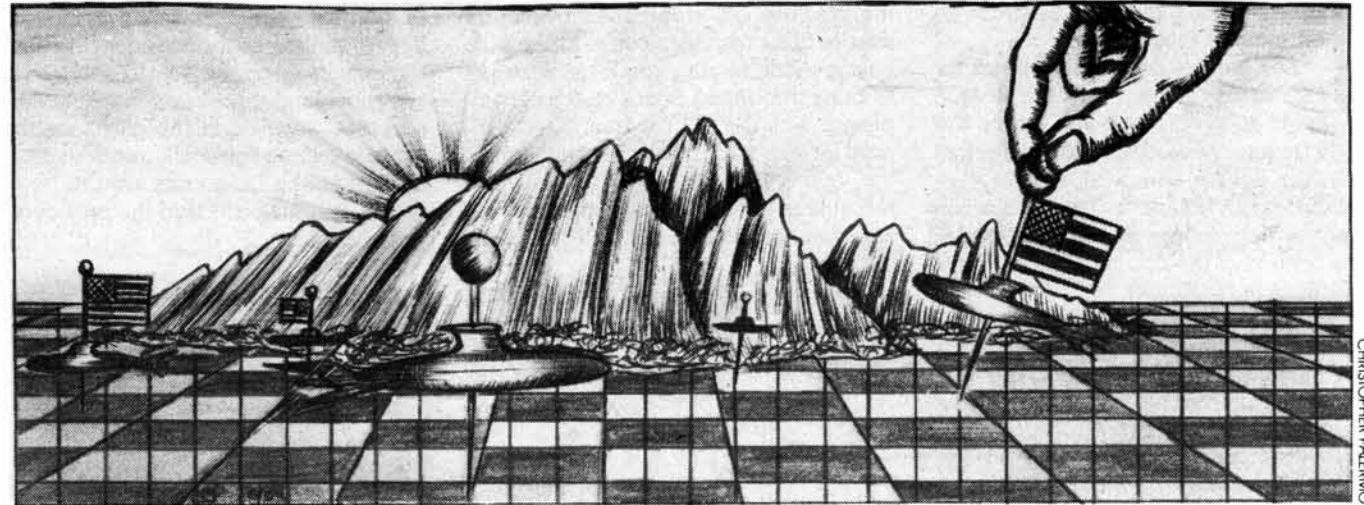
Military land-use options conflicting with Belau's nuclear-free Constitution reached violent proportions recently. Amid terrorism and bloodshed, the Reagan Administration tried to implement a Compact of Free Association between that island nation and the U.S. to end the 41-year-old trusteeship. One provision would allow U.S. access to anchorages in Belau's Malakal Harbor. That would accommodate a tender ship for forward-based Trident submarines.

High-ranking State Department and Pentagon officials assiduously deny such plans for a Trident base. The advantages coupled with Pentagon activity, however, indicate secret ambitions. The evidence stands alone.

Besides being geographically centered in the Southwest Pacific, Malakal Harbor would give Trident submarines two quick exits to the open ocean. The vessels could actually dive before leaving port. No other harbor in that area can match the capabilities of even one of the exits. Belau is also aligned with the deep-water Sunda and Lombok Straits through which submerged Trident submarines would have to transit to reach the Indian Ocean. All that is necessary to set up a forward base is for a tender ship to steam into Malakal Harbor and drop anchor.

Trident missiles have always been justified because their greater range allows the submarine to hide in ten times the ocean area. But when forward basing is mentioned as a means of using this expanded area, Navy officials say the missiles can reach their targets from a greater distance which allows the submarine to remain near its home port.

For Trident missiles to operate at the peak of their first-strike efficiency, however, they would have to be launched close to Soviet shores from locations encircling the U.S.S.R.. That can't be done by staying close to home. But to enlarge the operating area, the limiting factor at present seems to be communication. Current EC-130 aircraft using very-low frequency to reach submerged submarines have limited airborne time and that restricts their flight range. Known by the acronym of TACAMO (Take Charge And Move Out) they would give the order to launch missiles if normal channels of command have been destroyed. Rear Admiral Lawrence Lyman testified in early 1985 that as "more Tridents come on line, the operating areas must increase to minimize [Trident] density." Former Assistant Navy Secretary Melvyn R. Paisley stated that to "be able to take advantage of the expanded ocean area from which the Trident II missile can be launched, we are improving the TACAMO communications systems..." That improvement is a new Boeing 707-derivative aircraft designated E-6A. Vice Admiral Albert Baciocco reaffirmed that E-6As will allow expansion of the Trident operating area because they have greater range and higher speed. And former Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger's fiscal year 1987 report said the "E-6A's ability to op-



CHRISTOPHER PALERMO

erate over vast expanses of the ocean will permit [Trident submarines] to expand their operating areas and still receive messages from the National Command Authority."

Forward basing is not just a possibility, it is being practiced. The USS *Georgia* (fourth Trident submarine) concluded its fifth patrol in Guam on May 1, 1986. The crew was changed and the submarine outfitted for its next patrol in nine days by the submarine tender USS *Proteus*. This ostensibly demonstrated the ability to continue operations if the home port at Bangor, Washington were destroyed, and it earned both crews the Meritorious Unit Commendation for a "highly successful forward deployment of a Trident submarine."

Again, on February 6, 1988, the *Georgia* docked alongside the *Proteus* in Guam's harbor. According to gold crew skipper Captain John M. Rushing, this four-day refit once again demonstrated "our ability to operate away from Bangor if ever it becomes necessary." Rushing said the second Guam refit was to "iron out" problems experienced the first time. This quiet testing of forward deployment was described by the Navy as an intense effort. If forward

deployment is indeed needed in case of home-base destruction, a prominent harbor like Guam's would also be vulnerable. Forward deployment is more credible in a less-visible location like Belau.

Forward basing for launching missiles may be only part of the picture. A heavily-censored chapter from the Strategic Defense Initiative's *Directed Energy Handbook*, obtained under the Freedom of Information Act by the Committee to Bridge the Gap in Los Angeles, says Trident submarines may be used to launch a rapidly deployable X-ray laser for destroying Soviet submarine-launched missiles. The very close operating range makes forward basing mandatory. The document confirms that the "viability of pop-up basing for the near-term X-Ray Laser weapon system on mobile, covert platforms (such as submarines) introduces inherent survivability attributes for which there is ample experience base." It describes studies which "suggest that a marriage of new SSN-21 (attack submarine) silencing technology with existing Trident designs may provide acceptable survivability for the [620-mile] range operational area required by the

mission."

It is this interrelation of facts and events that U.S. officials will not discuss, particularly with reference to Belau. Nevertheless, if the Compact is ever accepted, Belau can expect to see Tridents in Malakal harbor. When that happens, another point in Micronesia will be added to the Kremlin's strategic-targeting list.

Bob Aldridge is a former Trident missile engineer now engaged in private research. His latest book, *Flexible Response*, will be published later this year. (New Star Books, Ltd., Vancouver, British Columbia)

Belau's President Found Shot Dead

On Saturday, August 20th, the president of Belau, Lazarus Sali, was found shot to death. Circumstances point to suicide, but police have not ruled out an assassination. Sali is the second Belauan president to die violently. President Haruo Remeliik was assassinated in 1985.



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Legislative Update

President and Congress Posturing for Elections

by Shelly D'Amour

Just when you thought it was safe to go on summer vacation . . .

As Congress prepared to break for its August recess, President Reagan made good his threat and vetoed the 1989 Defense Authorization Bill. Additionally, the Senate approved another non-military aid package to the Nicaraguan Contras. Both actions should be viewed in the context of the upcoming presidential elections in November.

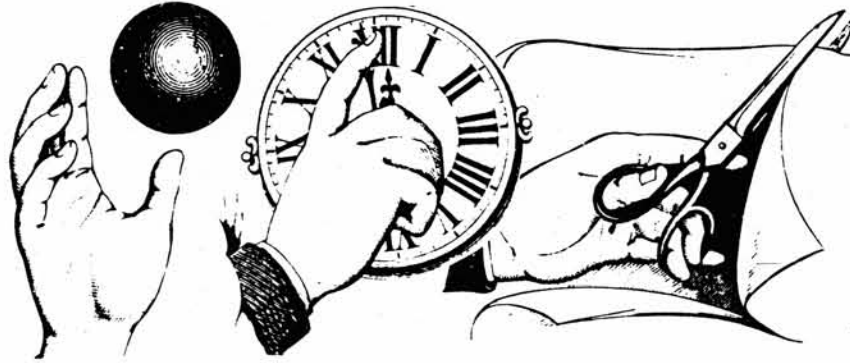
With only two months until election day, Democrats and Republicans in Congress are manipulating both legislation and the legislative process in order to garner news media attention and score ideological points with their constituencies. Their actions, however, are largely symbolic. The presidency is rarely decided on the basis of foreign policy questions, although congressional seats often are. Neither party is willing to risk a major political confrontation at this time. Once the dust is settled and a new president and Congress are in office, the battles over arms control and military aid to the Contras will begin in earnest. What follows is a summary of congressional developments in the last month.

Military Spending Bill

At the urging of several conservative legislators, President Reagan vetoed a defense bill which enjoyed the strongest bipartisan support of any defense bill since he took office. In a prepared statement, the president criticized the arms control provisions which were attached to the legislation, namely: a nuclear test ban readiness program, cuts in the administration's request for the Star Wars program, a

moratorium on depressed-trajectory missile flight testing, a cut in MX missile basing mode funding requests, attempts to bring the United States closer to compliance with the SALT II Treaty, and support for the traditional interpretation of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. These measures will now be attached to the 1989 Defense Appropriations Bill, currently

face himself, Representative Edward Markey (D-MA) lambasted the president in a grandiose manner on the floor of the House. His remarks did have a partially serious purpose, however. In the offchance that the whole issue snowballs into something significant, the Democrats want to be on record as having criticized the president's action initially.



making its way through Congress. A vote on defense appropriations is expected in the House sometime after September 6. In the event that Mr. Reagan vetoes it as well, the arms control provisions will be incorporated at the end of the year into a catch-all spending bill called a continuing resolution.

The president's veto has no significant legislative impact. It serves as a theater piece, designed to highlight Republican and Democratic differences on military issues, while ignoring the obvious fact that many Republicans worked on and voted for the bill. The Democrats were quick to play along. To the cheers of his Democratic colleagues, and barely able to keep a straight

The Republican members, for their part, have not suddenly gone wild for arms control. However, with few exceptions this bill contains the same arms control provisions which are attached every year, and there were no major controversial issues. More significantly, members of both parties are anxious to clear their legislative decks and get back to their home districts to campaign.

Contra Aid

On a vote of 49-47, the Senate approved a measure to provide \$27 million in non-lethal assistance to the Nicaraguan Contras. Sponsored by Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd (D-WV), the package also includes \$5 million to assist war victims living inside Nicaragua. Furthermore, it sets forth conditions by which President Reagan may request military aid by mid-October.

The amendment was attached to the Senate version of the Defense Appropriations Bill. There is no companion piece in the House. The legislation will now be considered by a House-Senate appropriations conference committee, where it will probably be approved sometime in late September.

