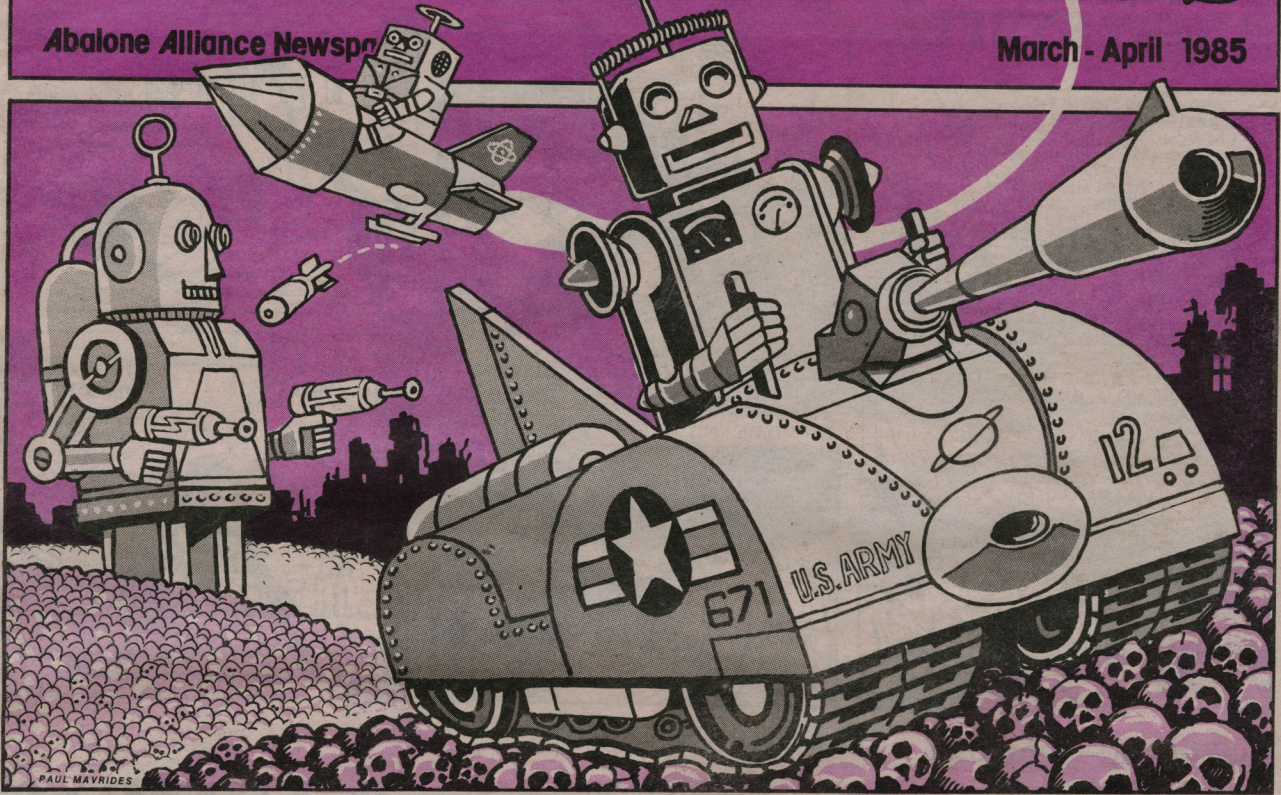


It's About Times

Abalone Alliance News

March - April 1985



Pentagon's latest toys—weapons that think

Modern weaponry could not exist without computers. In 1984, George Keyworth, President Reagan's science advisor, told Congress that "data processing is at the heart of MIRVs, data processing is at the heart of the cruise missile, data processing is at the heart of anti-missile systems." The list could have been much longer.

Not surprisingly, the Pentagon is moving to put data processing more firmly under its control. And it is doing so in the style to which it has become accustomed: telling tall tales and shelling out big bucks for science-fiction weapons that are unlikely ever to work, but that escalate the arms race anyway.

This time, the high-tech military men are proposing to build robot tanks, electronic assistants for jet pilots, and automated experts to help generals and admirals plot battle tactics. These new weapons will be made possible by artificial intelligence (known affectionately as "AI"), the software techniques touted as the way to make computers more flexible, more adaptable, more "expert."

The plans to build these intelligent weapons are part of a five-year, \$600-million program called the Strategic Computing Initiative (SCI). Announced by the Department of Defense's Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) in October 1983, SCI is nothing less grandiose than a plan for a whole new generation of computer hardware and software designed, fine-tuned, and harnessed for the military.

Among the fruits DARPA wishes to harvest from university and industry

The Pentagon is shelling out big bucks for "intelligent" weapons — robot tanks, electronic assistants for jet pilots, automated battle strategists. Though they'll probably never work, they'll escalate the arms race anyway.

computer laboratories are orders-of-magnitude increases in computing power and radiation-resistant chips — both within the realm of reasonable expectation. (Technically reasonable, that is. We can only hope that the vision that goes with it — robot warriors pressing the attack after the humans have been fried by a nuclear blast — is not realistic.)

Sticking to strictly technical terms, where DARPA gets carried away is in its five-year timetable for developing computers with "human-like, intelligent capabilities." We're not talking War Games here. DARPA is proposing to build computer systems that can understand and speak English, see and sense, and make quick decisions about fighting conventional battles and perhaps even about launching nuclear strikes.

These capabilities are well beyond those of today's computers — and of tomorrow's. The basic problems of artificial intelligence remain completely unresolved: whether the field will eventually flop or triumph is one of the most passionately debated questions in computer science. But even AI true believers have a hard time arguing that

DARPA's proposed applications are anything but absurd fantasies.

DARPA, since the 1950s the principal source of government funding for computer research, has always been a strong supporter of artificial intelligence. Until now the agency has tended to fund investigations that were both basic in nature and ambiguous in application. With SCI, it has shifted its focus to specific military projects.

The original version of SCI promised three computerized plums, a special one for each of the three big branches of the Armed Forces. Later, DARPA issued a statement to make it clear that each of the services will have access to all the new gadgets.

The first application described in the SCI report is the "autonomous land vehicle" — the robot tank. According to DARPA, it will be able to travel cross-country at speeds up to 60 kilometers per hour, comparing its stored knowledge of the terrain to the land-

marks and obstacles it "sees" as it travels, thus finding its way to a designated point 50 kilometers away.

DARPA suggests that robot tanks will be useful for missions that human soldiers might find dangerous to accept: reconnaissance, handling ammunition, and delivering weapons. Originally envisioned for the Army, the robot tank's vision systems and artificial intelligence could also be used for other autonomous devices, like underwater robots and future generations of cruise missiles.

The next proposal is for a "pilot's associate," described in the SCI report as a machine intelligence that "knows about the aircraft, the environment, and friendly and hostile forces. It will have instruction on advanced tactics from more experienced pilots and up-to-date intelligence information on enemy tactics to aid the less experienced pilot on his first day of combat."

The pilot's associate, says DARPA, will be able to understand spoken orders from his human (even in "the noisy, stressful cockpit environment") and speak to him in English (in "different speaker types and styles"). Each human pilot will "train" his own electronic helper.

The third SCI application is a "battle management system," originally proposed for the Navy. The commander of

can't p.6

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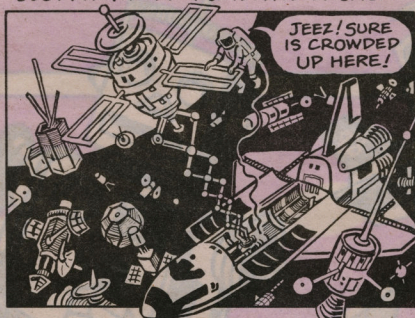
Cover-up Lowdown!

BY KINNEY & MAVRIDES

THE FAR RIGHT STUFF



WHAT'S THE STORY WITH THIS SECRET SPACE SHUTTLE MISSION, ANYWAY? JUST ANOTHER SPY SATELLITE LAUNCH?



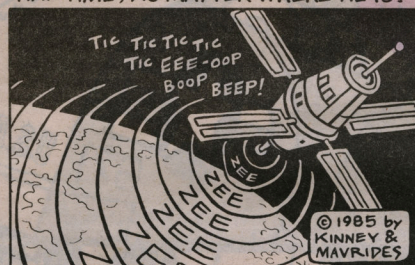
SOME KNOWLEDGEABLE SOURCES SAY IT'S A DIABOLICAL MILITARY WEAPON TO WAGE WEATHER WAR...



OTHER CRITICS SPECULATE IT MAY BE A HI-POWER PSYCHOTRONIC DEVICE TO BEAM SUBLIMINAL BROADCASTS AT THE SANDINISTAS...



HOWEVER, THE REAL OBJECTIVE OF THE SECRET MISSION WAS THE PLACING OF AN ORBITING SIGNAL-TIMER TO REMIND THE PRESIDENT OF HIS NAP-TIME, NO MATTER WHERE HE IS!



NOW THEN PREMIER, WHAT'S THIS ABOUT A RUNAWAY MISSILE?~ ZEE! SPUT-SPUTZZZZ~



Diablo and Humboldt

Something old, something new, PG&E's *#! you

While PG&E's Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant is down as much as it's up during the current testing phase, the utility's Humboldt Bay plant has been down but not out for almost a decade. And it may not be dismantled for another thirty years, if the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) approves the utility's plan.

Diablo has suffered a number of unplanned, automatic scrams — when the control rods are suddenly dropped into the reactor core, stopping the nuclear reaction — since it began generating electricity last November 11. Scrams cause a rapid drop in temperature which is hard on the reactor vessel and other parts of the plant, possibly shortening their lifetime.

The reactor was running at 75 percent power on February 17 when two feedwater pumps malfunctioned and the plant was shut down, this time manually. An expert from Westinghouse was flown in and took a week to find the problem. While the reactor was down, a water leak was discovered in the electrical generator's cooling system, also taking a week to find and fix.

On December 15 and again on January 7, two workers were contaminated by radiation. When PG&E claimed that one of the workers got a minor amount of radioactive water on his shoes and simply had to remove them to solve the problem, he reacted angrily. The company had actually made him strip and wash down, he said.

PG&E doesn't even have to report accidents to the NRC (and the public) where workers are contaminated by radiation as long as it's below a certain level

of exposure. Greg Cook of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission commented to the media that whenever Diablo is shut down for inspection and repairs, one should expect to see two or three people contaminated per day.

Part of the plant has even turned itself on accidentally! On January 30 an emergency diesel generator started up as workers were testing a system designed to protect bearings in the steam turbine.

Diablo has completed its testing at 75 percent power and could go to 100 percent power within several weeks. The plant must operate continuously at 100 percent power for 100 hours to be cleared for commercial operation.

The California Public Utilities Commission (PUC) will be holding public hearings in San Francisco on March 11-20 and in San Luis Obispo on March 21 and 22. Public testimony will be taken on these dates on what portion of Diablo's \$5.3 billion pricetag should be borne by ratepayers and what should be paid by PG&E stockholders.

Meanwhile, the Mothers for Peace and others are urging their local representatives to contact Rep. John Dingell, chair of the House Energy and Commerce Committee, to hold congressional hearings in San Luis Obispo on the illegal licensing of Diablo Canyon. Confidential transcripts from a closed-door NRC meeting leaked to the media on January 10 reveal that the commissioners allowed their concern for PG&E's profits to outweigh consideration of the public's health and safety. (See *IAT*, Jan — Feb 1985.)

PG&E's only other nuclear plant, at

Humboldt Bay, has been idle for nearly a decade and will sit dormant for another thirty years with its radioactive fuel inside, if the utility's plan is approved by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC).

Under the SAFSTOR plan, the plant would be placed in temporary storage until the year 2015, by which time the federal government is supposed to open a permanent dump site for commercial high-level spent fuel. Currently the Department of Energy disposes of wastes from military reactors only.

The Redwood Alliance is opposing PG&E's plan, arguing that holding tons of intensely radioactive spent fuel in one of the most seismically active regions in the country is an emergency because of the constant risk of accidents. Humboldt sits on several earthquake faults, is less than 500 feet from Humboldt Bay, a popular sport fishing area, and 40,000 people live within a 10-mile radius. In emergencies such as the accident at Three Mile Island, the DOE has allowed commercial wastes to be taken to the military reservation at Hanford, Washington.

On January 16, the Arcata City

Council unanimously passed a resolution drafted by the Redwood Alliance urging state and federal authorities to immediately dismantle the plant and dispose of its radioactive wastes. The NRC's first public hearing on decommissioning Humboldt took place on December 4 and drew over 200 people, most of whom want the plant dismantled immediately.

The NRC will release a draft Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) on decommissioning procedures at the end of March followed by a 45-day comment period and a final EIS in July.

PG&E's plan to decommission the 63-megawatt plant has raised many problems:

- The NRC staff has posed 92 questions to PG&E, including what would happen if an earthquake caused a surface rupture at the plant, the danger of tidal waves and the adequacy of the company's radiation monitoring program.
- An NRC advisory committee consultant was concerned that PG&E personnel might use contaminated hardware from

cont p.13

It's About Times

Abalone Alliance Newspaper

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ANZUS alliance shaken

New Zealand bans US nuclear ships

When the US, ignoring New Zealand's ban on nuclear-powered and nuclear-armed ships, presented in January a schedule of calls the American Navy planned to make at the country's ports this year, Prime Minister David Lange stood firm. The squabble which resulted showed that this was no ordinary diplomatic disagreement.

The US State Department responded that the ban effectively locked out all US naval vessels, since the US refuses to confirm or deny the presence of nuclear weapons on any ship. Therefore, the US said, the ban threatened the survival of the entire Australian / New Zealand / United States defense alliance (ANZUS).

Since Lange's Labor Party took power last July, the ban has been an official part of New Zealand's overall effort to establish itself as a nuclear-free country. For six months the US kept its warships away to give the new government time to reconsider. But the Labor Party, while wishing to remain a part of ANZUS, has stuck by the portcall ban.

New Zealand's position has started a new round of nightmares for US military strategists. They fear that other countries with nuclear-free zone movements in the Asia-Pacific region and Europe may catch New Zealand's "nuclear allergy," wreaking havoc on other major US alliances.

A turning point for ANZUS

Forged from the strategic relationships of World War II and signed in 1951, ANZUS soon became the cornerstone of Western defense strategy in the region. Together, the three nations have shared responsibility for watching international shipping lanes between the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific, monitoring Soviet naval presence, and defending the region's many smaller island nations.

For Washington, New Zealand's decision to ban warships could not have come at a worse time. The importance of ANZUS has risen over the last decade, with the development of the Soviets' Cam Ranh Bay naval base in Vietnam to serve the USSR's growing fleet of submarines. Despite US superiority in air, naval and nuclear weapon technology, Washington continues to push the specter of the "shifting balance of power in the Pacific." But the US rallying cry to its Asia-Pacific allies for moral as well as tactical support for a massive weapons buildup in the region has fallen on deaf ears in New Zealand.

In a recent speech before the United Nations, Prime Minister Lange explained that New Zealand's primary concern lies in stopping the arms race, not supporting it. New Zealanders, Lange told the UN, hope their antinuclear stand will be viewed internationally as a contribution to peace and disarmament.

Other nations in the South Pacific share New Zealand's views. Fourteen member countries of the South Pacific Forum, including Australia, New Zealand, Fiji and other island nations, are now drafting a declaration that bans the testing, storage and dumping of nuclear materials throughout the region. The draft declaration allows member nations to make their own decisions regarding portcalls. Several nations, such as Fiji and the Solomon Islands, have instituted the ban in the past, but New Zealand and Vanuatu (formerly New Hebrides) are the only ones that have a portcall ban today. While the bans in the smaller Pacific nations do not hamper US defense in the region, they undermine the US image in the area and encourage other nations to take similar actions.

Antinuclear domino theory

The principal concern of the US defense strategists is that Australia may follow New Zealand's lead. Australia's Labor Party came to power five years ago on an antinuclear platform that called for a ban on visits by nuclear warships. Since then, under Prime Minister Bob Hawke, the Labor government has reversed its position, emerging as a



The Auckland Peace Squadron blockaded the nuclear sub USS Pinado in 1979. The New Zealand antinuclear movement has a twenty-year history of resistance.

strong supporter of Western nuclear deterrence in the Pacific.

