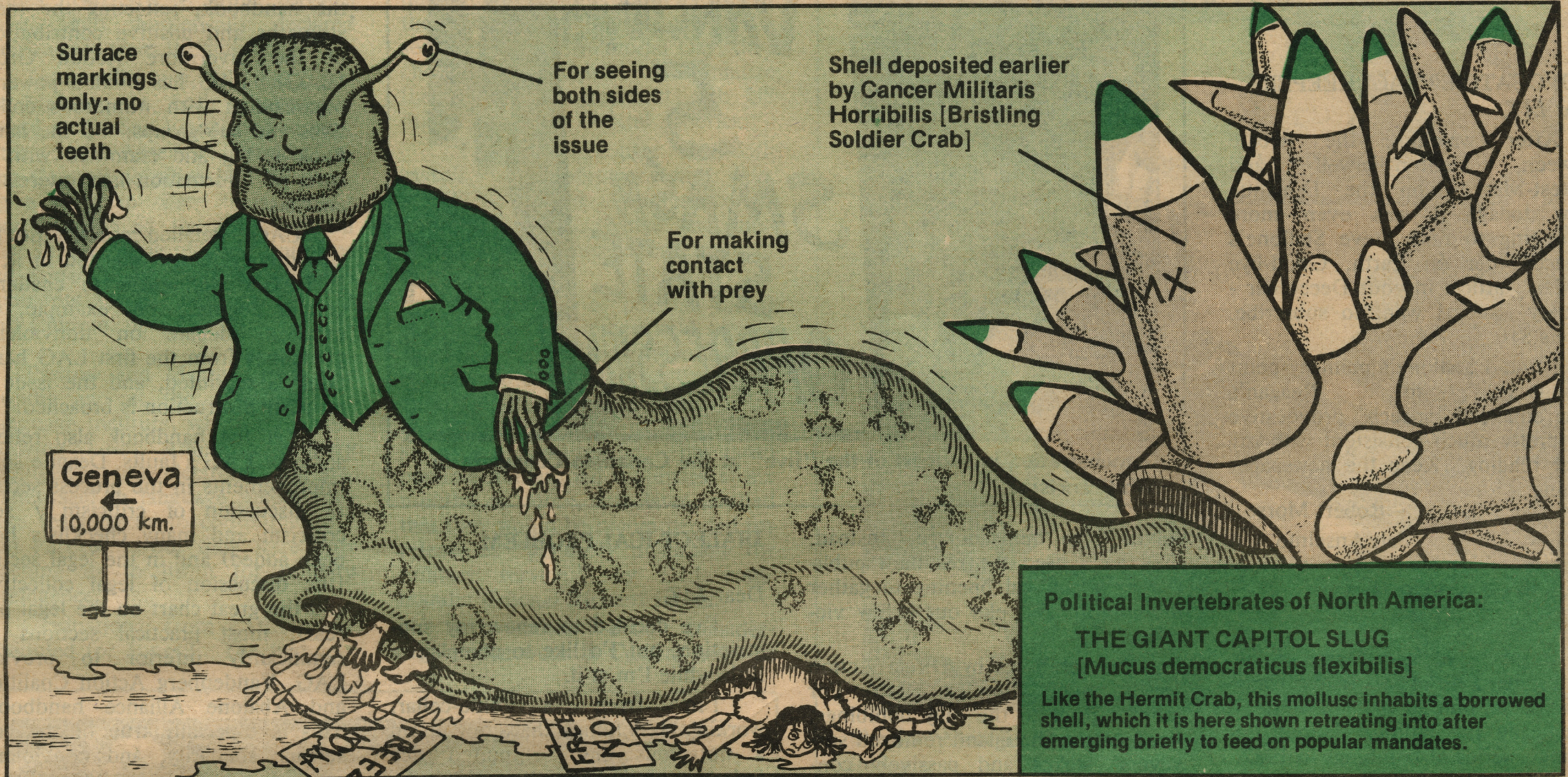


It's About Times

Abalone Alliance Newspaper

June—July 1983



Congress oozes back into Cold War shell

For the American disarmament movement, May was a month of lukewarm victory chilled by stunning defeat.

To recap the not-so-bad news first, the Nuclear Freeze was passed by the House of Representatives on May 4. But the resolution was so seriously weakened by amendments from Freeze opponents that the *New York Times* could ask in a headline the next day, "Who Won on Freeze?"

Three weeks later came the bicameral blessing of the MX. Many of the same lawmakers who piously backed the Freeze voted in favor of the first-strike MX, reversing last December's Congressional decision to block \$625 million for its basing and flight-testing.

The liberals (and even not-so-liberals) in high places who oppose the MX had expected until recently that the count in Congress would go against the missile by a fairly wide margin. House speaker Tip O'Neill, for example, had been predicting its defeat by 75 or so votes. Instead, following a well-orchestrated lobbying effort by President Reagan and a cast of

Two weeks after piously passing the Freeze, Congress closed ranks and bought the Pentagon the MX missile.

Congressional quislings, the vote in the House was 239 to 186.

What caused these dozens of votes to swing, and what's the significance of the shift for the disarmament movement? The immediate cause of the turnaround was the administration's save-the-MX campaign, intensified after Congress decided last December that it just couldn't swallow the "dense pack" basing plan. To buy time and legitimacy, Reagan resorted to the tried and true bipartisan committee. He appointed what became known as the Scowcroft Commission, which after a respectable interval came up with a plan that corresponds less to anybody's idea of military logic than to the necessity of political compromise.

The Scowcroft Commission's three-part proposal offered something for everybody who mattered. Reagan and the Air Force would get their MX, the military

contractors would get a brand new weapon system for the 1990's, and the politicians would get a new improved arms control charade to prove that they are indeed men of peace.

The Scowcroft Commission's first recommendation was to solve the decade-old problem of where to put the MX missiles by sticking them into old Minuteman silos. The major merit of this option is that it is unlikely to trigger public protest, since people already living near missile silos aren't likely to care if the missile inside is an old model or a new one. But the decision must have been a bit embarrassing.

The justification for building the MX in the first place was its mobile basing mode, which was

supposed to create so many shelters in which to hide the missiles that a Soviet attack wouldn't be able to get them all. For years, the promoters of the MX system said it had to be built because existing non-mobile missiles such as the Minutemen were vulnerable to destruction in a surprise attack by the Soviets. In its new home, however, the MX is no less vulnerable than the Minuteman it replaces, and has no advantage as a defensive weapon. (It is a much better weapon for offensive use, however, as detailed in the December-January 1983 *It's About Times*.)

If the defensive argument for the MX is unconvincing, the fall-back position -- that the MX is a "bargaining chip" to be built and then traded away at the arms control negotiating table -- is also suspect. Any arms cuts that are made will be in the oldest and most obsolete parts of the super-power arsenals, not the newest.

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Letters



PROVOCATIVE PEACEKEEPER

Dear IAT,

After watching the debate between Denton-Falwell and Forrest-Markey on the Donahue show today, it was even more interesting to read Steve Stallone's "Peacekeeper on Earth, Good-bye to Men" article in your December-January issue. I want to subscribe. Here's \$10.

I found Stallone's point-by-point responses to Reagan's "Peacemaker" speech provocative and pretty much consistent with my other reading. Keep the newspaper coming.

-- Robert Morse
San Anselmo, CA

CANADIAN WITCH HUNT

Dear IAT,

In the February-March issue, you reported on events in the Canadian antinuclear movement, specifically the political fallout following a series of bombings in 1982.

Since then the movement has been hit with more serious problems. On January 20, five activists were arrested outside of Vancouver. They are now awaiting trial on more than a dozen charges, including the firebombing of three porn outlets in Vancouver; possession of firearms; conspiracy to bomb and commit robbery; and the May 31, 1982 dynamite bombing of a hydro-electric substation on Vancouver Island, the same action that IAT reported on.

The police have also declared their interest in linking the "Five" (as they are known in Canada) with the October 1982 bombing of a Litton Systems plant in Toronto that manufactures cruise missile guidance systems.

The State's disregard for these people's civil liberties (from the use of wiretaps to sensationalist coverage in the media and denial of bail and preliminary hearings) has resulted in enormous support for them and their case. The antinuclear movement and many peace groups as well as civil liberties organizations are active in efforts for their release.

Canadian police may have singled out the Five because of a close relationship they have with American Indian Movement members Dino Butler and John Trudell, who the FBI have pursued for a number of years. But the arrests also stem from a more general strategy on the part of the State. In response to the November bombings and January arrests, the police have begun a counter-attack on activists in Canada. From December through February, police forces have staged more than a dozen raids on homes and offices, seized personal material, and interrogated and harassed numerous people. Their goal is to criminalize the activist groups in the eyes of the public, and dislocate their political momentum.

Last year's acts of sabotage were isolated yet dramatic political responses by small groups. They are also part of a growing mood of political activity throughout Canada.

In the case of the Vancouver firebombings, the "legal" groups that campaign for the removal of the porn shops have not distanced them-

selves from the sabotage. Instead, they have used the resultant publicity as a political opening to gather momentum and eke out a few victories.

The torchings by Direct Action are a more complex affair. For months prior to the May bombings, residents on the island removed surveyors' stakes and passively confronted construction crews in attempts to halt the project. A similar campaign is underway at the Litton plant. When they happened, the acts were not "meteoric" events that seemingly emerged from the darkness. Direct Action's work may have been a reckless and unnecessary act, or the result of agent provocateurs. But they did take place in a politicized atmosphere, and demonstrate that political commitment and a sense of urgency have forced some people to conclude that the nonviolent strategy had run its course.

There seems to be very little support in Canada for the notion -- reported in IAT -- that Direct Action is a "right-wing extremist group bent on sabotaging the movement" in the eyes of the government and the public. The Five's defense committee states that this claim is merely a "one-man rumor campaign" which has helped create "division and confusion" among people in Canada.

This information is just beginning to come to the attention of the movement. It is important that you support or help in the efforts to free the Five, even while continuing with your own projects, and even if you are nonviolent. If the State can convict these people, and deliberately cause fractures in the movement then it will have begun to succeed in its divide and conquer strategy. The result could be a narrowing of what it considers "legal" activity, and this has dire implications for all of us.

-- David Pingitore

A more detailed account of the arrest of the Five can be found in *Open Road* magazine Box 6135 Station G Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6R 4G5).

A Bay area support group can be contacted through: Friends of Free the Five / c/o Bound Together Books / 1369 Haight St. / San Francisco, CA 94117

Financial contributions to the defense work can be sent to: Free the Five Defense Group / Account # 91740-1 / c/o CCEC Credit Union / 205 E. 6th Ave., Vancouver, B. C. V5T 1J7



Demonstration in support of the "five" at the Canadian Consulate in San Francisco.

DIALECT-ICAL PROBLEM

Dear IAT,

I've decided to renew my subscription, but I'd like to complain a little while I'm at it.

I'm from a blue-collar, working-class family that grew up on a nutritious diet of puffed rice financed by PG&E. I wouldn't be surprised a bit if my dad's cancer death wasn't also brought to us courtesy of PG&E.

I now work in a parent co-op school in Richmond that has a fairly liberal, but unfortunately not radical, politics.

Now for the criticism. Too many IAT articles are written in a tone that is very "clubby." It's difficult to pass them around to people "new" to the issues. The language is even becoming like reading a dialect. I'd like to use IAT articles for resources for friends and parents and students at my school, but often the style of writing makes the article digestible to the "in crowd" of No Nukedom, leaving the "outs" even farther out.

I admire the exchange of ideas and commitment of hard-working people. I know we are creating the path for change as we go. Please consider my criticism. Is IAT just for those of us who are already working on these issues, or does it truly reach for a "mature analysis" which will find the ears of all those average folks we need to help in this struggle?

-- Jane Kole

HANDBOOK LAGS

Dear IAT,

The handbook for the June 21 International Day of Nuclear Disarmament is a great disappointment. In my opinion as a nonviolence preparer / trainer, it is inadequate for using in non-violence preparations.

There are lots of good things in the handbook, reflecting the many strengths and positive contributions of the Livermore Action Group (LAG). LAG has built a powerful organization with numerous collectives and sub-groups. So the handbook is big and crammed with all sorts of information and interesting analysis.

LAG's detailed research into the weapons cycle are reflected in it, as is LAG's willingness to challenge certain dogma. For example, the excellent debate on nonviolence guidelines from the first LAG handbook is reprinted, and the issue of property destruction is broached.

Yet the handbook also reflects some of LAG's faults. Despite some improvements in the process section (a discussion of criticism / self-criticism and many checklists have been added) and in the legal section (the discussion of legal collectives and the great chart on the legal process), most practical sections are significantly inferior to previous LAG, Vandenberg Action Coalition, and Abalone Alliance handbooks. This is especially true of the consensus, solidarity, and nonviolence articles.

Along with these muddled articles the handbook suffers from a real problem in promising more than it can deliver. Much of the organizing information that isn't wrong or misleading is missing altogether. For example, the article on non-violence training doesn't mention that most California trainers prefer the term "preparer" and it doesn't describe the preparations adequately because it views them mechanistically, without sensitivity to the real dynamics involved.

The article on monitors is similar. The fact that many of us disagree with the whole concept of monitors and are trying to develop ways of eliminating it through expanded peacekeeping workshops and stronger affinity groups is ignored completely.

Much of the information on organizing suffers from the same defect. The articles on rallies, fundraising, etc. are so general as to be useless. And, like so much of the handbook, they are written in a dull style void of anecdotes, humor, or wit. An exception is the discussion on organizing civil disobedience.

continued on page twelve

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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AWOL soldiers join Port Chicago blockade

Using a Swiss Army knife to cut off their US Army insignia and rank stripes, two young army privates quietly and dramatically declared their release from the military.

Tammy Partlow, 19, and Sharlyn Metzger, 21, both privates stationed at the San Francisco Presidio, came to the American Friends Service Committee office May 19 seeking a place to share their qualms about staying in the military. On May 30, they took off their uniforms and joined a sea blockade of arms shipments to El Salvador held at Port Chicago, near Concord, California.

Partlow and Metzger met nine months ago at the elite Defense Language Institute, where they were studying Latin American military intelligence and electronic warfare. "They said in language school they were teaching us to communicate," said Partlow. "But they were only teaching us to listen for military intelligence."

Graduation from DLI was scheduled for June 3. The two sol-

diers had discussed making a dramatic announcement at their graduation and walking out of the Army then. But when they learned of the sea blockade on Memorial Day, they chose to participate to dramatize their strong disagreement with US military policy in Central America.

"I could no longer live with myself," said Metzger, who went AWOL to attend a conference on nonviolent social change and then visited a Port Chicago encampment of protesters.

Anticipating a possible court martial, the two women held a press conference May 31 at the offices of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors in San Francisco to tell their story, then turned themselves in at the Presidio. They faced possible military jail sentences of six months or more, but later learned that they would be recommended for release as "generally unsuitable for military service," by DLI commander Colonel Richard James.

Both women are now considering civilian work in Central America



photo by Belsmith

Sharlyn Metzger (L) and Tamara Partlow remove their US Army insignia.

to use the language skills developed in the army. They said their main reasons for joining the army had been patriotism and economics. Partlow was an unemployed high school graduate and Metzger, a caretaker in a private home.

"It's difficult out there," said Partlow. "I graduated from high school with no skills and no means to go to college. The Army promised me \$20,000 for school when I got out. . . if I could look the other way."

Partlow stated that she could not condemn her enlisted friends. "The guys still wearing uniforms are my friends. I will not tell anyone to throw off their uniform. But I hope our action will make them think."