Just prior to the vote on the Byrd

amendment, a package that included military aid was defeated 57-39. Sponsored by Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole (R-KS), the bill would have allotted \$20 million in military aid and would have opened the door to further CIA involvement in the war.

The success of the Byrd amendment over the Dole bill is due to a number of conservative Democratic senators signing on at the last moment. This is the first time the Senate has turned down a military aid package to the Contras, but this should not be interpreted as a change in policy on their part. As in the case of the military spending bill, the upcoming elections play heavily into this vote. Democratic senators are juggling several complicated factors, not the least of which is that they are expected to support a national ticket headed by two men diametrically opposed to each other on the issue of aid to the Contras. Democrats would like to avoid a showdown with the president over Contra aid just prior to the elections, but the mid-October deadline for any military aid request, as incorporated into the Byrd bill, makes their wish unlikely to be fulfilled. Furthermore, conservative Democratic senators up for re-election will be pressed on the issue by their Republican challengers.

As usual, the House of Representatives will decide the fate of military aid to the Contras. All national organizations concerned with Central America legislation, including SANE/FREEZE, are working now to mobilize public opposition to renewed military aid. Barring any alarming internal developments in Nicaragua, it is highly unlikely that the House will approve such aid at this time. However, all representatives and senators still need to hear from their constituents.

ACTION: Representatives are in their home districts through September 5. Call your local office today to make an appointment. Call or write your representatives and senators and tell them 1) no aid of any kind to the Contras; 2) any aid at this time violates the Central American peace plan.

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

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President Ronald Reagan
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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)

Committee Assignments of Local Representatives

Senator Alan Cranston
(Senate Majority Whip)
Banking-Housing-Urban Affairs;
Foreign Affairs; Veterans Affairs;
Select Committee on Intelligence.

Senator Pete Wilson
Agriculture-Nutrition-Forestry;
Armed Services; Commerce-Science-
Transportation; Special Committee
on Aging; Joint Committee on
Economics.

Representative Leon Panetta
Agriculture; House Administration;
Select Committee on Hunger.
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Representative Ernest Konnyu
Government Operations; Science-
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Hotlines

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(reports on testing activities at the Nevada Test Site)
702-363-7780

Central American Legislative Hotline
(Coalition for a New Foreign Policy)
202-543-0664

Friends Committee on National Legislation
202-547-4343

Nicaragua Network
202-223-NICA

Nuclear Arms Control Hotline
(Council For A Liveable World)
202-543-0006

Pledge of Resistance/ERN
(Central America legislation)
202-328-4042

S.O.S.—Save Outer Space Alert
(Star Wars)
202-462-0777

Washington Office On Africa
202-546-0408

Witness For Peace
(reports on the Contra war)
202-797-1531

Movement Support Hotline
(to report harrassment and surveillance by government agencies)
202-614-6422



GREG MARTIN

Daniel Sheehan in Santa Cruz

Daniel Sheehan, General Counsel for the Christic Institute, a public interest law and policy center, brought new information on the men and the covert operations behind the Iran/Contra scandal to Santa Cruz on Thursday, August 18th. Speaking at the Coconut Grove, Sheehan addressed a full house of supporters of the Institute's three-year investigation into the network which was illegally supplying weapons to the Contras and flying cocaine back to the United States.

The event also included Saul Landau of the Institute for Policy Studies, and singer/activist Holly Near who brought the crowd together with songs and stories of the importance of working in coalition.

Sheehan surprised the audience by pointing out that Sen. Dan Quayle, the controversial running mate of George Bush, was responsible for introducing certain members of the Contra resupply network to each other: notably Rob Owen, John Hull, and Oliver North.

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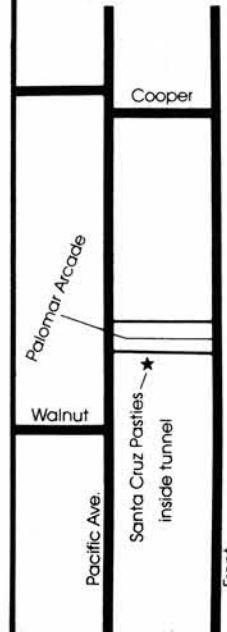
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Cover Theme



Lessons of the Iran Airbus Shootdown

by Ralph Chernoff

On July 3rd, the U.S. Navy guided missile cruiser *Vincennes* shot down an Iranian passenger jet. All 290 people on board the jet were killed. The cruiser's captain said that he had mistaken the passenger jet for an Iranian fighter plane about to attack his ship.

Like all such "accidents" of war, this one was the result of a long chain of mistakes, mischances and misdeeds. If we were to start our inquiry with the perfectly reasonable question, "What are we doing in the Persian Gulf, anyway?" we would have to follow that chain all the way back to the beginning of U.S. involvement in the region, back to the 1920's when American and British oil cartels grabbed control of its huge oil fields. But we don't have time for that, so we'll pick up the story in its latest episode.

The Background

The Persian Gulf has been a battlefield of the Iran-Iraq war since its outbreak in 1980, with each side trying to exploit the other's dependence on oil exports by attacking its tankers (or tankers of any nationality carrying the other side's oil). In March of 1987, an American owned tanker was damaged by an Iranian mine. Claiming this incident as justification (in the time-honored tradition of the *Maine* and the Tonkin Gulf), the Reagan Administration dispatched a naval task force to the gulf "to protect freedom of navigation." But the task force has protected only Iraqi, or other non-Iranian, shipping; it has never interfered with Iraq's incessant attacks on tankers carrying Iranian oil, and it has itself made several "punitive" attacks on Iranian

targets.

Disaster struck the task force almost as soon as it arrived in the gulf. In April, an Iraqi fighter plane fired two Exocet missiles at the U.S. destroyer *Stark*, killing 37 of its crew. The Iraqi fighter pilot had mistaken it, he explained, for an Iranian tanker. The *Stark* saw the approaching fighter on radar. It seemed to be about to attack, but

up a target to its north, crossing the coast of Iran southbound into the gulf. The hair-triggerish post-*Stark* rules of engagement were still in effect, and the memory of that disaster—and the disgrace of the *Stark's* captain—were still fresh in the mind of the *Vincennes'* captain. Also, the task force had been warned to be especially wary of "terrorist" attacks over the Fourth of July

given the radar operators other information about the plane, such as its precise altitude, aircraft type, etc., but this is not spelled out in any of the published reports.) The third signal, on the other hand, appeared to contradict the second; as interpreted by the *Vincennes'* officers, it seemed to say that the plane was an Iranian F-14 fighter plane.

This third signal came from a so-called IFF transponder. IFF stands for "identification friend or foe." It is simply an electronic version of the old challenge and password routine. You "interrogate" a suspect plane (or ship) by sending it an encrypted radio message (the challenge) which causes the suspect's IFF transponder—if it has one—to automatically send back another encrypted message (the password). It is assumed that every friendly plane—but no enemy plane—will be equipped with the right kind of IFF transponder. Civilian planes do not normally carry IFF transponders, so the captain of the *Vincennes* suspected that the target was an F-14 fighter masquerading as a civilian jetliner.

The alert reader will have noticed, I hope, something missing in the above explanation. How can a U.S. Navy ship interrogate an Iranian IFF? That third signal was a valid Iranian IFF password. Which means that it must have been triggered by a genuine Iranian challenge, which, as we said, is a secret code. That is, *was* a secret code; the Pentagon discovered the Iranian challenge code by diligent eavesdropping, and had probably been using it pretty routinely to detect Iranian military planes.

Flight 655 took off from Bandar Abbas Airport in Iran at 10:47 a.m. on its regularly

Despite these huge and wildly uncertain costs, Aegis, like the Trident submarine/missile project, appears to be immune from public scrutiny or discussion.

its skipper, faithfully following the cautious "rules of engagement" then in effect, refrained from shooting first. Following an inquiry, the captain of the *Stark* was kicked out of the Navy.

After the *Stark* incident the task force received new rules of engagement, which said, in essence, that if a plane, identified or not, *looks* like it's going to attack, don't wait till it *does* attack. Shoot first. Over the next 15 months the task force was never attacked again by either Iranian or Iraqi planes, although its ships and planes destroyed a number of Iranian naval vessels and oil platforms, and also had a number of run-ins with tiny Iranian speedboats armed with machine guns.

The Shootdown

The *Vincennes* had just such a run-in on the morning of July 3rd, and had sunk two or three of the boats with cannon fire. About ten minutes later, its radar picked

up a target to its north, crossing the coast of Iran southbound into the gulf. The hair-triggerish post-*Stark* rules of engagement were still in effect, and the memory of that disaster—and the disgrace of the *Stark's* captain—were still fresh in the mind of the *Vincennes'* captain. Also, the task force had been warned to be especially wary of "terrorist" attacks over the Fourth of July

holiday. All these factors colored the way the captain and his crew interpreted the information they were getting about the target from the ship's radar. That information was confusing and contradictory. It came, essentially, from three different kinds of signals. The first signal was the ordinary "skin tracking" return, just the echo of the radar pulse reflected from the surface of the plane. It told the radar operators that there was something out there at such and such range, direction, height (roughly), speed and course, but it didn't tell them what it was. The second signal came from a civilian transponder on board the plane. A transponder is a radio device which *responds* to a received signal by *transmitting* a signal of its own. Such transponders are standard equipment on every passenger plane in the world. That signal said quite unambiguously that the target was a civilian airliner, namely, Iran Air Flight 655 (It may also have

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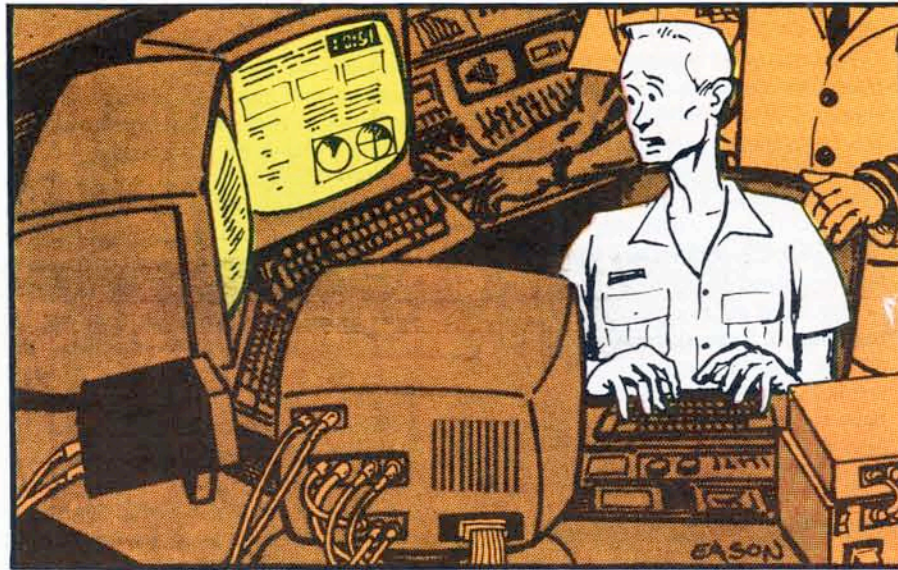
Cover Theme



scheduled, twice weekly flight across the Persian Gulf to Dubai in the United Arab Emirates. Flight 655 was an Airbus A300, a European built wide-bodied jetliner. The flight across the Strait of Hormuz, the entrance to the gulf, is a short one, normally, only about 25 minutes. Flight 655 had flown this route without serious incident at least one hundred times since U.S. warships began patrolling the strait beneath its flight path.

