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THE MONTHLY PLANET

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SWORDS INTO



PLOWSHARES

REFLECTIONS
ON DIRECT
DISARMAMENT
ACTIONS

THE MONTHLY PLANET

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fennec's food for thought:

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—Read *None Dare Call It Conspiracy* by
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—Read *The Rich and Super Rich* by
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—Don't give up. Observe nature and she
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*The opinions expressed here are not necessarily
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DEADLINES for the Dec. *Monthly Planet* (Publication date: Sat, Dec. 5th, 1992)
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 Calendar item deadline: Wed., Nov. 18th, 5 p.m. (no phone calls, please)

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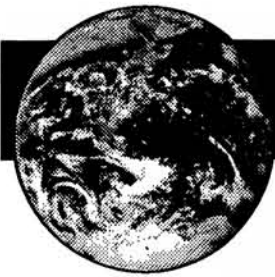
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FROM THE GRASSROOTS

Letters to the Editor

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Send your typed, double-spaced (or legibly written) letters to *The Monthly Planet*, Box 8463, Santa Cruz, CA 95061 or fax them to (408) 429-8889. We reserve the right to edit letters for brevity or clarity.

NAVSTAR COSTS OUTWEIGH BENEFITS

In his letter [October issue] responding to my article, "Navstar on Hold" [September issue], Brian Largay brings out some important points. My son-in-law approached me with the same concerns. There is no doubt that Navstar would help civilian navigation. But what I think is important is to see the big picture in proper context.

First, Rockwell and government public relations experts advertise the civilian spinoffs for Navstar while quietly omitting its dark side. They feel that it is important that the people paying for this system not become disillusioned. One purpose of the Navstar action by Peter Lumsdaine and Keith Kjoller was to make people aware of the other, less-advertised role of Navstar.

Second, Navstar will operate on two channels. The civilian channel will have degraded accuracy so that the advantages to mariners and lost people will not be as dramatic as implied.

Third, other navigation aids are performing magnificently in getting ships and aircraft to their destinations. Lost people would be better served by a transmitter for search and rescue satellites than a Navstar receiver. And if any improvements in navigation are desired for specific locations or circumstances, there are simpler and cheaper ways of providing them.

Finally, and most important, Navstar is first and foremost a sophisticated and expensive military system. It gives Trident and other strategic weapons the aggressive capability to strike first. It gives tactical commanders the means to kill men, women and children with more precision. And it gives our national leaders greater motivation to wage wars to protect the profits of big business. These are the primary functions Navstar will serve.

So when the smoke clears, and the big picture unfolds, I believe any caring person would pass up a few illusionary advantages in order to redirect billions of dollars to crying social needs, while at the same time making our country less aggressive.

Bob Aldridge
Santa Clara

GOOD JOB ON ELECTION ISSUE

I just returned from breakfast at Zachary's restaurant where I found and scoured your election issue.

I want to heartily commend you — a standing ovation, really — for the fantastic national, state and — in particular — local candidate information you have provided therein. At last I can go to an election feeling strongly about which local candidates I will vote for.

What I particularly appreciated was the relative *objectivity* of the format. Each candidate was free to express themselves — and



JANJAAP/MONTHLY PLANET

you did *not* add slanting editorial comment. Again, thank you for a job well done.

Two suggestions: 1) Work to eliminate the residual biases still present in the presidential & senatorial portion (to my eyes). 2) Make it *clearer* on the *cover* that you have extensive, *objective*, local candidate opinions on local issues — do it as a regular election issue *service* to the community, thus attracting readers who might generally not read your publication.

John Roevekamp
Santa Cruz.

OUTRAGED BY CITY'S OCEAN DUMPING

An open letter to the Santa Cruz Department of Public Works and City Council:

I am writing to express my outrage over the recent dumping of contaminated water from the Neary Lagoon Housing Project into the ocean. Once again our so-called "progressive" city government has shown just how much eco-consciousness they have — NONE! I don't really care what the city's excuses for its actions are; there is no excuse for dumping 1.5 million gallons of

water containing high amounts of fecal coliform bacteria, heavy metals and motor oil into a marine sanctuary! The beaches were closed because the bacteria levels in the ocean made contact unsafe for humans. But what about the fish, birds, invertebrates, sea lions, dolphins, otters and all the other creatures whose home was polluted by our city's stupidity? It's unsafe for them, too, but they don't have anywhere else to escape to when we humans trash their home.

These recent dumpings coupled with the fact that our city habitually dumps sewage into the ocean, shows that however "progressive" Santa Cruz seems to be, the same Earth-raping ideology that exists everywhere else in our society is alive and well here, too. As a pagan woman whose spiritual home is the ocean, I am deeply angered and offended at the shortsighted greed of our city officials. I urge anyone who is pissed off about this to call Public Works at 429-3633 and the City Council at 429-3550 to demand their accountability.

In defense of the Earth,
Michelle Waters
Santa Cruz

SENIORS COUNCIL OPPOSES PROP. 165

The Seniors Council Board of Directors, a bipartisan community-based group governing programs for older people in three counties, voted unanimously to oppose Proposition 165 on the November ballot.

In our 1992 public hearings, Seniors Council representatives heard the most dramatic statements of need in our 13-year history.

Seniors are greatly concerned about health care, housing and in-home services. Those at the lowest income levels have already experienced loss of benefits. Service providers frequently encounter older people literally forced to choose between prescription medications and basic nutrition.

It is a gross misstatement to say Proposition 165 will reform health and welfare systems. It would work a terrible hardship on many local seniors, their children and grandchildren. Slashing benefits to needy people is not reform.

Proposition 165 would also vest tremendous authority in one person, the governor, transferring it away from locally elected legislators. We of the Seniors Council, a democratically operated organization, strongly affirm a representative government as opposed to unilateral control.

We hope the voters will demonstrate sound judgement by casting "no" votes on Proposition 165.

Robert Jackson, president
Jennifer Davis, executive director,
Seniors Council of Santa Cruz &
San Benito Counties, Inc.

WE AMERICANS HAVE OUR OWN HOLOCAUST

I went to the Anne Frank exhibit in downtown Santa Cruz today. It served as a confirmation for me that we have not learned from history, and that without a drastic expansion of consciousness about who and what we are, we are doomed to repeat it.

The German people did not want to believe that their government was directly responsible for the deaths of six million. We Americans are equally resistant to admit the same thing. But it has happened, to the same magnitude, spread out over the past 45 years, and under the pretext of supposedly isolated Latin American, African, and Asian civil wars. And it appears we're going to double it over the next ten. I see dark days ahead.

The truly darkest aspect is that this is all happening within the pretense of the best of intentions, while maintaining the narrowest of perspectives, having relinquished all personal responsibility to our government and corporate institutions, and a mythical One almighty creator.

Only by admitting that we all came from the same place, that we are all in this together, do we have any hope of ending the current holocaust and of avoiding Armageddon.

Our holy quest for individual success and gratification, infinitely encouraged by Madison Avenue advertisers, must be exposed for its inherent selfishness and greed, and rejected wholeheartedly. Perhaps then, without the toys and clothes and machines to distract us, may we discover within us a new level of compassion toward ourselves and others, appreciation of our differences, and the motivation to build communities founded upon the strength of our diversity.

Paul Franklin
Santa Cruz

No On Prop. 165, Yes On Prop. 167

As a volunteer at the Parents Center, I believe that the only thing the Taxpayer Protection Act, Proposition 165 protects us from is fair representation by a democratic governing body. If passed, Proposition 165 would give all future governors and most importantly Governor Pete Wilson the authority to override the entire Legislature, unless a budget is passed by the July deadline. Though Proposition 165 is carefully worded to sound like tough leadership, do not be fooled. The reality is that taking control over the state budget would be in Governor Wilson's best political interest. Wilson could conceivably stall the budget talks beyond the deadline, thereby enjoying the privilege of adjusting the budget to accommodate his political agenda which, based on this year's budget reflects the blatant disregard for the comfort, safety, and welfare of millions of California residents.

Remember this is the same governor that, while slashing the education budget, added \$4 million to the state prison system. The governor's priorities have been made perfectly clear. He is invested in dealing with the symptom of the problem instead of its prevention. On the contrary, the Parents Center was founded on the principle that it is to our greater collective advantage to prevent than to amend once damage has been done.

In direct contrast, Proposition 167 is an initiative with hope for meeting California's basic human needs. Proposition 167, the Economic Recovery Taxpayer Relief Act of 1992, carries the message to the governor that we believe that we can solve California's long-term economic problems through careful, long-term planning, not slash and burn politics.

By passing Proposition 167, we are say-

ing that California cares about all its people by maintaining services to all California residents including single mothers, the aged, and the disabled, while providing the best education possible to students of all ages. We have what it takes to turn this state around! Reject the governor's power grab — Vote NO on 165 and YES on 167!

Sandy Skezas
Parents Center, Santa Cruz

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For anyone who chooses a healthy alternative, the chances of becoming a victim increase significantly. Despite the fact that it's declared a "Bicycle Route," cyclists must contend with a complete absence of marked bike lanes, narrowing road space, parked cars, opening doors and for safety's sake, resorting to riding on sidewalks (illegally!) to avoid being hit by fast moving packs of traffic.

Rather than spending tax money on multi-level concrete parking garages, the city and business community might consider saving lives while increasing the appeal and accessibility of Santa Cruz to all people (including visiting bicycle travelers). Clear and consistent bicycle paths and incentives for using alternative transportation could help to alleviate the auto congestion, noise and air pollution that threatens the main streets of our towns and the health of our planet. More consistently timed traffic lights would help to reduce car speeds to more reasonable and legal limits. The pace of our lives might also decrease just enough so that we could recognize and acknowledge each other, rather than racing towards oblivion and the encroaching destruction of our planet.

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LEGISLATIVE UPDATE

By Shelly D'Amour

Congress: A Look Behind and a Look Ahead

The 102nd Congress adjourned from session October 9. It will go down in history, if it is remembered at all, as the last Cold War Congress. And it earned that moniker right up to the final moments. For although the Warsaw Pact is disbanded, and the Soviet Union has been out of business for nearly a year, Congress has just completed action on a military spending bill that for the most part ignores the enormous changes taking place in the world.

The details contained in the \$274 billion authorizations package indicate that Congress is well aware of these geopolitical shifts but is ambivalent at best over how to respond. For example: an end to underground nuclear testing, but also a provision for 15 more tests; a cap on the B-2 Stealth bomber program, but first an additional four bombers; ratification (finally) of the START agreement, but it's already obsolete; a reduction in funding for Star Wars, but approval of a key deployment technology; support for the peace process in El Salvador but authorization for military aid; and so on, and so on.

On the whole, it's been a difficult and disappointing congressional session in terms of progress towards disarmament. Although legislative victories were achieved on some fronts, the battles were as hard-fought as ever. Even the spectacle of the entire world moving in a new direction was not enough to move the US Congress in any truly substantive way. One wonders what it will take.

The upcoming November 3rd elections will present voters with some opportunities to make change. The entire House of Representatives and one-third of the Senate is up for re-election. Of these, nine Senate seats and 86 House seats are vacant due to the retirement or the defeat of incumbents in last spring's primary elections. And, of course, there's the presidential contest.

In reflecting back on the Reagan/Bush years, there's one positive aspect to the combination of a Republican president and a Democratic Congress in that, the more conservative or reactionary the Republican president, the more he seems to provide a focus for congressional liberals and moderates to organize around, in order to formulate and push their agenda. The Reagan presidency provides an excellent example of this dynamic. A more destructive, mean-spirited administration than Reagan's you



TARMO HANNULA/MONTHLY PLANET

would never hope to find; however, it proved an enormous catalyst for progressive forces within and outside of Congress to organize their constituencies in a way that hadn't been done since the end of the Vietnam War. In most cases, this still didn't amount to legislative victories; but consciousness on the issues — especially the nuclear issue — was raised to a very high degree, laying the groundwork for the many grassroots organizations and campaigns that arose in the 1980s.

This dynamic continued, although somewhat less successfully, during the Bush administration. Although Bush's policies were arguably as bad or worse than Reagan's, he and his administrative team were less "in your face" about them, preferring to work more quietly behind the scenes. In dealing with the Bush administration, congressmembers appeared to be more divided in their opinions and more hamstrung in their approach. The last two years have been a particularly frustrating time for congressional disarmament advocates and their supporters, as time and again the majority in Congress seemed unwilling or unable to seize the opportunities presented by the sweeping tide of world events.

The combination of a Democratic presi-

dent and a Democratic Congress presents its own possibilities and obstacles. On the down side, the congressional leadership is much less likely to break party ranks to publicly challenge its president on most issues. In this scenario, the more progressive the administration, the better. The Clinton/Gore team, while light years ahead of the Bush administration in terms of its social and political agenda, is not liberal. If Clinton and Gore win as expected on November 3, it will be interesting to see how Congress adapts itself to the new administration, how much it will be willing to push its new executive, and on what issues. It is to be hoped that the creativity and commitment exercised by progressive members of Congress over the past 12 years will be used in a similar way to encourage Mr. Clinton to take bolder stands on peace, justice, and disarmament issues.

How do Bush and Clinton differ on some of the key arms control issues debated by Congress this past month? And how is Congress likely to interact with them?

• **Test Ban:** In September, the president signed into law a nine-month moratorium on underground nuclear testing, to be followed by 15 tests over three years and culminating in a permanent ban if certain conditions are met. Although the House

has supported the test ban twice before, the Senate has never done so until this year. President Bush is against the test ban, but approved it because the legislation is attached to a major pork barrel project slated for Texas, a state that the president desperately needs to win in November. The original legislation called for a 12-month moratorium, to be followed by a permanent ban as long as the former Soviet republics do not test. However, the bill was later modified in order to secure the support of a larger Senate majority. This was a particularly important consideration at the time, because a presidential veto was expected. Bill Clinton has indicated his support for a permanent test ban, and Al Gore voted in support of the moratorium as well.

