

# It's About Times

Abalone Alliance Newspaper

November - December 1984



Paul Mavrides

## TRIDENT SUBMARINE: FIRST STRIKE ON THE HIGH SEAS

The MX missile has become the symbol of the Reagan administration's drive for nuclear superiority. While its fate has dominated the attention of Congress, activists, and the press, an even deadlier first-strike weapon has quietly been put into production. The Trident submarine program, already well under way, will carry up to ten times the first-strike nuclear firepower of the entire MX system. In effect, the MX system has not been defeated; it has been moved underwater.

The advantage of the MX over older missiles is its pinpoint accuracy, which allows destruction of Soviet missiles in their silos before they are launched. This first strike capability, along with dissatisfaction about how to base the MX, triggered enough public and Congressional opposition to put its future in doubt. But the Trident system, which poses the same destabilizing, first-strike danger, has faced only localized opposition.

The staggering number of warheads involved in the Trident program underlines the urgency of opposing it. Fifteen subs, at a cost of over \$70 billion, have already been approved by Congress; the 1984 Reagan defense plan calls for 20; and there are indications that the Navy wants at least 30. Each sub can carry 24 missiles and each missile up to 15 warheads — a total of over ten thousand nuclear bombs, more than in the entire existing US strategic arsenal, land, sea, and air. It's hard to imagine a better way to promote Soviet fears — and an endless race for first-strike weapons.

### The Trident submarine program will carry up to ten times the first-strike nuclear firepower of the entire MX system. In effect, the MX has not been defeated; it has moved underwater.

The five Trident submarines currently in operation are faster than older subs, quieter, and twice the size — each Trident is two football fields long and four stories high. The 24 Trident I missiles that each sub now carries have a longer range than missiles on previous generations of submarines, allowing the Tridents to extend their prow deep into the south Pacific and Indian Oceans. The Tridents also pack a bigger bang — the equivalent of 408 Hiroshimas per boat.

According to Robert Aldridge, who resigned his job as a Trident missile designer at Lockheed in 1973 to protest Trident's first-strike capabilities, improvements in the Trident I missile have made it much more accurate than any previous submarine-launched missile. In mid-1983, Aldridge wrote that he wished to "dispell the notion, which I once shared, that Trident I missiles are purely defensive deterrent instruments. They are fast becoming very dangerous and destabilizing first-strike tools. But as lethal as they are becoming, that is not the end of the Navy's ambitions."

In fact, the Trident I missiles are already passe. The Navy is about to start producing a new missile, the Trident II, each of which can carry twice as many warheads as Trident I. Each warhead will be up to four times as powerful, and — most importantly — three times as accurate. The Navy will begin installing these new missiles onto Trident subs in 1988.

Congressman Thomas Downey (D-NY) believes that though the Trident I and Trident II have similar names, they "are as different as a lightning bug and lightning." Downey calls Trident II "the most destabilizing weapon yet designed." Even Jimmy Carter said it "could be perceived as a first-strike weapon."

Although nuclear missiles on submarines are so difficult to detect that they are practically invulnerable, until now they have also been less accurate than those based on land, and therefore militarily useful only against "soft" tar-

gets like cities. Conversely, land-based weapons have had the advantage in accuracy, but militarists have always lamented that they are easier to attack (in spite of the fact that the Russian missiles aren't yet accurate enough to destroy US nukes in their silos). The MX and Trident systems represent the ingenious efforts of the bomb-makers to achieve the "best" of both worlds in each.

In the case of the MX, the scheme hasn't really worked. The finest minds in the military establishment tried to come up with a basing mode for the MX that would close the "window of vulnerability" of land-based missiles. The infamous racetrack and dense-pack options were only two of 40 proposals the Air Force studied. But all were either technically or politically unsatisfactory. To save the MX, a bipartisan commission recommended in April 1983 that the first hundred missiles be deployed in existing Minutemen silos.

Only twenty-one have been definitely authorized by Congress so far, and on September 20, Congressional Democrats convinced President Reagan to delay a vote on further MX production until next spring. House Speaker Tip O'Neill claims that this agreement is the death knell of the MX, but the Republicans in Congress disagree.

The irony is that the Trident makes continued on page eight

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# Letters



## SHODDY AND DIVISIVE

Dear IAT,

Your recent articles on Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro is a negation of the hopes and aspirations of the peace-oriented people of the USA. For the first time in recent history there has been one of the strongest coalitions to take positive action for clearing Reagan and his henchmen out of office. We have formed one of the largest voter registration drives all over this country. It is dynamic, energetic, diverse, and conscious of its need to exist.

Many of us know that our Democratic candidates are not the best in terms of radical expectations, but they do offer possibilities for turning around the militaristic stance of our nation under Reagan and the corporate enterprise. They may possibly save future lives in Central America and elsewhere. They may prevent a more conservative Supreme Court from passing repressive civil rights legislation. They may contribute to reducing the Russian paranoia. And, most assuredly, they are dedicated to a nuclear weapons Freeze that can halt the arms race.

We are not starry-eyed romanticists or naive. Sandy Leon's article is shoddy, divisive, and implants a feeling of "why vote?" It says, "so what" and offers no solutions. In the past I have heavily supported your paper through Agape, but now I am withdrawing. I find it hard to believe that yours is a project of the American Friends Service Committee.

Marge Harburg  
San Francisco, CA

Dear Marge,

As stated in our masthead, the articles in *IAT* do not necessarily reflect the opinions of *IAT* or of AFSC, but solely those of the author.

In this particular instance, there happen to be other members of the staff who, like Sandy and Lillian, question the wisdom of making work for the Mondale-Ferraro ticket a focus of our political activity. Among this group, the concern is voiced at different levels of intensity and for many reasons. Most of these same people also plan to vote on November 6.

Much of the Left has closed ranks behind the Democrats now; our position is not a popular one. But that's all the more reason why an analysis of the election and of the panic surrounding it is important.

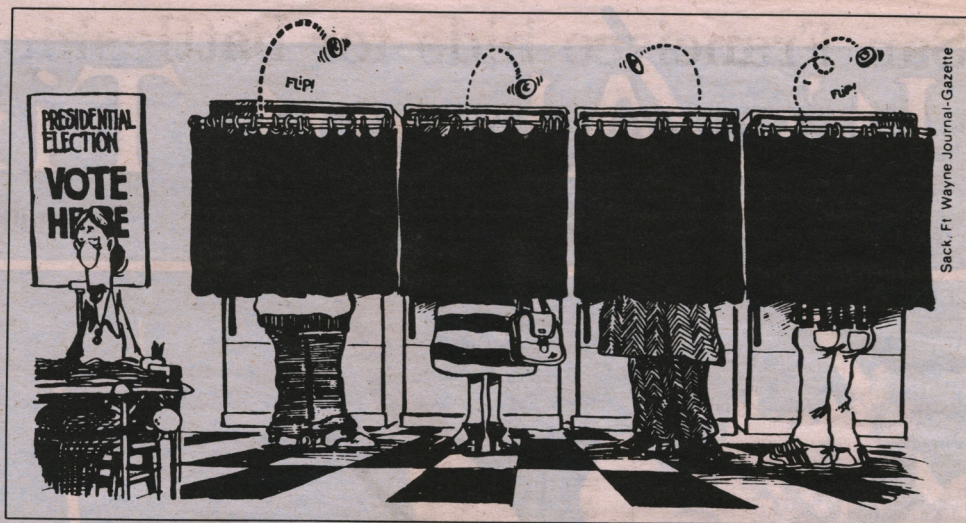
Our articles were meant not as the last word on the subject, but rather as a catalyst for a political debate we felt has not occurred. This hope, as the letters here show, was justified.

Steve Stallone  
editor

## Is IAT free?

Although many copies of *It's About Times* are distributed free, it costs us a bundle to put out this paper. Even with an all-volunteer staff and access to production facilities at very minimal rates, we often have a rough time making ends meet. Since *IAT* does not accept any paid advertising, we have relied solely on our loyal subscribers and donors for the past five years.

So if you think that *IAT* is valuable and informative, help us by filling out the subscription blank on page 16. And don't forget — donations of \$25 or more are tax deductible when the check is made out to the Agape Foundation, our fiscal sponsor, and earmarked for *IAT*.



## HOLD NOSE, PULL LEVER

Dear IAT,

As an American working for justice, peace, and human survival, I am appalled at the Democratic Party platform and Presidential candidate — only slightly less appalled than at the Republican platform and candidate.

Despite the pressures mounted by the Rainbow Coalition and the Jackson campaign, a tightly organized San Francisco convention, under the vise-like grip of Walter Mondale and a group of old-line establishment Democrats, voted to increase Reagan's swollen military budget of the last three years, hiding behind the fig leaf that Mondale will increase it less than the increase Reagan has called for. They rejected a plank calling for no first use of the nuclear doomsday weapons and refused to adopt a strong affirmative action program or oppose racially biased run-off elections. They rejected a weak proposal by the Hart forces to place some token, easily evaded restrictions on US military interventions in Central America and around the globe until they had weakened it still further. Even so, Mondale announced he would buy it.

Since the convention, Mondale has rejected black and Rainbow pleas to adopt a strong jobs program and call for a transfer of funds to the social programs that have been so drastically cut by the Republican Senate and the Democratic House. He boasts that he advocates "no defense cuts that weaken our security, no business taxes to weaken the economy, no laundry lists that raid our treasury."

It is now clearer than ever that the major task before the American people is to defeat the policies of both Reagan and Mondale by increasing our independent educational and protest activity, both now and after the election. It means grassroots organizing, electoral support for suitable local candidates and ballot initiatives, teach-ins, massive protest demonstrations, an increase in non-violent civil disobedience and, paradoxically, a vote for Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro.

I plan to vote for Mondale and Ferraro because the vote on November 6 will constitute a critical, if flawed, referendum on the future of the country and the world. It will be widely interpreted by the media, the country's politicians, and large sections of the public as

endorsing or rejecting the most inhumane and terrifying aspects of the Reagan program.

The referendum will be flawed because the money of the rich, the power of the corporate-controlled media, the failure of the Democratic Party to provide a genuine alternative to Reaganism that will stir the multitudes and give hope to the suffering — and the absence from the voting of millions of dropouts who are aware of these failings — will inevitably distort the results.

Even so, I urge people to hold their noses and vote for Mondale and Ferraro because a Reagan defeat will signal a change in the political climate of the country and give hope to many who are intimidated by the elitist domestic and reckless Cold War policies that are championed by Reagan and, give or take a few hairs, currently dominate both parties and all three branches of the government. A Reagan defeat can strengthen the emerging Rainbow Coalition and our varied nonviolent resistance groups with additional recruits from the industrial working class, forced dropouts from the shrinking middle class, or persons of the wrong sex or sexual preference.

Make no mistake about it. Domestically, the Reagan administration is proceeding relentlessly to institute a government that treats as expendable all those within this country it considers economically obsolete, racially inferior, or morally objectionable. The list is a long one.

Outside this country, everyone is considered expendable in pursuit of the goal of establishing the supremacy of the United States as Number One in the Universe. The prediction of Huey Long fifty years ago that when fascism came to America it would be wrapped in an American flag and sold as anti-totalitarianism is dangerously close to coming true.

A Democratic victory won't solve our problems but it will endorse the inclusion of Geraldine Ferraro on the ticket. Her candidacy is at least a gesture toward affirmation of the rights of women both to full participation in the

country's political and economic affairs and to control over their own bodies. A victory will extend these slowly emerging dynamics by encouraging millions of women to assert their inalienable rights to full equality and dignity.

And although a victorious Mondale could turn out to be this election's L.B.J., widening and escalating the current wars in Central America as Johnson widened and escalated the war in Indochina, it would be hard for him to do so as blatantly and rapidly as the thugs behind Reagan will undoubtedly do if their smiling front man wins a resounding electoral victory. Besides the fact that a Mondale electoral victory would be seen as a repudiation of these wars, he lacks the dynamic personal charm and charisma of Reagan and would be far less effective as a salesman for these and other disasters.

Buying even a few months time in Central America would help the government of Nicaragua and the forces in El Salvador and other Central American countries that advocate humanitarian economic and political change. Meanwhile we could use that time to increase the domestic pressures that would seriously limit Mondale's options, making it clear that even continued intervention at present levels would cause him to suffer the fate that befell Johnson in 1967 and 1968.

For these reasons, I think we should take an hour away from our other activities on November 6 to vote against Ronald Reagan and the CIA's other front man, George Bush. And while between now and the election we are busily organizing the educational and resistance activities without which the elections will be meaningless, whoever wins, I suggest that we explain to our friends, neighbors, and political associates why it is important for them to register and vote too.

I am not asking anyone to vote for a lesser evil but to vote with our daily lives, our heightened resistance actions, and our ballot against a candidate whose election will be taken as a mandate for further steps down the road to disaster.

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# It's About Times

Abalone Alliance Newspaper

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

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# San Francisco bids for battleship task force

On September 15, 1984, Mayor Diane Feinstein formally asked the Navy to make San Francisco the home port of the *USS Missouri* and its arsenal of cruise missiles.

The *Missouri*, also known as "Big Mo," is a World War II battleship that weighs in at 57 tons. It is 18 stories high, 900 feet long, and over 100 feet wide. Along with three other battleships of its class, the *USS New Jersey*, *Iowa* and *Wisconsin*, the *Missouri* is being pulled out of mothballs and refitted with 32 Tomahawk cruise missiles, with both nuclear and conventional warheads.

Mayor Feinstein's vigorous push to bring the *Missouri* and its support ships to San Francisco is supported by almost every local politician, including those who support a nuclear freeze. The seduction of a \$60-million military payroll has turned even the most progressive politicians into opportunistic mush.

Even Congressman Ron Dellums, who helped lead the fight both against the battleship program and the cruise missile, has now signed his support to the Mayor's proposal. According to Lee Halterman, Dellums' head staffer, "since the battle was lost to stop those programs, it's now Dellums' responsibility to bring in as much of the economic benefits from it as he can to the 8th District." In other words, if you can't beat 'em, join 'em! Halterman did indicate that in light of the opposition and safety issues beginning to emerge, Dellums will be re-examining his position.

Congresswoman Sala Burton has voiced conditional opposition to the *Missouri* because of her concern about the possibility of its cruise warheads accidentally detonating in the Bay. Though this is unlikely, a ship collision could set off the conventional explosive used to initiate the chain reaction in the cruises' nuclear warheads, sending up a cloud of nuclear debris.