"Most soldiers do not want to go to war," added Metzger. "But they will if they have to. For me, I feel it is my moral obligation to put my body between US arms and the people of El Salvador."

-- Joan Lohman



photo by Belsmith

Sharlyn Metzger and Tamara Partlow leave the Army and join the sea blockade at Port Chicago.

Locals oppose evacuation plan

NRC threatens closing Indian Point nuke

The refusal of city officials and workers in Rockland County, New York to participate in emergency evacuation drills and the lack of bus drivers volunteering for hazardous duty has led the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to threaten closing the Indian Point nuclear plant.

Indian Point, owned by Consolidated Edison, is located 35 miles north of mid-town Manhattan in an area more densely populated than that surrounding any nuclear plant in the country. About 288,000 people live within ten miles and 17 million within 50 miles. According to Dr. Leonard Solon, director of the New York City Health Department's Bureau of Radiation Control, Indian Point puts 8% of the country's population at public health risk.

The emergency planning zone for the plant covers 314 square miles in Westchester, Rockland, Putnam and Orange counties. It is the worst prepared of any in the nation, according to Richard Krimm of the Federal Emergency Management Agency's (FEMA) Natural and Technological Hazards Division.

FEMA is responsible to the NRC for overseeing emergency evacuation plans and conducting annual drills at all reactor sites. It has reported three different times to the NRC that "significant

deficiencies" exist in the emergency plans for Indian Point. These include deficiencies in notifying nearby residents of an accident, in educating the public in advance of an accident about what to do, in making agreements with bus companies for emergency service, and in limiting exposure of emergency workers to radiation.

"It is a shutdown order with holes you can drive a Mack truck through."

As a result, the NRC says it will shut the two reactors by June 9 unless the deficiencies are corrected -- an action it has threatened twice before but never followed through on. The NRC ruled that a shutdown can be avoided if the utility shows that the deficiencies have been corrected or if adequate interim actions have been taken or will be taken or if compelling reasons exist not to shut the plants.

Craig Kaplan, an attorney representing 23 members of the New York City Council, commented that the shutdown order was a "mixed blessing. It is a shutdown order with holes you can drive a Mack truck through." John Ahearne, an NRC

commissioner, commented, "If we didn't do it here, people wouldn't believe we would do it anywhere."

The latest shutdown threat follows an evacuation drill held at Indian Point on March 13. State bureaucrats played stand-in roles for officials of Rockland County, who refused to participate. Because of their inability to move quickly in

unfamiliar terrain and the likely unavailability of more than a few out-of-town officials in the event of a real accident, FEMA found their participation inadequate.

Since Rockland County rejected Con Ed's plan in May of 1982, it has been developing its own. Broad community involvement in preparing the plan has assured that issue after sticky issue has been raised, including the lack of agreement between New York and New Jersey officials on sheltering refugees from Rockland in an emergency, insufficient health equipment and training of workers, and unacceptable evacuation plans for schools.

County officials believe the plan won't be ready before the end of the year, and they won't be rushed. The county has sued in Federal Court for a shutdown until satisfactory emergency plans are developed.

The other major sticking point for FEMA is the absence of lists of bus drivers from Westchester County who will promise to take on hazardous duty in the event of an emergency. According to Joan Holt of New York Public Interest Research Group, the utility doesn't "want to ask them . . . to volunteer until they give them a full dose of propaganda about how safe radiation is, how slow accidents are, how they would be well out of danger before anything developed." The utility has had two years to court the bus drivers and now it appears this problem might be only the tip of the iceberg. Westchester County has rejected a 1981 transportation plan and won't have a new one ready until 1984.

Consolidated Edison's glacial pace and lack of interest in preparing for evacuations was indicated in the first drill held a year earlier, when few of the hundreds of alarms blanketing the area even went off. Is there a meltdown in New York if no one hears the alarm?

Ward A. Young
IAT staff

TMI four years later: the bungling continues

Once upon a time at the Three Mile Island (TMI) nuclear plant, there was a tank for storing low level radioactive debris from the crippled Unit II reactor. Surrounding the tank was a ten-foot high cyclone fence. One day, the powers-that-be decided to install a new gate -- a task which one engineer commented "would cost me about \$600 at home." But at TMI, the job ended up costing \$20,000: \$1000 for materials, \$1000 for labor, and \$18,000 for engineering and planning.

The tale of the \$20,000 gate has entered the folklore of TMI as emblematic of the problems in getting what the workers call "the dead elephant" back on its feet. It is one of a series of recent revelations by TMI employees that illustrate the total breakdown of the cleanup operations at the plant, which was heavily damaged by a partial core meltdown in the infamous 1979 accident.

Lawrence P. King, who was ousted as the site manager for TMI, says that "The cleanup program has become an enormous boondoggle with no end in sight. . . The almost insane goings-on here are giving the industry another black eye."

King is one of four engineers who provided the *New York Times* with information for an extensive recent article on the TMI difficulties. Another is Richard Parks, who works for the Bechtel Corporation, the prime contractor for the TMI cleanup operation. The other two engineers agreed to speak to the *Times* anonymously.

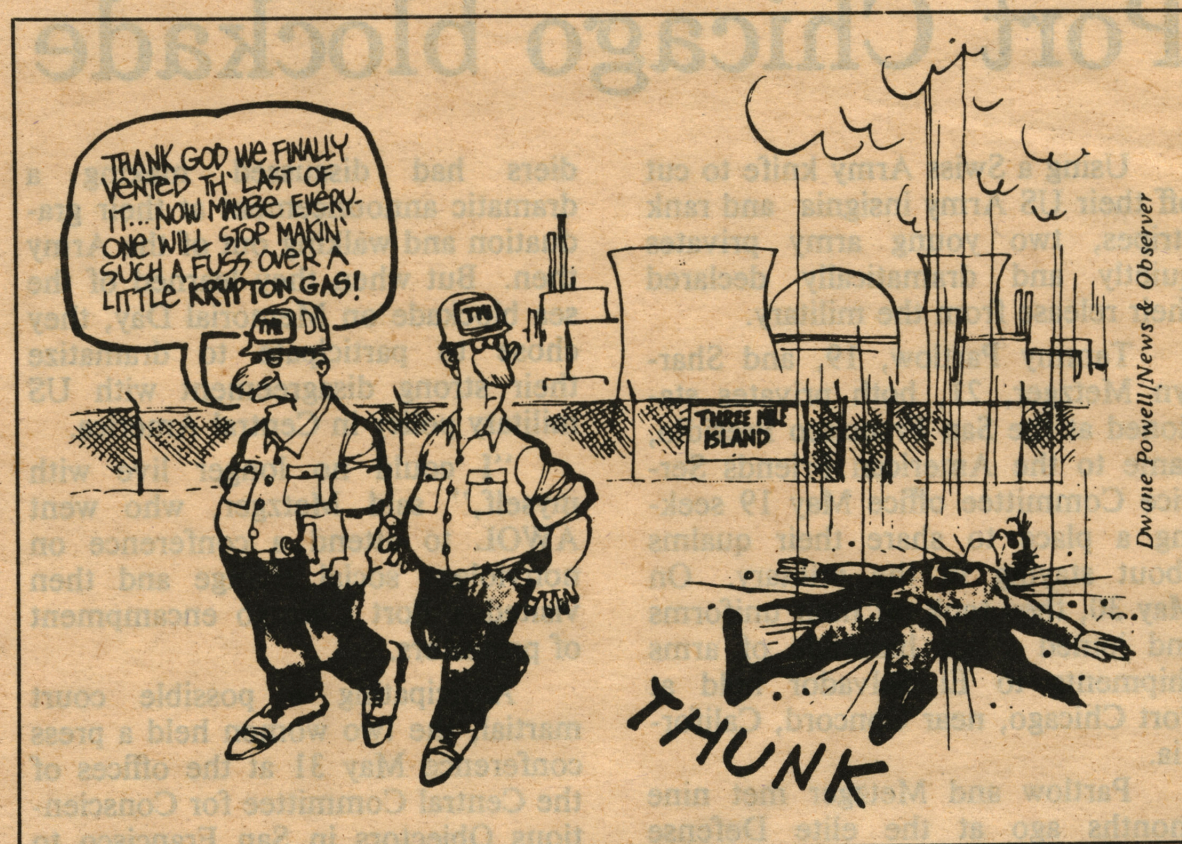
Although the four engineers remain committed to nuclear power, they maintain that the TMI operation is mismanaged. They complain that it is disorganized, irresponsible, and suffers from poor coordination between the various companies and federal agencies involved. They say

that little progress has been made despite the expenditure of huge sums of money.

In 1982 -- when 750 workers were employed and \$75 million spent on the cleanup -- only one person-year of work was actually carried out around the reactor itself. Instead, inordinate sums were spent on equipment repair, the per diem expenses of temporarily assigned Bechtel employees, reactor mockups, and other secondary activities. As King put it, "At the rate things are going, it will be the 1990's before cleanup operations are over, if ever."

Coupled with these endless delays is a worrisome disregard for workplace and waste-handling safety. The engineers are unhappy that George Kunder, the man accused of prematurely turning off the coolant pumps during the original accident, is now head of the TMI Safety Review Group. Another concern is that the crane above the reactor, which was damaged in the accident, may not have been adequately repaired and might fail while the heavy, radioactive remnants of the partially melted core are being removed.

Further complaints about the safety of the cleanup have been made by William Pensyl, formerly a low-level worker or "glow boy" at the plant. He was one of 26 workers who helped other workers remove contaminated clothing upon leaving the reactor building. At one point last summer, management officials decided that the radiation levels in the dressing room were safe and took away the respirators formerly worn by Pensyl and his co-workers. When all 26 refused to work without respirators, they were threatened with dismissal. Pensyl, the last hold-out, was ultimately fired, but he won unemployment benefits and is now suing for reinstatement and



back pay.

Pensyl was not the only worker facing retaliation for expressing his concerns. King, too, was fired after a year of protesting conditions at TMI, and Bechtel has suspended Richard Parks for not being a "team player." Eliminating the complainers has been management's chief response to worker complaints.

TMI officials claim that they have solved the problems with the cleanup, and point to a new and supposedly much more efficient management system for the operation. They blame the "setbacks" at TMI on the obstacles created by investigations, regulatory actions, and low public confidence. But the picture that emerges from the investigations and lawsuits stemming from the accident is one of failures in all aspects of the reactor's construction and operation: poor design, faulty materials, defective procedures, inadequate operator training, and human error. That consistently poor record seems to more than justify

public concern and outside intervention.

The management problems at TMI are typical of the nuclear industry as a whole. If Bechtel, a well-run company by traditional standards, can't cope with the complexities of managing nuclear projects, it might be argued that the problem lies in the inadequacy of nuclear technology itself. Before this question can be addressed, it is worth noting that such a highly complex and hazardous technology demands a dedicated and creative workforce. When the profit motive conflicts with workers' sense of responsibility to the larger society, they are likely to be forced to abandon their ethics or be weeded out. Such forced conformity may keep corporations -- and the present economic system -- running. But this is a momentum bought with alienation, and \$20,000 gates may be the least of its costs.

-- David Gilden

Sources: *New York Times*, 3/28/83 and 3/29/83, and *Mother Jones*, 4/83.

The plants that Bechtel built

Bechtel Power Corporation, builder of half the nuclear power plants in the United States, claims a commitment to excellence and has a reputation for quality work. Utilities experiencing problems in building nuclear power plants turn to Bechtel to take charge and straighten out the mistakes. But Bechtel has a history of making those same kinds of mistakes in its own work. "To put it mildly, Bechtel has chutzpah," according to Tom Devine, legal director of the Government Accountability Project.

Bechtel is currently "correcting" problems at Diablo and Zimmer, the troubled plant in Ohio, (see *IAT* December - January 1983) and is co-managing the \$1 billion clean-up program at Three Mile Island. Behind the firm's image as an

engineering "white knight," however, is a rather tarnished record:

- It was responsible for installing the reactor backwards in the San Onofre II nuclear plant. The mistake wasn't discovered for nine months. Now it is fixing the backward support structures at Diablo Canyon.
- The Bechtel-built Midland nuclear power plant in Michigan is sinking into the ground. According to the NRC, the work needed to underpin the sinking facility would be as complex as building a third reactor. The NRC cited Bechtel for giving it misleading information about the soil quality at the site when it submitted the design plans for the plant.

- The owners of the Trojan nuclear power plant in Oregon sued Bechtel for \$32 million in shutdown costs attributed to poor construction. The case was settled out of court for an undisclosed figure.

- At the Palo Verde nuclear power plants in Arizona, two workers signed sworn affidavits attesting to construction safety violations, such as the hiring of unqualified quality assurance and quality control inspectors. Several workers also described the company's policy of throwing new tools into a land fill, since Bechtel's contract allows it to tack on a service fee when it bills the utility for the tools. So the more equipment Bechtel buys, the more money it makes.

- Consumers Power, owners of the Palisades nuclear power plant in Michigan, sued Bechtel for \$50 million. It charged that the company "was grossly negligent" in design work, and "created an unreasonable dangerous condition" because of defects in building materials it selected. The case was settled out of court for \$14 million.

- The NRC staff found three other Bechtel built plants with "significant differences between original design and as built conditions."

"A closer examination of

Bechtel's track record helps to explain why the nuclear industry faces a challenge to its very survival," Tom Devine points out. "The quality assurance deficiencies at Bechtel projects over the last decade illustrate the quality assurance breakdowns generally within the nuclear industry."

Despite its track record, Bechtel is supervising the clean-up at Three Mile Island. Four workers recently disclosed violations of safety standards during the clean-up operation. (See article in this issue.) Workers who complained to management have found themselves relieved of supervisory responsibilities. Those who continued to complain were either fired or suspended.

Richard Parks, senior start-up engineer at Three Mile Island explained, "The type of personal and professional activities that I have witnessed at Three Mile Island clean-up lead me to wonder whether or not corporate and industrial officials can make a firm commitment to public health and safety. The NRC has failed to work in good faith with employees like myself who seek to uphold the law. If the NRC and the nuclear industry are this careless at Three Mile Island, how can they be trusted at other plants? My efforts to work within the system have accomplished nothing but misery."

--Mark Evanoff
IAT staff

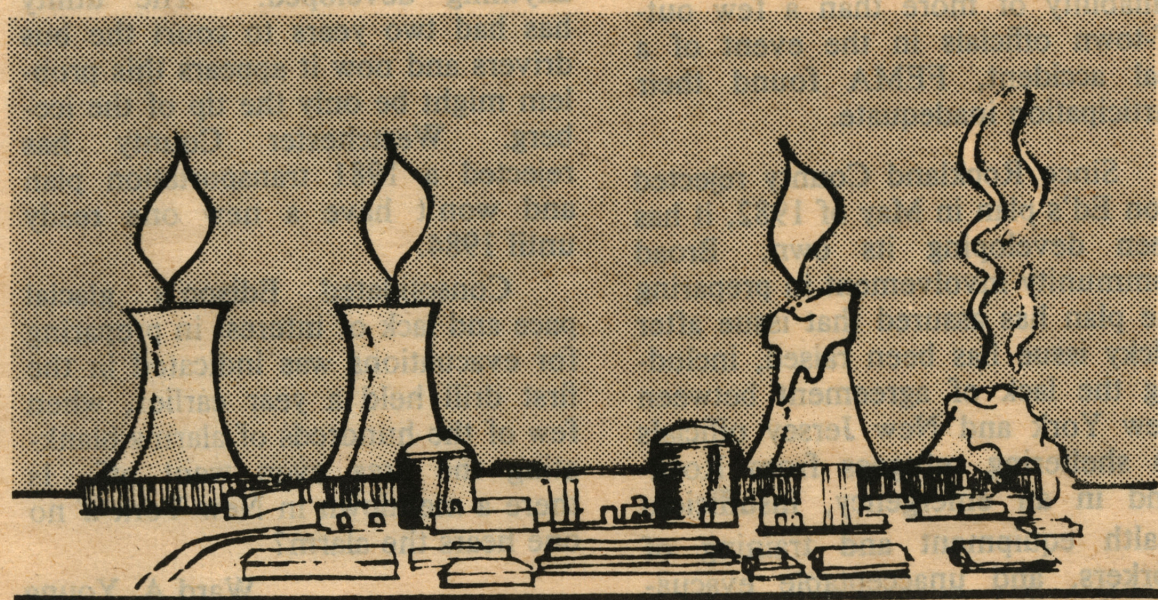


Illustration by Gar Smith

Implications of the Supreme Court decision

A ballot initiative could bury California nukes

The United States Supreme Court, in its April 20 decision upholding California's restrictions on new nuclear power plants, has done far more than merely approve the state's system of regulating nuclear power. It has opened the way for the state to reconsider whether existing nuclear power plants should continue to operate in spite of serious questions about their economic benefits and the air pollution they cause.