While the original test ban proposal hinged only on Soviet cooperation, the bill signed by President Bush links any permanent US moratorium to whether other nuclear powers test as well. Principally, this means China and Britain. China has not yet responded to the US initiative; British Prime Minister John Major stated that Britain would continue to test. Since all British nuclear tests are conducted at the Nevada Test Site, it is unclear at this time whether or how British testing could occur during the nine-month US moratorium.

• **B-2 Bomber:** Congress approved funding for four additional B-2 bombers before capping out the program at 20 planes. A cap of 16 bombers was established last year, but congressmembers bowed to President Bush's request to add four more. The original plans called for 75 planes. Bill Clinton supports the 20-plane cap.

• **Star Wars:** Congress authorized \$4.05 billion in SDI funding for fiscal year 1993. Included in this amount is \$300 million for the controversial "Brilliant Pebbles" technology, the primary focus of the space-based portion of the program. In their separate defense bills, the Senate approved \$350 million for Brilliant Pebbles, while the House did not authorize any funds. The conference committee "compromised" at \$300 million. The Bush administration has pushed for high levels of Star Wars funding with the ultimate objective of deployment. Senator Gore has consistently voted against amendments aimed at reducing Star Wars funding.

• **Military Spending:** This year's military spending bill calls for \$274 billion in

Department of Defense funding and for military-related items contained in the Department of Energy bill. This represents \$7.2 billion less than the Bush administration request, and a mere 3 percent less than the current year's budget. President Bush supports a maximum of a 25-percent cut in defense spending over the next five years, while Governor Clinton supports a 33-percent cut over the same period. Pro-disarmament lobby groups such as SANE/FREEZE support a 50-percent reduction over five years. If the Democratically controlled Congress were willing to press Mr. Clinton a little harder on this issue, they would likely have positive results. However, Clinton and Gore are moderates on military-related issues in most respects. Both supported the MX missile in the '80s. Both supported the Persian Gulf War. They are also strong supporters of arms control treaties, and of regional accords designed to keep peace in troubled areas.

• **El Salvador/Nicaragua:** Throughout his term in office, Mr. Bush strongly supported military aid to El Salvador and fought against attempts by Congress to tie funding to improvements in human rights. In a similar vein, the administration also supported aid to the Nicaraguan Contras. Both Clinton and Gore have maintained generally non-interventionist positions prior to becoming national candidates. Mr. Clinton is on record against military aid to El Salvador. As a Senator, Mr. Gore voted consistently against military aid to the Contras.

Things are heating up again in El Salvador, and Congress and the new president are sure to have this issue in front of them shortly. Congress recently approved \$11 million in direct military aid to the government of El Salvador, while reserving the bulk of its aid package for a special Demobilization and Transition fund designed to transition former rebel soldiers back into Salvadoran society. Recent threats from El Salvador's extreme right wing indicate that the paramilitary death squads are on the move again. Threats of assassinations beginning November 1 have been issued against government officials and others involved in the country's peace process.

President Bush supports a maximum of a 25-percent cut in defense spending over the next five years, while Governor Clinton supports a 33-percent cut over the same period.

To further complicate matters, the rebel demobilization deadline, set for October 31st, is way behind schedule. The government has not yet completed the necessary preparations it is responsible for, in order to ensure that the demobilization is accomplished successfully; however, it is demanding that the rebels meet the timeline anyway. Government soldiers in the elite Atlacatl battalion have stated that they will not demobilize until after the FMLN does. The Atlacatl was deemed responsible for the murders of six Jesuit priests and their housekeeper on their San Salvador campus in November 1989.

Over the past two years, concerning aid to El Salvador, Congress has been especially effective at setting limits and sticking to them. It's unfortunate that the end to El Salvador's 12-year civil war seemed to somehow signal to Congress that military aid was now a good idea. However, there is still a lot of strong support for the peace process and against military aid in the Congress. Clinton and Gore's campaign statements indicate that they will support Congress in strengthening that stance. ■

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

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CENTRAL AMERICA REPORT

By Bert Muhly

More About the Panama Deception

The authoritative film The Panama Deception is now in its third week at the Santa Cruz Nickelodeon Theatre. It has been viewed by over 2,000 Santa Cruzans. The film is billed as "uncovering the true motivation for the invasion; and explaining how and why the mainstream news media collaborated with the US government to censor information and deceive the American public."

In this, the first of a two-part report on the Panama invasion, Bert Muhly relates information he obtained in Panama six months prior to the invasion. It reinforces the filmmakers' contention that the arrest or death of General Manuel Noriega was never considered by the Bush administration as more than incidental to the true objective of the invasion.



JULIO CESAR GUERRA D./COURTESY OF THE EMPOWERMENT PROJECT

The neighborhood of El Chorrillo after the invasion. Panama, December 1989.

In early June, 1989, my wife Lois and I were among 1,000 delegates representing over 70 countries attending the Fourth Congress on the Fate and Hope of the Earth held in Managua, Nicaragua. The Congress, organized by David Brower of the US-based Earth Island Institute and environmental leaders from throughout the world, was designed to examine global environmental issues from the perspective of the less developed countries of the world. The environmental and socio-economic impacts of the rapid destruction of the rain forests and the ecological disasters resulting from wars and military operations throughout the Third World were two of the most important issues brought into focus at the Congress.

The Congress took place just one month after the May 7 presidential elections in Panama had been nullified by the Noriega government and only three weeks after President Bush dispatched 2,000 troops to Panama from Fort Ord and Fort Bragg to add to the 12,000 US troops already there. Their mission, according to the president, was "to protect American lives in Panama."

For six days following the Managua Conference we were the guests of the Panamanian Delegation and I filmed the ambience of Panama City and Colon while

conducting videotaped interviews with more than a score of Panamanians. Those interviewed included planning and environmental professionals and faculty and research assistants from the University of Panama who had a "hands-on" role in the preparation of plans for reuse of lands within the Canal Zone once these lands are demilitarized in accord with provisions of the Carter-Torrijos Treaty. We also interviewed managers of the national parks and forests within the watershed which feeds the locks and lakes of the Canal.

From the perspective of these professionals, reuse of Canal Zone lands and a better managed watershed are critical to the future of Panama. They pointed out that half of the 2.4 million people of Panama reside within the rapidly growing Panama City metropolitan area. Their position held that the training by the United States of US and surrogate troops from other nations for foreign wars not of Panama's making only stifles the economic growth of the nation which is needed to provide for its growing population.

These professional contacts led to an interview with Professor Nils Castro of the University of Panama, a specialist in the development of Panama's national culture, who had been a principal advisor to the Panamanian Foreign Minister during the

Contadora Peace process, the first effort by five Latin American countries to end the Contra War in Nicaragua. His overview of the reasons for the political and economic crises facing Panama and the rising tensions between the Reagan and Bush administrations constituted the scenario of the ultimate tragedy which befell the people of Panama on December 20, 1989, and which until the release of *The Panama Deception* on July 30, 1992, remained hidden from the American people.

Professor Castro explained that at the end of World War II the US maintained 130 military installations throughout Panama. After developing its nuclear capability as its first line of defense, the US deemed these bases to be unnecessary and through a succession of US presidents the US acceded to pressures from the citizens of Panama and reduced the number of bases to 14, all within the borders of the Canal Zone. Subsequently, these bases were consolidated into seven, but with no reduction in military personnel.

The Panamanian pressure for national sovereignty which was so evident in the flag-raising conflicts between the Panamanian students and the US military in 1964 (in which 20 Panamanians and four US Marines died) has steadily increased commensurately with the

growth of the Panama City and Colon metropolitan areas and the concomitant conflicts with US military activities within the Canal Zone.

The Carter-Torrijos Treaty, negotiated in 1977, promises Panama full control of the Canal in the year 2000 was the signal to Panamanians that their long struggle for national sovereignty would finally be realized.

But according to Professor Castro, things began to change in US-Latin American relations soon after the signing of the Carter-Torrijos Treaty. Prior to 1978-79 the US was an exporter nation and its relations with Latin American countries were geared by US investments in Latin America. When under the Reagan and Bush administrations the US became a debtor nation to all of the industrial countries of the world the US had to recover its debts from its Latin American investments and became a collector nation.

Castro continued, "This required the US to reorganize its political and diplomatic relationships with Latin American countries such as Panama. The US needed governments in Latin America who were good payers. The posture of the Reagan administration in Panama was one of a hard-nosed bill collector. They told us what we could do and not do in our own country."

"Suddenly," he said, "military bases which were not important to the US in 1977, now have become so important that the US finds them essential to its new military strategy in this hemisphere. This strategy really has little to do with the defense of the Canal."

"In our point of view," he said, "the security of the Canal would be much better if the Canal and the country would become neutral. But if you have around the Canal military bases that have the duty not to protect the Canal, but to prepare for confrontations with other hemispheric enemies (the Malvinas war, for example) this is very dangerous, not only for the Canal, but for our country. The US is always involved in some kind of war somewhere in the world. The US has enemies and we do not. The military bases become targets for those who are US enemies."

Castro felt that the economic sanctions placed on Panama by US Under-secretary of State Elliot Abrams in March of 1988 and the intensifying fuss over General Noriega by the Reagan administration were both part of a pretext to accomplish a deeper objective in Panama. He said that if the removal of Noriega indeed was the primary objective of imposing the economic sanctions, it was having the opposite effect. Castro said, "Noriega is a professional soldier who has become very famous in our country and abroad due to the US economic attack on Panama. He was not so important here before that. Paradoxically, the Reagan administration, and now the Bush administration has made Noriega a very important man in Latin American politics and in Panamanian politics."

I asked professor Castro what he thought the deeper objectives of the recently inaugurated Bush administration were in Panama, and where he thought the situation was going to go from this point on.

"There is a possibility of reaching a solution," Castro replied, "but not while sanctions are imposed upon us. We have had our economy set back by 10 years. Negotiations for a settlement must begin without the sanctions, and must include reparations for the damage done by the US to Panama's economy. Not the earthquake in Mexico, the hurricanes in the Dominican Republic and Jamaica, or Hurricane Joan in Nicaragua, all natural disasters, matched the man-made economic chaos in Panama caused by the United States. Everybody understands that the war is not against Noriega; that Noriega is a pretext. The target of the sanctions is not Noriega. The target is national sovereignty; the capacity of our nation to make decisions for itself; the health of our economy; the structure of the national state we were building."

"The US is apparently determined to maintain its bases in the Canal Zone. To do this, the State Department has to negotiate a new treaty with Panama. They want

to negotiate with a weak nation, not with Noriega or any other person who would claim independence, who would claim the right of his nation to determine its own affairs. They want to take our self esteem and our national pride so as to make some kind of Puerto Rico of us."

On July 24, 1989, six months before the invasion of Panama, I submitted an article titled "A Closer Look at Panama" to Jim Goldsborough, the international editor of the *San Jose Mercury News*. There had been a filler article in *The New York Times* which announced that the Bush administration had ordered the US military in Panama to "tighten the screws" on the Panamanian military for alleged Panamanian violations of the Carter-Torrijos Treaty. I thought the story I had about the situation in Panama needed to be heard by the American public. Jim Goldsborough read the first paragraph and the beginning of the second of my report saying: "This is an interesting viewpoint, but I don't agree with it. I will give it to my Op Ed editor, but I will not instruct her to use it." I was never called again about the article, nor did it appear in the mainstream press. The paragraphs which he read were as follows:

So much has appeared in the news media about the alleged drug-connected and undemocratic activities of Panama's military strongman General Manuel Noriega, that the real issues causing the present crises in US/Panama relations have been obscured from the view of the North American public. Perhaps this is the way the Bush administration would have it in order to shape the opinion of the US electorate to a point of accepting more drastic economic and military moves against Panama yet to come in order to carry out its hidden agenda in Panama. And what is that agenda? To scuttle the Carter-Torrijos Treaty, which in the year 2000 turns over to Panamanian control the seven bases of the US Southern Command which are situated in the Canal Zone, and to write a new treaty extending the US control of these bases for another 25 years.

uated in the Canal Zone, and to write a new treaty extending the US control of these bases for another 25 years and obtain a long-term agreement for the construction of at least one new base (for nuclear submarines) outside of the Canal Zone.

This is the opinion of more than a score of knowledgeable Panamanians whom I interviewed during a six-day study of environmental and urban and regional planning and development problems facing Panama... ■

Bert Muhly is professor emeritus from San Jose State University, a former Santa Cruz mayor and city councilmember, and former director of planning of the county of Santa Cruz. He has visited Nicaragua many times and has made two investigative trips to Panama. He has written numerous articles relating to politics, planning and development issues of the Central American region. He contributed footage to The Panama Deception.

What is the US agenda? To scuttle the Carter-Torrijos Treaty, which in the year 2000 turns over to Panamanian control the seven bases of the US Southern Command which are situated in the Canal Zone, and to write a new treaty extending the US control of these bases for another 25 years.

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Western Shoshone Spiritual Leader Corbin Harney leads a Healing Ceremony



A Havasupai Elder



Lindsey Hildreth sits by the test site fence

PHOTOGRAPHY BY JANJAAP

OCTOBER 2-12, 1992 • N

Approximately 2,000 Native Americans, indigenous leaders gathered at the Nevada Test Site last month to tell the truth to the world about the damage to the Americas and to call for an end to the 500 years of injustice and destruction that began with Columbus' arrival. This international event also called for an end to nuclear testing on the Western Shoshone land.