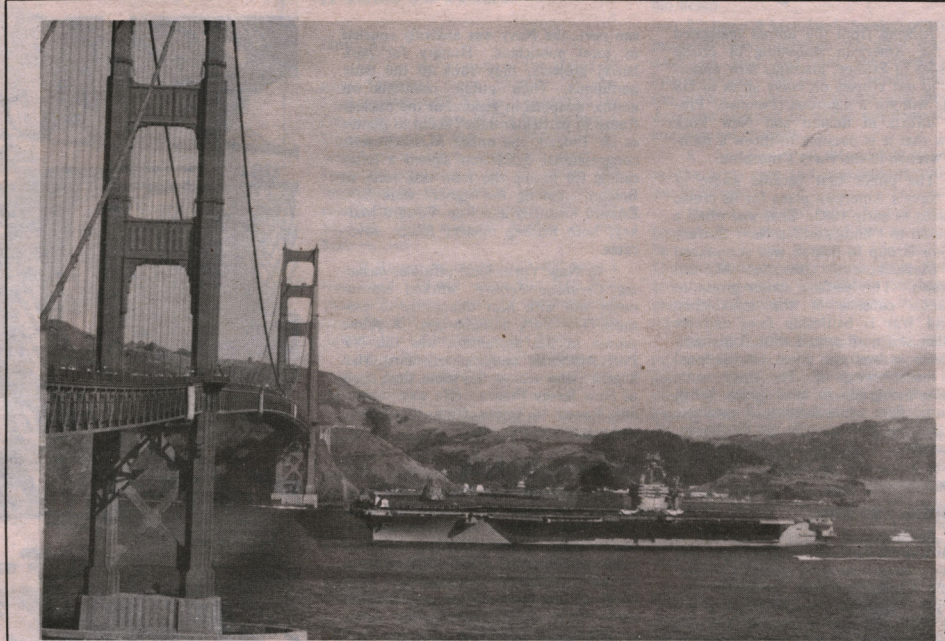
As far as local politicians go, only Berkeley Mayor Gus Newport has unconditionally opposed the homeporting. Grassroots opposition, however, is beginning to emerge as local antinuclear and anti-interventionist activists examine the issue. They made their presence felt during the fourth annual Fleet Week celebration, sponsored by Mayor Feinstein in conjunction with private business groups.

On Saturday, October 13, eighteen Navy ships cruised into the San Francisco Bay. The Peace Navy, a local group of aquatic activists, sailed 25 boats strong past the mayor's reviewing stand, protest banners flying. They then floated between the Navy ships and the crowds of spectators on shore. Meanwhile a group of people leafleted the largely pro-military crowd as the Blue Angels air team screeched overhead.

On Monday, activists arranged several incidents on board the ships docked for public open house. On the destroyer *USS Callahan*, a small group spilled blood all over a missile launching device, and moments later over the on-board helicopter. In the tension that ensued as Navy personnel closed off several areas to the public, another group began to sing irreverent anti-war songs aboard the *USS Elliot*, right next to the *Callahan*. Both groups were escorted off, as more sections of the ships were closed down. Later the singing protesters took a tour of the massive *USS Constellation*, where they performed on the flight deck to a large audience before being hustled off the ship.

The coup de grace came later that night at the Mayor's bash for Navy brass and local socialites in City Hall. Protests by about 200 rowdy demonstrators raged outside. A mock battleship and flags were burned and nine people were arrested, as protestors did die-ins in the surrounding streets.

Meanwhile, IAT staffer Ward Young, decked out in his Sunday best, gained access to the gala affair. Just as the Mayor was beginning her remarks, Young jumped out in front of the ten-foot long, submarine-decorated cake that was to be presented to the Navy. Plunging his hands repeatedly into the cake, he told the shocked crowd, "The people of Central America say they want free-



The aircraft carrier *USS Constellation* cruises into the San Francisco Bay for Fleet Week.

photo by Lisa Belenky

dom. I say, let them eat cake!" Seconds thereafter, police hauled him away.

Inspector John Hennessey, spokesperson for the San Francisco Police Department, told reporters, "We know we got the right guy because he had frosting all over him." After four hours in the drunk tank, Young was charged with public drunkenness and released.

## What's in it for us?

To win local support for her proposal to homeport the *Missouri* in San Francisco at the old Hunter's Point Shipyard, Feinstein is holding out the carrots of a \$60-million dollar military payroll, up to \$30 million in ship repair contracts, 500 private industry jobs, and lots of money spent by free-wheeling sailors. However, as facts slowly ooze to the surface, these statistics begin to lose their luster.

## The *Missouri* is being pulled out of mothballs and refitted with 32 Tomahawk cruise missiles, with both nuclear and conventional warheads.

For example, a Navy study states that sailors spend only about 40% of their disposable income in their homeport region. Besides the expensive give-aways Feinstein is offering to lure the Navy, the day-to-day cost in city services to the base and its dependents must be taken into account.

As for job creation, there would certainly be a rash of short-term construction jobs, but the actual number of permanent jobs is questionable. The Hunter's Point neighborhood is being told that unemployed residents there will get most of the new jobs, but if San Francisco's India Basin Development is any indication, most of the jobs will go to skilled workers from other areas.

Finally, there is the question of housing. The *Missouri* deal is providing the Mayor the opportunity to finally make good her promises of new low-income housing. However, it will be on base and for Navy families only. She has also secured promises from realtors groups in the Bay Area to give the Navy "first notification" of appropriate available housing. The likely scenario is that property values will increase around the Hunter's Point area, making homeless many of the poor residents who have been promised benefits from the base.

## Battleships throughout the years

With all the billions being poured into high-tech weapons, one may wonder why the Reagan administration is eagerly pushing the revival of WW II rust buck-

ets? A quick jog down military memory lane will recall that it was with the battleship that the English established "Pax Britannia" for over a century. Battleships, by definition the largest ships with the biggest guns and the heaviest armor plating, continued to evolve with ever larger mass and firepower through WW I.

In between the World Wars, General Billy Mitchell stubbornly argued that the airplane would become the most important weapon in the next war and should be given top priority for development. He was right to a degree. Many WW I vintage battleships were lost to advanced torpedos from both airplanes and submarines at the beginning of WW II, and the Battle of Midway in 1942 proved that airplanes from aircraft carriers could extend the battlefield inland beyond the range of the battleships.

the American Way. The problem, as Myer saw it, was that weather restrictions made aircraft unreliable for blowing away a safe path for landing assault troops.

The solution that Myer proposed was to modernize selected WW II battleships and outfit them with advanced cruise and Harpoon missiles. Unlike a more vulnerable carrier, a battleship with super armor can "cruise into harm's way" right next to the shores of an errant Third World country.

When the visible threat of terror is not enough, a battleship's guns can deliver it, day or night, rain or shine. With conventional warheads on 1500-mile range cruise or medium-range Harpoon missiles, the battleship doubles as an accurate bomber, minus the need for pilots and jets. If invasion troops are required, they can disembark from the battleship as its guns roll out a landing path, and re-embark as the carpet is rolled up behind them.

With nuclear warheads on cruise missiles, a battleship is the ultimate threat to non-nuclear nations. It also becomes part of a nuclear war-fighting strategy against the Soviets, both as an element of a first strike and in the insane concept of protracted nuclear war. With the modernized battleship, the "deadly connections" become transparent; nuclear weapons frolic with conventional options and East-West tensions embrace those of North-South.

The Carter administration opposed the battleship program when funding for it was first proposed to Congress in spring of 1980. A determined Myer found a more receptive ear in John Lehman, who after the 1980 election became the Secretary of the Navy. Lehman, along with National Security Advisor Richard Allen, was easily able to sell a pro-Navy Reagan on the plan. Reagan is committed to creating a 600-plus ship, 15-carrier Navy. Its funding is already approved, and the new Navy is scheduled to be reality by 1989.

The battleship modernization plan offered much faster delivery dates and overall economy than building comparable new ships to carry the cruise. Not coincidentally, new nuclear weapons are the only programs that have received the same priority as the Navy build-up, demonstrating how intertwined the two programs are.

The *New Jersey* and *Iowa* are already recommissioned and out at sea. It was the *New Jersey* that shelled Druze militia positions from off the Lebanese coast in 1983, and the *Iowa* has recently been lurking in the Gulf of Fonseca off Nicaragua.

— Gary Roush

However, in the latter years of the war, the *Iowa* class battleships, to which the *Missouri* belongs, were built with two extremely thick hulls. The double hull made them nearly impossible to sink, for even if a torpedo pierced one, it had the other to contend with. In addition, *Iowa* class battleships had 16-inch diameter guns mounted on their decks, still the largest naval guns in the world.

Several of these battleships were involved in the Korean War in the early 1950's, but all were put into mothballs for storage after that, and preference was given to developing new aircraft carriers and submarines. The *New Jersey* was revived for a few years in the late 1960's to pock-mark the coastal areas of Vietnam with over 5,000 rounds from its 16-inch guns. One shell from these guns is packed with over 2,300 pounds of TNT and can be shot up to 23 miles. If the *Missouri* fired a round from the Golden Gate Bridge, the shell would explode just short of Concord, blowing a hole 40' by 40' by 10' deep.

## When in doubt, send the Marines

The latest revival of the battleships began around 1978, when Charles Myer Jr. left the Pentagon to work as a private consultant to several major weapons producers as a specialist in "tactical weapons conceptual development." Myer saw a growing need for a more effective means of "forcible entry" when the US wanted to "insert" troops into Third World nations that stray from



## East Coast cruise

# Navy invades Boston and New York

Judging from the uproar instigated by the American stationing of cruise missiles in Europe, attempts now underway to put cruises on Navy ships in US ports will stir a vigorous response. Protest efforts in Boston and New York show that it is possible to throw a monkey wrench in the Navy's machine.

The public first became aware of the Navy's American plans for its cruise missiles in early 1983. That was when a proposal to "homeport" a Navy Surface Action Group in Boston was announced by Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis. The surface action group in question consists of the refurbished World War II battleship *Iowa* and six smaller ships, all armed with Tomahawk missiles as well as other conventional and nuclear weapons. The Navy wants to use the group to beef up its North Atlantic fleet while keeping it available for gunboat diplomacy in the Caribbean. It therefore went shopping around for a northeastern city in which to base the ships.

### Upping the ante

Sea-launched cruises represent a great leap forward for the arms race, and putting them in harbors creates a considerable hazard for local residents. The Navy's Tomahawk cruise missiles are very small and easy to conceal. It is also impossible without close examination to tell what kind of warhead they are carrying — nuclear, conventional, chemical, or biological. Once the Tomahawks are deployed, these characteristics will make arms control agreements much more difficult to achieve.

The Tomahawks' deployment also increases the likelihood of nuclear war. If the missile is ever launched against the Soviet Union, that country would have no way of knowing what kind of attack was under way and would be forced to resort immediately to its own nuclear weapons. Since they greatly enhance American capacity to engage in a "protracted" nuclear conflict, sea-launched cruises ensure that, should nuclear war ever break out, it will continue to the bitter end.

The versatile nature of the Navy's Tomahawks will result in a vast reinforcement of American naval power throughout the world — not just in the North Pacific and North Atlantic seas where the US Navy would attempt to bottle up and annihilate its Russian counterpart in wartime. The Third World, too, is affected. Battleships armed with non-nuclear cruises as well as enormous artillery guns could be sent into action against rebellious populations with no risk to American lives or equipment. Even if not used, the mere presence of American cruise missiles offshore would exert considerable pressure on a recalcitrant nation.

Finally, basing cruise missile-carrying ships in American cities mixes up civilian and military activities in a dangerous way. There is the possibility of accidents both in the congested seaways leading to the ports and at the docks. A Government Accountability Office study suggests the possibility that an accident involving the rupture of a cruise nuclear warhead could result in the release of a 28-mile long, 2.5-mile wide cigar-shaped cloud of plutonium particles affecting millions of people.

### The cruise comes to the North Atlantic

In its search for a northeast Ameri-

can port, the Navy was ardently courted by local politicians. Hungry for pork barrel projects, they sunk to the truly perfidious. Their public positions on atomic weapons in general or the nuclear freeze in particular didn't seem to matter at all. Indeed, the entire Massachusetts congressional delegation signed a letter calling for basing the *Iowa* task force in Boston. Among the signers were Sen. Edward Kennedy and Rep. Edward Markey, both leading nuclear freeze advocates.

In New York, local officials, including Geraldine Ferraro, worked strenuously and with near unanimity to promote New York homeporting. A prime mover in the promotion was the NY Port Authority and its chairman, Alan Sagner, who was at the same time chair of New Jersey Freeze. (He was eventually forced to resign from the Freeze campaign over this issue.)

### Boston fights back

Fortunately for Boston, its peace activists immediately entered the fray. Their initial concern was the threat that sea-launched cruise missiles pose for arms agreements. While this concern was able to mobilize much support, their attack on the homeporting proposal also made use of the more immediate issues of safety and economics. In the end, these issues probably had the most telling effect.

The homeporting proposal was originally developed by the Boston Economic Development and Industrial Corporation and, along with other homeporting proponents, claimed at first

## The Navy wants to use the *Iowa* task force to beef up its North Atlantic fleet while keeping it available for gunboat diplomacy in the Caribbean.

that the *Iowa* group would bring 3,000 jobs and a \$143 million annual payroll to Boston. The Committee for a Safe Boston Harbor was able to show that the job figure would be more like 400. They also found that the Navy base could well cost more in city services than it produced in economic benefits.

The working group of business consultants, real estate developers, and urban planners the Committee assembled represented a real coup. This group argued that using the area involved for housing, light industrial, marine and educational purposes would be more profitable and socially useful. It proceeded to come up with an alternative development plan to illustrate its point.

The *Iowa*'s opponents were up against a hostile press and a solid political establishment, though. They needed a dramatic breakthrough, and they found it in the safety issue.

In a City Council meeting called to endorse the homeporting proposal, the peace, environmental, and community groups opposing the *Iowa* task force obtained their first official forum, and they put it to good use. The testimony by retired Polaris submarine Captain James Bush, now with the Center for Defense Information, was particularly striking. His testimony as an experienced commander on the safety problems of putting nuclear weapons in Boston harbor, in addition to the dangerous escalation of the arms race that it



represented, sobered city councillors. At the debate's conclusion, the Council was

unable to support bringing the *Iowa* and its mates to Boston.

With press coverage finally mounting and mass demonstrations becoming a real possibility, the Navy had had enough. In the summer of 1983, it announced that New York had been chosen as the *Iowa* group's home port.

### New York misses the boat

What probably attracted the Navy to a dilapidated pier on Staten Island was the absence of anti-Tomahawk protest in New York. Now, however, the publicity surrounding the Navy's decision sparked New Yorkers into action as over 100 organizations came together to form a "Coalition for a Nuclear-Free Harbor" under the aegis of New York Mobilization for Survival.

The coalition initially conducted some medium-size demonstrations (for example, a 400 person "die-in" last April in front of the Port Authority Bus Terminal). It also participated in a large blockade of the Federal Building (305 arrests) June 7 and a massive demonstration two days later in which a "nuclear-free harbor" was one of the demands.

Neighborhood meetings and briefings of community leaders were held to garner support. The arguments used in this outreach work were similar to those in Boston, with the fear of accidents having the most influence.

A useful educational tool has been councilwoman Miriam Friedlander's proposed resolution to ban nuclear missiles, and specifically the *Iowa* action group, from New York harbor. A sign of the Coalition's success in reaching the public was the 30,000 signatures it collected supporting the Friedlander resolution on September 22 alone.

Unfortunately, for all the favorable results *Iowa* opponents have had in the neighborhoods, the city-wide Coalition is just about moribund. All the work on the city level is being done by NY Mobe staffers and William Sloane Coffin's Riverside Church. The main hope of peace activists at this point is that by nurturing widespread opposition to the Navy, they will discourage it enough to drop its plans.

While more educational work and petitioning is in the offing, and the Navy's much-delayed Environmental Impact Report will represent a new point of attack, it is doubtful that cruise opponents will ever be able to mount large-scale street actions against the missiles should the Navy persist in its decision to come to New York.

