

# It's About Times

Abalone Alliance Newspaper

December—January 1984



Whitman  
Gibbie

It's the time of the year when the phrase "Peace on Earth" passes the lips even of politicians preparing for war. There is in fact less peace with each passing day.

As this issue of IAT makes clear, a bitter winter of international relations is upon us. The US has begun installing new missiles in Europe; the Soviet Union has given up on the Geneva arms talks and has gone home to make its own new missiles. As the Cold War freezes again, its human toll grows, from airplane passengers to Salvadorans strangled by US-backed death squads. From Grenada to Lebanon, there is confrontation and war, promoted by a system of superpower domination that ignores people's misery and cares nothing for their desires.

Yet there is another force, not yet as visible or powerful, daily challenging this ruling order and its armed might. Across western Europe, large majorities are rejecting the drift toward war, and millions are actively defying the decisions of their governments. A smaller but equally determined movement has risen in the East. In the Third World, many have been forced to resort to arms to fight — or even to survive — the murderous regimes imposed upon them. In the US and elsewhere, almost daily protests and a profusion of peace camps are forcing communities to confront the preparations for war being made in their midst.

Around the world, the seeds of resistance are sprouting and taking hold.

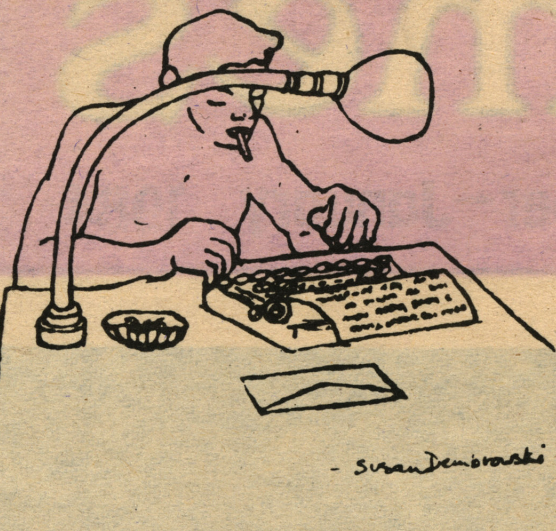
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# Letters



## CRANSTON'S FOR ME

Dear IAT,

Alan Cranston may not join us at the main gate to Diablo, but in an interview in David Brown's film *Strategies for Survival*, he said he could understand why people would do civil disobedience as a way to stop nuclear proliferation.

In your unsigned article on Cranston, "The Hawkish Dove," (Nov-Dec IAT) you focus on his votes for the B-1, concluding that he is as untrustworthy as any established politician.

I believe that a Cranston administration would have a very different tone than these Reagan years. The fact that he is campaigning as a champion of the Freeze is a clear indication that he is likely to pay attention to his antinuclear constituency. His view of the Soviet Union is more likely to achieve some beginning agreements than current US belligerence. He makes statements about stopping military aid to El Salvador; as a longtime World Federalist, he must be inclined to a nonviolent approach to international conflicts.

So he's not Ron Dellums or Barry Commoner or Petra Kelly. We'll still have to work to do if he becomes President. At this point I'm inclined to vote for him. Tell us about better choices for the 1984 Presidential election.

-- Will Fudeman  
Pt. Reyes



And now a word from our sponsor...

photo by Rachel Johnson

I'M UPPER ECHELON  
... WHAT ECHELON  
ARE YOU?



By Mal

## BEYOND THE DAY AFTER

Dear IAT,

Reviews of ABC's "The Day After" have failed entirely to come to grips with the film's most glaring defect -- the un- and anti-political manner in which the events leading to war were depicted. From this standpoint it matters very little that references to Pershing II deployment were deleted, though this tells us quite a bit about network politics.

It has become commonplace since the film was aired to observe that the fictional holocaust bore little resemblance to the true devastation which a major nuclear exchange would unleash. Those neat little mushroom clouds, for example, would doubtless be superseded by synergistic firestorms of an intensity sufficient to stump even the most ingenious special effects crew. As for the antiseptic presentation of radiation sickness, the less said the better. (Someone observed afterwards that Schultz isn't afraid of nuclear war because he's already bald!)

It hardly seems worthwhile to see who can stomach the most televised carnage. But it is doubtful that a higher fear quotient necessarily yields increased gains for the antinuclear movement. Given the mystical presentation of the actual politics behind the war, increased fear may in all likelihood lead to further political and psychological dependence on the authorities. Only time will tell whether this spells increased sales of bomb shelters or calls for a stronger deterrent.

The film suggests that the probable causes of nuclear war pale into insignificance next to its catastrophic

consequences. This is of course true in an ultimate, biological sense, but hardly provides us with the political understanding required for an effective mobilization against the weapons and their makers. ABC presented nuclear war as a *deus ex machina*, as if the decision to push the button bears a purely external relation to thirty-five years of strategic doctrine built around the dogmatic fallacy *deterrence = stability*.

Far more frightening than the movie was the so-called "debate" which followed. When a man like McNamara, whose reign at the Defense Department accelerated the shift from MAD to counterforce, appears to be talking sweet reason, the world's in deep trouble. None of the politicians, ideologues and "philosophers" present questioned for a moment the whole notion of deterrence which underpins the nuclear arms race. (And did anyone catch Scowcroft's and Kissinger's latest addition to strategic wisdom, that proliferation can be contained through the continued accumulation of megatonnage?)

True debate on the nuclear issue will begin only when the exalted concept of deterrence is dethroned from the strategic pantheon and revealed for the fraud it actually is. Failure to confront this deadly doctrine cripples the antinuclear forces in this country, the Freeze included, and sharply circumscribes their political effectiveness. It's high time the real debate began. World War III will most assuredly not be televised, though not for lack of commercial sponsors.

Yours,  
Peter Rossman

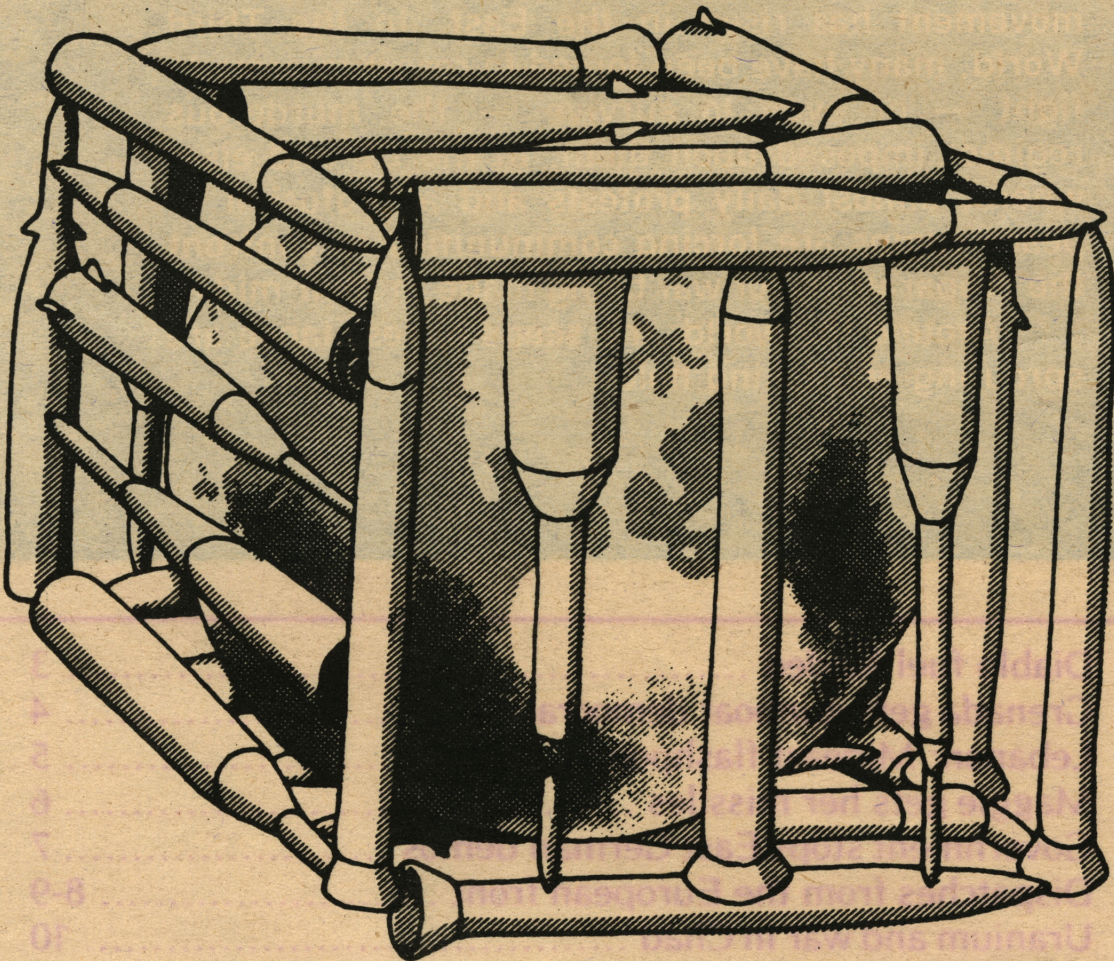
# IAT is 5

With this issue, IAT begins its sixth year of publication. A lot has happened since that first mimeographed newsletter, and we're glad to have been able to print perspectives on it which don't get much of a chance to be heard in the mainstream media. We are deeply grateful to our readers for your support -- both political and financial -- without which we would have given up long ago.

We also couldn't have done it without our contributors, the artists,

authors, poets, and photographers who have given us so much of their time and talent. Thank you all. And we also thank each other for the patience, the humor, and the dedication which has made us want to continue.

If you like what we're doing, send us a birthday present! If you don't have your own subscription, please get one, or send us a small donation. You can help us grow, and perhaps come out more often. Thanks.



By Auth for The Philadelphia Inquirer

# It's About Times

Abalone Alliance Newspaper

*It's About Times* is the newspaper of the Abalone Alliance, a California antinuclear/safe energy organization consisting of over 50 member groups (see page 15). The opinions expressed in IAT are those of the authors and are not necessarily endorsed by the Abalone Alliance.

*It's About Times* is a project of the American Friends Service Committee. IAT is published ten times a year. The annual subscription rate is \$8.00

IAT welcomes letters, articles, photos and artwork, but reserves the right to edit them.

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## Diablo fuel is loaded

# Damn the earthquakes — full speed ahead

The Diablo Canyon Nuclear plant near San Luis Obispo is once again nearing operation. Although safety investigations are still in progress, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission has allowed PG&E to load nuclear fuel into Diablo's first reactor. The fuel is now in place, and low-power testing is scheduled to begin in January.

The fuel loading occurred despite a federal injunction obtained by the Mothers for Peace on November 11, which was lifted four days later by members of the Washington, DC District Court. A few miles away, the Atomic Safety and Licensing Appeals Board was still holding hearings on the plant's design quality assurance. The findings of those hearings will not be issued until January.

According to Mothers for Peace member Nancy Culver, "The NRC is putting Diablo Canyon on the fast track and washing its hands of the controversy by trying to move too quickly through the licensing steps."

Even as the licensing steamroller gathered speed, an incident at Diablo illustrated that the design problems have hardly been solved. Eight hours before the NRC authorized fuel loading, 20,000 gallons of water spilled onto the floor in an auxiliary building at the plant. Workers couldn't shut off the flow right away because a support brace made it impossible to turn the handle on the back-up valve. The NRC does not consider this a design or construction flaw, and it is not inspecting the plant to see if pipe supports are blocking other valves.

The Mothers for Peace argue that this kind of problem is typical of what the NRC doesn't want to look at. The agency's Atomic Safety and Licensing Board did not allow an investigation of construction quality assurance despite PG&E's own audits showing it was inadequate. The Board didn't issue a written decision, however, making it



photo by Rachel Johnson

Sidewalk graffito in San Francisco.

impossible for the Mothers for Peace to appeal the decision to the NRC Commissioners.

If low-power testing is authorized, the Mothers for Peace will seek another court injunction to halt it, and will request a court order to force the NRC to reopen hearings on issues it has

refused to consider. These include the adequacy of evacuation plans in case of an earthquake and nuclear accident, the environmental impact of a class 9 (melt-down) accident, and the quality assurance issue.

San Luis Obispo County congressional representatives Leon Panetta and

Bill Thomas have asked Congress to investigate Diablo Canyon. That hearing is expected in January. The NRC has not indicated if they will await the findings of the Congressional hearing before issuing a low-power operating license.

According to Culver, "The NRC is sniffing the winds. If it looks like the Commission will end up with egg on its face, they'll hold off issuing a low-power operating license. We're planning to present testimony that will put egg on their face."

### Coming events

The Abalone Alliance is planning a series of demonstrations to coincide with the low-power testing. The People's Emergency Response Plan begins Friday, January 13th, 1984. This sustained action is intended to provide a variety of non-violent activities for people to show opposition to Diablo Canyon. Activities will include leafletting, vigils, walks, and acts of civil disobedience.

Affinity groups are asked to contact the Travel Agency Collective before coming to San Luis Obispo so arrangements can be made for housing: (805) 541-6217. Affinity groups are autonomous and can organize any action within the guidelines established by the Abalone Alliance code of non-violence. The Guides Collective will escort affinity groups planning back-country actions.

A new four-color edition of *Radioactive Times* is available from the San Francisco office of the Abalone Alliance. The four-page tabloid is designed as an outreach tool and self-contained personal organizing kit. It contains information on how to get involved in the People's Emergency Response Plan and a chronology of resistance to Diablo Canyon.

--Mark Evanoff

IAT staff

## Judge muzzles Livermore blockaders

A Livermore-Pleasanton municipal judge, apparently under intense scrutiny by federal authorities, has rejected the entire legal defense of 229 blockaders arrested at the gates of Lawrence Livermore Laboratory June 20th.

Judge Clifford Bachand ruled December 7 that the eleven defendants, who were chosen to represent all 229, could not testify as to their "state of mind" at the time the act was committed, and said he would accept testimony from no "expert witnesses." In effect, he decided that the blockaders' entire defense was moot: the case would be decided purely on the technical grounds of whether or not the blockaders had obstructed traffic into the lab.

The ruling directly contradicted a decision Bachand had made only a few months before, when he allowed Los Angeles minister John Lemnitzer to testify he had blockaded the lab not with malicious intent, but rather in an effort to prevent a nuclear catastrophe. A Livermore jury acquitted Lemnitzer of obstructing a public thoroughfare, the same charge the 229 face.

Attorneys for the federal Department of Energy, which oversees operations at the Lab, were present in the makeshift Alameda County Fairgrounds courtroom throughout the trial. When contacted after the trial, Judge Bachand refused comment on any aspect of the case.

Immediately after hearing the judge's ruling, the blockaders agreed not to cooperate with Bachand's restrictions on admissible evidence. The next morning, the defense rested its case without calling a single witness.

Bachand, however, ordered 15 people cited for contempt of court after the defendants refused to remove black armbands they wore to symbolize their mourning for the lack of justice at the



photo by Steve Stallone

Livermore blockade, June 20th. Blockaders planned a show-trial to indict the arms race, but Judge Clifford Bachand rejected their defense.

trial. The jury deliberated about two hours before reaching a guilty verdict for all eleven.

Alan Ramo, one of the blockaders' attorneys, said the defense had lined up an impressive array of "experts" to testify at the trial. One of the prosecutors

involved in the Nuremberg Tribunal after World War II had agreed to take the stand, and Oakland Assemblymember Tom Bates was prepared to testify as to the futility of the traditional political process.

The blockaders were sentenced to

time served; repeat offenders were given two years probation or an additional 15 days imprisonment. Ramo said the convictions all will be appealed.

-- Tim Redmond

IAT staff



# Exporting democracy to Grenada

To whet Americans' appetite for action in Grenada, Ronald Reagan whipped out his "dirty pictures" -- satellite photos of the Point Salines airport -- and showed them all around last March 23rd in his "Star Wars" speech.

It hardly mattered that thousands of American tourists had already staked their claim to Point Salines as one of Grenada's best "photo opportunities." But it was crude of Reagan to take credit for the discovery.

It hardly seemed to matter either that sixty percent of the construction funding came from such exporters of revolution as Western Europe, Britain, Canada and the Organization of American States. The British firm in charge protested that they weren't building a military airport, and companies from a dozen nations -- including the US -- were involved in the project. And the

a mock invasion of "Amber and the Amberdines," (Grenada is often referred to as Grenada and the Grenadines) held on the island of Vieques off Puerto Rico in 1981 and similar maneuvers conducted last March near Barbados, 90 miles from Grenada, were strongly suspected at the time to be warm-ups for the real thing.