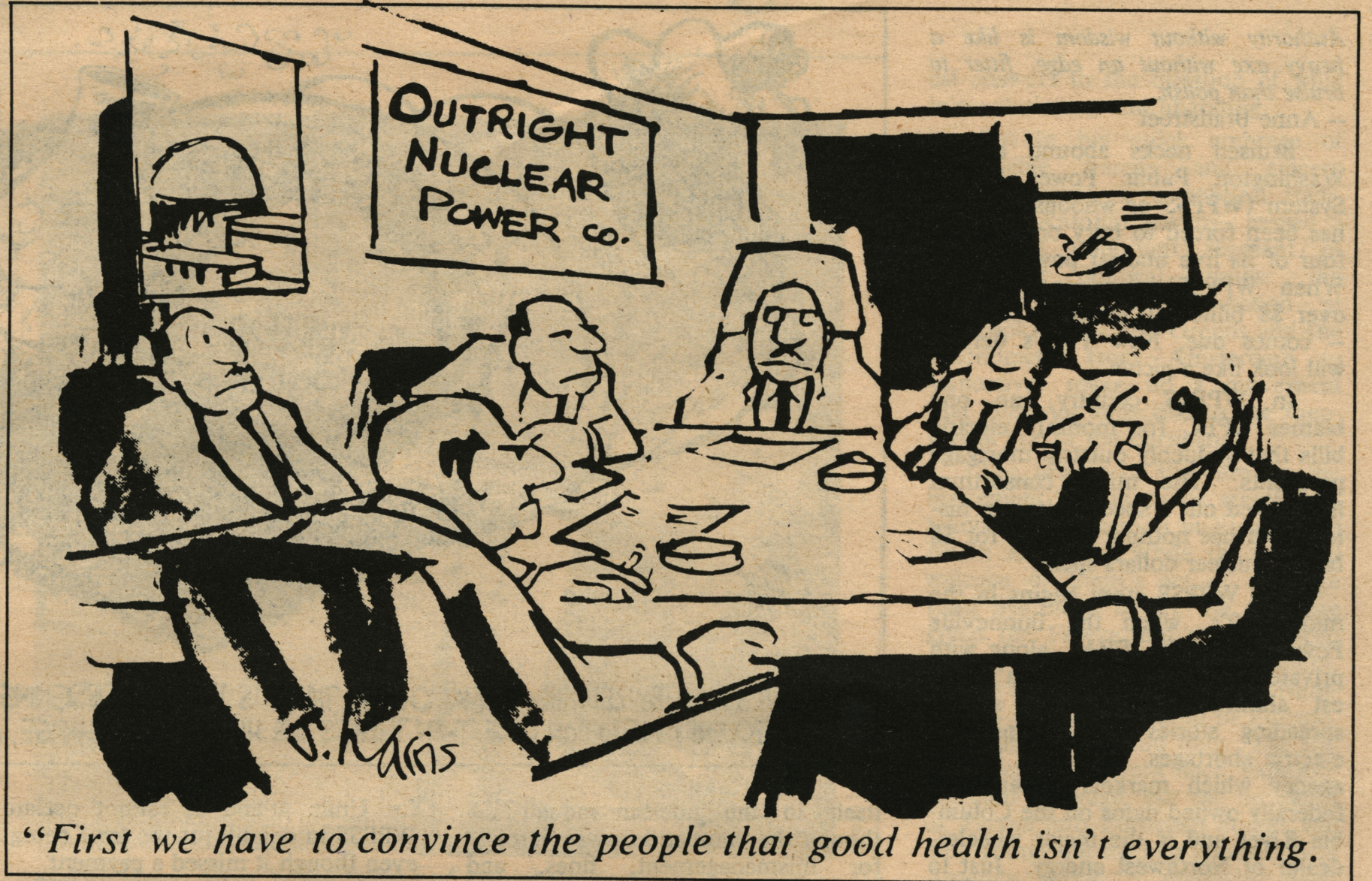
The Court Decision

The breadth of the Supreme Court decision still has lawyers on both sides trying to catch their breath. Basically, Pacific Gas & Electric and its utility friends, represented by the right-wing corporate-funded Pacific Legal Foundation, argued that the federal government, under the Atomic Energy Act, had taken over all questions of regulating nuclear power, and in particular, the question of disposal of radioactive waste.

California, however, had passed legislation in 1976 prohibiting new nuclear plant construction until a suitable method for disposing of nuclear power plant wastes was developed and certified by the federal government. What with the state of nuclear technology and the impossibility of the task, this requirement for safe waste disposal effectively banned further nuclear power development in California.

Justice Byron White, known as a swing vote between the traditional liberals and the conservatives and new rightists on the court, wrote the opinion:

"[A]s we view the issue, Congress, in passing the [Atomic Energy Act] and in subsequently amending it, intended that the federal government should regulate the radiological safety aspects



pursuit of nuclear power. "The promotion of nuclear power is not to be accomplished 'at all costs,'" White wrote. "The legal reality remains that Congress has left sufficient authority in the states to allow the development of nuclear power to be slowed or even stopped for economic reasons."

How to Legislate Nuclear Power out of California

The law of the land is now that the people of California can stop nuclear power for economic reasons and because of the radioactivity it can throw into the air. Statutes which restrict the operation of nuclear power plants would be just as

of capacity within federal safety standards. Nuclear plants produce waste that eventually might be able to be stored, but still not cheaply. A state law could require plants to shut down unless their waste disposal meets a certain economic standard.

A catastrophic accident at a nuclear plant might consume huge amounts of state funds for emergency procedures and land reclamation. A state law might restrict the operations of all power plants if their worst case accident might engender the use of millions of dollars of state money. Finally, the state could pass a law restricting the amount of radioactivity released by nuclear plants under the Clean Air Act provisions.

Under the Court's decision, these statutes could be passed without restriction, either through the legislature or the initiative process. Nothing in California's present legislative system would prevent legislating nuclear power out of existence. The Court dismissed the argument that the state already has a PUC which decides economic issues on a case by case basis. "While Cal-

the state legislature, which could easily stall for years and be bought out by the utilities and other lobbyists. Most importantly, it is winnable.

In Washington state, an initiative preventing the further issuance of bonds for nuclear power plants without a vote of the electorate succeeded -- in spite of intense financial opposition -- because people had witnessed the financial boondoggle of a five nuclear plant construction project. Similarly in California, people have watched the Diablo Canyon construction project drag on for years, with millions of dollars of free media exposing its costly errors and the struggle of the Abalone Alliance, the Mothers for Peace and others to stop it. All of PG&E and the nuclear industry's money, and they would spend hordes of it, and all the slick PR commercials that would come, would have difficulty selling a product which has a worse reputation than the old Ford Edsel.

Against the dollars of PG&E could be assembled movement activists and all of their supporters who for years have wanted to act against the plant, but did not feel

Passage of a properly worded initiative could shut down Diablo Canyon.

involved in the construction and operation of a nuclear plant, but that the states retain their traditional responsibility in the field of regulating electrical utilities for determining questions of need, reliability, cost and other related state concerns."

White went even further and agreed with a decision by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals that states could regulate radioactive air pollution from nuclear plants under the federal Clean Air Act.

The Court made it clear that it was not concerned that the effect of state laws might totally frustrate the

valid as those that restrict the operation of automobiles, coal plants and factories unless they meet certain economic, land use or air pollution criteria.

Creative antinuclear scientists and economists could define hundreds of legitimate restrictions on nuclear power plant operations which would effectively shut down the plants given their unreliable, uneconomic and questionable technology. Nuclear plants operate way below full capacity. A state law could restrict their operation unless they could operate at a certain rate

Creative economists could define hundreds of legitimate restrictions on nuclear power plant operations.

ifornia is certainly free to make these decisions on a case by case basis," White wrote, "a state is not foreclosed from reaching the same decision through a legislative judgment, applicable in all cases."

The Case for a Statewide Initiative

Asserting in the pages of *It's About Times* an argument for reentering the electoral arena is risky at best. However, the case for an initiative does not preclude further direct action, nor is it an argument for the principle of engaging in the electoral process, nor would it even be possible to win an initiative without the political strength built up over the years because of direct actions.

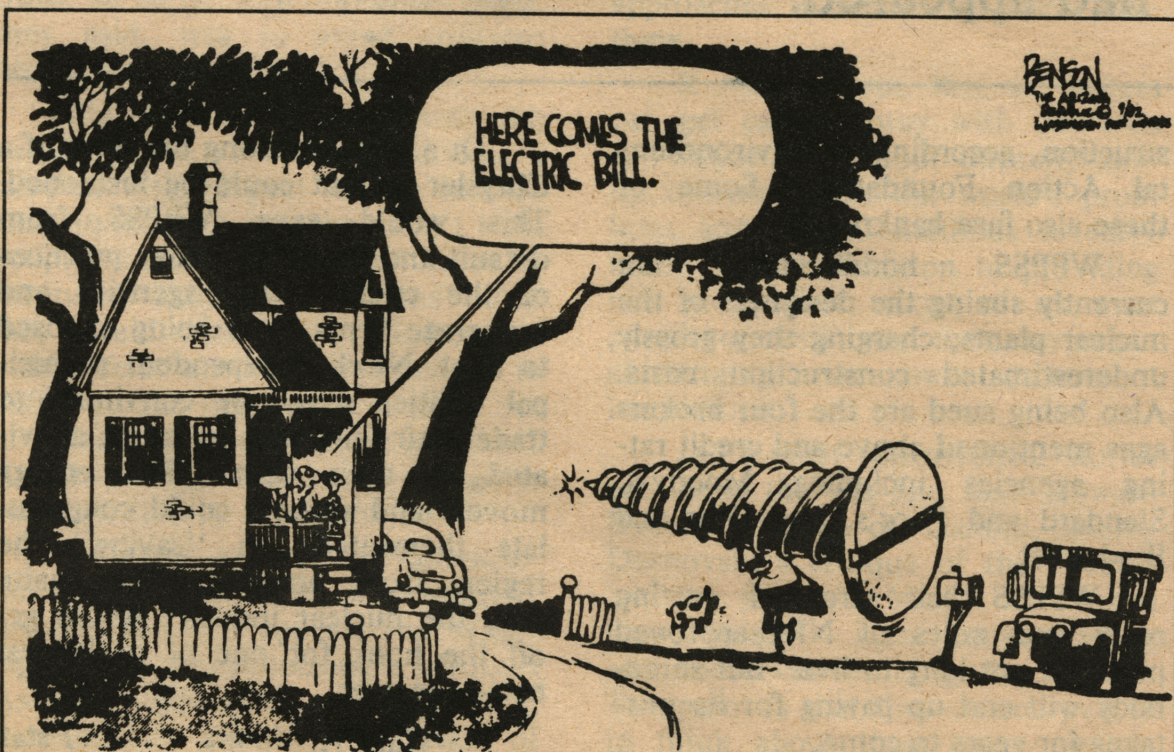
But the passage of a properly worded initiative could, in one victory, shut down Diablo Canyon and all the other nuclear plants in the state. It does not require relying on

comfortable with getting arrested. Environmental groups who have questioned civil disobedience and have become mired in the legislative world would now have their chance to show their commitment to stopping nuclear power.

In the meantime, direct action and lawsuits could continue. But looming in the background, as the plant is loaded with fuel and the litigation comes to its inevitable end, would come the day of the vote of the initiative.

By then, we would have little to lose. There will be no further nuclear power plant construction in California thanks to the current legislation on waste disposal and the sorry state of the industry. But there could be much to win, the final shut down of Diablo Canyon and the other plants in California.

-- Alan Ramo



Eight billion for zero watts

Whoops, there goes another nuclear plant

Authority without wisdom is like a heavy axe without an edge, fitter to bruise than polish.

-- Anne Bradstreet

Bruised necks abound at the Washington Public Power Supply System (WPPSS or whoops!), which has been forced to bury or mothball four of its five nuclear power plants. When WPPSS' staggering debt -- over \$8 billion in loans outstanding -- comes due, New York's default will look like a picnic.

In WPPSS country, no one blames OPEC for monthly electric bills that suddenly outstrip mortgage payments. The utility consortium has carved out a special place in history -- it has nothing to show for \$8 billion nuclear dollars spent.

The WPPSS story begins in the mid 1960's, when the Bonneville Power Authority (BPA), along with private utilities and the nation's largest aluminum companies, started spreading stories about impending electric shortages. BPA is a federal agency which markets power from federally owned dams on the Columbia River and is the major wheeler-dealer of Northwest energy. Just to set the conspiracy theory facts straight, it was Energy Secretary Donald Hodel, then BPA administrator, who first planted the seeds of a Northwest nuclear forest.