### A worldwide effort

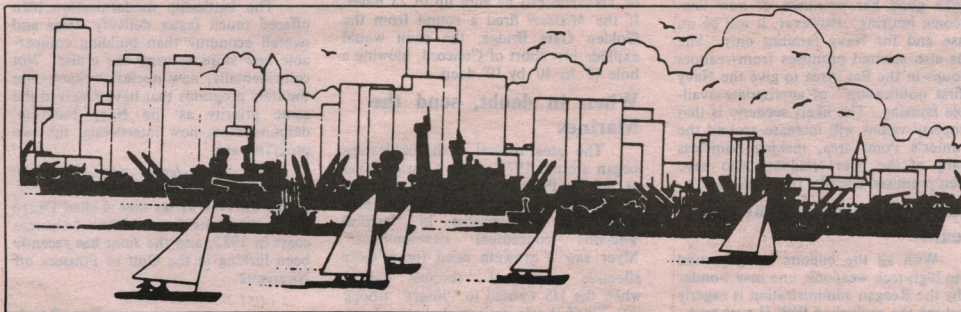
But what if New Yorkers do ultimately succeed in keeping the *Iowa* task force out? As in Boston, the magnitude of such a victory would be attenuated by the Navy's ability to go elsewhere up or down the coast.

The East Coast experience has shown that more than the quick, concerted reaction effected by Bostonians will be necessary to completely block the Navy's missiles. A worldwide campaign will be necessary, and, in fact, such a campaign already exists, but each local group is functioning in isolation. West Coast anti-Navy activists would do well to link up not only with people on the East Coast, but with those working on Pacific islands in the nuclear-free Pacific campaign and with peace workers in Japan, where Tomahawks have become a dominant political issue.

—David Gilden  
IAT staff

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## West Coast cruise

# Women's peace camp at Alameda Naval Air Station

The city of Alameda may never be the same.

The Navy will be there. The marines will stay. The deadly weapons, no doubt, will continue to be stored and shipped from the naval base for some time to come. And given the current political climate, the project homes, the poverty and the disillusionment are likely to linger over that city indefinitely. But the city of Alameda will never be quite the same as it was before the first weekend in July.

On that weekend about ten women from both the US and the Greenham Common Peace Camp in Britain arrived at the Alameda Naval Air Station. Their intention: to "protest the massive sums of money spent by the US on weapons at the expense of human lives and essential human services." More specifically, they were there to set up camp near the base, to draw attention to the recent escalation of the nuclear arms race taking place there. The current escalation comes in the form of the deadly Tomahawk cruise missiles, some of which are already stationed at the facility.

The *California*, a nuclear-powered cruiser docked at Alameda NAS, carries eight such missiles. The Tomahawk is a sophisticated sea launched version of the cruise missile designed for first strike capability. Some 4,068 Tomahawks are to be deployed on naval ships throughout the US in the coming months. One out of five of these will be nuclear tipped and will possess a 200-kiloton warhead — roughly equivalent to 15 Hiroshima bombs. The nuclear version of the Tomahawk is cosmetically indistinguishable from the conventional version, but its extreme accuracy deems it a useful first-strike weapon.

There are more on the way. The *Arkansas*, also a nuclear-powered cruiser, is scheduled to arrive at Alameda harbor sometime in October. By the end of fiscal year 1984, 108 nuclear-armed Tomahawks are scheduled to be stationed around the country, according to the Center for Defense Information (CDI). "There are thousands scheduled [for deployment]," said David Morrison at CDI, "and no one knows for sure which ones will be nuclear tipped."

It is certain that Alameda NAS is one of the prime target areas for stationing both ships carrying nuclear weapons and the weapons themselves.

That is why the women decided to set up camp here. They chose for their campsite a vacant lot adjacent to the main entrance of the base, next door to the project homes where hundreds of low-income, mostly black families live, and across the street from the military housing provided for enlisted men and their families. They were soon to discover first hand the meaning of living day to day in and around a US military facility.

Initially the women set up camp only on weekends. But as the ten days of international protest planned for Sep-

tember 20-30 and a major action at Greenham Common approached, the women hoped for a full-time encampment. And that was just what happened.

During that week, there were sometimes as many as thirty women staying at the camp. And on September 29, the day the women had set aside to "reclaim Alameda Naval Air Station," some 200 showed up.

While not all of those women joined the peace camp, they did do a fine job of decorating the fence around the base. Yarn, pictures of loved ones, tinsel, and a paper-doll chain, each bearing the name of a child, adorned the fence. Children's artwork, including dozens of decorated pillow cases, each hand-designed by a child to illustrate his or her particular vision of peace, flapped its protest in the gusty afternoon wind. Students from UC Berkeley brought a canvas mural dotted with visions of peace, war, and militarism. Still another group secured multi-colored scarves to the fence tied together to spell the word "peace."

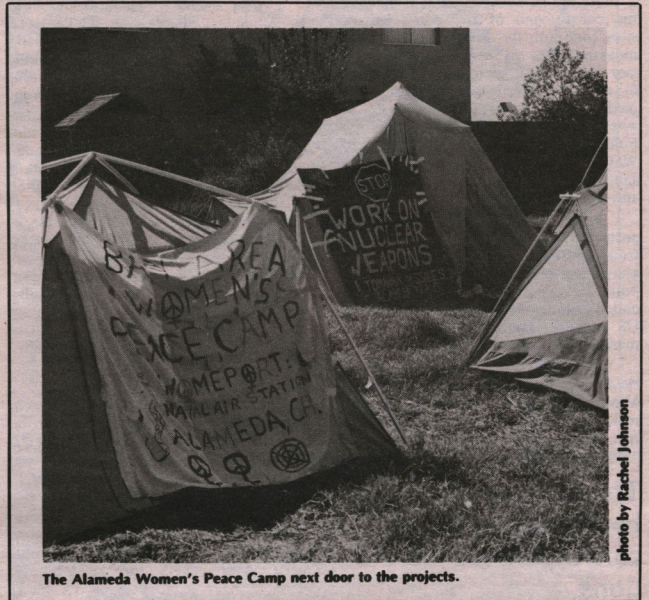
Women stood in groups of five to ten, shaking the chain-link fence that surrounded the base, chanting, "No cruise, no Pershing, no napalm!" while others tried to stage a die-in on Main Street just in front of the base gate. A group of children playing across the street at the military housing unit could be heard yelling, "Run 'em over!"

They needn't have worried. The die-in quickly fizzled when a group of Alameda police moved in and threatened to arrest the women if they didn't behave. One policeman was overheard grumbling to a co-worker, "Now we're gonna have to do a bunch of paper work." The women quickly dispersed. Today was not the day to be arrested.

## On Nagasaki Day a group of women, in a Greenham-style action, strolled onto the base and into the ultra-high security area and passed out leaflets for four hours.

There have, though, been several arrests. The women's tactics have included sign-altering (one sign that originally read "Welcome to Alameda Naval Air Station" was altered to read "Welcome to Alameda Naval Air Station — Under New Management") for which two have been arrested; straying onto the base in groups, for which surprisingly few have been noticed, much less arrested, and floating around the base in a rubber dinghy called Edna.

On Nagasaki Day, in a Greenham-style action, a group of women strolled onto the base, straying into the "Alpha Zone," the NAS's ultra-high security area. For four hours, they passed out leaflets to everyone they encountered. It was not until fifteen minutes after the women had left an area posted with a sign that read "Use of Deadly Force Beyond This Point Authorized" that the



The Alameda Women's Peace Camp next door to the projects.

base's security showed up to exercise that force.

The women left large banners with a variety of messages throughout the base including one which read "Remember Nagasaki" and another proclaiming, "Nuclear Weapons Stored Here." Banners were left up for hours on a pier in a major shipping channel before being removed. Eventually six women were arrested.

over from the project homes to lend a hand. "The marines got out their clubs and began beating up the kids," said Allison Nicholson, a woman visiting the peace camp from Greenham Common.

Reluctantly, the women again phoned the police. They had not been hurt, but a young black boy who had tried to help them had been beaten badly by one of the marines during the encounter, according to the women involved. When the women tried to report this, the police simply responded that this "was not what they had been called for" and refused to take any action. "You know all these things go on," said Huxley. "But here it is. And it's all happening right here where we live."

Indeed, it does seem as if the women at the peace encampment are existing within a microcosm of life in the US as it is lived every day. The fear and the abuse these women and their would-be allies have experienced is no different, they observe, from what many of us are forced to deal with in our day-to-day lives.

Other incidents have included rock and bottle throwing, which the women recently discovered was an effort by certain base personnel to frighten them off. Children from the project homes, it turned out, were being paid five dollars a shot to do the military's dirty work for them.

But the women have remained undaunted. Secure in their convictions that what they have to do is crucial and that some degree of community support is inevitably forthcoming, they have returned weekend after weekend to set up housekeeping, make community contacts, and distribute flyers to passers-by.

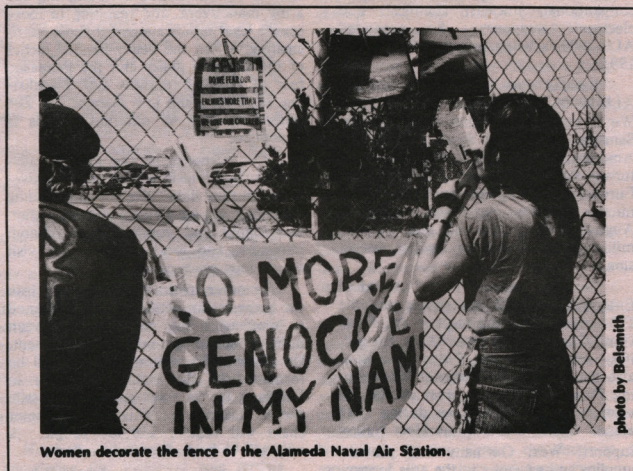
Their efforts have not gone unnoticed — or unrewarded. Recently, local folks have brought gifts of food and offered words of support. People in the projects, who initially appeared suspicious and standoffish, are now dropping by with increasing frequency to exchange lively words and the latest gossip.

Now the women have a new battle to fight. The Alameda Belt Line, a conglomerate that includes the Santa Fe, Union Pacific, and Southern Pacific Railroad companies, has just discovered that the women are trespassing and have threatened to evict them if they don't leave.

But the women have no intentions of leaving. Their plan, as one of them put it, is "to follow their vision" of women working together for justice and living together communally.

— Sandy Leon  
IAT staff

For more information on the peace camp, call (415) 441-6238.



Women decorate the fence of the Alameda Naval Air Station.



## Rehearsal for World War III

# Germans protest NATO war games

As the Pershing II deployments and the construction of the cruise missile sites continue, the West German peace movement has realized that the US military and NATO forces have a lot more in mind for Germany than just these medium-range nuclear weapons. So when NATO forces descended on the Fulda Gap and Hildesheim regions of West Germany for their autumn war games, they were greeted by over 40,000 anti-war activists.

From September 19 to 29, European activists mounted protest actions from legal rallies to sabotage, from blockading or occupying bases to distributing flyers. The week and a half ended with almost 300 arrests and the US military claiming over 2.5 million marks (nearly \$1 million) in damages.

In anticipation of the maneuvers, a clever letter forged on West German Ministry of Defense stationery informed major trucking and transport contractors that they *must* provide trucks and

After the activities in Hildesheim, the Fulda Gap area became the center of attention for the protesters. This year's exercises were held around Fulda because it is considered so militarily strategic, being the area along the border where East bloc territory extends the furthest west.

An occupation of the firing range and exercise grounds at Wildflecken, between Fulda and the border, resulted in 188 arrests. Protesters climbed fences and hiked into the wooded areas, blocking the roads with stacked logs to slow the police. Live-fire training was periodically stopped when protesters were in target areas. Before they were eventually carried out by riot police, they hung signs in the off-limits area reading "Don't defend us to death" and "Don't abuse our country for your aims." Most were charged and released.

The majority of the charges were for entering military bases, breaching the peace, trespassing on private property,

The protestors entered or blockaded bases and barracks, painted graffiti on tanks, blockaded convoys, and gave "tours" of military installations.

drivers, at their own expense, to support the fall NATO maneuvers. The scandalous letter caused even more uproar when it was received by Duetrans, an East German trucking firm with an office in Hamburg, demanding that it, too, pay this "war tax" to the Bonn government.

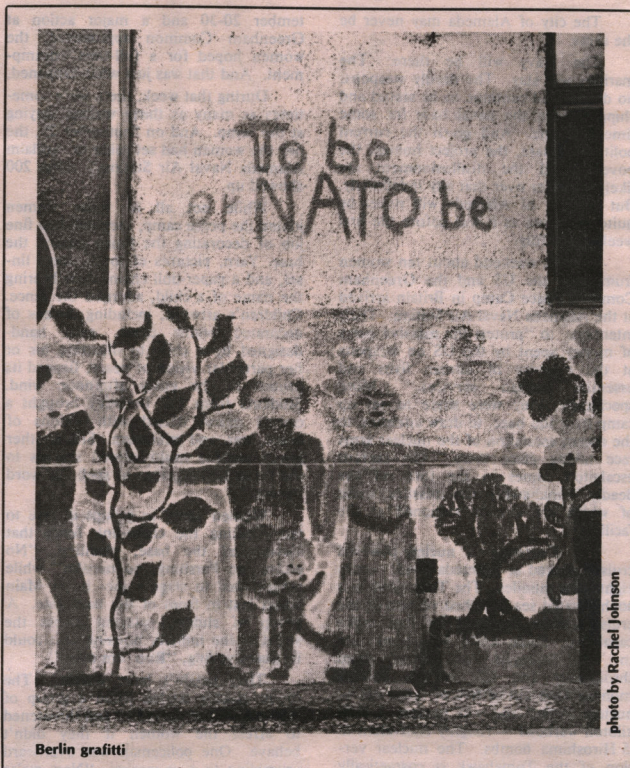
In response to this NATO dress rehearsal for World War III, peace camps were formed throughout the maneuver regions, from which actions were coordinated. In Hildesheim, 5000 came to disrupt the English Lionheart '84 Maneuvers, blocking the streets with their cars whenever tanks or military vehicles approached. The German police and border guards avoided mass arrests and violence by using helicopters to spot the blockaders and then pushed their cars off the road, letting the air out of the tires and taking the valves.

The action coordination center responded by sending out cars with spare valves and pumps. The police behavior was questionable at times; any "suspicious" car was "de-aired" even if it was not actually blocking the road. One VW van had its tires flattened four times.

and/or property damage — mostly graffiti. There were some other charges of injuring soldiers or police officers, resisting arrest and vandalism (spray painting military property, cementing shut munitions crates, piling debris on railroad tracks, slashing tires, cutting fences, and the like).

On September 25, protesters entered the US missile site at Finken-berg and spray painted three Hawk missiles. Although the Bonn Ministry of Interior reported that the missile sensors were painted over, rendering the missiles inoperable, US Army spokespeople later stated that the weapons were undamaged.

In other actions, protesters entered or blockaded bases and barracks, painted tanks with graffiti, blockaded convoys, organized community discussions on various topics, distributed flyers, and held "tours" of military installations. In one action, the brake cables of 40 train cars were cut and anti-imperialist slogans were spray painted on the cars. At the munitions depot in Grebenhain, about 30 miles northeast of Frankfurt, 200



activists cut through fences attempting to enter the site and were tear-gassed by police.

Demonstrations also took place at ALKEM, a plutonium factory in Hanau, and at Honeywell, a US defense contractor with a plant in Dornigheim.

On the final day of actions, September 29, a human chain was formed, initially intended to connect all the military installations in the Fulda Gap. But this ambitious attempt was scaled down to a 40-kilometer chain from Fulda to Gersfeld when insufficient numbers showed up. Still, some 25,000 to 30,000 were present at the final rally at the Fulda town square.