Following the mock invasion in 1981, Grenadian prime minister Maurice Bishop sent an urgent message to the UN that invasion was imminent. Clearly, the invasion was a long time coming. Reagan saw his chance in the coup and took it, pretending that the actions of the new "thugs" made him do it.

The Reagan administration's revisionist view of Bishop as a moderate as well as the hubbub created about the Pt. Salines airport obscured the real context

As it became clear that US Marines weren't going to "rescue" US citizens and pack up and leave, Reagan discovered that Grenada was a "Soviet-Cuban colony being readied" for the export of terrorism.

10,000 foot runway they were building, which so frightened Ronald Reagan, is actually no longer than those on several smaller Caribbean islands which cater to air tourism, such as Aruba, Antigua, and Curacao. In fact, the conservative World Bank recommended building the new runway because commercial jets couldn't land on the old one.

Anyway, it's a relief to know that now the Russians probably are showing off their satellite photos of Pt. Salines since the US is transforming it into a military base for its own expansionist needs. Lord knows American tourists won't be allowed near the place now.

Perhaps it's a relief too to know that when "our fighting Marines" landed on Grenada they had to rely on tourist maps to get around. They'll be spared that frustration the next time if Grenada becomes a major "R and R" stop -- like the Philippines and Thailand during the Vietnam war -- for American freedom fighters engaged in exporting democracy all over Latin America.

## Warm-ups for the real thing

There were as many stories about where and when planning for the invasion began as there were storytellers. On October 15 the US had already floated the idea of intervening to Thomas Adams, prime minister of Barbados. The actual wording of the request for intervention from the Organization of Eastern Caribbean (OEC) nations was written in the US.

Lost in the intrigue surrounding the timing of the invasion were the obvious preparations the US had already made to invade. President Carter in 1979 and Reagan in 1981 considered launching covert military intelligence operations against Grenada. Two military exercises,

of US concern about Grenada. Post-colonial governments of the poor Caribbean countries stretching 2000 miles between the Bahamas and Trinidad are being confronted by the rise of labor and left movements. As Britain cut back financial aid to these Commonwealth countries in the late 1970's, notorious rulers installed by the British and favorable to US interests (like Eric Gairy of Grenada) became more vulnerable. What the Reaganites fear is the rise of nationalist and revolutionary movements which threaten American hegemony in the region.

Reagan did everything in his power to block economic aid to Grenada from the IMF, the World Bank and the Caribbean Development Bank. Despite this attempted economic blockade, Grenada's recent economic performance was the best in the region.

The US may have used political violence as well as economic destabilization, given Reagan's bent for covert action. The Queen's Park massacre, in which a bomb intended for Maurice Bishop killed three children instead, was linked to members of a pro-American political party. The sophistication of the device also suggested outside assistance.

## Ronnie to the rescue

Although Reagan at first claimed that the "overriding reason" for intervening was the safety of US students, a senior Administration official admitted to the *New York Times* on October 30th that it was a "tough call" to predict whether the invasion would have been launched if there were no Americans on the island.

In the week leading up to the invasion, US ambassador to Barbados Milan Bish tried to persuade Charles Modica,



the chancellor at St. George's medical school, to lie about his students' safety and appeal for US intervention on their behalf on Barbados television. As reported in the *San Francisco Chronicle* on October 26th, school officials were most fearful of an invasion and the resulting bloodshed, not the internal problems. Two days later, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger floated intelligence reports that US citizens were threatened with being taken hostage. This and rumors that the Cubans had threatened Americans working at embassies around the world in reprisal for the invasion were later refuted.

As a pretext for invasion the students' safety must have appeared flimsy to the Administration as well, since it soon stressed other reasons. As it

Barring reporters from the invasion and restricting their movements even beyond the end of hostilities guaranteed the Reagan administration a free hand in presenting its side of the story. Vice-Admiral Joseph Metcalf, in charge of the invasion, threatened, "I know how to stop those [unauthorized] press boats. We've been shooting at them. We haven't sunk any yet, but how are we to know who's on them?"

The Administration provided only the barest glimpse of the actual fighting and its reports were inaccurate. As Weinberger and chief of the Joint Chiefs General Vessey announced October 26 that Richmond Hill was one of two major pockets of resistance, US Marines had already occupied the area with no resistance. The unexpectedly strong

Reports of 600 Cubans "taking to the hills" to begin protracted guerrilla war were completely erroneous, as the military later admitted.

became clear that US Marines weren't going to "rescue" US citizens (approximately half weren't evacuated) and then pack up and leave, Reagan discovered that Grenada was a "Soviet-Cuban colony being readied" for the export of terrorism. The invasion, Reagan claimed on October 27, came just in time to prevent a "Cuban occupation of the island." No evidence has been supplied which can back up these claims.

Captured documents released by the State Department showed that the Soviets, Cubans and North Koreans had supplied Grenada with \$38 million in military aid from 1980 to 1985. But the weapons -- mainly small arms, jeeps, and armored personnel carriers -- are more suitable for defense than interdicting shipping lanes or invading countries 1500 miles away (like Jamaica, which claimed to be threatened.)

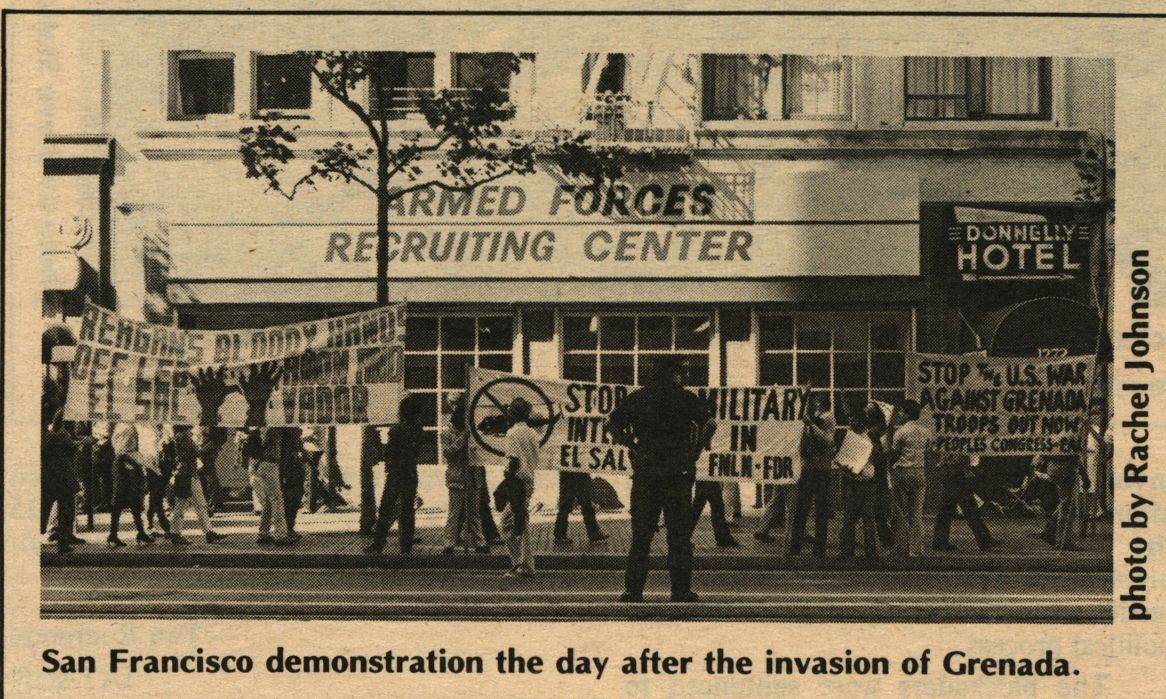
By contrast, the US has spent \$80 million in 1983 alone on 10,000 *contras* to overthrow Nicaragua and is building several military airfields in Honduras.

resistance encountered at Pt. Salines tended to obscure the fact that nearly everywhere else there was only light resistance. For all the talk of Cuban troops it was actually the Grenadian army that put up most of the resistance. The Cubans fought only at and around the Pt. Salines airport.

The pattern of fighting involved air attacks by Navy bombers and helicopter gunships followed by ground troops. The fierce air war against anti-aircraft positions was under-reported.

October 29 reports of 600 Cubans "taking to the hills" to begin a protracted guerilla war were completely erroneous, as the military admitted three days later. Intelligence overestimated the number of Cubans by about 600, so the idea that they vanished into the jungle came in handy, apparently. Eventually the US accepted Cuba's figures for the total number of its citizens in Grenada. Cuba also claimed that of the 784 people, only 43 were actually members

continued on page 7



San Francisco demonstration the day after the invasion of Grenada.



# Lebanon: Flashpoint of the Middle East

Should World War III start in the near future, Lebanon will most likely be the ignition point.

In early December, 1983, after anti-aircraft guns fired at provocative American reconnaissance flights over Syrian positions, the US launched air raids over these areas. Two of the bomber planes were shot down, leaving one pilot dead and another a prisoner of war.

American combat troops have been in Lebanon now for 17 months, and have been taking casualties since last spring. But the media and the peace movement have taken notice only recently, with the escalation of the fighting and the attacks on the US, French and Israeli headquarters.

In Lebanon, 2000 Marines are supported by a huge flotilla which includes two carrier task forces and the battleship New Jersey. They are joined by 1500 French airborne troops with a carrier task force, 2100 Italian troops, and a contingent of 100 British soldiers supported by air power from bases in Cyprus. In addition, Israel still has 25,000 troops in southern Lebanon.

These forces of the Western Alliance are facing 50,000 Syrian troops, well armed with Soviet weapons, including the latest surface-to-air and ground-to-ground missiles, as well as Palestinian and anti-government Lebanese militias. Syrian forces are backed by several thousand Soviet advisers and a pact with the Soviet Union that guarantees direct Soviet intervention should Syria be attacked.

Reagan has had US forces in a combat zone for over a year without Congressional approval, in defiance of the post-Vietnam War Powers Act. Congress responded to this flagrant violation by approving the presence of the Marines for another eighteen months. Pro-Israeli "dovish" liberal Democrats were instrumental in this move. Unlike Central America, where the US ruling elites are split on the need to intervene, the Middle East is seen as a vital national interest.

## A History of Conflict

Analysis of superpower rivalry in this region is the key to understanding the explosive potential of the present situation. Domination of the oil fields and tanker routes by the US translates into American dominance over its "allies," Western Europe and Japan, who would otherwise, as before, be rivals for global control.

The discovery of "black gold" around the turn of the century led to a contest among Europe's powers for control of the area -- a major cause of World War I. During the war, French and British forces defeated Turkey, whose territory included much of the Middle East. The victors divided the spoils, with Britain getting Palestine and the oil-rich Mesopotamia and Persian Gulf, and France getting Syria, which included present-day Lebanon.

In the war's aftermath, the US emerged as the world's dominant financial power through its loans to its allies.

With the onset of the auto/chemical age, American policymakers made the control of global oil supplies a major objective.

Britain dominated the region through both military and economic means. But American oil companies, such as Standard of California, Standard of New Jersey and Texaco began maneuvering into the Arabian peninsula in the 30s, making deals with independent sheiks.

After World War II Britain was deeply in debt, while the US came out relatively undamaged. Even before the war's end, Roosevelt's administration moved to reorganize the world's financial system around the dollar, while making friends with Saudi Arabia's ruling family.

US aid and other forms of coercion were used to force Britain to acquiesce to the new order. American diplomats even encouraged regional nationalism as a way to reduce British influence. The US soon became dominant in Iraq and the Persian Gulf, and with the restoration of the Shah in 1953 via a CIA coup, in Iran as well.

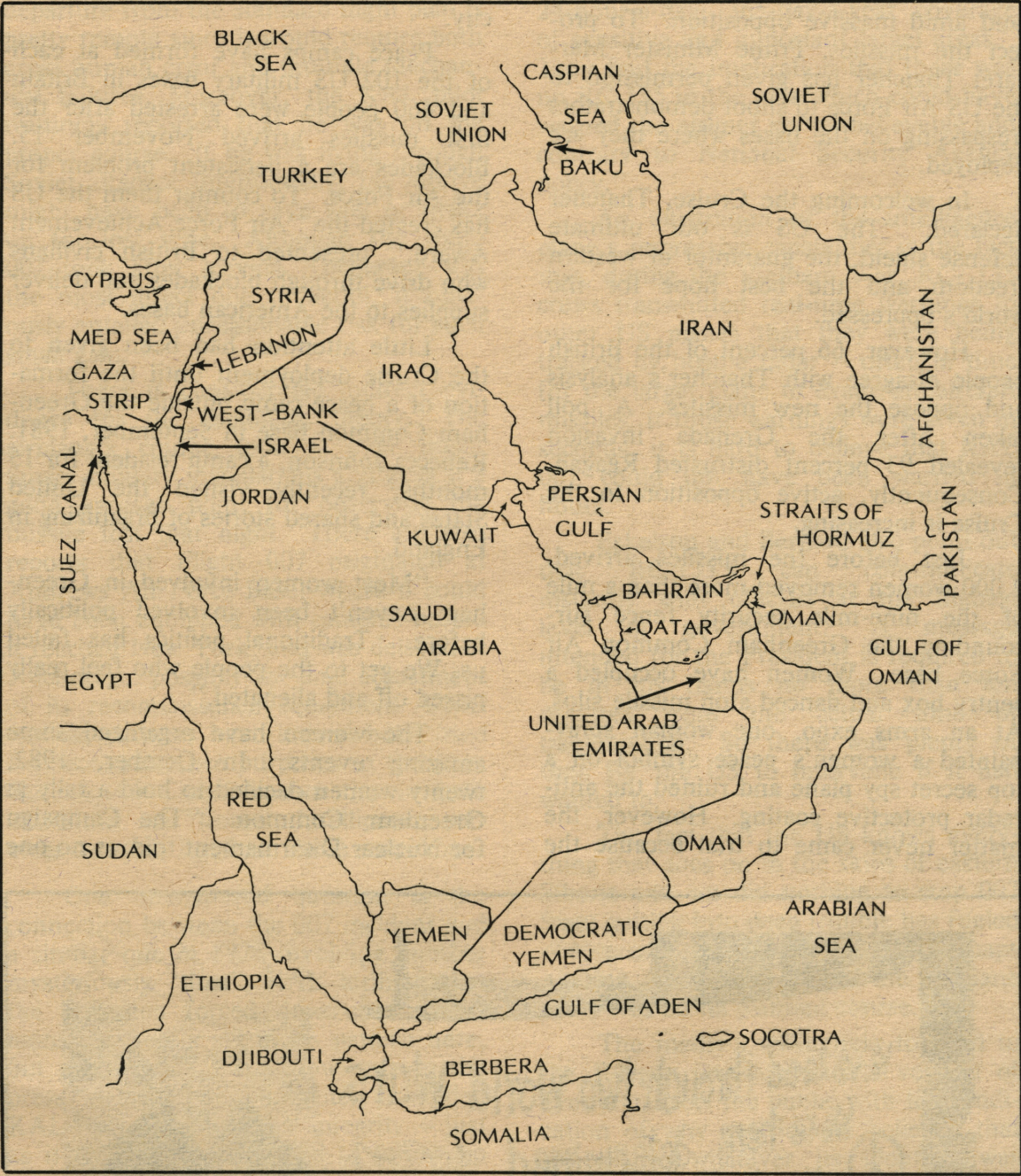
But with domination came responsibilities. Already in 1947 the US Sixth Fleet was formed to exert American influence in the region. In the years that followed US arms flowed to clients such as Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia. In 1958 civil strife in Lebanon -- a nation created by France and carved out of Syria when it was granted independence during WW II -- led to 10,000 Marines and airborne troops landing on the shores of (another) Tripoli. The US even made an attempt in the 1950s to form a NATO-like alliance in the region to cover the Soviet Union's southern flank.

The Soviet Union has its own designs on the region. To begin with, Soviet planners do not enjoy American presence on its southern borders so close to its main oil production centers, such as Baku. Furthermore, the Soviet Union, the world's largest oil producer, relies on earnings from oil exports to pay for vital technological and agricultural imports. Middle East oil represents competition if in the hands of another power, but could spell extra resources and potential economic leverage over Europe and Japan in Soviet hands.