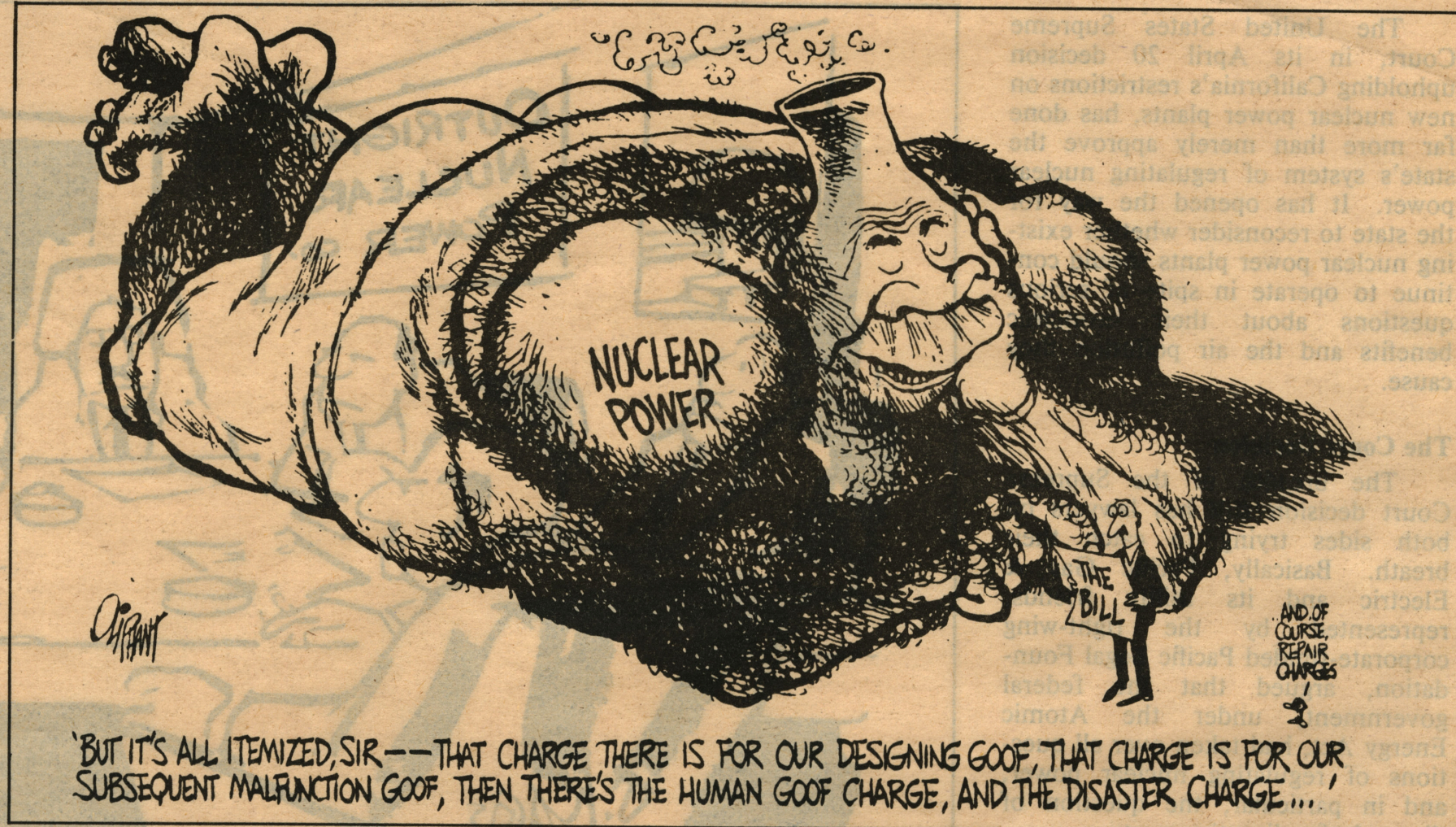
The impetus for this setup was the recognition that public utilities in the Northwest, which by law were BPA preference customers, would be taking an ever increasing share of the cheap hydro power to which the private utilities and industry had enjoyed some access. With the days of plentiful supplies of hydro clearly numbered, the latter faced building expensive thermal power plants.

Each household faced the prospect of forking over \$1500 per year for 30 years -- in return for zero electricity.

By creating an energy scare and promoting nuclear construction, BPA put itself in a position to blend cheap hydro with nuclear power ten times as expensive, charge all customers alike and subsidize nuclear construction in the process. Unfortunately for the region's ratepayers, this completely undermined BPA's historic mandate to provide publicly owned utilities with least-cost power.

Since it was prohibited by law from building or owning new power plants, BPA enticed local public utilities to undertake the job. The suckers formed a utility consortium called WPPSS for the purpose of building the nukes. BPA guaranteed to repay debts incurred for three nuclear plants, Units 1, 2 and 3, by arranging to own and sell the electricity the reactors would produce. WPPSS printed money in the form of bonds, which were sold to private investors and backed by utilities throughout the Northwest in return for a certain number of megawatts to sell to their ratepayers. After the first three units were financed, the federal government refused to allow BPA to guarantee bonds for more units. Without that guarantee, 88 public utilities in four Northwest states were forced to sell bonds for Units 4 and 5 at higher interest rates to attract investors.

WPPSS soon made a name for



itself in the nuclear industry -- though the competition was fierce -- for mismanagement, fines, and staggering cost overruns. Under the pressure of financing construction for five nuclear plants all at once, rates in the region skyrocketed -- over 450% in three years.

The huge rate increase made the electricity "shortage" disappear as fast as it had appeared. In fact, none of the WPPSS plants are needed until the late 1980's at the earliest, which makes operating even Unit 2, now almost complete, difficult to justify. Electricity from that plant would be so expensive that ratepayers would conserve or use other fuels, reducing demand even

for Units 4 and 5, cannot declare WPPSS in default for the time being, even though it missed a payment.

However, any pause in the action will be short-lived, since only \$28 million remain in the utility consortium's coffers, and it's squandering this on lawyers at a rate of one-half million a month. The inevitable will happen. WPPSS will go belly-up and fiscal crises will reverberate throughout the Northwest -- and maybe the Northeast, where WPPSS' underwriters reside.

The role which huge brokerage firms like Smith Barney, Prudential, Merrill Lynch and Salomon Brothers have played in the WPPSS debacle is only now coming to light. "Rating agencies were saying WPPSS bonds were gold a month before Unit 1 was terminated," notes Dan Leahy, president of National Public Power Institute, an advocate of locally controlled utilities.

Nationally, tax-free municipal bonds have grown from \$45 billion to \$81 billion from 1981 to 1982 and WPPSS has been for a few years the largest issuer of such bonds. The utility overcame its bad reputation by offering more and more lucrative deals to the bond market. WPPSS printed money like a public entity but on behalf of the needs of private capital. However, it is no special case. Public power systems are involved with financing over half the 59 nuclear projects now under con-

WPPSS management persists in thinking the public utilities involved are dumb enough to cough up dough they don't have and get nothing in return. Big brokerage firms believe that bondholders eventually must be paid and think state or federal taxpayers are dumb enough to rescue WPPSS from default.

It won't be easy to work out a solution among four states, over 130 utilities, several state and federal courts, unpaid contractors, and over \$8 billion in investors' hands. One type of outcome is being urged by newly activist utilities like tiny Ohop Mutual Light, which wants WPPSS to declare bankruptcy, and by Orcas Power and Light Coop, which has done just that. This is the only solution which would allow direct negotiations with WPPSS bondholders, a diverse lot that includes American Express, insurance companies, and retirees. Bondholders, WPPSS and the participant utilities could negotiate a reorganization and debt settlement around such issues as how much on the dollar would be paid, whether interest rates would be lowered or whether payments would be extended. Lawsuits not involving WPPSS could continue, such as bondholders' suits against credit agencies or engineering and construction firms. Privately owned utilities involved in WPPSS such as Portland General Electric would have to eat their debt or negotiate a compromise.

The huge rate increase made the electricity "shortage" disappear as fast as it had appeared.

struction, according to Environmental Action Foundation. Some of these also face bankruptcy.

WPPSS bondholders are currently suing the designers of the nuclear plants, charging they grossly underestimated construction costs. Also being sued are the four brokerages mentioned above and credit rating agencies including Moody's, Standard and Poor's, and Dun and Bradstreet.

WPPSS has acres of rusting rebar and miles of NRC-approved pipe and not long to live. But somebody will end up paying for its mistakes for years to come.

Or a solution along the lines of a Chrysler bailout could be fashioned. This would save WPPSS from default and keep the sleazy practices of the credit rating agencies and brokerage firms from being exposed to light. Newly independent municipal utilities would be convinced to trade their feistiness for being alleviated of their debt. The energy movers and shakers could congratulate themselves on "saving" the region from anarchy once again. And the nuclear industry would get off the hook for one of its biggest boo-boos ever.

--Ward A. Young IAT staff

Resistance and betrayal in France

The French Council of Ministers approved a new five-year plan for the French military in April which makes nuclear weapons the "priority of priorities," allocating to them 30% of the military equipment budget. The planned weapons include MIRVed (multiple-warhead) and intermediate range missiles possibly fitted with neutron bombs. When they are all operational, the French nuclear arsenal will contain at least six times as many warheads as it does now.

The French government's unhindered promotion of the nuclear arms buildup is a weak point in the international disarmament movement. Although led by a "left" government, France is a major contributor to the Cold War ideology fueling the arms race. Also, the apparent complacency of the French when faced with the Bomb makes nuclear proliferation seem innocuous. Finally, the French government's refusal to enter arms negotiations is another snag in attempts to reach an East-West settlement on the military confrontation in Europe. Far from strengthening European security, France's position constitutes a threat to European survival.

The picture is not completely bleak, however. There is a growing nuclear disarmament movement in France, but it lags far behind developments in other countries.

The French movement's present state can be traced to the rout of the substantial campaign in the 1970s against France's nuclear power program. In a system where the national government controls virtually the entire educational system and most of the mass media, even the government's over-estimation of future power requirements when planning the number of reactors was kept from penetrating public con-

sciousness.

The antinuclear movement's great historical defeat took place at Malville, where France's first big breeder reactor is under construction, when the police brutally broke up a massive demonstration in 1977. One person was killed and several maimed. Construction at Malville continued unabated with neither the press nor the public paying much attention.

After the Malville fiasco, a despairing attitude took hold in ecologist circles. Activity was deflected onto general lifestyle and local issues, where it seemed more could be accomplished. The remnants of the specifically antinuclear movement were dominated by isolated local groups protesting nearby nuclear installations and related facilities such as high tension lines and pumped energy storage reservoirs. Activity was greatest in areas like Brittany and the Southwest, where people regard themselves as part of a colonized minority and regional autonomy is a major issue.

In the late seventies, the largest national mobilization around nuclear or military issues rallied support for the peasants on the Larzac Plateau in south-central France. For almost ten years, the Larzac peasants struggled to keep an army base from expanding onto their lands. Here too, regionalism was the source of much of the movement's original strength. National pro-ecological and antimilitarist sentiment then become focused on the Larzac Plateau because the limited objectives of the movement there seemed attainable. Even so, victory was achieved only in the aftermath of the election of a Socialist government in 1981. The minuteness of this victory is indicated by the fact that the army remains the largest landholder in France.

The current period has been marked by a gradual erosion in support for the Mitterand regime. Independent leftists and ecology activists greeted the Socialist victory with glee. Now, however, they speak bitterly of betrayal and promises broken for the sake of the economic policy. This policy represented an attempt to restore the economy by making France a center of advanced technology. Its poor showing has in turn antagonized other groups, leading to a rapid escalation in social unrest this spring.

The upsurge in dissatisfaction is providing the stimulus for a new national antinuclear movement centered on arms control. There is a growing sense that ecologists can no longer concentrate just on the fish killed in this or that river or the number of birds killed by high tension lines.

The largest group involved in this resurgence is CODENE (Coordinating Committee for European Nuclear Disarmament). Its major activities include a campaign to have municipalities declare themselves nuclear free zones and an action in June at the Armaments Trade Fair near Paris.

The issue in France is not directly related to the Euromissiles, but rather to France's role as a major military power and arms exporter. The question is whether France should unilaterally start to disarm or merely take the initiative in bringing countries together. If unilateral action is pursued, French pacifist groups such as the Pacifist Union and the Movement for a Nonviolent Alternative have some creative ideas on how to resist armed aggression through noncooperation and civil disobedience.

Whatever proposals they advance, peace groups are challenging one of the central pillars of the

French state. Once again, the state's control of the means of information and communication will keep dissenters from having an impact on public opinion. The general impression in France is that nuclear weapons are a "necessary evil for preserving our independence." Alternative, more benign ways of preserving independence are not widely discussed. Similarly, the use of the word "our" to obfuscate the reality of State power in a hierarchical society escapes examination.

The traditional scenario in France is that since the state is able to control protest to such an extent that limited reform movements get nowhere, tension gradually builds up until there is some kind of explosion. When this happens, the various disaffected groups get together on the basis of a general critique of French society. The nature of the entire system is then called into question.

The underlying debate in postwar France has been whether the country should move in the direction of an increasingly industrialized consumerist society controlled by a political elite or towards a more democratic and cooperative alternative. As the Socialist Party's high-tech approach to revitalizing the French economy falters, the debate is surfacing anew.

Within this dynamic, the developing disarmament movement has an impact on many of the other issues, from workplace democracy to women's liberation to ecological agriculture. Military growth runs counter to two of the most positive aspects of French culture: a concern for human liberty and for meeting material needs in harmony with nature. Disarmament is therefore central in determining France's ultimate course.

--David Gilden

Short Circuits

SECRET NUKES IN KOREA

According to columnist Jack Anderson, a secret Pentagon report details a large arsenal of "non-strategic" nuclear weapons now deployed in South Korea.

The tactical weapons include 133 bombs deliverable by plane, 63 eight-inch Howitzer shells, and 21 "atomic demolition munitions," or nuclear land mines, Anderson says.

The mines are reportedly buried within a mile of the Demilitarized Zone between North and South Korea. If the North's armed forces were to cross the DMZ, the mines could be activated by remote control.

-- San Francisco Chronicle

CONNED AGAIN

Convicts at the only federal prison in New England are producing electronic cable assemblies for guided missile launchers, according to Defense Department documents obtained by the Associated Press.

The documents show that Federal Prison Industries, Inc., of Danbury, CT received \$20.3 million in Pentagon contracts in 1982.

Federal Industries is a government corporation that operates under the auspices of the Justice Department's Bureau of Prisons. The corporation operates a plant in nearly every federal prison, and provides goods and services for sale to federal agencies. Its total gross sales last year amounted to \$128 million.

-- San Francisco Chronicle, 5/10/83

WHAT PRICE STAR WARS?

The Reagan administration already is spending twice as much as officials originally announced on developing a space-based antiballistic missile system, the Defense Department announced late in May.

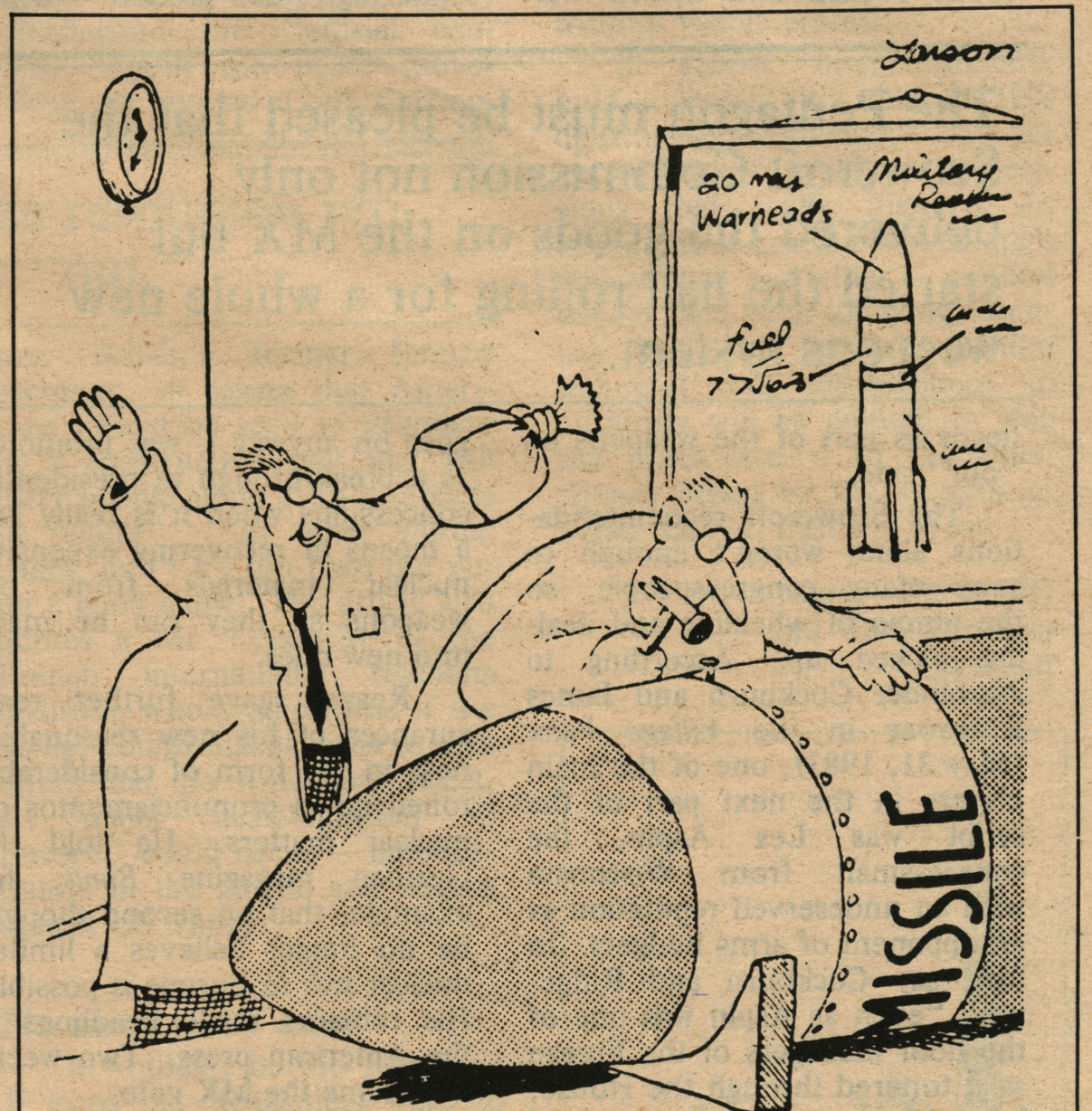
Richard D. DeLauer, a Pentagon research and engineering official, told reporters the administration will spend \$2 billion on the "star wars"-style program this year, and is asking for budget authorization to spend

\$3.1 billion yearly by 1983.