The jetliner was picked up by the *Vincennes'* radar almost as soon as it took off, at a range of about 45 miles. The weather was hazy, and the Navy implies, but has not explicitly stated, that the plane was never seen from the *Vincennes*. The cruiser tried to contact the plane by radio using both military and civilian channels, but it didn't respond on either. The jetliner didn't respond on the military channel because, of course, it didn't have a military radio, and it didn't respond on the civilian channel because the *Vincennes* called on the wrong channel. The *Vincennes* transmitted on the civilian channel reserved for emergencies by international agreement. Its calls were not heard because calls on this "distress" channel are heard *only* on that channel, whereas Flight 655's radio, following normal procedure, was tuned to the channel of the air traffic control center responsible for that part of its flight.

There has never been an explanation why the *Vincennes* wasted precious time calling on the distress channel rather than on one of the local air traffic control channels. It seems strange that its radio operators did not know the correct channels, since other ships of the U.S. task force had



been using these channels regularly to identify civilian planes crossing the gulf. In fact, pilots and air traffic controllers in the region had complained about being ordered to change course by Navy ships. In one incident, this almost caused mid-air collision.

In the last frantic minutes before the shootdown, the *Vincennes'* officers tried but failed to find Flight 655 in the *Airline Guide*. It is listed in the latest issues of the *Guide* covering that area. Given the stress of the situation, their failure to find it in time is understandable, but it still raises an obvious question: why hadn't they familiarized themselves with local air traffic schedules in advance? The *Vincennes'* special responsibility was to provide radar coverage for the entire fleet in the south-

ern gulf. Its officers' ignorance of normal air traffic in the area is, therefore, hard to understand. Or excuse.

The jetliner's failure to respond to the radio calls confirmed the captain's suspicion that the target was an F-14. At 10:51 a.m. he asked for—and received—permission from the task force commander to shoot the plane down if it ignored one last warning. Although it is still not clear exactly what happened in the next few minutes, the Navy's first reports of the incident said that the plane turned, at some point, onto a course headed right at the *Vincennes*, after which the ship's radar—again, according to this early report—showed the plane descending from 9,000 ft. at a speed of 520 mph. Apparently, this convinced the captain that the plane was about to attack

his ship, so, at 10:54 a.m., seven minutes after it was first spotted on radar, he gave the order to launch two missiles at the still unidentified plane. The explosion of the missile warheads hitting the jetliner was visible from the *Vincennes*.

Post Mortem: The Pentagon Explains

Iran announced the shootdown almost immediately. The U.S. did not confirm the report until mid-afternoon Washington time, 12 hours later, when Admiral Crowe, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, gave a Pentagon press briefing. Crowe's account of the shootdown stressed five points as justification for shooting down the jetliner:

- 1) The *Vincennes* was engaged in combat with the Iranian boats.
- 2) The jetliner was outside the prescribed "corridor" for civilian air traffic between Bandar Abbas and Dubai.
- 3) The target emitted a signal indicating it was an Iranian F-14.
- 4) The target seemed to be about to launch missiles at the ship (descending toward it at high speed).
- 5) The target failed to answer the ship's radio messages.

Crowe then blamed the Iranians for the disaster, saying that they caused the accident by allowing a civilian plane to fly over the area while "hostilities were under way." No one asked him why it wasn't also irresponsible for civilian ships to ply the gulf in the midst of these same "hostilities."

Crowe was then asked how the ship's super-sophisticated radar, the heart of its

continued on next page

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Cover Theme



DAVE EASON

continued from previous page

\$650 million dollar "Aegis" weapons system, could confuse a 63-foot-long F-14 with a 177-foot-long A300 wide-bodied jetliner. He gave no clear answer to that question, which has been asked many times since. The reaction of a relative of one of the victims was not atypical; when told the next day of the Pentagon's explanation of the shootdown, he shouted angrily, "A mistake? An F-14 looks like an Airbus?"

The phantom F-14 soon became the focus of reporters' questions. This posed a dilemma for the Pentagon; how could it explain it without revealing the IFF game? That game was not a big secret, not even to the Iranians, but the Pentagon was understandably reluctant to tell the whole world that 290 people died because it had outsmarted itself. Admiral Crowe tried to duck behind a "classified information" stone-wall, but the press quickly guessed the truth.

The Pentagon's first version of the incident began to unravel almost immediately. Six weeks of denials, leaks and "clarifications" followed while the Navy's report

of its official investigation made its way up the chain of command. The highly computerized Aegis system had taped much of the radar/radio data, so the investigators were able to reconstruct the incident fairly completely. When released, their report thoroughly demolished the original version, and it showed that Crowe's five "facts" were either misleading or just plain wrong.

First, the great "naval engagement" that made the *Vincennes* so nervous and edgy consisted of an artillery duel between three U.S. ships (the cruiser plus two destroyers) and some Iranian speedboats. The ships used their five-inch guns (range 12 miles) while the boats replied with "small arms."

Second, the jetliner was never outside its prescribed air corridor.

Third, the jetliner did not emit an IFF response, if indeed there was an IFF response at all (news accounts of the report are hazy on this point). The signal might have come from an Iranian military transport at Bandar Abbas airport, but there seem to be at least half a dozen theories

about this. This fact was particularly embarrassing to the Pentagon because its case against the Iranians rested heavily on the claim that the IFF transponder in the jetliner misled the *Vincennes*, thereby causing the accident. Moreover, it should have been immediately obvious to the radar operators that any IFF signal they may (or may not) have seen was spurious. Thus the "we thought it was an F-14 because we saw this IFF signal" story doesn't help much; it's either a flat-out lie or shows incredible incompetence.

Fourth, the jetliner never descended at any time during its flight. According to the *Vincennes*' own radar data (as recorded by its computer), it was at 12,950 feet and climbing—not 9,000 feet and descending—when the cruiser launched its missiles. This altitude reading was confirmed by the destroyer *Sides*, which was about ten miles away from the *Vincennes* at the time and watching the jetliner on its own radar. It also agrees with a report by air traffic control at Bandar Abbas airport.

Fifth, the cruiser's failure to contract the jetliner by radio was, as we have already noted, the fault of its own officers and no one else.

Aegis and Star Wars

The *Vincennes*, as mentioned above, is called an "Aegis" cruiser because it carries the Aegis air defense weapons system. This is a very complicated and, of course, very expensive system consisting of radars, computers, missile launches, special radio equipment, and assorted high-tech gear. The primary purpose of Aegis cruisers is to defend aircraft carriers. Carriers are the Navy's most important surface ships, but they are extremely vulnerable and even more expensive than Aegis cruisers. Each Aegis cruiser costs \$1.2 billion with about \$650 million of that going for the Aegis weapon system. The navy plans to build 24

to 27 Aegis cruisers plus an indeterminate number (between 17 and 60) of Aegis destroyers. All these numbers come from sources "close to the Pentagon." Estimates of the total cost are proportionally vague, ranging from \$48 billion to \$90 billion. Despite these huge and wildly uncertain costs, Aegis, like the Trident submarine/missile project, appear to be immune from public scrutiny or discussion.

The Aegis system's "phased-array" radars (four of them, one for each side of the side) are supposed to be able to track hundreds of targets simultaneously. Its computer devours and digests huge amounts of data about these targets from the radars, and turns that information into commands which control the ship's missiles. Target information is also fed to several displays where it appears in "digitized" form. The captain has his own display, so he need not rely on verbal reports from his officers (as *Vincennes*' captain did, according to the Navy's report). Targets are designated "friendly," "hostile," or "unidentified." Friendly targets are presumably identified by their IFF responses, but it is not clear how the computer identifies hostile targets. It is clear from this incident, however, that there will be an overwhelming tendency to treat all unidentified targets as hostile in any very tense or threatening situation.

But why couldn't the super-duper Aegis radar tell the difference between a big, wide-bodied jetliner and a little F-14? The answer, paradoxically, is that it's too damn sophisticated. Although the amplitude of radar echoes depends on many factors, big targets usually give bigger echoes than small ones. In Aegis, the digested data fed to the displays doesn't contain amplitude information because the system designers didn't see the need for it. Thus Aegis is totally insensitive to target size. A simpler, less computerized radar on the other hand, might have given its operator a fairly good idea of the size of the target, good enough, at any rate, to enable him or her to distinguish the jetliner from an F-14.

In this incident, Aegis operated in the "person-in-the-loop" mode, i.e., the captain retained control of the ship's weapons. Aegis, however, isn't designed to deal with just one "threat" (an Exocet anti-ship missile, for example) at a time, but with whole swarms of them, each zooming

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towards its target at supersonic speed. Which means, of course, that it has to be able to operate automatically, because only a computer, not a mere human, could deal with so many targets in so little time.

The comparison with Star Wars is obvious. Ironically, it was first drawn by admirers of both Aegis and Star Wars, not by their critics. "Aegis is Star Wars at sea," gushed a Navy admiral in a 1985 *New York*

F-14 if someone had thought to put the *Airline Guide* into its memory, but no one did. As every computer programmer knows, you always forget something.

Have we learned anything from this disaster? It doesn't seem that our political leaders have; both presidential candidates have *defended* the shootdown, and neither finds any useful lessons in it for future foreign/military policy. Michael Dukakis:

The essential similarity between Aegis and Star Wars is that both are designed to be—and have to be—fully automatic systems.

Times Magazine article. Aegis is, in fact, a model for Star Wars systems now on the drawing board. Much of the technology is the same: phased array radars, super computers, anti-missile missiles. But the essential similarity between Aegis and Star Wars is that both are designed to be—and have to be—fully *automatic* systems; human beings would be no more capable of dealing with swarms of nuclear warheads than with swarms of Exocet missiles. And the fatal defect of both is also the same: human fallibility. The shoot-down incident clearly illustrates this, for although the system was not on automatic at the time, the computer would—given the same faulty information—have made the same mistake. Perhaps the computer might not have confused Flight 655 with an

"Our armed forces have a right to defend themselves when attacked." George Bush had no comment of his own, but helped frame President Reagan's official statement: while "...we deeply regret any loss of life,...it was a proper defensive reaction." The Iran-Iraq war is, hopefully and thankfully, over, so the U.S. can get out of the gulf without "loss of face." But unless we learn: 1) how dangerous these weapons are, both to ourselves and to innocent bystanders, and 2) how foolish these imperialist "projections of power" are, we could be in for disasters far more terrible than that of Flight 655.

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

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A Closer Look

Defense Dependency Damages Our National Security

by Susan C. Strong

At the Democratic Convention in Atlanta, Michael Dukakis promised Americans honest, competent government which would move towards the new American frontier—economic justice. Previously he has called for a C.D.I.—a Conventional Defense Initiative. Many listeners fear that such language suggests a new, conventional arms race to replace the nuclear arms race—and yet more dependence on defense spending to prime our economy.