The actions broke through the media news blackout that has kept the public from knowing much of anything about NATO war strategies such as Air-Land Battle (ALB), the strategy being

time. These preparations all give credence to a recently released American board game called "Fulda Gap: The First Battle of the Next War."

The area is not far from Frankfurt, headquarters for the 5th US Corps, as well as several military air bases and the Chemical Detachment in Fulda's Downs Barracks. There are many Lance, Nike Hercules, Hawk and Patriot missiles nearby, targeted on Fulda Gap. Ammunition depots are being expanded and some already contain conventional, nuclear, and chemical munitions, including nuclear artillery and Atomic Demolition Munitions (nuclear land mines) designed to cause destruction as an obstacle to invading enemy forces.

Bringing public attention to these NATO war strategies and their integration of conventional and nuclear weapons was perhaps the most important

The protests brought public attention to the integration of conventional and nuclear weapons in the NATO war strategies.

practiced at the Fulda Gap maneuvers. ALB, as described in the US Army Field Manual 100-5: *How to Fight*, emphasizes offensive, mobile operations as the only way to win a war. It involves an integrated battlefield, combining use of conventional, nuclear, chemical, and electronic weaponry. An expanded ALB-2000 is being prepared for use by 1995.

Besides covering Central Europe, ALB-2000 is meant to protect Third World resources in the Mideast, Sub-Saharan Africa, and South and Central America. As a military strategy it was turned down by NATO in 1982 due to European reservations about the role of nuclear weapons. But it was accepted in August 1982 by the US and German militaries as a basis for further discussion.

Both the autumn 1983 "Confident Enterprise" NATO maneuvers and the 1984 maneuvers took place in the Fulda Gap. Other NATO preparations for military activities in the Fulda Gap have also been made. The Master Restoration Plan is transferring over 30,000 US soldiers to the Fulda Gap during 1984 alone. Under the Wartime Host Nation Support, West Germany will provide supplies and weapons to the area in war-

aspect of the protests. Although organizers had hoped for a larger turnout, the variety and number of actions were really quite ambitious. There were not only mass demonstrations, but many smaller actions aimed at disrupting the army maneuvers, and resulting in more severe legal ramifications for those participating. When the heavy-handed tactics of the German police and the increased fear of political reprisals (job blacklisting, etc.) are taken into account, the 288 arrests in over 40 different actions is impressive.

The response of the local population to the protests was mostly negative, although they didn't like the tanks riding over their not-yet-harvested fields either. But school and youth groups, church ministers, and local residents did visit the various peace camps.

In order to draw more people into the protests, an action is being planned to emphasize the connection between military spending and unemployment. On October 20, a human chain will be formed from the main Job Center in Duisburg to the proposed cruise missile site in Hasselbach. This 210-kilometer chain will require 210,000 people. A rally will be held afterwards in Bonn.

— Allison Brown



No War Preparations  
In the Fulda Gap



# Short Circuits

## DEATH AFTER DOOMS-DAY

Another grandiose plan for nuclear death and destruction has surfaced. This one, a brainchild of the US Air Force, calls for building a huge underground missile base that could survive a nuclear attack. In case there is something left to incinerate after a nuclear exchange, crews in the underground base could tunnel to the surface, get the bombs ready, and after two or three days, drive the launchers outside and fire the missiles.

Defense Department officials briefed the press on the plan, which has been under study for two years, in early October. Several tunneling tests have already been carried out, \$10 million has been spent, and the Air Force has assured Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger that the plan is both militarily and technically feasible. The Air Force is now ready to build a large-scale underground model of the base to continue the research. If the plan is approved, the base would go into operation during the 1990's. Unofficial cost estimates have ranged up to \$50 billion.

The underground missiles would provide what the Defense Department calls a Secure Reserve Force. The base would consist of 400 miles of tunnels 2500 to 3500 feet below the surface of a western US desert. It would be self-contained and able to survive for at least a year.

Defense Department officials emphasized that the underground missiles are not substitutes for the MX, the Trident, bombers, space weapons, or anything else. The rest of the US arsenal is intended for use during the early hours of a nuclear conflict, they said. Missiles in the underground base, on the other hand, would be "a complementary force for retaliation later."

— based on *SF Chron*, 10-3-84

## YOU THINK YOU'VE GOT PROBLEMS?

Metropolitan-Edison, operator of the ill-famed Three Mile Island nuclear power plant, is having problems these days with more than just atomic energy. One of its coal-fired installations, the 235-megawatt Titus station about 50 miles from TMI, was shut down after a loss-of-coolant accident and fire in early December.

For reasons that are still not clear, the main water cooling system failed and the generators shut down with a big bang. While Titus Station has two emergency power systems, an outside electrical line and a set of batteries, both systems also mysteriously failed, and the plant was left without power. As pumping systems went down, two fires broke out. One was caused by overheated lubricating oil and the other by leaking hydrogen. Meanwhile, the 30 workers at Titus fled the facility.

The bearings in the Titus Station's three turbines, severely damaged by the loss of coolant and lubricant, had to be sent to General Electric for repairs. The plant is expected to resume operations at the end of October, about a month earlier than originally foreseen. The total cost of fixing the plant will be at least \$2.6 million. Met-Ed claims it has insurance to cover a portion of this expense, but has yet to determine under exactly which policy the accident falls.

— David Gilden

## THE GENERAL'S PIPE DREAM

The Dutch newspaper *De Telegraaf* reported and the Pentagon confirmed an American proposal to bury a pipeline filled with liquid explosives along the border between East and West Europe as a front-line defense against an invasion by Warsaw Pact troops. According to *De Telegraaf*, the proposal was made by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger to a NATO meeting in Washington in August. The Pentagon said the suggestion came from US Brigadier General Anthony A. Smith.

— *SF Chronicle*, 8-23-84



photo by Rachel Johnson

A satirical Reagan campaign march through San Francisco on October 3 with such slogans as "Reagan, Reagan, he's our man. If he can't bomb them, no one can" and "more poor, more war, US into El Salvador."

## ANOTHER TAX RESISTER

Suffolk County on Long Island, New York is struggling to put together a viable 1985 budget in the face of Long Island Lighting Company's (Lilco) refusal to pay property tax on its still inoperative Shoreham nuclear power plant. In 1984 the total due was \$52 million.

Lilco had previously sued to challenge what it considered overassessment. But this is the first year Lilco actually did not remit taxes. The utility says that Suffolk County's failure to participate in emergency planning for accidents at Shoreham "jeopardizes the usefulness of the plant and the value of the property." Lilco president William Catacosinos has stated publicly that the utility will pay up when Suffolk County agrees to cooperate on the emergency planning issue.

Backed up by New York governor Mario Cuomo, the Suffolk County legislature has almost unanimously opposed helping Lilco devise emergency procedures for Shoreham on the grounds that mass evacuations are impractical in densely populated Suffolk County. Lilco is in a bind because the federal government requires that such procedures be in place before a commercial reactor can begin operation.

Suffolk County's robust economy enabled it to scrape by this year despite Lilco's attempt to strangle it into submission. Massive cutbacks in social services were not necessary. The county's projected \$26.5-million surplus was wiped out, however, and next year's taxes will have to be raised 7.6 percent to make up for the shortfall in funds.

— based on *New York Times*, 9/27/84

## SUICIDE PILLS FOR NUCLEAR WAR

Undergraduate students at Brown University voted 1044 to 687 in favor of a referendum asking that the campus health center stock cyanide pills for use in case of a nuclear war. The pills would be given to students who choose suicide over death from radiation sickness. In the words of the measure, the "suicide pills [are] for optional student use exclusively in the event of nuclear war."

Chris Ferguson, one of the organizers of the ballot measure, said that the debate it raised forces students to think about the nuclear situation. "Most people think suicide is more offensive than nuclear war. I think by making [nuclear war] comprehensible, people will be motivated to prevent nuclear war."

— *SF Chron*, 10-4-83

## A METHOD TO MADNESS

The US Department of Energy is paying a psychiatrist \$85,000 to determine whether people who suffer from a "phobia" about nuclear power can be "cured." The results of the study are due to be published next month.

Dr. Robert DuPont, a former director of the National Institute on Drug Abuse and president of the Phobia Society of America, explained that the 170 participants in the study first answer a questionnaire that measures fears about nuclear power. Then they read a 17-page booklet which argues that nuclear power plants have a good safety record and protect public health and the environment. Afterwards, they complete a follow-up questionnaire.

A decrease in the participants' fear level between the first and second questionnaires presumably proves that fear of nuclear power can be overcome by rational argument. If reading the booklet does not alter their scores, the study will likely conclude that they suffer from an incurable phobia.

The study has been criticized by Representative Richard Ottinger, D-NY, chairman of the House Energy and Commerce subcommittee on energy conservation and power. "The president wants to believe that concern about nuclear safety is nothing but irrational fear, and he's willing to spend taxpayers' money to prove it," Ottinger said.

The Department of Energy's project manager for the study, Alfred Mowery, said that the study was proposed by DuPont, and that he was awarded the \$85,000 contract because of his "excellent reputation."

— based on *SF Chronicle*, 10-12-84

## TOKYO PEACE CONFERENCE

The annual Japanese "Conference against A- and H-Bombs" was held in Tokyo this year from July 31 to August 3. Its 1000 participants, including 70 representatives from other countries, also took part in commemorative services in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The Tokyo Declaration drafted by the conference was the subject of much controversy before compromise could be reached. The final document condemned the US-Japanese military alliance, expressed solidarity with the nationalist struggles going on in Micronesia, called for the dissolution of all military alliances, and deplored the tensions in the Middle East, Korea, and other areas of the globe. To the disappointment of some groups, the declaration did not contain denunciations of the militarization of Europe and the Pacific by the US, USSR, and France, or express support for independent peace movements around the world.

Of particular interest to Americans was the nearly universal opposition to bilateral nuclear freeze proposals. (The main support for the Freeze came from some of the East Bloc official peace groups and other delegations related to the World Peace Council.) The general feeling was that while the Freeze might be an important issue in the US, it was totally inadequate on the world scene since it legitimated an intolerably threatening and oppressive status quo. Most participants believed that the peace movement had to go beyond the Freeze and push for total disarmament.

— *Disarmament Campaigns*, September 1984 and *Peacework*, October 1984

## SALVADORAN ARMY'S NAPALM USE CONFIRMED

For several years, the Salvadoran government and the US ambassador to El Salvador have denied repeated reports that napalm has been used by the government in the Salvadoran civil war. In early October, the *New York Times* finally saw fit to print an 18-month old story that confirms the contrary.

In March 1983, three US congressmen on a fact-finding trip to El Salvador were told by the commander of the country's air force that napalm incendiary weapons supplied by Israel were used against guerilla forces until 1981. Colonel Rafael Bustillo told the congressmen, "Before the US started helping us, we had to use napalm, because we didn't have any other equipment. We bought it from Israel several years ago, and used it until 1981. If we

hadn't done that, I might not be sitting here today."

A report on the trip was published in the Congressional Record shortly after their return, but attracted little notice. Representative James L. Oberstar (D-MN), a member of the delegation, repeated Bustillo's statement to the press recently. Bustillo had told the congressmen that once shipments of American A-37 aircraft came through, giving the Salvadoran air force enough accuracy to rely on conventional bombing, the use of napalm was suspended.

Just last month, US ambassador to El Salvador Thomas Pickering said he knew of "no verifiable reports" of napalm bombing in El Salvador.

— based on *SF Chronicle*, 10-9-84



# Trident submarine: First

continued from page one

the fate of the MX all but irrelevant. From the first, the Trident system has been justified with the argument that it would be even more survivable than other submarines. The longer range of its missiles means it can operate in a larger ocean area and still stay within reach of its targets, thus defeating any advances in Soviet anti-sub warfare capabilities. (See Patrol Area map.)

But the greater danger derives from the first-strike accuracy of the Trident II missile. The warhead, reentry vehicle, and guidance systems most likely to be used with it are the very same models and brand names that are used on the MX. And while the Trident II will be just as accurate as the MX, it is also invulnerable to attack. In addition, its sea-launched mode buys it shorter flying times, another first-strike feature. According to the *Nuclear Weapons Data-book*, it "represents a quantum jump in US offensive nuclear capabilities."

Since the MX missiles in Minutemen silos remain vulnerable, they will be good *only* for first strike — they would be useless for retaliation (also known as deterrence) because the Soviets would presumably destroy them before they could be launched. This line of argument — backed up by vigorous protest, both legal and illegal — helped limit the success of the MX.

Submarines, invulnerable because they hide in vast reaches of ocean, are a viable deterrent threat. Until now, submarine-launched missiles have only been accurate enough for second-strike targets like cities. It can therefore be argued that if we must have nukes, submarine-launched missiles are the most acceptable ones. But this doesn't explain the Trident II's precision explosive power, which it needs only against hardened military targets like missile silos. The fact that Trident can be used for second strike doesn't mean it won't be used for first strike, nor that we can ignore its first-strike capability.

So far, the Trident system has enjoyed political smooth sailing. In Congress, the program is widely considered to be a relatively safe and stable way to deploy nuclear weapons. Although Trident II is a cornerstone of

the Reagan-led nuclear buildup, the Democrat-controlled House Armed Services Committee said this year that it will make "important contributions to the stability of the United States-Soviet equation." In May, an amendment sponsored by Congressman Ted Weiss (D-NY) to delete initial procurement funds for Trident II failed by a vote of 319 to 93. Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro also support it; in fact they cite their support for the Trident to refute claims that they're soft on the Russians and to justify their opposition

church groups, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and other peace groups, and every Scottish political party except the Conservatives.

Recently in the US, several national peace groups, including the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, the Mobilization for Survival, and the War Resisters League, have started educating and organizing on this issue.

In addition, there are several ongoing local protests in the US. In 1978, two people in Washington state raised

## The Trident's sea-launched mode buys it shorter flying times, another first-strike feature.

to the MX.

According to a recent report in the *New York Times*, the good news is that "a few congressmen have questioned the implications" of the missile's accuracy. The *Times*' doubts seem to be based not on any problem with American possession of such a weapon, but on the expectation that if we can build a Trident II, so can the Russians, and "if the Russians match Trident II they would possess accuracy and quick surprise in the same weapon." In other words, if they get one, it's an unacceptable threat.

In spite of the toadiness of the Democrats and the *New York Times*, it's too soon to give up. We have four years until the scheduled deployment of Trident II. And as an article called "US Trident campaign makes slow start," in the *European Nuclear Disarmament Journal* (END) points out, "five years ago it was virtually unimaginable that the MX missile would be seriously challenged in Congress."