So Soviet policymakers have looked for every opportunity to make inroads into the region. When in 1955 the West turned down Egyptian President Nasser's request for aid to construct the Aswan Dam hydroelectric / irrigation project, the Soviets gladly stepped in and followed up with weapons sales. Although their welcome in Egypt was shortlived, the Soviets have tried to gain influence in other parts of the Middle East, largely through arms shipments. These days the main recipients of this aid are Syria, Libya and Democratic Yemen. Besides Syria, Soviet and Eastern European military units also have a base in Democratic Yemen's island of Socotra, located at the entrance of the Red Sea and the Suez Canal.

## The Invasion of Lebanon

American policy in the region has



the difficult task of reconciling support for an expansionist Israel with satisfaction of the interests of its Arab oil producing allies. The question of the homeless Palestinians makes this a particularly tough nut to crack.

When Israel invaded Lebanon in June, 1982, the US was not too disturbed -- in fact, the move was seen as having several beneficial effects. Order was to be restored in strife-torn Lebanon and the PLO was to be defeated. And Syria, the main Soviet client in the region, would be chased out of Lebanon.

Israel's initial quick success in Lebanon was followed by the long siege of Beirut. Afraid of both high casualties and damage to Israel's public image, plans for an all-out assault on the city were dropped in favor of savage bombing and shelling. This policy, however, did little for Israel's popularity. In addition, war spending worsened the already horrible inflation crisis.

As Arab leaders blamed the US for Israeli atrocities, US policy shifted away from Israel. Secretary of State Haig was replaced by George Schultz of the Bechtel Corporation, a major contractor with Saudi Arabia. The US cut off shipments of certain weapons to Israel and leaned on Begin to agree to a cease-fire and a PLO withdrawal from Beirut under the protection of a multinational force including US Marines. The US then set out to rebuild Lebanon as a pro-Western bastion, backing the Lebanese army and the Christian minority-dominated central government.

After the multi-national force pulled out, civil strife broke out again. President-elect Bashir Gemayel, head of the ultra right-wing Christian Phalangists, was assassinated, the Israelis occupied Beirut and Palestinians were massacred at the Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps. The multi-national force came back and is still in Beirut.

As 1982 turned to 1983, Israel found itself in a Vietnam-style war in Lebanon, with Vietnam-era style opposition at home. Israeli troops pulled back to the more easily defended positions south of the Awali River in order to decrease both casualties and domestic opposition.

Meanwhile, Syrian losses were quickly made up for by massive arms shipments from the Soviet Union. The Syrian army emerged with even better weaponry than before its disastrous encounter with Israel in the summer of 1982.

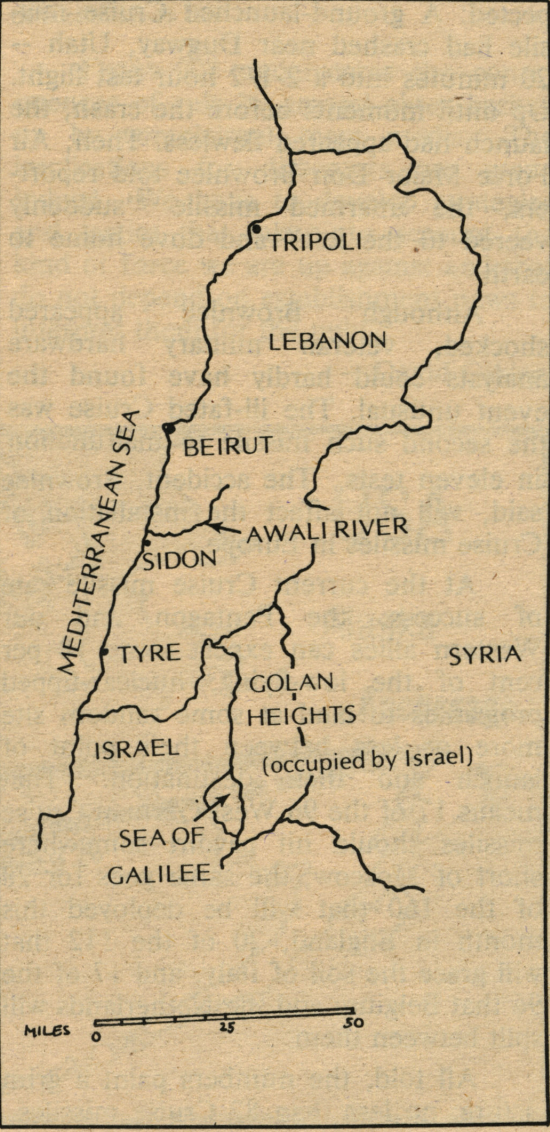
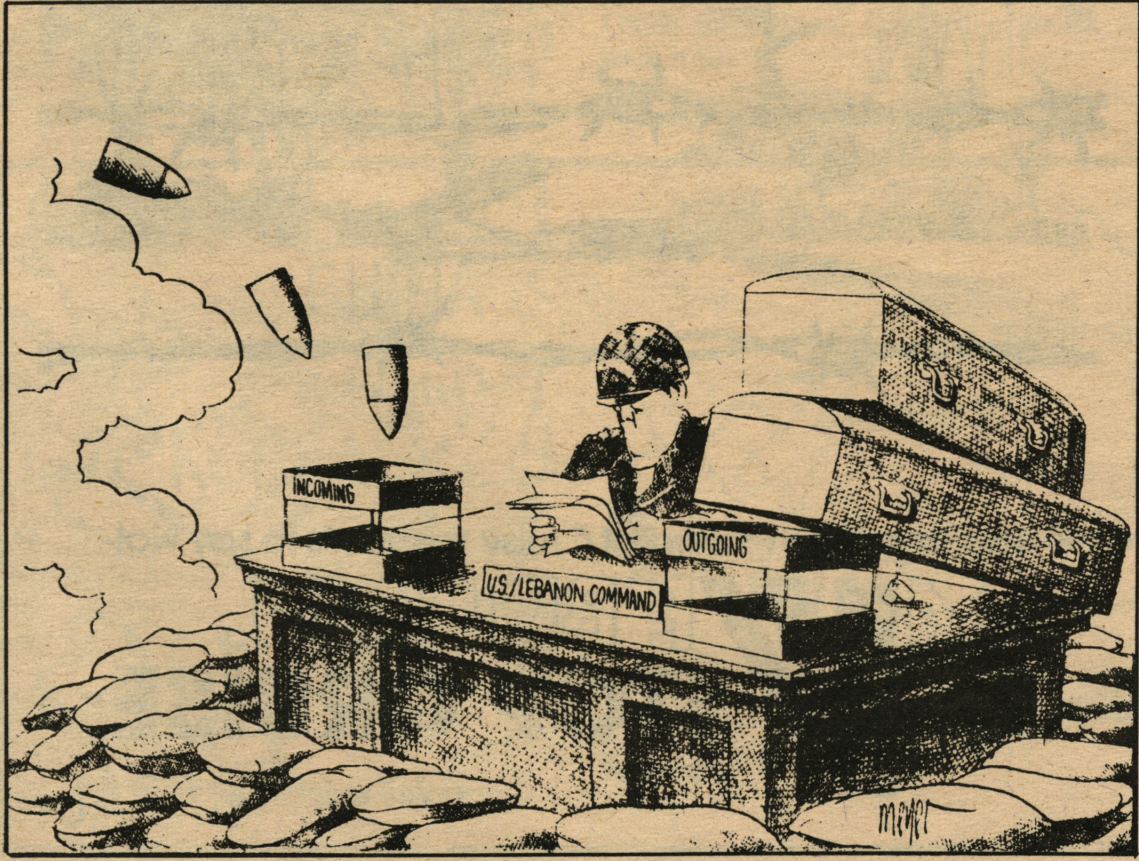
The vacuum left by the Israeli with-

drawal led to even more fighting between the minority government and the various opposition groups. In September, shortly after the first US combat deaths, US forces began to openly support the Gemayel regime, using naval bombardment to back up Lebanese troops. US and French troops became increasingly involved in the fighting and suffered heavier casualties.

In the meantime, Israel is slowly proceeding toward a de facto annexation of southern Lebanon, a step advocated for decades by such prominent Israelis as Moshe Dayan. (Lebanon's water would be a bonanza for Israel's vast desert.)

And now, as the Reagan peace plan is effectively dead, the US is again turning to Israel. The new agreement announced on November 29 signifies a major tilt away from US Arab allies and toward Israel, which will get joint military maneuvers with the US and grants to buy military equipment. The stage is set for a major battle in Lebanon between the two super powers and their allies. This time the front could extend to the whole world.

-- Jack Straw





# British protect cruise from women and children

Cruise missiles have arrived in England amid massive opposition. To protect the missiles, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has given permission to the US Air Force to shoot demonstrators trespassing on the bases where they are deployed.

In welcoming the Cruise, Thatcher declared, "The US is our ultimate defense shield, the guarantor of western freedom and the best hope for the world's oppressed."

However, 66 percent of the British people disagree with Thatcher's analysis and oppose the new missiles. A poll taken after the Grenada invasion revealed 93 percent distrusted Reagan. Consequently, active opposition to the Cruise is increasing.

Just before the missiles arrived, 2,000 women removed more than a mile of the nine-mile security fence surrounding the Greenham Common Air Force base. Women have occupied a sentry box and danced atop missile silos. At an arms expo, one woman spray-painted a women's peace symbol on a top secret spy plane and ruined the anti-radar protective coating. However, the matter never came to trial because the

US wanted to avoid embarrassing publicity.

Peace camps have formed at each of the 102 US military bases in Britain and 460 people were arrested after the first missiles arrived November 15. Blockades are a persistent problem for the Air Force. To counter them the US has created the "Air Force Achievement Award," presented to British civilians who drive through blockades and deliver supplies to the American bases.

Little attention had been given to the Cruise deployment until the formation of a peace camp outside the Greenham Common base in September, 1981. Rebecca Johnson, a camp resident for 15 months, recently visited the United States and shared stories of organizing in England.

"Most women involved in Greenham haven't been involved politically before. Traditional politics has failed us. We get to the people who feel really pissed off and alienated."

The women have organized some amazing events. In October, 1982, twenty women decided to hold a rally at Greenham Common. "The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament told us no one



photo by Raissa Page

Greenham Women Against the Cruise dance atop a missile silo, January 1st, 1983.

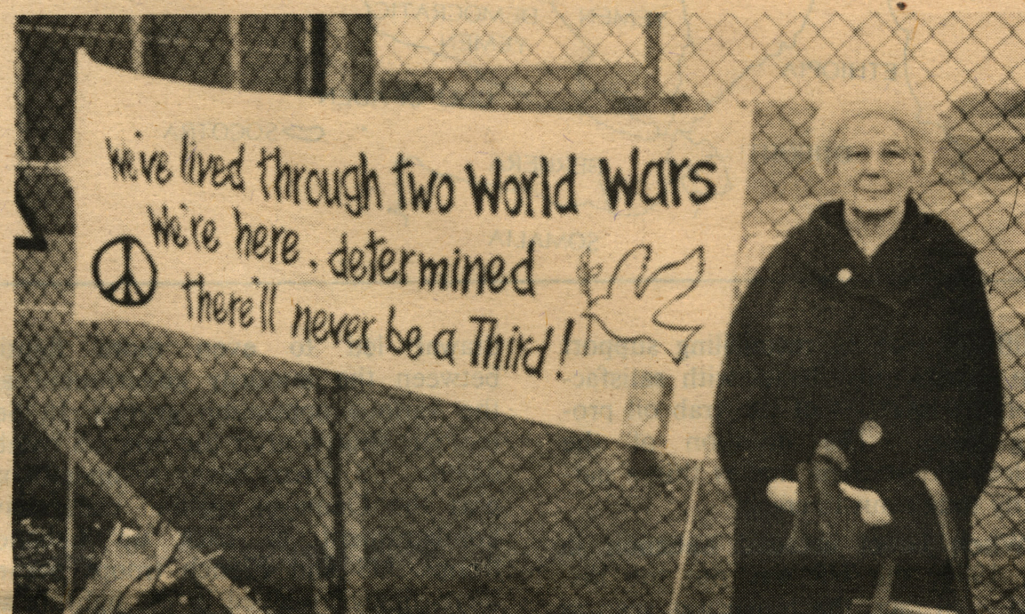


photo by Ed Barber

Greenham Common peace camp resident.

## Cruise arrives

For the Pentagon, Tuesday, November 22nd brought good news and bad news.

The good news made front page headlines across the country. It was, according to the Associated Press, no surprise: the West German Parliament voted to approve a plan to base American Cruise and Pershing II missiles in that country, six minutes from Moscow.

The bad news, which made the bottom of page 18 in Wednesday's San Francisco Chronicle, was entirely unexpected: A ground-launched Cruise missile had crashed near Dugway, Utah -- 20 minutes into a 2-1/2 hour test flight. Up until moments before the crash, the launch had appeared flawless. Then, Air Force Major Don Brownlee told reporters, the unarmed missile "suddenly veered to the left" and dove home to earth.

Although Brownlee appeared shocked, veteran military hardware analysts could hardly have found the event unusual. The ill-fated Cruise was the second such missile to malfunction in eleven tests. The accident, Brownlee said, will not affect the installation of Cruise missiles in Europe.

At the current Cruise missile rate of success, the Pentagon and our Western allies can expect some 18 percent of the low-flying, nuclear-tipped projectiles to land at some random site more or less between their point of launch and their destination. That means 17 of the 96 West German Cruise missiles should hit paydirt somewhere short of Moscow; the same goes for 28 of the 160 that will be deployed this month in England, 20 of the 112 that will grace the soil of Italy, and 17 of the 96 that Belgium and the Netherlands will split between them.

All told, the numbers paint a grim picture: no less than 82 Cruise missiles,

winging madly toward random destinations in Western Europe. Which should be cheering news to Pentagon planners worried about our defenses surviving a preemptive strike; if the Soviet record is anywhere near what ours is, neither side need worry about delivering a retaliatory salvo. The first round of missiles could easily devastate the populations of both superpowers -- and quite a few folks in between.

For European disarmament activists, Thanksgiving Week also brought good news and bad news. The bad news was the arrival of America's first nuclear missile shipments to England and Germany. The good news is that the outspoken and highly visible protests against the missile deployment, which have been occurring across Europe, may well have turned the deployment into a serious political liability for NATO.

National public opinion polls show large majorities in most NATO countries opposed to the missile deployment. That has put the political leadership of Western Europe more directly in confrontation with its constituents than at any time in recent history.

In 1979, when NATO voted to request the new missiles from the United States, deployment was tied to new arms reduction talks with the Soviets. That those talks have met with total failure is no longer seen in Europe as a sign of Russian intractability; instead, many put at least equal blame on the Reagan administration.

In the long run, that fact alone may prove far more of a threat to NATO than the administration's current bogeyman -- the Soviet SS-20s that are pictured as looming over the horizon of our allies just to the East.

-- Tim Redmond

IAT staff

would ever come to a rally sixty miles outside of London in the middle of winter," Johnson recalled.

"We had enough money to print up 500 three page letters inviting women to bring their children to Greenham Common to oppose the Cruise. We also included some organizing information and suggested the women make ten copies of the letter and send it to their friends. Two months later, on December 12, the third anniversary of the NATO decision to deploy Cruise, 35,000 women and children came to Greenham to protest."

Greenham women have continued to organize actions against the missiles and have traveled throughout the world speaking against them. In November, thirteen came to the United States to file suit against Reagan to halt deployment. Joining them as plaintiffs in the case are US Congressional representatives Ronald Dellums and Ted Weiss.

Johnson says that the Cruise missile violates international law by concealing military targets in civilian popula-

tions. "During times of international tension, the Cruise missiles will be loaded onto transporter-launchers and driven out into the countryside under the command of a lieutenant. The Soviets would have to wipe out all of southern England to destroy the Cruise. The Soviets have already said they will launch on warning if the Cruise is deployed."

"The cynics say we are idealistic and that our tactics will never work. Look at the alternative. Peace can only be created through shared responsibility and working together to solve the world's problems, accepting the difference of race, sex, culture and ideology."

"If we are silent through either fear or apathy, we acquiesce in our country perpetuating violence or war on someone else -- then we are as guilty as those who actually do it. At Greenham we've at least begun to take responsibility as human beings."

-- Mark Evanoff

IAT staff

# AMERICA RULES UK?

The only British control of Cruise missiles is to say No!

## SAVE BRITAIN, STOP CRUISE

Published by the Peace Advertising Campaign, PO Box 24, Oxford.



# No hot autumn in East Germany



Millions participated in the international campaign against Euromissile deployment this past October, but there were no public protests in East Germany despite the persistence of a large (by Eastern bloc standards) and stubbornly independent peace movement. The State Security Services saw to that. With characteristic efficiency, peace activists throughout the GDR were picked up early on the morning of the 22nd and detained through the late afternoon to prevent a "die-in" at East Berlin's Alexanderplatz tentatively scheduled for five minutes to twelve. The arrests were reported in the West German daily *die Tageszeitung* (close to the Green Party and the Alternatives) but otherwise ignored by the Western left and anti-war press.