When Reagan first discussed the system on national TV, administration officials had indicated the current spending level for the project was roughly \$1 billion.

DeLauer, however, also said the defensive system could be overcome by new generations of Soviet weapons if it isn't combined with an arms control agreement.

-- San Francisco Chronicle



DIRECT ACTION ON THE JOB

Reports of employee sabotage at nuclear power plants are on the upswing, and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission has warned plant owners that on-site managers "are not totally prepared" for the possible consequences of the situation.

In a bulletin dated May 4, the

Commission warned it has received 11 reports in the past three years of "deliberate acts directed against plant equipment in vital areas."

Among the incidents reported are cut control wires, metal chips dumped into lubricating oil, and a valve left open to allow radioactive gas to escape into the atmosphere.

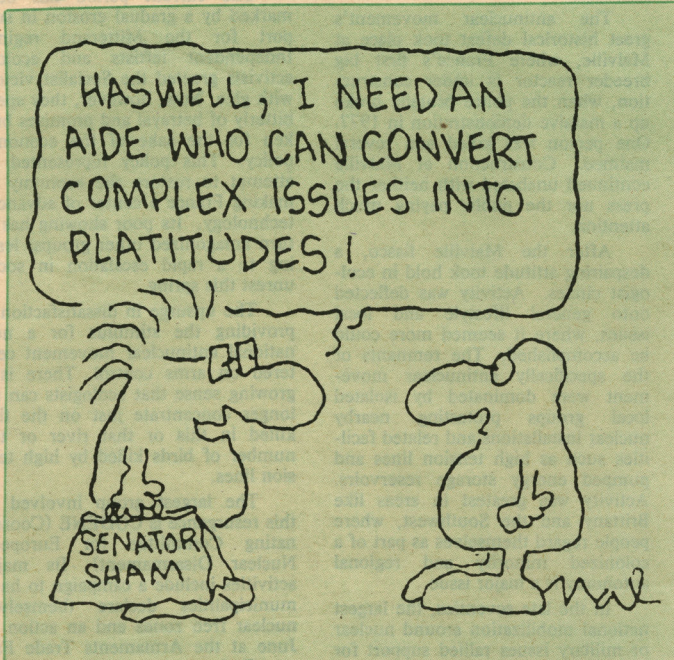
Congress oozes bac

continued from page one

What of the window of vulnerability that the MX was supposed to close? The energy that went into promoting public and Congressional fear of this Cold War phantasm hasn't been wasted. The Scowcroft Commission sees the failure of the MX to solve the "problem" not as a reason to cancel the weapon, but as a justification for *another* missile -- a small, single-warhead model dubbed the "Midgetman." This missile, the thinking goes, would be much more easily transported than the huge MX and therefore far more practical as a mobile weapon. The Pentagon and the military contractors must be pleased that the Commission not only delivered the goods on the MX, but started the ball rolling for a whole new weapons system.

Something for everybody

The Scowcroft Commission was looking for a total solution, so it could hardly neglect the uneasiness of the NATO allies or the politicians under pressure from nervous constituents. To meet their needs, the Commission recommended that Reagan take a more "flexible" approach to arms control, including a shift from counting launchers to counting warheads. This change, which both Reagan and the Russians are apparently adopting, may well turn out to be meaningless. Already, new American positions designed to be unacceptable to the Soviets have been announced, such as refusing to count French and British war-



trol in exchange for their MX votes.

Reagan responded on cue, promising one and all that he would indeed give up his stubborn ways in Geneva. He made approving noises about a "build down" proposal suggested in the Congressional letter. What this amounts to is a solemn pledge that sometime, when the Administration feels like it, some warheads (presumably obsolete ones) might be dismantled in return for building shiny, new, and more deadly weapons.

Amazingly, this process -- which

Congresspeople are either.

The *New York Times* explained the Congressional shift by pointing out that legislators are usually reluctant to buck the president on matters of national security and foreign policy. In other words -- not ones the *Times* would use -- they chickened out. Or, as Cockburn and Ridgeway put it in describing

Aspin's maneuvers, the Congressional waverers were "already half-dead with nervous tension at the prospect of voting down a major arms program for the first time in history."

A more jaundiced view is that most of the lawmakers were looking for any excuse they could find to go along with Reagan. This is an interpretation that makes sense in view of the history of the arms race.

The underlying assumptions of liberals as well as conservatives fit cozily with C

While there have always been a few real opponents of the arms race in Congress, support for American militarism has consistently been strongly bipartisan. Presidents and the Pentagon almost always get what they want on defense, and Democrats as well as Republicans have supported every step of the nuclear escalation. The underlying assumptions and interests of liberals as well as conservatives fit cozily with Cold War policies. The MX, a case in point, was as enthusiastically promoted by Democrat Jimmy Carter as by his successor Ronald Reagan.

Many mainstream commentators saw the Congressional

The Pentagon must be pleased that the Scowcroft Commission not only delivered the goods on the MX but started the ball rolling for a whole new weapons system.

heads as part of the weapons on "our" side.

The Scowcroft recommendations alone weren't enough to sway many Congresspeople, so the tempo of wheeling and dealing picked up. According to Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway in the *Village Voice* (May 31, 1983), one of the main players in the next part of the script was Les Aspin, the congressman from Wisconsin with an undeserved reputation as an opponent of arms budgets. In fact, say Cockburn and Ridgeway, "even as Aspin was one of the floor managers of the Freeze as it tottered through the House, he was assuming the task of shepherding MX through at the same time."

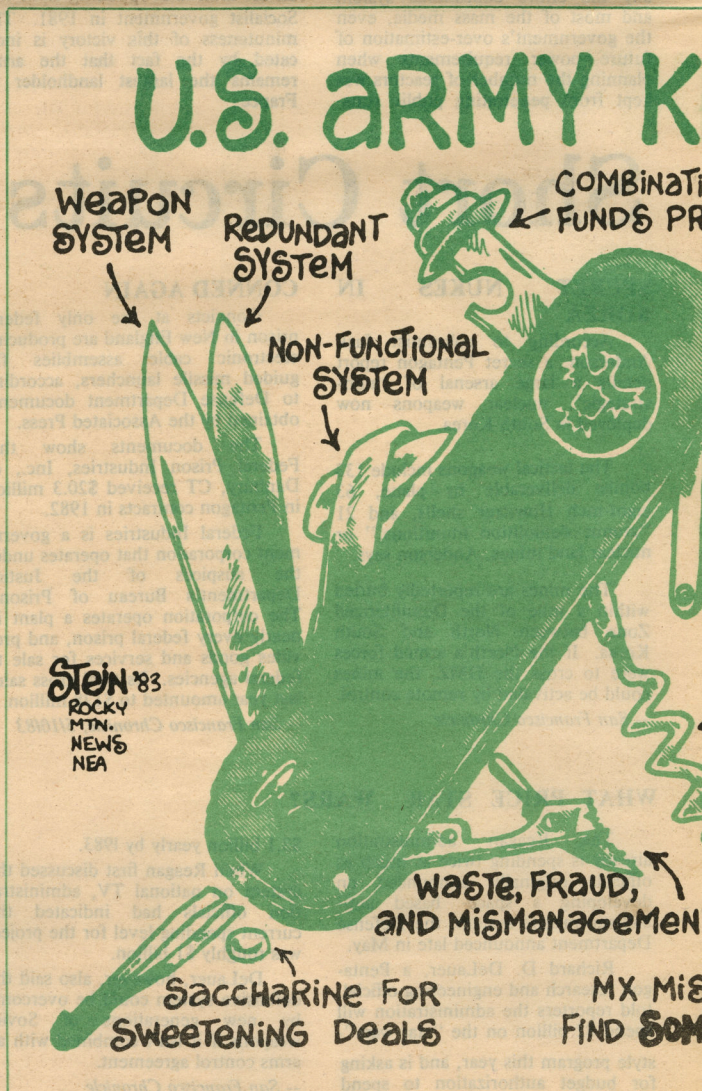
Here the plot thickens. At the beginning of May, Aspin and eight other members of the House, as well as three influential Senators, wrote a letter to Reagan in which they asked for a public commitment to greater flexibility in arms con-

gresses on anyway -- was promoted as a breakthrough in presidential concessions when it is really just a means of recovering expensive nuclear materials from old weapons so they can be made into new ones.

Reagan gave further reassurances of his new reasonableness in the form of considerably toned down pronouncements on nuclear matters. He told the German magazine *Bunte*, for example, that on second thought he no longer believes a limited nuclear war in Europe is possible. His remarks made headlines in the American press. Two weeks later came the MX vote.

Chickening out

Is it reasonable to believe that a few facile promises in presidential letterhead and a rather too obvious moderation of rhetoric really convinced all these politicians that Reagan is suddenly serious about controlling the arms race? We're not that naive, and it's unlikely that the



Look into Cold War shell

swing in favor of the MX as nothing more than a routine political deal. Often in the past, the approval of a controversial new weapon has been the price for getting military elites to agree to an arms control treaty deemed politically necessary by others in the ruling circles. For example, Carter decided he needed the SALT II arms treaty, so he vigorously promoted the MX when it was first proposed.

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old War policies.

If there was a deal this time, arms control-minded Congresspeople got taken. In return for the MX, they got nothing but a promise and a change of tune.

Still, if Reagan can manage to muzzle his reckless talk about nuclear war and the demon Russians, the politicians can stop worrying so much about pressure from the left. And members of the House who need to show how peace-loving they are can also point to the Freeze vote.

But the most important factor that made the lawmakers feel it was politically safe to support the MX was the dearth of popu-

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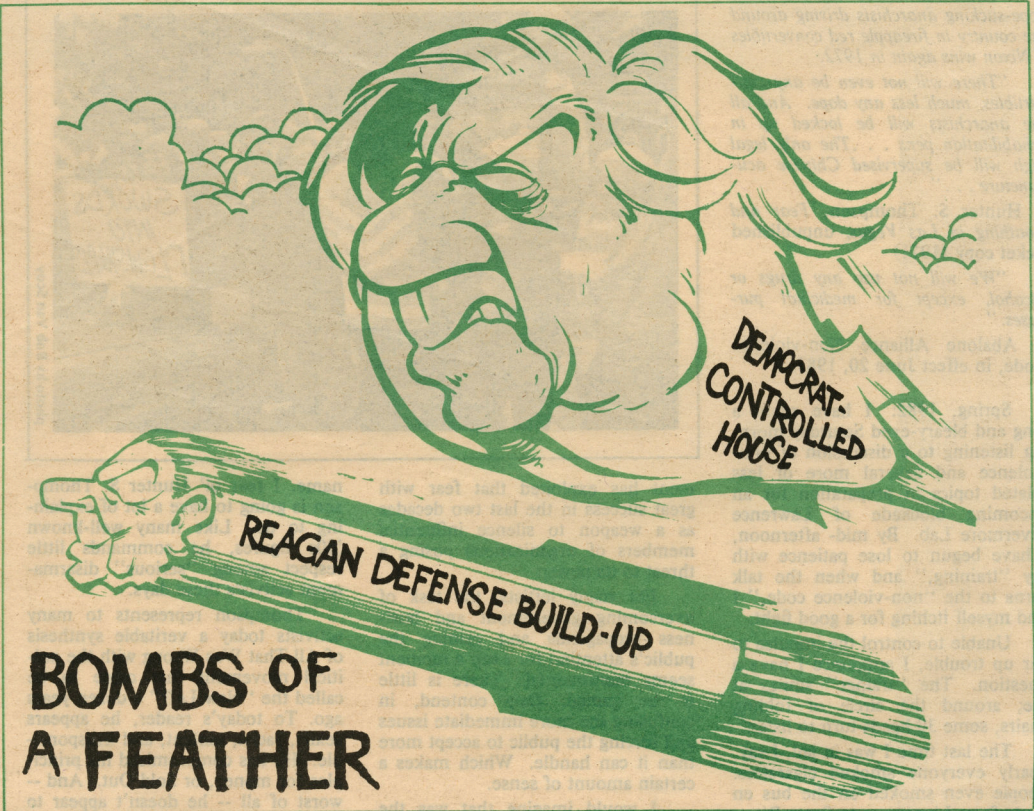
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lar protest focused specifically against it. Last fall, much of the Freeze movement decided to concentrate on getting the Freeze resolution through the House rather than on opposing specific weapons programs. The Freeze has been so careful to avoid any appearance of "unilateralism" that it's been unwilling to call even for the US to unilaterally abstain from escalation. And although there have been important protests against the MX at Vandenberg Air Force Base and

While there are few politicians who sympathize with popular protest, all of them understand its importance. In fact, the whole arms control rigmarole is at this point motivated by a significant extent by the necessity of quieting public fears about the nuclear threat.

A recent article in the *Wall Street Journal* (May 16, 1983) emphasized the "official concern" about the peace movement. It quoted Lord Carrington

after the SALT I treaty was signed. In the following four years while "detente" was official policy, the US nearly doubled the number of strategic warheads in its arsenal. The Soviet buildup was smaller and less steep, but still significant. Under the terms of the treaty it was all perfectly legal, and in the lulling atmosphere created by the rhetoric of detente, it was accomplished without visible protest.

If recent disappointments hold a lesson, it's that the US disarmament movement isn't yet strong enough to affect the decisions that really matter. As important as are the movement's educational activities, cultural events, and even lobbying, nothing short of massive political upheaval and disobedience to authority will be enough to stop the arms race -- or the other threats posed by the systems of social control, East and West.

-- Marcy Darnovsky
and Bob Van Scoy
LAT staff

The focus on the Freeze resolution provided an easy symbolic "out."

elsewhere, antinuclear forces have generally failed to build on those actions.

If the antinuclear movement believes that lobbying Congress is a necessary part of disarmament efforts, it may as well lobby from a position of strength. If the Congressional vote on the MX and other weapons systems had been made into the political test on the nuclear arms issue, many legislators would have been forced to consider how voting for such nuclear goodies might haunt them at reelection time. The focus on the Freeze resolution provided an easy symbolic "out."