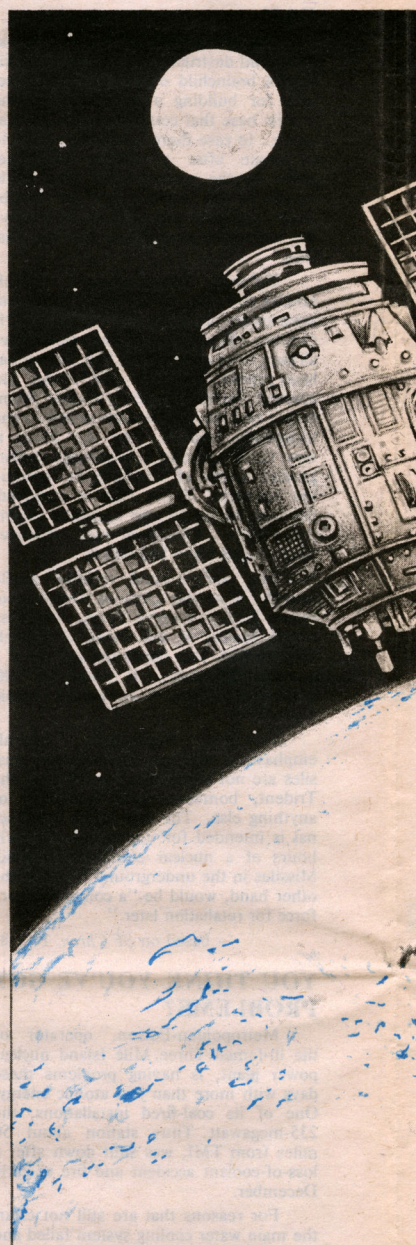
The title of the article in the *END Journal* refers to the vigor of the anti-Trident campaign in Britain, where Margaret Thatcher's government is planning to spend at least ten billion pounds on a Trident program. In Scotland, where the submarine will be based, over a hundred groups have joined the anti-Trident campaign. These include local government councils, the Scottish Trades Union Congress and local union branches,

enough money to buy 3.8 acres of land next to the Bangor Naval Submarine Base, the Pacific home base for Trident sub fleet. They established the Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action, a spiritual community focused on protest against the Trident.

In 1982, Ground Zero Center learned that nuclear warheads for the Trident I were shipped from the Pantex Plant in Amarillo, Texas to the Bangor base in a special train that is painted white to keep the temperature of its cargo low. Antinuclear activists in Amarillo have set up a 24-hour watch at the Pantex Plant. When the White Train leaves, an extensive phone tree alerts members and supporters of the Christian Agape Community who live along its route. As the train makes its way toward Bangor, protesters meet it with vigils and civil disobedience.

A recent shipment of Trident warheads was observed leaving Pantex in 19 white cars just after midnight on July 24. In the next few days, hundreds of vigilantes turned out in Topeka, Kansas; North Platte, Kearney, and Elm Creek, Nebraska (70 protesters in a town of 850); Wyoming; Montana, where six people were arrested for sitting down on the tracks; and Spokane, Washington. Forty-nine were arrested in Vancouver, Washington, and 31 more in Bangor.

In contrast to the Trident protests regularly mounted at the Bangor Naval Submarine Base — which have included rallies of thousands of people, civil disobedience, and sea blockades — there is little awareness of the Trident program around its East Coast base at Kings Bay, Georgia. In fact, the Navy tried for years to hide the fact that it would build a second Trident base. According to Robert Aldridge, "in 1974 and early 1975, while the [Navy was] publishing propaganda assuring the public that a single US base would suffice, the Secretary of the Navy had already been involved in a decision that two bases were mandatory. This is more than deception. It is premeditated lying to get what the military wants. . . . But the climax of deception regarding Trident



known as the Trident Nein sneaked aboard the *USS Florida*, the third Trident sub. They poured blood down its missile tubes, beat on its sonar equipment with hammers and spray-painted *USS Auschwitz* all over it. At the ceremonial launching of the *USS Henry Jackson* the next year, several hundred anti-Trident demonstrators were met by 14 pro-Trident Ku Klux Klansmen wearing white robes.

## In July 1982, nine protestors known as the Trident Nein sneaked aboard a Trident sub, poured blood down its missile tubes, beat on its sonar equipment with hammers, and spray-painted *USS Auschwitz* all over it.

and Kings Bay is that the nature of the weapon is not discussed."

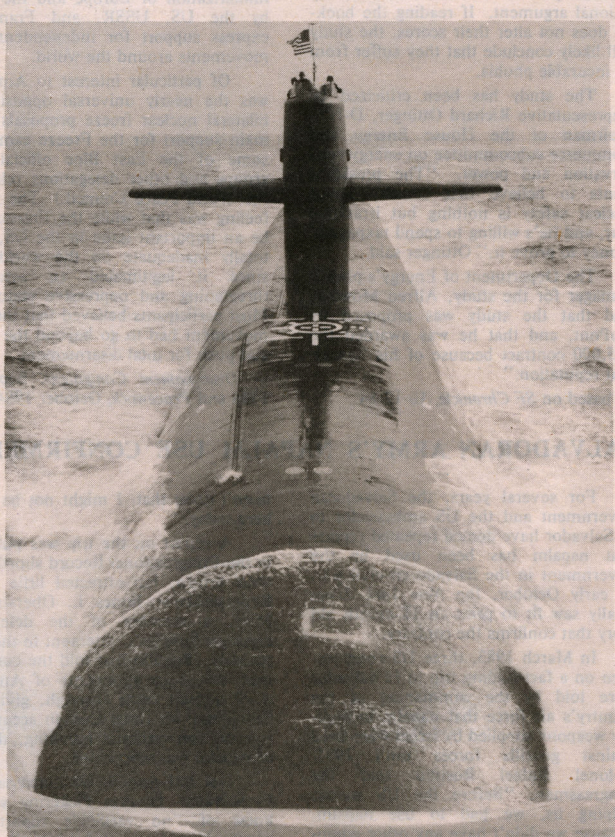
In 1980, the Navy publicly confirmed that the Atlantic fleet of ten Trident submarines would be based at Kings Bay. Since 1979, Poseidon submarines refitted with Trident I missiles have been operating from there. But as late as 1982, Congressman Charles Bennett, whose district is just across the river from Kings Bay, was not aware that the Trident missiles were there. Bennett is a senior member of the House Armed Services Committee, with access to top secret information.

The Trident submarines are assembled at the General Dynamics shipyard (Electric Boat Division) in Groton, Connecticut. In July 1982, nine protestors

In Michigan and Wisconsin, anti-Trident protest has so far stopped the Navy from building an 80-mile long antenna called Project ELF (for "extremely low frequency"). Transmissions at these frequencies are the only way to communicate with submarines — for example, to give the order to fire — when they are travelling at cruising speed and operational depths.

Critics point out that the ELF transmitter would be extremely vulnerable to attack, so that Trident could not rely on it to receive orders to retaliate. However, it would be useful before the fighting begins, which is when it would be needed to coordinate a first strike.

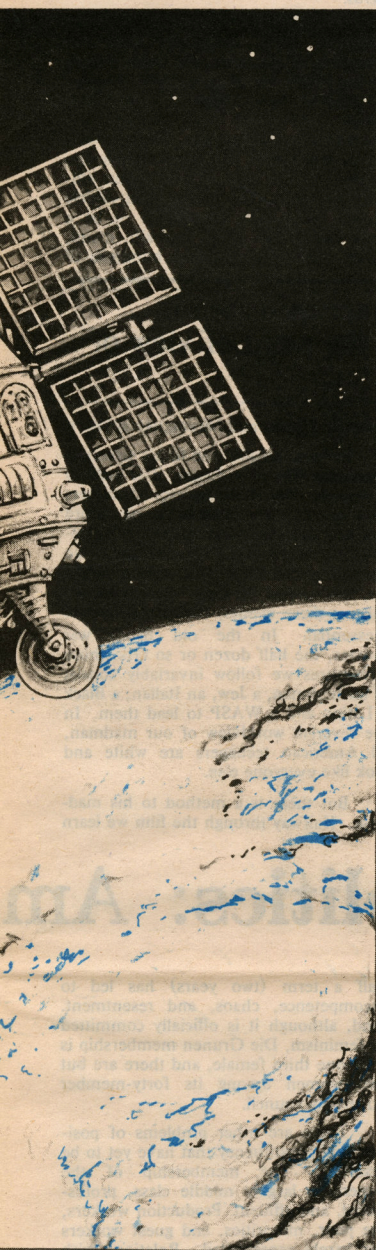
One effective tactic used by ELF opponents was simply to pull up the sur-



The USS Georgia, the fourth Trident submarine



# strike on the high seas

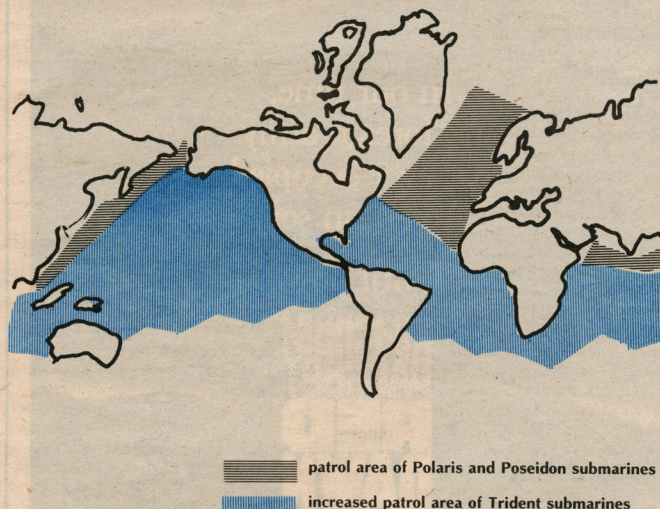


Department of Defense for failing to update their 1977 environmental impact statement. A favorable ruling by a federal judge has halted the project for now. But in Michigan the federal government condemned 900 acres of land for Project ELF, subverting a pending court action by Marquette County against the Natural Resource Commission's right to grant easements for the project.

In California, a vigorous "Live Without Trident" campaign against Lockheed, the prime contractor for the Trident missiles, was carried out in Santa Cruz between 1977 and 1980. In the spring of 1980, 37% of the residents of Santa Cruz County voted in favor of a ballot initiative that would have made the production and testing of nuclear weapons components illegal in the county. Last month, Lockheed went to the Santa Cruz County Planning Commission for permission to build a 300-foot by 200-foot building that organizers believe will be used to manufacture the Trident II missile. The permit was granted by the Planning Commission, but the Sierra Club has announced that it will appeal the decision.

— Marcy Darnovsky  
IAT staff

## Trident Patrol Area



## The Trident system: A first strike fleet

Present plans are for the US Navy to station ten Trident submarines at Naval Submarine Base Bangor. Congressional testimony reveals that these subs will be backfitted with Trident II missiles during the 1990's. Let us look at what those ten vessels could then do.

In a surprise first strike this fleet could annihilate all but 168 of the Soviets' 1,398 ICBMs — which contain three quarters of the USSR's strategic warheads. After being spotted by nuclear detection sensors, a second wave of 24 missiles would be able to destroy all but 20 of those remaining, and that remainder, if launched, would be intercepted by projected US ballistic missile defense (BMD) forces.

After both of these waves, the Pacific Trident fleet would have 16 missiles left (224 bombs) that could be allocated for Russian bomber fields and submarine pens. Anti-submarine warfare (ASW) forces would, of course, take care of the small number of Soviet missile-launching submarines at sea. In effect, Submarine Base Bangor, augmented by BMD and ASW forces, could carry out a disarming first strike against the USSR.

Another technology which could give Trident missiles pinpoint accuracy, either as a redundant capability or for even greater precision, is the maneuvering reentry vehicle (MARV). . . In my estimation this MARV, when fully developed, will trim Navstar's miss distance by a

factor of three. [Navstar will be a system of 18 satellites that can give a missile, ship, or soldier carrying a receiver in a 20-pound backpack its precise location in three dimensions. This is crucial for first-strike accuracy by submarine-based missiles.]

There are also indications that Navstar receivers might be installed in the MARVs themselves to guide them to within 33 feet of their aim point without even having to look at their target area. I cannot rule out the possibility of a precision MARV being backfitted on Trident I missiles, but I believe they are more likely to go on Trident IIs.

— Robert Aldridge  
Ground Zero, April/May 1983.

veying stakes that the Navy had put in. These activities and the more restrained arguments of the protesters led the state of Wisconsin to sue the Navy and



The White Train, loaded with nuclear warheads for the Trident I missile



# Red Dawn: An Exp

In 1919 the filmgoing public was treated to one of the finest examples of German expressionist cinema, *The Cabinet of Doctor Caligari*. Told from the point of view of a madman in a mental institution, *Caligari* gained lasting notoriety for its "insane" visual presentation, replete with eerie lighting, jaggedly constructed sets, and — a central concern of expressionistic aesthetics — the external depiction of an internal reality.

Sixty-five years later, another expressionist film has surfaced, this time made in the old US of A. Most

such money makers as *Revenge of the Nerds*.

*Red Dawn* takes place in a small Colorado town. Practically from the beginning of the story, the hallucinatory nature of the narrative is made obvious. Communist paratroopers land in a field outside the local high school and immediately machine-gun teachers, students, classrooms and the students cars in the parking lot. A half dozen students escape in their off-the-road vehicle to the hills, train themselves to be a crack commando team, and kill, maim, shoot, blow-up and torture hundreds of

A new wave of American expressionism is bringing us films told from the point of view of reactionary lunatics.

reviewers have not recognized that it belongs in the expressionist genre. However, by the criteria established in its illustrious German predecessor, it should be clear that the two are cut from the same mold. *Red Dawn* is the exterior depiction of the inner vision of a madman, in this case a paranoid suffering from the delusion that, even now, the Russians, Cubans and Nicaraguans are preparing the violent takeover of peace-loving America.

American film audiences are not generally noted for their appreciation of such esoteric genres as expressionism. Yet they have been flocking to see *Red Dawn*. *Variety* reported the film to be among the top ten grossing films this summer, not quite up there with *Indiana Jones* — another example of this new native expressionism — but ahead of

Russian, Cuban and Nicaraguan soldiers.

Perhaps because the film's structure resembles that of a dream, it is hard to distinguish any of the teenage characters from one another. This is but one more way in which *Red Dawn* breaks with Hollywood convention. Since the true "hero" of the film is its unseen narrator, the lunatic through whose eyes we witness these events, characters become inessential. In the old fifties war movies, the half dozen or so GIs whose adventures we follow invariably consist of an Irishman, a Jew, an Italian, a Black a Latino and a WASP to lead them. In the feverish worldview of our madman, all American teenagers are white and look like everyone else.

But there is a method to his madness. Halfway through the film we learn

Red Dawn poster ad

# Review of Green Politics: Am

## REVIEW

**Green Politics: The Global Promise,** Pritof Capra and Charlene Spretnak, E.P. Dutton, New York, 1984.

These are times that behoove us to rethink the whole ballgame. Between now and November 6, many of us will be scurrying to register voters, trying to get them jazzed to vote for Walter Mondale. It's one last frenetic attempt to ward off despair about Reagan's imminent reelection. But in our hearts we know this mess exists because we haven't been getting our point across. Not enough.

Even those of us who've given up on electoral politics, who only do direct action, suffer from frayed optimism. Spirits seem kept aloft by increasingly strained rituals to reassure ourselves that the non-violent, civilly-disobedient will inherit the earth.

Among the staunchest and most dedicated there is an undertow of desperation, of not being able to think or feel beyond the registration deadline, or the election, or the next demo at the lab or the peace camp, or the next trial date, or the next trip to Nicaragua. Because in our guts we know we're scattered, lost, floundering, haven't an idea in hell what to do next, or more importantly what to do over the long haul.

Thus I came to the reading of *Green Politics* with a hunger for concrete political ideas that could be used by activists to move beyond our current stalemate and panic. And although an obsessional anti-left bias arouses my anger and raises serious questions about this book's reliability and usefulness, it is nevertheless one of the most intriguing action proposals — a call for a Green movement in the United States — that I have seen in years.