We can't afford a conventional arms

race, economically or politically, any more than a nuclear one. With nine nuclear-armed nations in the world and seven more actively seeking nuclear weapons, we cannot risk nuclear confrontations which a global conventional arms buildup will inevitably stimulate.

The presidential elections give us a chance to raise questions with the public and candidates about the wisdom of further American dependency on defense spending as an economic or geopolitical survival strategy. Recent polls show that

Americans, for the first time, are starting to see domestic economic issues as part of the national security question. Interventionist foreign policy was once justified by citing the need to protect U.S. access to global markets. We now are beginning to see that the cart may be squeezing out the horse, as Paul Kennedy states in his *Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*.

In fact, defense dependency is causing the U.S. to lose the ability to hold its own in global civilian business. The majority of our public investment capital, research

and development funding paid for by the public through Treasury bills or taxes, goes to military research. The best minds in our country are focused on work which has only one immediate application—destruction.

Nor do the spin-offs to civilian product applications occur as readily as in the past. Money for civilian market and product development from the enormously arcane technical discoveries in military science is not provided by the government. The development of civilian science and technology suffers enormously from the extreme secrecy of military programs. Finally, long-term world economic trends indicate that if Americans are to maintain a high standard of living, the U.S. must be a technical innovator in civilian products in today's global economy.

So much for the arguments which can be used in our upcoming electoral debates. After the election, continued lobbying for congressional peace and justice priorities, cuts in the defense budget, and federal economic conversion legislation will certainly occur. But many activists will also



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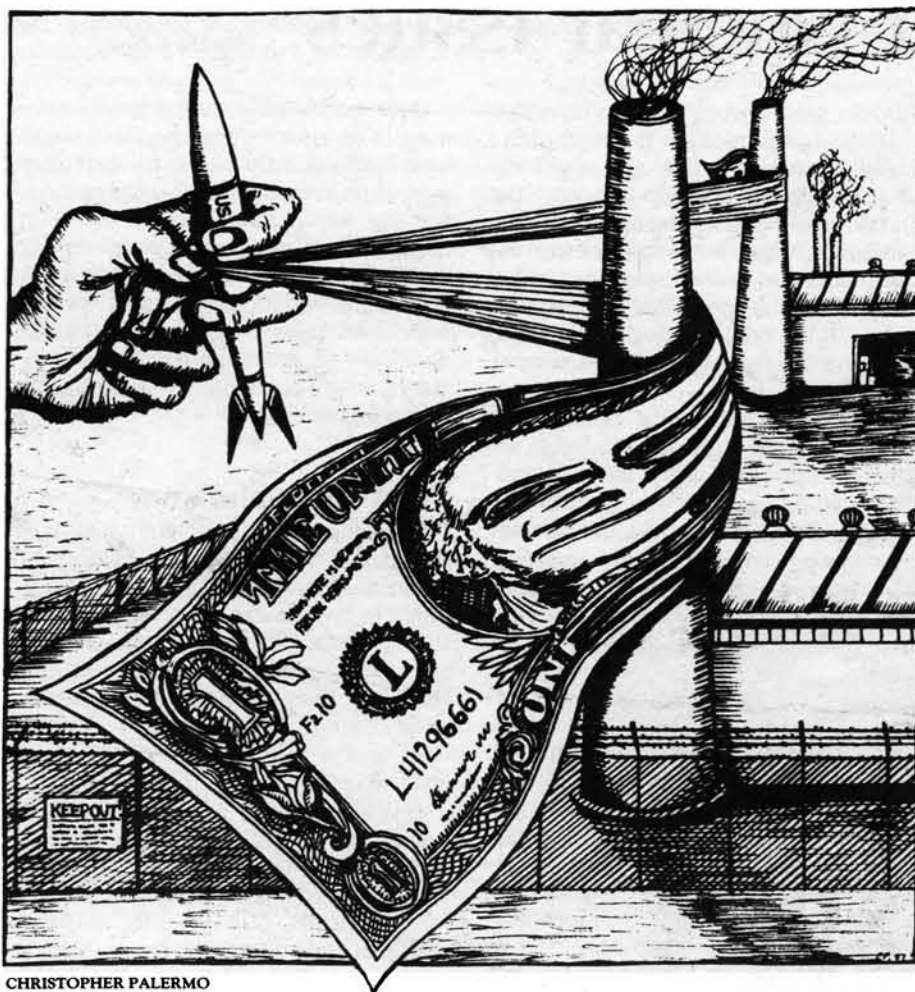
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A Closer Look



CHRISTOPHER PALERMO

want to work on the problem of defense dependency in their local communities.

At a Philadelphia conference held last spring, activists who have long specialized in the quiet, behind the scenes economic research, planning and lobbying needed to precede public conversion campaigns gathered to review their progress. They discussed models for action, set long-term goals, and reached some new and interesting conclusions.

Most agreed that the best approach is to focus on the general economic health of the community or the state, with particular attention to declining or vulnerable

industries of all types—not just defense installations and contractors. Organizers found that this allowed them to work comfortably with a broad range of groups and that labor was much more favorably inclined to such an approach.

Two specific local organizing models exist for these public campaigns: the statewide and the municipal. Both approaches offer opportunities for the public to make some important connections. Regardless of who wins in November, our job in the years ahead is to educate the public on the way defense dependency damages our national security by decreasing local economic stability and increasing international tension.

Recent polls show that Americans, for the first time, are starting to see domestic economic issues as part of the national security question.

The stress in this model is on economic diversification and alternative planning for the whole community, rather than simple conversion of specific facilities. The model assumes that economic communities are like ecosystems; it focuses on the system as a whole and ways to make it more varied, flexible, and stable. The emphasis is on overall economic policy, rather than defense policy alone. Today, this seems like an approach whose time has come.

Ballot initiative campaigns advocating studies, committees or departments of "sustainable economic growth" are partic-

For more information on the model initiatives described, contact the Center for Economic Conversion, 222 C View St., Mountain View, CA 94041.

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Feature

The Campaign Press and Nuclear Issues

by Jay Rosen

On April 12, one week before the New York primary, Michael S. Dukakis was interviewed by reporters and editors of the *New York Daily News*. On the subject of nuclear weapons, the following exchange occurred:

Q. "Can you conceive of any scenario where you'd use nuclear weapons first, as a strategic weapon?"

A. "Yes, yes. I would hope I wouldn't have to."

Q. "What kind of scenario?"

A. "Well, I'm for a policy of no early first use. But our present strategy in Europe assumes that if the Soviets were to invade and conventional forces couldn't stop them, we'd reserve the right to use nuclear force."

Dukakis went on to say that he doubted such a scenario would unfold, and that, with Gorbachev in power, an opportunity existed for deep reductions in conventional forces. Until then, he added, "we've got to be prepared to use nuclear force—obviously with great restraint, and only when there seems to be no other alternative."

By saying he would reserve the right to use nuclear weapons, Dukakis essentially reiterated NATO's generation-old policy of Flexible Response, which permits the first use of nuclear weapons to counter a major Soviet conventional attack. Dukakis would later say that he intended to associate himself with existing U.S. military doctrine. But the *Daily News* saw it differently, and so did Albert Gore, Jr. Four days of headlines in the local and national press followed, as Gore and Dukakis began trading charges on local CBS and NBC affiliates.

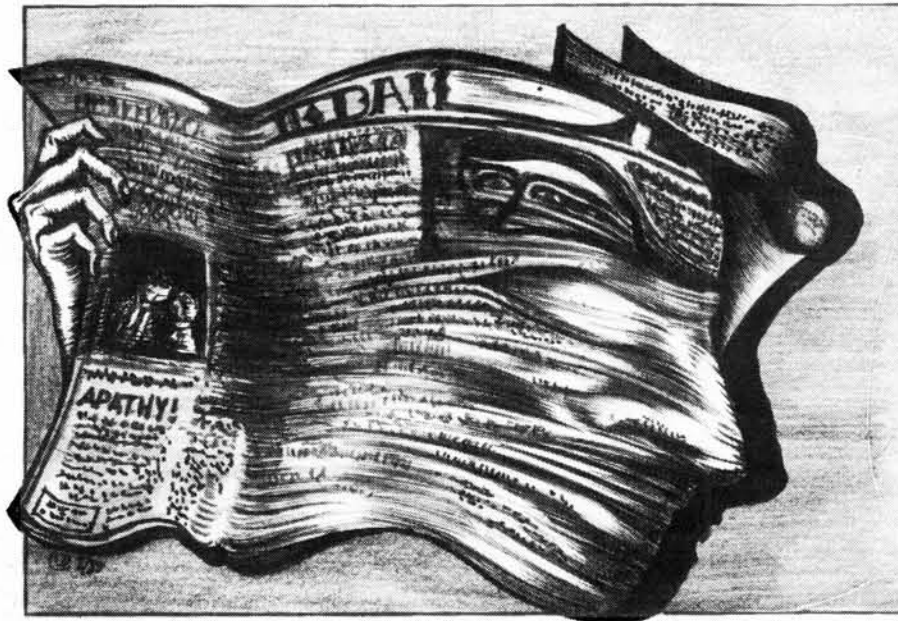
First Strike or First Use?

As conducted through the news media, the argument began with the bizarre assertion that Dukakis had advocated a "first strike"—a preemptive attack with strategic weapons to destroy or render ineffective an opponent's military capability—against the Soviet Union. It shifted to whether the candidate understood strategic doctrine, and then to the wisdom of his speaking at all about the use of nuclear weapons. Gore, of course, had an interest in hyping the story, a fact that did not go unnoticed at the time. But what did go unnoticed was a crucial fact about the audience at whom these charges and countercharges were aimed. The public knows next to nothing about NATO policy. And this ignorance is what allowed an innocuous remark to become a campaign event. Moreover, the whole episode is an example of poor press performance—in particular by reporters who don't normally cover nuclear issues.

The *News* ran its first account of the Dukakis interview on April 13, under the headline "The Duke Does a John Wayne." Staff writer Adam Nagourney's lead read: "Gov. Michael Dukakis yesterday said he would advocate a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union in the event of a Communist invasion of Western Europe."

The governor's answers were called "unusually detailed" and "apparently part of an effort to portray himself as tough on the Soviets." The remarks, Nagourney said, took the candidate "into areas where more experienced political leaders tread lightly." This first story was presented as a summary of what Dukakis had said and was not accompanied by a transcript of the interview or any extended excerpts, which the *News* released later.

Had the full exchange been published, the *News's* "first strike" lead would have looked dubious, since Dukakis never used the term in his answer. But this was not the only specious interpretation. Nagourney



CHRISTOPHER PALERMO

did not mention that Dukakis had immediately ruled out an "early first use"—the employment of U.S. nuclear weapons in the earliest stages of a conventional attack. Nor did he quote Dukakis saying that he would "reserve the right to use nuclear weapons," which is quite different from advocating their use. Would John Wayne ever have faced down a desperado by announcing that he "reserved the right" to shoot first?

Gore, whose campaign was almost out of life (he would withdraw the following week), began attacking Dukakis the day Nagourney's story appeared, calling the governor's remarks "irresponsible" and "a serious mistake." Gore was quoted in *The Washington Post* the next day as saying: "Traditionally, a president of the United States or a candidate to be president avoids the trap of spelling out in advance when the United State would use the awesome power contained in our nuclear arsenal."