In a repeat performance November 7 some thirty independents were picked up to prevent joint East/West protest at East Berlin's American and Soviet embassies. Petitions were to have been presented calling upon both sides to undertake immediate initiatives to halt the arms race. Green Party members from West Berlin who managed to elude the stringent border control measures were soon picked up and unceremoniously deported. Eastern detainees included numerous members of the Women for Peace organization around Katya Havemann, widow of dissident Marxist Robert Havemann. And again the American left press was silent.

The November 7 arrests followed close on the heels of a visit with East German officialdom by a group of parliamentary Green Party representatives at which head of state Erich Honecker cheerfully signed two of three clauses in a proffered "Peace Contract" pledging both sides to a mutual renunciation of force and to refrain from treating the other side as the "enemy." (Honecker pleaded the duties of office in refusing to

sign point three, which affirms a commitment to unilateral disarmament initiatives as a means of strengthening genuine security.) Honecker also promised efforts to alleviate the harassment of unofficial peace activists.

The Greens' visit was given prominent space in all the East German media, but nothing was said about the "Peace Contract" or the Greens' concern for the independents. The entire content of the encounter was dissolved into typically bureaucratic talk about the "friendly exchange of divergent opinions." In the photo of the meeting which appeared in the East German press, Petra Kelly's T-shirt bearing the banned "Swords into Ploughshares" logo, emblem of the unofficial peace movement, was carefully concealed.

Powerful political - bureaucratic establishments both East and West are sitting on one of the new Cold War's most potent political secrets. Under the impact of the superpowers' seemingly inexorable drift towards heightened confrontation and nuclear catastrophe, the current revival of independent politics in the nations of Eastern Europe occurs to a great extent through the increasingly international movement for peace. (See *IAT* Oct.-Nov. 1983 "Voices from the other Europe")

Intensified harassment of East Germany's peace activists and recent threats by the Czech regime of mandatory ten-year sentences for those opposing new Soviet deployments spell out the domestic content of Andropov's "necessary steps" to counter the new American missiles. Unless the Western peace movement raises its voice loud and clear, now, for peace and freedom in Eastern Europe, the prospects of a successful international mobilization against the arms race will be irreparably stunted.

-- Peter Rossman

## Exporting democracy to Grenada

continued from page 4

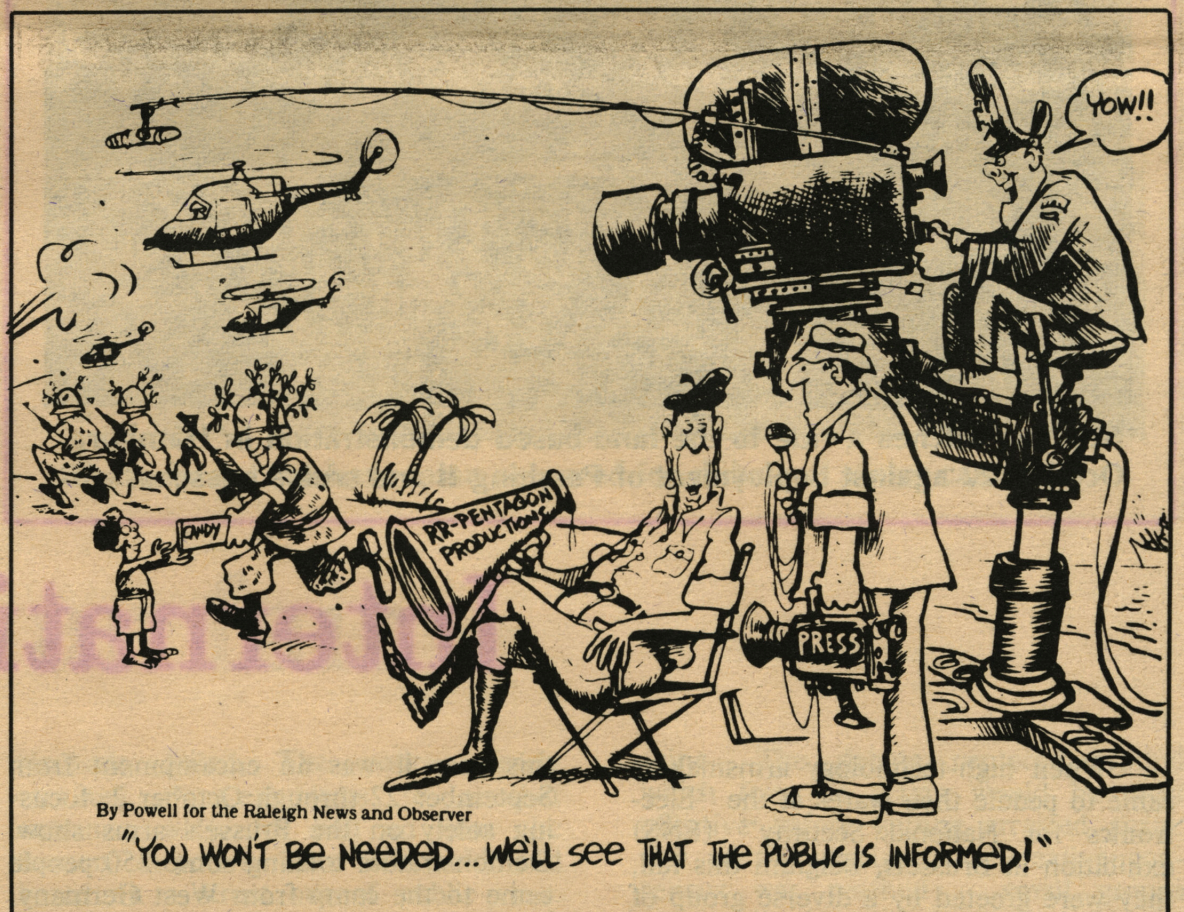
of the armed forces while 636 were construction workers. The US military eventually admitted, somewhat sheepishly, that only about 100 of the Cubans were professional soldiers.

Clearly, if there had been 1000 trained and armed Cuban troops, as the US claimed at one point, there would have been a great deal more resistance, and many more than eighteen US troops would have been killed. As many Americans died in combat-related accidents as in the fighting itself. Americans doubtless would have been less favorable to a war with significant casualties.

The Grenadian army had fewer men under arms than the San Francisco police department and most of them were not highly trained. US troops joked about one member of the People's Revolutionary Army who popped up from his hiding place in the jungle, aimed and fired but had forgotten to load his rifle.

Once the fighting was over, it was time to let the press in to sniff around. Sure enough, most reporters found just what the military wanted: Grenadians were overwhelmingly supportive of the US invasion. Press paens to objectivity notwithstanding, for the most part the real story was missed. Shocked at the ominous murder of a popular leader in Maurice Bishop, Grenadians needed most to find out why it happened. Instead, they were kept cut off from the outside world and got 15,000 US troops and loads of propaganda about Cuban-Soviet takeovers and tremendous arms caches. They, along with most Americans, believed it.

Reagan's real intentions for invading became clearer after the fighting ended. The US mission is to try to erase the memory of socialism and prepare Grenadians for "Westminster" style democracy -- corrupt business rule -- which they rejected after Britain installed Eric Gairy, a notorious strongman, in



1974 following independence.

What is not widely known is that US troops are continuing to conduct house-to-house searches for "subversive" material and arresting those in possession. Censorship of books and other materials was begun. "What I would like not to see in Grenada is a witch hunt, but I'm afraid it is already happening," reported Bob Evans, project director for the Pt. Salines airport. US troops interrogated and jailed Grenadians without warrants or charges. Up to 2000 Grenadians have been jailed and held incommunicado with about 1000 remaining behind bars as of the second week of December.

Taking his cue from Margaret Thatcher's popular Falklands war, Ronald Reagan sent 15,000 US troops to a 9 by 12-mile speck of an island to get rid of a political movement he disliked and to get a "quickie" boost to his public approval. The dour press (war planners complained that the press wasn't sufficiently enthusiastic about the Vietnam War) got grounded for this action, and for future invasions as well, if the Administration has its way. American democracy never looked so

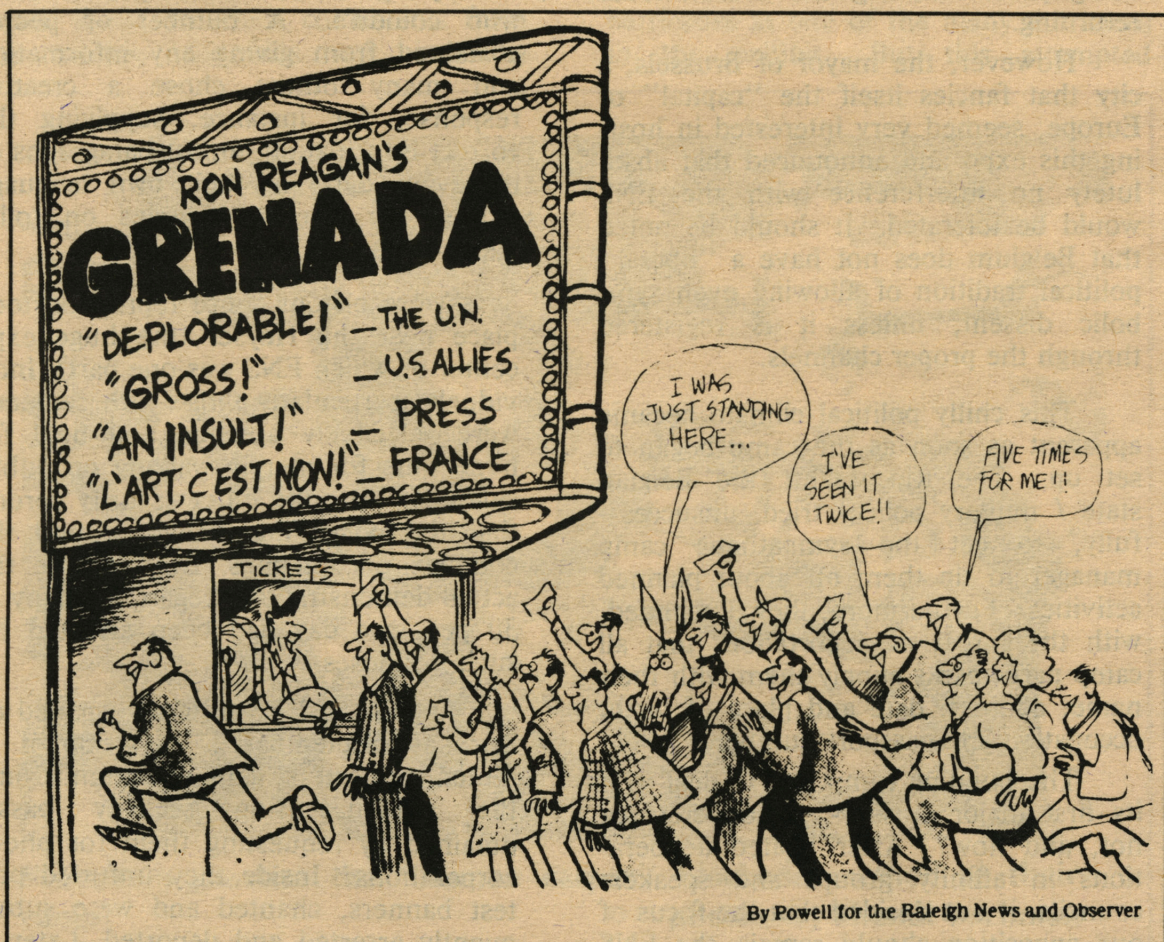
sleazy as US soldiers went "a-censoring" door-to-door, paving the way for the installation of a pro-US government.

As the conservative Caribbean countries eventually replace US troops with their own security forces, the pattern of trying to turn the clock backwards to a pre-revolution time zone will continue. Already candidates covering the spectrum from mouthpieces of the "nouveau riche" to flacks for vintage businessmen are being groomed by the press. It is less likely that Grenadians will thrill to these plans to prop up cast-off businessmen and run them for election.

Ironically, the Pt. Salines airfield may never operate as a commercial facility since the US is reportedly turning it into a military airfield, and dumping delicate equipment the British had planned to install. And to top it all off, since US soldiers must leave Grenada by December 23 under the War Powers Act, those left behind to militarize Pt. Salines may well be called "construction workers."

-- Ward Young

*IAT* staff





# No quiet on the Western front: Ger

Beginning on October 13, about 400 people surrounded the Carl-Schurz military base in Bremer-Haven, West Germany in a continuous two-and-a-half day blockade. More than 30,000 joined in a demonstration / march on the 15th, kicking off the following week of action that culminated in massive demonstrations on October 22. The Carl-Schurz base is the central coordination center for most US weapons coming into Europe and the Middle East.

On the morning of the 13th, demonstrators assembled at three points to block the streets leading to the base and the adjoining container port. Although the protest was not aimed at disrupting commercial business at the port, police set up barricades in such a way as to stop all truck traffic into the port. The fortified police barricades were composed of a row of armored vehicles with fences attached to them, backed up by scores of riot police and several types of water cannons, including "super" water cannons with extra-high pressurized bursts of water than can easily break ribs.

Police tactics varied widely during the three days. At the main street entrance, Wurster Strasse, police never disturbed the blockade, probably because it was in a middle class neighborhood and the press was often there. At Rote Sahn (Red Sand), a seedier neighbor-

hood, police several times roughly cleared a path through demonstrators to allow convoys of container trucks to enter. Two hundred demonstrators were arrested there, most of them released later that night in the outskirts of town. At Weddewarden, a more isolated blockade point, police were very harsh at times.

Demonstrators attempted to maintain the blockade 24 hours a day, so both they and the police "punched in" for their shifts. Their determination notwithstanding, the success of the blockade is difficult to evaluate. Press coverage and numbers were impressive, but the blockade didn't generally stop the police from getting trucks through when they wanted to do so.

On Saturday, October 15, the downtown streets of Bremer-Haven were filled with over 30,000 people who came to show their support of the blockade attempt, which ended late that morning. After a march past the three blockade points, a few thousand demonstrators lined up around a barbed wire barrier that separated them from the ten-foot fence around the base itself. Under the watchful eyes of the ever-present surveillance cameras, many people cut and tampered with the barbed wire, but no one dared pass through it.

Near dusk a group of two hundred cycle-helmeted "autonomes" gathered at



Some of the 400,000 demonstrators in Hamburg, October 22.



Neptune hitches a ride to the land-based demonstration in Hamburg October 22 against deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles.

the rear of the thinning crowd, closest to the base and its police guard. (Autonomes are members of a political tendency in Germany and elsewhere, who reject nonviolence as an absolute.)

The autonomes threw a few rocks toward the police, but the fences and distance made these projectiles harmless. However, the police let loose with water cannons, trying to isolate the autonomes from everyone else. Many of the demonstrators still there left at the first signs of violence, but enough stayed their ground to prevent police from completely surrounding the autonomes. By this time, hundreds of police had lined up in the street that provided the only exit from the base into town.

It was obvious to everyone that if they tried to run the police would tear into them. Three additional police helicopters were sent up, and repeatedly dive-bombed the tense crowd. One person stupidly shot flares at the copters as they skimmed the crowd. An activists'

loudspeaker truck urged everyone to link arms and slowly march in tight formation. This procession took a very long three hours to reach the part of town where the demonstrators' trucks and cars were parked. There they sat in a tight

## Under the watchful eye veillance cameras, man and tampered with the

circle and demanded that the police back off to allow them to leave. The police finally agreed, and the tense scene came to an end.

Hamburg, West Germany Oct. 22, 1983

The big day everyone had waited for had arrived, as millions of people throughout Western Europe poured out to the streets to protest the deployment of the Cruise and Pershing II.

## International activists disrupt

When high-technology armsmakers came to peddle their wares at the "Electronics for National Security" (ENS) exhibition in Brussels, Belgium this fall, they were greeted by a diverse group of protestors organized under the banner of the 8th International Non-violent March For Demilitarization.

In previous years the annual march had actually been an anti-militarist trek crossing various European countries. But

this year it was an encampment from September 22 through October 2, focusing solely on the Brussels arms show. Demonstrators totaling some 250 people came to the camp from West Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Britain, Spain, France and the US.