It's far too late to do anything about Ronald Reagan, it's too late to turn the Democratic ticket into something to excite the mind and mobilize the voters. But it's none too soon to reconnoiter, to take a serious look at what could make a difference in that long list we lug around: the arms race, militarism, the cold war, interventionism, unsafe energy, the despoiling of the

natural world, male supremacy, homophobia, racism, poverty, alienation, ugliness, loneliness, and lies.

What better place to begin than with the trials and adventures of West Germany's Green Party (Die Grunen)? For surely it is one of the most audacious, wide-ranging and popular movements to appear in recent history.

From Spretnak and Capra's book a fragmented portrait of the Greens emerges: an uneasy coalition of socialists, feminists, and assorted peace and ecology activists, religious and secular. This amorphous entity is driven into turbulent alliance by a vague but passionately shared sense that the old order is dying and threatening to drag us all into the grave with it; and by a utopian vision of a new order grounded, more or less, on the principles of ecology, social

Although they are strikingly uncritical of rightists who form one wing of the Greens, Capra and Spretnak hack away at the left, often inaccurately.

responsibility, grassroots democracy, and nonviolence.

I say more or less because each of these phrases is murky, and means quite different things to different people. The issue of nonviolence in particular (as principle rather than as tactic) is a hot, unresolved, and probably unresolvable one within the party.

But it is not the lofty ideals of Die Grunen that have focused worldwide attention on them. It is their ability to convert grassroots organizing and direct action into parliamentary success. In 1983 the Greens got over two million votes in the national elections, gaining 27 seats in the Bundestag (parliament). The Greens have made brilliant use of the public exposure guaranteed by those seats. Acting more as a guerrilla theater troupe than as a legislative body, they have dressed different and talked different, dramatizing their ideas with nerve and style, and exposing the stodginess and corruption of the major parties.

The Green representatives have also channeled half their legislative salaries, plus a portion of the government stipend awarded to parties, into a variety of local projects. Moreover, their ability to get votes has earned them an aura of seriousness: their delegations meet with high officials of foreign states; their representatives participate in international councils. They are considered today to be the third party of West Germany, and they have forced the Social Democratic Party to reconsider many of its positions (for example the deployment of cruise and Pershing 2 missiles) and to seek alliance with Die Grunen lest it lose more of its already waning support to this upstart conglomerate.

Although the Green Party doesn't have the strength to put through much of its legislative program, it has put on

half a term (two years) has led to incompetence, chaos, and resentment. And, although it is officially committed to feminism, Die Grunen membership is only one third female, and there are but two women among its forty-member governing council.

There are other problems of position and constituency that have yet to be resolved. The membership of the Greens is largely middle class, professional, and affluent. Production workers, the poor, minorities, and guest workers are barely represented. Relations with trade unions are shaky at best, with leftists Greens arguing for expansion of the base and more focus on immediate concerns of union members such as unemployment, while others see unions as remnants of the "old paradigm," clinging to an outmoded belief in progress through large-scale technology and expansion. The Party is also split over abortion, and there are differences about how much weight to give programs that serve the needs of mothers (childcare, maternity leave, welfare) and how much to focus on bringing women into the labor force on an equal footing with men.

But most of all, the problem with the Greens — at least as they are portrayed in *Green Politics* — is a tendency toward vague, utopian formulations. The picture of the world they would create is largely an attractive one, but they often slur over questions about how to deal with nitty-gritty issues of today — race, class, sex, and poverty.

Nor do they seem to have a conceptual framework for understanding power relationships. Although most of the Greens' vision is inspiring, the question of what keeps them from attaining it is not addressed. Here, the bias of the authors makes it difficult to tell the weakness of their analysis from that of the Greens.

Spretnak and Capra are adamant in their rejection of Marxist analysis of class and power. They perceive it, along with capitalist thinking, as a single "old paradigm" of politics. They see in the Greens the emergence of a "new paradigm," one that is "neither left nor right; [but] in front" — a Green slogan

Impressive as these accomplishments are, the Greens have had their share of internal problems. A major sex harassment scandal divided its parliamentary group and led to the resignation of the offending legislator. Many of the rank-and-file see the parliamentarians as an elite, increasingly unaccountable. On the other hand, rotation, which is meant to keep hierarchy to a minimum by changing Bundestag representatives after



# ressionist triumph

from a downed American pilot that the trouble began with hundreds of thousands of "illegal aliens" migrating from south of the border. These are — guess what? — *Communist fifth columnists*, preparing the path of the occupying force to follow! No wonder the teenage commandos are all white.

It is difficult to sustain, in the cinema, a believable representation of subjective madness. Film history, after all, has only supported a handful of expressionist masterpieces. *Red Dawn*, sad to say, does not escape the penchant for self-deprecation so prevalent in the last decade or so in the world of high art. By the middle of the movie the inspired images and delusional ideas lapse into a parody of the WWII firefight narrative. For this reason *Red Dawn* cannot, in the opinion of this reviewer, be deemed without flaws.

However, the ending, an expressionist *tour de force*, saves the film from its middle. With most of the faceless American teenagers dead, the Russians still in control but slipping, and a Cuban colonel in the throes of a crisis of revolutionary conscience, the story abruptly ends, without resolution of any of its conflicts. And finally, the crazy narrator reveals herself to us for the first time: a young women's voice — as if inside our heads — informs us that she escaped to the American-held territory, that a loving monument was erected to honor the nameless, faceless white teenagers' gallant struggle, and she never heard from them again. And then — "The End!"

At one bold stroke, director John Milius has steered his film light-years beyond the bravura conclusion of *Caligari*. In that film, the studio imposed an

ending that lessened the anti-authoritarian implications of its story. Perhaps because of the surprise success of Milius' previous film (the proto-expressionist *Conan the Barbarian*) the studio let him have his way with the artful conclusion to *Red Dawn*. Their trust was more than vindicated. Expanding his audience far beyond the narrow confines of what might have been expected for essentially an art-house film, Milius has turned the trick so difficult for Hollywood directors: delivering the goods for art and the bottom line at once.

One final note. As a critic I feel compelled to bring to the public attention not only fine individual films, but trends as they emerge in film-making. It seems that with *Red Dawn* and the forthcoming *Topeka, Kansas* (which I reviewed in the August-September issue of *It's About Times* under the working title *The Day After The Day After*), a new wave of American expressionist film is beginning to blossom, concerned with bringing us films told from the point of view of reactionary lunatics. While it is laudable that American filmmakers and their backers seem willing to gamble on art films for a change, I would hope this particular trend doesn't go too far. The impact in a new direction in art — however effective at first — tends to diminish with repetition. Hollywood has a tendency to transform a good thing at the box office into more of the same, in the process smothering the original creative impulse under the weight of its demands for ticket sales. Let's not see *Red Dawn* followed by *Scarlet Afternoon* and *Pink Evening*. We could live without that.

— Fred Glass



Dr. Caligari poster ad

# merican Greens go red-baiting

coined, not surprisingly, by one of its right-wing founders.

Where they describe their own visions for a Green movement in this country, Spretnak and Capra exhibit the same tendency toward utopian, trans-

positions they espouse. A concrete example of this is their failure to acknowledge the New Left as the popularizer of the idea of participatory democracy. But there is a more pervasive refusal to acknowledge any emancipatory elements in Marxist thought, or in the

infusions of necessary new ideas and new spirit to the left.

The right, on the other hand, is the political voice of exploitation. As a movement we cannot position ourselves neutrally between (or above) the left and right. The conflicts that created these categories have not been resolved. To pretend to transcend them is to abandon what must be the central allegiance of any worthwhile movement for change.

A Green Party may be at odds with the thinking of the rigid, doctrinaire, fundamentalist Marxist sects. But it is not at odds with the core values and analysis of the mainstream left traditions in this country, or with the hearts and minds of many left-oriented activists. It is the coming together of those from a

Marxist tradition with those from other progressive movements that will create the true paradigm shift we need: one firmly grounded, not only in its dedication to an ecological and egalitarian world; but implacably and explicitly opposed to those who prevent that world from coming into being.

A movement, an organization, and in time perhaps a party may well be the project we need to pull together our fragmented energies and attain a greater cumulative effect for our efforts. But to work it will have to be far more inclusive of leftists, poor people, and minorities than Capra and Spretnak envision. The Green Party we need must see itself as part of a rainbow, including, yes, even the color red.

— Barbara Haber

## Nowhere do Spretnak and Capra acknowledge the historical role leftists have played in fighting for many of the positions they espouse.

political thinking as does their version of the original Greens. Although Spretnak and Capra offer some criticisms of the German Greens, their picture is so consistent with the message they seek to convey, namely that left thinking has no place in a Green party, that it is impossible not to suspect that they have seen the Greens through their own ideological lens.

Thus, for Capra and Spretnak, the main problem within the Greens is the stubbornness of the "Red-Greens" who persistently insert issues of class; who reject non-violence as an absolute; who insist on an inequality of blame in the cold war and imperialism. The authors see the Red-Greens as a small, domineering minority, without whom Die Grunen would function quite smoothly, thank you. Whether this perception is true, or is shared by Green Party members, is impossible to judge from the obviously biased reporting of this book.

Although they are strikingly uncritical of rightists who form one wing of Die Grunen, Capra and Spretnak hack away at the left, often inaccurately. For example, they lump Marxist economists with capitalists (that old paradigm again) because, they say, both ignore the social implications of economic policy and accept unequal distribution of wealth. Whatever criticisms old papa Marx and his followers deserve, this, surely, is not among them.

Nowhere do Spretnak and Capra acknowledge the historical role leftists have played in fighting for many of the

attempts of left movements to create decent, non-bureaucratic societies with democratic principles, in which material needs are no longer an obstacle to personal fulfillment and full participation in the community.

Throughout their report on the German Greens, Spretnak and Capra build their case against the reds in support of their central intention: to create in the US a Green Party purged of leftists. If you're red you cannot be Green, they tell us.

So deep is their aversion that Capra and Spretnak warn against too much contact with the British peace group CND because it is too "left" and "hierarchical." And they are at pains that we not confuse the Citizen's Party with Greenness, but that we see it rather as old-paradigm socialism with an ecology plank tacked on.

These are not academic issues. Attempts to organize an American Green movement are now underway, with Spretnak playing a leading role. (See box.) How representative her views and those of Capra are among Green organizers is an important question, the answer to which awaits further information.

The historical, common meaning of a "left" and "progressive" world view is one that identifies with the lives of ordinary people, and throws its weight in support of those oppressed and exploited. To be sure, there is much in current left theory and practice that is outdated, irrelevant, and wrong. The New Left of the sixties, the feminist movement, the ecology and peace movements, and the Green Party provide

## Activists launch US Green movement

Activists from a wide variety of organizations attended a by-invitation-only planning meeting this past August to lay the groundwork for what its organizers called a "broad-based" US Green movement. The conference was originated by Charlene Spretnak, author of *Green Politics*.

According to *New Options* newsletter (August 27, 1984), "invitations were sent to over 180 'Green' activists in 28 issue areas, from 'corporate' to 'social justice' to 'networking.'" However, the closed nature of the meeting and the fact that groups traditionally supported by the left were not invited has spurred questions about just how open and democratic the American Greens will be. *New Options* reports that "Linda Bulard of US-Eurolinks objected that many people in leftist groups felt excluded. The inviting committee responded that the Green organization first had to establish its own iden-

tity; then it would likely work with the populist right and progressive left."

The meeting established:

1. An interim Interregional Committee to coordinate movement building.
2. An interim national office in Minneapolis.
3. A task force to draft the organization's first public document, a "statement of values and principles." Publication is expected in mid-September.
4. An interim name, "Committees of Correspondence," was chosen. The word "Green" was felt to be a liability in many communities.

According to Elinor LeCain of Berkeley, a member of the interim coordinating committee, there is no local contact for the US Greens. Those who want information must write to the Interregional Committee of Correspondence, P.O. Box 14748, Minneapolis, MN 55414.

— B.H.



# Letters Letters Letters Letters Letters Letters

continued from page two

There are other protest candidates, nearly all of them preferable to Mondale. But the Mondale-Ferraro ticket is the only one with a chance to defeat Reagan.

Vote against the administration that is systematically destroying the politics of human solidarity and caring. Cast a possibly winning protest vote against the government that is relentlessly playing Russian roulette with the nuclear missiles and bombs that threaten to destroy the human race and render the planet uninhabitable.

Dave Dellinger

## KUDOS TO LEON

Dear IAT,

Congratulations to IAT and Sandy Leon for the recent article on Walter Mondale. Thanks for taking the time to research out the details of his "cold war liberalism" because that's exactly what it is.

I remember working very hard for the election of Lyndon Johnson in 1964 because of fear of what Barry Goldwater would do. Well, we "won" and the rest is history. Why do people continue to believe that Democratic foreign policy is so safe when it is that very policy that helped to create and perpetuate the problems we face today under Reagan? To be sure it is much easier for the multi-national corporations that really run this country and the world, with their friends, the Republicans, in power. But it's not that big a deal to buy a Democrat. It's been done for years.

If we are ever to create real change, we have to speak boldly and honestly to the issues even at election time. That's why Jesse sparked some hope in people. But Mondale, as many liberals before him, has picked the "safe" route and pleases no one. We do need to worry about our survival, it's true. But that's not exactly a new issue except to a lot of middle class folks that just recently discovered it.

We'd better all wake up on the morning of November 7 regardless of who gets elected in this farce we call electoral politics and start working on creating the tightest and biggest coalition of activists this country has ever seen. If we work real hard on the "isms" of class, race, and sex the nuclear mentality/menace will take care of itself. Walter Mondale is wrong. Communism is not the problem — injustice is. If you want a peaceful world, work for justice for everyone.

— Mary K. Moore  
Sonoma County Rainbow Coalition

## TOO PURE TO VOTE?

Dear IAT,

I am sick to death of people who are too pure to vote for Mondale and it makes me furious to read their words proselytizing — for what? Apathy? Armed revolution? It's rather vague, you see. All that such articles — such as



the two from your last issue — do is to point out the inconsistencies and compromises of Mondale and Ferraro and then conclude, as Lillian S. Robinson so succinctly put it, that "the real movement and its struggle are elsewhere" than in electoral politics.

Beautiful. Profound. Perhaps you might be more specific? Are you speaking for my movement? Is the "real" movement only to be found, say, at actions? Or maybe at actions where civil disobedience takes place? I'd really like to know.

I've been arrested for CD four times, I've helped to organize a dozen-odd actions and events and, this summer and fall, I'm volunteering time to do voter registration. I was not aware of

any lack of continuity throughout all these activities, but perhaps I fell from grace somewhere along the line. Or maybe I've never been in the "real movement" at all! Oh where, oh where is the real movement? It must be somewhere — it's almost like searching for America.

You see, it's not that I disagree with your values or even necessarily your perceptions, Sandy and Lillian. But I do think you are a couple of goddam fools, and I wonder about the quality of your commitments to whatever your ideals are.

What is it that you are seeking to accomplish by discouraging voting? What is the alternative which is so vastly more effectual for the purposes of "the movement?" Is there some other realm of activism available to one and all (because hopefully this is a people's movement you are talking about!) which can be considered so much more important that to take time off to go to the polls on November 6 would be a drain on this vital force? Or are you simply saying that voting is of no use at all?

There is a huge difference between Mondale and Reagan. If there is even a slim chance to defeat Reagan, we should work hard for it. Consider: Supreme Court appointments, environmental safeguards, civil rights, abortion rights, health care for the poor, education, welfare. Will you say there is no "substantial" difference between Reagan and Mondale? If for no other reason than because there might be a little less human suffering under one administration than another. . .