In reporting Gore's charges on April 14, the *Daily News* retreated from its lead of the previous day—too late, however, to prevent the spread of the story to the national news media, including reports in *The Boston Globe*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Los Angeles Times*, and on ABC's *World News Tonight*. This time the *News* quoted the key passages in which Dukakis clearly declared against an early first use. The story, by general assignment reporter James Hamey and political editor Frank Lombardi, acknowledged that Dukakis

"did not use the word 'strike' in his reply."

(The original question the *News* put to Dukakis referred to the use of nuclear weapons "as a strategic weapon." But Dukakis and the *News* later agreed that the candidate began his answer before the questioner had ceased speaking. Apparently it was the use of the term *strategic weapon* in the original question that gave the *News* the opening for its first-strike lead.)

These were substantial clarifications, but by then the story was headed in another direction. A separate piece in *Newsday* by Susan Page, a Washington bureau reporter, speculated about the damage

Gore, portrayed in the press as something of an arms control specialist, could have challenged Dukakis in a substantive manner on a range of arms control matters. But that would have involved him in a quite technical debate over programs like the Midgetman (he's for, Dukakis against). Instead, he ended up exploiting the fact that voters know very little about NATO doctrine—so little, in fact, that simply stating existing policy, as Dukakis did, can sound frightening.

What the Public Knows

A 1984 survey by the Public Agenda Foundation found that 81 percent of Americans mistakenly believe it is U.S. policy to use nuclear weapons only if the U.S. suffers a nuclear attack first. A separate survey a year later by the polling firm Martila & Kiley reached essentially the same conclusion: three out of four Americans believe that the U.S. endorses a "no first use" policy.

Levels of public knowledge are no better when it comes to the recently ratified INF Treaty. Market Opinion Research, a polling firm, prepared a study for Americans Talk Security (ATS), a nonprofit and nonpartisan group. According to the poll of registered voters, just 9 percent of Americans know that the treaty eliminates all the land-based U.S. missiles in Europe that can reach the U.S.S.R. Three out of four do not realize the treaty does not affect any missiles aimed at the U.S.

Perhaps more disturbing was a series of questions about the relationship between conventional and nuclear forces in Europe. Rather than survey voters' views, the ATS poll merely asked if people were aware of a number of common arguments offered to justify current U.S. policy regarding the defense of Europe. Fifty-nine percent had heard of the contention that the Soviet bloc has a "very large numerical advantage in some important categories of conventional forces." Only 40 percent had heard of the argument that, "to prevent a Soviet attack on Western Europe, the U.S. and its allies have had to say that we might be the first to use nuclear weapons."

This was the environment into which the Dukakis interview was dropped. Twenty-one years after the United States, as a NATO nation, agreed that nuclear weapons might be used first to repel a conventional attack in Europe, most Americans remain ignorant of the policy. And even in the wake of the INF Treaty ratification, most Americans do not know which missiles will be eliminated.

As these polling data suggest, even the outlines of the debate about the current military situation in Europe are poorly understood by most voters, making a debate about the defense of Europe all but impossible outside the context of apocalyptic fantasies. Gore's charges can be seen as a symptom of this fact. Although he had initially denounced Dukakis as ignorant of nuclear strategy and of the unwritten rules governing its discussion, Gore soon played on public fears of a nuclear war, picking up the *News's*

Dukakis might have done himself. She quoted Republican consultant Kevin Phillips: "If he spends three days retreating from it, it's going to confirm the image of him as a techno-weenie in over his head."

Such speculation generated an entirely new story about the "political fallout," which was important because Dukakis's original remarks, it soon became clear, were unexceptional. Anyone reasonably informed about NATO policy could have looked at what Dukakis said and recognized it immediately as a general description of the Flexible Response doctrine adopted by NATO ministers in 1967. Flexible Response outlines a range of options NATO allies might pursue in the event of a Soviet nonnuclear invasion of Western Europe, including the possible first use of nonstrategic nuclear weapons. At the heart of the public policy is the absence of precise conditions under which nuclear weapons would be used. This vagueness is intended to create uncertainty in the minds of the Soviets, thus deterring either a conventional or nuclear attack.

Michael R. Gordon, national security correspondent of *The New York Times*, took the proper approach in his story of April 15, two days after the *News* interview broke. Gordon said Dukakis made no significant errors and was "basically restating orthodox policy" of NATO. Gordon added, however, that "military analysts" were "skeptical" of some of the governor's other arms control positions and went on to analyze them in some depth.

Feature

"first-strike" language.

Consider the charge Gore made at an April 13 press conference, as quoted by *Newsday* the next day: "I think it's most unwise for a president of the United States or a major candidate for the presidency to be drawn into a hypothetical discussion of when he would launch our nuclear forces and trigger the destruction of human civilization." The sentence, which begins with the original objection, swerves to a totally different line of attack—not "Dukakis is giving his hand away to the Soviets," but "Dukakis is going to blow us up."

Two Publics

Gore's rhetoric reflects the coexistence of two publics when it comes to nuclear issues. The first, consisting of informed insiders and political analysts, debates policy and then guesses at how the other public, the mass of uninformed voters, is perceiving it. These guesses are formed into sentences like, "It's going to confirm the image of him as a techno-weenie," which are then transmitted through the press to the voters. The underlying political fact—voter ignorance of American policy—is left unexamined and unchanged.

Gore set this mechanism into motion by echoing the *Daily News's* "John Wayne" headline. It was unlikely that anyone who understood NATO doctrine would support Gore's criticism of Dukakis, but the coverage his charges generated was enough to raise the "How will this hurt Dukakis?" question. That brought a different kind of expertise—political punditry—into play rather than a more substantive strategic analysis like Michael Gordon's. Meanwhile, Gore offered a separate attack for audiences ignorant of NATO doctrine: Dukakis might trigger a nuclear war.

Had Gore spent more time talking about actual NATO doctrine, he might have educated voters, but that would have worked to his disadvantage. Like Dukakis, Gore supports Flexible Response. And like Dukakis, he was in the difficult position of supporting a policy the pros and cons of which escape voters because they know nothing about it. In order to capitalize on the fearful tone of the *Daily News* coverage, Gore had to portray Dukakis as being in favor of the policy of first use, without shedding too much light on that policy, which Gore himself supports. He was in a tricky speech situation: how to talk about the ignorance Dukakis supposedly showed, while doing as little as possible to cure the ignorance of the voter, which his rhetoric exploited.

Gore, of course, was merely trying to win votes. He ultimately failed and withdrew from the race. But with the general election now just a few months away, the failure of the press must be noted. The *Daily News* made the entire flap possible with its inaccurate, ludicrous summary and John Wayne rhetoric. *Newsday's* Susan Page took the story out of the realm of policy, where a considerable service could have been done in educating voters about nuclear doctrine, into a netherworld of images and perceptions in which the expertise that was applied—Phillips and his "techno-weenie" remark—was not the kind of expertise voters needed.

Even worse was the cooperation Gore got in suggesting that any discussion of nuclear policy plays into the hands of the

Soviets. It may be, as Gore said, that "traditionally" candidates do not spell out their views on the use of nuclear weapons. That does not mean the tradition is a good or necessary one. (Indeed, it may be one reason voters know so little about U.S. policy in Europe.) To suggest, as some of

with Dukakis, wrote that he walked out of the meeting "in a bit of a shock" after hearing Dukakis say he would use nuclear weapons first in Europe. He went on to criticize Dukakis for allowing himself "to be drawn into" a discussion about where and when he would commit U.S. troops.

policy. In this case, the suggestion that Dukakis had said something significant or mistaken to the *Daily News* was made possible by the historical failure of the press to communicate a knowledge of U.S. nuclear policy to the public.

Certainly thousands of pronouncements have been issued, roundtables held, and articles published about NATO doctrine over the years. But the release of information is not the same as the communication of policy. Any solution to the problem of public ignorance must begin with this fact. The press can do its part by recognizing where ignorance exists, and by resisting the temptation to exploit it.

Jay Rosen is an assistant professor of journalism and mass media at New York University. This article is reprinted from the July/August 1988 issue of Deadline, published by the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media, New York University, 10 Washington Place, New York, NY 10003.

Voters know very little about NATO doctrine—so little, in fact, that simply stating existing policy, as Dukakis did, can sound frightening.

the coverage did, that campaign statements about nuclear weapons could tie the hands of a president shows, first, an extraordinary faith in the sincerity of campaign pledges, and, second, a curiously anti-democratic attitude.

This reached almost comic heights in Richard Reeves's column in the *News* on April 18. Reeves, present at the interview

Reeves said he was "appalled" that Dukakis "seemed to have no restraint in talking in detail about what he would or wouldn't do in theoretical situations involving the life and death of his countrymen."

In fact, what is more nearly appalling is the continuing ignorance of the public and the campaign press, and journalists' own failure to master the basics of U.S. nuclear



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Direct Action Notes

Activists Commemorate Hiroshima/Nagasaki at Lockheed Sunnyvale

by Bill Pratt

Forty-three years after the first atomic bombs devastated Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the production of far more sophisticated and dangerous weapons continues the United States on its path toward the capability to start and "survive" a nuclear war. In one of several actions staged around the country to draw attention to this policy, about 100 people gathered at dusk on August 5th, on a grassy knoll at the outer edge of Lockheed Missiles and Space Company's Sunnyvale complex.

The action began with an all-night vigil to commemorate the Hiroshima and Nag-

asaki victims and to protest the development of the first-strike Trident II missile. Vigilers lit candles with fire brought from the Eternal Flame in Hiroshima, sang hymns, and recited prayers from various religious faiths. Some fasted, and a small group remained throughout the night. Food Not Bombs, a San Francisco organization that provides meals at peace movement events across the state, arrived in the morning with breakfast. The vigil concluded in the afternoon with speeches from Peter Lumsdaine of the First Strike Prevention Project; Clifford Johnson, a member of Computer Professionals for

Social Responsibility; Sandra Price, a Sister of Notre Dame who recently returned from seven years of ministry in Nicaragua; Dennis Jennings of the Native American Treaty Council; and Dr. Frances Tomasawa, a survivor of the Hiroshima bombing.

Tomasawa's meticulous description of his first-hand experience with the horror of nuclear war complemented the other speakers' discussion of various aspects of first strike strategy, such as its use to back up military intervention in the Third World, its role in creating the current "hair-trigger" situation which leaves less than

ten minutes to react to a nuclear alert, and its effects on the environment and indigenous peoples.

Demonstrators changed their tactics from remembrance and protest to nonviolent confrontation and resistance on Tuesday, August 9th, the anniversary of the Nagasaki bombing. Arriving as early as 6 a.m., about 100 people gathered at the Lockheed complex for direct action that led to 15 arrests. Some joined the few workers who ride public buses for a tour of the area, standing up to identify buildings and their functions in the production of the Trident II and other first strike systems. Others participated in "die-ins" along the main entrance roads, falling to the ground and tracing shadows in chalk like the ones left on the rubble where bodies blocked the intense light of the atomic bombs at Nagasaki. At the main traffic intersections, demonstrators handed out leaflets to passing workers.