Coming attractions

The lawmakers who oppose the MX seem to be relying on the resurgence of popular resistance as the only hope of blocking future funding. After the House vote, Representative Edward J. Markey (D-MA) told the *New York Times*, "The MX will not be deployed. The American people will be outraged by what happened here today."

ton, Britain's former foreign secretary, as saying that Americans "must be seen to negotiate in a constructive way that will carry people along even if it leads to failure" -- in other words, chaps, don't try too hard but put on a good show. The article also quotes a Mr. Lellouche of the French international relations institute, who predicts that if the Soviet Union makes arms control offers that the Americans reject, a "major destabilization in Europe" could occur -- demonstrators in the streets and attacks against US troops.

No more easy outs

It wouldn't be too surprising if even the Reaganites were to recognize political reality and sign a new arms treaty, complete with televised toasts and high-level smiles. Such a move would serve to tranquilize nuclear-nervous populations -- while the production of the MX, Trident, Pershing, Cruise, Stealth, and their Soviet counterparts gets into full swing. That was exactly what happened in the early 70's



Tofu is a four-letter word

"There will not be any wild-eyed, dope-sucking anarchists driving around the country in fireapple red convertibles if Nixon wins again in 1972."

"There will not even be any convertibles, much less any dope. And all the anarchists will be locked up in rehabilitation pens . . . The only legal high will be supervised Chinese acupuncture . . ."

-- Hunter S. Thompson, *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas*, unpublished jacket copy (1971)

"We will not use any drugs or alcohol, except for medicinal purposes."

-- Abalone Alliance Non-violence Code, in effect June 20, 1983

Spring, 1982: I have spent a long and bleary-eyed Saturday morning listening to a discussion of non-violence and several more or less related topics in preparation for an upcoming blockade of Lawrence Livermore Lab. By mid-afternoon, I have begun to lose patience with my "training," and when the talk turns to the "non-violence code," I find myself itching for a good fight.

Unable to control the impulse to stir up trouble, I announce I have a question. The "trainer" smiles at me; around the circle of folding chairs, some 30 heads turn to listen.

The last time I was in jail, I say, nearly everyone smoked cigarettes. People even smoked on the bus en route from Livermore to Santa Rita.

The group looks puzzled, but I continue rapidly on. Nicotine, I say, is a very powerful drug -- even if it is legal. Which means dozens of blockaders appear to have been using non-medicinal drugs that day. Would you say, I ask the trainer, that those people were violating the code?

Yes, the trainer responds. Yes, I would.

In that case, I continue, suppose I were to have a cup of coffee on my way to Livermore Monday morning? Or suppose I drank some of the stuff in jail?

Well, comes the response, I would have to say you were using a drug, and that it would be a viola-

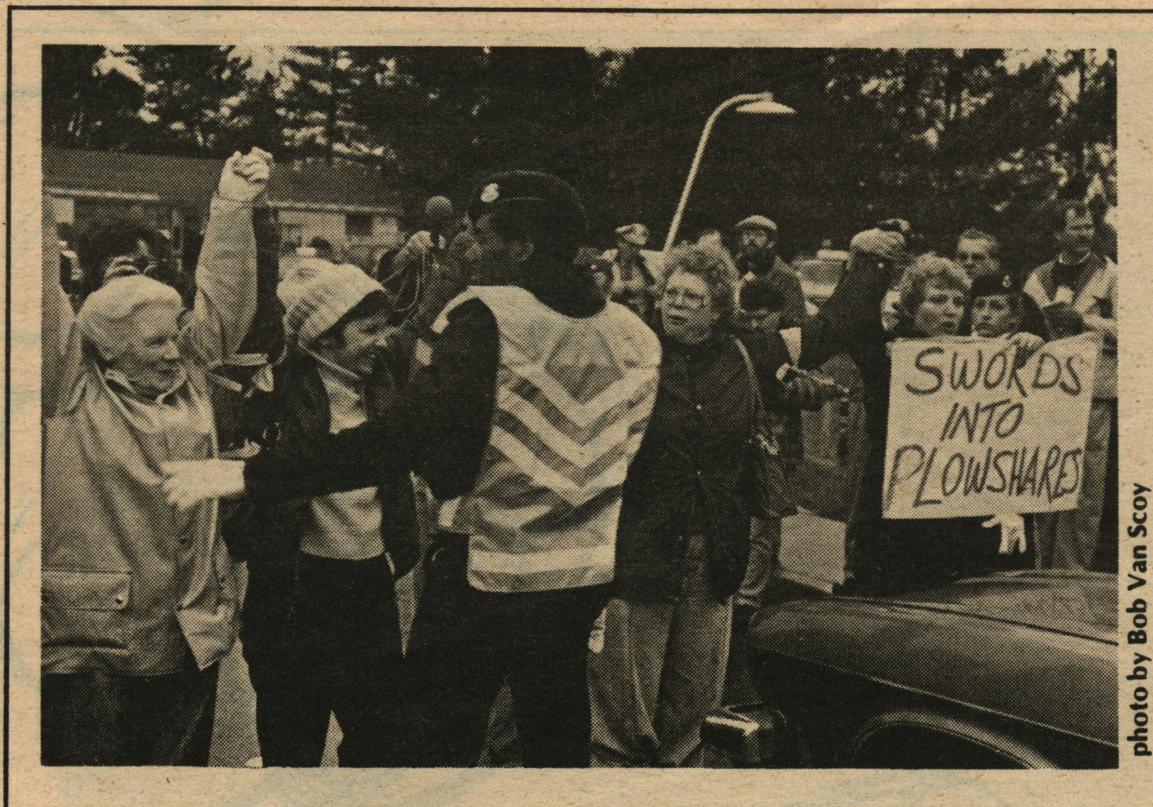


photo by Bob Van Scoy

ment has exploited that fear with great success in the last two decades as a weapon to silence influential members of organizations posing a threat to its power.

For many leftists, the task of overcoming government and business propaganda and gaining the public's attention for even a moment seems monumental. There is little to be gained, they contend, in confusing the more immediate issues and forcing the public to accept more than it can handle. Which makes a certain amount of sense.

I would imagine that was the type of thinking behind the Abalone Alliance's original version of the code, which is used essentially unchanged in the Livermore blockades. The very fact that "we will not use drugs" is part of a "non-violence code" is some indication that its authors had in mind the image the group would present to the rest of the world; it's hard to believe the organization would have adopted a principled position against the use of drugs and alcohol.

But I'm beginning to get a bad feeling about the non-violence code, and the tactic of non-violent action. It seems more and more to have become an Edict of Moral Behavior, a Four Commandments whose wisdom is etched in stone and is not

name, I fear ol' Hunter S. Thompson is going to have a lot of explaining to do. Like many well-known '60s figures, he commands little respect among "serious" disarmament activists these days.

Thompson represents to many activists today a veritable synthesis of All That Was Wrong with the political movement that came to be called the "New Left" a dozen years ago. To today's reader, he appears sexist, racist, violent, and irresponsible. He has compromised his principles for money, or Sold Out. And -- worst of all -- he doesn't appear to

From self-criticism, it is sometimes only a narrow step to a kind of narrow-minded morality.

feel a bit contrite.

Disarmament groups such as LAG have made the elimination of these modes of thinking almost as much a part of their activities as protesting the arms race and the threat of nuclear war. Part of that effort has clear roots in the attempts by contemporary political groups to distance themselves from the '60s and make clear both to themselves and the general public their disdain for that period's media figures, male domination, and violence.

It has become so important to make that separation and to make certain no tactic or process will be used that is inconsistent with the groups' visions of the future that a great deal of time and energy gets spent criticizing ourselves and others, pointing up the ways in which we allow outside social pressures to defray us from a straight line course into a New Society.

That, in itself, makes sense from both a practical and a principled standpoint. In theory, self-crit sessions can help people see patterns of behavior and social dynamics they might have missed as individuals. But when the line between politics and morality becomes somewhat obscure -- as it has within LAG and other groups -- this type of critical thinking can start to lead towards a dangerous ground.

From self-criticism, it is sometimes only a small step to a kind of narrow-minded morality that inhibits new ideas and free discussion of alternatives. The likelihood that a community will fall over that line increases dramatically the more heterogeneous the culture. Eventually, the community will become so obsessed with its own vision of correctness that it will lose any ability to even notice its own mythology.

On June 20, the Livermore Action Group will once again conduct a major blockade at Livermore Lab. If the turnout is at all akin to last year, numerous Lab workers will simply take the day off, rather than attempt to negotiate the blockade or wait for hours as police clear the streets.

Since February, 1982, the ongoing blockades have vaulted the Lab into the public eye, and attracted hundreds of people to the movement who might never have imagined joining such an activity a few years ago.

But this blockade fever that seems to have gripped the disarmament movement disturbs me. I have to wonder: What's the point? What will yet another Livermore blockade accomplish that will in any way justify the huge investment of time and energy?

And, more important: Has anyone even thought to ask these questions? If not, why are all these people about to go to jail?

It's curious: disarmament activists find little difficulty attacking proposed actions on moral grounds. I've seen people argue for six hours over whether spilling blood on the sidewalk is a violent act. The June 20 Handbook contains lengthy essays detailing the connections between nuclear war and sexism, racism, classism, ageism, homophobia, unem-

The June 20 Handbook contains lengthy essays detailing the connections between nuclear war and sexism, racism, classism, homophobia, unemployment, and meat.

tion.

I smile triumphantly, lean back in my chair and wait for all the outbursts of shock and horror to materialize around the room and convert this boring sermonette into the verbal equivalent of a riot.

I stop smiling when nothing happens. After a moment of respectful silence, the discussion moves on . . . without a single peep from the rest of the "trainees." I take a deep breath, consider for a moment asking if I can eat white sugar, then decide to forget it.

* * *

For most Americans, the connection between nuclear war and the California drug laws falls into the realm of deep philosophical abstraction. There is something people find very scary about widespread, random use of unfamiliar drugs, something that makes them question the wisdom of political positions espoused by known users. The US govern-

subject to challenge.

Not that the code has escaped controversy; a major split has long been apparent in both LAG and the Abalone Alliance over a clause requiring an "open and friendly" attitude towards everyone encountered in an action. But this is fundamentally a moral debate; the tactical and political effects of non-violence seem far less controversial. All too often, disarmament activists take for granted the extent to which others share their commitment to non-violence as a way of life.

"The line between martyrdom and stupidity depends on a certain kind of tension in the body politic -- but that line disappeared, in America, at the trial of the 'Chicago 7/8,' and there is no point in kidding ourselves, now, about Who Has the Power."

-- Thompson, *ibid.*

And when the New Society Scorer comes to write against his

ployment and meat.

But where does anybody give that kind of scrutiny to what should be an equally important question: Is any of this going to work?

Let's face it: the Military-Industrial Complex isn't going to surrender and turn over the country to us just because we are Right. If we can't accept that, we might as well go join Bwagham Rajneesh and chant Buddhist mantras of self-glorification in the fertile Oregon countryside . . . because we aren't going to do the rest of the world a whole lot of good.

* * *

There is nothing here that says we should abandon all attempts to be politically consistent in our actions -- only that we should take a hard look at the real effect our action will have, and at our immediate and long-term goals. All this needs to be framed in the context of the real world -- as it is, not as we'd like it to be.

If that's a bit of a challenge, it's all the more reason to free our minds from the constraints of acting Politically Correct, so we can put a little creativity to work. We ought to listen to ourselves more; if I am viciously bored by three-quarters of the meetings I attend and at least half the actions, perhaps there is something wrong . . . and not just with me. If I'm bored, think of all the people who were so bored they didn't bother to show up at all.

Fuck 'em, though. They're just apathetic. When the bombs drop, we'll all fry in Peace, knowing it wasn't our fault. We were out there, right, laying our bodies on the line . . . We did everything we could . . .

Right?

-- Tim Redmond
LAT staff

The Plowshares 8 trial

de Antonio's In the King of Prussia

In a society that is increasingly saturated and defined by mass mediated images, film and television have a political power rivaling that of real-life "actors" themselves. It is in this sense that Emile de Antonio, whose credits include *Millhouse: A White Comedy* (1971) and the clandestinely produced film dialogue with the Weatherpeople, *Underground* (1976), has scored a *tour de force* in his latest film, *In the King of Prussia*.

The film is a docu-drama of the trial of the "Plowshares 8," who were charged and sentenced for the September 1980 sabotage of nuclear missile nosecones at the General Electric Plant in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania. De Antonio recreated the trial and shot it over one long weekend immediately prior to the Eight's sentencing in July 1981.

Martin Sheen as Judge Samuel Silas -- the 80's equivalent of the Chicago 7's Judge Julius Hoffman -- is the only recognizable screen professional in the cast. The Plowshares 8 portray themselves, giving *Prussia* a distinctive wrinkle in its approach to political drama. What the defendants and their supporters (such as Robert Jay Lifton and Bob Aldridge) were prevented from saying in court, they get the chance to expound in de Antonio's videotape-film production.

The grainy quality of the footage and the bare-bones set of the Labor Theater in New York that served as the courtroom interior highlight some camp character interpretations and the emotional honesty of the defendants. Easily staged fiction and certain political truths are deliberately brought together to frame the protagonists' version of the nuclear nightmare. However, the film's Orwellian portraits of social conflict are generally boring and unconvincing as it continually cuts



Martin Sheen plays Judge Salus and Daniel Berrigan plays himself in Emile de Antonio's *In the King of Prussia*.

photo by Mark Wexler

from prosecution argument to activist's defense.

Spotlighting a particular segment of the movement -- the radical Catholic practice that Daniel and Phillip Berrigan have preached since the 1960s -- *Prussia* represents a change in political thinking for de Antonio. Center stage is given to a small religious community's theological response to the problems and possibilities inherent in the modern world. *Prussia* does not wrap itself in intellectual sermons. Instead, de Antonio gives us religious ritual and political martyrdom as seemingly credible strategies to confront our adversaries and their institutions. The Eight are intelligent and committed activists, apostates inside

their own church. Yet their version of liberation theology stagnates into a contradiction in terms -- a static, inflexible approach to understanding and acting upon our constantly changing political world.

Underneath the footage is de Antonio's disillusionment with the New Left and his earnest embrace of nonviolence. In promoting the film, de Antonio made it clear that one of the reasons he made it was that the honesty and determination of radical pacifists convinced him that they were "more left than most leftists." The producer of portraits of Ho Chi Minh and the Weatherpeople has apparently joined the growing ranks of post-60s radicals who now understand that there are no easy ideologi-

cal answers to the question of what is revolutionary and liberating.

But in his quick embrace of identifiable heroes and sincere representatives of a political tradition, de Antonio has by-passed a huge and important segment of antinuclear political groups: the Coalition for Direct Action at Seabrook, LAG, the Greens and the autonomists from Amsterdam to Vancouver make up a movement that does not subscribe to the theological line of the Berrigans.

The impact of the film on the movement is due to its screen and television distribution in Europe and North America. While the political mileage of Eight's act of sabotage itself has faded before the coverage given the Freeze and the European nuclear disarmament movement, *Prussia* has been shown in the Netherlands and will be aired in Finland, Sweden, England and Italy. The ripples that result from such exposure are hard to gauge, but the broadcast of *Prussia* into European homes will help frame the nuclear opposition in America within a particular paradigm, and bolster the image and status of similar groups over there.

The antinuclear attitude may yet be the spark that ignites a wider confrontation with the Bonzo Brigade. Yet few people would choose to be political witnesses in the manner of the Berrigans, while even more people have abandoned those religious scripts that have always cast them as mere stand-ins and their lives as B-movies.