The three-day ENS exhibit is also a yearly affair, providing various international companies which make electronic weapons and/or components a forum to

peddle their modern nightmares to prospective buyers, particularly those of the Third World. In Chicago, Illinois and Wiesbaden and Hanover, Germany, previous demonstrations against this exposition have resulted in local resolutions being passed barring the exhibit from returning.

However, the mayor of Brussels, a city that fancies itself the "capital" of Europe, seemed very interested in hosting this expo and announced that absolutely no interference with the ENS would be tolerated. It should be noted that Belgium does not have a "liberal" political tradition of allowing even symbolic dissent, unless it is registered through the proper channels.

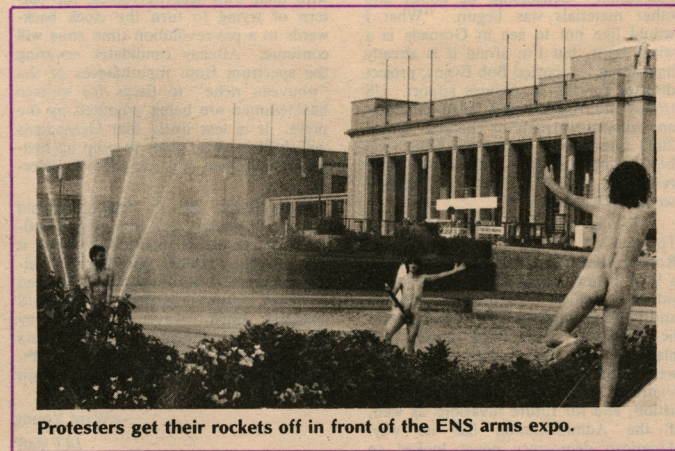
This chilly political climate became apparent as soon as the camp began to set up. The Rijkswacht (the Belgian state / military police) tried, unsuccessfully, to get the sympathetic camp manager to tip them off about planned activities. Furthermore, they demanded, with the threat of deportation, that all camp participants supply them with their name, address, date and place of birth, occupation and passport number.

The budding camp had to deal with its first major crisis -- to cooperate or not, and how? After heated deliberations in affinity groups and speakers councils, it was decided that the focus of our opposition should remain the ENS

expo rather than the question of our identity and that we would partially give in to the police demand. However, every individual was left to choose whether to give this information or not, with a request that those who could "safely" give it, do so to protect those who couldn't. A number of people abstained from giving any information and many others chose a creative response, for instance, supplying the correct information amidst paragraphs of irrelevant data, in their own language written in concentric circles on toilet paper tubes.

More blatant police repression took place near the Heysel (the huge expo center of which ENS was one part). Individuals, particularly those with cameras, were selectively arrested and held for five hours for merely walking on public sidewalks near the outer security cordon that the police maintained around the complex of buildings. Even before the actual demonstrations began, as many as 30 people a day had been arrested for such "offenses."

When the ENS officially opened on Tuesday, September 27, a group of 14 Dutch protesters gained entrance into the exhibit using security passes obtained by requesting them for phony corporations. Inside they unfurled protest banners, chanted and were subsequently arrested and deported. Later in



Protesters get their rockets off in front of the ENS arms expo.



# mans turn out against Euromissiles



photos by Gary Roush

In Hamburg, West Germany, the day began with a two hour naval blockade of the Elbe River, near the city's sprawling port complex. About forty boats participated, ranging from fishing boats and sailboats to a rowing

s of the sur-  
y people cut  
barbed wire.

team in a canoe. The boats merrily criss-crossed the Elbe, creating a situation that was too dangerous for any sea-going vessel to pass.

The highlight of the blockade was a huge, papier-mache Neptune that was towed around holding a large broken missile, and who occasionally belched forth flames. Later Neptune was hoisted by a crowd of thirty or more people to

join the massive, land-based demonstration beginning to form at various points in Hamburg.

By mid-afternoon the many groups, banners flying, had converged on the old Rathaus (City Hall), 400,000 strong. There the crowd jammed into the square and adjoining streets to hear an array of typically boring speakers for a few hours.

By dusk most of the crowd had gone home, but approximately 6,000 reassembled for a planned blockade of the Springer press building. Axel Springer is the much despised newspaper tycoon who publishes *Bild*, unfortunately the largest selling paper in West Germany. *Bild* is a kind of mutant cross between the *National Enquirer* and *USA Today*, maintaining a consistently reactionary view and concentrating the attention of its readers on accidents, sex scandals and sometimes completely fabricated scare stories about the terrorist left from Mars. The blockade of *Bild* was to demonstrate the resistance to the ideological front against the disarmament movement.

Springer blockaders divided themselves into 10 groups, each of which tried to blockade an access road to the paper's printing plants. As the police had cordoned off the immediate area around Springer Haus as expected, the blockade aimed at stopping *Bild*'s delivery trucks from reaching their routes.

Here there was a noticable tension between the advocates of total non-violence and the "autonomous" tendencies. The larger body of people who were nonviolent attempted to blockade by sitting down in the street and holding their ground when the police came. At some points this resistance succeeded. But police had been probing for weak links and at 8:30 pm broke through two points, using water cannons and clubs to clear a path for the *Bild* trucks.

The autonomes used hit and run tactics in small groups, for instance, dumping glass recycling containers over, in hopes that the glass fragments would form effective barricades. It was reported that a car was burned as a barricade and that various street fights between police and autonomes occurred that evening after the blockade. Later that night police ran to their cars and busses, and surreally paraded in formation around downtown Hamburg, blue lights flashing in the night, in an apparent show of the force of the state.

-- Gary Roush



At Bremen-Haven, police equipment included water cannons capable of breaking ribs.



Blockaders at the base come prepared for clubs and water cannons.

## Brussels electronic war fair

the day, local Belgians staged a legal march and rally to the Heysel, in which the camp joined. Over 1000 people attended, including a contingent of "50+" year old people from the Netherlands. The climax of this event was a street theatre play "The International Arms Race" in which contestants from the nuclear countries ran, in slow

motion, through a humorous history of the arms race.

On Wednesday morning, in keeping with a plan to escalate tactics as the week went on, a well-rehearsed "human carpet" was laid down before the police barricades at one of the many entrances to the exhibit. But this attempted

blockade failed. The police merely rerouted the exhibitors to another entrance, while for half an hour the human carpets were left cold and bored on a street out of public view. Suddenly the police rushed out to pull apart the human threads, arresting even those who attempted to leave.

The 130 arrestees were detained that day in a police horse stable. When another group went to the stable to protest the arrests, they too were arrested.

The Rijkswacht seemed determined to let no sign of protest be seen in Brussels, arresting that day, among others, a group preparing to perform street theatre in the city. By day's end only a handful of free but depressed people were left in the camp to plan the next day's actions. However, at nightfall, the police began to release everyone, and spirits rose as the camp refilled.

Thursday morning found many people dismayed at having spent all the previous day in jail for what now seemed to be a futile act. To hasten the decision-making on what to do next, a "fish-bowl" meeting was held where a delegated speakers council was surrounded by all the members of the camp in their affinity groups. Two main tendencies were voiced for that day's action: one was to hold one large demo in downtown Brussels, the other, for each affinity group to go off and do their own

thing. The debate centered around which form of action would be most effective before getting arrested again. Out of this discussion a creative consensus was reached -- small groups would all plan and execute their own actions, but most would plan them to occur at approximately the same time, 5 pm, and within the same crowded few block area of downtown Brussels.

There were three exceptions to this general plan. One group went at noon to have a silent vigil in the city. As they were arrested, the dumbfounded spectators chanted "Gestapo!" at the police, and many took up the signs of those arrested and continued the vigil themselves. Two other groups of three each dressed up and gained entrance to the expo using more of the illicitly obtained security passes. Inside, one group splattered themselves with blood and "died." Afterwards, the other group that had infiltrated began to take rifles from an exhibit and noisily throw them into the trash. A third small group of four created a spectacle outside the Heysel. As they were being driven in a van past the police lines, they jumped out of the back, totally nude and carrying toy missiles, and ran into a huge water fountain in front of the Heysel. As a crowd of police, taxi drivers, photographers and even exhibitors gathered to watch, the



Protesters practice the "human carpet" blockade method at their camp.  
photos by Shendl Tuchman

continued on page 14



# Uranium, geopolitics and war in Chad

When great powers rattle swords at each other, people of color are the first to die. This is exactly what is happening in Chad, where a populist revolt has been stymied by foreign states taking advantage of regional and ethnic differences to promote their own ends. In so doing, they have created an ungovernable country engulfed in a war without end.

Beneath the surface complexity, there are actually only three major political forces in Chad. They are:

**The northern livestock herders.** These Islamic blacks inhabit a huge, sparsely populated area where they live mainly by raising livestock, but also practice agriculture. Historically, northern Chad was never completely penetrated by the French, who were more interested in the richer south. After independence, southern politicians dominated Chad. In the sixties their oppressive policies sparked the FROLINAT uprising in the north. FROLINAT (The Chad National Liberation Front) was a broad coalition espousing a vaguely defined anti-imperialist, socialist program.

**The southern peasants.** The southerners live in a wetter area more suited to farming. They have had more contact with French culture, Christianity and the colonial administration. However, most southerners are miserably poor, just like the northerners. Under the French, they were forced to cultivate cotton. This coercion continued unofficially after independence in 1960. Obligatory cotton culture has had a disastrous effect on both the land and the people, who are paid very little for the cotton they grow and are prevented from carrying on their traditional subsistence agriculture. The South was the stronghold of Chad's left-leaning independence movement, but the southern political clique that took power after independence did not represent southern interests any more than it did northern ones.

**Hissene Habre's Northern Armed Forces, (FAN),** which today constitute the national government in Ndjamen. The northern-dominated Habre government has no visible widespread support and today controls only Chad's urban centers. Habre himself has an opportunistic history in which he switched allegiances between left and right and between Libya and France several times. He also has a history of brutality. This is reflected in Amnesty International's charges in October that government troops have been massacring civilians outside of combat zones.

By 1981, it seemed as though the conflict in Chad was finally at an end, with all three groups represented in the Transitional Government of National Union (GUNT), led by FROLINAT's Goukouni Oueddei. When Habre and the FAN did break with the GUNT, the government, backed up by Libyan troops, forced them into exile in the Sudan. The foreign troop issue was then resolved when Goukouni ordered the Libyan army to leave Chad within 72 hours, which it did. The Chad govern-

ment then started to patch up its relations with France, and it seemed that peace really was at hand. However, Habre, with the help of massive American aid, staged a comeback and managed to overthrow the government, French guarantees and an African peacekeeping force stationed in Chad notwithstanding. Currently, Libyan supported GUNT troops are fighting in the North while allied guerillas have taken over much of the South.

The failure of the GUNT points up the important role three foreign nations have had in stirring up the Chad hornets' nest:

**1) Libya.** It is necessary to bear in mind that Libya is no military power and Khadafi no madman. Khadafi is a shrewd politician who doesn't play by Western powers' rules. Like most politicians, he also has an overblown sense of self-importance, aspiring as he does to unify North Africa under the banner of his version of Islam. Libya, meanwhile, is a nation of only three million people occupying an area three times the size of

## Khadafi is no madman, but rather a shrewd politician who doesn't play by Western powers' rules.

France. Its armed forces are only 65,000 strong and have their hands full guarding Libya's borders, especially with such hostile neighbors as Egypt and the Sudan.

Libya was hesitant about sending in troops during the latest fighting in Chad. It did so only after French and American aid had enabled Habre to turn the tide against the resurgent GUNT. Before that, the GUNT was quite capable of holding its own with only limited Libyan logistical aid. A majority of the GUNT, moreover, feared greater dependence on Libya.

Libya's major goal in Chad is to install a friendly government to protect its southern flank, but its habit of playing favorites among Chadian politicians makes this hard to achieve. Similarly, in one of Chad's many territorial disputes, Libya occupies the mineral-rich Aozou strip in the North. This occupation is opposed by every Chad faction and is an impediment to the extension of Libyan influence.

**2) France.** Once again French troops are in Chad to prop up a client regime, just as they have done almost continuously since Chad's "independence." This time there are a few new wrinkles. French president Mitterand claims France intervened only because the US pressured it to do so. If this is true, it is quite a damning admission of servility on France's part. However, Mitterand, the Socialist, also has an original justification for sending French troops to Chad. He claims these troops are not really protecting the Habre government,

but rather are peacekeeping forces whose mission is to defend law and order while the various Chadian political groups negotiate (with France serving as arbitrator, naturally.) Interestingly enough, the independent French left seems to have bought this argument. As long as the present shaky cease-fire and desultory talks continue, no protest of French

intervention is likely.

**3) United States.** The US is a latecomer to the Chad conflict. It apparently has two specific goals. One is to fill a gap in the chain of bases it needs for the Rapid Deployment Force. Chad's central position in North Africa has attracted the Americans in this regard just as it did

## If there really are large amounts of uranium in Chad, this alone would go far toward explaining Chad's attractiveness to foreigners.

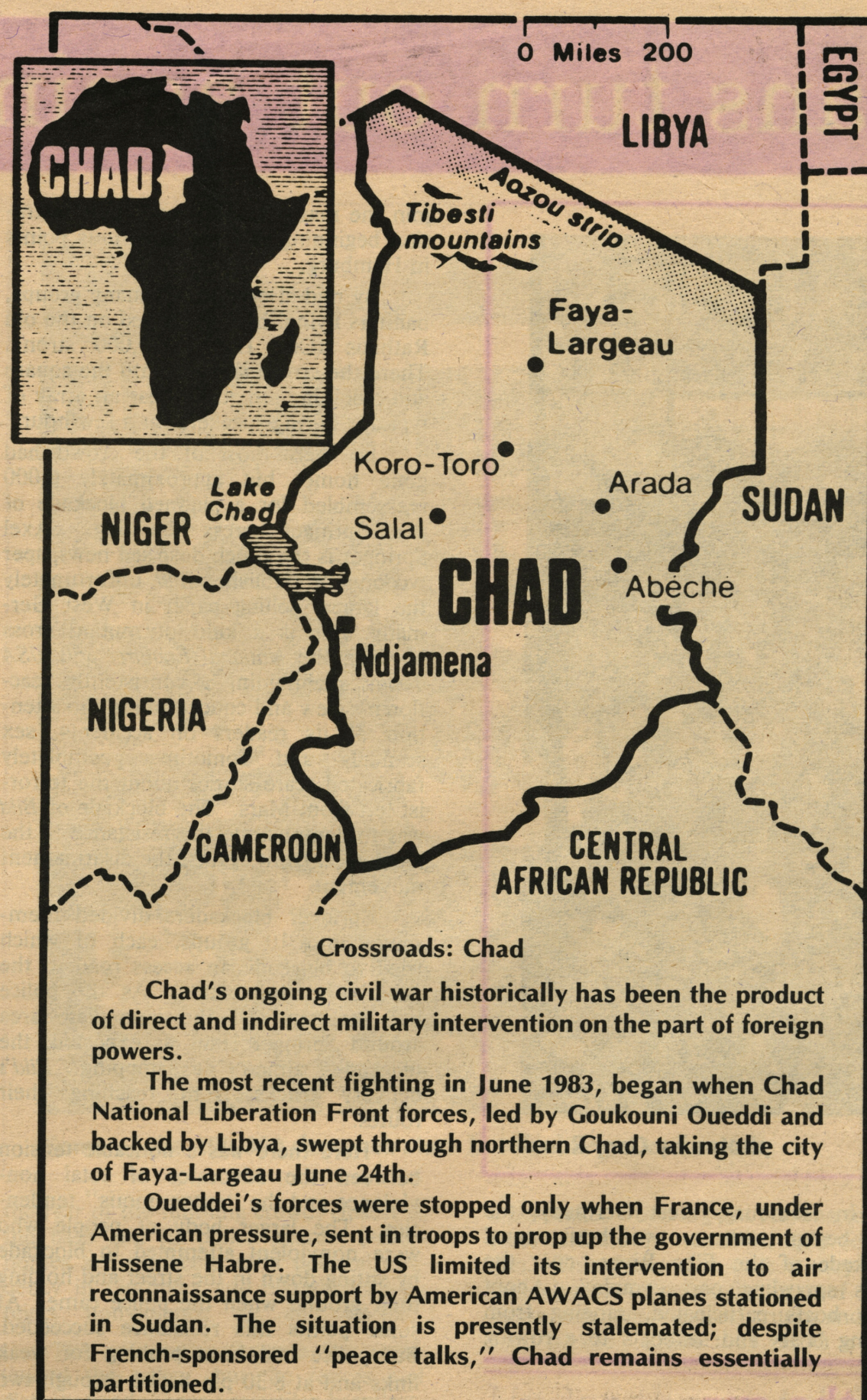
the French. The second goal is to further encircle Libya with hostile regimes. Beyond these aims is the general American desire to set up another strong man to "stabilize" the situation in Chad in a manner congenial to the Reagan administration. The importance of the Conoco oil fields in Chad should not be discounted, either.