Mr. Leon, your point is well taken about Mondale's "cold-war liberalism." He opposes the MX and supports the Cruise. But supposing he gets elected and does gut the MX. Then we won't have to blockade Vandenberg any more; we can focus more on the Alameda

Naval Air Station and other places. And consider: what if Reagan is re-elected and actually succeeds in implementing space satellite laser weapons. . . ?

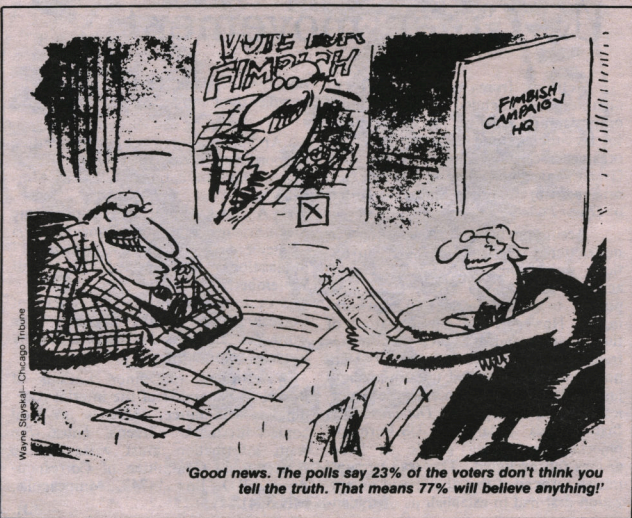
You see, there are truly levels and levels to this nightmare, even though I grant you it remains a nightmare. And by the same token, if Mondale ends CIA intervention in Nicaragua and still supports Duarte, well . . . who knows? Even if he supports the Salvadoran junta, there may be a telling difference between his ferocity and determination in doing so, and Reagan's. Remember — at least Carter allowed Somoza to crumble.

Whether or not I am being overly optimistic here, or a dupe, as you may contend, I don't see how anyone can seriously say that there is no difference between the candidates this fall. I am not arguing that any of them have integrity, or even debating that "electoral politics . . . package(s) our needs, our priorities . . . and peddle(s) them back to us."

But if this is the case, then where does the power lie? If political candidates are but two-dimensional reflections of the will and expression of the people, then is it not the people who shape politicians rather than vice-versa? At least if we vote for the politicians that cater most to our views — whether or not they do so from their own convictions — then we are "sending the message" that there are votes to support these views, and no one will deny that politicians are after votes. Once they are in office, it is true, they can do what they please, but still they will be under some pressure to keep their promises.

But by the same token, it is naive and ridiculous to expect major national candidates to espouse "progressive" views which would obviously alienate most of the country. If Geraldine Ferraro's feminism "proposes no basic

continued on next page



'Good news. The polls say 23% of the voters don't think you tell the truth. That means 77% will believe anything!'



# Letters Letters Letters Letters Letters Letters

## A TIME TO VOTE, A TIME TO FIGHT

Dear IAT,

I'll put my argument for trying to elect Mondale quite bluntly. If the Communists and Social Democrats in Germany in the late 1920's had formed a United Front to fight the Nazis, Hitler would never have come to power. I know the situation is not the same, but nevertheless there is a lesson to be drawn from this. The time to fight with Mondale tooth and nail is after he has been elected.

If Reagan is elected, he will have a free hand. It will make the first four years of his regime pale by comparison. I think the left has already forgotten what devastation he has left in his wake.

With Mondale there is leverage. Consider the different stands on the following:

1. The Supreme Court. Mondale would not appoint a bunch of right wing crooks who would proceed to dismantle the Bill of Rights even further. Under Reagan there would no longer be a distinction between the executive and judicial branches. Meese would be attorney general.

2. Mondale is for the ERA and though his stand on abortion is not forceful, I believe poor women would have that access if he were elected.

3. The initiation and support of union bashing would stop. We could start putting the NLRB back together. It seems to have evaporated under Reagan as has OSHA.

4. The attitude toward education would be different and hopefully the money too. We would not be served by a bunch of religious hot air and the idea that it is perfectly all right to have schools without libraries would be put to rest.

Reagan apparently does not believe what an ordinary twenty cent US postage stamp says: "A reading public is one of the underpinnings of democracy."

5. The Reagan farm policy has been devastating to small farmers with two out of three being turned down for emergency loans by the Farm Home Administration. Meanwhile, the partner of Secretary of Agriculture Block gets the largest loan in Iowa with improper collateral. Mondale cannot get away with this and I suspect might even be capable of some innovative policies.

6. The EPA has been dismantled under Reagan as pollution of the environment, home, and workplace get more serious every day. Mondale has taken a strong stand on the environment

and he has a good record. He even points the finger at the NRC in the Diablo fiasco.

7. Even if Mondale's foreign policy interview was upsetting, we must read what he said and not the media's interpretation. He said he would stop the covert war with Nicaragua and then negotiate and that he would not demand any internal changes.

8. And last of all, Mondale's stand on the arms race and negotiations with the Russians.

How can the left be so foolish, just because he is not the candidate we wish we were, as not to go to the polls? Under Mondale we would have the breathing space to consolidate the burgeoning progressive movement in this country.

Milton Eisenhower said on National Public Radio last week that he is worried about a military coup in this country. I think if Reagan is re-elected that's exactly what we will have.

I also think that our turning on Mondale is class privilege, a luxury many others cannot afford. The poor, the unemployed, the aged, the union members, the disabled, and the ill would all suffer less under a Democratic administration, as would women, minorities, and children.

Proposition 41 would not be on the ballot if it weren't for Reagan. And finally, even lip service to the importance of human rights and negotiations instead of war saves many lives abroad.

Hannah Ziegellaub  
Voting Power

## LIGHTEN UP ON FRITZ

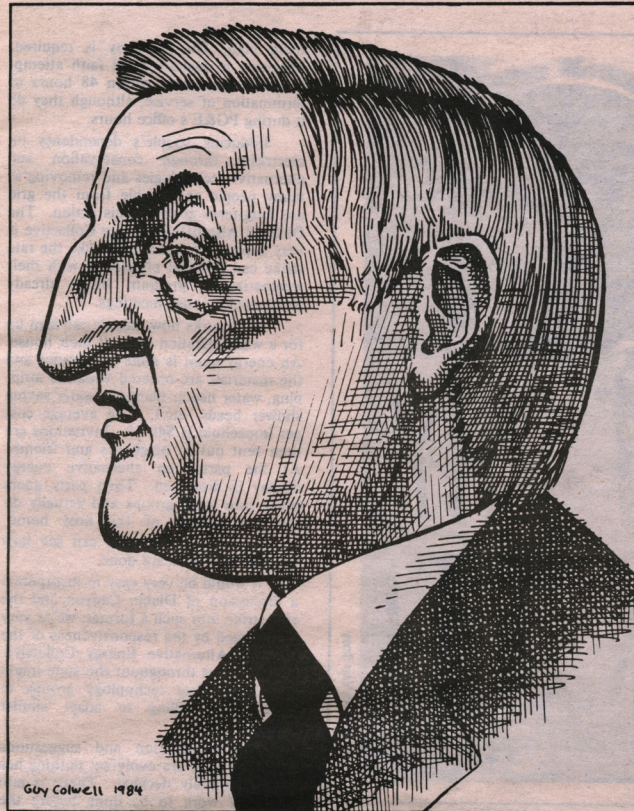
Dear IAT,

Your courageous struggle against the destructive nuclear energy forces is applauded, even though feebly. Your courage and youth have achieved some success — the last stop of Diablo amazed me.

Don't be too rough on Mondale (even as you were on Cranston) — both men stand for a better world than Reagan. The changed seats on the Titanic (reference to a photo in IAT February-March 1984 of a banner reading "Voting for President is like changing seats on the Titanic" — ed. note) may offer a shadow of a chance — the empty smile — no.

Sincerely,  
E. DeWolf (age 94)  
Redlands CA

P.S. Hoping to survive to vote in November.



challenge to the family as a traditional institution," well, I hate to clue you in, but I'm afraid that, overwhelmingly, the American electorate isn't quite ready to challenge that institution either, or even question it.

You may be well ahead of the pack, Lillian, but somehow I don't think it would be very wise for Geraldine Ferraro to come out and take a stand for multiple relationships and communal living in this year's campaign. You might consider, however, which administration is likely to be more tolerant of alternative lifestyles (and at this point in time, the word "alternative" must still apply).

All in all, it seems to me that the "sober realism" of the articles on Mondale and Ferraro would be better saved for after the election, when it could be of some use to motivate people to do more than just vote. Right now it strikes me not so much as "realism," but as self-indulgent, letter-than-thou pontificating with no good purpose.

When I cast my vote for Mondale and Ferraro this fall, it will be with a sense of hope and not a "certain deadness in the heart." (Unless, of course, Reagan has it clinched.) And if he wins I will rejoice — and then start focusing my energies on the next struggle, beginning the following day.

Marc Polonsky  
Berkeley

## SANDY LEON RESPONDS

While I take exception to the abusive, reactionary tone of Marc Polonsky's letter, it warrants response not so much for its content, which is largely rhetorical and distorted, but for purposes of clarification.

Throughout his letter, Mr. Polonsky charges me and my colleague, Lillian Robinson, with "discouraging voting." Sometimes he does so directly — "I am sick to death of people who are too pure to vote for Mondale..." — but more often his accusations are implicit.

For my part, I would like to let Mr. Polonsky in on a little secret. I began writing my article on Walter Mondale with the intention of encouraging readers to vote for him. One might say I was suffering from a bad case of the "Anything But Reagan" syndrome that seems to have afflicted so many of us.

Unfortunately, I hit on a snag. The more research I did, the more disgusted

I became. The end result is what Mr. Polonsky terms "self-indulgent, letter-than-thou pontificating with no good purpose."

I'm not even going to try to understand what purpose Mr. Polonsky thinks he is serving by wondering in print about "the quality" of our commitments or by his condescending attitude toward my colleague, calling her views "naive and ridiculous" while completely missing the point of her article. His insinuation that neither of us understand that there is a "huge huge difference" between Mondale and Reagan would be insulting if it were not so absurd.

I do, however, feel compelled to challenge Mr. Polonsky's thinking on a couple of matters. Just who or what are you defending? Walter Mondale? Electoral politics? If it is the former, I suggest you read Dave Dellinger's letter to IAT, which presents a cogent (if sometimes unconvincing) case for electing Walter Mondale.

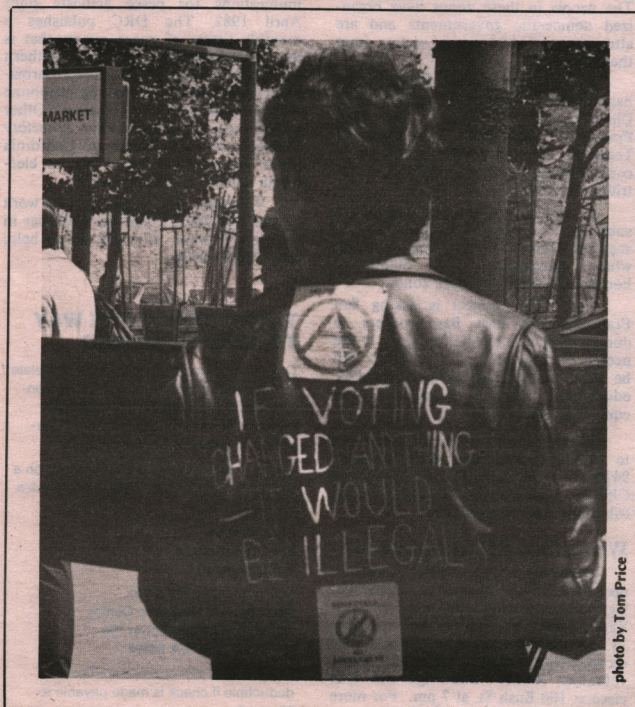
While I respect Mr. Polonsky's decision to spend his summer and his fall in the service of electoral politics, to imply as he does that this somehow precludes the need for provocative analysis is dangerous and extremely egotistical.

To infer, as Mr. Polonsky does, that the only alternative (to Mondale?) is Apathy or Armed revolution (sic) suggests not only an acute lack of creativity but also a one-dimensional thought process that, if incorporated into leftist politics, could plunge us back into the dark ages for good.

The idea that one may not agitate for social change without presenting a "viable alternative" (in one hundred words or less?) is also uninspired. That's the whole point of this movement, isn't it? That each of us has a role? Who's to say which is more "important?"

The danger inherent in today's epidemic of "election fever" is that voters, in their desperate need to believe, will go home from the polls thinking they have done something. And it worries me when people talk about "holding their noses" and voting for Mondale. But what's more frightening is what seems to be a rapidly developing trend in leftist politics that we should not merely hold our noses, but close our eyes as well, whilst we stumble toward the polls.

— Sandy Leon  
IAT staff





# Abalone Alliance plans rate strike

If the temporary restraining order against full-power operation at the Diablo Canyon Nuclear Power Plant is withdrawn and the facility produces electricity commercially for thirty days, the cost of construction will, in all likelihood, be passed on to ratepayers.

Pacific Gas and Electric Company (PG&E) is also attempting to saddle consumers with the yet-to-be-determined cost of decommissioning their boondoggle Humboldt Bay reactor. PG&E stockholders will continue to get wealthier as they realize their investment from the California Public Utilities Commission (PUC) mandated 12% guaranteed profit. The outrageous cost overruns from Diablo will be considered "investments," another consumer rip-off.

At the statewide Abalone Alliance conference held in King's Canyon National Park last June, discussions about a ratepayers boycott began. Meetings were held to examine research on workable models and discuss scenarios. Four Abalone groups developed a proposal, which is being distributed to other groups for discussion. A statewide meeting has been called for November 11 to decide on the proposal.

Scenario discussions so far have stressed the desire for three main components of the strike:

- 1) Neighborhood house meetings to spread the word about the strike and to mobilize participation.
- 2) Graduated levels of involvement.
- 3) A strong alternative energy and conservation education component.

Neighborhood house meetings have been used effectively in the past to mobilize people for actions and to provide community support. The house meeting program would include information about Diablo, nuclear power in general, how the rate strike would work, and alternative energy.

With an action as decentralized as a rate strike, it is important that people do not feel isolated and vulnerable. The neighborhood base of the house meeting model should insure that participants will know each other and can get each other's support.

The action is not designed to terminate



photo by Bob Van Scoy

people's electricity. Some people may choose to risk this possibility (the "dinner by candle light" cluster), but other, less drastic levels of participation are possible.

Suggestions include withholding 5% of each month's bill in protest of the amount which currently supports PG&E's nuclear power program; refusing to pay one month's bill and sending it to the PUC with a letter of protest about PG&E's plans to include Diablo Canyon's cost overruns and Humboldt Bay's decommissioning costs into the

rate base; withholding all payments and risking power shut-off; and even "blockading" PG&E workers to prevent a shut-off. The minimum level of participation would be paying bills consistently late, after the 48-hour shut-off notice is received.

Early strike participants have been withholding their payments for up to six months and have not yet faced shut-off proceedings. Regulations are unclear on this point, and it seems shut-offs are initiated at the discretion of PG&E if the customer is unwilling to work out a pay-

ment plan. The company is required, however, to make a good faith attempt to notify customers within 48 hours of termination of service, although they do it during PG&E's office hours.