A "Healing Ceremony for Mother Earth" led by native spirit healers and a mass nonviolent direct action were staged from a giant desert altar at the Nevada Test Site. Test site officials said that 652 arrests were made; almost all those taken into custody were cited for trespassing.

The events were sponsored by the Western Shoshone National Alliance, an international network of indigenous, downwind, and test ban groups from around the world.

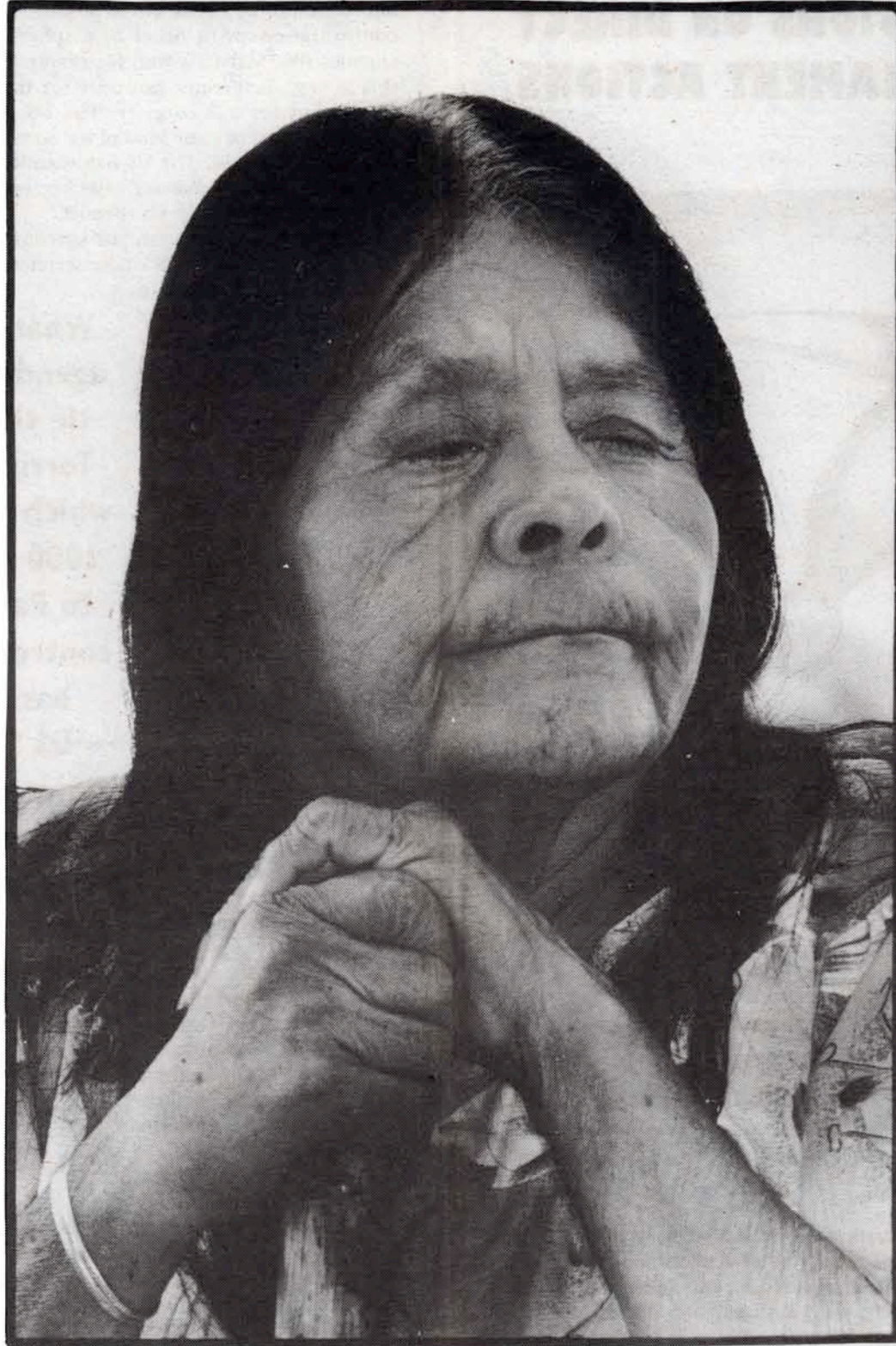
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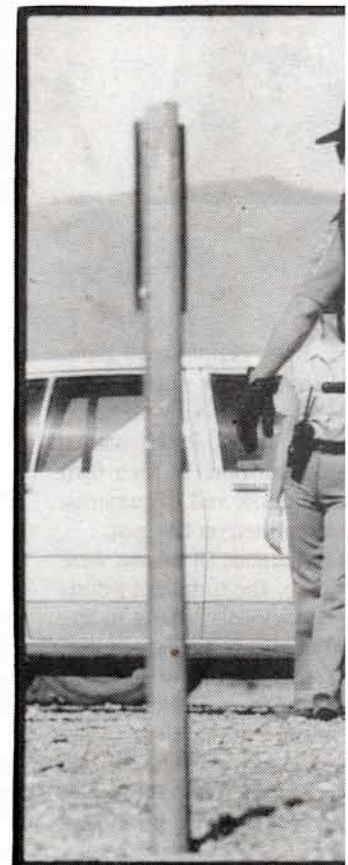
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Healing Ceremony



A Havasupai Elder



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OCTOBER 2-12, 1992 • NEVADA TEST SITE

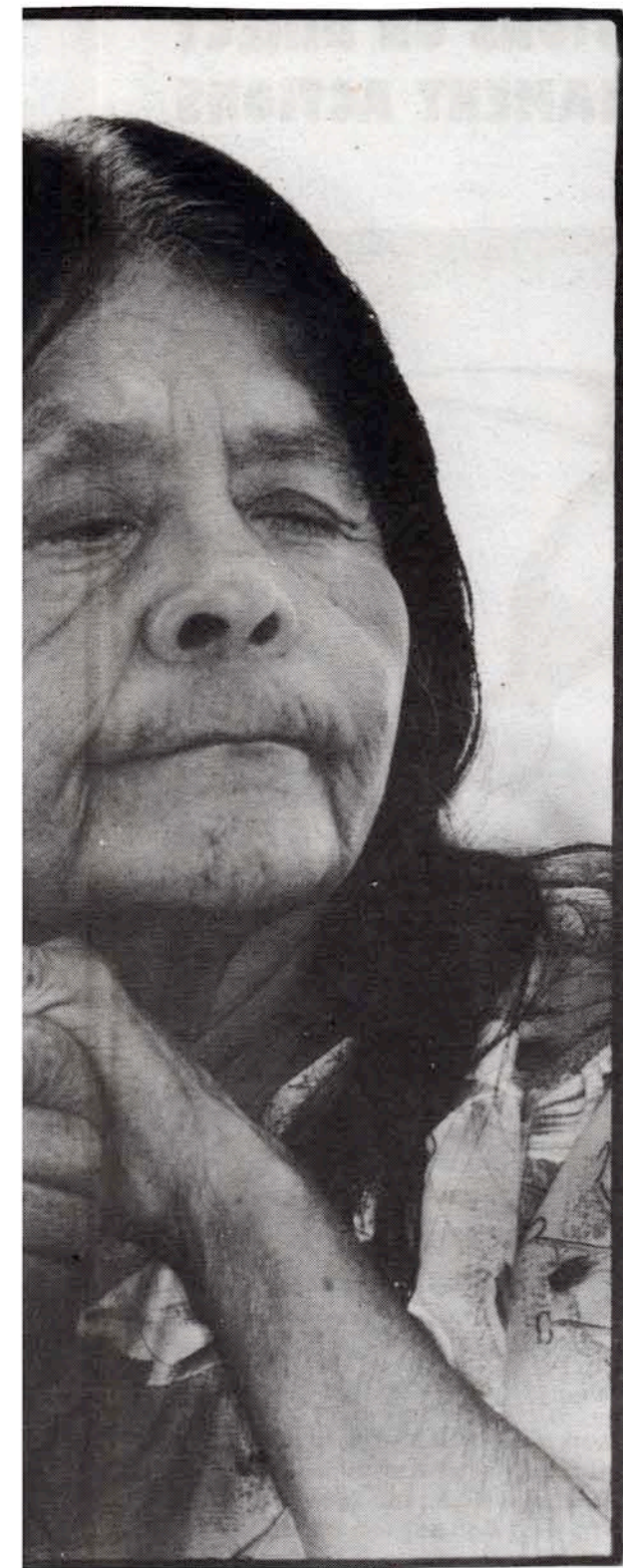
Approximately 2,000 Native Americans, indigenous leaders from around the world, and supporters gathered at the Nevada Test Site last month to tell the truth about Columbus' "discovery" of the Americas and to call for an end to the 500 years of injustice to Native Americans and environmental destruction that began with Columbus' arrival. This international event, called Healing Global Wounds, also called for an end to nuclear testing on the Western Shoshone land where the test site is located.

A "Healing Ceremony for Mother Earth" led by native spiritual leaders and a Multi-Cultural Rally and mass nonviolent direct action were staged from a giant desert encampment adjacent to the entrance of the Nevada Test Site. Test site officials said that 652 arrests were made over the 11 days of actions; almost all those taken into custody were cited for trespassing and released.

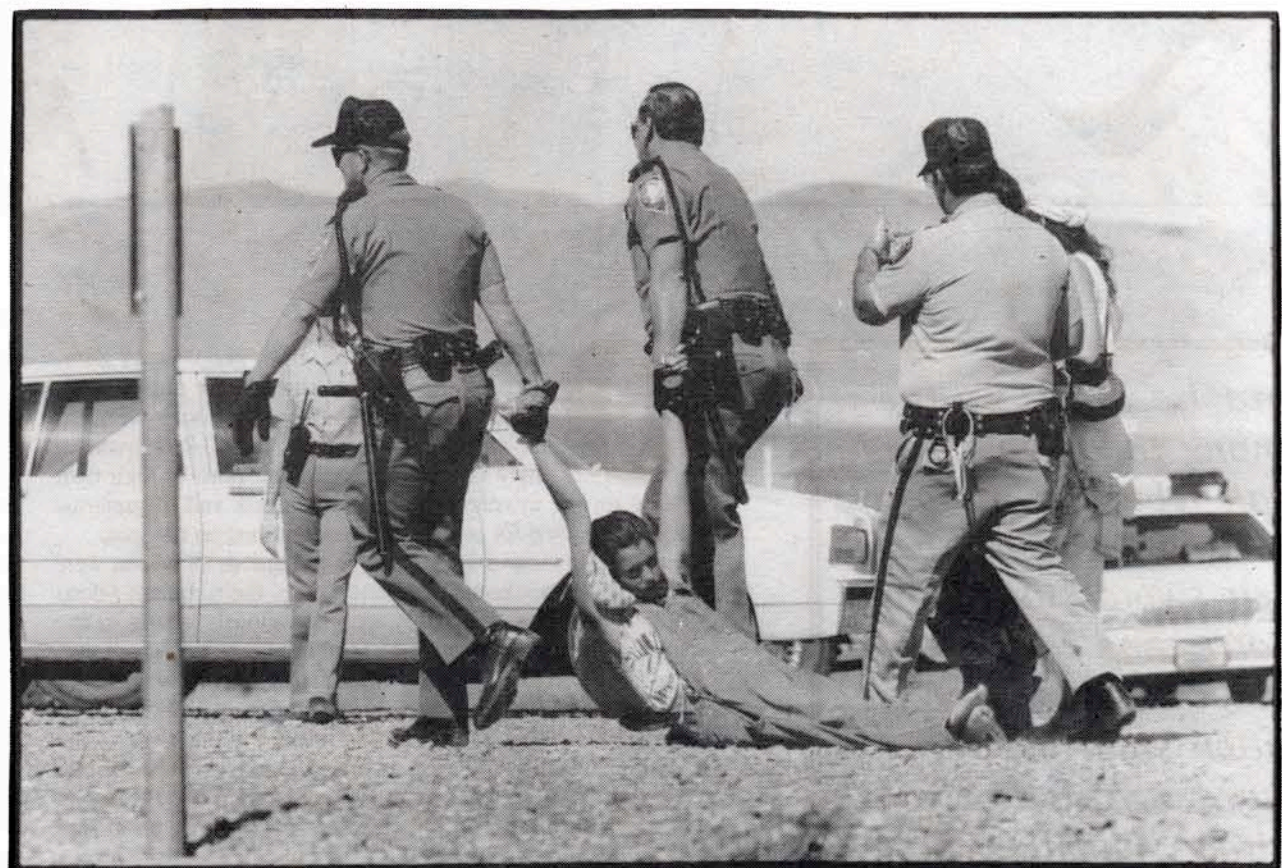
The events were sponsored by the Western Shoshone National Council and the Global Anti-Nuclear Alliance, an international network of indigenous, downwinder and radiation survivor, environmental, and test ban groups from around the world.

GLOBAL

WOUNDS



Nash takes part in a Healing Ceremony



Though invited by the Shoshone to be on their land, many are arrested for trespassing

Ivasupai Elder

1992 • NEVADA TEST SITE

Indigenous leaders from around the world, and supporters gathered to tell the truth about Columbus' "discovery" of the 500 years of injustice to Native Americans and environmental damage. This international event, called Healing Global Wounds, took place on the Western Shoshone land where the test site is located.

Organized by native spiritual leaders and a Multi-Cultural Rally and a giant desert encampment adjacent to the entrance to the test site. It is said that 652 arrests were made over the 11 days of the protest. Many were cited for trespassing and released.