Several squads of Sunnyvale police were on hand to bolster Lockheed's security forces at the entrances, where workers are routinely checked for identification. The complex contains several highly sensitive areas, including the "Blue Cube," the main

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Direct Action Notes



tracking center for United States military satellites. Most of the demonstrators stayed outside Lockheed property, occasionally making forays into parking lots to leave leaflets on parked cars until police, who were generally reluctant to make arrests, urged them to leave.

Others managed to slip through security check points, and converged at the main public relations and administration building. While workers peered out the windows, thirteen people were arrested on charges of trespassing as they attempted to enter the building. Two men who refused to leave a remote area, where some protesters believe Lockheed is developing a system to load Trident II into submarines, were also arrested for trespassing.

Five arrestees signed citations promising to appear at arraignments in September, while eight men and two women refused to do so and were held for two and a half days. Three men were separated from the others when they refused to give their names. Although the other men and women were housed in the new Elmwood

George, who has the name of the deputy and several witnesses, is considering legal action.

After a night with no mattresses or blankets in a small cell with from 2-20 other prisoners, the three were taken to court only to find that their case was not on the docket. They ended up back in jail, this time in maximum security cells. Jail administrators claimed that because they had not given their names, they were an outstanding security risk. The protesters regard it as another harassment tactic.

"The police could have easily run finger print checks but the sheriff wouldn't authorize it, claiming it would cost too much," said George. "We had been arrested on a misdemeanor and were clearly not a risk to security. Obviously it was more important to them to punish us in every petty way possible for not totally obeying them." The next day, August 11, the three were taken along with the other men and women to arraignments. All pleaded *nolo contendere*, or no contest, to the charges. Because they had remained in custody for

use" pledge at the Democratic convention, and has taken ambiguous stances on the three key first-strike weapons systems: the Trident II, the MX and Star Wars. Bush strongly supports every element of the first-strike arsenal.

Stop First Strike Santa Cruz holds open organizing meetings every Thursday at 7:30 p.m., and is enthusiastically seeking new participants. For meeting places and more information call Peter at 427-0322.

Bill Pratt is a UCSC student, activist and a canvasser for the Nuclear Weapons Freeze.

—Bill Pratt

The Trident II and First Strike

Development of a first-strike capability greatly increases the prospects for nuclear war. It not only makes nuclear war thinkable, but puts it on the agenda as a foreign policy option. The Trident II missile is designed with the explosive power, speed and accuracy necessary to knock out Soviet missiles in their silos, before they could be launched in retaliation.

A comparison of its capabilities with the first atomic weapons helps to reveal how the Trident II only makes sense within the context of a first strike. The bombs used on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, which together immediately killed over 140,000 people, had yields of 12.5 kilotons each. Each of the Trident II's eight warheads will have yields of 475 kilotons. The Pentagon plans to eventually deploy at least 20 Trident submarines, each carrying 24 missiles. The destructive capability of the Trident II, combined with its flight time of as little as 10 minutes and accuracy to within 300 feet of a target 4,000 miles away, would be senseless overkill for any purpose other than destroying Soviet missiles in their hardened silos. A weapon built to these specifications is inherently offensive, not defensive.

The regional action was the third in California this year to focus on Lockheed's production of the Trident II.

jail, these three were taken to the old jail and kept in holding cells for 22 hours, which they say violated case law requiring that prisoners be kept in such cells for no longer than eight hours before being processed into housing units.

One protester claimed that his rights were violated when a Santa Clara County Sheriff's deputy assaulted him. George, who doesn't want to publicly reveal his last name, refused to answer questions from a jail clerk regarding his identity and history. When asked if he had any tattoos, he suggested that the clerk check with the person who had earlier strip-searched him. The deputy, who was standing by on guard duty, allegedly grabbed George by the neck and choked him for half a minute while verbally insulting him, then banged his head against the wall and slapped his face. George said that, after letting go, the deputy choked him for another 20 seconds.

two days, the judge waived a fine for the time served. The protesters were released several hours after arraignment.

The California Alliance to Stop First Strike, American Peace Test, and San Francisco SANE/FREEZE sponsored both the Hiroshima and Nagasaki days' events. The Interfaith Peace Coalition and the Fellowship of Reconciliation were additional vigil sponsors. The regional action was the third in California this year to focus on Lockheed's production of the Trident II, and brought arrest totals for them to over 200. The Alliance to Stop First Strike has announced another action for November 9-14 at Lockheed's Bonny Doon facility in the Santa Cruz mountains. Beginning the day after the national election, it will challenge the pledges of both Michael Dukakis and George Bush to continue the United States' pursuit of a first-strike capability. Dukakis refused to make a "no first

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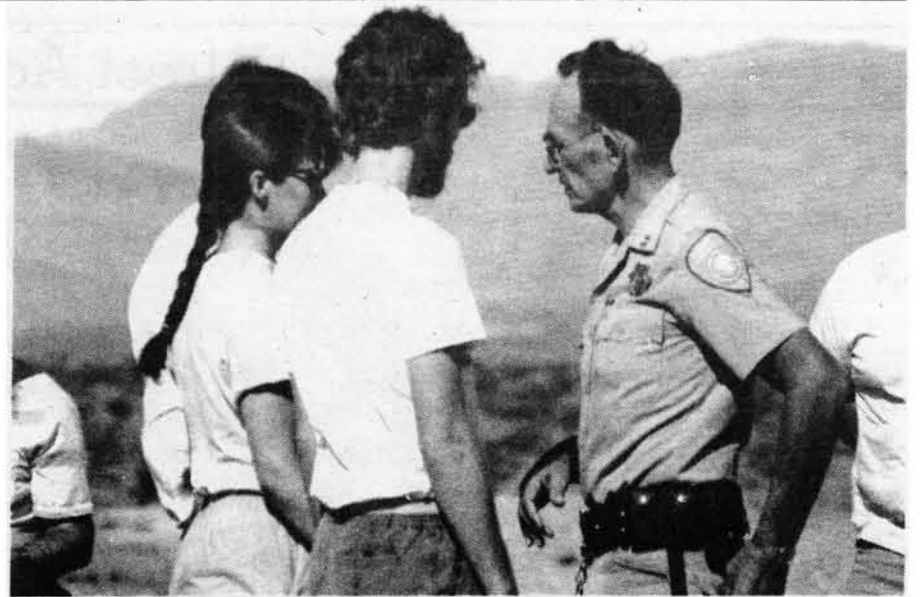
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Nye County Sheriff Jim Merlino warns Donna Potter and John Andruss that they will be arrested if they continue to cross the cattleguard onto the Nevada Test Site.

85 Arrested at Nevada Test Site on Hiroshima Day

The atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were commemorated on Saturday, August 6 when over 200 people gathered at the Nevada Nuclear Test Site. Shizuo Tachibana, a Hiroshima native whose father is hibakusha (survivor of the nuclear bombing), spoke during the memorial service saying that we are all hibakusha now because of the radiation from nuclear testing and nuclear accidents.

Eighty-five people, including actor Martin Sheen, were arrested for acts of civil resistance in a call to end nuclear testing. Some protesters went through the barbed wire fence which surrounds the test site boundary, others crossed the cattleguard at the entrance, and a few tried to blockade the road. All were arrested, held in the chainlink pens, cited for trespassing and released in a parking lot a few hundred yards from the entrance. One small group continued to recross the cattleguard until midnight when Hiroshima day was over. Each time they were met by Nye County sheriffs, arrested, put in the holding pen for a period of time, cited and ultimately released. This added an additional 25 arrests which were not officially recorded by Nye County Sheriff Jim Merlino.

Saturday evening 100 people gathered in Lorenzi Park in Las Vegas for a picnic and candlelight memorial service. During

the service individuals spoke of their hopes for peace in the world as they lit candles which were set afloat in a pond.

A March for Life took place Sunday, August 7, with 80 people walking through the streets of Las Vegas from the Federal Building to the Department of Energy. Hiroko Sawada and Rev. Gyoten Yoshida of the Nipponzan Myhoji Order of Buddhists maintained the tenor and tempo of the march with their drums. Rev. Yoshida, Japanese native, spoke of the urgency of all nations stopping nuclear weapons production in order to save the planet.

All of these events were sponsored by Nevada Desert Experience, a faith-based organization working for a Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB) Treaty. "Verification of a CTB is scientifically possible," said Co-Director Denise Stephenson. "Every president since Eisenhower has said that verification was the critical ingredient needed to establish a treaty—every president except Reagan. It's time that the people around the world demand an end to the nuclear arms race."

A celebration in honor of Gandhi's birthday will be held October 1-2 in Las Vegas and at the Nevada Test Site. It is co-sponsored by the Nevada Desert Experience and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. For more information call (702) 646-4814 or write NDE, PO Box 4487, Las Vegas, NV 89127.