Mention of Chad's oil fields, as well as of the Aozou strip, brings up an important point. So far, this discussion of foreign interest in Chad has been mainly geopolitical. However, if Chad were just a blank space in the middle of a gray area, it would not incite so much attention. Actually, just next door to Chad is Niger, a major source of uranium for France's large atomic energy program. Another neighbor, Nigeria, is an important US oil supplier.

Chad itself is known to have large deposits of oil and various minerals. What has caused the most talk are the rumors of significant uranium reserves, both in the southwest and north of Chad. Of course, the past 18 years of war have prevented any public survey to determine exactly the amount of uranium, oil or anything else Chad has.

If there really are large amounts of uranium in Chad, this alone would go far toward explaining Chad's attractiveness to foreigners. France and Libya in particular have a need for reliable sources of uranium. France imports two-thirds of the uranium it needs for its reactors and could certainly use an increase in the number of its suppliers. It would be ironic indeed if a program aimed at fostering energy independence is involving France in foreign adventures.

As for Libya, it has been trying to acquire nuclear weapons for some time now. For example, it was the financier behind Pakistan's so-called Islamic bomb



Chad's ongoing civil war historically has been the product of direct and indirect military intervention on the part of foreign powers.

The most recent fighting in June 1983, began when Chad National Liberation Front forces, led by Goukouni Oueddei and backed by Libya, swept through northern Chad, taking the city of Faya-Largeau June 24th.

Oueddei's forces were stopped only when France, under American pressure, sent in troops to prop up the government of Hissene Habre. The US limited its intervention to air reconnaissance support by American AWACS planes stationed in Sudan. The situation is presently stalemated; despite French-sponsored "peace talks," Chad remains essentially partitioned.



# Flight 007: License to die

In times of crisis, one thing is clear: The government lies. If it isn't believed, it lies again, this time with greater elaboration. The mass media, meanwhile, fall into line and echo the government's fabrications, often to the point of merely copying official press releases.

The shooting down of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 over Sakhalin Island is a case in point. The Reagan administration took advantage of this human tragedy to harden public opinion against Russian "barbarism" and promote the Reagan line all over the world, from Lebanon to Nicaragua, from the Euromissiles to the MX. Distortion of the incident even helped set the stage for seizing Grenada.

Actually, guilt is shared much more evenly by both superpowers. The northwest Pacific, where the airliner went astray, has been for years the site of a vast nuclear chess game between the US and the Soviet Union. To meet the threat posed here by the United

A more realistic version of what happened was available within two weeks of the downing. By that time all the relevant tape recordings of Russian and Japanese-KAL radio messages had been officially or surreptitiously released. An article based on these tapes appeared September 11 in the London newspaper *The Sunday Times*. The American news media paid little heed for almost another month. Finally, a US intelligence report repeating much of the same information was leaked to the *New York Times*, which published it October 7. The American government's reaction to the *New York Times* article was to refuse all comment on "an intelligence matter." Quite a contrast to its garrulous position right after the incident!

The truth is that the Russians never identified the airplane as a commercial airliner. During most of the 2 1/2 hours the plane was in their airspace, Soviet interceptors couldn't even find it in the sky, due to their limited range and poor

departure from the standard flight plan is pretty remote since it would require both gross human error and multiple mechanical failures. Moreover, the KAL pilot routinely reported that he was on the proper course. If he was flying through Soviet airspace intentionally, his motive might have been to save fuel or make up for lost time. Although the route 007 took after leaving Anchorage was the most direct one to Seoul, it obviously entailed unreasonable risk for such small gain.

There is considerable indirect evidence for the espionage theory. The airplane's course took it over major Soviet military installations and gave it a good vantage point for observing the missile test that night. There are also reports that Flight 007 originated at Andrews Air Force Base, where it could have been equipped with cameras before it reached New York, and was delayed at Anchorage, possibly for final adjustment of its reconnaissance equipment. Commercial airliners have indeed been used for reconnaissance purposes in the past. Korean Air Lines' known ties to both American and Korean intelligence services can only heighten these suspicions.

One unanswered question is the connection between the 007 incident and a similar one in 1978 involving another mysteriously "lost" KAL airliner that the Russians forced down near Murmansk. There's a curious pattern here, but one would never know it from the press, which has completely shielded KAL from attacks on its integrity -- just as it has in general failed to follow up any leads supporting the spy plane theory.

An even more important question is why US RC-135 spy planes never attempted to warn the airliner during the 2 1/2 hours it was in Soviet airspace. Reagan has implied that there was only one RC-135 in the area, and that it left

24-hour-a-day, 365-day-a-year coverage of sensitive and important target areas." They find the implication that there was no RC-135 in the area which could have warned the airliner as "unbelievable and contrary to National Security Agency policy."

An illustration of the intelligence plane's impressive capabilities is the fact that, during the Vietnam War, RC-135 crews transmitted real-time warnings to other US planes that they were being tracked by hostile radar -- often in time for the target plane to evade anti-aircraft missiles. If those warnings were given in seconds, it is hard to believe that KAL 007 could not have been warned in hours.

Eskelson and Bernard also point out that RC-135's can communicate instantly with officials at the highest level of government. A message intended for the President is required to be in his hands no more than ten minutes from the actual time of transmission. So there was plenty of time for the US to intervene if it had wanted to.

The fact that the US knows everything that goes on in the skies of eastern Siberia and yet did nothing to stop 007 from getting into deep trouble has fueled widespread speculation that perhaps nothing was amiss, that the airplane really was on its planned course.

The media's willingness to yield to the Reagan administration's version of events has left the public with little indication of why the Soviets believed that the plane, whatever its identity, was engaged in spying. The contempt the press heaped on the USSR stands in marked contrast to the treatment Israel received when it shot down a Libyan airliner that accidentally flew over the occupied Sinai in 1973. Although 110 people were killed, Israel suffered no sustained criticism.

## American RC-135 reconnaissance aircraft with large radar profiles like Flight 007's are always skirting Soviet territory on intelligence missions. In fact one had just done so that night.

States, Japan and China, the Soviets have deployed 108 SS-20 missiles, 2,000 airplanes, 85 large warships, and 125 submarines, including 25 with nuclear missiles. In addition, the Kamchatka Peninsula contains major missile test facilities and Vladivostok is the home port of the Soviet Union's Indian Ocean fleet.

For every move Moscow has made, Washington has made several counter-moves, giving it the potential to bottle up and destroy the Russian navy in the Seas of Okhotsk and Japan as well as to cripple the Soviet Air Force. These counter-moves include constant surveillance by American reconnaissance planes, ships and satellites. They may soon extend to stationing non-nuclear antiship cruise missiles in South Korea. To make matters worse, the Pentagon thinks of the USSR's forces in the northwest Pacific as so isolated and vulnerable that it is clearly considering this area as a place to mount a flanking attack, under the concept of "horizontal escalation," should a Russo-American conflict erupt elsewhere in the world.

Into this nightmare wandered Flight 007 and the 269 people aboard. The initial American reaction to the incident took no notice of the rising tension in this part of the world or the US responsibility for Soviet fears of uninvited foreigners. Instead, the USSR was denounced for cold-bloodedly shooting down a commercial airliner. The American story was replete with fake details calculated to create the impression that the Russian interceptor pilot identified the plane, but nevertheless was ordered from the ground to "take aim at the target" and "fire."

coordination with ground radar crews. It was nevertheless logical to conclude that a spy plane was involved. American RC-135 reconnaissance aircraft with large radar profiles like commercial jets are continuously skirting Soviet territory on intelligence missions, and occasionally purposely violate Soviet airspace in order to provoke a defensive response which can be analyzed by US strategists. That night, an RC-135 had just crossed the Korean airliner's flight path, heightening Soviet confusion. Furthermore, this wasn't just any night -- a major Soviet missile test had been scheduled.

When a Russian interceptor caught up at last with Flight 007, the pursuing pilot evidently was in a rush to keep the intruder from getting away; the difficult task of identifying an unfamiliar aircraft on a dark night was not his main concern. Then the Korean pilot did not respond to a radar-pulse request to communicate (there was no way he could since the two airplanes' radios work on different frequencies) or to warning shots. Instead, he tried to increase altitude. According to several observers, Russian pilots' standing orders in such circumstances are to shoot the plane down. That is just what happened, without further orders from the ground.

It is still impossible to say definitely why the airliner was so far off course. After all the millions of words the media have expended on this subject, however, the Russian explanation that the plane was on an espionage mission remains the most plausible one, even though the USSR has offered no hard evidence to back it up.

The possibility of an accidental

## During most of the 2½ hours the plane was in their airspace, Soviet interceptors couldn't find it in the sky.

before Flight 007 was shot down. Two former RC-135 crewmembers found Reagan's statements about the planes and their operating procedures so deceptive that they were moved to write a lengthy rebuttal for the *Denver Post*.

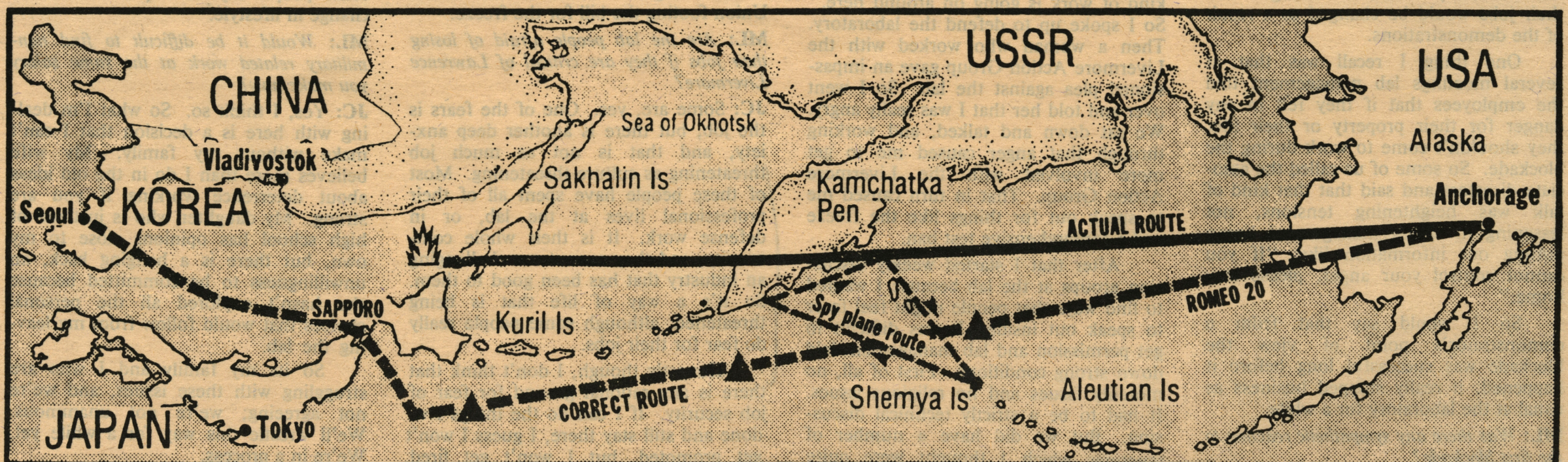
In the article, former Air Force communications intelligence specialists T. Edward Eskelson and Tom Bernard reveal that the RC-135 planes are far more than passive listening posts. In fact, the planes carry a crew of 30 and some of the most sophisticated electronics gear in existence, including electronic warfare equipment capable of jamming enemy radar and transmitters covering an extremely broad range of frequencies, including those used by commercial jets and ground controllers.

The former crewmembers say that each RC-135 can fly for 18 to 20 hours with a single midair refueling, and is relieved by another one as it is about to finish its mission, resulting in "routine,

Now that the media-government combo has done its damage and directed its attention to ensuing crises, we are left with the big moral and political questions to deal with on our own. It is of course absolutely indefensible for the Soviet Union to shoot down a nonattacking airplane, no matter what that plane's nature. But in the larger sense, the people on Flight 007 are symbolic of all humanity, caught between two rival elites so intent on preserving their own strategic positions that the human dimension is lost.

Flight 007 underscores the consequences of rule by amoral elites backed up by complaisant mass media. The implications for dissenters are grave indeed. We have to develop strategies and tactics that take into account the kind of force we are up against and that do not depend on establishment news to interpret them for the public.

-- David Gilden





## An interview with an LLL physicist

# The double life of Jim Campbell

As a physicist at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory in Northern California, Jim Campbell works on the development of anti-missile systems. Since the anti-nuclear blockades and demonstrations began at Livermore in 1982, however, he has become a critic of the arms race and an active supporter of the nuclear weapons freeze and the comprehensive test ban.

In this interview, Campbell discusses what it is like to work at the nation's largest nuclear weapons research facility, and how the scientists and workers have responded to the peace movement's, and his, objections to what the laboratory does. The interview was conducted for *IAT* by Matthew Lasar, a writer for the Berkeley newspaper *Grassroots*.

**Matthew Lasar:** Let's begin with the question many people in the peace movement frequently ask about the Lawrence Livermore Lab: How do its employees feel about the frequent protests and non-violent actions which have been taking place there for over a year?

**Jim Campbell:** The reaction to the first blockade of June 1982 was one of confusion and anger. It is important to understand the attitude the scientists and technicians at Lawrence Livermore have had since the 1950s. They feel they've been making a sacrifice. "We don't get paid as much as people in private industry," lab people sometimes say, "and we don't enjoy all the benefits, but we are doing something heroic, we are dedicating our lives to keeping the country free." They really see the Soviet Union as the preeminent threat to the world.

This attitude did a couple of things. It allowed us to work really hard on technology without lifting our heads to look at the bigger picture, and it also made a close-knit community of us. When the big disarmament protests in Europe and the United States began to get more publicity, we circled the wagons in a sense; we got very defensive. I hear

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**"The blockade was successful long before it happened; it really stopped business as usual at the laboratory for a while."**

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people at the lab now say: "Ten years ago we were heroes for what we do, now we're being called murderers." They've been cast in a totally different light by people they still believe they are protecting.

**ML:** Were lab people shocked by the first blockade?

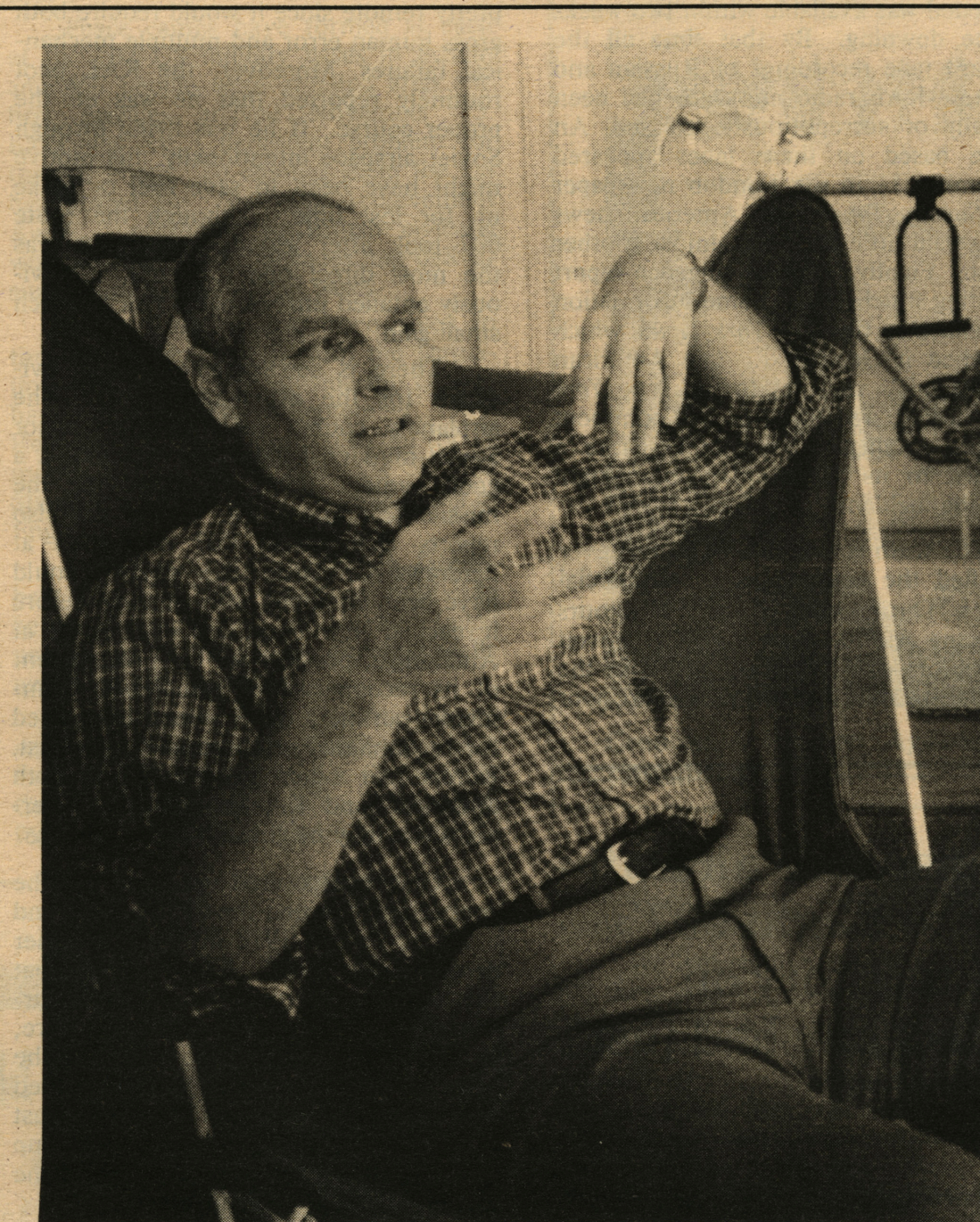
**JC:** During the demonstration on June 21, 1982 the official lab releases said that there was no interference in work and that everything was going as usual.