Reducing people's dependency on electricity through conservation and alternative technologies and removing as many people as possible from the grid are long-term goals of this action. The Oakland Alternative Energy Collective is very supportive and it looks like the rate strike can dovetail effectively with their weatherization program which already incorporates house meetings.

As it works now, people can sign up for a weatherization party at their house. An energy audit is done in advance and the materials are ordered (weather stripping, water heater blankets, water saving shower heads, etc.). The average cost per household is \$40-50. Invitations are then sent out to neighbors and friends. At the party, an alternative energy display is discussed. Then party goers break into work groups and actually do the weatherizing of the host home, rotating jobs so everyone can see how the different tasks are done.

It would be very easy to incorporate a discussion of Diablo Canyon and the rate strike into such a format; we're very encouraged by the responsiveness of the Oakland Alternative Energy Collective. Other groups throughout the state might find appropriate technology groups in their areas willing to adapt similar outreach models.

The information and suggestions presented here are evolving; nothing has been absolutely decided. There is still plenty of work to be done before the rate strike is set in motion. Groups and individuals interested in participating in its development are encouraged to come to the collective meetings.

Still, one thing remains clear. The time has come and passed and come again to carry to PG&E the message that we will not stand by idly and allow a mass robbery of the ratepayers. The tab for PG&E's inept business practices should be paid by PG&E's shareholders, not the consumers. The buck stops!

— Don Eichelberg

## Announcements

### Work a Day Project

Throughout El Salvador, zones of popular control have been established. The people in these zones have organized democratic governments and are attempting to build a new society from the ground up.

The New El Salvador Today project has adopted Teague, a hamlet in the Chalatenango province, as San Francisco's sister city. The people of Teague are developing programs to combat disease, infant mortality, malnutrition, and illiteracy.

These zones of popular control are subjected to constant assault by US-supplied bombers dropping napalm, white phosphorus, and 500-pound bombs on civilians in these zones.

The NEST project is asking San Francisco and East Bay workers to donate all or part of one day's pay to the people of Teague. These funds will be used to purchase medical supplies, educational materials, fertilizers, farm equipment, and seeds.

Please send your checks, made out to NEST, to P.O. Box 4762, Berkeley 94704, or in San Francisco, to SF CISPES, 3410 19th St., SF 94110. Contributions are tax deductible.

### Who killed Karen Silkwood?

Individuals and organizations are needed to help organize a candlelight vigil in honor of the 10th anniversary of Karen Silkwood's murder on November 13. A variety of tasks need to be accomplished very soon, so please volunteer ASAP. The vigil will take place at 100 Bush St. at 7 pm. For more info call Brad at 415-486-0390.

### Volunteers needed

The Disarmament Resource Center has been serving as a center of communications for peace activists since April 1982. The DRC publishes a monthly listing of peace events that is the most comprehensive in Northern California. It also operates the Disarmament Switchboard for making telephone referrals and answering questions. Other projects are the Disarmament Directory (listing over 500 Northern California peace groups) and the PeaceNet electronic bulletin board service.

Volunteers are needed to help work on the Switchboard and the Calendar in a variety of ways. If you'd like to help, call 415-495-0526.

### THERE'S ONLY ONE WAY TO KEEP INFORMED

Only one Calendar gives you the complete information on peace-related rallies, conferences, films, meetings, and cultural events in Northern California: the Disarmament Resource Center Calendar.

The only way to receive the Calendar on a regular basis is to subscribe. Annual rates (10 issues) are:

- \$10 Individual
- \$15 Organizations
- \$6 Low Income

Mail your subscription to:  
Disarmament Resource Center  
942 Market Street, Room 708  
San Francisco, CA 94102

Donations of \$25 or more are tax-deductible if check is made payable to "Agape."

If you are interested in participating in the ratestrike or would like more information, please clip and return this coupon.

- ☐ I plan to participate in the ratestrike by:  
Withholding 5% from each month's bill;  
Withholding one entire month's bill;  
Withholding all payments and risking shut-off
- ☐ I would like to schedule a ratestrike/weatherization party in my home.
- ☐ I cannot participate in the ratestrike, but would like to stay posted of its progress.
- ☐ Here is my donation toward the efforts of the Ratestrike Taskforce:

Name:

Address:

Phone #:

\$5      \$10      \$25\*      other

\* Donations of \$25 or more can be tax deductible. Make those payments payable to Agape Foundation. All other donations should be made out to Abalone Alliance Ratestrike Taskforce.

Abalone Alliance, 2940 16th St., Rm. 310, SF 94103

### No on Proposition 41: A reason to vote

Proposition 41 sets spending limits on the State's public assistance and medical aid programs: MediCal, Family Planning, AFDC, Foster Care, Child Care Supplements, Employment Development, and Employment Training. The state will have to limit spending for each program to the per capita average of the other 49 states, plus 10%. It is now estimated that as much as \$3 billion will have to be cut from these programs. San Francisco's share of these cuts is estimated to be between \$80 and \$100 million.

Some examples of the statewide

cuts: 1) As much as \$1.4 billion (35%) will be cut from MediCal Program, the impact of which will be primarily felt by elders, blind and disabled citizens. Out-of-pocket expenses will skyrocket and many services (e.g. eyeglasses, hearing aids) will be reduced or eliminated. 2) Foster care payments would be cut by 75%. 3) The Employment Training Program will be cut in half and child care supplements to the "working poor" will be halved. Family Planning could be cut by as much as 80%. 4) \$1.8 billion will have to be cut from the AFDC program. A mother with two small children now receives \$555 monthly; this will be reduced to \$330 or less.



# Calendar

**October 29: America — From Hitler to M-X**, a film that clarifies the US' long-standing first-strike policy and documents US industrialists' support of Hitler. 7 pm and 9 pm at the York Theater, 2789 24th St., SF.

**November 1: Vigil** opposing US intervention in Central America, 12-1 pm. Federal Bldg., 450 Golden Gate Ave., SF. Info: War Resisters League, 415-731-1220.

Talk by Ray Bonner, author of *Weakness and Deceit: US Policy in El Salvador*. 12-1:30 pm, Booth Auditorium, Boalt Law School, UC Berkeley. Info: 415-763-5134.

**November 2: Peace Fair** sponsored by San Francisco State University Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, with music and art. 10 am to 3 pm, 415-469-1657 or 921-018.

**November 3: Joan Baez** in benefit concert for the Resource Center for Non-violence, 7:30 pm. Reception follows. Civic Auditorium, Santa Cruz. Info: 408-423-1626. \$10.50 from Center; \$25-40 for concert and reception.

Vigil opposing US intervention in Central America. 11:30 to 1 pm, Clement & 6th Ave., SF. Info: WRL, 415-731-1220.

**November 8: Vigil** opposing US intervention in Central America, 4:30 to 6 pm, Embarcadero BART, SF. Info: WRL, 415-731-1220.

*Deadly Connections* planning meeting for Nov. 30 conference, 7:30 pm, 2017 Stuart St., Berkeley. Info: 415-644-3031.

**November 10-11: Taxes and Nonviolence: A Training Seminar.** Sat, 10 am to 5 pm: Counseling and representing the war tax resister. Sun, 10 am to 3 pm: Educating and organizing through public presentations. Tan Oak Room, 4th floor, Student Union, UC Berkeley. Sponsored by WRL and Northern California War Tax Resistance. Info: 415-731-1220. \$10-20 sliding scale per day.

**November 12: Livermore Action Group** meeting to plan Annual Congress. All invited. 7:30 pm. For location call 415-644-3031.

**November 13: The Arab and the Israeli**, documentary film of dialogue between Knesset member Mordechai Bar-On and Palestinian Mayor Mohammed Milhem. 9 pm, KQED (Channel 9). Info: Alan, 415-752-7766.

**Karen Silkwood Memorial.** Candlelight vigil honoring the 10th anniversary of her death, 7 pm, Kerr-McGee Bldg., 100 Bush St., SF. Info: 415-849-3020.

**November 15: Nicaraguan and Honduran Life Today: an Update.** Talk, slides, and discussion by Barbara Graves, recently returned from Central America. 7:30 pm, Berkeley Friends Meeting, 2151 Vine St., Berkeley. Info: 415-524-5429.

*Moving Beyond a Permanent War Economy*, talk by Seymour Melman at annual meeting of Center for Economic Conversion. 7:30 pm, University Lutheran Church, 1611 Stanford Ave., Palo Alto. Info: 415-968-8798.

**November 16: The Arab and the Israeli**, a documentary (see Nov. 13 listing), 8 pm, Channel 32.

**November 16-18: Festival of Forbidden Film.** Amnesty International presents films from Poland, USSR, Brazil, Spain, US, Chile, and Czechoslovakia, most of them banned in their own countries.

Fox Theater, 2215 Broadway, Redwood City. For schedule and ticket info call 415-563-3733.

**November 17: Report From the Front and From the Ashes: Nicaragua Today.** Film screenings sponsored by San Joaquin County Religious Taskforce on Central America. 7 pm, 2737 Pacific Ave., Stockton. 415-466-7743. \$2.50.

**November 17-18: Livermore Action Group Annual Congress**, discussing future directions for LAG. All invited. 11 am, La Pena Cultural Center, 3105 Shattuck, Berkeley. 415-644-3031.

**November 26: Special Board Meeting** for the Disarmament Resource Center. Activists from peace organizations encouraged to attend. For info, call 415-495-0526.

**December 3-7: Civil disobedience** at Site 300, Lawrence Livermore Lab testing facility near Tracy. Stop the testing of detonators for nuclear bombs. Info on CD and planning meetings, call Arc at 415-397-1452 or LAG at 415-644-3031.

# 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

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**CAMP MEEKER:**  
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COMPTCHE CITIZENS FOR A SAFE ENVIRONMENT,  
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BAN OCEAN NUCLEAR DUMPING  
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BOHEMIAN GROVE ACTION NETWORK  
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SONOMA ALTERNATIVES FOR ENERGY,  
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**SAINT HELENA:**  
UPPER NAPA VALLEY ALLIANCE FOR  
DISARMAMENT,  
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**UKIAH:**  
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**DAVIS:**  
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411 5th St./95616 • (916) 753-1630 M-F 12-6 P.M.

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ENERGY FOR PEOPLE,  
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**SACRAMENTO:**  
CITIZENS FOR SAFE ENERGY,  
312 20th St./95814 • (916) 442-3635

**EARTH KEEPING MINISTRY,**  
3860 4th Ave./95817

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1600 Woolsey St./94703 • (415) 841-6500, 665-1715

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520 So. 10th St./95112 • (408) 297-2299

**SAN FRANCISCO:**  
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**AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,**  
Liz Walker, David Hartsough, 2160 Lake St./94121  
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**LOMPOC:**  
LOMPOC SAFE ENERGY COALITION,  
P.O. Box 158/93438 • (805) 736-1897

**SAN LUIS OBISPO:**  
PEOPLE GENERATING ENERGY,  
452 Higuera/93401 • (805) 543-8402

**SANTA BARBARA:**  
SANTA BARBARA PEOPLE FOR A NUCLEAR FREE  
FUTURE, 331 N. Milpas St. Suite 7/93103  
• (805) 966-4565

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RIVERSIDE ALLIANCE FOR SURVIVAL,  
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**SAN DIEGO:**  
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P.O. Box 33686/92103 • (619) 275-1162

**SANTA MONICA:**  
NUCLEAR RESISTANCE COALITION,  
1341 Ocean Ave. #179/90401 • (213) 666-1517,  
395-4483

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LOU SNIT,  
P.O. Box 1252/90290 • (213) 455-2867, 455-2768

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# It's About Times

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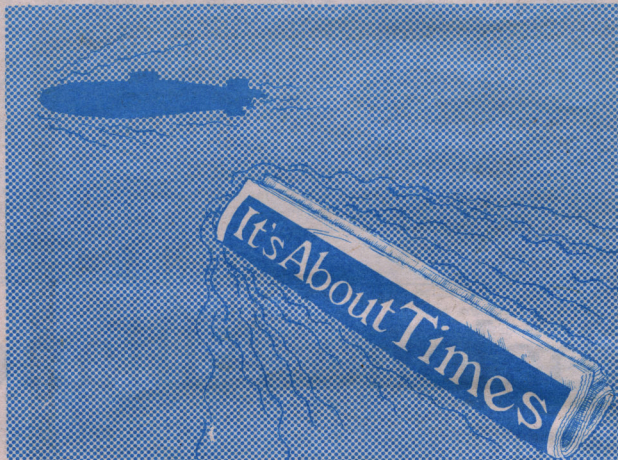
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NEW ADDRESS: *It's About Times*,  
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## A Pledge of Resistance to Prevent the Invasion of Nicaragua and El Salvador

At the present moment, thousands of women and men across the United States are helping to organize and participate in the EMERGENCY RESPONSE NETWORK to block or halt U.S. intervention in Central America. These people are pledging to engage in acts of nonviolent resistance if the United States invades, bombs, sends combat troops or otherwise significantly escalates its intervention in Nicaragua or El Salvador.

If the invasion takes place, the EMERGENCY RESPONSE NETWORK will be activated to stop that military action.

Some people will engage in legal protest and dialogue with government employees, the press, and passersby. Others will go in waves into the offices and begin a nonviolent appeal, refusing to leave until the invasion has stopped. Other nonviolent actions at this and other locations will follow.

Before an invasion, the very existence of the EMERGENCY RESPONSE NETWORK may deter that invasion from happening.

### THE PLEDGE OF RESISTANCE

If the United States invades, bombs, sends combat troops, or otherwise significantly escalates its intervention in Nicaragua or El Salvador, I pledge to join with others to engage in acts of nonviolent direct action at U.S. federal facilities, including U.S. federal buildings, military installations, congressional offices, offices of the Central Intelligence Agency, the State Department, and other appropriate places. I pledge to engage in nonviolent civil disobedience in order to prevent or halt the death and destruction which such military action would cause for the people of Central America.

### THE PLEDGE OF WITNESS AND SUPPORT

If the United States invades, bombs, sends combat troops, or otherwise significantly escalates its intervention in Nicaragua or El Salvador, I pledge to join others in protesting that military action by nonviolently vigiling at U.S. federal facilities and other appropriate places. I also pledge to support those who engage in acts of nonviolent civil disobedience in order to prevent or halt further death and destruction in Central America.

WARNING: Election-time TV-watching may be hazardous to your health. ATTEND THE

1. REMAIN  
CALM

2. Avert Eyes  
From Flash



**DEADLY  
CONNECTIONS  
CONFERENCE**  
UC Berkeley



**Fri. Nov. 30 — Sun. Dec. 2**

Forum on roots of war • strategy discussions  
workshops • information & skill-sharing •

**DON'T MISS THIS IMPORTANT  
POST-ELECTION GATHERING**

**WE NEED YOUR HELP. FOR MORE INFO**  
Contact us at 644-3031 (Patrick) or write  
Mobilization For Survival, 3126 Shattuck  
Ave., Berkeley, CA 94705.

Name (Print) \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Tel. \_\_\_\_\_ Do you need nonviolence training? \_\_\_\_\_

Name of affinity group \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Please contact me concerning pre-invasion vigils and actions.

☐ Enclosed is my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_, to help meet the expenses involved in organizing this pledge. (Make checks payable to EMERGENCY RESPONSE NETWORK.)

Please mail this pledge to:

American Friends Service Committee,  
EMERGENCY RESPONSE NETWORK  
2160 Lake Street, San Francisco, CA 94121