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Adelante 724-2997 101 E. Beach St., Watsonville 95076	Friends of Porter-Sesnon 475-6104 3407 Gross Rd., Santa Cruz 95062 Vickie Powell-Murray	St. Francis Catholic Kitchen 425-9225 205 Mora St., Santa Cruz 95060
Alliance for the Mentally Ill 426-7462 Box 1516, Santa Cruz 95061 Emily Winfree	Friends Peace & Social Order Committee 427-2399 217 Marnell Ave., Santa Cruz 95062 Ned Van Valkenburgh	Salud Para la Gente 728-0222 10 Alexander St., Watsonville 95076
Alternative Healing Group for AIDS / ARC 429-1388 112-A Cedar St., Santa Cruz 95060	Gay and Lesbian Vegetarians 426-7315 Box 7971, Santa Cruz 95061	San Lorenzo Valley Women's Club 338-6578 Box 574, Ben Lomond 95005 Nancy Macy
American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) 429-9880 411 Cedar St., Santa Cruz 95060 Bob Taren	Gray Panthers 475-2435 Box 1015, Santa Cruz 95061 Zena Druckman	Santa Cruz Action Network (SCAN) 458-9425 320-H Cedar St., Santa Cruz 95060 Glen Schaller
Amnesty International 688-9170 750 Encino Dr., Aptos 95003 Cheryl Bentley	Green City Program 479-0702 Box 906, Capitola 95010 Theresa Torrent	Santa Cruz AIDS Project (SCAP) 688-7641 Box 5142, Santa Cruz 95061
Aptos Neighbors 688-3460 Box 1732, Aptos 95001 Peter Smithy	Greenpeace 458-3090 1012 Pacific Ave., Santa Cruz 95060 Joe Conroy	Santa Cruz Community Credit Union 425-7708 512 Front St., Santa Cruz 95060
Baha'i Faith 688-0221 176 Alta Dr., La Selva Beach 95076 Ann Miller	Harbinger Communications 429-8727 Box 624, Santa Cruz 95061 Bill Leland	Santa Cruz Community Housing Corporation 423-1318 105 Cooper St., Suite 219, Santa Cruz 95060
Beach Flats Housing Improvement Association / Vecinos Unidos 458-3174 206 Raymond St., Santa Cruz 95060 Estaban Reyes	Housing Law Center 458-1086 1522 Pacific Ave., Santa Cruz 95060	Sant Cruz Co. Cycling Club 423-0829 414 1/2 Soquel Ave., Santa Cruz 95062
California Certified Organic Farmers (CCOF) 423-2263 Box 5169, Santa Cruz 95061 Phil McGee	Human Care Alliance 423-0554 1110 Emeline Ave., Santa Cruz 95060	Santa Cruz County Immigration Project 724-5667 406 Main St. Suite 217, Watsonville 95076
California Grey Bears 479-1055 2710 Chanticleer Ave., Santa Cruz 95062	Hunt Saboteurs 429-9591 160 Oxford Way, Santa Cruz 95060 Verena Gill	Santa Cruz Green Alliance 429-8057 Box 7011, Santa Cruz 95061 Birdie Hunter
CalPIRG 458-5376 501 Mission St. #14, Santa Cruz 95060	Janus Alcoholism Services 462-1060 718 Carmel St., Santa Cruz 95062	Santa Cruz Indian Council 475-0185 Box 1443, Soquel, 95073
Campus Association for Responsible Development (CARD) 423-2019 A-Frame, UCSC, Santa Cruz 95064 Juliet Peck	Japanese American Citizen League 724-4028 150 Blackburn St., Watsonville 95076	Santa Cruz SPCA 475-6454 2200 7th Ave., Santa Cruz 95062
Central American Health Rights Project 426-0528 Box 366, Santa Cruz 95061	Kolaynu/Santa Cruz New Jewish Agenda 425-4782 219 Peyton St., Santa Cruz 95060 Sally Schwartz	Santa Cruz Westside Community Health Center 425-5028 1700 Mission St., Santa Cruz 95060
Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO 475-1335 2920 Soquel Ave., Santa Cruz 95062	KUSP-FM 476-2800 203-8th Ave., Santa Cruz 95062	Santana Chirino Amaya Central American Refugee Committee 426-4467 509 Broadway, Santa Cruz 95060
Child Care Switchboard & Studio 476-8585 809-H Bay St., Capitola 95010	KZSC-FM 429-2811 UCSC, Santa Cruz 95064	Save Our Shores (SOS) 425-1769 Box 1560, Santa Cruz 95061 Dan Haifley
Children's Creative Response to Conflict 426-3381 Box 8219, Santa Cruz 95061	Lavender Reader 429-9591 Box 7293, Santa Cruz 95061	Save Soquel 476-1871 4453 Fairway Dr., Soquel 95073 Judy Parsons
Children for Peace 358-2956 106 Olca Ct., Los Gatos 95030 Tom Franklin	League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) 429-9591 Box 301, Watsonville 95077	Save the Gray Whale Parklands 425-1146 Box 604, Santa Cruz 95061
Chile/Santa Cruz Friendship Committee 425-8493 374 Fairmount Ave., Santa Cruz 95062 Dale Roche	Legal Aid Society of Santa Cruz Co. 688-6535 21 Carr St., Watsonville 95076	Senior Citizens Legal Services, Santa Cruz 426-8824 343 Church St., Santa Cruz 95060
Christic Institute Action Team 427-3857 Box 1622, Santa Cruz 95061 Grant Wilson	Lesbian & Gay Action Alliance 423-7287 Box 7293, Santa Cruz 95061 Jo Kenny	Senior Citizens Legal Services, Watsonville 728-4711 127 E. Beach St., Watsonville 95076
Citizens for a Better Environment (CBE) 458-5053 1320 Mission St., Santa Cruz 95060 Ralph Stachan	Lesbian News 429-8755 Box 2968, Santa Cruz 95063	Seniors Council 688-0400 234 Santa Cruz Ave., Aptos 95003
Coalition for Meaningful Pay (COMP) 662-3633 c/o 10094 Soquel Dr., Aptos 95003 Penny Schantz	Lively Connections 458-9425 320-H Cedar St., Santa Cruz 95060 Glen Schaller	Sierra Club 426-4453 Box 604, Santa Cruz 95061
Coalition for Nicaragua 458-0303 512 Front St., Santa Cruz 95060 Sojeila Maria Silva	Media Watch 423-4299 1803-7 Mission St., Santa Cruz 95060 Ann Simonton	Somos Hermanas 722-5614 Box 467, Santa Cruz 95061 Marcia Rincon
Commission for the Prevention of Violence Against Women 429-3546 809 Center St. Room 10, Santa Cruz 95060	Men's Alternatives to Violence 425-5248 Box 2126, Santa Cruz 95061	The Sun 429-8033 118 Union St., Santa Cruz 95060
Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) 458-3555 Box 366, Santa Cruz 95061	Migrant Media Education Project 724-2997 101 E. Beach St., Watsonville 95076	UCSC Women's Center 429-2072 UCSC, Santa Cruz 95064
Community Resources for the Disabled 429-9969 340 Soquel Ave., Suite 115, Santa Cruz 95062	Monterey Bay Pledge of Resistance 426-6916 Box 366, Santa Cruz 95061 John Hunter	Uhuru Solidarity Committee 458-0802 640 Sumner St., Santa Cruz 95062
Common Cause 425-7474 125-3 Felix St., Santa Cruz 95060 Sylvia Knapton	Monterey Bay Women's Alliance 475-0251 Box 1155, Capitola 95010 Mary Bryant	Union of North American Women for Peace and Justice in Central America (UNA) 458-9743 Box 467, Santa Cruz 95061 Martha Dvenas
Communist Party of Santa Cruz 429-9720 Box 7561, Santa Cruz 95061 Jim Brough	The Monthly Planet 429-8755 Box 8463, Santa Cruz 95061 John Govsky	United Farmworkers of America 724-1308 406 Main St., Watsonville 95076
Community Action Board 662-3616 323-B Spreckles Dr., Aptos 95003	NAACP 426-1957 Box 1433, Santa Cruz 95061	Unitarian/Universalist Fellowship Social Action Committee 684-0506 6401 Freedom Blvd., Aptos 95003 David McMillan
Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility 335-7068 Box 7708, Santa Cruz 95061 Mark Fillipak	National Organization for Women (NOW) S.C. Co. Chapter 335-7221 Box 1119, Felton 95018	VFW Post 5888, Bill Motto 429-8345 Box 664, Santa Cruz 95061 Richard Moran
Conflict Resolution Program 427-3234 Box 7224, Santa Cruz 95061 Sandy Sweitzer	Native American Support Group 479-0327 Box 1996, Aptos 95001 Abalone Walsh	Volunteer Center of S.C. Co. 423-0554 1110 Emeline Ave., Santa Cruz 95060
Cultural Council of S.C. Co. 688-5399 6500 Soquel Dr., Aptos 95003	Natural Resources Employment Program 662-3616 323-F Spreckles Dr., Aptos 95003	War Tax Resistance Fund 423-1626 316 King St., Santa Cruz 95060
Davenport Resource Service Center 425-8115 100 Church St., Davenport 95017 Amy Weiss	New Society Publishers 458-1191 Box 582, Santa Cruz 95061	Welfare Parents Support Group 458-9070 509 Broadway, Santa Cruz 95060
Democratic Central Committee 423-6445 Box 7763, Santa Cruz 95061 Don Lane	Nuclear Weapons Freeze of Santa Cruz Co. 458-9975 320-G Cedar St., Santa Cruz 95060 Terry Teitelbaum	Westside Neighbors 423-4209 123 Liberty St., Santa Cruz 95060 Gill Greensite
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Earth First! 335-7768 Box 344, Santa Cruz 95061 Karen DeBraul	Peace Education Project 338-7283 Box 559, Felton 95018 Helen Oppenheimer	Women's Crisis Support & Shelter Services 425-5525 1025 Center St., Santa Cruz 95060
Ecology Action of Santa Cruz 476-8088 Box 1188, Santa Cruz 95061	Peace & Freedom Party 426-7251 Box 2325, Aptos 95001 Lucy Kemnitzer	Women's Health Center 427-3500 250 Locust St., Santa Cruz 95060
Educators for Social Responsibility (UCSC) 426-1597 441 High St., Santa Cruz 95060 Sigrid McLaughlin	Peacemakers 429-9737 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz 95060 Barry Scott	Women's International League for Peace & Freedom (WILPF) 438-6094 Box 61, Santa Cruz 95063 Kathleen Tranchina
Environmental Council 429-9197 Box 1769, Santa Cruz 95061 Becky Luening	People's Democratic Club 458-1830 126 Auburn Ave., Santa Cruz 95062 William Allayaud	YWCA, Santa Cruz 426-3062 303 Walnut Ave., Santa Cruz 95060
Familia Center 423-5747 302 Raymond St., Santa Cruz 95060 Lucy Trujillo	Physicians for Social Responsibility 422-9066 505 E. Romie Lane, Salinas 93901 Don King	
Filipino Community of Watsonville 722-6522 2448 Freedom Blvd., Watsonville 95076 Frank Irao	Planned Parenthood, Santa Cruz 426-5550 212 Laurel St., Santa Cruz 95060	
First Strike Prevention Project 427-0322 Box 7061, Santa Cruz 95061 Peter Lumsdaine	Planned Parenthood, Watsonville 724-7525 90 Mariposa Ave., Watsonville 95076	
Food & Nutrition Services 688-8840 236 Santa Cruz Ave., Aptos 95003	Progressive Animal Rights Alliance 438-PARA Box 2960, Santa Cruz 95063	
Food Irradiation Response 426-2734 Box 5183, Santa Cruz 95061 Christine Albrecht	Progressive Business Network 458-1070 144 Seaside St., Santa Cruz 95060 Scott Roseman	
Freedom Song Network 338-7283 Box 559, Felton 95018 Mark Levy	Psychiatric Inmates Rights Collective 429-9591 Box 299, Santa Cruz 95061	
	Rainbow Coalition 761-0861 Box 1491, Santa Cruz 95061	

This list was compiled by the Santa Cruz Action Network (SCAN) 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 for this list are available for \$1.00. SCAN has recently published the fifth edition of the *People's Yellow Pages*, a community resource directory with almost 1,000 listings of nonprofits, community groups, and local government agencies. The *PYP* is available in local bookstores and other retail outlets. For more information, call 458-9425.

Peace & Justice Calendar

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

Calendar items must be typed, double spaced, and sent (along with any photos) to *The Monthly Planet*, 320-G Cedar St., Santa Cruz, CA 95060.

We must receive your listing no later than **5 p.m. Tuesday, September 20** for inclusion in the October issue (publication date: Thursday, September 29).

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 1

Film: "Coverup—Behind the Iran Contra Affair." Benefit performance with special guests for questions and answers. To raise money for the film's distribution and to support the work of the Empowerment Project and San Francisco SANE/FREEZE. Co-sponsored by The Christic Institute. 7 p.m. and 9:15 p.m., Roxie Cinema, 3117 16th Street (at Valencia), San Francisco. Wine and dessert reception after each show at New Dawn Restaurant, 3174 16th Street. \$15 - \$20 sliding scale. Reservations: (415) 621-0858 or (415) 621-7770.