De Antonio's *In the King of Prussia* deliberately avoids the lulling capabilities of modern film, yet it is not the definitive presentation of the political options available to us. Let's hope that in the near future, antinuclear films reflect a distinctly larger (and less parochial) movement, and have much more to say.

-- David Pingitore

I always wanted to be a cheerleader

At a recent conference in Washington, D.C., I was cornered by three well-known people from antinuclear, disarmament, and funding circles. For several hours they hammered away at me, demanding that I repent for raising issues in *IAT* that they maintained should not be publicly discussed.

I was instructed that my responsibility is to be a public relations representative of the movement. If at times that means stretching the truth, so be it. The important thing, they said, was to avoid criticism because it "hurt people."

The boldness of their comments surprised me. Do these individuals have so little respect for the antinuclear movement that they don't trust people to think for themselves or to formulate their own opinions? Are they afraid that criticism instead of public relations will spur people to defect to the other side or drop out of the movement in frustration? Are they suggesting social change is accomplished by manipulation?

From my corner, the conversation raises basic issues of journalistic responsibility. It appears the Washington crowd is proposing a Madison Avenue approach to organizing. Rather than seeing the tasks of

movement journalists as reporting the news and offering an analysis, they want us to be antinuclear cheerleaders.

It's About Times takes pride in providing critical analysis both of world and movement events and in trying to make sense out of complex stories -- while admitting our biases. Movement publications such as *IAT* provide the opportunity to discuss various approaches to problems and for the advocates of specific approaches to recruit for their positions.

It may be true that we writers can get carried away with our own self-importance -- our uncanny ability to summarize the world's problems and present methods to solve them. But in addition to providing our perspective, most of us want people to think, and that may mean challenging our own movement institutions.

IAT's most controversial stories are those that do just that. Howard Ryan's critique of Gandhi, Marcy Darnovsky's critique of the Freeze, and my story on MUSE all evoked many letters -- some congratulating and some condemning the articles. The point is that they caused people to think about their own opinions

and why they agreed or disagreed with the author.

No one likes criticism of their life philosophy or the ways they've chosen to accomplish their personal and political goals. Many people in the Abalone Alliance believe that nonviolent direct action and decentralized consensus decision making are just as important as stopping nuclear power and weapons. But with any process or political philosophy, we need to realize that our vision may not be taking us in the direction we want to go and it may take someone on the outside to point that out.

We need to scrutinize our political philosophies and strategies to identify what we intend to do and our chosen way to get there, and to constantly evaluate whether we are accomplishing our objectives. Of course we needn't spend all our time in self-criticism, but neither can we pretend to have all the answers through carefully choreographed public relations.

Besides being manipulative and reinforcing people's passive relationship to "authoritative" information, the P.R. approach to movement journalism often backfires. Readers learn not to turn to us for informa-

tion, and so does the commercial press. One of my greatest feelings of accomplishment is receiving phone calls from reporters wanting information, rather than rhetoric. If we become P.R. flacks, we'll get called at best for colorful quotes.

In the final analysis, it's reader beware. Don't believe everything you see in print. Objective reporting doesn't exist. Journalists are advocates, whether they realize it or not, whether they work for the *New York Times* or *It's About Times*. They shape information if only by the selection of what to report and the timing of its release.

Theatrical writing and witty prose are necessary to maintain reader interest, and that means information may be left out because it's difficult to write about. Although we are advocates, we try to take the additional step of persuading people to think for themselves, instead of blindly following our advice. When we suppress the expression of analyses contradicting our own, we've become propagandists who don't trust people to think, and who fear the ability of our political vision to stand on its own merits.

-- Mark Evanoff
IAT staff

Letters

continued from page two

Lack of experience shows clearly in other important errors. For example, the discussion of Mace doesn't include the information that water is just as effective as the 5% boric acid solution mentioned. Anyone who has been in an action where the authorities resort to Mace knows that boric acidized water is gone within the first five minutes. Clean water, and lots of it, is needed to flush Mace off and this isn't mentioned. Misinformation is worse in a case like this than no information.

So, the handbook has serious flaws when it comes to nonviolence preparations and general organizing advice. But what about the rest of it? That's a good question because the rest of it is quite a bit. Over half the June 20 handbook is devoted to ideological and political analysis, compared to an average of 15% to 20% in previous LAG, VAC, and Abalone handbooks.

This is the greatest flaw in this booklet. Although some of the articles are valuable, such as the one on the militarization of space and the personal discussions by Rosario Morales (on racism) and Suzanne Maxon (on becoming involved), I found much of it useless or offensive.

Almost all the articles about nuclear politics are aimed at reforming the present insane system instead of overthrowing it. For example, in the article on conversion, the most naive liberal analysis is peddled. We are told it would be better to redirect excess (not all) military expenditures to other investments so that more jobs can be produced. As if our present political / economic system isn't built around war and the threat of war. As if most jobs aren't wage slavery. As if there is any hope of survival if the present corporate megamachine continues to rule.

The vast bulk of the remaining ideology disseminated here is the most extreme display of liberal guilt I've seen since the sixties. Again and again white people are lectured about racism. Similarly, straight people are lectured about gays, the middle-aged are lectured about older and younger, and the unimpaired about the physically challenged. And of course we all know that all the problems we have in meetings can be attributed to men -- and if we didn't know that the editors kindly let us know in the introduction to a reprint of Bill Moyers' discussion of process no-no's.

No doubt this avalanche of articles served some discharging function for somebody, but in terms of analysis or outreach it is quite counter-productive. It is easy to write bad rhetoric about racism or classism, but what is needed is that people change the actual way they live their lives -- not ideological self-abuse.

I don't want to be classist

myself, but it seems to me that the emphasis on ideology, on guilt, on seriousness (if you can find five jokes in this booklet you've found three more than I could), on professionalism (the layout is just that -- competent but quite uninspired) is a reflection of what might be called middle-class consciousness.

This half-inch handbook can be yours for only \$2.00. Is it worth it? Maybe, depends on how much money you make and how much you like handbooks. But before you buy, I would encourage getting the previous LAG handbook, or the VAC handbook, or even the two-year-old Diablo handbook. Despite being half the length of this opus, they have twice the utility.

-- Crystal

Love and Rage Affinity Group

ENTERPRISE AWAY

Dear IAT,

The U.S.S. Enterprise has become a pet peeve of mine. This mammoth warship not only carries nuclear weapons; it not only contains eight nuclear reactors with the combined capacity of a floating Diablo Canyon; in addition to all this, it dares to call the San Francisco Bay its home!

The thousands of us who oppose nuclear energy at Diablo Canyon and nuclear weapons at Vandenberg Air Force Base and Livermore Laboratory allow this abomination to cruise unprotected under the Golden Gate Bridge and drop anchor near downtown Oakland at the Alameda Naval Air Station. Why?

The warship proved its vulnerability a few weeks ago when it ran aground coming in to its home port at Alameda. Yes, a floating Diablo Canyon bristling with nuclear weapons had an accident right in the middle of a metropolitan area of four million residents. The newspapers poked fun at it, but I was terrified to see the photographs of that Leviathan tipping at a dangerous angle.

What if it had capsized? What if radioactive materials were spilled in the Bay? We are assured that such accidents would never happen, but the U.S.S. Enterprise stuck in the mud clearly showed me that accidents do happen.

Hundreds of protesters greeted this emissary of the US government when it sailed into port in Japan last winter. Yet we let it cruise unprotected in and out of our "progressive" Bay Area all the time.

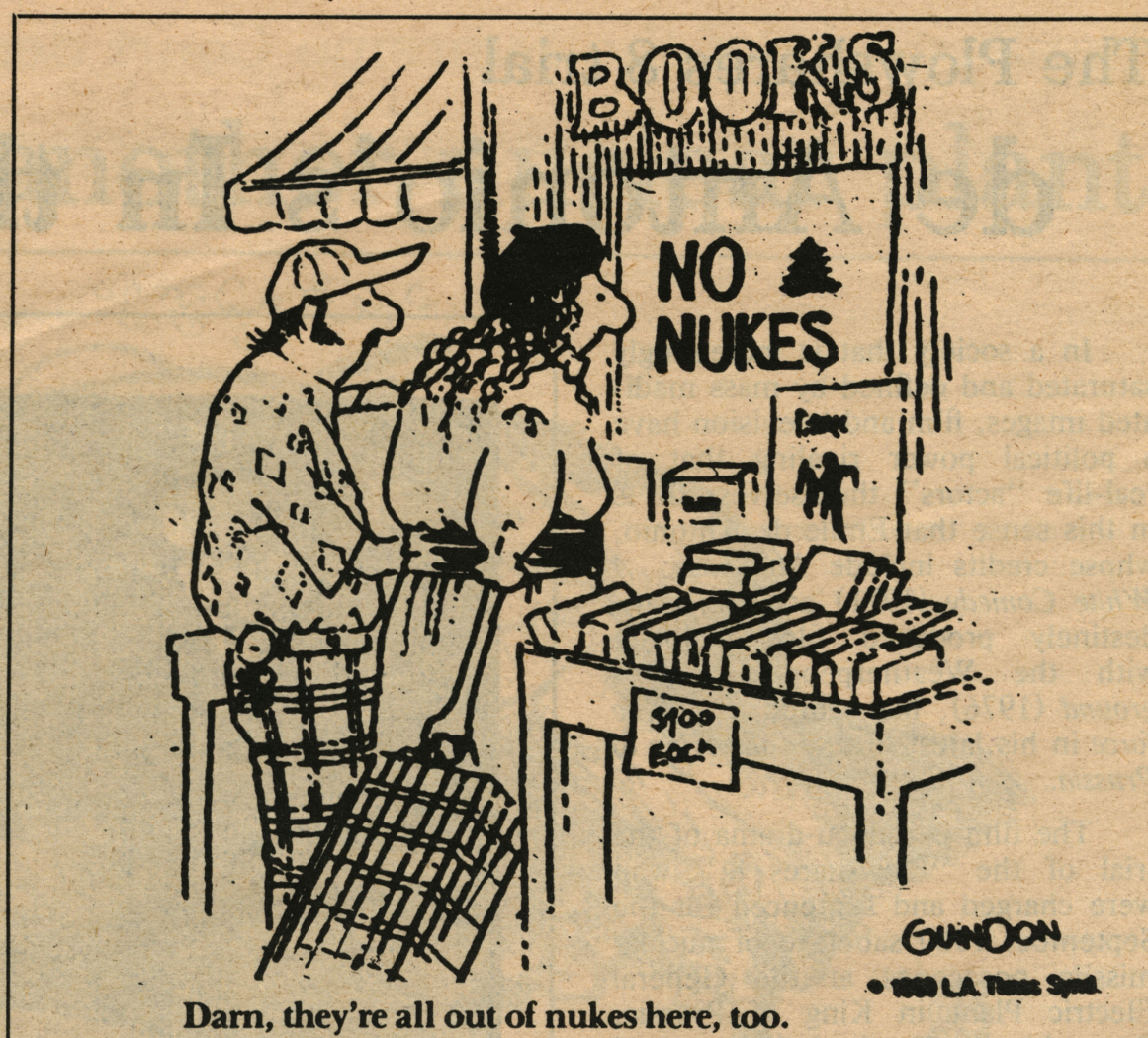
I don't think Bay Area residents know about this danger so close to their homes. I would like to spread these grim facts around the community and encourage people to consider the Enterprise or Alameda Naval Air Station as sites for nuclear power and weapons protests.

-- Tori Woodard

ROLL OVER GANDHI

Dear IAT,

In regard to the group of letters criticizing Howard Ryan's article on Gandhi, I offer the following obser-



vations:

David Dawn notes that "violence merely evokes emotional reaction which is of no use in a truly democratic political process." Well, we don't have a democratic political process in this country. We have a violently aggressive system which responds only to the combination of mass upheaval, organization and force, including violence as well as votes. Witness the 8-hour day struggle, wars in Vietnam, El Salvador, etc., the anti-Vietnam War movement, the anti-nuke movement in Europe and perhaps even in this country.

Bill Fudeman is against "articles that seem to divide people rather than unite us." But when there's a difference of opinion on history, politics or philosophy, you can't leave it in the closet and call that "unity." You have to put it out for all to see and participate in, and the view of Gandhi Howard put out is no more "a limited viewpoint" than that he was opposing. And anyway, Howard's article has inspired me to "effective creative action" more than most stuff I've read.

In this connection I think it's sad that some people think the Direct Action bombing of Litton Systems Canada (10/82) might have been a right-wing action to discredit the anti-Cruise campaign. To me, the thing that discredits our campaigns is the pursuit of a strategy of petitioning and persuading governments to change their policies, instead of using all levels of struggle available to force them to heel. Too often we substitute our personal moral purity for some kind of analysis that would show us the political and economic forces at work in these times, and what will actually work to turn the tide for humanity.

Michael Nagler extends the discussion to the relationship between

the peace movement and liberation movements, stating that pacifists "at times despair of seeing in them [liberation movements] that departure from the prevailing conquest ideology" that he thinks is necessary. I'm sure that liberation struggles that ally with peace groups here also sometimes despair of the latter's failure to attack the Pentagon with mortar fire.

I must protest the arrogance of defining nonviolence as the bottom line of the movement. If that's really what's required of us, then why isn't it a requirement for revolutionaries in Central America? Because, simply, the movement is for justice. Peace derives from justice and is never stable without it (witness Israel, South Africa...). And how can you condemn "a protester standing before the gates of Livermore with rancor in his or her heart for the scientists"? You don't alleviate rancor by meditating on love; you do it by going to the root of the problem. Which, while abiding in each of us, is concentrated at Livermore, Washington and everywhere power collects in the modern empire.

Finally, David Troup: "Violence was a tool of [the] oppressors." What I will never understand is why we can't use a tool just because an oppressor has? They use whole factories full of tools -- do we reject them? Of course we reject massacres, along with lies. Our fight is against a system that manifests all the worst tendencies in people. But to expect to change the people before the system, rather than changing both in an ongoing process -- there lies the self-indulgence. I hope we can do better than that, because events will surely require better from us.

-- Dave Lippman

New decommissioning rule

The California Public Utilities Commission has ordered the state's utilities to adopt a new procedure to finance the decommissioning of nuclear power plants. The new regulation, which requires utilities to establish independent, interest bearing accounts controlled by a third party, was prompted by PUC fears that money for decommissioning won't be available when it's needed.

The PUC order does not alter the ultimate source of these funds -- the ratepayers, who will contribute to the newly established accounts through their electric bills. Ratepayers have always been charged a certain amount for decommissioning, but until now the utilities were not required to set this money aside.

Rather, they typically reinvested the money in everything from trucks to power plants.

Pacific Gas and Electric was also ordered to produce a financial plan for decommissioning the Humboldt Bay nuclear power plant, closed since 1976. Although the plant did not operate for its projected lifetime, it appears ratepayers will be charged the full decommissioning cost. That cost will be included in the next general rate increase.

Prior to the hearings, PG&E claimed the public would never be charged for Humboldt's decommissioning. Now, however, the company admits that "rate adjustments will be made."



Boho time: power plays in Sonoma

For those not familiar with the Bohemian Grove and its political, social and economic implications, this year provides an ideal time to get involved.

The Bohemian Grove Action Network (BGAN) was created in 1980 to focus attention on the Grove, a 2700-acre site where hundreds of powerful government and corporate figures gather every summer for two weeks of all-male socializing.

To the public, it may seem as if the Bohemians are simply enjoying a retreat from the responsibilities of government and industry. In fact, however, as BGAN literature explains, "The Grove is a location of convenience, where these men -- in total anonymity and without public scrutiny -- make policy decisions and sustain contacts that often have catastrophic effects on our daily lives, and, indeed, the life of the planet."