Participants included a member of the Western Shoshone National Council and the Global Anti-Nuclear Movement, a downwinder and radiation survivor, environmental activist, and a member of the Shoshone National Council.

SWORDS INTO PLOWSHARES:

by Pete Shanks

REFLECTIONS ON DIRECT
DISARMAMENT ACTIONS



CHRISTOPHER PALERMO/MONTHLY PLANET

*And he shall judge
among the people, and
shall rebuke many peo-
ple: and they shall beat
their swords into plow-
shares, and their spears
into pruning hooks:
nation shall not lift up
sword against nation,
neither shall they learn
war any more.*

— Isaiah, 2:4

On September 9, 1980, eight people took hammers to two re-entry shrouds for nuclear warheads that were being made at a General Electric plant in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania. They also poured about four pints of their own blood on the missile parts and some desks and documents, and said prayers for peace. They were arrested on the spot.

The "Plowshares Eight," the most famous of whom were the Berrigan brothers, Daniel and Philip, the turbulent priests of anti-Vietnam War fame, were consciously acting in the spirit of the prophecy of Isaiah (and of Micah, 4:3, which uses the same language), for they considered nuclear weapons to be the swords of our time. Their action was rooted in their faith. The choice of targets was resolutely practical — the Mark 12A warhead still carries three 335-kiloton H-bombs, on each of 300 Minuteman III missiles; GE brings good things to death — but the spirit of their mission is summed up in Dan Berrigan's quizzical response to the hubbub about the breach of security:

"Of course we had inside information; of course there had been a leak. Our informant is otherwise known in the New Testament as Advocate, Friend, Spirit. We had been at prayer for days... We had been led in in about two minutes, and with

no interference to speak of, to the heart of the labyrinth."

The other six, all veteran peace activists and deeply religious people, were Dean Hammer, Fr. Carl Kabat, Elmer Maas, Sr. Anne Montgomery, Molly Rush and John Schuchardt.

The legal system didn't know what to do with them. They turned down an early plea bargain; tried and failed to argue a Nuremberg defense, that citizens have the right, even the duty, to interfere with the commission of crimes against humanity; were convicted of burglary, conspiracy and criminal mischief and sentenced to one and a half to ten years; won on appeal, on the grounds of judicial bias; lost at the state Supreme Court; were denied a hearing by the US Supreme Court; and finally, on April 10th, 1990, were paroled in consideration of time served before the trial.

Much of the peace movement didn't know what to do with them either. Were they quixotic fools or heroic activists? Were they planning a revolution or flaming out in frustration? Could hammering anything be a nonviolent activity? Did it make any sense for experienced organizers to let themselves be locked away in jail? Would they provoke a crackdown by the security state that might make matters even worse? Were they setting a dangerously naive precedent for every nutcase out there?

These questions were not new then, and are not settled today. The Berrigans and their friends have been facing them, publicly, for 30-odd years. Dan and Phil were adopted by the media in the 1960s as stars of the anti-war movement, for reasons good and bad. They were middle-aged men (Dan was born in '21, Phil in '23); Catholics, when that was considered the most conservative of religious groups; better yet, priests; best of all, for Hollywood's purposes, they were brothers! They were also brave, determined, articulate and deeply sincere in their spiritual beliefs, or they could never have survived the stardom that was thrust upon them. Let alone, manipulated it.

They learned early to witness with the media's help. With many others, they prayed in public, gave speeches, held hearings. Phil poured blood on draft files; Dan was jailed after marching on the Pentagon. Still, the war went on, escalating in horror by the month. They decided to up the ante.

On May 17, 1968, the brothers and seven others raided a draft board in a Baltimore suburb, and burned about 300 files with home-made napalm in the parking lot, in front of TV cameras.

The Catonsville Nine thus made history. Theirs was not the first direct action in American history, nor even the first against the Vietnam War, but it crystallized sentiments about the war with dramatic effect, even if it did not force the courts to rule on the legitimacy of the war itself, as some had hoped. After conviction, Dan Berrigan went underground for four months and led the FBI in a merry dance. "I probably shortened J. Edgar Hoover's life," he says now, sounding a little less regretful than he seems to think he ought to be. He refused several chances to leave the country, preferring to pop up unpredictably for interviews and even televised sermons. It was a high old time, till finally he was nabbed by the Feds and slung into the slammer, to be hit for a while with absurd charges of conspiring to kidnap Henry Kissinger. Ah, what fun it was to fight the system in the Nixon years.

But the rosy glow of hindsight shouldn't obscure the fact that the pacifist community was deeply divided about the merits of the Catonsville action. "There was a very heated debate about whether that was acceptable," recalls Scott Kennedy, a founding member of the Resource Center for Nonviolence. "People like Dorothy Day from the Catholic Worker and Thomas Merton actually expressed serious reservations, if not actual opposition." The coercive nature of the action, the fact of property damage, the breaking of a law that may not in itself have been unjust, the setting of one's own opinions above the governments...many thoughtful people were troubled. "Did they advert to the possibility that they might be destroying the painfully compiled dossiers of some applying for Conscientious Objector status?" wondered fellow-Jesuit Edward Duff in a generally sympathetic essay. The action was generally seen as new and controversial.

It was also, in the end, generally regarded as prophetic and valuable. They were right. It worked. Were they right *because* it worked? Did it work because they were right? Does it matter?

The Catonsville Nine wrote a line in the history books. No one can know quite how widespread their effect was, but they certainly contributed to the mounting public sense of the Vietnam War's illegitimacy. They helped to stop the war. They inspired other activists. Other draft cards and files were

torched, individually and collectively, up to a million by some estimates. There were other kinds of actions, too, massive moratoriums and huge marches; civil disobedience had been transmitted from the civil rights to the anti-war movement. In those strange days there were murders on campus by the National Guard and state secrets were published in *The New York Times*.

The Plowshares Eight, a dozen years later, inspired a global campaign.

In the 12 years since their action, there have been close to 50 other similar acts of direct disarmament, committed by more than 100 different people in at least six countries. Most participants have been involved in only one action, but some are repeaters: Sister Anne Montgomery leads the pack, with six so far, while Kees Koning deserves special mention for undertaking four in eight months, two against the same airplane, soon followed by a four-week fast in jail to protest Dutch weapons sales to Turkey; courts in Holland seem to be lenient, for he served less than a year total. Full details of the actions are given in the box accompanying this article.

Many of these acts of direct, generally symbolic, disarmament have been organized by members of Catholic intentional communities, such as the Jonah House in Baltimore, founded in 1973 by Phil Berrigan, his wife Liz McAlister, of Griffiss Plowshares, and others. These actions explicitly follow the plowshares model, citing the Biblical prophecies as their inspiration. Others, especially on the West Coast, are more loosely connected, usually because the specifically Christian connection is less important, occasionally even offensive, to those taking part. In these cases, every action is the personal act of one or more individuals, taking unique responsibility for their own decisions. There is no conspiracy here, except a conspiracy of hope and faith, and a determination to act.

The courts have trouble fitting these unusual people into their own mindset. One judge refused to treat all the Thames River Plowshares activists the same, despite their requests. Another gave up on the Kairos Plowshares Too (such puns are common in the names taken) and removed the conditions of their probation when they said they wouldn't cooperate. Yet another imposed savage sentences of 18 years on Carl Kabat and Helen Woodson of Silo Pruning Hooks. When people undertake one of these actions, they must anticipate anything from no punishment to life. No predictable consequence can be anticipated; you don't know what you're getting into. And yet they continue.

An action every two or three months, on average, most of them ignored by the mainstream media.

More than a hundred activists willing to risk everything. Why do they do it?

Are they right?

Does it work?

What is a plowshares action anyway?

There is no canonical form. They are acts taken in a generally sympathetic spirit, and the term is now being used to encompass actions by non-Christians who are not inspired by Isaiah. Jack Cohen-Joppa, co-editor of *the Nuclear Resister*, offers this definition: "I view it as using hand tools, as opposed to means of dismantling or destruction that are removed from the individual's immediate control, to damage and disable or disarm components of nuclear weapons, their delivery or guidance systems."

Nuclear weapons were the original focus, to be sure, but the problems are wider than

continued on page 17

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PLOWSHARES AND SIMILAR DISARMAMENT ACTIONS, 1980-92

The information in this table is taken from the book *Swords Into Plowshares*, edited by Art Laffin & Anne Montgomery and published by Harper & Row in 1987, from the pamphlet *Plowshares-Disarmament Actions*, prepared by Art Laffin in May 1991, and from telephone interviews with plowshares activists.

9/9/80 Plowshares Eight: Daniel Berrigan, Philip Berrigan, Dean Hammer, Elmer Maas, Carl Kabat, Anne Montgomery, Molly Rush, John Schuchardt — hammered on nose cones and poured blood at General Electric's plant in King of Prussia, PA. Convicted of 3 felonies, they were eventually paroled in consideration of time served, from 5 days to almost 18 months.

12/13/80 Plowshares Number Two: Peter DeMott — rammed the Trident USS Florida with a security van during launch ceremonies for the USS Baltimore attack submarine at the General Dynamics Electric Boat (EB) shipyard in Groton, CT. 1 year.

7/14/82 Trident Nein [German for No]: Judy Beaumont, Anne Montgomery, James Cunningham, George Veasey, Tim Quinn, Anne Bennis, Bill Hartman, Vincent Kay, Art Laffin — four of them canoed up to the Trident USS Florida, which they renamed with spray paint the USS Auschwitz; they hammered on hatches and poured blood; the other five entered a storage yard, also at EB, and hammered and poured blood on two Trident sonar spheres. Up to 1 year in jail and \$1,386.67 restitution to the Navy.

11/14/82 Plowshares Number Four: John Grady, Ellen Grady, Peter DeMott, Jean Holladay, Roger Ludwig, Elmer Maas, Marcia Timmel — three boarded the Trident USS Georgia at EB; four entered the south storage yard; all hammered and poured blood. 2 months to 1 year.

7/14/83 AVCO Plowshares: Agnes Bauerlein, Macy Morse, Mary Lyons, Frank Panopoulos, Jean Holladay, John Pendleton, John Schuchardt — hammered on computers and poured blood on blueprints labelled "MX-Peacekeeper" at AVCO System Division in Wilmington, Mass; indicted AVCO et al for committing crimes against God and humanity. Up to 3-1/2 months in jail, eventually reduced on appeal to time served, two weeks to 3 months.

11/24/83, Thanksgiving Day Griffiss Plowshares: Jackie Allen, Clare Grady, Dean Hammer, Elizabeth McAlister, Vern Rossman, Kathleen Rumpf, Karl Smith — hammered and poured blood on a B-52 bomber at Griffiss Air Force Base in Rome, NY; after several hours they approached security guards and were arrested. 2 to 3 years for conspiracy and destruction of government property but acquitted of sabotage; this was the first Plowshares case to be tried in Federal Court.

12/4/83 Plowshares Number Seven: Carl Kabat, Herwig Jantschik, Dr. Wolfgang Sternstein, Karin Vix — hammered and used bolt cutters to disarm a Pershing II missile launcher at a U.S. Army base in Schwabish-Gmund, West Germany. Fines of \$225-900, or up to 90 days; one paid, two didn't; Carl Kabat went home instead of attending the trial.

4/22/84, Easter Pershing Plowshares: Per Hemgren, Paul Magno, Todd Kaplan, Tim Lietzke, Anne Montgomery, Patrick O'Neill, Jim Perkins, Christin Schmidt — hammered and poured blood on Pershing II missile components and a Patriot missile launcher at Martin Marietta in Orlando, Florida. 3 years plus 5 suspended with probation; Hemgren was deported to Sweden.

8/10/84 Sperry Software Pair: John LaForge, Barbara Katt — hammered and poured blood on guidance computers at Sperry Corp, Eagan, Minn; served an indictment for war crimes. 6 months suspended; Judge Miles Lord allowed a justification defense and slammed Sperry for corporate corruption and war-mongering.

10/1/84 Trident II Plowshares: William Boston, Jean Holladay, Frank Panopoulos, John Pendleton, Leo Schiff — hammered and poured blood on six Trident II missile tubes at EB; raised a banner "Harvest of Hope—Swords into Plowshares" and left a pumpkin and a written "Call to Conscience." 1 year and \$500; Frank got 2 months extra for not revealing the name of their driver.

11/12/84 Silo Pruning Hooks: Carl Kabat, Paul Kabat, Larry Cloud Morgan, Helen Woodson — used a jackhammer and air compressor to damage the lid of a Minuteman II missile silo at Whiteman Air Force Base in Knob Noster, Missouri. 8 to 18 years, most since reduced to 3-5 years plus 3-5 years probation and \$2,932.80 each restitution; Helen refuses to cooperate and expects to be in jail until at least 2001; Larry violated probation by attending a Trident protest, was arrested at a church and served almost another year.

2/19/85 Plowshares Number Twelve: Martin Holladay — used a hammer and chisel on a Minuteman II missile silo lid at Whiteman Air Force Base, poured blood and spray-painted "No More Hiroshimas." 8 years plus 5 years probation, \$1000 fine and \$2,242 restitution; released after 19 months.

4/18/85 Trident II Pruning Hooks: Greg Boertje, John Heid, Roger Ludwig, Sheila Parks, Suzanne Schmidt, George Veasey — hammered, poured blood and spray-painted "Dachau" on 3 Trident II missile tubes at EB; conducted a Jewish-Christian ceremony. 3 years, suspended after 1, plus 2 years probation; four jurors made a statement of sympathy for the cause.