Hawke has also backed the upgrading of Pine Gap, a US facility in central Australia which monitors Soviet and Chinese missile launches, eavesdrops on communications from the USSR and Asia, and transmits covert CIA communications. A new antenna was recently installed at the base, according to the Melbourne newspaper *The Age*, which will be used to receive transmissions from the new spy satellite launched by the space shuttle Discovery.

But Australia's antinuclear movement is far from dormant. Last December's national elections saw a

New Zealand's lead, the US could have serious problems. Japan, which the US has been urging to take a bigger role in regional defense, maintains a national ban on nuclear weapons but officially ignores the presence of such weapons aboard US warships docked there. NATO allies Denmark and Norway ban nuclear weapons during peacetime, but, despite periodic protests, still allow portcalls by US naval ships.

In an effort to discourage a domino effect, the US has moved quickly to show New Zealand and the rest of the world that it won't tolerate upstart behavior. In February, it cancelled all joint military exercises with New Zea-

The US fears that other countries in Asia-Pacific and Europe may catch New Zealand's "nuclear allergy," wreaking havoc on other major alliances.

strong showing by the new Disarmament Labor Party, a left split from the official Labor Party, whose goals are to keep all nuclear-powered and nuclear-armed ships out of Australian ports, close down all foreign military bases, and stop the mining and export of uranium. The DLP garnered an estimated 4 to 7 percent of the vote in the election — a significant total in a nation where contests are decided by swings of a percent or two.

Yielding to public pressure on the nuclear issue, Prime Minister Hawke was recently forced to deny Australian assistance with the MX missile test scheduled for later this year. Launched from Vandenberg Air Force Base in southern California some 7800 miles away, the MX is targeted for the Tasman Sea between Australia and New Zealand. US Air Force reconnaissance planes will monitor the missile's accuracy, but will not be permitted access to Australian ground facilities for refueling and other support during the mission.

Because Washington regards Australia's role in ANZUS as far more critical than New Zealand's, it complied with the request rather than stir up a second South Pacific controversy. Larger in size and closer to the communications, shipping and potential crisis areas in the Pacific, Australia not only hosts the Pine Gap base, but also other US installations such as defense communication facilities at Nurragar and the Northwest cape and NASA-run tracking facilities for satellites in deep space. The US also has the use of ports and airfields around the continent.

Should other nations with antinuclear sentiments in Asia and Europe take

land. Prime Minister Lange responded to the cancellation by saying that such actions would only hurt the US. "If the United States diminishes defense cooperation under ANZUS, this will in turn diminish our capacity to go on playing a role in Southeast Asia and the South Pacific," he said, calling New Zealand's role "a contribution to the safeguarding of the US and Western security as a whole."

Some members of Congress are pushing for economic sanctions against New Zealand. On February 6, William Cohn, Republican Senator from Maine, introduced a resolution that would penalize New Zealand export industries. "We have to send a message to New Zealand," Cohn said, "that if it takes unilateral action under the Treaty, then it has to pay the consequences." Because the US is New Zealand's major export market for beef, wool and dairy products, a reduction in trade would damage an already shaky economy that experienced a 20 percent currency devaluation in the last year.

Twenty years of protest

But the country's antinuclear sentiment is too deep to be dislodged by economic pressures. Helen Clark, a member of New Zealand's Parliament, pointed out on a recent US visit that the Labor Party's current stance is "more than a whim or a fantasy. It's not just a question of changing around a people who have just become antinuclear. You're actually struggling against 20 years of solid building up of the antinuclear movement in New Zealand."

In the 1960s, France's atmospheric tests of nuclear weapons in French

Polynesia spurred strong protests in New Zealand. In 1973, one year after the Labor Party was elected, New Zealand sent a frigate to the French test site in Tahiti "to make it absolutely clear that New Zealand won't sit by and let it go on," said Clark. New Zealand later took its protests to the International Court of Justice in The Hague. The Court ruled in New Zealand's favor, demanding that France halt the tests. France retorted that the court had no jurisdiction over "national security" matters.

New Zealand also took its antinuclear case to the United Nations in 1975, introducing a resolution to the General Assembly (which Australia voted for) codifying a formal definition of an internationally recognized Nuclear Weapons Free Zone. The resolution passed, but the issue was shelved in New Zealand when the Labor Party was voted out of office in 1976. In the 1970s, the Labor Party also banned foreign vessels that were carrying nuclear weapons. No US warship entered New Zealand from 1972-76. "Although there was lots of pressure to change the policy then," recalled Helen Clark, "it was not like it is now."

Recent surveys in New Zealand show that 76 to 80 percent of the population support Labor's position to keep nuclear weapons out of the country. Prior to the Labor Party's election, about two-thirds of the nation's population of three million had voted to make their communities nuclear-free zones.

The drama continues

Under pressure from the US, Australia cancelled the scheduled July ANZUS conference on March 5. Australian Prime Minister Hawke stated that New Zealand's actions have all but terminated ANZUS and that a new alliance between just Australia and the US may need to be established. Prime Minister Lange continues to insist that New Zealand wants to remain in ANZUS and refuses to accept its de facto dissolution, pointing out the treaty requires any member wishing to withdraw to give 12 months notice. But he also refuses to budge on the portcall issue.

Meanwhile — much to Washington's chagrin — New Zealand's antinuclear stance has attracted considerable international support. The Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society recently confirmed that Prime Minister Lange has been nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. If Lange does win the Peace Prize, the nuclear-free zone movement may witness the kind of attention and resurgence the anti-apartheid cause of last year's winner, Bishop Desmond Tutu, achieved.

— Angela Gennino and Charlie Drucker

The American Navy readies for

At a time when the "Atlantic Alliance" is undergoing severe strains, the Pacific is often painted as a region marked by peace, prosperity, and confident US leadership. But there are strong undercurrents that make the Ocean of Peace a potential powderkeg. The Korean Air Lines incident in September 1983 revealed, if only for a moment, the reality behind the illusion of calm.

US Navy carves out turf

The Pacific Ocean, larger in area than the whole land surface of the planet, has historically provided the rationale for the expansion of the US Navy. American naval leaders from Commodore Perry to the current Commander-in-Chief, Admiral William Crowe, have regarded the area as their "turf" — an understanding which other maritime powers broke at their own risk.

The years since World War Two have been difficult ones for the Navy. First it had to fight off the Air Force's drive to relegate it into a minor service in a post-war strategic situation dominated by nuclear bombs, long-range bombers, and missiles. Then, with all the other services, the Navy had to bear the weight of the defeat in Vietnam and the disdain of a public swayed by anti-militarist sentiment in the mid-seventies.

A "stab-in-the-back" theory emerged to explain the hard times on which the armed forces had fallen. This view held that liberal appeasers in the US government had committed "the most serious error in all of American military history" by leasing American air power during the Vietnam war. It was these same liberals who, working hand in hand with "opportunists" like Henry Kissinger, saddled the US with a "one-and-a-half-ocean Navy" to cope with a "three-ocean responsibility" by whittling down the number of warships from over a thousand in the mid-60s to 479 in 1980. The admirals were especially incensed at the reduction in the number of aircraft carriers from 25 to 12.

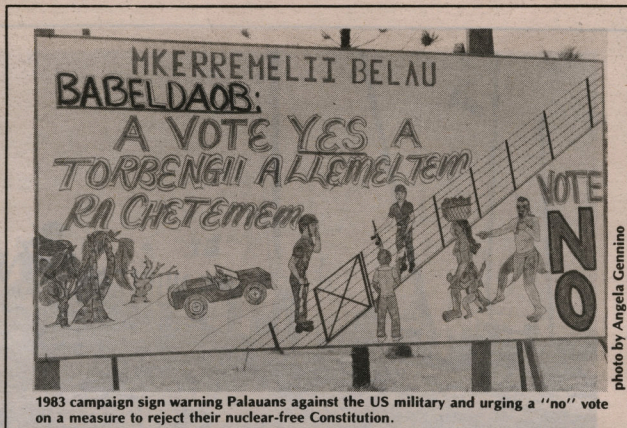
Ignoring the fact that the newer ships were swifter, more powerful, and more versatile than anything they had ever had, the admirals fought back bitterly. One tack was raising what an anti-Navy Air Force general described as "the great Soviet bugaboo." But the argument for a major naval rearmament was also placed on more sophisticated grounds by a new generation of naval theorists, the so-called "maritime school" of American defense.

The United States, argue these navalists, finds itself in the same situation that Britain was in from the 18th to the early 20th centuries: a naval bastion in the "world ocean" ranged against continental land powers. Since the superpowers are roughly equal at the nuclear-strategic level and the Soviets are dominant on land, the US needs naval supremacy to allow it to redress the overall balance of power. According to navalist James Roherty, control of "the oceans permit[s] the United States to project, relatively unimpeded, immense power to points of its choosing along the rim" of the Eurasian continent.

Among the very first steps taken by the new Reagan administration in January 1981 was the unleashing of the pent-up frustrations and bellicose propensities of the Navy. John Lehman, an aggressive young defense consultant and former assistant to Henry Kissinger with a strong base in the Republican party, was appointed Secretary of the Navy. Under Lehman, whose pugnaciousness and uncanny ability to get his way is well known at the Pentagon, the Navy now consumes the bulk of the defense budget for weapons procurement.

Equally important, the maritime supremacists have succeeded in bending US military strategy to their liking. Translated into policy by Lehman, the maritime strategy has three key pillars.

First is the achievement of what Lehman calls "outright maritime superiority over any power or powers which might attempt to prevent our use



1983 campaign sign warning Palauans against the US military and urging a "no" vote on a measure to reject their nuclear-free Constitution.

photo by Angela Gennino

of the seas and the maintenance of our vital interests worldwide." In short, "If challenged, we will be capable of sending any opponent to the bottom."

The minimum condition for achieving undisputed superiority over the Soviet Union is a "600-ship Navy." The Reagan administration has allocated a staggering \$62 billion of the defense budget for shipbuilding.

The second pillar of what has come to be known as the "Lehman Doctrine" is the transformation of the force structure of the navy from one geared to "sealane defense" to one "visibly offensive in orientation."

This posture translates into the

region — the Navy's special sphere of influence — back into the center of Pentagon war preparations and war planning.

US/Asian-Pacific alliances

While unilateral militarization has been the principal method by which the US has confronted the Soviet Union in the Asia-Pacific region, tightening up relations with allies has not been neglected. These relationships, however, have been dominated by anti-Soviet military cooperation.

Under US pressure, Japan has agreed to "take responsibility" for "defense of the sealanes" to 1000 miles east and south of that country — bring-

"If challenged, we will be capable of sending any opponent to the bottom."

acquisition of at least 15 aircraft carrier battle groups especially designed for force projection. With the launching or commissioning over the last two years of the 90,000-ton Nimitz class giants *Theodore Roosevelt* and *Carl Vinson*, the Navy's 15-carrier battle force is almost complete. A major mission assigned to the carriers is not only to engage the Soviet fleet, but also to attack ports, coastal installations, and strategic targets further inland. The naval high command has its eyes trained specially on Vladivostok, home base of the Soviet Pacific fleet.

The third dictum of Lehman's doctrine is often left unstated: the probability of a limited, regional war. The naval high command considers the Pacific a likely site for such a war. Even before the Reagan administration took office, the admirals had been able to force Carter's Defense Secretary Harold Brown to abandon the old "swing strategy," whereby forces from the Asia-Pacific region would be transferred to Europe in the event of a contingency there. Under Reagan, the navalists have succeeded in bringing the Asia-Pacific

ing the Philippines and Vietnam within its sphere of military influence. Probably the best evidence of the militarization of US-Japan ties are the increasingly frequent joint exercises between US forces and the Japanese Self-Defense Forces, including the biggest Pacific naval maneuvers since World War II. These moves have not satisfied US military planners, who want the Japanese to devote more resources to defense than the current one to two percent of their GNP.

Despite its virulently anti-Communist ideology, the Reagan administration has followed what former Secretary of State Alexander Haig described as "the strategic imperative of strengthening our relations with the People's Republic of China." In contrast to the caution of previous administrations, the Reagan White House is now openly promoting a US-China alliance against the Soviet Union. Pentagon planners aren't even waiting for a formal military alliance; they have gone ahead to integrate China into their strategic planning against the Soviet Union.

A third thrust of Reagan's alliance policy in Asia is to fortify South Korea and place North Korea on the defensive. South Korea has been upgraded by the Pentagon from a "significant interest area" to a "vital interest area" and given equal billing with Western Europe as a "first line of defense." On a visit to Korea, Army Chief of Staff Edward Meyer told reporters that the decision whether or not to escalate from conventional to nuclear war was "far simpler here than in Europe where consultations have to be made with 15 different nations."

To make sure North Korea and the Soviet Union got the message, US and South Korean units in the peninsula, augmented by US forces all over the Pacific, staged "Operation Team Spirit '84." Involving 207,000 troops, this year's exercise was the biggest ever and dwarfed the more publicized "Big Pine" war games in Honduras.

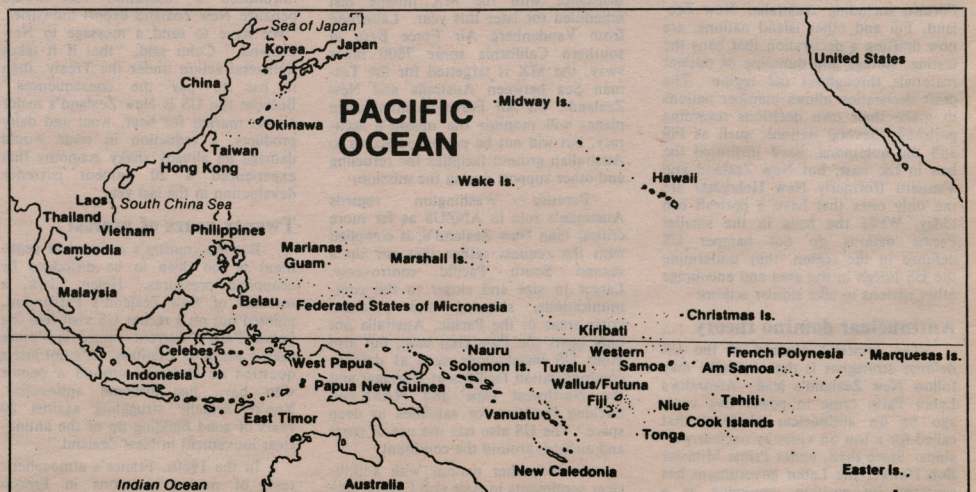
Perhaps the most brazen example of the militarization of allied relationships in the Pacific is provided by the Philippines. The diplomatic distance which characterized relations between dictator Ferdinand Marcos and Jimmy Carter has given way, under Reagan, to a warm embrace typified by Vice President George Bush's notorious toasting of Marcos as a "democrat" in 1981. In exchange, Marcos has provided virtually unlimited access to Subic Bay naval base and Clark air base, two of America's largest and most strategic overseas installations, which serve to project US power to mainland Southeast Asia, Northeast Asia, and the Indian Ocean.

The assassination of Marcos' rival, Benigno Aquino, in August 1983 did not substantially alter this policy of support for a man who is regarded as the most reliable guardian of US strategic interests in the country. Since the declaration of martial law in September 1972, the annual level of military and military-related aid to Marcos has increased by close to 600 percent.

US bases in the Pacific

Undergirding American preparations for conflict in the Pacific is an impressive system of bases and installations. There are an estimated 1500 US bases, facilities, and installations overseas, with about 300 in the Asia-Pacific region.

The ring of US bases around the Western Pacific rim — including installations in Japan, Iwo Jima, Okinawa, Guam, the Philippines, and Singapore — plays a key role in projections of conventional might, and for both strategic and tactical nuclear war contingencies. These installations host numerous nuclear-armed ships, submarines, and aircraft, and the region has also long been used as a testing area for nuclear weapons and their delivery systems. Between 1946 and 1958, some 66 nuclear devices were detonated in the Marshall Islands in the central Pacific — afflicting the health of



war in the 'Ocean of Peace'

both the Marshallese and the US servicemen who monitored the tests.