In fact, however, there was a great disruption of work. For weeks before the first blockade people were going to meetings to prepare for the event. They were talking about it; it was in the forefront of their minds. Individually there was a great deal of fear that somehow the laboratory would be changed and their jobs would be changed as a result of the demonstrations.

One thing I recall was that at several meetings lab management told the employees that if they felt in any danger for their property or their life, they shouldn't come to work during the blockade. So some of us called the associate directors and said that that kind of talk was heightening tensions, not lessening it. Then management began putting out information like: "If you cannot control your anger, please stay home."

So I would say that from a demonstrator's point of view the blockade was successful long before it happened; it really stopped business as usual at the laboratory for a while.

**ML:** Was there any sympathetic reaction to the first blockade?



Jim Campbell

photo by Matthew Lasar

**JC:** A few scientists at the lab have very strongly held opinions in favor of a test ban and restraints on nuclear weapons development. The most outspoken of these scientists is Hugh DeWitt. They were supportive of the action, but I think shied away from some of its

good.

**ML:** What has been lab management's reaction to the blockades? How have they handled the situation?

**JC:** On the one hand they have been very open with information. They have been holding what they call 'Brown Bag Dialogues' which are large discussions open to all employees.

On the other hand, lab management has interesting forms of intimidation. If I give a speech to Contra Costans for a Nuclear Free Future or some group like that, I will invariably get a xerox copy of the clipping either announcing my talk or reporting it. The clipping comes from the lab, and it will come to me with no signature, except that it has been routed to all the Associate Directors of the lab.

Another thing is that you get to know. The security guards photograph you. I joined a noontime religious exercise outside the lab put on by a church group, and coming back I was photographed just walking across the street in the lab. They do this for security reasons because they really, honestly believe the

And the lab directors are not stupid after all, to fire someone for their opinions would create a martyr -- and that would raise a real stink at the University of California, which oversees the lab.

**ML:** We've been talking mostly about the response to the blockade of June 1982. Was the reaction to the direct action which took place in June of this year similar or different?

**JC:** I think that attitudes have hardened at the lab this year. The reaction to this summer's blockade was very hostile and angry -- a lot of focus and press on how much money it cost to handle the protestors and how the county can't afford it. They are very angry about that, much more angry than they were last year.

Other scientists there genuinely fear that if the protests here and in Western Europe continue the Soviet Union will get the lead on the United States. You have to understand that to them there are really only two sides: east and west. There is no north and south, there is no poor and rich, there is only Russia and the US. And in this kind of football mentality the team with the most points at the end of the game wins and the other loses. If we're behind we lose. That's why the scientists there support Reagan and Weinberger, even though they think they're dummies technically.

Many lab people are just getting tired of being faced with the problems of the morality of what they're doing. The scientists there work maybe ten hours a day and then go home and work at the physics problems with their personal computers. The last thing they want is people from the outside coming into their community and challenging this. And I think this year they've started to realize that people at LAG and other antinuclear groups are not going to stop. So the attitude is very hostile, and may even get worse.

**ML:** You are critical of much of the work the lab does, yet continue to work there. How do you justify this?

**JC:** Sometimes not very well. One of the things that I tell myself is that I can do more inside the lab than I can outside. The movements outside the Pentagon and the laboratory are fairly well led by people like Daniel Ellsberg and others. But inside the lab these people are considered to be traitors and are not believed. People will listen to me at the laboratory -- not everyone, but some, and I think the pressure needs to be kept up from inside. Furthermore, I know that if I left, someone else would take my place, and I would rather be doing my job than someone less dovish.

Then, very honestly, there is an economic issue. I have a certain lifestyle: kids in college and other commitments. I can't meet these commitments unless I'm working. The pay is pretty good at the laboratory, despite what

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**"They really believe the *Reader's Digest* stuff about the Soviet Union footing the bill for the freeze."**

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*Reader's Digest* stuff about the Soviet Union footing the bill for the freeze.

**ML:** Are the lab people afraid of losing their jobs if they are critical of Lawrence Livermore?

**JC:** Some are, yes. One of the fears is the job, but there is another deep anxiety, and that is not as much job threatening as culture threatening. Most of these people have spent all of their professional lives at the lab, or in defense work. It is their whole community, and they cannot see challenging an industry that has been good to them. So it's a way of life that is being threatened, although some people really do fear for their jobs.

Honestly though, I don't think that there is any rational ground for fear of job security. If I can do the things I've done and still stay there, I guess I won't get promoted, but I won't get fired.

some people say. If I quit it means a change in lifestyle.

**ML:** Would it be difficult to find non-military related work at the same salary you make now?

**JC:** Yes, I think so. So what I'm dealing with here is a decision that I can't make without my family. My wife believes more than I do in the old ideas about deterrence working if you are strong. My daughter who is just out of high school has opinions close to my own, but there is a hanging back, an unwillingness to be committed because she hasn't explored all the personal choices that would follow from my leaving the lab.

So its my family and I who are struggling with these issues, and we're not agreeing; we're not unanimous. We'll wrestle this way for a while yet. We're in a process.



## Actions in San Francisco's financial district

# Bringing the war home

On the morning of October 24, a funky old television set appeared atop a newsstand in the San Francisco financial district. Painted on the screen was a mushroom cloud and the message: **WORLD WAR III WILL NOT BE TELEVISED.** That TV and others which popped up in prime downtown spots were the first hints of things to come.

Beginning in the pre-dawn hours, independent groups of antinuclear activists began actions focussed against the deployment of Cruise and Pershing missiles in Europe and San Francisco's corporate connection to the nuclear arms industry. Many workers were leafletted on their way to work, and others arrived to find their company buildings spray-painted with pointed graffiti such as **NUCLEAR WEAPONS CONTRACTOR.** By the end of the afternoon, there were probably very few downtown workers who hadn't felt the presence of the demonstrators in one way or another.

Late in the morning, hundreds of people gathered at the foot of Market Street to begin guided tours of San Francisco's "Hall of Shame," complete with presentations in front of the offices of corporations in the nuclear weapons business. At General Electric, the Commie Dupes affinity group set up a table which passed out information on the deadly GE products you don't see advertised on TV, along with "Cruise-baguettes" bearing the company slogan "We bring good things to life."

During noon-hour traffic, activists from the affinity groups Change and the Gruesome Rebels (a.k.a. "Domestic

Terrorists,") along with a number of independents, tied traffic up in knots by staging die-ins in a series of crucial intersections. As police arrived at each location and asked them to leave, they did -- avoiding arrest -- and promptly repeated their action in another spot.

In addition to visiting their "favorite" corporations, many other groups paid calls on the Federal Building, the German Consulate, and other governmental offices. Their tactics of protest included blockades, door-chaining, street theater, and die-ins. By the end of the day, 72 people had been arrested.

The October 24 protests shook up the streets of the financial district and excited and energized many of their participants. The spontaneous and autonomous quality of the actions, the general focus on education and disruption rather than on getting arrested, and the use of die-ins as opposed to more traditional blockade tactics all seemed to inspire activists to more of the same.

On December 2, a spontaneous die-in tied up traffic in the financial district again. Supporters leafletted the stalled cars with information about Cruise missile testing. Traffic was halted for 15 minutes, and there were no arrests since police couldn't get to the demonstrators through the traffic jam which the protest created.

The die-in-the-streets tactic has been used effectively in European demonstrations with thousands of participants. Hopefully, its use -- and that of other creative tactics -- will continue here on a larger and larger scale.

-- Rachel Johnson



photo by Rachel Johnson

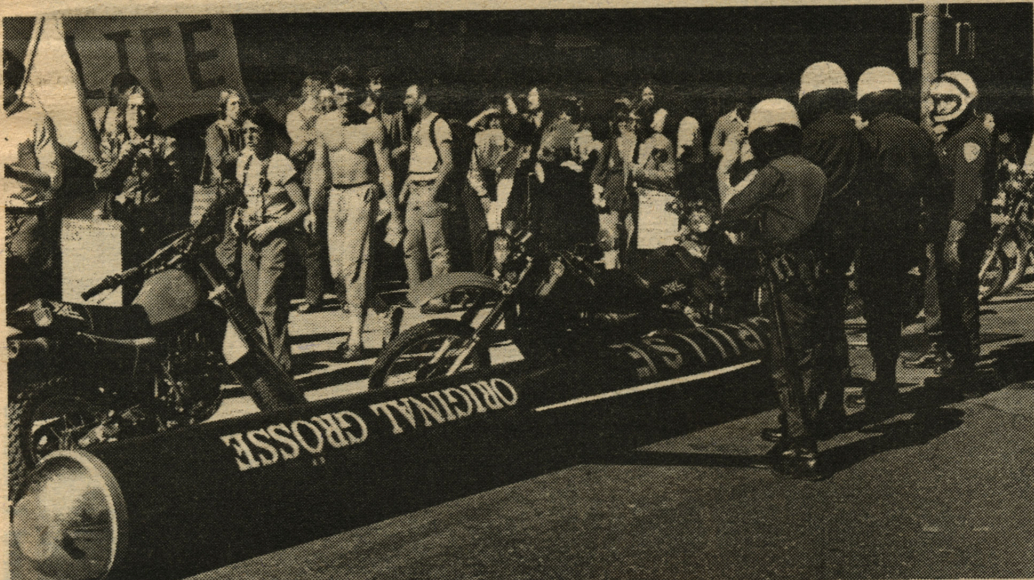


photo by Rachel Johnson

Police arrest a cruise missile.

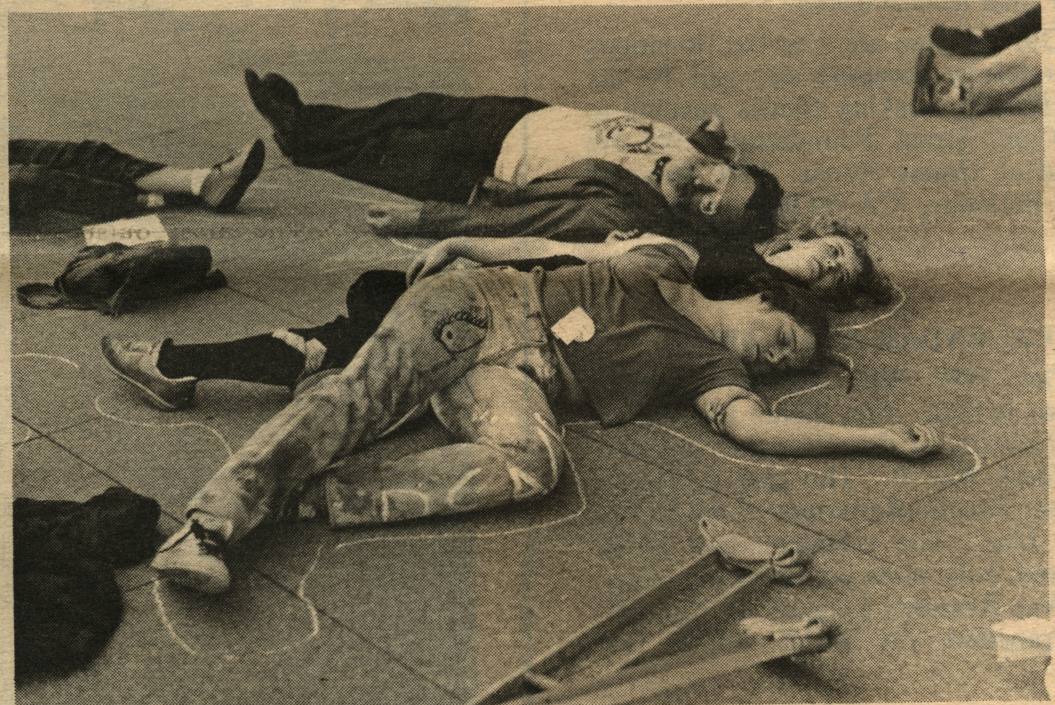


photo by Rachel Johnson

Dying-in downtown.

## Canada throws the book at peace "terrorists"

The pre-trial motions for the Vancouver Five, who face charges including the 1982 bombing of a cruise missile factory in Toronto, have entered their twelfth week.

Defense attorneys continue to deliberate over the admissibility of evidence obtained through wiretaps and surveillance, for this, the first of five lengthy and decisive trials. Almost a year after the arrests that led to over two dozen criminal and conspiracy charges, Julie Belmas, Jerry Hannah, Ann Hansen, Doug Stewart and Brent Taylor are still being held without bail in Oakalla prison.

Canadian authorities have accused the Five of nearly every unsolved "terrorist" act of the last two years. There are over 100 charges, many of them of the "conspiracy to" variety. Sandwiched between these and numerous robbery and weapons charges are accusations of firebombing pornography shops (for which an underground feminist group has already claimed responsibility), as well as sabotage of the British Columbia Hydro Donsmuir substation and the bombing of the Litton cruise missile factory some 3000 miles from Vancouver.

In April, Canadian officials announced their intention to proceed with "direct indictment." This is seen as an unprecedented move that has denied the defense the opportunity to determine if there was sufficient evi-

dence to justify a trial. The Attorney General also split the charges into four separate indictments, on the grounds of the "cost and inconvenience" of considering them together.

Supporters of the Five see this move to separate and postpone the clearly "political" charges from the other indictments as a method to erode support and encourage continued press harassment. Convictions on the weapons and robbery charges -- which will be pressed first -- would doubtless be trumpeted by the media as "proof" that the Five were merely common criminals, obscuring the highly political nature of the case and making further convictions more likely.

Following the arrest of the Five by a SWAT team on January 20, 1983, a well-fashioned "trial by media" was begun by Canadian officials. Disregarding a ban on the publication of evidence, a slick press conference was held the next day. A huge cache of weapons, supposedly the sophisticated hardware of the "terrorist group," was cheerfully presented to the news photographers for weekend editions in Toronto and Vancouver.

In the following days, the major news outlets continued such coverage, offering hysterical headlines, erroneous stories and sleazy caricatures of the

defendants. This reporting was denounced by the Law Union of British Columbia as "hysterical, pandering and irresponsible." Similar statements centering on the role of the police and mass media, as well as concern for the Five's right to a fair trial, have been issued by many other groups including the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, the Vancouver District and Labour Council and the British Columbia Federation of Women.

In April the defendants were charged with the October 17, 1982, bombing of a Litton Systems Ltd. plant, 3,000 miles away in Toronto. It is at this plant, operating with a subsidy from the Canadian government, that the "brains" for the cruise missile are produced. Taken together, the five trials that are scheduled mean that the Vancouver Five will remain in jail *unconvicted*, well into 1984.

Events from the trial by media were used by the Five and their attorneys at the onset of deliberations in September. Arguing that the sensationalist coverage will prevent the selection of an impartial jury, they asked that the case be dropped. Judge S. Martin Toy rejected this and other motions, though he granted the defense time to question prospective jurors for prejudice, a practice rarely granted in Canadian courts.