5/28/85 Michigan Elf Disarmament Action: Tom Hastings — sawed down a pole carrying a navy ELF (Extremely Low Frequency) antenna and planted a circle of corn around it; turned himself in the next day. 15 days plus 2 years probation.

7/16/85 Pantex Disarmament Action: Richard Miller — with extreme care to avoid accidental derailments, removed a 39-foot section of rail from the track

leading to the plant where all U.S. nuclear weapons are finally assembled, and raised a banner, "Pantex = Auschwitz — Stop the Trains." 2 4-year terms, concurrent.

8/14/85 Wisconsin Elf Disarmament Action: Jeff Leys — sawed notches in an ELF pole to weaken it and walked to a transmitter site to turn himself in. 5 months plus 3 years suspended, 3 years probation and \$4,775 restitution; served 2-1/2 years for not paying.

9/27/85 Martin Marietta MX Witness: Al Zook, Mary Sprunger-Froese, Marie Nord — tried to disarm MX components with hammers and blood at Martin Marietta's Denver, CO plant; foiled by security, they raised a banner and poured blood on windows. 2 months, Al & Marie's reversed on appeal, since the judge had ruled they were voluntarily indigent and could not proceed as paupers.

3/28/86 Silo Plowshares: Daria Bradley, Larry Morlan, Jean Gump, Ken Rippetoe, John Volpe — used sledgehammers to disarm the track used to open Minuteman silo covers near Holden, Missouri, cut circuits, damaged sensors with masonry hammers, poured blood and painted slogans. 7 & 8 years, plus 5 years probation, fines of \$100 and \$424-1,680 restitution; jail time was reduced, the most served being 4 years.

12/12/86 Pershing to Plowshares: Heike Huschauer, Suzanne Mauch-Friz, Wolfgang Sternstein, Stellan Vinthagen — hammered and poured blood on the tractor-rig of a Pershing II Missile Launch box and related components; painted "Choose Life for the Children and Poor" on the road, raised a banner and after 30 minutes signalled to a guard to arrest them. Fined 600-1200 DM (about \$300-600) or 60-120 days; one paid, three served time; they presented a justification defense but it was ignored.

1/6/87 Epiphany Plowshares: Greg Boertje, Rev. Dexter Lanctot, Rev. Thomas McGann, Lin Romano — at Willow Grove Naval Air Station in Horsham, PA, hammered, poured blood and displayed banners; their statement contrasted the Magi's search for the Christ child with the US government's nuclear crimes and interventions in the Middle East and Central America. After 2 hung juries, the priests plea-bargained to 100 days and \$500 fines; Greg and Lin survived a third mistrial, then a fourth on appeal, though Greg had gone underground for a while; Lin finally served 9 months and Greg 16, for his failure to appear.

4/17/87, Good Friday Paupers Plowshares: Fr. Pat Sieber, Rick Sieber — at the Naval Air Development Center in Warminster, PA, buried a coffin with the names of 65 people buried in a pauper's grave since 1980; hammered and poured blood on a P-3 Orion aircraft; protested the priority given to arms over the poor. 1 year probation, \$100 fine (applied to a victims compensation fund), \$1,540 restitution (later dropped).

6/2/87 White Rose Disarmament Action: Katya Komisaruk — used a hammer, crowbar and cordless electric drill to damage a Navstar control computer at Vandenberg AFB, Calif; danced on chips, spray-painted slogans and left cookies, flowers and a card for the security guards; left after 2 hours and turned herself in at a press conference in San Francisco the next day. 5 years (plus \$500,000 restitution if she got a book and/or movie deal); released on probation after 2 years.

8/5/87, 5:15 p.m., the exact time of Hiroshima Transfiguration Plowshares (West): Jerry Ebner, Joe Gump, Helen Woodson [as a co-conspirator "in spirit" from jail] — poured blood and used sledgehammers and bolt cutter on Minuteman silos near Butler, Mo. 30 & 40 months for Joe & Jerry; served somewhat less; allowed to show a video and sing songs at their trial.

8/16/87, Hiroshima Day & Christian Feast of the Transfiguration Transfiguration Plowshares (East): Margaret Brodhead, Dan Ethier, Tom Lewis — hammered and poured blood at South Weymouth Naval Air Station near Boston, on a P-3 Orion airplane and a helicopter; compared the blinding light of Christ's Transfiguration to life with the atomic bomb's blinding light of death. 6 months probation and 100 hours community service.

8/16/87, Harmonic Convergence Day Harmonic Disarmament for Life: George Ostensen, Helen Woodson [as a co-conspirator from jail] — cut 3 ELF poles, notched 2 others, hammered and poured blood and ashes near Clam Lake, Wisconsin; planted flowers and hung banners; went to paint slogans and inform security guards, who told him to leave, so he turned off generators, three times; finally arrested after 9 hours. 33 months for George, on one count of sabotage; all served since he refused conditions of parole, demonstrating against ELF on Gandhi's birthday.

12/28/87, Feast of the Holy Innocents Australian Plowshares Action: Marie Grunke, Joanne Merrigan, Anthony Gwyther — boarded USS Leftwich during a public inspection at Sydney Harbor; hammered and poured blood and left their statement. They were escorted off without being arrested or charged.

4/3/88, Easter Nuclear Navy Plowshares: Philip Berrigan, Andrew Lawrence, Sr. Margaret McKenna, Greg Boertje — boarded USS Iowa at Norfolk Naval Station, Virginia, as part of a public tour; hammered and poured blood and unfurled banners; caused cancellation of tours of USS Iowa and USS America. 4-6 months.

6/26/88 Kairos Plowshares: Kathleen Maire, Jack Marth, Anne Montgomery, Christine Mulready — tried to paddle rubber rafts to the Trident submarine

USS Pennsylvania, at EB in Groton, CT, but were apprehended by EB security. Fined \$40 for failure to use a light on their rafts; other charges dropped.

8/1/88 Kairos Plowshares Too: Kathleen Maire, Anne Montgomery — hammered and poured blood on Trident parts at EB facility in Quonset Point, R.I. 6 months probation and \$250 fine, not paid.

9/20/88 Credo Plowshares: Marcia Timmel — hammered and poured blood on an MX missile display at the Air Force Arms Bazaar in Washington, D.C. 90 days, 83 suspended.

12/8/88 Dutch Disarmament Action: Kees Koning, Co van Melle & 10 others — hammered on Cruise missile bunkers at Woensdrecht Airbase, Holland. Released after 2-8 days.

1/1/89 NF-5B Plowshares: Kees Koning, Co van Melle — hammered NF-5B fighter airplanes at Woensdrecht Airbase, Holland, causing \$350,000 damage. 7 months, 3 suspended for Co, 8 months, 2 suspended for Kees; 2 years probation each.

2/9/89 Ad Hennen, Roland van Hell — axed Hawk missiles at a Dutch military base. 6 months, plus 4 suspended & 2 years probation.

2/16/89 Stop Weapons Export — Plowshares: Anders Grip, Gunilla Akerberg — hammered on an anti-aircraft missile launcher about to be shipped to India, displayed banners, set up a dining table and invited the police to join them for a meal. Several of the cops expressed sympathy and no charges were filed.

3/24/89, Good Friday Kees Koning — pickaxed the same plane he had attacked on 1/1/89. The prosecutor failed to observe this when calling for 18 months in jail; the judge ruled he could not damage something he had already damaged before.

7/16/89, anniversary of first nuclear explosion Kees Koning et al — Kees used a sledgehammer on a P-3 Orion airplane; others planted crops. 6 months for Kees.

9/4/89, Labor Day Thames River Plowshares: Jackie Allen, Kathy Boylan, Art Laffin, Elmer Maas, Anne Montgomery, Jim Reale, Homer White — swam and canoed up the Thames River to the USS Pennsylvania Trident submarine, hammered, poured blood, raised banners (Homer was swept to shore by the tide). Jackie was convicted of trespass & destruction of government property less than \$100, the others acquitted; all except Homer convicted of conspiracy to enter a naval reservation; 60 days for most, 120 for Anne.

3/20/90 Plowshares Eskiltuna: Lasse Gustavsson, Linus Brohult, Johan Hammarstedt — hammered on the "Carl-Gustaf" bazooka at the FFV-Ordinance weapons factory in Eskiltuna, Sweden.

3/21/90 Upper Heyford Plowshares: Stephen Hancock, Mike Hutchinson — wearing Mickey Mouse ears "to have a friendly silhouette," and sheet reading "Mickey Mouse Fan Club — Peace Section," hammered on an F-111 fighter plane and its nuclear weapons control panel at Upper Heyford U.S. Air Base in Britain; pinned a banner saying "Isaiah Was Here;" damage estimated at £200,000 (about \$350,000), to their surprise. 15 months, of which they served 6.

4/3/90 Doves of Peace Disarmament Action: Susan Rodriguez — used a small sledgehammer to disarm several computers used to simulate nuclear explosions and design hardware at Physics International Laboratory in San Leandro, CA; she had found out about them through her work for a computer repair company. 1 year suspended, 750 hours community service, 3 years probation, \$1000 restitution.

1/1/91 Anzus Peace Force Plowshares: Moanna Cole, Ciaran O'Reilly, Susan Frankel, Bill Streit — hammered and poured blood on a B-52 and a refueling plane; hammered at the runway, spray-painted and drew a cross with blood; representing 3 countries (Australia, New Zealand and the U.S.), called for peace, specifically in the Persian Gulf.

3/1/91 Arms Factory Plowshares: Stefan Falk, Anders Grip, Per Hemgren — hammered two grenade throwers and one rifle at the Swedish Ordnance armament factory at Eskiltuna, Sweden; detained by workers and guards calmly and without violence.

3/31/91, Easter Aegis Plowshares: Phil Berrigan, Kathy Boylan, Tom Lewis, Barry Roth, Daniel Sicken — hammered and poured blood on the USS Gettysburg at the Bath Iron Works, in Bath, ME; Aegis is a missile with which that cruiser is fitted; after two hours, sought a security guard who told them to leave but arrested them when they insisted.

8/17/91 Darwin Plowshares: Anthony Gwyther — hammered and poured blood on a USAF B-52H bomber at Darwin Air Force Base, Australia.

1/8/92 Magnus Eklund — hammered his rifle. 4 months.

5/10/92 Harriet Tubman/Sarah Conner Brigade: Keith Kjoller, Peter Lumsdaine — axed a Navstar satellite and two dean rooms at the Rockwell International plant in Seal Beach, CA; damage estimates ran from \$0.8m to nearly \$3m; deployment delayed several months at least. 18 months for Keith, 24 for Peter, 3 years probation, \$15,000 restitution each.

that, as is increasingly apparent. "One has to understand," says Elmer Maas, of the Plowshares Eight, Plowshares Number Four, and Thames River Plowshares, "that the nuclear is the tip of the iceberg, perhaps a keystone in the arch of the cafeteria of violence — the spectrum of violence, understood in that sense — that is part of this culture that extends from nuclear weapons to intervention and to the key role that Navstar played in the Gulf War and other interventionary enterprises that the United States might undertake, and it extends to repression and to the attempt to control other governments and communities in the world, for the sake of greed and for the sake of providing a favorable condition for United States investments."

From there it is but a step to considering dual-use technologies, which have military value *and* some kind of civilian use. Most of us use one regularly, the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways, funded quite explicitly in the '40s and '50s to facilitate troop movement and civilian evacuations, but clearly of primarily civilian use. The nuclear power industry is an often-cited example of an ostensibly civilian industry that would not have existed without the war machine. The controversial Global Positioning System (GPS) is clearly being floated out for nominal civilian use as a public relations smoke screen for its main, military function. The war industry is the target of the plowshares activists, in all its manifold guises.

Most of the actions have a strong symbolic component, although the question of sabotage has never been far from the surface. "Some people have restrained from causing excessive physical damage to a particular weapons system," explains Cohen-Joppa, "So that the focus of the action could be more on the weapons system and its illegitimacy, than on what might be construed as mere vandalism."

Where symbolism slides into actual damage can be a grey area. "We meant for a sort of symbolic action," says Stephen Hancock of the Upper Heyford Plowshares in England, "Even though the amount of damage that we were billed for was considerably more than we expected." They were accused of doing well over a quarter of a million dollars worth of damage. Of course, that's about the cost of a toilet seat for a military airplane. At war industry rates, the damage estimates go up fast.

Even when the damage is substantial, "We don't see what we're doing as sabotage," says Maas. "Sabotage is something different. This came up in one of the trials, where people were acquitted of sabotage because they were not attempting to disable one country or one military force to the advantage of the enemy or to the advantage of someone else."

'Sabotage' is a loaded word, which is why some prosecutors like to use it. Another is 'terrorism,' which the pre-sentencing report tried to apply to the recent Navstar action; it was of course absurd, since on none of these occasions has there ever been any hint of an attempt to compel disarmament by threatening some terrible consequence. The terror is all on the other side, with the federal marshalls backing up the almost unthinkable evil people who can threaten their enemies (and even their friends) with extinction. It's bad enough that they do so as a 'deterrent'; to build a first-strike capability is terrorism on a scale never seen before. The plowshares activists use prayer, hand tools and sometimes humor, but never threats or violence



Wolfgang Sternstein (Right) and other Plowshares activists enter a Pershing II missile base in West Germany on December 12, 1986.

against people.