Beginning in December 1983, MX missile tests began into shallow ocean target areas outside of Kwajalein atoll in the Marshalls. The Navy has also staked out a broad ocean area in the vicinity of Oeno Island, part of the Pitcairns, for testing the Trident, which is also test-fired into the ocean near Wake Island.

The "Soviet Threat"

Far from being the aggressive threat described by American military apologists, the Soviet military machine in the Pacific is relatively weak and vulnerable. The Soviets have erected a "hedgehog" coastal defense in the Far East. Along the Soviet frontier, radar, fighter interceptors, and surface-to-air missiles guard against external attack. The effectiveness of this system is questionable, as illustrated by the fact that most of the fighters sent to intercept the off-course Korean airliner in 1983 failed to find it. The slow commercial jet was able to fly unimpeded through highly defended Soviet airspace for more than two hours before it was shot down over the ocean south of Sakhalin Island. The hedgehog apparently has many bare patches without quills.

US Secretary of the Navy John Lehman often claims that "a primary Soviet objective is naval interdiction of the lifelines connecting the United States, its allies, and the West's sources of vital fuel and minerals — 95 percent of which move by sea." But in their private writings, key maritime supremacists tell a different story. For Paul Nitze, former US Secretary of the Navy and a key Reagan strategist, there is no "cause for serious speculation that the Pacific sea lanes could be severed for any extended period by Soviet naval activities."

Achilles had only one vulnerable heel, but the Soviets have many in the Pacific. Most important is their heavy reliance on the 15,000-kilometer southern sea route from the Mediterranean through the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia in the Far East. This west-east route is the Soviet equivalent of the Panama Canal, except that the Soviets are more dependent and more vulnerable to the effects of interdiction than the US. As one naval analyst told us, the US can simply sit back and cut the Soviet Union in half, and wait for the Soviet Far East to collapse militarily in less than a month.

Aside from this logistical problem, the Soviets have to overcome a slew of geographical obstacles before they can even put to sea. The worst of these is their lack of direct access to the Pacific Ocean from their main ports on the Sea of Japan. To get to the open Pacific, ships must pass through one of several straits, the widest of which is 100 miles across.

If the Soviet fleet tried to leave through these "chokepoints" in wartime, it would have to get past what James Hersman, editor of *Sea Power*, calls a "surlly lynch mob" of US forces waiting to pounce. Indeed, the Soviets may have to mine the straits and blockade them to keep the US Pacific fleet out of their coastal bastions.

Adding allied naval and air forces to the superpower lineup only drives home the relative weakness of the Soviet Union. In a 1978 study, Barry Blechman and Robert Berman demonstrate that the navies of the US and its East Asian allies displace nearly twice as many tons as the Soviet Pacific fleet and outgun it in virtually every category of naval armament. The situation would be worse still for the Soviets if the US blockaded the straits out of the Sea of Japan.

While the US cannot hope to match the Soviet Union in land power, the alliance with China has largely rectified that deficiency. Soviet ground forces are superior to the Chinese, but a Sino-Soviet war could embroil the Soviets in a protracted land war with no end.

A growing resistance

From Hawaii to the Philippines,



Six re-entry vehicles plunge down on Kwajalein Missile Range, the test area for Trident, Minuteman, and MX missiles.

US Army photo

from Micronesia to Japan, Korea, Australia and New Zealand, peoples of the Pacific are stepping up their opposition to military and nuclear intervention.

In 1954, fallout from the "Bravo" hydrogen bomb test on Bikini Atoll contaminated and killed Japanese fishermen aboard the *Lucky Dragon*, resulting in new support for the Japanese peace movement. Throughout the Pacific, Bikini Day — March 1 — is still remembered as Nuclear-Free Pacific Day.

The US, while unquestionably dominant, is not the only foreign nuclear power in the Pacific. The British used Australia and Christmas Island for atmospheric nuclear testing during the 1950's. Defeated and expelled from Indochina in 1954, France nevertheless held on to its colonial possessions in the South Pacific — among them, "French" Polynesia, New Caledonia, and New

the mid-seventies, antinuclear sentiment was fused with aspirations for genuine independence in a widespread movement which sought the withdrawal of US military bases and opposed the construction of a Westinghouse nuclear power plant.

In the late 1970's, the tiny island of Palau emerged in the forefront of the nuclear-free Pacific movement when its people successfully fought off US-Japanese plans to build a nuclear-powered superport. In 1979, Palau became the world's first nuclear-free nation when a popular vote approved a constitution banning the presence or transit of nuclear material and weapons within its boundaries. Since then, Palau has successfully resisted attempts by the US to get it to drop the nuclear-free provision of its constitution.

Also in 1979, the victory of the Vanuatu-Pati Party in the ex-colony of New Hebrides led to the establishment

In 1979, Palau became the world's first nuclear-free nation when voters approved a constitution banning nuclear materials and weapons within its boundaries.

Hebrides, the latter held as a condominium with Great Britain.

When Algeria gained independence in 1961, the French moved their atomic testing grounds from the deserts of North Africa to the Polynesian island of Mururoa, restarting their nuclear development program with a bang in 1966. The French atmospheric tests ignited protest in nations throughout the region, especially in the South Pacific.

A 1973 trade union boycott against France in Australia, New Zealand, and Fiji was so effective that not even a letter could get through. In a 1975 conference held in Suva, Fiji molded the region's popular, national opposition movements into a formally coordinated effort — the Nuclear-Free Pacific Movement, later known as the Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific Movement.

The experience of the Marshall Islanders, other Micronesians, and the Polynesians has profoundly affected the character of the Pacific antinuclear movement. It is their colonial status which makes the islanders victims of nuclear and military development.

The lesson is not lost on movements in countries which are formally independent but economically, culturally, and militarily under the influence of the United States. In the Philippines in

newly independent Vanuatu of a government committed to Pacific self-determination and denuclearization. Vanuatu has over the last few years become a beacon to Pacific struggles for independence and against militarization.

Along with New Zealand and Papua New Guinea, Vanuatu recently managed to strengthen an Australian government proposal calling for a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific. Criticized by some antinuclear groups for being too weak, the Australian proposal would prohibit nuclear testing and waste dumping but would allow the transit of nuclear warships and warplanes. Through the persistence of the three countries, Australia conceded that each signatory to the treaty would be free to make its own decision on nuclear warship transit — a limited but significant step toward a real nuclear-free zone.

Palau and Vanuatu have now been joined by New Zealand in the leadership of the movement to curtail nuclear arms. The New Zealand Labor Party's decision to ban visits by nuclear-powered and nuclear-armed warships (see page 3) is viewed with alarm by the Pentagon, which fears a snowball effect that could severely restrict US military movements in the region.

Among non-governmental organizations, one of the nerve centers of the

movement is the Pacific Concerns Resource Center (PCRC, PO Box 27692, Honolulu, HI 96827). The PCRC acts as a resource center, clearinghouse, and campaign coordinator for grassroots groups throughout the Pacific. It works closely with the US Pacific Network, which was established to link the US disarmament movement to the Pacific.

Trade unions in the Asia-Pacific region have also promoted nuclear-free Pacific goals. In 1981, the Pacific Trade Union Forum was formed to bolster conditions for independent trade unionism, as well as to promote demilitarization and denuclearization. That the Forum is perceived as a threat to US political interests is indicated by the formation of a parallel organization, the Labor Committee for Pacific Affairs, allegedly initiated by American AFL-CIO officials and policy advisors from the Washington-based right-wing think tank, the Center for Strategic and International Studies. According to the *New Zealand Times* (October 30, 1983), the Americans behind the Labor Committee are linked to the CIA.

Many church and church-linked bodies throughout the Pacific actively support the antinuclear movement. Among the most energetic are the Pacific Council of Churches based in Suva, Fiji, which has backed the movement since its inception.

An important feature of the movement is the strong participation of indigenous peoples in Hawaii and the US. The American Indian Movement (330 Ellis St., Room 438, San Francisco, CA 94102) has been a consistent supporter of popular struggles in the Pacific. The native Hawaiian movement has led the fight against the US Navy's bombing of Kahoolawe Island.

Locally, other groups with Pacific interests or programs include Pacific Studies Center (222B View St., Mountain View, CA 94041) and Philippine Resource Center (PO Box 40090, Berkeley, CA 94704).

— Walden Bello, Peter Hayes, and Lyuba Zarsky

This article is based on the authors' An American Lake: The Nuclear Peril in the Pacific, forthcoming from South End Press. The authors can be contacted at Nautilus Pacific Action Research, Box 309, Leverett, MA 01054.

A longer version of the article, along with others on the new militarism in the Pacific, can be found in Southeast Asia Chronicle, November 1984, available from PO Box 4000-D, Berkeley, CA 94704, (415) 548-2546.

Pentagon's latest toys—weapons that think

con't from p.1

a carrier battle group, for example, would use the system to "generate hypotheses describing possible enemy intent, prioritize [them], . . . generate potential courses of action . . . prepare and disseminate the operation plan . . . and modify [itself] in the light of empirical results." All this in natural English, of course.

"We got the money"

The Strategic Computing Initiative and the controversies that surround it were debated for two days in early March at a conference sponsored by the Silicon Valley Research Group, an organization of faculty and students at the University of California at Santa Cruz. The conference brought together advocates and critics of SCI—computer experts from the military, military contractors, other electronics companies, government agencies, and academia.

The participants quickly established that none of them believed the robot weapons and computer strategists would be with us any time soon. The polite description was that DARPA had done a lot of "overpromising."

Despite this easily achieved consensus, no one was snickering at the stupidity of the Pentagon. Both advocates and critics of SCI pointed out that the plan has other goals and other effects, though there was little agreement about which were important and which trivial, which positive and which unsavory.

The weekend's bluntest comment was made by David Mizell from the Office of Naval Research. "From my point of view," he said, "SCI is already a success. We got the money."

DARPA's flashy if fantastic proposals have succeeded in selling Congress on the plan. Our elected officials have accepted it as realistic, proving themselves naive enough to be seduced by DARPA's technical razzle-dazzle and Reagan-whipped enough to respond to wet dreams about high-tech counters to the Russian threat.

Congress may also have been swayed by the argument that fewer soldiers will die on the automated battlefield. With robots rather than American kids on the front lines, we may be able to fight wars and launch invasions without an unpopular draft.

The Japanese threat

Although the intelligent weapons in DARPA's dreams are meant to counter the Russians, there's also the "Japanese threat" to consider, which everyone at the conference did. The military and industrial representatives repeatedly invoked the fear that Japan will clobber the American computer industry on the world market, a fear coupled with the conviction that Japanese successes in microelectronics are built on ideas stolen from the US.

They repeatedly compared SCI to the Japanese government's ten-year \$850-million effort to build "fifth generation" super-computers. Don Neilson, director of the computer science division at world-class think tank SRI, explained that Congress agreed to fund SCI because it wanted to "reclaim the competitive edge" in computer technology.

But if Japan's fifth generation program is as over-ambitious as SCI, as many computer scientists believe, it at least is explicitly aimed at generating commercial products and improving social services rather than at building weapons. SCI is on a course 180 degrees different, and contains not one concrete provision for translating laboratory advances or military applications into socially useful or even commercially viable products.

"The trickle-down theory is the most dangerous selling point of the SCI," says Steve Sanazaro, head of the Washington, DC chapter of Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility in the August 1, 1984 issue of *Datamation*. "If the government wants to spend large amounts of money on AI, there are plenty of ways to do it through non-defense means."

Many SCI advocates defend the plan not because it will lead to market



success but because it will buy breakthroughs in basic science. All that money and all that research are bound to come up with something useful, they imply. Advances in computer technology aren't cheap, but must be pursued if only for the sake of scientific progress.

As Ken Flamm of the Brookings Institute put it, "the only politically feasible way to support R & D is through the military." SRI's Neilson commented that SCI "is not the collective wisdom of militarists, but of computer scientists who need funds and know that military funding is the only game in town."

Who's fooling whom?

During the course of the conference, Geoff Pullum, a linguist from UC

robot tank or a general's electronic helper, stops short of its obvious conclusion: that advances in computer technology will be made, that they'll be oriented toward the military, and that the military will use them to increase its killing power.

You trust this computer?

In his *Background Paper on Strategic Computing*, Robert Aldridge quotes the former director of Ballistic Missile Defense, Dr. Jacob B. Gilstein, who said in 1973, "Computers are extremely important. . . No human being can enter the real-time decision making loop and control the system. It has to be pre-programmed with logic so the computer can make the decisions and run the game."

Congress has accepted SCI as realistic, proving themselves naive enough to be seduced by technical razzle-dazzle and Reagan-whipped enough to respond to wet dreams about high-tech counters to the Russian threat.

Santa Cruz, remarked that "SCI is setting up a situation in which the most dishonest researcher gets the biggest grant." In fact, representatives of government, the military, industry, and academia are all partaking of the fraud. But few of SCI's supporters seem disturbed by the systematic distortion and deceit that pervade the project.

Their casual acceptance of this state of affairs is perhaps best illustrated by an off-the-cuff comment made by Andrew Chang, an engineer from FMC Corporation. Chang showed a videotape of an autonomous land vehicle that FMC has already built, and explained that FMC had been working on the project for several years before SCI was announced. Nonetheless, of the three companies that submitted bids to DARPA for the autonomous vehicle program, FMC was the one that lost out.

During his presentation, Chang mentioned that FMC engineers don't think the autonomous vehicle can be built on DARPA's five-year timetable. They're thinking in terms of fifteen or twenty years for less ambitious results. I asked Chang whether that difference in timetables had anything to do with FMC's losing the bid. His response: "Oh, we didn't put that in the proposal."

What the pro-DARPA position boils down to, according to UC Berkeley sociologist Ward Bell, is this: SCI is not really a military program at all, but rather a trick played on Congress and the American people to fund AI for commercial uses and for the advance of computer technology. In the age of Reagan, AI can get military money or no money, and what's the percentage in moral purity? But there's no cause for alarm. The folks behind the charade will make sure the money goes to smart people and good projects—just as it always has.

The argument that the DARPA money will buy something, even if not a

What this means in plain English is that the military planners have no choice but to rely on computers because human beings can't cope with the pace, complexity, and unpredictability of modern warfare.

And that was twelve years ago. Weapons systems have grown more powerful, more baroque, and faster ever since, a situation that goes a long way toward explaining the military rationale for intelligent weapons. By now, weapons that think may have become fantasies that military strategists are forced to pursue. Having backed themselves into the corner of the seven-minute nuclear war, Pentagon planners must now preside over the inevitable elimination of humans from the command/control loop.

But computers don't do the trick either. Reliance on run-of-the-mill, non-AI computers has already proven extraordinarily dangerous. The Pentagon's computerized warning system, for example, has generated numerous false alarms about incoming nuclear attacks—including one triggered by a flock of geese and another by the rising moon. The potentially catastrophic consequences of these bugs were averted by the intervention of human judgement and common sense. Computers based on AI will have just as many bugs.

In a critique published in the December 1984 *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility points out that in "all complex systems, including artificial intelligence systems . . . perfection is never achieved; the best one can hope for is to reduce to an acceptable level the rate at which new flaws reveal themselves. The system will then be described as 'reliable' and may lead us to a sense of security. Even in the most reliable systems, however, residual flaws, although improbable, may still surface with dramatic effects."

An academic question

According to the SCI report, the work it funds will be "carried out by industry, drawing upon results of research carried out in the universities." What will this do to the direction of computer research at universities? In the words of Terry Winograd, an AI expert from Stanford and a member of CPSR, "he who pays the piper picks the tune."

It's not a question of the Pentagon ordering computer scientists what to do. The method is more subtle. Researchers choose to prepare proposals they think will get funded, and steer their own interests away from other problems. The net result is that computer research is channeled into militarily relevant projects, while socially worthwhile projects languish for lack of resources.

In the past, computer scientists taking money from DARPA have been able to tell themselves that although their work was funded by the military, it had many civilian applications. SCI makes this ambiguity much harder to sustain, and ties individual researchers, as well as the institutions where they work, more closely and clearly to the military.

DARPA's new tack also means that university computer science labs will have to uphold the military's security classifications, restricting the flow of scientific information. Before long, students and researchers will get accustomed to working in a militarized atmosphere on military problems. It will start to seem natural; they will no longer question it. A whole new generation of investigators will come of age having known nothing else.