At this time pre-trial motions focus on the extent of RCMP involvement in the surveillance and arrest of the defendants. With a ban on the publication and discussion of the evidence, information on the role of the "Mounties" is difficult to obtain. Yet the court and interested observers are getting a look at the many ways Canadian police forces have kept tabs on the Vancouver political community in the 1980s.

The case of the Five has once again forced the movement to take sides on the issue of political violence. Some pacifists have denounced the Litton bombing, while others in the Cruise Missile Conversion Project gave qualified support, suggesting that the act was instrumental in bringing the issue before the public. Others defend the Five because they, the prisoners, represent the elements of a movement that sees itself under attack: radical ecologists, feminists, punks and anti-authoritarians.

In the coming weeks the peace movement will face new concerns as the Euromissiles are deployed. The trial of the Vancouver Five will continue, however, with support trying to mobilize and sustain itself over the coming months. The outcome may influence the political maneuverability that disarmament activists have in Canada during 1984.

-- David Pingitore



# Announcements

## IAT NEEDS YOU

Getting this newspaper out is often a struggle. We'd like to do a better job of distributing our free copies (that's how we get most of our subscribers) but, being volunteers, we just run out of time. We appreciate the folks who are already helping with the job, but we need a few more, especially outside of the SF/Berkeley area.

If you can put in a few hours a month putting IAT's around your community (or if each member of your affinity group can put in a few minutes), please let us know. All we need is a shipping address where someone is around during the day (for UPS) and how many copies you can handle.

We're also looking for a Bay Area affinity group who can prepare our UPS shipment of bulk copies. It would be a few hours of work for three or four people, once a month or less. No experience necessary. Please contact us at the address on the subscription blank.

## COMMUNITY DEFENSE, INC.

Community Defense is a collectively-oriented, nonprofit legal office. We provide legal support for nonviolent demonstrations promoting peace and justice. We can help with permits for street demonstrations, consensus-based jail work, criminal defense of demonstrators and advice to demonstrators who represent themselves in court. We operate by consensus and work closely with the Livermore Action Group Legal Collective. Get in touch with us if you need help and share our vision of the lawyer as skills-sharer rather than tactical leader.

Our services are free but donations are gratefully accepted and can be tax deductible by making checks payable to The Capp Street Foundation. We are located at Unitas House, 2700 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, CA 94704. (415) 644-2606.

## WRL CALENDAR AVAILABLE

The 1984 War Resisters League calendar is here. The theme this year is an oral history of American pacifists during World War II. The title is *Against the Tide: Pacifist Resistance in the Second World War*. The calendars cost \$5.00 each and bulk rates are available. Contact: War Resisters League, 85 Carl St., San Francisco, Ca 94117. (415) 731-1220.

## THE NUCLEAR BEAUTY PARLOR

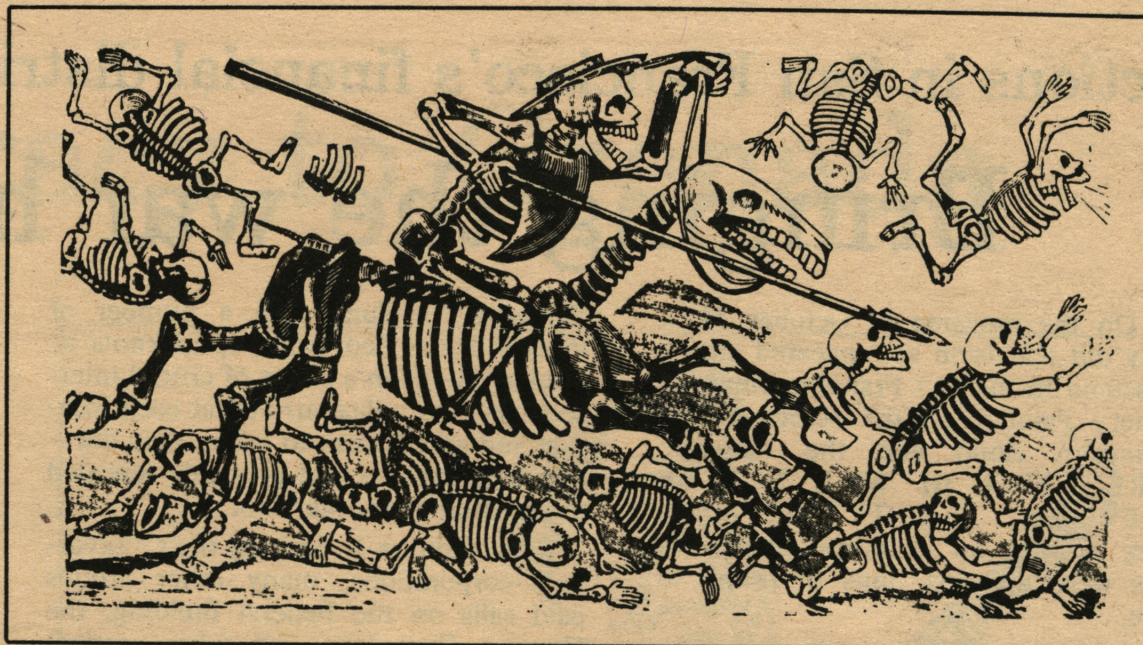
"The Nuclear Beauty Parlor" single record will be released in mid December and made available at major San Francisco record stores just in time for Christmas. The song is a project of the Nuclear Beauty Parlor affinity group, and the lyrics became familiar to many in Santa Rita Prison this summer. Lead vocals are provided by Re Styles, formerly of the Tubes.

## CRISIS INTERVENTION COLLECTIVE

The process of planning, organizing, coordinating and participating in a large-scale civil disobedient action is a stressful and trying experience as well as a rewarding and empowering one. To address the issues surrounding individual and affinity group / cluster / collective emotions, stress, "negative" feelings and possible conflicts, our collective has been formed. We endeavor to:

- (1) provide information to raise consciousness surrounding well-being and stress, accessible to AGs and collectives,
- (2) Provide access to a location during the action where people can find a quiet room, or attentive ear or massage,
- (3) Coordinate the various volunteer healers, counselors and massage-givers so that their accessibility and availability is widely known,
- (4) Enhance the civil disobedience and jail experience and
- (5) Channel severe crisis to the most appropriate community resources.

We need art materials, answering machine, massage table, furniture, albums with healing music, kitchen equipment and pillows. To volunteer time, money, ideas or resources contact: Bill at (707) 795-6371 or Diane at (805) 484-1198 or write the DPO, attn: Crisis Intervention Collective, 452 Higuera St., San Luis Obispo, CA 94301.



## The End of the World's Fair

Given that 1984 is shaping up to be one of the most dangerous years in history, the End of the World's Fair is an idea whose time has come. Rather than "another boring demonstration," the Fair is envisioned as a participatory event: outrageous, subversive and creative. It will take place in San Francisco in the spring.

The Fair will begin with a ritual of death, a long funeral parade snaking through the city. Participants will demonstrate their own interpretation of the end of the world through costume, songs dance, floats and chants. This attitude of death has less in common with immobilizing fear and horror than it does with laughing in its face, playing with it; more like the Mexican Dia de los Muertos than an Anglo-Saxon fun-

eral. It is an attitude of rage and defiance against the state of nuclear horror.

The Fair will be a celebration of life, not the half-life Reagan asks us to defend from the red hordes, but a life of creative expression denied to us in the work-a-day world. Poetry and music, theatre and dance, visual arts and manic laughter can be exchanged outside the strangling vise of cash-flow culture. After all, it is not just nuclear war that menaces what is left of life, but the whole structure of modern society.

An organizing group has formed and is seeking to work with all interested people. For info write: End of the World's Fair, 2440 16th St., Box 152, San Francisco, CA 94103.



Contra Costa Sheriff's boat stops another Port Chicago sea blockade on October 13. The SS Elizabeth Lykes was bound for El Salvador with a cargo of bombs and munitions.

photo courtesy Oakland Tribune

## Brussels electronic war fair

continued from page 9

demonstrators pranced about playing soldiers, making like heroic statues, fondling the phallic missiles, etc. Finally, as police were ordered to roll up their pant legs, the four emerged to be arrested, knowing they had the last laugh.

Meanwhile, downtown Brussels was beginning to erupt. One group called in phony reports to the police of demonstrations supposedly occurring throughout Brussels, and in all directions one could hear the sirens of the Rijkswacht chasing after these phantoms. The centerpiece of the real demonstrating was a die-in, complete with blood-covered nude "corpses," held in front of the Palace Hotel, where many ENS exhibitors were lodged. When the riot-gear police arrived, tensions mounted as they hauled away the corpses and began to arrest their support groups, as crowds of shoppers formed to watch. A group of Spanish demonstrators sporting placards, who had managed to get onto a 15 foot

ledge across the busy street from the die-in, burst forth into lively song. The police, in Keystone Copesque style, seemed to forget the hotel demonstrators and ran across to try to halt the singing. Even after they managed to get up on the ledge, they had a difficult time figuring out how to get the incessantly singing Spaniards down, much to the amusement of the large crowd below.

As many of the shoppers who had just witnessed these bizarre events strolled off, they were again confronted by police vans, sirens wailing, zooming down pedestrian shopping streets to arrest various street theater groups performing there.

By 6 pm, most people had once again been arrested, but this time more on their own terms. As people were released that evening, the camp erupted into a roaring international party, with participants merrily swapping stories of the day's adventures.

-- Shendl Tuchman



Perplexed Rijkswacht officers contemplate how to remove singing Spaniards from their lofty perch.

photo by Shendl Tuchman



# Calendar

**December 17:** Noon to midnight dance-a-thon sponsored by the Livermore Action Group. Live music at The Farm, 1499 Potrero, SF. Pledge forms available at the LAG office at (415) 644-3031. \$3-\$5. Loads of fun.

"Land and Sea Are Our Responsibility," program on nuclear threat presented by Bay Area Asians for Nuclear Disarmament, American Indian Movement, US Nuclear-Free Pacific. Cultural performances by Asian-Americans and Native Americans. 7 pm, Berkeley United Methodist Church, 117 Carleton St. Berkeley. Call Michael, AIM, (415) 441-7841 or Lyle 561-8297.

**December 22:** Anti-nuclear rock concert at the Chi-Chi Club on Broadway, SF. Featuring "Mercury" and "The Combo," 9 pm. \$3 (group discounts avail.) (415) 431-4893.

**December 24:** Circle of Concern: A Silent Vigil Around the University of California, Berkeley campus, 1:30-2:30 to protest UC's management of the weapons labs. Info: (415) 841-0881.

**December 28:** Blockades at Bitburg and Mutlangen, West Germany: House Party and Discussion with War Resisters League activists who participated in the Green Party actions of September. 7:30 at 1521 8th Ave. SF. (415) 731-1220.

**January 1-2:** "Nonviolence and Third

World Strategies," a two-day workshop with Francisco Claver, bishop of Mandalay, Philippines. Info: Resource Center for Nonviolence, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz. 423-1626.

**January 7:** War Tax Resistance Workshop from 10 am-2 pm at Berkwood Hedge School, 1809 Bancroft, Berkeley. \$5 preregistration. Childcare avail. Info. (415) 843-9877.

**January 11:** Volunteer Night for Disarmament Resource Center, come learn about our committees and how you can become involved! 7 pm. at Austin-MacCormick House, 1251 Second Avenue, SF. Refreshments. (415) 495-0526.

**January 12:** War Tax Resistance Support Group Meeting and Potluck. 6:30 pm at 947 Page, SF. (415) 843-9877.

**January 16:** "Where Are We in the Talks: A Summary of Arms Negotiations to Date," a peace and security forum with Richard Smoke of PACS. 7:45 pm Fort Mason Conference Center, Bldg. A. \$2, \$1 for students. (415) 391-7996. Sponsored by the Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, Peace and Common Security, and the Physicians for Social Responsibility.

**January 20-22:** Mobilization for Survival National Conference. UC Berkeley campus. Preregistration is required. Info: (415) 644-3031.

## REMOVES UNWANTED HEAD & SHOULDERS



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# PAN: Poets Against Nukes

*Poetry is a weapon loaded with future.* —Gabriel Celaya

## VOCABULARY EXERCISE

by Michael Covino

1.

Pentagon officials have gone on the offensive against their critics in the State Department, arguing that the South African naval base at Simonstown — the only adequately equipped naval base in the Southern Hemisphere between South America and Australia — contributes directly to the protection of the strategic Cape of Good Hope which 2,270 oil tankers pass each month.

2.

Conservative forces in the Senate have been quick to remind the President of the strategic value of the Panama Canal whose 533 square-mile canal zone with its own U.S. schools, post offices, and courts, will soon be turned over to a government whose political—

3.

An overriding sense of trouble — a foreboding that Turkey may be heading into insurmountable difficulties — is gripping this strategically located country that anchors the southern flank of NATO and borders the Soviet—

4.

Shaba, whose rich deposits of copper, cobalt, and other minerals provide about 60 per cent of Zaire's foreign exchange, is threatened by Angolan-trained rebels harbored in the strategic border area of—

5.

The troubles in oil-rich South Yemen, which overlooks the strategic Babal Mandela Strait, the channel through which all Red Sea traffic must pass on its way to the Indian Ocean—

6.

Although Iceland has no army or navy, its strategic location along the major northern shipping lanes has made it a vital link in Western Europe's—

7.

The Azores, strategically situated in the North Atlantic, midway between the United States and Western—

8.

Japan, strategically located next to two giants — China and the USSR — is worried that—

9.

The strategic U.S. Navy base on Diego Garcia island in the Indian—

10.

The strategic hamlet of Tu Chung—

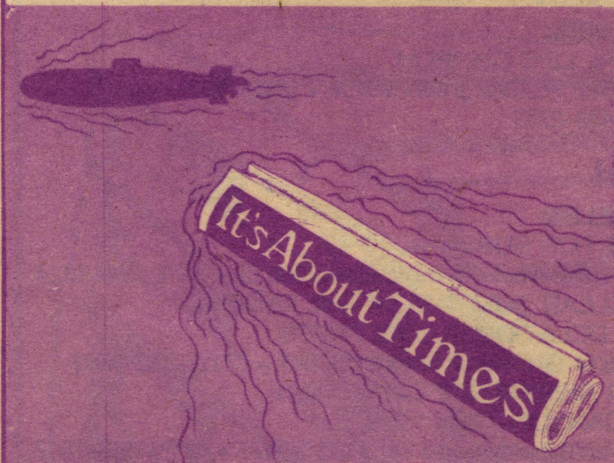
From Michael Covino's book *Unfree Associations*.

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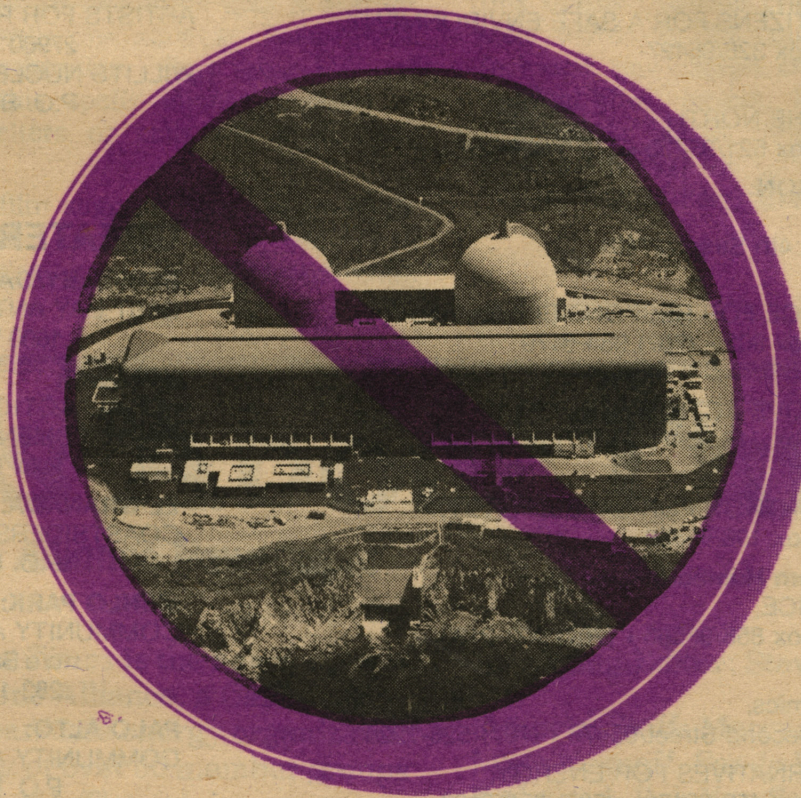
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## Fuel is loaded at Diablo

## The People's Emergency Response Plan Begins Friday, January 13th 1984



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