They do, certainly, damage property. And there are those who refuse to include property damage of any kind within their definition of nonviolence. Some of these 'purists' are not practitioners of nonviolence anyway: it is not uncommon to hear comments like, "If those kooks are so goddamned nonviolent, how come they...?" It's easy to say that such critics can be brushed aside, but there is, I think, a lesson to learn even from such ignorance — the language of nonviolence is not communicating to them. Activists sometimes forget that nonviolence itself is a technical term, whose meaning within the movement has evolved over decades of discussion. There is, after all, something ludicrous about the vision of nonviolently hammering anything. A hammer is a tool for the appropriate application of force, for the focusing and channeling of vigorous effort so as to magnify its impact. Those who are well-versed in the theory and practice of nonviolent action should never forget that they may need to speak in two languages, one with their supporters and one with their opponents. It is a useful discipline to listen with another's ears.

Within the broad peace movement, there are those who believe only in passive resistance, such as placing your own body at a missile launch site or on railroad tracks, and those who consider it to be acceptable to, for instance, remove part of the railroad track if that can be done without causing an accident. Is it less coercive to force another into the choice of whether or not to injure you than to force them simply to stop what they are doing? It is hard work to face our fears and our unexamined prejudices — "Thinking makes American boys' heads hurt," gloated the villain in Richard Condon's *The*

Manchurian Candidate — and who are we to say it's good for anyone but ourselves? We are participants in the political process. It's what we do. Some support the status quo by not fighting it; some fight it by not supporting it. All of us, like it or not, take part in the debate.

Once you cross the threshold into accepting *any* destruction of property as valid, then, in Scott Kennedy's words, "there is a continuum from the strictly symbolic to more tactical areas." Much nonsense has been written about this continuum, as if there were some logical distinction between a small amount of damage and a large one. There are tactical differences, certainly, for example as to whether a more dramatic attack will impress and inspire supporters more than it enrages and provokes opponents. But morally, if you consider a weapons system to be fundamentally evil, why *not* destroy it, if you have the opportunity?

In the recent Navstar satellite action, Peter Lumsdaine and Keith Kjoller were faced with eight nuclear weapons guidance satellites in various stages of completion. There was no possibility that assaulting those machines would harm any other breathing creature. In this case, they were apprehended by security guards very quickly — it's amazing how fast you can do \$3 million dollars' worth of harm in the right circumstances, or at least that's what Rockwell is telling the insurance company. But what if, like several of the plowshares activists, they had been left undisturbed for a few hours? Had they dismantled all eight would they have been more guilty than if they merely axed one?

The court would have said so; they would surely have been put away for a solid decade, maybe much more. Heck, eight satellites at

\$50 million per, plus a couple of clean rooms and heaven knows what else...half a billion would probably have put them in the *Guinness Book of Records*. Front-page stuff, no? They might have provoked an extremely wide debate, even perhaps at the level of presidential politics.

As it was, their action may have had the most direct effect on the war machine yet. It is always hard to tell if an action against the war industry slowed them down, since their habits of secretiveness and their skills at creative accounting and scheduling keep us in the dark. Even if Navstar deployment was delayed for some time, that may not be the major consequence of the action.

The environmental direct-action people have more experience at this, since they can see their failures in the sawn-off stumps and count their successes in the old-growth forests. "What I found out was that it was really the symbolism, not the number of hours that we actually shut down a particular bulldozer, that actually carried the message and had the power," says Mike Rozelle, editor of the *Earth First Journal*. If a few people, like the Aegis Plowshares, who probably had the chance, managed to scuttle a battleship, it would be "a very important and dramatic statement," he comments. "I would think that it would be very effective. On the other hand, the potential for loss of life and also for pollution of the environment is great and those things would have to be weighed very carefully, and I would think it would be very easy for the public to see this as a very reckless action, whereas one of just pounding the deck symbolically would be more easy to understand, even if it was somewhat less powerful in terms of the message it projected."

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Aegis Plowshares did pound the deck. How much did you know about the action last year? Did they communicate?

To publicize an action, it may be desirable to do it publicly and to insist on being arrested, as several of the plowshares people have. This is by no means the same as saying that turning yourself in is a necessary component of legitimate civil disobedience actions. Noam Chomsky pointed out in 1970, in an article about the Berrigans, that "there is no moral compulsion for one who seeks to prevent criminal actions of the state to submit voluntarily to punishment for his actions."

If you believe that what you are attacking is evil, why on earth should you play the evil-doer's game by accepting that the attack itself is a criminal offense? Why not keep yourself quiet, while making the action as noisy as possible, and do it again?

There may be practical reasons. In England, according to Stephen Hancock, "We've definitely seen, like in the Animal Liberation Front here, a lot of people get a lot of harassment because the actions aren't claimed, whereas our experience with more open actions is that only the people who take responsibility get the brunt of the reaction." He also advocates more symbolic-type actions: "I think it's a good idea if plowshares doesn't become an elite of activists, disarming weapons on behalf of other people, and that we lay pretty bare and open in our processes, our preparation processes, our fears, and so on, and our way of building community and support, and we make that available to other people, so they can apply similar processes to their resistance or might encourage other people into resistance. I think by engaging in more secretive stuff then it's much more difficult to share those processes with people."

Secret processes do have their own dangers. It is all too easy to become insular and rigid, detached from a broader community of discussion and support, and thus less able to spread the message the action implies. Without explanation, the actor may seem to be a hero to some, a fool to others, and a stranger to all. For those trying to call attention to the common humanity we share, this is a serious risk.

For one of the aims of direct disarmament actions is certainly to provide inspiration. The more extreme actions shift the dialogue, in the same way that the Reagan Republicans succeeded in shifting the political dialogue of America to the right in the early '80s. This can be uncomfortable.

Plowshares actions have not been widely covered in the mainstream press. There is occasional mention, especially if a certified 'star' like a Berrigan is involved, or if the activist has a real talent for public relations. Katya Komisaruk, with her 'White Rose' label cleverly raising the specter of fascism (the original White Rose were German anti-Nazis during World War II), and her sense of the absurd (she had the wit to ask Miss Manners what would be appropriate dress for her trial), caught some attention for her personality as much as her action (the card and cookies for the guards didn't hurt either). But normally the coverage is limited and local, spotty even in the left-wing press that might be expected to be sympathetic.

Evil is a hard sell. No one wants to confront it, or to believe that it exists. The political right see virtue there, which is their privilege, and we can leave them to their rose-tinted kaleidoscopes. The center is devoted to the institutions we have, warts and all, and does not like to be confronted by claims that

the system allows not just mistakes but sins. The left is forced to confront the ugly fact that if evil exists and we are not actively opposing it, we are in complicity with it. These plowshares people are prophets, acting from a certainty that makes everybody else squirm. It is so much easier to dismiss them as having gone over the edge, as frustrated cranks, as embarrassing deformities best kept hidden in the cellar. If they are right, shouldn't we be with them?

They don't say so. Talking with them, what strikes the interviewer is precisely their refusal to judge others, to tell anyone what to do. "I'm no leader," says Keith Kjoller, "I'm just an ordinary person. Please make sure everyone knows that."

"People are free to understand things and to act in terms of the deepest dictates of their conscience," says Maas. "What we have tried to do is to find what that requires us to do at this particular time and certainly not everyone is going to do exactly the same thing."

"I really don't like to be in a position of making a judgment of what's a better action, or is one action more effective than another," says Art Laffin, of Trident Nein and Thames River Plowshares. "I leave that in the hands of God, or the spirit, or however you would want to define amazing grace."

In other words, that one person feels it appropriate for them to risk a heavy jail sentence for physically assaulting a weapons system does not mean that they feel it is right for everyone to do so. It is our guilt that makes us, sometimes, think that they must believe that. They are talking to us, sure, but they are telling us mostly to listen to our consciences. That's the job of a prophet, whether Christian, pagan, atheist or none of the above.

Jesus himself, who on the evidence did have a sense of humor, is reported as saying that "a prophet is not without honor, save in his own country, and in his own house." If you prefer a more secular formulation, a seventeenth century Frenchwoman dryly noted that no man is a hero to his valet. (Goethe claimed that this was because it took a hero to recognize a hero, but such offensive elitism is, happily, no longer fashionable.) From a distance, voluntary martyrs willing to give all for a principle may seem to be saints (or, perhaps, complete idiots); across the table, even if their sincerity is obvious, they may seem to be so selfishly devoted to some abstract concept that they ignore their real responsibilities. The truth is always more complicated than it looks from any single perspective; the microscope misleads as much as the telescope or the naked eye.

The original, East Coast, plowshares activists offer, in Scott Kennedy's words, "a tenacious and long-lived commitment to community and their faith base, which is in a way as much a challenge to the dominant culture as the direct action itself." The way in which they approach their actions and their lives, not simply the motivation, stands and is meant to stand as an example.

Even without that kind of formal structure, Peter Lumsdaine has pointed out that

he, for example, has lived for years "in the middle of a community of support [with] connections built up over the years as an organic process" that he clearly relied upon to come to the aid of himself and his family, when after some 10 or 12 years of direct-action work, he undertook the high-risk action that led to his present two-year jail term.

There is indeed an irony that people committed to group work in consensus process, as many activists are, should be willing to take the deeply individual decisions associated with direct actions. The coercive nature of extreme actions, on the activist's associates as well as on the proponents of weapons, is undeniable. The contradictions are as human as hunger, the arguments as complex as digestion, the decisions as personal as taste. "To know everything," said Madame de Staël nearly 200 years ago, "makes you very tolerant." Failing that, discussion is useful and generosity important.

Why now? comes the question from some sympathetic souls, to which the answer is

These plowshares people are prophets, acting from a certainty that makes everybody else squirm.

surely, why *not* now? With a military budget of, oh, a quarter of a trillion bucks or so *after* the much-touted cuts, which are so far as illusory as the 'steam' we exhale on a cold day, we do not have anything like the retrenchment in the war machine that we all so desperately need. It may well be that the Pentagon is becoming more efficient as it submits to some minor pruning in its funding. In any event, there certainly remains a dramatic need to organize and publicize resistance to the murderous system that remains in place.

"We used to be able to mobilize massively," said Marjorie Thompson, the chair of Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, in *The Monthly Planet* a year ago, "around slogans such

as 'No Cruise' because people were motivated by the fear that they themselves would be a target for a nuclear war." Perhaps that personal fear is less now; we don't feel so much the targets. We are still, however, the paymasters of the people behind the gun sights. The targets are others; the urgency is no less.

Not many see the situation as so bad, perhaps. But then, early last year President Bush had 92 percent approval for his massacre in the Persian Gulf. The 8 percent were right, as is increasingly obvious. Our only real obligation is to keep trying to discover what we think is right, and then to act upon it.

Dan Berrigan, while underground in 1970, spoke admiringly of Camus, the writer and thinker, in terms that certainly apply to Berrigan himself, in ways that all of us can emulate:

"He had a certain length of time to live (we never do know how much, do we?) and he had a certain measure of talent — and he assumed that if he spent his time wisely and worked hard, then *something* would occur.

"A lot of what we achieve we don't even know about." ■

Pete Shanks is a Santa Cruz-based writer and activist.



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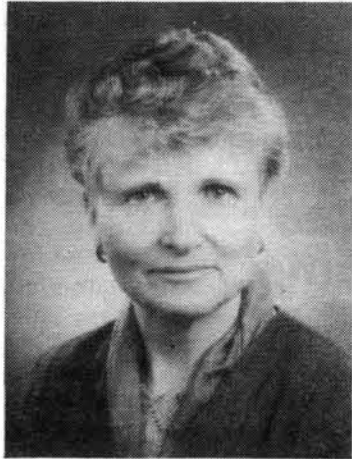
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Journey into Winter



Standard time is with us again. We are reminded of the cycles of nature as the trees turn brilliant colors and the first welcomed rain of the season falls. We humans are part of nature, and we too have our cycles. Winter, the season of greater darkness is a time to go inward and take stock of how we are leading our lives. Are we being true to ourselves or are we living by standards outside ourselves, guided by the "shoulds" and the "oughts"? This is particularly tempting as we approach the holiday season with its rash of advertising and window displays greeting us at every turn. All have the choice of making this season of darkness a time to follow outside pressures or to look inward to discover our own unique path. It is a good time to utilize the tools of a trained guide, tools such as dream work, sand tray work or hypnosis. A good

guide empowers those who seek such help to discover from within their calling for their life on this planet. May this be your greatest gift to yourself this holiday season.

Joan Forest is a licensed marriage, family and child therapist who has studied at the Jung Institute in Switzerland and who works at Redwood Therapy Center, 6005 Highway 9, Felton, a peaceful 15-minute drive from Scotts Valley, Santa Cruz, and accessible to all locations in the San Lorenzo Valley. She offers a sliding fee scale and takes insurance. Call Joan at 335-4210 for individual appointments or for information about her work.

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Celebrating 500 Years of Survival



ELLA SENERES/MONTHLY PLANET

Native American Activist John Trudell.

By
Patrick
Aloysius
Murphy

"As soon...as they see that they are safe and have laid aside all fear, they are very simple and honest and exceedingly liberal with all they have; none of them refusing anything he may possess when he is asked for it, but, on the contrary, inviting us to ask them. They exhibit great love toward all others in preference to themselves. They also give objects of great value for trifles, and content themselves with very little or nothing in return...I did not find, as some of us had expected, any cannibals among them, but, on the contrary, men of great deference and kindness."

—A letter written by Christopher Columbus, March 14, 1493

To the indigenous people of the Americas, the celebration and commemoration of the 500th anniversary of the "discovery" of America by Christopher Columbus was an anathema of native Americans, who regard the arrival of Columbus as the beginning of 500 years of oppression and genocide. "To us," exclaimed one native American, "It's like the Jews celebrating Hitler."