The same arguments about distortions in the direction of research and militarizing the technical environment go for the computer industry as well. And that includes the microelectronics sector—the kind of people who made the user-friendly personal computer on your desk, the ones who have been acclaimed as champions of computing power for the little guy.

Lenny Siegel, from the Pacific Studies Center, puts it this way: "SCI is an attempt to take the brightest and best computer scientists and get them used to working for the military. It's an attempt on the part of the Pentagon to regain control of innovation."

If letting DARPA have the run of university and industry computer labs remakes these institutions in the military's image, the image of the military can only benefit from its association with prestigious research centers. Winograd points out that this legitimization effect is especially strong in a society like ours that lavishes so much respect on technical expertise.

Gee whizardry

Space and microelectronics, the new darlings of the technology boosters, are the basis of the two grand plans for weapons of the future: the Strategic Defense Initiative—Star Wars—which most physicists and military strategists say will never work, and the Strategic Computing Initiative, which computer scientists consider a joke.

Death rays in space and English-speaking robots may well go the way of the nuclear-powered coffee pots promised in the 50s. But both projects are likely to produce something useful in the way of lethal new weapons, and both make the precarious balance of terror more so.

The all-out propaganda blitz that has accompanied Star Wars wasn't necessary for SCI, on which only Congress and the technical community needed to be sold. But just like Star Wars, SCI feeds on the awe, gee-whizardry, and zeal reserved for high-tech wonders. Star Wars promotes the seductive idea of defense against all-out nuclear exchange; the logic of SCI is that weapons systems too complex for human beings can be kept under control by computers. Both obscure the crucial realization that there is no technical fix for the nuclear dilemma.

— Marcy Darnovsky
IAT staff

Deeper deadly connections: the many functions of war

Although we do not imply that a substitute for war in the economy cannot be devised, no combination of techniques for controlling employment, production, and consumption has yet been tested that can remotely compare to its effectiveness.

— John Doe, Report from Iron Mountain on the Possibility and Desirability of Peace

The phrase "deadly connections" is usually used to invoke the links between nuclear and conventional militarism. As a slogan and an organizing principle, it has solidified the commitment of mainstream peace groups like the Freeze to anti-interventionist politics.

It's tempting to let matters lie here. Deeper explorations tend to expose a network of connections between militarism and modern society that many would prefer to avoid. It's frightening to realize the degree to which we are bound to the financial and psychological logic of war. And it's depressing, for it highlights the enormity of the danger and the weakness of the forces of peace.

Still, no political movement can hope to succeed without abandoning false optimism. So let us put the matter starkly: war is not merely a problem, an excess, an aberration. It is rather a solution to the problems of a crisis-ridden society. War is crucial to the containment of basic global economic instabilities and to the legitimacy of the ruling elites. Further, war is a salve for the psychological injuries of mass society.

The international political and economic role of militarism is clear enough: there are vast empires to be held, powerful interests to be subsidized, trading blocs to be maintained. Military power provides short-term solutions to the associated geopolitical problems without threatening the core institutions of society. In fact, it reinforces them. NATO, for example, is usually seen as a military alliance, and it is. But it was intended as much to prevent Europe from trading with Russia as to establish the military structures of the Cold War.

There are also more directly economic benefits to war. The production of weapons of mass destruction, and military activity in general, has always been a profitable waste of social wealth. Mega-corporations that could not survive on the free market can be kept alive by massive transfusions of artificial profits cycled through the tax system. Militarism is America's economic and industrial policy.

Further, militarism is a science and technology policy. For example, the Department of Defense supports fully 60% of all federally funded basic research, and almost 90% of government-sponsored applied research, in electrical engineering and computer science.

Some peace activists argue against military research on the grounds that it provides no civilian spinoffs. This is neither true — we need only point to the computer, an outcome of efforts to calculate artillery-shell trajectories during World War II — nor to the point. In actual fact, military research both produces new technologies and marks them with the priorities of war. It shapes the direction of technological development in ways beneficial to centralized power, and eclipses alternative technologies.

At the domestic political level, the benefits of war are obvious. The Falklands and Grenada showed the nonsense in which dominant powers can indulge without damaging their ability to engender war hysteria and to channel it into pro-government feelings. Reagan's ability to muster popular support for his tough rhetoric astounds and demoralizes the left, yet it is very much in the mainstream of traditional nationalism. Indeed, the basic authority of the "nation" over its people may reside in its military, since military power is the model of all other hierarchical power.

Face it: People like war

It's been said that the next war is always conceived in terms of the last. To the extent that this is true, it's bad news: World War II was not only pre-nuclear, it was popular. Studs Terkel's



latest book, *The Good War*, tells a vivid tale of meaningful battle, classic heroism, community under fire, war as "the best time of our lives."

It's easy enough to blame this all on men by arguing that male culture leads to war. This is true to a certain degree, but it's often carried to absurd lengths. *Esquire*, for example, recently ran an article called "Man's Dirty Secret," which argued that men like war because its extremity is an opportunity for an ecstasy they lack in their normal lives. Men, it claims, suffer for their lack of participation in childbirth, and war is their solace.

modern society are so crippled by the repressive sexual mores of the authoritarian family that they cannot tolerate the give and take of open sexuality — or of real democracy. For Reich, it was sexual repression that led people to submerge themselves in mystical identification with a strong leader, a flag, a nation.

This is the *Nineteen Eighty-Four* scenario: Big Brother as Hitler, Stalin and God; sexuality extremely repressed; national identity constructed on a basis of frustration, fear and hate. Not all these elements have survived unchanged since Orwell's time. Sexuality, in partic-

Society has developed a pathological reliance on war and power, a reliance rooted in capitalism, the machine, male dominance, even the traumas of childhood.

Perhaps, but we should remember that war, as we know it today, is a relatively recent invention. In "primitive" societies, war was highly symbolic, a battle typically ended when one side killed a single enemy. True, the warriors were almost always men, and we shouldn't reject the notion that some crucial kernel of today's military state can be found in gender identity.

But there are other psychological secrets of modern war, secrets hidden in other societal structures. Spectator sports probably tell us more about the psychology of the trenches than do over-literal theories of gender. Like war, they collect the passions of individuals into mass rituals of collective, vicarious ecstasy.

War may, at some essential level, reduce to distortions of the male psyche. But even if this is true, it does not explain the psychology of war in today's society. The dynamics that draw millions into fits of nationalism must be seen in historical terms, as products of a culture that leaves people empty and angry, longing for larger identities and the pride of combat.

The classic analysis is Reich's *Mass Psychology of Fascism*, which argued that the "little men" (and little women) of

sighted and often sleazy character of its managers, and the fragility of the constraints upon its self-destruction, their faith in the future is undermined and their fear of nuclear annihilation increases. This gives them all the more reason to cling to the belief that the managers are both wise and powerful.

E.P. Thompson, too, has favored a "psycho-ideological" analysis of the cold war system, taking a position in many ways parallel to modern feminist psychology. In his view, the arms race is fueled, at a deep psychological level, by what he calls "bonding-by-exclusion," the need of each side for an "other" against which to organize the allegiance of its citizens.

But Thompson also holds out hope, arguing that spectator sports, unlike the two-minute hate sessions in *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, do not merely multiply frustration and hostility. He sees a brighter side, in which they serve to symbolically discharge aggression. He goes on to reason that it must be possible to transfer allegiances currently bound within the cold war system into a new collective psychology untroubled by perpetual war against the "other."

The limits of mass psychology

The challenge of psychological theories is to learn from them without stretching them beyond their limits. Society has developed a pathological reliance on war and power, a reliance rooted in capitalism, the machine, male dominance, even the traumas of childhood. Aggressive nationalism and collective righteousness are deeply rooted and powerful instruments of social control, but they always remain instruments, not causes. The "cure" to the arms race will not be some sort of mass psychotherapy.

The warfare system has a class psychology as well as a mass psychology. Poverty and powerlessness breed alienation, violence and — from time to time — class consciousness and rebellion. As Orwell stressed, they also breed insecurity and a fatal vulnerability to reconciliation by means of submission. Militaristic institutions, national pride, military honor, and a stern yet loving father figure — these remain the state's most reliable guardians.

Military honor and the thrill of combat can also antidote the more mundane desperation of lives that are not intolerable but merely meaningless. It is strong medicine, invaluable when weaker measures fail to ensure domestic tranquility.

Militarism is a solution to the problems of a society which cannot provide decent and meaningful life by other means. It is a system of social control, an answer to poverty and alienation, but it is not the ultimate cause of the warfare system. It serves only to reproduce the conditions necessary for business as usual to proceed.

What is to be done?

Given the current political climate, it seems a lot to ask people to oppose interventionism and nuclear brinkmanship. Should we complicate matters still further by asking them to understand that peace will require massive social changes? It seems insane, but necessary.

Even this understanding, if it remains merely rational, will do little to erode the mass psychology of identification, passivity and fear. Peace institutes and conversion studies are crucial, but they reach only those ready to be reached. To justify real hope, we must be able to imagine the dissolution of the psychological forces that underlie the warfare system, forces constantly mobilized, channeled, and reinforced by rhythms of alienation and violence.

Action and outrage are the joys of war. They are also the hope for peace and an end to the warfare system. As hackneyed as it may sound, the only cure for the mass psychology of war is a class psychology of peace. The "others" must become not the opposing players, but the owners and managers of the home team.

— Tom Athanasiou



Repression and resis

For Central American travelers, Guatemala is a place of incredible beauty and Indian culture. For international human rights groups there's another Guatemala: a country of repression, of systematic murder of Indians and their culture.

It is to this other country that the Reagan administration is proposing \$35.4 million in military and security aid for fiscal year 1986 — an amount 118 times greater than the previous year.

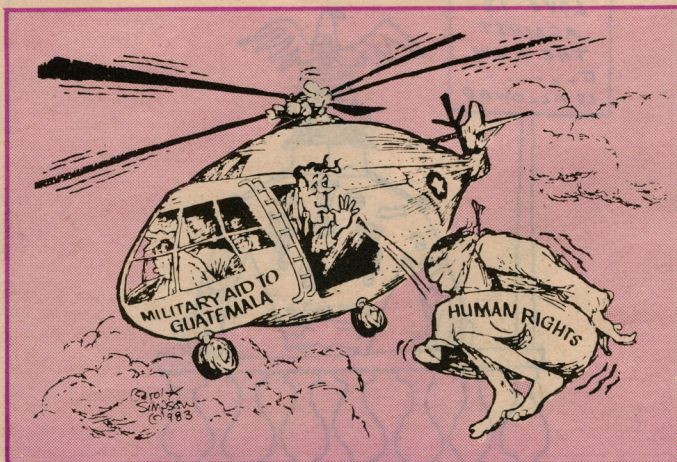
Direct US military aid was cut off in 1977 due to Guatemala's gross human rights violations, and remained cut off until October 1984, when Congress voted \$300,000 in military training funds for fiscal year 1985.

The Reagan administration is pushing its proposal by claiming that the human rights situation has improved, citing last year's Constituent Assembly elections and this year's upcoming presidential elections as proof. Meanwhile, international human rights organizations, the United Nations, and various governments around the world continue to condemn the Guatemalan military as being among the worst human rights violators in the western hemisphere.

The elections

The Reagan administration fails to point out several facts which contradict its claims that the Constituent Assembly elections held last July are proof of democracy in action: over 60 political assassinations occurred in the months leading up to the elections; 50% of the population either abstained or mutilated their ballots in protest (voter registration is mandatory in Guatemala, and failure to have proof of having voted is dangerous to your health); only right and ultra-right parties could participate; the military and death squads continue to kill and threaten elected members; and the president, General Mejia Victores, has threatened to dissolve the assembly should it ever step its bounds.

The much-touted upcoming presidential elections promise to bring more of the same, although there is an



tember 1984. Neither does the administration mention the army's "consolidation" phase of the counter-insurgency war in which virtually every eligible male in the highlands — 900,000 men and boys so far — is forcibly conscripted under pain of death into the civil patrols. These patrols, often armed with only sticks and machetes, are organized to go out as the front guard on army counter-insurgency sweeps. They are often forced to commit atrocities against their own communities in the name of a "free Guatemala."

Along with the civil patrols, the Guatemalan government has instituted "model villages" within larger "development poles" in the highlands. The model villages bear a striking resemblance to the strategic hamlets used by the US in Vietnam and to the homeland concept of South Africa. They are built on the ruins of Indian villages that the army previously destroyed during scorched-earth campaigns, most recently carried out under the General Lucas Garcia and General Rios Montt regimes in 1978-1982.

In the model villages, some 100,000

The governments of the democratic period can be characterized as reformist. The prevailing trend was to redistribute wealth in order to create an internal market necessary for industrial development within a capitalist framework. The land reform was actually instituted in 1953 under Arevalo's successor, Jacobo Arbenz. In the 18 months of the program, 100,000 families received titles to land. Redistributed lands consisted of idle parcels of large estates; land owners were compensated.

This democratic period lasted only ten years, until UFCO became enraged over the confiscation of one third of its idle land — for which it had been compensated at the value declared on its taxes. In 1954 the CIA planned, financed and directed a coup which installed Colonel Castillo Armas, a military president, beginning the almost unbroken succession of military dictators and terror which still rules Guatemala today. Popular organizations and unions were smashed, all reforms were reversed and the land distributed during the reform was returned to its former owners.

Only then did Guatemala become America's showplace of democracy, a veritable triumph over communism. US private investment and international loans poured in because of the newly safe business climate.

However, prosperity was not forthcoming for the majority of Guatemalans. The reforms of the democratic era had been the last chance to stave off a state of insurgency. Military equipment, training and aid, began to flow into Guatemala to fight the guerrilla movements, which grew strong in the 1960s.

The guerrilla movements

At first, the scope of the government's counter-revolutionary program and repression after the coup effectively prevented the development of organized opposition. The first clear signs of rebellion came from within the army itself in 1960, under the regime of General Ydigoras Fuentes. (Fuentes succeeded Castillo Armas, who was assassinated by his own associates in 1957.)

Ydigoras Fuentes' blatant corruption and subservience to US interests led to an uprising when he permitted Guatemalan territory to be used to train Cuban exiles for the Bay of Pigs invasion. The uprising involved one third of the army, as well as civilian sectors. Although it failed, it was important to the development of an armed guerrilla movement.

A second uprising, led by former army officers and an armed faction of the Guatemalan Workers Party (PGT), was planned in 1962 against a backdrop of mass anti-government protests. This second attempt also failed, but the first guerrilla group, the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR), grew out of it.

The FAR spawned various armed revolutionary groups with different political foci. These movements gained a great deal of strength during the mid-1960s through military successes and a developing base of popular support.

In March 1966, Julio Cesar Mendez Montenegro, running on a reform platform, was elected president — the first civilian president since the CIA coup of 1954. The usual practice, which continues to this day, is that the military counts the ballots and declares the winner in a process that everyone in Guatemala recognizes as open fraud.

Like every other election, the one in 1966 was tightly controlled by the military, but Mendez Montenegro's victory was so overwhelming that it could not be denied. Mendez Montenegro was permitted to take office, but only after he handed over real power to the military and US interests. In a brutal backlash, the military resumed counter-insurgency activities; an estimated six to eight thousand people died in the next two years. The guerrilla movement was almost annihilated.

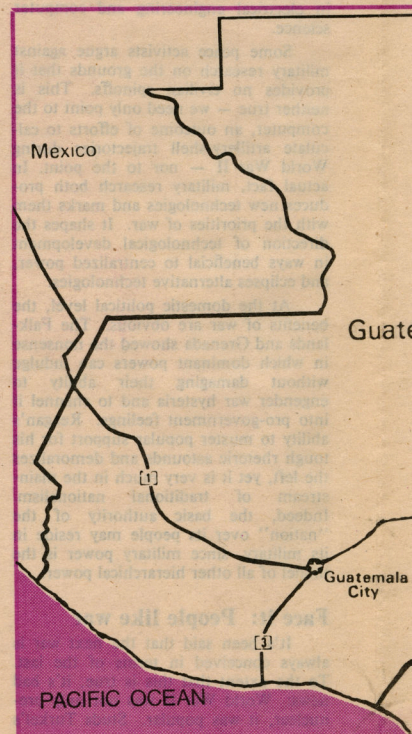
The failure of the guerrilla movement and the success of the counter-insurgency campaign were the result of many factors. The guerrillas lacked tight organization and had failed to develop an overall political-military strategy. During this period the armed groups did not recognize the revolutionary potential of the Indian population in the highlands and instead worked primarily with the petty bourgeois class and in urban areas.