Lecture by Dan Miller—"The Technological Imperative: The Real Lesson of

Hiroshima." Sponsored by the Unitarian Social Action Committee. There will also be a report on the strategies and tactics of the peace movement discussed at a recent meeting at UCSC. Action on a comprehensive test ban, Star Wars, first-strike, and non-offensive defense will be analyzed. Social potluck 6 p.m., lecture 7 p.m. Unitarian Fellowship, 6401 Freedom Boulevard, Aptos. Info: 688-3792.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 2- SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 4

Peace Child—Central American Tour 1988. A musical theatre production celebrating the possibilities of peace. Featuring a cast of 30 Central American, Soviet and North American youth, along with our own Santa Cruz Children's Peace Child Chorus. September 2—Gala opening reception following the show, 8 p.m. September 3—2 p.m. matinee and 8:00 p.m. performances. September 4—2 p.m. matinee. Tickets \$12 general, \$8 seniors and children under 12. On sale beginning August 19 at Bookshop Santa Cruz on the Pacific Mall, Book Cafe at Kings Plaza Shopping Center in Capitola, Janson Music at 446 Main Street in Watsonville. Info: 426-6387 or the Santa Cruz Peace Child office at 426-1411.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 2- THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 8

Film: "Coverup—Behind the Iran Contra Affair." Show times 6:30 p.m., 8:15 p.m., and 10 p.m. Weekend matinees 1:15 p.m., 3 p.m. and 4:45 p.m. Admission \$5. Roxie Cinema, 3117 16th Street (at Valencia), San Francisco.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 3

Labor Day on the Wharf—Celebration and public gathering to enjoy the clear waters of Monterey Bay without the presence of a military warship and to speak out against the embargo of Nicaraguan products as part of U.S. policy in Central America. Aquatic drama by the Peace Navy, music, Nicaraguan coffee served. Sponsored by Witness for Peace, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Central American Health Rights Project, Monterey Bay Peace Navy and the Resource Center for Nonviolence. Info: 423-1626 or 427-2399.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 4

"War In Space, Part IV." A Consider The Alternatives radio program on KAZU 90.3 FM. Hosted by Ed Asner. Critically examines the Star Wars and plans for waging war in space. 6 p.m.

Organizing meeting for the September Blockade at the Concord Naval Weapons Station. 12 noon. Info: (415)431-6041.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7

Barbara Honneger speaks on "Under the Persian Rug: What You Have Not Been Told About the Irangate Affair." Ms. Honneger worked during the early 1980's as a White House policy analyst and aide, and now lives in Monterey County. Presented by Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The public is invited to the 7 p.m. meeting. Trinity Presbyterian Church Social Hall, Poplar at Melrose. Legislative letter writing will take place. Info: 425-7618.



Nelson Schwenke and Marcello Nile, "the Simon and Garfunkel of Chile," combine the lyrical and the political at Kuumbwa Jazz Center, 320-2 Cedar St. on Saturday, September 10, 7:30 and 9:30 p.m. The event is sponsored by the Chile-Santa Cruz Friendship Society.

Town Clock Disarmament Vigil sponsored by Quakers, Nevada Desert Experience and the Nuclear Weapons Freeze. 4:30-5:30 p.m. Info: 458-9975.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 9

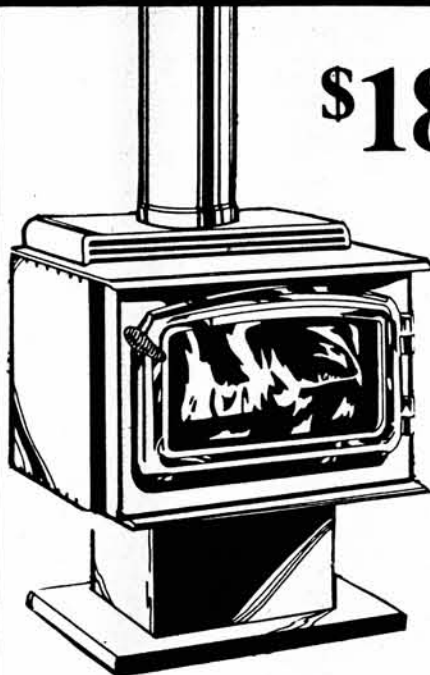
Benefit for the September Blockade at the Concord Naval Weapons Station. Entertainment by World Entertainment War, Bedlam Rovers, and Tattooed Love Monkeys. 225 Potrero, near 16th Street, San Francisco. Doors open at 8 p.m., music starts 9 p.m. Sliding scale, \$5-\$10.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 10

Benefit concert for the Shelter Project. Dance to the music of Collective Vision

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Peace & Justice Calendar

(the band formed on the Great Peace March). Neva Reece opens with original and contemporary songs. Presented by One World Outreach Program. 8 p.m., First Congregational Church, 900 High Street. \$4-\$10 sliding scale. Info: 458-5307 or (415) 331-1942.

Concert of Nelson Schwenke and Marcello Nile, "the Simon and Garfunkel of Chile." Chile's premier practitioners of "New Song": a type of modern Latin American jazz which combines the lyrical and the political. Kuumbwa Jazz Center, 7:30 p.m. and 9:30 p.m. \$6 in advance and \$7 at the door, available at Cymbaline Records or from the Chile-Santa Cruz Friendship Committee, 145 Hagar Court, Santa Cruz, CA 95064. Sponsored by the Chile-Santa Cruz Friendship Committee. Info: 426-8635.

Benefit for September Blockade at the Concord Naval Weapon Station. A multimedia event featuring film by Steve Brown and Tommi West, music by Fidel and others, and theatre-like events. Cafe Camaleon, 418 Front Street. Show starts 8:29 p.m. \$2-\$5 sliding scale.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 10-SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 11
Resource Center for Nonviolence 5th Annual Rummage and Bake Sale. 10 a.m.-4:30 p.m. Proceeds will benefit the ongoing work of the Resource Center for Nonviolence. Info: Birdie or Anita 423-1626.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 11
"War In Space, Part V." A Consider The Alternatives radio program on KAZU 90.3 FM. See September 4.

Organizing meeting for September Blockade at the Concord Naval Weapons Station. 7 p.m. Info: (415) 431-6041.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14
Nicaraguan Feast—Benefit dinner for Nicaraguan Mothers of the Heroes and Martyrs. Vegetarian and meat entrees offered, live music, poetry. India Joze, 1001 Center Street, 6:30 p.m. Tickets on sale in advance at India Joze. Sponsored by India Joze and UNA. Info: 426-3452.

Town Clock Vigil. See September 7.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 15
A radio discussion with Santa Cruz's "social justice attorney," Ray Grueneich. "Government vs Tax Politics" discusses a new and unique attempt at tax resistance. Followed by a call-in dialogue on KKUP 91.5 FM, 10 a.m. to noon, with co-hosts Larry Grant and Dan Miller. Info: 688-3792.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 17
Nonviolent Direct Action Preparation for September Blockade at the Concord Naval Weapons Station. 10 a.m., SANE/FREEZE Office, 347 Dolores at 16th, San Francisco. Bring lunch. Info: (415) 641-4095.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 18
"War In Space, Part VI." A Consider The Alternatives radio program on KAZU 90.3 FM. See September 4.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 19-FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 23
A Blockade of Arms Shipments to Central America/The Third World. A nonviolent direct action at the Concord Naval Weapons Station. For action information, affinity group formation, and spokescoun-



Collective Vision, the band formed on the Great Peace March, performs in a benefit for the Shelter Project on Saturday, September 10, 8 p.m. at the First Congregational Church, 900 High St. Neva Reece opens the show.

cil dates, call the Circle A Cluster at (415) 431-6041.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21
Town Clock Vigil. See September 7

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 24 - SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 25
"Making Waves," a conference to educate environmental activists and inform the public on Lease Sale 119 and its effect on the Central Coast of California. Sponsored by the Central Coast Conservation Center, with the Natural Resources Defense Council and Save Our Shores Oil Information Project assisting in planning and coordination for the conference. Half Moon Bay High School Auditorium. \$45 registration fee includes lunch and refreshments, a directory of attendees, and workshop materials. Scholarships and discounts available for students and senior citizens. Info: (415) 728-7623.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28
Town Clock Vigil. See September 7.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 8
Seventh Annual Nuclear Weapons Freeze Walk-a-thon—a ten-kilometer March for a Test Ban. The goal of the Santa Cruz Freeze is to raise \$16,000 from the walk-a-thon. The money will go to support ongoing work and to fund voter education projects to inform people which candidates will work for a comprehensive test ban. 9 a.m., San Lorenzo Park, Santa Cruz. The walker who turns in the most money from sponsors by November 8, 1988 will win a beautiful new bicycle from The Bicycle Trip. Register Now: 458-9975.



Jewish Women's Vigil Against Israeli Occupation

Jewish women are invited to join a vigil inspired by the Israeli peace group, Women in Black. Organized by Kolaynu, the Santa Cruz chapter of New Jewish Agenda, the vigil will be held on Tuesday September 20, the eve of Yom Kippur, 4:30-6:00 p.m. at the Santa Cruz Town Clock. The vigil is an expression of opposition to the continued Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and a symbol of solidarity with both the women of Israel who oppose their country's policies as well as with Palestinian women struggling to free themselves from occupation.

Women in Black has organized weekly vigils in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv since February 1988. Dressed all in black, they are a striking symbol of inter-generational dissent.

Kolaynu (which means "our voice" in Hebrew) chose the eve of Yom Kippur for the vigil as this is the Jewish holiday of Atonement. On this day the Jewish people fast, search their souls, and seek forgiveness for wrongs done to others. Out of respect for the solemnity of the holiday, it is requested that only Jewish women participate.

As a chapter of national New Jewish Agenda, Kolaynu favors the creation of a Palestinian state alongside Israel, in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The organization advocates a political solution to the conflict through an international peace conference to include Israel, the PLO (as the chosen representative of the Palestinian people), and all other parties to the conflict.

For more information contact Ilene at 426-1655 or Shelley at 429-9003.



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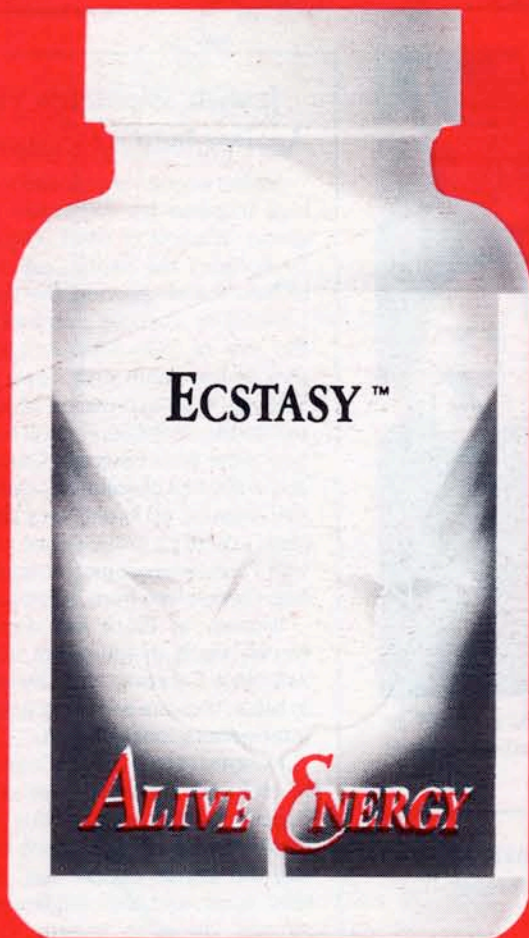
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