Prior to his tragic death, Bay Area concert promoter Bill Graham, along with guitarist Carlos Santana, began to plan a musical celebration commemorating 500 years of survival of the Western Hemisphere's indigenous peoples. On October 10th and 11th, 1992, at the Shoreline Amphitheater, the celebration was held featuring prominent Native American speakers, a specially designed pow-wow, or dance demonstration, Native American arts and crafts booth, plus special guest performers including John Trudell, Santana, Jackson Browne, Mickey Hart, Steve Miller, John Lee Hooker, Don Henley, Cris Williamson, Ry Cooder & David Lindley, Little Feat, Bonnie Raitt and Floyd "Red Crow" Westerman.

Thousands of people attended the two-day celebration in Mountain View. Carlos Santana kicked off the affair by telling the audience: "I want to thank all the brothers and sisters [who are] here today to celebrate the spirit. They can never break the spirit... this is a promise fulfilled."

For the next two days, indigenous speakers of the various nations of the Americas informed and educated the audience.

"An 8,300 mile run, which we began in Fairbanks, Alaska, on July 8, ended two days ago in Santa Fe," Dennis Banks (Anishinabe Nation) told the crowd. "It was a spiritual run, reminding ourselves we have responsibilities to this planet that we call Mother Earth. Those responsibilities are [of] the relationship we have with all living species. That all human beings are equal in the eyes of the creator. This is the most important message we have to deliver not only in the United States but across the world."

Many Native American speakers talked about the plight of indigenous peoples incarcerated in jails and prisons, some considered political prisoners, like Leonard Peltier who is serving a life sentence. "I want you to remember," Banks said, "on November 9th, the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals will issue and grant a special hearing for Leonard Peltier, in St. Paul, Minnesota. Let's try to free Leonard Peltier this year and bring him home."

One of the most eloquent speakers of

this two-day celebration was Suzan Shown-Harjo (Cheyenne and Hodulgee Muscogee nations) who touched the hearts of all in attendance. "Let's do something else rather than celebrate Christopher Columbus Day. Let us celebrate the survival of those indigenous peoples who are still here. Over 500 Indian nations, native peoples, distinct cultures have been obliterated by the Europeans and European Americans. Those are just the ones that are recorded by name. It doesn't account for all the peoples who were deliberately made sick unto death by small pox-infested blankets and forced marches. Bill Graham understood something about forced relocation [Nazi concentration camps] that is the history of his people too and it is the history of most of you here."

"Five hundred years of colonization has left us, in the United States of America, as the people in the worst health, the lowest income and with the shortest lives. This means something in each of our families. Indian teenagers have the highest rate of suicide, and you know why? From low self-esteem and from the constant bombardment of negative images. From the propping up of nonsensical heroes like Christopher Columbus. Get rid of him."

"Let's protect this red quarter of Mother Earth. Let's heal ourselves. Let's heal our Mother and try to heal everything else in the world. We have to start at home and this is our home. This is our old country. We have no old country to go to. We have no new world to

look forward to. This is it and we're all in it together.

"I'm here today for my ancestors. I'm here today for Bull Bear, who was one of the leaders of the Cheyenne, at the Battle of Little Big Horn. I'm here today to tell you that October 12th The Battle of Little Big Horn National Monument is being officially dedicated the first time since it was named Custer. We've dropped the name of Custer, and you know what? We can do this with Columbus and Columbus Day. It won't hurt a bit. The republic will still stand." ■

"...should your Majesties command it, all the inhabitants could be taken away to Castile [Spain], or made slaves on the island. With 50 men we could subjugate them all and make them do whatever we want."

—Christopher Columbus, in his log

Patrick Aloysius Murphy is a writer who lives in Capitola.

"Let's do something else rather than celebrate Christopher Columbus Day. Let us celebrate the survival of those indigenous peoples who are still here."

—Suzan Shown-Harjo

ONGOING EVENTS

MONDAYS:

Introduction to Re-evaluation Counseling. 4th Monday of the month. 519 Center St., Santa Cruz (basement of the parsonage of the Progressive Baptist Church), 7-9pm. Info: 429-9155

TUESDAYS:

Santa Cruz Action for Big Mountain meeting and video. Last Tuesday of the month. 911-A Center St., Santa Cruz, 7:30 pm. Info: 464-8633.

People for Animal Liberation meeting. 2nd and 4th Tuesdays of the month. Call Cheryl at 429-5698 for location.

Peace & Freedom Party of Santa Cruz County meeting. 1st Tuesday of the month. Business meeting and political discussion. Public input welcome. Louden Nelson Center, 301 Center St., Santa Cruz, 2-7 pm. Info: 423-3062.

"The Open Door," a drop-in support group for battered women. 7-8:30 pm, Free, with free childcare. YWCA, 303 Walnut St., Santa Cruz. Sponsor: Women's Crisis Support. Call 425-5525 for information.

HIV Positive Drop-in Support Group. Meets every Tuesday night at 7-9 pm at the Santa Cruz AIDS Project (SCAP) office, 911-A Center St., Santa Cruz. All HIV+ individuals are welcome. No fee. Facilitators: Terry Cavanagh and Alan Lamb. Info: 427-3900.

Support Group for Women with HIV/AIDS. Meets one Tuesday evening each month from 6:15-7:45 pm. No fee. Sponsor: Santa Cruz AIDS Project. Info: 427-3900.

12-Step Group for People with HIV. Meets every Tuesday night from 6-7 pm at Trinity Presbyterian Church Fireside Room, 420 Melrose, Santa Cruz. All HIV+ individuals involved with or interested in any 12-step program are welcome. No fee. Sponsor: Santa Cruz AIDS Project. Info: 427-3900.

HIV/AIDS Spanish Support Group. Support group in Spanish for people with AIDS. 2nd and 4th Tuesdays of the month, 7-8:30 pm. Meets in Watsonville; call for location. Sponsor: Santa Cruz AIDS Project. Info: 763-3430, 800-400-3901, or 427-3900.

Support Group for Partners and Spouses of People Living with HIV/AIDS. 3rd Tuesday of the month, 7:30-9 pm. Call for info and registration: 427-3900. Must call first to register.

WEDNESDAYS:

Women's International League for Peace & Freedom general meeting. 1st Wednesday of the month. Trinity Presbyterian Church, Poplar and Melrose, Santa Cruz. Call to confirm time. Info: 475-7451.

Christic Action Team meeting. The group works cooperatively on upcoming public information events and education outreach materials. Public input and participation is welcome. 7 pm, 509 Broadway, Santa Cruz. Info: 426-3254 or 426-2292.

City of Santa Cruz Commission for the Prevention of Violence Against Women. 1st Wednesday of the month. City Council Chambers, 809 Center St. Info: 429-3546. No meetings in August.

THURSDAYS:

National Organization for Women general meeting. 1st Thursday of the month. Loudon Nelson Center, 301 Center St., Santa Cruz. 7 p.m. Open to the public. Info: 335-7704. (Childcare provided; call 335-7704 first to confirm.)

Green Party Meeting. 3rd Thursday of the month. Loudon Nelson Center, 301 Center St., Santa Cruz, 6-9 pm. Info: 425-3193.

Stop First Strike meeting. Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz. 7:30 pm. Info: Sarah or Eric, 426-7970.

Support Group for Family and Friends of People with HIV/AIDS. Alternate Thursdays 6-7:30 pm. No fee. Sponsor: Santa Cruz AIDS Project. Call for info and registration: 427-3900. Must call first to register.

AIDS/ARC Support Group. Meets Thursdays 1:30-3:30 pm. Facilitator: Alan Dampsey. Sponsor: Santa Cruz AIDS Project. No fee. Call for info and registration: 427-3900. Must call first to register.

Treatment Update Group ("Project Inform" Update). 1st Thursday of the month. Open to seronegative and seropositive individuals. Locations vary. 7-8:30 pm. Info: 427-3900.

NOW's Reproductive Rights Task Force meeting. 4th Thursday of the month at 7:30 pm. Call 457-0931 or 427-9510 for location.

"The Open Door," a drop-in support group for battered women. 7-9 pm, Free. YWCA, 303 Walnut St., Santa Cruz. Sponsor: Battered Women's Task Force. Call 335-3371 for information or to request childcare.

FRIDAYS:

Graffiti Removal Volunteers/Bioregional Murals Project meeting. (No meeting Nov. 27th) Vision Santa Cruz, 1543 Pacific Ave., Santa Cruz, 5-7 pm. Info: 425-1430

SATURDAYS:

Bystander CPR. One Saturday a month (call for details). Shortened version of the regular Basic Life Support Course. Taught by Santa Cruz Firepersons. Co-sponsored by Health Development Foundation of Community Hospital. Free. 303 Walnut Ave., Santa Cruz, 9 am-1 pm. Pre-registration required. Info: 426-3062.

SUNDAYS:

Green Party meeting. 1st Sunday of the month. Loudon Nelson Center, 301 Center St., Santa Cruz, 4-7 pm. Info: 425-3193. (November meeting will be Nov. 22)

Co-Housing Orientation meeting. Last Sunday of the month. Loudon Nelson Center, 301 Center St., Santa Cruz, 2-4pm. sponsor: Santa Cruz Co-Housing Network. Info: Ruth, 426-5614.

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Peace & Justice CALENDAR

Calendar items must be typed or legibly written and sent (along with any photos) to *The Monthly Planet*, 320-G Cedar St., Santa Cruz, CA 95060, or faxed to 429-8889. We do not take calendar items over the phone. We must receive your listing no later than 5 pm Wednesday, November 18th for inclusion in the December issue (publication date: Saturday, December 5th).

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 10— SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 14

"The Heart of the Garden." Selections from the photographic exhibition of the Homeless Garden Project, by Kate K. Stafford, will be on display at the Santa Cruz Community Credit Union, 512 Front St., Santa Cruz.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 1

Medical Marijuana Patients Summit. Hempseed pancake brunch with panel discussions by health care providers and five of America's 10 legal marijuana smokers. At Loudon Nelson Center, 301 Center St., Santa Cruz, 1 pm. Sliding scale donation \$5-20. Sponsor: Santa Cruz Citizens for Medical Marijuana. Info: 429-8819.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2

"Bosnia & Herzegovina in Past and Present" with Professor Wayne Vudnich, History, Stanford University. Part of the Adlai E. Stevenson Program on Global Security Fall 1992 Colloquia, held Monday afternoons in the Silverman Conference Room, Stevenson College, UCSC. Refreshments are at 3:30 pm; lecture begins at 4 pm. This event is co-sponsored by the IGCC. Info: 459-2833.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 4

"Election Results: What Happened and Where Do We Go From Here?" Marge Frantz will talk about the overall view of the affects of the election on all of us in Santa Cruz. There will also be an open mike for anyone to comment on the elections. The public is invited. Refreshments will be served. Join us in the Fireside Room of the Trinity Presbyterian Church on the corner of Poplar and Melrose in Santa Cruz, from 11:30 am-1:30 pm. Sponsor: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Santa Cruz Branch. Info: 475-7451.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 7

Protest against Big Creek Lumber's logging of Butano Creek at Big Creek's retail store in Watsonville, 1400 Beach St., 8 am-1 pm. There will be carpooling from the Bagelry, 320 Cedar St., in downtown Santa Cruz. Sponsor: Friends of Butano Creek. Info: 425-3205.

Anarchist Community Coffeehouse to benefit convicted anti-nuclear activists Keith Kjoller and Peter Lumsdaine. Bring news, music, poetry, and other entertainment to 1994 Ocean St. Ext., Santa Cruz, at 7 pm. \$1 at door. Info: 426-1062.

Free Home Compost Workshop. Composting is an excellent way to reduce your garbage and produce valuable soil conditioner. Workshop includes worm box composting, an ideal way for people with limited space to compost their kitchen scraps. At Theo's French Restaurant, 3101 N. Main Street, Soquel (North of Soquel Drive), 10 am-12 noon. Sponsor: Ecology Action. Info: 427-1357.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 8

Space Weapons Resistance Regional Planning Meeting. People concerned about the Pentagon's expanding network of global war-fighting satellites and continuing SDI program will have an opportunity to discuss positive steps for countering these weapons at a regional meeting in San Jose. The meeting will focus on developing a long-range educational outreach and non-violent civil resistance organizing campaign. San Jose Peace Center, 48 S. 7th St., 4 pm. There will be carpools from Santa Cruz. Info: 426-7970.



Eco-feminist Alice Di Miele returns to Santa Cruz for two shows at the Kuumbwa Jazz Center on Wednesday, December 9th.

Free Home Compost Workshop. Composting is an excellent way to reduce your garbage and produce valuable soil conditioner. Workshop includes worm box composting, an ideal way for people with limited space to compost their kitchen scraps. At The Plant Works, 7945 Highway 9 (between Felton and Ben Lomond), 11 am-1 pm. Sponsor: Ecology Action. Info: 427-1357.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 9

Miquel Sucuqui Speaks on Human Rights in Rural Guatemala. Miquel Sucuqui Mejia is Secretary of the Executive Board of the *Runujel Janam Council of Ethnic Communities (CERJ)*. CERJ was founded in 1988 to struggle for the rights of Guatemala's indigenous people and to denounce human rights violations. Miquel Sucuqui was forced out of his community for his work in support of human rights. Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz, 7 pm. A \$3-6 sliding scale donation is suggested. Sponsors: Santa Cruz Guatemala Committee and the Resource Center for Nonviolence. Info: 423-1626.