Additionally, opposition organizing took on a relatively open and loose form — in some cases armed activity was halted due to the talk of reform during Mendez Montenegro's 1966 electoral campaign. Lack of security left the

In 1954 the CIA planned, financed and directed a coup which installed Colonel Castillo Armas, a military dictator, beginning the almost unbroken succession of military dictators and terror which still rules Guatemala today.

opposition open to the devastating effects of counter-insurgency. Finally, the Guatemalan army scored such a success primarily because of the introduction of massive amounts of US equipment — including bomber planes laden with napalm from US bases in Panama — and the introduction of US Green Berets who quickly professionalized the Guatemalan army.

The late 60s and early 70s found the remnants of the armed opposition movements in a process of reorganization. The Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP) developed, along with the Organization of People in Arms (ORPA), while the PGT and the FAR went through some changes but reemerged.



Two members of the British Parliament who recently visited Guatemala declared that the military was creating a nation of widows and orphans.

added feature: the army is institutionalizing its control at every level of government. After the elections there will be a member of the military overseeing with veto power every elected civilian official — locally, regionally and nationally. The military will retain complete decision making power through this process of "inter-institutional coordination," ensuring that even if a center party could run and could win without military support, nothing will change. The military will remain the undisputed power and authority.

Human rights in Guatemala

The elections take place against a backdrop of continuing institutionalized violence perpetrated by the Guatemalan military and paramilitary death squads. The Council on Hemispheric Affairs (CHOA), in its 1984 annual report, found the Guatemalan regime to be the bloodiest in the western hemisphere. Last year alone an estimated three to five thousand were killed while at least 1500 were "disappeared."

Tens of thousands have been killed in the last three military regimes. The disappeared in Guatemala — some 38,000 since 1954 — account for about 38 percent of all the disappeared in Latin America. Two members of the British Parliament who recently visited Guatemala declared that the military was creating a nation of widows and orphans.

Yet Reagan believes the human rights situation in Guatemala has improved, taking no even of the statement of his own newly appointed ambassador, who was "shocked" by the level of violence in Guatemala City in Sep-

mostly Indian campesinos are forced to live under 24-hour military guard. The Indians are not permitted to farm the land to raise corn or other subsistence crops. Corn, farming and the land are the basis of Indian culture, tradition and religion; the survivors of the scorched-earth campaigns are facing cultural genocide.

Model village inhabitants must work on state infrastructural projects, such as roads and bridges, which aid the army's counter-insurgency campaign. They are forced to cultivate export luxury crops like snow peas and asparagus, receiving only a subsistence food allowance in return.

The Guatemalan military boasts that "not a penny" of the Guatemalan government's money has been spent on the civil patrols and development poles. The money all comes from US economic assistance funds, UN food assistance programs and the US Agency for International Development.

A history of imperialism

Beginning at the turn of the century, US business became entrenched in Guatemala in the form of the United Fruit Company (UFCO) and its affiliates. By the 1930s they virtually controlled the Guatemalan economy and government. In 1944, a coup occurred and, in Guatemala's first free elections, Juan Jose Arevalo became president.

This began the period known as the democratic revolution. Many reforms were instituted. Free speech, free press and suffrage were allowed; laborers could organize and strike; agrarian reform was made law.

tance in Guatemala



In 1982, these groups united to form the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG).

During the 1970s all levels of organized opposition increased. Many factors contributed to the growth of the movement during this period, despite the concurrent growth in violent repression. The armed revolutionary groups organized mass support, incorporating the Indian population in the highlands into the struggle as well. Also, the Indians independently organized themselves against the army terror. In many cases, Indian villagers sought out contact with the guerrillas. In addition to these movements, the church had begun to help organize urban and rural communities as liberation theology began to take hold.

At about the same time, the great earthquake of 1976 hit Guatemala. Often referred to as the "class quake," the devastation affected the urban and rural poor disproportionately their housing is so flimsy and because the quake centered in the highlands. The rich, who live in the cities in sturdy housing, suffered much less. The earthquake left 22,000 dead, 77,000 injured and a million homeless.

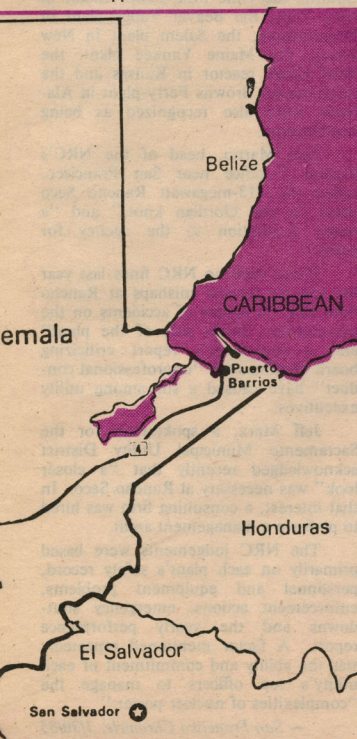
Because government assistance was slow in coming and relief structures were grossly inadequate to deal with the scope of the problem, poor communities and villages had to organize themselves through collective action. This process served to facilitate organizational

financed and directed
nel Castillo Armas
taken succession of
rent terror.

development, particularly spurring the rise of the cooperative movement in the highlands. The earthquake also further depressed the already miserable living conditions of thousands, giving impetus to increased political action.

The counter-insurgency war was escalating by 1978 and was in full swing by 1981. Tens of thousands died and were disappeared. Thousands fled to the mountains where today they live in communities of resistance. Other survivors, captured by the army, were placed in model villages.

The guerrilla organizations were dealt a serious blow, having lost much of their base of civilian support. But the armed opposition is far from dead.



Recent months have again seen an increase in civilian protest and guerrilla activity, despite the now institutionalized repression.

That both the armed opposition and civilian organizations survived such serious setbacks in the last 30 years, returning and growing stronger each time, is testimony to the will of the Guatemalan people. Their situation is unique among Central American liberation struggles because Guatemala has been the target of more US attention and military training, on a continuous basis, than any other country in the region.

Strategic importance

Guatemala has historically had the highest direct US private investment of any country in Central America, with over 300 firms doing business there. It is also strategically significant because of its borders with Mexico, Belize, El Salvador and Honduras. US policy makers continue to recognize Guatemala's importance, as stated by the Kissinger Commission in 1984: "In terms of regional and US security interests, Guatemala, with its strategic position on the Mexican border, the largest population of the Central American area, and the most important economy, is obviously a pivotal country."

The Guatemalan military is the strongest and best trained counter-insurgency force in the region. The Reagan administration considers the Guatemalan military well-suited for fighting a regional anti-communist war. An agreement signed in late 1983 between the US, Guatemala and Israel (which became Guatemala's main arms supplier after the 1977 US ban) stipulated that the Guatemalan army be restructured so that thousands of troops would be available for external warfare. In return, the Guatemalan military receives financial assistance for its "development poles" and money to develop its export crops, textile factories and food programs for model village inhabitants.

The US has been encouraging Guatemalan participation in CONDECA (Central American Defense Council), the regional mutual defense organization which includes El Salvador, Honduras and Costa Rica (on observer status). CONDECA was originally formed in the early 1960s and included Nicaragua under the Somoza regime, but it fell apart after the 1969 war between Honduras and El Salvador. CONDECA troops were used against the FSLN in Nicaragua and against the EGP in Guatemala. Recently the US has been trying to revive CONDECA as a threat to Nicaragua's Sandinistas.

Guatemala has been only lukewarm toward participating in a CONDECA revival for several reasons. Not the least of these is that the military leaders of Guatemala feel they have their own anti-communist war to fight at home.

Also, the Guatemalan government is very proud of its ability to deal with the insurgency without direct US aid since 1977 and is not willing to be put under any US directive at this point — particularly if US military aid is not forthcoming.

This was especially apparent in the fall of 1984 when the Reagan administration proposed \$10 million in military aid to Guatemala. In response, General Mejia Victores agreed to chair a meeting of regional defense ministers, but his enthusiasm waned after the US Congress approved only \$300,000 of Reagan's \$10 million.

It remains to be seen how Reagan's proposed \$35.4 million in military and security aid will affect the military's attitudes. Still, Guatemala sorely needs the US aid to continue its military program because the economy is in an abysmal state — unlike the 70s. Guatemala is not in a position to purchase all that the army requires, especially since over 65 percent of the national budget goes to defense. Guatemala currently receives

school and continuing the training of Belize's air force.

Despite the seemingly well-laid plans of both the US government and the Guatemalan military, the people of Guatemala have aspirations of their own. Some very important trends began to develop in the fall of 1984. The labor movement is increasingly active, pressing for better wages and working conditions. Strikes, occupations and work stoppages are occurring with increasing frequency.

Workers at the Coca-Cola Bottling plant in Guatemala City recently won one labor struggle. The company was threatening to close the plant, claiming the business was no longer lucrative. Realizing that a regular strike would result in a lock-out and their replacement by non-union workers, an occupation strategy was devised. The workers held the plant for a year, suffering tremendous repression including the murder of eight of their leaders. The strength and militancy of the Coke union in its victory helped discourage

Strikes, occupations and work stoppages are occurring with increasing frequency.

aid and technical assistance for its counter-insurgency program from Israel, Taiwan and South Africa as well.

The US sees Guatemala's potential for helping the US, Honduras and El Salvador undermine the Contadora peace initiatives for the region. The Contadora group includes Mexico, Panama, Colombia and Venezuela, and its proposals are not sufficiently anti-Sandinista for the Reaganites' liking. However, Guatemala is not yet a willing player and is, in fact, walking a fine line with regard to the Contadora group. Guatemala hopes to negotiate with Mexico the repatriation of some 46,000 (out of 150,000) Guatemalan refugees who are living in Mexico. These refugees are an embarrassment for the Guatemalan government because they are living witness to the horrors of the regime. But at the same time Guatemala expresses some support for the US position because of the talk of increased US military aid.

Finally, Guatemala is important to US regional plans because of its proximity to Belize. Although Belize gained its independence from Great Britain in 1981, Guatemala has refused to recognize its sovereignty because Guatemala considers Belize to be its rightful territory rather than an independent state. Situated in what might otherwise have been Guatemala's eastern coast, Belize has commercially important ports. The US would strongly prefer that Guatemala yield its territorial claims so that the US can proceed unimpeded with a planned US militarization of Belize. This includes building US bases, a military

further attempts to bust other unions in Guatemala.

Last September saw the first public demonstration since May 1980; 1200 people marched to press the government to account for the fate of the disappeared. The sponsors of this movement, Grupo de Apoyo Mutuo (GAM), have been undaunted in their efforts despite government threats and repression. December and January have brought a noticeable increase in insurgent activity, even in areas of the country where there has not been such activity in a long time. Whatever the outcome of the elections this year, the Guatemalan people know from their experience that the current system cannot bring change.

— Jane Horvath



Short Circuits Short Circuits Short Circuits

THE SELLING OF TMI

Every town needs a good tourist attraction, right? Bill Gross, manager of the Three Mile Island visitors center, thinks so. In the apparent interest of good P.R., "we decided several months after the [TMI] accident that because of all the confusion and the misunderstanding . . . [we would] open the island to public tours."

And open they did. After a stint of heavy lobbying, Gross and his followers convinced local officials that "The Accident" was a worthy P.R. cause and its marketing could bring in hefty returns. "We're world famous," Gross quips in a local AAA guidebook. "TMI is on a roll."

The TMI visitors center has entertained some 500,000 tourists since the fateful spring of 1979. They've been treated to bus tours, guidewalking tours, a video called "TMI in Focus," exhibits of radiation monitors, handouts with titles like "Your Personal Radiation Inventory" and souvenirs.

Souvenirs include T-shirts with the logo "A Little Nuke Never Hurt Anybody," a bumpersticker that says, "Squeeze Me, I Radiate. Kiss Me, I Melt Down," and still another bumper sticker that reads, "I survived the SUPERDOOPERLEAKER." Other take-homes are belt buckles, \$2 key-chains, hats, and ceramic lamps and drinking mugs shaped like TMI's cooling towers.

The slickly produced in-house video is a main attraction at the visitors center. "In this film, we hope to clarify the questions surrounding TMI by placing it all in focus," the film begins. It then goes on to attribute The Accident to foul-ups, bleeps and blunders having little to do with anyone in their outfit. Excuses such as, "The [workers] performed exactly as they had been trained to do . . . but that training, which was standard throughout the nuclear power industry . . . proved to be insufficient," were the mode.

Everything else that happened just happened. And, of course, this tragic comedy of mishaps, "did not present a health hazard." The viewers are treated as kindly folks who should stick to simpler matters and leave nuclear power to the experts.

"Questions of whether or not to evacuate surrounding communities . . . produced considerable emotional and mental strain," the film says, presumably alluding to the ignorance and mental incompetence that plagues the "general population."

When asked if a lot of people died or were "messed up" because of the accident, a PR man responds, "it's very difficult to prove the validity of the accusations. . . Three-headed calves, people dying, people having their hair fall out. People's hair falls out all the time and there are natural mutations that occur all the time."

The marketing fad has caught on in surrounding areas. With proceeds from the center, a group known as, "Friends and Family of TMI," has built a Ronald McDonald House, given science-fair awards for nuclear energy projects and disseminated "information" about nuclear power. "It's a free market," says the group president, Virginia Hukill, "kind of the American way."

— San Francisco Chronicle, 2/17/85

WE DIDN'T SAY ANYTHING

The Pentagon accidentally disclosed the existence of a secret aircraft, code-named "Aurora," on which it plans to spend more than \$2 billion in 1987, in a document inadvertently printed in a Defense Department budget report.

The document lists the name and planned spending of \$86 million for the plane's development in 1986 and \$2.3 billion in 1987. Sources say the Aurora is a reconnaissance version of the secret Stealth bomber being built by Northrop. The Stealth is designed with new materials and configurations to make it nearly invisible to radar.

— San Francisco Chronicle, 2/19/85

THE LATEST FROM NOTEK

A group of physicists at the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory have invented an alternative to the government-sponsored civil defense and Star Wars systems. Their Pocket Shelter is a neatly packaged three-inch cube of specially mixed dirt. According to Dr. Robert Cahn, "This micro shelter is as effective in protecting an individual from nuclear war as any defensive system offered by the government."

No-Tek, Inc.'s Pocket Shelter was inspired by T.K. Jones, President Reagan's Deputy Undersecretary for Research and Engineering, Strategic and Theater Nuclear Forces. In early 1982, Jones presented his plan to protect the nation from nuclear war: "Dig a hole, cover it with a couple of doors and then throw three feet of dirt on top. It's the dirt that does it. . . dirt is just great stuff."

No-Tek claims that the Pocket Shelter improves on this plan by providing the essential ingredient in a convenient portable container. Comparing the Pocket Shelter with its competition, Cahn states, "The technical specifications printed on the container show that using the Pocket Shelter will not make things any worse. The same cannot be said for government programs of civil defense or anti-missile defense. Where else can you buy a product for three dollars which is sure to outperform its competitors costing more than \$110 billion?"

Moreover, says Cahn, the Pocket Shelter is available now, while "you are likely never to see the Star Wars defense even if you pay for it."

"The ingredients of the Pocket Shelter are a striking contrast to those of governmental programs," Cahn says. "Ours is only 1% steer manure."

THE NO-TEK POCKET SHELTER™



IT'S NO JOKE!

PENTAGON GETS TOUGH ON TOILETS

Embarrassed by the revelation that it paid \$640 each to Lockheed Corp for toilet seat covers, the Pentagon announced recently that it will no longer stand for such shenanigans. Now, the Navy will pay a mere \$100 for the covers.

In a day of \$7600 coffee brewers and \$435 hammers, \$100 for a toilet cover may seem like quite a deal, especially when compared to the original figure. One Lockheed official thought so. "This is not an off-the-shelf item," he said. They are designed to military specifications."

Republican senator William Cohen of Maine took a slightly different view. The whole experience, said Cohen "gives new meaning to the word throne."

— San Francisco Chronicle, 2/16/85

DUTCH UTILITY WORKERS OPPOSE NUKES

On November 26, 1984, the official employees association for the EGD, a utility in northeastern Holland, released a strongly worded statement opposing further expansion of the Dutch nuclear program.

The Dutch government hopes to build three or four more reactors. Their selection of Eems, on the northernmost coast of the Netherlands, as a possible construction site for a reactor prompted the EGD workers' statement.

The statement said that the EGD workers do not wish to work in a nuclear facility and that they won't tolerate a nuclear power plant in their surroundings. It argued that conventional and decentralized electricity generation create more jobs in the long term than nuclear, and cited the lack of solutions for nuclear waste and the incompleteness of knowledge about the effects of radiation.

WISE, 12-14-85

POOR BREEDING

Official doubts are surfacing about both West Germany's Kalkar fast breeder reactor and France's Superphenix.

The director of the French national utility, Marcel Boiteux, said at the Malville site of the Superphenix that the fast breeder "because of the costs will stay in the domain of prototype." Boiteux estimated the final costs of the Superphenix at 20 billion French francs, which he called "too expensive."

The German state government of North Rhine Westphalia released a statement last December 4 saying that the Kalkar fast breeder is presently not needed. According to the state's economic minister, Reimut Jockhimsen, Kalkar has proven itself useless as a demonstration facility and is not suitable for commercial use.

The statement was timed to coincide with hearings for a proposed new core for the Kalkar reactor. Other documents prepared for the hearing conclude that with its new core, Kalkar will no longer be able to breed plutonium at all — hardly a convincing demonstration of breeder technology. Furthermore, the document says, the possibility of an accident will be greater with the new core, twice as much radioactivity will be released in the event of an accident, and damage to the population and environment would increase four to five times.

Kalkar was originally expected to cost DM 1500 million, but recent estimates place the cost at almost DM 7 billion. In addition, nearly DM 4 billion have been spent on research and development.

Fast breeder reactors are ideally suited for producing weapons-grade plutonium. As Walt Patterson explains in *The Plutonium Business*, the net accomplishment of the fast breeder "is to convert low-quality conventional power plant fuel into high-quality plutonium ideal for bomb making."

WISE, 12-14-84

RANCHO SECO JITTERS

The Rancho Seco nuclear power plant near Sacramento has been cited by federal regulators as one of the country's most worrisome reactors.

NRC administrators told a hearing in Washington recently that nine nuclear plant sites give them "cause for concerns" about operations and safety. Rancho Seco qualified as one of the "most troublesome."

The Davis Besse plant in Ohio, the San Onofre plant in north San Diego County, the Nine Mile Point reactor in New York, the Beaver Valley plant in Pennsylvania, the Salem plant in New Jersey, the Maine Yankee plant, the Wolf Creek reactor in Kansas and the three-reactor Browns Ferry plant in Alabama were also recognized as being troublesome.

Jack Martin, head of the NRC's Region 5 office near San Francisco, called the 913-megawatt Rancho Seco plant "a real Gordian knot," and "a major frustration to the agency for years."

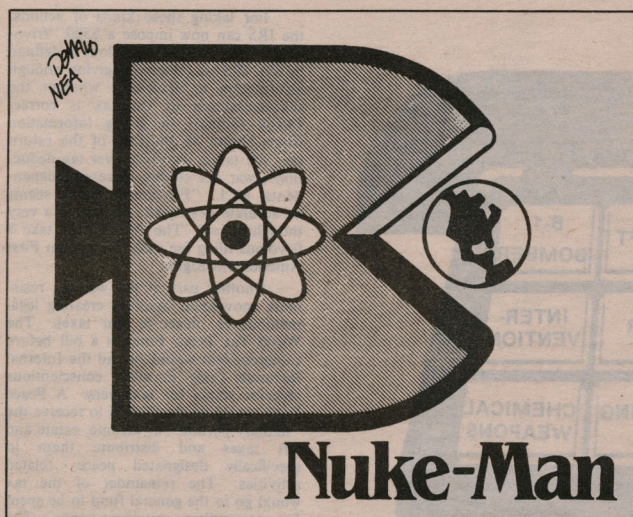
There were no NRC fines last year for specific nuclear mishaps at Rancho Seco but, "a couple of accidents on the non-nuclear, steam side of the plant" and a consultant's report criticizing board members for "unprofessional conduct" have caused a stir among utility executives.

Jeff Marx, a spokesman for the Sacramento Municipal Utility District acknowledged recently that "a closer look" was necessary at Rancho Seco. In that interest, a consulting firm was hired to perform a management audit.

The NRC judgements were based primarily on each plant's safety record, personnel and equipment problems, enforcement actions, emergency shut-downs and the yearly performance report. A factor mentioned repeatedly was the ability and commitment of each utility's top officers to manage the "complexities of nuclear power."

— San Francisco Chronicle, 1/30/85

Short Circuits Short Circuits Short Circuits



PENTAGON PAC-MAN

The Pentagon is developing satellites that will be capable of evading Soviet attack, aided by a network of ground stations that will keep surveillance on objects in deep space, according to the *Washington Post*.

The satellites may also be armed to defend themselves. Hardened against radiation and laser attacks, some of the satellites are also being given tiny jet engines so they can be maneuvered away from attack.

A network of five space-watching stations, known as "Spacetrack," is scheduled to be completed in 1988, giving 24-hour-a-day coverage of all satellites. "We are looking at the ultimate video game," a source was quoted as saying.

San Francisco Chronicle, 2/18/85

NO SHOES FOR SERVICES

According to a recent General Accounting Office report, the Defense Department's reserve stocks of combat footwear are sadly under par "due to funding limitations."

The Army, according to the GAO, was the worst off of any branch of the service. As of May 1984, the Army had stockpiled 18 percent of its projected needs for rubber overshoes, 29 percent for insulated cold-weather boots and 83 percent for boots suitable for jungle combat.

The report was requested by Senator William Cohen, R-Maine, and Representative William Alexander, D-Ark, who come from states with significant shoe industries. The two senators lead, respectively, the Senate and House Footwear caucuses. "He's always looking for ways to strengthen the footwear industry," an aide reportedly remarked. "And he's also a member of the Armed Services Committee."

San Francisco Chronicle 2/11/85

NO ESCAPING NUCLEAR WINTER

The effects of nuclear winter would not be confined to the Northern Hemisphere if there were a nuclear war here, says astronomer Carl Sagan. "You can no longer envision catching an Air New Zealand flight at a time of high crisis," Sagan said.

Refinements of an earlier study suggest that particles of dust and soot would, contrary to earlier speculation, flow into the air in the Southern Hemisphere and not be contained above the equator.

The clouds could reduce air temperature by an average 10 to 40 degrees over a continent, Sagan estimated. This would kill crops, freeze water supplies, cripple civil defense plans and probably lead to the extinction of plant and animal species.

San Francisco Chronicle 2/10/85

SOVIETS BEHIND US ON BOMBS

The Soviet Union has fallen behind the US in defense outlays, according to a new CIA report. The report conflicts with a much higher Defense Department estimate that made headlines in June. That report cited an "unrelenting Soviet buildup" as justification for huge US military increases.

But according to Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin, "Soviet military procurement has been stagnant for the past seven years."

"Before 1976," the report states, "growth in total (Soviet) defense spending... averaged about 4 to 5% a year; after 1976, the rate of increase in spending dropped appreciably, to about 2 percent a year."

This seems to conflict directly with a Pentagon press conference in June that reported Soviet procurement of major weapons systems to have increased between 5 percent and 10 percent from 1982 to 1983. That same conference reported an overall Soviet military spending increase of 3 percent to 4 percent over the 1982 - 1983 period.

San Francisco Chronicle, 2/23/85

WEST GERMANS PROTEST MILITARY PLUTONIUM

On December 15, 1984, more than 5000 people demonstrated in Hanau, West Germany, against two nuclear fuel companies, ALKEM and (believe it or not) NUKEM. The demonstration came to an end when 1800 police attacked protesters, bystanders, and journalists alike with water cannons and truncheons.

ALKEM and NUKEM have been producing fuel elements for nuclear reactors inside and outside Germany since the early '60s, and both companies are now planning to expand their facilities. Nuclear opponents believe the new buildings will be used to stockpile weapons materials for an independent European or West German nuclear force.

Recent statements by German officials reinforce their fears. In April, Jurgen Todenhofer, spokesperson for the leading party in the German governing coalition, told *Die Welt*, "It is therefore time, via the creation of an integrated European atomic force, to give the western alliance two strong pillars of support, one European and one American."

In a military magazine, *Europäische Wehrkunde*, Major of the Reserve Roland Koller wrote, "An up to now unconsidered possibility to free the Federal Republic from its precarious political situation in regard to international security is to have its own finger on the nuclear trigger."

NUKEM expansion plans are for a factory that will store and process six tons of highly enriched uranium, which it will import from the US. ALKEM is applying for permission to store and process 6.7 tons of plutonium with a concentration of up to 95% fissionable plutonium isotopes. The plutonium will be shipped from reprocessing plants including those at La Hague in France and at the Karlsruhe Research Center in West Germany.

Government officials deny that these large amounts of plutonium and enriched uranium — enough to make several hundred nuclear bombs — are intended for weapons use. But since they offer no other plausible explanation, opponents remain unconvinced.

— WISE, 1-18-85

MAKING ELECTRICITY FROM APARTHEID

Almost half the imported uranium used by US utilities comes from South Africa and Namibia, according to a report by the Washington-based Nuclear Control Institute. Eighteen US utility companies run their nuclear reactors with uranium from South Africa.

Between 1981 and 1983 the Reagan administration increased purchases of South African uranium for enrichment by 350 percent. The money Pretoria gets for the uranium is particularly important now, since the world price for South Africa's principal export, gold, is so depressed.

Much of the uranium is mined at Rossing in Namibia. "For South Africa, Rossing is a bonanza," the institute's report observes. "By occupying Namibia, South Africa increases by half the foreign exchange it earns from uranium exports." This is one reason South Africa continues to occupy Namibia years after the United Nations declared the occupation illegal.

The Reagan administration is also helping the South African regime by selling it military equipment at a brisk rate. The number of licenses granted for exports to South Africa by the State Department's Office of Munitions Control jumped to \$88 million worth of goods in the first quarter of 1984. The value of licenses granted previously amounted to only a fraction of that figure for an entire year.

Until passage of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act in 1978, the US enriched South African uranium and sent it back to Pretoria. When the law cut off this trade, a large amount of South African uranium was awaiting shipment in an Energy Department warehouse.

Five US utilities eventually bought the uranium from the South Africans — at a bargain price. The cost of enriching uranium had gone up by several million dollars while the stuff was sitting in the warehouse. According to the Nuclear Control Institute report, the DOE refused to release the names of the companies that bought the enriched uranium, because "it is likely that some or all of the utilities... would be faced with protests from consumer groups, public-interest organizations and various other groups."

Through its own investigations the institute uncovered the identity of two of the companies: Maine Yankee Power Co. and Northern States Power Co. of Minnesota. Maine Yankee declined to comment to Jack Anderson and Northern States said it had a contract with Exxon for some imported uranium, but didn't know if South Africa was the source.

— Times Standard, Eureka, CA, 1/5/85

NAVY KNOCKS OUT POWER

Metallic particles spread into the atmosphere during Navy maneuvers last month, knocking out power to 65,000 customers, interfering with radar at airports in southern California, and putting a television station off the air.

Some 30 Navy planes spread several thousand pounds of "chaff" — a substance made of thin hair-like strands of aluminum and fiberglass — in an operation 100 to 300 miles offshore that was designed to test the ability to jam radar.

The Navy flatly denied the blackouts were caused by the chaff. Citing a lack of evidence, Commander Jurkowsky further contended that the chaff presented no health hazard. Still, Navy experts could not understand why the interference was so great.

The blackouts, which occurred between 1 pm and 2:30 pm, lasted from a few seconds to about two hours.

Radar failures were reported at airports in the San Diego, Palm Springs and Los Angeles areas and in Tijuana, Mexico.

— NY Times, 1/13/85



"SOMEDAY, SON, THIS WILL ALL BE YOURS!"

War tax resistance: cutting the military budget

As more and more of the federal budget goes for guns, tanks, nuclear weapons and the militarization of our society — and less and less for socially useful programs — an increasing number of people are considering war tax resistance. Upwards of 65% of the budget for 1986 is expected to go for military-related expenditures, contributing to the ever-growing national debt and the further erosion of human services programs. Stories in the daily paper often provide more than adequate inspiration for refusal to contribute monetarily to war preparations.

Tax resisters feel that refusing to pay war taxes is one way to reduce their personal complicity with the war machine while redirecting their tax money to programs and organizations which promote equality and social justice. If every person who supported the nuclear freeze, for instance, were to withhold \$25 of their income taxes, over \$1 billion would be available for socially useful causes.

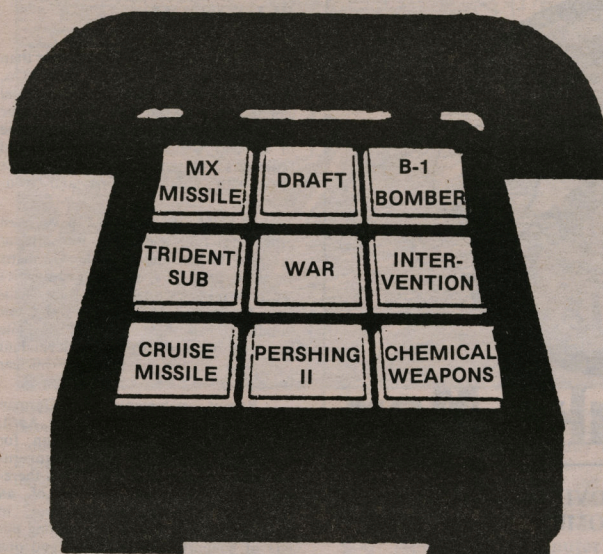
The IRS: death or taxes?

Few entities can generate more fear and anxiety than the Internal Revenue Service, even among activists accustomed to civil disobedience. People who have been arrested at nuclear power plants or weapons facilities quiver with fear at the idea of messing with the "big guys." The IRS has intentionally promoted an image of swift and ruthless action — intimidation is the name of the IRS' game. Around tax time, all sorts of stories begin to appear in the newspaper and on radio and television about how vigorously the IRS goes after tax evaders or cheaters. "You didn't pay your taxes? Well, we'll take your car, your house, all the money in your savings and checking accounts, your paychecks for the next 15 years and your first born child. Then we're going to toss you in jail and throw away the key."

In reality, the IRS is a very inefficient and arbitrary organization. While one person may be pursued for a \$25 income tax bill owed 4 years ago, another who didn't pay \$2,000 just last year may not be discovered or ever collected against. This isn't surprising when you think of the enormity of the task the IRS must accomplish yearly. The IRS is responsible for processing 140 million tax returns submitted by 225 million taxpayers with a staff of only 85,000. By requiring individual attention to each return for either assessment or collection of taxes, resisters place a huge strain on an already overloaded system.

Senator Henry Bellmon of Oklahoma commented, "I was amazed when [an IRS official] told me that 'if the taxpayers of this country ever discover that the IRS operates on 90% bluff, the entire system would collapse.'"

War tax resistance is not like going to a demonstration with a few friends. It is an individual act, and resisters can feel very isolated when the IRS responds to their nonpayment of war taxes. I remember vividly the first time I got one of the IRS' threatening letters. I turned white, grabbed the stairway railing to steady myself and repeated over and over in a terrified voice, "I'm a dead turkey. I'm a dead turkey." Fortunately, I was able to talk with a fellow



tax resister who reminded me that the IRS sends out many computer printed letters and this was just the first.

Hanging up on war

One common method of resisting war taxes is to refuse to pay the federal excise tax on telephone bills. The first telephone tax was implemented by Congress through the War Tax Revenue Bond of 1914, passed to raise money for WW I. It was repealed and reimposed a number of times depending on the need for funds for war. In 1965, Congress approved a reduction from 10% to 3%, with plans to eliminate the tax entirely in 1969.