"Central America: Peace in the 1990s?" with Dr. Suzanne Jonas, Latin American Studies, UCSC. Part of the Adlai E. Stevenson Program on Global Security Fall 1992 Colloquia, held Monday afternoons in the Silverman Conference Room, Stevenson College, UCSC. Refreshments are at 3:30 pm; lecture begins at 4 pm. This event is co-sponsored by the IGCC. Info: 459-2833.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 10 & WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 11

Veterans Day 1992 at the Nevada Test Site. The Alliance of Atomic Veterans invites all veterans, veterans organizations, and supporters to celebrate Veterans Day by attending a two-day campout. Support justice and medical

care for veterans, stop nuclear testing, honor Shoshone land rights. Info: Alliance of Atomic Veterans, (602) 768-6623, PO Box 42, Topock, AZ 86436; American Peace Test, (702) 386-9834, PO Box 26725, Las Vegas, NV 89126.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 11

Caravan to Cuba will be passing through Santa Cruz. It is part of a nationwide project to challenge the US economic blockade against Cuba and support Cuba's right to self-determination. An event will be held Wednesday evening in support of the Caravan. There will be food and music, as well as speakers, featuring Mike Rotkin, ex-mayor and current city council candidate. Sponsored by the Cuba Educational Project in conjunction with the US-Cuba Friendship. For details on the time and place of event, call Lisa at 423-4642, or Samantha at 464-3946.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 12

"Slave Trade vs. Free Trade vs. Fair Trade," a discussion about worker's rights. Featured speakers include: Cristal Gonzales, Tlahuica Indian, human rights activist from Mexico; Rogelio Smiley Rojas, Chicano cultural activist/performer; Karen Osmundson, union organizer; Guillermo Delgado, Quechua, UCSC professor, Latin America labor. Part of the "Discover Us" Speaker Series at the Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz, 7 pm. Sponsors: Racial and Economic Justice Programs of the RCNV, Resistance 500, Central Coast Quincentennial Indigenous Council, Big Mountain Support Group, and Christic Action. Info: 423-1626.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 13

An Evening with "Grandfather" Semu Huaute. This gentle Medicine Man and teacher will share stories of his life (over 80 years long) and his knowledge of native American

cultures, and give us the benefit of his 36+ years of traditional apprenticeship around the ancient healing arts of the American Indian. He has just returned from Germany and Switzerland where he gave opening remarks and prayer at the World Uranium Hearing in Salzburg. This event is a fundraiser for Un-At-Kah Tasen, a non-profit organization working to create an Intertribal, Interracial Educational and Healing Center, and will take place at the Land of Medicine Buddha, 5800 Prescott Rd., Soquel, at 7 pm. Suggested donation: \$10. Info: 462-8377.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 13— SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 15

American Peace Test National Planning Meeting. Join with the American Peace Test network of peace and environmental groups, radiation survivors, veterans, native Americans and test ban movements across the globe to plan the 1993 Action Campaign to end nuclear weapons testing. Grassroots action and organizing won the moratorium victory; broad grassroots involvement is essential at this critical time to help plan the next steps. At the University of Las Vegas, Nevada: Friday, 6:30-9:30 pm; Saturday, 9 am-5 pm; and Sunday, 9 am-3 pm. Call to register: American Peace Test, (702) 386-9834, PO Box 26725, Las Vegas, NV 89126.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 14

Free Home Compost Workshop is an excellent way to reduce your garbage and produce valuable soil conditioner. Workshop includes worm box composting, an ideal way for people with limited space to compost their kitchen scraps. Rain or Shine at the Loma Prieta Community Center, 23800 Summit Rd. (2.5 miles east of Highway 17), 10 am-12 noon. Sponsor: Ecology Action. Info: 427-1357.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 14— SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 15

New Age Renaissance Fair. Presenting today's Renaissance in arts, health and spirit. Including guest lecturers, a visionary art show, arts and crafts sale, health and self-empowerment exhibits, psychics, astrologers, card readers, palmists, and a New Age music concert. San Jose Convention Center (Old Exhibit Hall at Market St. and Park Ave.) in Downtown San Jose (behind the Civic Auditorium), 9 am-9 pm. \$4 advance/\$5 at the door per day. Info: (408) 448-6726.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 15

Free Home Compost Workshop. Composting is an excellent way to reduce your garbage and produce valuable soil conditioner. Workshop includes worm box composting, an ideal way for people with limited space to compost their kitchen scraps. At Scarborough Gardens, 20 El Pueblo Rd., Scotts Valley (off Scotts Valley Drive), 11 am-1 pm. Sponsor: Ecology Action. Info: 427-1357.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 16

Ranking Members of Nicaragua's FSLN Party to speak at UCSC. Featured speakers include: Dora Maria Tellez, former Minister of Health and revolutionary militant; Commandante Victor Tirado, former Minister of Industrial Development; and Saul Arana, former Nicaraguan Ambassador to the United Nations. At Stevenson College, Room 150, 7:30 pm. There will also be a reception at the home of Bert & Lois Muhly, tentatively scheduled for Sunday evening. For details, please call 426-2798.

"From Joshu to Genesis: The End of the 20th Century" with Professor Ken Jowitt, Political Science, UC Berkeley. Part of the Adlai E. Stevenson Program on Global Security Fall 1992 Colloquia, held Monday afternoons in the Silverman Conference Room, Stevenson College, UCSC. Refreshments are at 3:30 pm; lecture begins at 4 pm. This event is co-sponsored by the IGCC. Info: 459-2833.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 19

Reflecting on Thanksgiving and looking forward to the



CARAVAN TO CUBA

On November 11th a caravan of medical and school supplies, bike parts, and other humanitarian aid will be passing through Santa Cruz en route to Tampico, Mexico, where the goods will be shipped to Cuba. The caravan is part of a nationwide event encompassing eight to 10 routes (with 75-100 vehicles) and passing through over 100 cities. It will converge in El Paso, Texas, for a solidarity protest with Mexican activists at the US-Mexican border, before arriving in Tampico.

The caravan is being organized by the US-Cuba Friendship, a coalition of groups led by Pastors for Peace, as a gesture of solidarity for Cuba's right to self-determination as well as a challenge to the 32-year-old US economic block-

ade against Cuba.

Even with the fall of the Eastern European socialist countries and the Soviet Union, the United States continues to isolate Cuba as a Cold War enemy. In addition, US policies limit the rights of US citizens by making it a crime to travel to Cuba. A US citizen spending dollars in Cuba can face up to 10 years in jail and a \$50,000 fine.

The Santa Cruz contingent of the US-Cuba Friendship, the Cuba Educational Project, is currently preparing for the November 11th event. It is in much need of drivers and/or endorsers and supporters who can provide financial or material assistance, or just time. Contact Samantha at 464-3946 or Lisa at 423-4642 for details and information.

next 500 years, a benefit poetry reading for local 500 Years of Resistance activities. Celebrate the beginning of the next 500 years with poetry, prose and film presentations which explore the notions of resistance and giving thanks. Readers and performers will include Carter Wilson, local writer and UCSC professor; Elba Sanchez of *La Revista Mujeres*; Alan Sowell of UCSC's African/Black Student Alliance; Rogelio "Smiley" Rojas of el Teatro Familia Aztlan; Jorge Chino of *El Andar*; and more! Refreshments will be available. Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz, 7 pm. A sliding scale donation of \$3-5 is requested. Info: Donna or Jane, 423-1626.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 21

Free Home Compost Workshop. Composting is an excellent way to reduce your garbage and produce valuable soil conditioner. Workshop includes worm box composting, an ideal way for people with limited space to compost their kitchen scraps. At the Davenport Resource Service Center, 100 Church St., Davenport, 10 am-12 noon. Sponsor: Ecology Action. Info: 427-1357.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 23

"Indigenous People's Networks around the World" with Professor John Childs, Sociology, UCSC. Part of the Adlai E. Stevenson Program on Global Security Fall 1992 Colloquia, held Monday afternoons in the Silverman Conference Room, Stevenson College, UCSC. Refreshments are at 3:30 pm; lecture begins at 4 pm. This event is co-sponsored by the IGCC. Info: 459-2833.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 30

"Opening of Indochina and Southeast Asian Dynamics" with Professor Jeff Romm, Forestry & Resource Management, UC Berkeley. Part of the Adlai E. Stevenson Program on Global Security Fall 1992 Colloquia, held Monday afternoons in the Silverman Conference Room, Stevenson College, UCSC. Refreshments are at 3:30 pm; lecture begins at 4 pm. This event is co-sponsored by the IGCC. Info: 459-2833.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 5

Peninsula Peace & Justice Center Holiday Crafts

and Gifts Fair. Features a wide variety of crafts, cards, books and gifts, plus food and live music, sponsored by the Peninsula's oldest and largest peace and justice organization. 6'x6' spaces for \$25, tables provided. The fair will be held at Fellowship Hall, All Saints Episcopal Church, at the corner of Waverly and Hamilton Streets (one block south of University Avenue). 11 am-4 pm; admission is free. To reserve space, write to: Peninsula Peace and Justice Center, Holiday Fair, PO Box 1725, Palo Alto, CA 94302. Info: (415) 326-8837.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 9

"Family Values or Valuing Family?" A discussion about family and health rights. Featured speakers include: Edward & Bonnie Duran, Native American Health Center; Ethel Long-Scott, Executive Director of Women's Economic Agenda Project; Barbara Garcia, Director, Salud Para la Gente; Linda LeMaster, Welfare Parents Support Group. Part of the "Discover Us" Speaker Series at the Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz, 7 pm. Sponsors: Racial and Economic Justice Programs of the RCNV, Resistance 500, Central Coast Quincentennial Indigenous Council, Big Mountain Support Group, and Christic Action. Info: 423-1626.

Alice Di Miele/Mimi Fox in Concert "New Folk from the Pacific Northwest" is sweeping the country. According to *Good Times*, Di Miele's "guitar ability is fast setting her apart from the sea of folk artists whose repertoire consists mostly of strumming." Two guitar greats at Kuumbwa Jazz Center, 320 Cedar St., Santa Cruz. Two shows, 7 & 9:30 pm; tickets are \$8.50 in advance at Statz Ltd., Cymbaline Records, and Aptos Bike Trail.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 11- WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 23

Delegation to Israel and Palestine with Scott Kennedy and Deena Hurwitz of the Resource Center for Nonviolence. Approx. \$1900 inclusive (round trip from San Francisco, slightly less from New York). Space is limited. Call for details, 423-1626.

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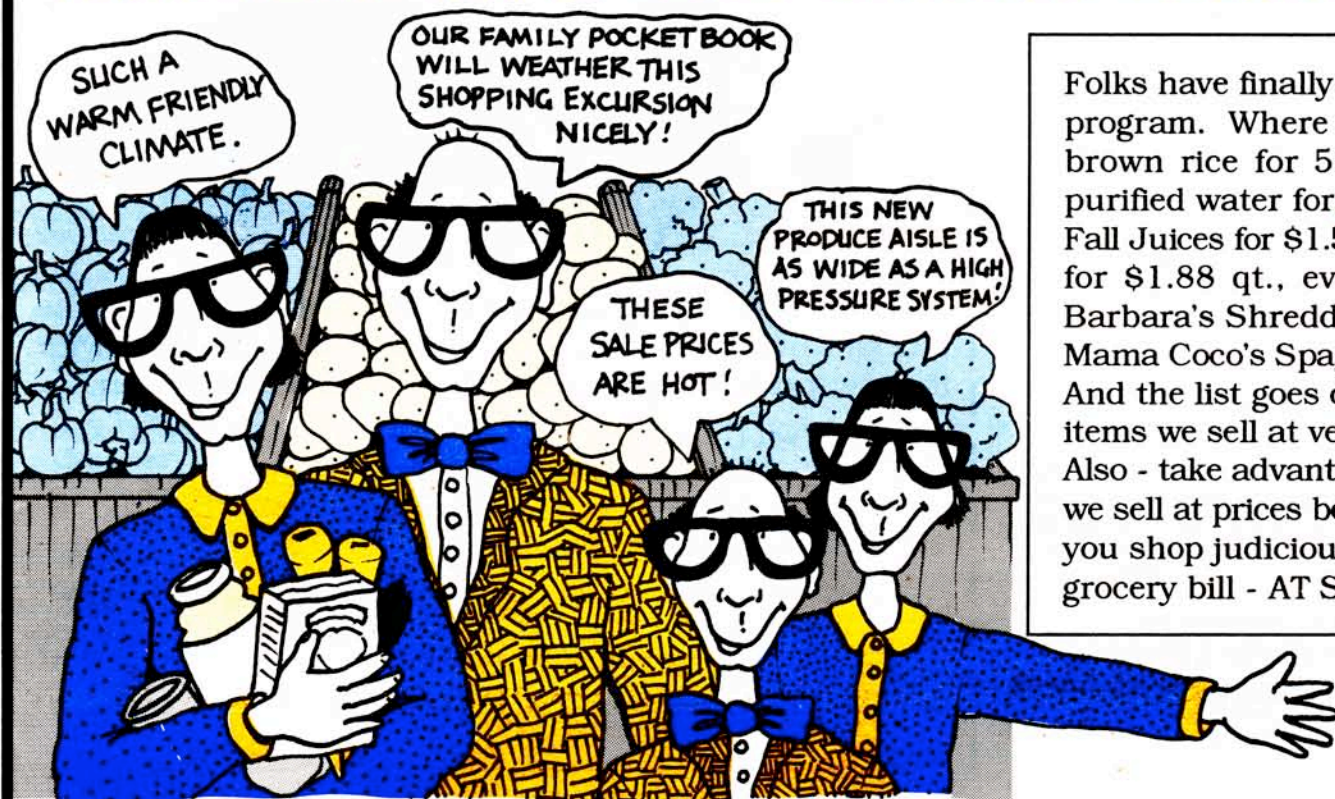
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