However, Congress passed a special law in 1966 raising the tax to 10% because the costs of the Vietnam War were escalating. When the bill was being debated, Wilbur Mills, Chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee explained, "it is Vietnam, and only the Vietnam operation, which makes this bill necessary." Since 1968 the tax has been extended a number of times and raised once. It is now at 3% and is due to be eliminated at the end of fiscal year 1985. It is unclear whether or not it will be extended.

Telephone tax resistance consists simply of deducting the charges for federal excise tax from payments of both local and long distance phone bills. The phone company acts to collect these taxes for the IRS, and it is the IRS that will eventually get in touch with those who refuse to pay.

It is illegal for the telephone company to terminate service for nonpayment of war taxes. Resisters who are threatened with having their phone service cut off often remind the company representative that the phone company's only responsibility is to report the refusal to the IRS and that the government must take it from there. Most war tax organizations have copies of the IRS Procedural Rule which applies to the situation (Code of Federal Regulations Title 26, Section 601.403(c)(2)) and resisters can quote it in detail if the phone company becomes threatening.

Most phone tax resisters think it is a good idea to enclose a note with their phone bill payment stating that they are not paying the federal taxes. Various peace organizations also have preprinted forms for this purpose. Most phone companies have caught on by now, but some will continue to bill resisters for the tax and even add interest, treating it as an unpaid portion of the bill. One phone company told a tax resister that

she needed to use the correct form and gave her the address for the War Resisters League in New York. So, if the amount continues to appear on the bill, the phone company most likely hasn't referred the nonpayment to the IRS and will have to be reminded to remove the charges.

Once the IRS gets in motion — it usually takes them a long while — they will send the resister a series of computer printed notices of tax due in hopes of intimidating them into sending in the money. Sometimes the IRS eventually seizes the money from a bank account.

Resistance and risk

The remaining methods of war tax resistance are riskier. Although fewer than 30 people since World War II have faced criminal prosecutions for war tax resistance, it is strongly advisable for those considering withholding any part of their income tax to consult with a war tax resistance counselor (see the list of organizations at the end of this article). The IRS wants money, not martyrs, so resisters should be aware of the fines, interest and penalties the IRS could assess for refusal to pay war taxes.

Several methods are frequently used to resist paying war taxes gathered through the income tax system. Resisters file blank returns, filling in only their name, address, date and signature, or they refuse to pay the portion of the tax they find objectionable. Approximately 63% of the total federal budget is spent on military related matters, with 21% going for past wars and 42% for the current military budget. About 10% of the income tax pays for nuclear weapons and delivery systems.

Since whatever tax is paid goes into the general fund, part of any payment will ultimately end up supporting the defense department. In addition, some people object to the non-military uses of tax funds. Instead of supporting the CIA, FBI and excess bureaucracies of the US, some war tax resisters redirect money to local constructive programs. Many people give outright donations to groups whose work they support. Others put their tax money into an alternative fund which uses the interest on it to fund human service programs. The original amount of the deposit will be returned by the fund if the resister needs it.

The Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act of 1982 made some creative strategies of the war tax resistance movement more difficult. For example, by claiming a "war tax deduction" on their 1040 form, some people have been successful in receiving refunds they weren't entitled to. Others filed blank returns or claimed 3 billion dependents, the world's population.

For taking these kinds of actions, the IRS can now impose a \$500 "frivolous" filing penalty. Frivolous is defined by the IRS as either not giving enough information to determine whether the self-assessment of the tax is correct (blank returns) or giving information which shows on the face of the return that the tax is incorrect (war tax deductions, war tax credits, excessive dependents, etc.). "Frivolous" hardly seems an accurate description of what is a very thoughtful act. The ACLU may take a frivolous filing fee case to court on First Amendment Rights.

Another part of the war tax resistance movement involves creating legal methods to object to war taxes. The World Tax Peace Fund is a bill before Congress that would amend the Internal Revenue Code to allow conscientious objector status for taxpayers. A Peace Fund would be established to receive the "military portion" of income, estate and gift taxes and distribute them to specifically designated peace-related activities. The remainder of the tax would go to the general fund to be spent for non-military purposes only. The WPTF bill has been introduced into Congress a number of times, and sponsorship has grown from 9 members in 1972 to 30 in 1980.

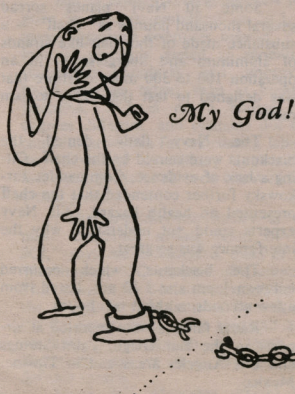
The Conscience and Military Tax Campaign is an effort to gather the signatures of 100,000 people who pledge to refuse payment of the military portion of their taxes. It is hoped that the pressure of a resistance in this scale will force Congress to pass the World Peace Tax Fund Act. Once the 100,000 goal has been reached, all those who pledged will be notified to begin or continue their war tax resistance.

Other legal methods of war tax objection have included attaching protest letters to tax returns and making tax payments into media events. One woman learned that a check could be written on anything provided it had the account number, date, payee and amount on it. Her check, a full-size replica of a Cruise missile, was paraded down the main street of her town before it was delivered to a skeptical IRS. The IRS learned the check was indeed negotiable and the woman needed a truck to pick up her cancelled check from the bank. Canned goods have been delivered to IRS offices in lieu of money. IRS and post offices have been picketed on April 15.

How effective is war tax resistance? As with any other political act, it is difficult to determine any immediate result. Protest demonstrations and civil disobedience actions have not prevented operation of Diablo Canyon or stopped work at the Livermore Labs. But these actions have made others aware of the issues and let the government know that we object to these uses of our resources.

There is something personally valuable in confronting the system which sends guns and money to the contras in Nicaragua and invests billions of dollars in space weapons. Resisting war taxes keeps money away from the military, and the re-routing of funds is helpful to society. War tax resistance gives us an opportunity to put our money where our hearts are.

— Cynthia Sharpe



The following organizations can provide more information on war tax resistance:

- War Resisters League/West, 85 Carl Street, SF 94117, (415) 731-1220. Tax resistance workshops, counselling and organizing; *Guide to War Tax Resistance* is available for \$6.
- No. Calif. War Tax Resistance, 2141 Bonar, Berkeley (415) 843-9877. Workshops, counselling, and geographical referrals.
- National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee, PO Box 2236, East Patchogue, NY 11772.
- Conscience and Military Tax Campaign, 44 Bellhaven Road, Bellport, NY 11713, (516) 286-8825.
- National Council for a World Peace Tax Fund, 2111 Florida Ave, NW, Washington, DC 20008.

Nuclear power: the state of its fits and starts

Notwithstanding the recent spate of obituaries for nuclear energy, construction continues on 40 nuclear power plants around the country. Thirty-five million households — one-third of the US total — will enter the atomic age in the next few years. As two recently released reports indicate, their entrance will not be a festive one: the plants' frequent breakdowns will keep local residents in a constant state of alarm, fearing the calamity that could happen at any time. Meanwhile, regional economies and living standards will suffer from soaring electric rates.

Please, not in my backyard!

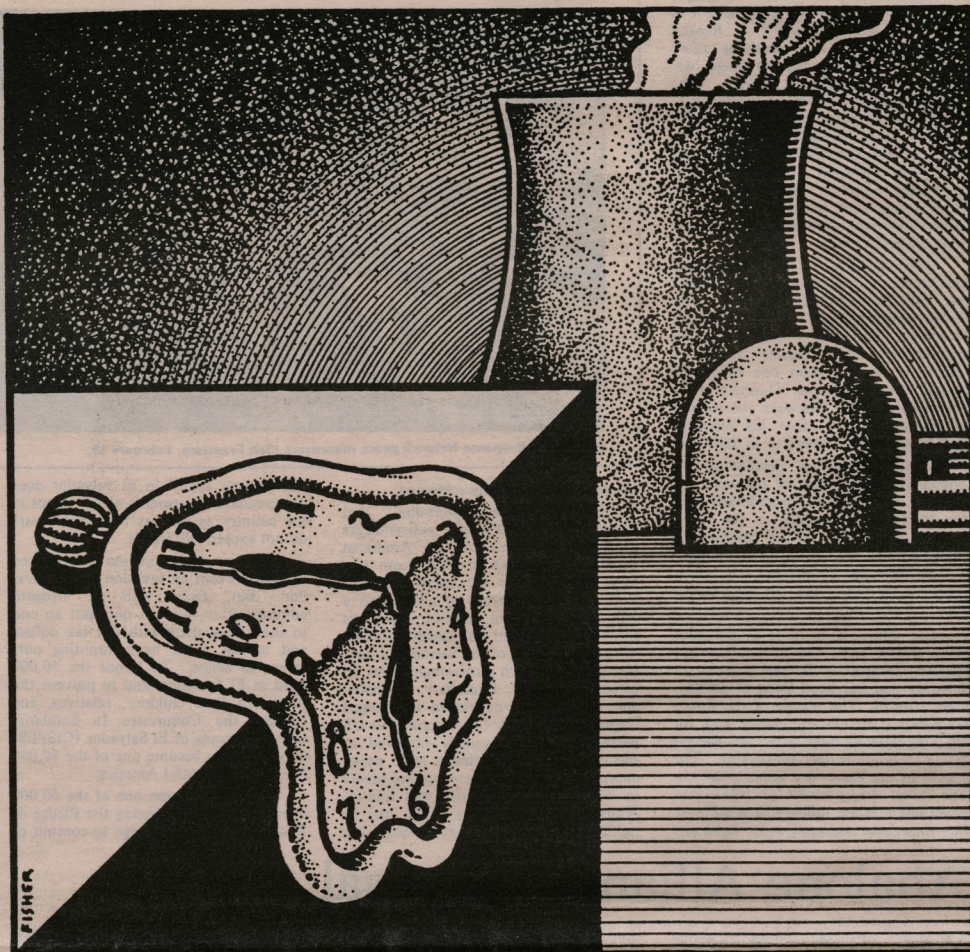
Just leafing through the 1984 *Nuclear Power Safety Report* put out by the Critical Mass Energy Project (215 Pennsylvania Ave. S.E., Washington, DC 20003) is enough to give one the jitters. Five thousand and sixty "mishaps" were reported at nuclear power plants in 1983, with 14 plants exceeding 100 for the year. Grand Gulf led the list with 277. Two hundred forty incidents were deemed "particularly significant" by the NRC. These ranged from bolt and nut cracking to improper control rod operation.

The scariest accidents were ones in which emergency safety systems did not work. The worst of such situations occurred at Salem, New Jersey, where, due to poor circuit breaker maintenance, one of the reactor units failed to automatically shut down twice in three days when steam generators suddenly lost their feedwater. (The first time this happened, the manual shutdown lever broke off in the operator's hand!) The problems at Salem are but two of the total of 2500 reactor "trip systems" breakdowns since 1972. One of these took place at Diablo Canyon, even though it was still not operational. In April, 1983 the NRC discovered that management at Diablo was not maintaining the emergency shutdown breaker system properly.

Meanwhile the NRC is dragging its feet in the resolution of "generic" problems inherent in plant design and construction. As of July, 1984 there were 484 unresolved problems. Major issues such as pipe integrity, seismic design criteria and the progressive embrittlement of reactor vessels are going unattended.

Along with the continuing dismal accident rate, a record number of employees were contaminated by radiation: 85,646 (36% of them seriously). Of particular concern is the increasing use of temporary workers to perform the most exposed, "hot" tasks. Such workers are laid off after receiving the maximum "allowable" dose of radiation. They sometimes then go on to find jobs at other reactor sites during the course of the year. According to the Critical Mass report, 36% of all exposed workers in 1982 were transient employees, and workers employed at more than one plant received doses of radiation considerably higher than single-facility employees.

None of the long list of occurrences mentioned in the 80-page report led to serious accidents. However, as Critical Mass points out, "trivial events in a



nontrivial system like a nuclear reactor can trigger a chain of events potentially leading to a catastrophic accident." Moreover, as the current crop of reactors ages, the number of mishaps is bound to increase, and so will the likelihood of disaster.

The death spiral

The threat of disaster looms large particularly because electrical utilities do not have the financial resources for mounting the maintenance and retrofitting efforts needed to prevent accidents. Another recent report, *Rate Shock: Confronting the Cost of Nuclear Power* (issued by the Environmental Action Foundation, 724 Dupont Circle Building, Washington, DC 20036) describes the consequences of the severe financial drain nuclear power represents. The outlook is bleak, both for utilities and consumers.

Rate Shock finds that the nuclear power plants under construction will cost a lifetime total of at least \$191 billion

more than the fossil fuel plants they replace. Contrary to utility claims, there will never be any savings from nuclear power. In the first year of operation alone, each nuclear plant will cause electric rates to leap by an average of 25%. Residential customers will be asked to pay \$150 more in the first year, commercial customers \$90 more and industrial customers \$47,000 more — and in some areas these sums will be much higher. (Northern Californians will get off relatively easy since PG&E can divide the costs of Diablo Canyon among an exceptionally large number of ratepayers.)

Sudden increases of these magnitudes will severely damage local economies, according to the report. For example, Shoreham's startup in New York will cause Long Island to lose 35,000 to 49,000 jobs while 11,000 households are pushed below the poverty line and another 37,000 are disqualified from obtaining mortgages. (Projected first-year rate increase: 57%.)

Under the impact of skyrocketing rates, conservation and economic decline will decrease electric consumption. Utilities will have to spread their fixed costs over a smaller number of kilowatt-hours, and this will lead to further rate increases. And further rate increases will further reduce electric consumption. Utilities could then be caught in a so-called death spiral, in which they could never recover nuclear costs.

While one might question Environmental Action's exact figures for the "excess costs" of nuclear power — *Rate Shock* seems to disregard the increasing operations and maintenance expenses that aging fossil fuel power plants will incur — it is clear that massive rate hikes are in order as the essentially redundant nuclear power plants go online. And, as the report describes, many different segments of the community have an interest in keeping electric rates low to preserve local economies.

Beware the Jabberwock

Rate Shock advocates shifting the costs of nuclear power to the utilities'

share- and bond-holders by limiting rate increases, perhaps to the extent of forcing electric companies into bankruptcy, which the report finds quite appealing as a way to lower consumers' electric bills. Cheapest of all in the report's view would be public (really government) takeover of the companies involved.

The problem with Environmental Action's scenarios is that none of them force utilities to abandon their reactors, as the report's authors seem to hope. All they do is weaken the companies financially. Certainly, government takeover cannot be relied upon to get rid of nuclear power. Government organizations, from the US Department of Energy to the TVA and WPPSS, have an abominable record concerning atomic energy.

As for the private utilities, they might well opt to start up their reactors even in cases where state rate boards completely disallow nuclear construction costs. This is because the daily expenses of running a nuclear power plant are currently usually less than those of available coal plants, as *Rate Shock* acknowledges. Other, more obscure factors might also support the decision to start up when incorporation of costs into the rate base is limited. These include stubbornness, a perverse pronuclear idealism, the dictates of bankruptcy proceedings, or a strategy to get full nuclear cost recovery approved later on.

If financially strapped utilities insist on operating nuclear reactors, a nightmare is in the making. "A financial qualification evaluation prior to NRC approval of a reactor operating license is not only prudent, but imperative," as Critical Mass states in its reactor safety report.

Struggling against skyrocketing electric rates is fine, but in so doing, we have to make sure that we do not shortsightedly or opportunistically make a bad situation worse. Nuclear power plants leave little margin for error to either those who try to operate them or those who want to shut them down.

— David Gilden

Something old, something new

cont' from p.2

the nuclear plant to replace broken equipment at the two fossil fuel power plants adjacent to the closed reactor. He also suggested that PG&E plan to test radiation levels in the storage pool more than once a month.

- PG&E has not been able to supply figures on how long the metal cladding that encases the fuel would remain intact before corroding in the fuel storage pool.
- The spent fuel storage pool has leaked for years and was lined with stainless steel to stop the leak — but this didn't solve the problem.

PG&E is seeking a \$62 million rate increase from the Public Utilities Commission (PUC) to cover the cost of the 30-year storage plan and the cost of dismantling the plant permanently. In

separate hearings, the utility is seeking to recover an additional \$88 million spent building, financing and modifying the plant. The company spent \$35 million on seismic studies and modifications to make the plant earthquake safe but never got approval from the NRC to reopen it.

The Redwood Alliance has filed arguments with the PUC opposing most of the \$88 million rate increase, since the utility had doubts about reopening the plant as early as 1973 but continued spending money anyway. The PUC staff has agreed with many of the Redwood Alliance's contentions. Hearings on this increase will begin in early April. The set of hearings dealing with decommissioning will begin in April or May.

— Ward Young

Alternative aid to El Salvador

In El Salvador, over 50,000 people have been killed by the government in the past five years. The Reagan administration is now spending more than \$1 million a day to wage war against the Salvadoran people. The cornerstone of this war is a campaign of aerial bombardment that has taken the lives of more than 2,000 civilians since January 1984. Over 3,000 tons of bombs have been dropped — including anti-personnel bombs, 500-pound bombs, napalm and white phosphorus — in the largest bombing campaign ever in the western hemisphere.

The election of Jose Napoleon Duarte to the presidency in May 1984 has not improved the situation. The death squads remain intact and have recently increased their activity significantly, while Duarte has been unable to convict even one officer of human rights violations. Duarte's major "accomplishment" has been the tripling of military aid — since his election, \$178.7 million has flowed to El Salvador.

Less than two percent of the population owns most of the land and controls the industry. Salvadorans have the lowest caloric intake in the hemisphere; 70 percent of the children are malnourished; 60 percent of the population is illiterate; 80 percent don't have access to potable water, adequate sanitation or electricity.

But there is a new El Salvador being created right now in the Zones of Popular Control — the one-third of El Salvador that has been freed of government control. The people of the Zones are building schools and clinics, and, for the first time in their lives, are participating in political decision-making. The people in the Zones are noncombatants. The threat they pose to the Salvadoran government is not military, it is political. But they have suffered most from the



Emergency Response Network peace maneuvers, San Francisco, February 19.

photo by Steve Stallone

US-sponsored bombing campaign.

The "Vietnam syndrome" that Reagan administration policymakers decry is testament to the American people's willingness to learn from history, to remember the bitter lesson of Vietnam and to refuse to allow such a war to happen again. But for five years the US government has steadily funded the extermination of the Salvadoran people, in a war which increasingly relies on carpet bombing, incendiary weapons, and other tactics developed in ravaged Vietnam. Not only US weapons but US personnel are increasingly involved in this war which Americans have never approved. In 1984, there was no month in which Central America was free of thousands of US troops taking part in military maneuvers. What is more, the

"55 advisor limit" in El Salvador does not preclude movements of US troops in the country as long as their duty tours do not exceed two weeks.

So far, public opinion has worked to help prevent an invasion of El Salvador. But, faced with an arrogant administration, we can only put an end to the killing done with our tax dollars and in our name by committing ourselves to action. To honor the 50,000 dead in El Salvador, and to prevent the deaths of their children, relatives, and friends, the Committee In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) invites you to become one of the 50,000 for Peace in Central America.

You can become one of the 50,000 in many ways. By signing the Pledge of Resistance you can pledge to commit or

support those who commit civil disobedience in the event of an invasion of El Salvador or Nicaragua. You can host a house meeting for friends to help inform them about Central America. You can pledge to send mailgrams to Congresspersons demanding a halt to military aid to El Salvador. You can make a donation to CISPES or the educational, agricultural and medical projects in the Zones of Popular Control through New El Salvador Today (NEST).

For more information about these and other projects, or to make your commitment to become one of the 50,000 for Peace in Central America, call San Francisco CISPES at 861-0425.

— Catherine A. Cambron
CISPES

Abalone Alliance proposal

Most Abalones would probably agree that the Alliance is more than a statewide network of groups working against Diablo Canyon. Through the things we do and the way we do them, we offer resistance and an alternative to a system responsible for many of the current catastrophes.

But hard realities are upon us. With the high power testing of Diablo's Unit I and the near-completion of Unit II, our base of support is quickly eroding. Groups are dissipating, being drawn into other political activity or disintegrating altogether. One truth shines forth through all this bleakness: the Alliance must find a way to rejuvenate or face extinction. Most of the groups that make up the Alliance will, in all likelihood, continue. But much of our communication and sense of interrelation

and community will be lost unless some action is taken.

This proposal, therefore, is that the Abalone Alliance join with the North American Green Network, and we suggest adopting the name California (or Ecotopia) Green Alliance.

Most Abalone groups have already expanded their focus to "Green" issues in addition to nuclear power and weapons, such as offshore oil drilling, toxic waste, US intervention abroad, squatting, etc. Often these expansions have been done with a sense of guilt over "abandoning" the Abalone Alliance. Now the Alliance can catch up to where the groups already are.

The Abalone Alliance would provide a network of groups already in place, the sense of community that has developed through our years of struggle

together, and the communication vehicles provided by *It's About Times* and other Abalone group periodicals. The North American Greens share Abalone ideals of personal empowerment to create social change, direct action focus, feminist process and consensus decision making, decentralization and non-violence. Becoming greens would give us a respected, internationally known identity. It would allow us to expand our organizing base, gain access to a wider cross-section of people, strengthen ties within the state and expand our ties with other regional, national and international Green efforts.

1) Abalone Alliance structure and process adopted in 11/82 should remain intact until a Green Network Conference (see #2) is convened to review them and make the necessary revisions.

2) So as not to appear to be "trashing" other Green efforts in California, a meeting or conference should be arranged to connect and fuse our movement through discussion of our bases of unity.

3) Diablo Canyon and the ratepayers strike should continue as a campaign and focus of the network.

4) Statewide offices in San Francisco and San Luis Obispo should remain as currently exist, until the network chooses to change the apparatus.

5) Direct action, feminist process and nonviolence should remain as cornerstones of the network.

This proposal has been submitted to the Abalone groups and will be discussed at the conference the weekend of March 23 (see announcements).

PG&E bill too high? Try rate relief

More and more people throughout California are expressing interest in a ratestrike against PG&E. Withholding payment is a particularly gratifying and potentially powerful method of protesting PGE's nuclear fiascos at Diablo Canyon and Humboldt Bay.

Potential ratestrikers are naturally most concerned about having their power cut off. In designing the action, the ratestrike collective did not intend that a significant number of people would have their power cut off, although this is a possibility we must prepare for. We have offered many options, so that as wide a range of people as possible could participate. We have discussed withholding and other strategies with people who have already tried them out, and what follows are some ideas for bringing the most pressure to bear on the utility.

The first step in putting financial pressure on PG&E is to not pay your bill when it first arrives. The utility will send two follow-up notices before the threat to shut off power becomes real. PG&E's administrative and mailing costs rise if they have to send these notices to a great number of people.

After one or both follow-up notices are sent, anyone worried that their power will be cut off might wish to make at least a partial payment. The chances are remote that power will be shut off if at least half or more of the bill is paid. When making this payment or any other, not including the computerized payment card helps to much things up for PG&E. People might instead enclose a short note stating that "this is in partial payment of my utility bill for the month of [blank]," and giving only your name and address.

Without the payment card, PG&E's computers can't handle the transaction routinely. This tactic has been used successfully in the Netherlands and West Germany to bring financial pressure against utilities. Each time someone pays without a computer card, clerical staff must research the account number of that person and key the payment into the computer. More work can be devised by not paying the exact amount due, which means that a credit or deficit must be posted onto the account. Be sure to keep a record of all payments and correspondence!

Besides withholding payments,

many people have written long letters to PG&E asking them to explain why ratepayers rather than stockholders are being stuck with the bill for Diablo Canyon. By demanding answers to these inquiries from top management, the utility will expend much time and energy, and that translates into big bucks.

If the company does decide to terminate service, it is required to try to contact the customer by telephone 48 to 72 hours before a crew is sent out. But they only have to try once, and only during regular office hours. People can still wait to pay the crew that comes out to terminate service, if they want to cut it that close. This, of course, would be the ultimate form of withholding short of termination. If the company does turn off the juice, it requires a \$2.50 reconnect fee plus a deposit equal to twice your average utility bill or \$10, whichever is more.

These options available to ratestrikers do not have the goal of losing electricity. The idea is simply to resist PG&E. Through coordinated resistance, involving as many people as possible, we feel a strong message can be carried to PG&E that we don't want to and will not pay

for Diablo Canyon or Humboldt Bay. Every day payments are delayed, every letter that is written, every creative idea that is put into practice, costs PG&E money and will help make that point.

Plenty of work remains to be done to mobilize the numbers of people that it will take to make the strike effective. There will soon be a mailing to people who have indicated interest in participating to tell them more about the strike. We need groups and individuals to help do outreach in their communities about the strike. We also want to do more to promote alternative energy and conservation, and to make its implementation a long-term goal of the ratestrike.

We are doing outreach in the Bay Area through weatherization parties that are available through the Oakland Alternative Energy Collective. We would also be willing to help people set up similar programs in their communities. People with ideas for conservation, alternative energy production, weatherization tips, etc. are needed. Donations of money or other resources are always gratefully appreciated. Happy Ratestriking!

— Don Eichelberger

Announcements

ABALONE ALLIANCE STATEWIDE CONFERENCE

Green Alliance, Ecotopia Alliance or No Alliance? What will it be? There are big changes in the air for the Abalone, but we need input from all you old Abalones. Come to the next statewide conference at the Suburban Palace, 2162 36th Avenue, SF, March 22, 23 and 24 (that's Friday from 6 pm to Sunday afternoon). Cost is \$5 for 5 meals (we're not kidding). Sleeping bags required. Call the office to register. 415-861-0592.

WHO WILL SPEAK AGAINST DIABLO?

Here's your chance to tell the Public Utilities Commission and PG&E just what you think of Diablo Canyon and what it will do to your rates. We couldn't print some of your comments here without violating some obscenity laws. However, if you go to the PUC public hearings you'll have the opportunity to tell the PUC which of the costs should be borne by PG&E stockholders and which by the ratepayers. The hearings in San Francisco are from March 11-20 and in San Luis Obispo from March 21-22. Please call the office if you plan to attend. 415-861-0592.

SITE 300 ACTION

Want to stop nuclear bomb tests, but can't afford a trip to Nevada? Are you looking for another backcountry protest like Vandenberg or Diablo? Stop nuclear weapons tests in the Bay Area — occupy Site 300.

Site 300 is where Livermore Lab tests the high explosive conventional detonators of nuclear bombs. Right now Site 300 is developing Star Wars and third generation nuclear weapons. The Site 300 working group is planning an occupation on April 1-5 and is meeting every other Wednesday at 7:30 pm at the Livermore Action Group office, 3126 Shattuck Ave. in Berkeley. For more info call LAG at 644-3031 or ARC at 397-1452.

ANIMAL RIGHTS DEMO

On Sunday, April 28, there will be a demonstration against Syntex Corporation in Palo Alto concerning their admitted use of 90,000 laboratory animals in painful experiments. Some of the experiments were to test LD-50 doses of drugs (the doses at which half the animals die).

A car funeral procession will begin at noon from the Palo Alto Veterinary Hospital parking lot at Miranda Drive near Page Mill. Wear white (with optional red blotches.) Call 530-6043 for more information.

A NUCLEAR-FREE EAST BAY?

Should Berkeley and Alameda County join the growing list of nuclear free zones? A group planning to put initiatives on the November 1986 ballot both in Berkeley and Alameda County is currently doing research on what and how much of the nuclear and conventional war complex exists in the county. We are also exploring which provisions of a Nuclear Free Zone law could stand the inevitable court challenge.

Possible provisions are restrictions on transportation, "Sunshine" (right to know) laws, a ban on local government contracts with companies involved in the nuclear cycle, and restricting local government services to nuclear installations.

We are just getting started. Hard political decisions on the wording of the initiatives and the nature of the campaign are still ahead. For example, should the initiatives express our wish to actually shut down the existing facilities

(Lawrence Livermore Lab, Alameda Naval Weapons Station, etc.)? Should our "socially responsible investment" clause include a ban on South African investments? Should we aim for a nuclear free zone or a military free zone?

Nuclear free zone campaigns in other areas, such as Cambridge, Massachusetts and Santa Monica, California, show that this could become a major Bay Area issue in 1986. We have an exciting opportunity to reach thousands of people who have not heard much about the local nukes and their dangers. We anticipate demonstrations and direct actions will be part of the campaign.

Meetings are held on alternate Tuesdays at the Livermore Action Group office at 3126 Shattuck Ave. in Berkeley. The next one is on March 19 at 7:30 pm, or call the LAG office at 644-3031 for details.

BLOCKADE PLANNED IN NORTHERN CANADA

The Collin's Bay Action Group has sent out an international invitation to a Northern Survival Gathering and blockade of uranium mines in Northern Saskatchewan, June 9-14, 1985.

The anti-uranium mining movement in Saskatchewan has been active for years, organizing delegations to the provincial and federal governments as well as protest marches and other activities. They are planning civil disobedience as the open pit mine at Collin's Bay

is about to hit the main uranium deposit there.

For more information, contact Collin's Bay Action Group, Box 3183, Vancouver, BC V6B 3X6, Canada, 604-688-7325. However, CBAG reports that they have not received some letters, and that mail "often comes open in a plastic bag. If you do not receive an answer within a reasonable time, please contact us by phone."

— WISE, 1-18-85

Abalone Alliance Groups

ABALONE ALLIANCE OFFICE: 2940 16th St., #310, San Francisco, CA 94103 • 415-861-0592

DIABLO PROJECT OFFICE: 452 Higuera St., San Luis Obispo, CA 93401 • 805-543-6614

NORTH

ALBION:
PACIFIC TIDEPOOL ALLIANCE,
P.O. Box 462/95410 • (707) 964-7468

RIPPLES:
P.O. Box 344/95410
WOMEN FOR SURVIVAL,
Box 72/95410 • (707) 937-0462

ARCATA:
REDWOOD ALLIANCE,
P.O. Box 293/95521 • (707) 822-7884

BOONVILLE:
ANDERSON VALLEY NUCLEAR AWARENESS COMMITTEE,
P.O. Box 811/95415 • (707) 895-3048

CAMP MEEKER:
NUCLEAR FREE SOCIETY,
P.O. Box 433/95419 • (707) 874-3197

COMPTCHE:
COMPTCHE CITIZENS FOR A SAFE ENVIRONMENT,
P.O. Box 326/95427

COTATI:
SONOMA COUNTY DIRECT ACTION NETWORK,
8571 B. Gravenstein Hwy./94928 • (707) 664-8187

EL VERANO:
NO NUKE OF THE NORTH,
P.O. Box 521/95433 • (707) 938-0622

EUGENE, OREGON:
SOLARITY,
358 W. 4th Street/97401

LAYTONVILLE:
CAHTO ALLIANCE FOR RESPONSIBLE ENERGY,
P.O. Box 902 • (707) 984-6170

MENDOCINO:
BAN OCEAN NUCLEAR DUMPING
Box 1385/95460

OCCIDENTAL:
BOHEMIAN GROVE ACTION NETWORK,
P.O. Box 216/95465 • (707) 874-2248

POINT ARENA:
POINT ARENA ACTION FOR SAFE ENERGY,
P.O. Box 106/95468

REDWAY: Southern Humboldt County
ACORN ALLIANCE,
P.O. Box 858/95560 • (707) 923-2136

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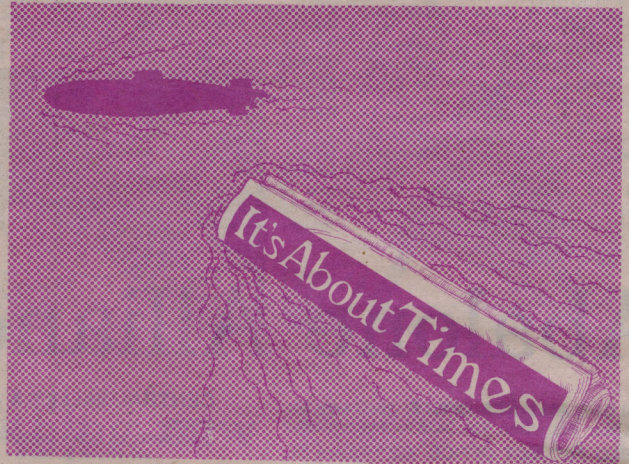
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