Bohemians who have attended the camp in past years include Ronald Reagan, Caspar Weinberger, Edward Teller, Henry Kissinger, Richard Nixon, Alexander Haig, PG&E Chief Fred Mielke and other corporate, banking and military executives.

BGAN's purpose is not only to expose these men, but to draw connections between the ruling elite at the Grove and the role they play in the decline of the quality of human lives both in the US and globally.

This year BGAN has planned a variety of actions.

- The Bohos will be greeted by protesters twice this year. On July 15, the focus of the greeting



Modern poster art.

will be human rights issues: jobs, food, shelter, and a world "free from racism, sexism and poverty." A July 22 protest will focus on peace and antinuclear issues.

- The "Adopt a Boho" plan is still going strong. Individuals or groups can adopt their very own Bohemian and research his political, corporate, and military connections. This has provided material for a fascinating slide show which is now available to groups of ten or more. (Contact Kerry, 707-544-0440.)

- BGAN is not planning a

civil disobedience action at the Grove, but encourages local community actions calling attention to the banks and corporations represented at the Grove during the encampment.

- July 16 is the Resurrection of Care Vigil, a ceremony in which protesters "resurrect" care, in response to the bizarre "Cremation of Care" ritual performed each year by the Bohos.

- July 17 is Women's Issues Vigil day, with a focus on women's rights.

- July 23 is the date of an

Environmental Vigil, with a focus on environmental and nuclear connections.

- On July 24, demonstrators will focus on Central America.

- Between July 15 and July 31, BGAN will staff a continuous vigil outside the Grove's main gate. Groups wishing to sign up for a 24-hour vigil shift, or seeking more information on the Grove action, can contact BGAN, P.O. Box 216, Occidental, CA 95465, or call 707-874-2248 or 707-762-5180.

--Sandy Leon
IAT staff

Proposal for a nuclear-free California

The concept of a Nuclear Free California Campaign stems from a need to provide a vehicle for organizing widespread opposition to the nuclear industry. There are some sectors that oppose weapons but not power, and vice versa, while others work against uranium mining, transport or waste storage. While we in no way imply that multiple campaigns focusing on one or another issue are unnecessary, we see a need to develop a campaign which unifies these issues with a single, state-wide platform that brings the question of the nuclear industry itself into focus.

We perceive the Nuclear Free California Campaign to be an education and action oriented campaign which demands a series of moves by the state to terminate all phases of the nuclear industry in California. While we understand that there is contradictory legal jurisdiction over nuclear activity, we focus our demands at the state because of the primary obligation of the state to protect its residents from public nuisance. The campaign is based principally on local organizing efforts aimed at educating people about nuclear threats in their own community.

Tactical Scheme

- Phase one: Culminates in Declaration Day when people declare themselves for the state-wide program of demands by

displaying banners, flags, signs, etc., in their windows.

- Phase two: Culminates in a legal march to Sacramento to put forward program demands and press for state-wide action on them

- Phase three: Culminates in a sit-in in Sacramento and a mass leafletting day throughout the state.

- Phase four: Culminates in a one day strike for peace and a nuclear-free California.

A timetable might be something like two to four years.

Potential demands

We have solicited and are continuing to solicit input on our demands and proposal. The following points reflect the response we have received so far:

- A state board, independent of industry's influence, which monitors exposure of the people to radiation from all sources.

- No testing or storage of nuclear weapons in California. Here would be an opportunity to denounce whatever purported "right" we have to be defended by the use or threatened use of those weapons, and to ask to be taken off the target lists of any governments which produce or contemplate producing them.

- Prohibit investment by corporations operating in California in any phase of the nuclear industry, anywhere in the world. Investment should be in the areas of job producing, natural energy resources such as solar wind, biomass or geothermal. The state would revoke the business license of corporations which fail to comply and provide appropriate incentives to aid in conversion.

- Forbid uranium mining in California.

- An immediate moratorium on dumping of nuclear waste beyond the California coast (including obsolete subs), and a prohibition on exporting waste past national boundaries.

- The establishment of an independent commission, made up of representatives of the Union of Concerned Scientists and responsible to the public, to determine the least harmful means of transporting and disposing of existing nuclear wastes.

- Decommission all nuclear reactors, including commercial, research and military.

- Convert all nuclear weapons research laboratories to safe energy research.

- Prohibit transportation of all nuclear material in California.

Funding for this program, if necessary, will come from increased

taxes on the top five percent of California wealthholders, personal and corporate.

At least for the present, we exempt medical uses of nuclear material insofar as it applies to the above demands while we educate ourselves about nuclear medicine.

Visions and Future

Currently, we have not developed a comprehensive vision, but we do agree on the following underlying principles. We wish to build a movement which will reorient society toward life-affirming values. These include:

- Ecologically sound energy sources and commodity production.

- Full employment with cooperative, socially meaningful work based on the equal sharing of resources like land, water and capital.

- Production centered on human needs, not on profit-making.

- Maximizing the opportunity for all people to develop themselves as human beings.

- Non-violent conflict resolution.

The next meeting to discuss the proposal will be on July 9 at 2 p.m. in Berkeley. For more information, contact Jack, 415-284-2056.

Calendar

Friday, June 10: Haskell Wexler Film Night (at Berkeley High).

Wexler is tentatively scheduled to appear in person. Wexler received an Oscar for his cinematography on *Bound For Glory*, and his credits include *In the Heat of the Night*, *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf*, and *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*.

- *Enhanced Radiation*. A skillfully-crafted and devastatingly realistic simulation of a neutron warhead test on farm animals. It is a shocking call to reason about the technological imperative to develop, test and deploy more sophisticated nuclear weapons.

- *War Without Winners II*. An update of the classic documentary on the madness of the nuclear arms race and nuclear war preparation. It explores viewpoints of both "experts" and nonexperts.

- *The Bus II*. The Northern California premiere of Wexler's new film, the story of thirty diverse protesters on a cross-country journey to a New York rally. It raises provocative questions about the role of popular protest in stopping the arms race.

Info: (415) 540-7977.

June 11: Disarmament rally for International Day of Disarmament on June 20. Noon, Mosswood Park, MacArthur and Broadway, Oakland. Info: LAG, (415) 644-3031.

June 11: Local Antinuke Music and Theatre, Unitarian Fellowship, Cedar and Bonita, Berkeley. Info: (415) 644-3031.

Sunday, June 12: Plutonium Players benefit performance for the Marin Abalone Alliance, taking a stand against nasty nukes, from the seeping barrels of waste off Bolinas to the spewing think-tanks of Livermore. Sleeping Lady Cafe, 58 Bolinas Rd., Fairfax. \$4.00. Info: 459-6778; 456-2044.

June 12: Rally for Disarmament at Point Reyes Station, in support of International Day and the Livermore blockade. Speakers and music on the green, 4th and A Streets. Contact Pelican Alliance, (415) 663-8483.

June 13: Peace and Security forum: US and Soviet Nukes: Who Has What? Panelists include Coit Blacker and Condie Rice of Stanford. 7:45 p.m., Fort Mason, Building A. \$2 adults, \$1 student.

June 16: Euromissiles Working Meeting, 7:30 p.m., ASUC Building, UC Berkeley Campus. Info: (415) 495-0526.

June 16-17: Performance: Peace. Creative reactions to the nuclear threat, performed by various dancers, poets, puppeteers, etc. Theater Artaud, 450 Florida St., SF. \$5 each show, \$9 for both. Info: BAAND, (415) 621-7797.

June 17: Cris Williamson in concert with Tret Fure and Native American Drumming. A benefit for Berkeley Students for Peace and International Day of Disarmament. 8 p.m., Zellerbach Auditorium, UC Berkeley. \$8 advance, \$10 at door, \$6 for children, over 65, and disabled. Tickets at BASS, Old Mole, A Woman's Place, Modern Times, Old Wive's Tales. Info: (415) 540-7977.

June 18: LAG nonviolence preparation R for June 20 blockade. Call Anne, (415) 282-2843, 221-4444 extn 605.

June 18-20: Solidarity march in support of Livermore Blockade. Will march from Port Chicago / Concord Naval Weapons Station to Livermore Lab. Fundraiser for Medical Aid to El Salvador and Port Chicago Project. Info: (415) 644-3636.

June 20: International Day of Nuclear Disarmament. See announcements on back page.

June 20-July 28: Teaching About Nuclear War and Peace. A special course geared for secondary and elementary educators interested in teaching about peace and war in the Nuclear Age. 1 p.m. to 2:30 p.m., Monday through Friday. Credit, 3 units (CEU); fee \$145. Info: Education Office, Holy Name College, 415-436-1508.

June 21: "Missile America Pageant" Theater. Dance to Suburban Night-



photo by Karen Yamagata

High school students at Arrowsmith Academy in Lafayette turned out 60 people for a "nuclear awareness night" on May 10, which featured films and music. The student / teacher Nuclear Action Group would like to link up with groups in other schools. Contact N.A.G., c/o Arrowsmith Academy, 3800 Mt. Diablo Blvd., Lafayette, CA 94549, 415-284-5778.

mares. Benefit for Livermore Action Group. 8 p.m., Unitarian Fellowship, Cedar and Bonita, Berkeley. Info: 415-544-3031.

June 24-July 3: Summer Institute on Active Nonviolence. A 10-day workshop examining creative non-violence in the tradition of Gandhi and King. \$150-\$250 sliding scale; includes food and lodging. Sponsored by the Resource Center for Non-violence in Santa Cruz. Info: 408-423-1626. Deposit due by June 14.

June 25: Hands around Livermore Labs. A legal, nonviolent circle for peace. Info: AFSC, 415-752-7766 or LAG, 415-644-3031.

July 2-4: Pickle Family Circus Shows at noon and 3 p.m., Fort Mason, SF. Benefit for peace groups in the Bay Area Peace Network. \$2.50 children and seniors, \$4.50 adults. Info: 415-495-0526, 564-6858.

July 4: Silicon Valley Peace Camp begins. The camp will focus pressure on military contractors for the cruise and Pershing II missiles, which include ROLM, Westinghouse, Lockheed, GTE/Sylvania, FMC. Info: Stop Cruise and Pershing II Campaign, 227 Mt. View Ave. #15, Mt. View, CA 94041, 415-964-3066 or 328-0367.

July 7: Silent Vigil at Alameda Naval Air Station. Meet at corner of Atlantic and Main at 2:45 p.m., vigil 3:00-4:30 p.m. Alameda County Freeze. Info: 415-655-6872.

July 8: In Our Defense and The June 12 Film. Palace of Fine Arts, SF. Info: Foundation for the Arts of Peace, 415-428-0621.

July 8: Women's Party for Survival Summer Film Series continues at 33 Gough, 7:30 p.m. with *From Hitler to MX*. Info: 415-981-8909.

July 9: The Bombmaker, a magnificent one-act comedy fantasy performed by Ant Theater, benefit for East Bay U.N. Assn, Dream for Berkeley, and Berkeley Area Interfaith Council. Info: 415-849-1752 (days), 415-527-8242 (eves).

July 11: START: The Build-Down, Star Wars and the MX: Does US Have an Arms Policy? Panelists include Richard Smoke, Director, Peace and Common Security. Ft. Mason Bldg A, 7:45 p.m., \$2 adults, \$1 students. Sponsored by Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Peace and Common Security.

July 14: War Tax Resistance Activists Group Support Meeting. 946 Page, SF, 6:39 p.m. potluck. Info: 415-849-2360.

July 15-17: Working Retreat for War Tax Resistance Activists. Info: 415-849-2360.

July 15-31: Greet the Power Elite continuous vigil at Bohemian Grove, Monte Rio, Sonoma County. Info: Bohemian Grove Action Network, 707-874-2258 or 762-5180.

July 16: Forum on Gandhi and non-violence, 1 p.m., UC Berkeley. Benefit for Livermore Action Group. Presentations by Michael Nagler, student of Eknath Easwaran and author of *America Without Violence*; Why Violence Persists and How You Can Stop It; Jonika Mountainfire, member of LAG, war tax resister, and student and teacher of Gandhian philosophy; and Howard Ryan, member of LAG and author of forthcoming book, *Nonviolence and Class Bias: From Mahatma Gandhi to the Antinuclear Movement*. Call 644-3031 for information and specific location.

July 22, 23, 30, 31: San Francisco Mime Troupe opens its 21st season of free plays with *Motown Meets Hollywood on the Sands of the Utah Desert*. July 22: SF Civic Center, noon. July 23: Dolores Park, SF, 2 p.m. July 30, 31: SF Fair and Expo. Info: 415-285-1717.

July 24: Halt Arms Shipments to El Salvador. Demonstration at Port Chicago / Concord Naval Weapons Station. Protest Reagan's recertification of continued military aid. Sponsored by CISPES. Info: 415-644-3636.



photo by Patty Franz

Members and friends of Contra Costans for a Nuclear-Free Future gather in Walnut Creek bearing their giant Citizens' Letter of Nuclear Concerns.

Announcements

SILICON VALLEY PEACE CAMP

On July 4, the Stop the Cruise and Pershing II Campaign will begin the Silicon Valley Peace Camp in solidarity with the peace camps in Europe. The camp is intended as an action against the deployment of US Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe and against all militarism and violence in our lives.

Many of the world's most advanced weapons systems are developed in the "Silicon Valley" area between Palo Alto and San Jose. Over 300 companies in the area have military contracts, including Cruise/Pershing contractors such as ROLM, Westinghouse, Lockheed, GTE/Sylvania, and FMC.

We invite everyone to join the peace camp for anywhere from a few days to the duration. Opportunities will abound for peace work including vigils and leafletting at weapons companies, guerrilla theater and music, workshops and discussions, creating a life-affirming society at the camp, and autonomous affinity group actions at companies of your choice.

At the nearby Pacific Studies Center and the Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project, you can research the role of Silicon Valley firms in the arms race. The scope of actions possible in the area is limited only by our imaginations.

Consensus process and a non-violence code have been adopted for the action. Contact Mark or Lee at (415) 964-3066 or Mary at (415) 328-0367 for more information.

THE FREEZE ECONOMY

The Freeze Economy, edited by Dave McFadden and Jim Wake, is a manual for peace activists on the economic problems and promises of a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze.

Single copies are \$2.50 postpaid; 2-24 copies, \$2 per copy; 25-100 copies, \$1.50 per copy; more than 100 copies, \$1.25 per copy. Order from Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project, 222C View St., Mountain View, CA 94041.



HANDS AROUND LIVERMORE LAB

a legal, non-violent
circle for peace

SAT. JUNE 25 2 p.m. - 4 p.m.

**STOP THE ARMS RACE!
STOP FIRST STRIKE WEAPONS!
STOP UNNECESSARY RADIATION!
CONVERT THE LIVERMORE LAB
TO SAFE ENERGY RESEARCH!**

bring your family & friends !!

BUSES AND CARPOOLING FROM

Provo Park, Grove & Center, Berkeley: 12 noon
Manzanita Parking Lot, Marin County: 12 noon
Dolores Park, 18th & Dolores, S.F.: 12 noon

Less Weapons
Equal
More Jobs

Phone:
415-526-5470

Runners, musicians,
and donations
needed

AA Safe Energy Groups

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

NORTH

ALBION:
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P.O. Box 462/95410 • (707) 964-7468
WOMEN FOR SURVIVAL,
Box 72/95410 • (707) 937-0462

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

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

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

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

EL VERANO:
NO NUKE OF THE NORTH,
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MENDOCINO:
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OCCIDENTAL:
BOHEMIAN GROVE ACTION NETWORK
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POINT ARENA:
POINT ARENA ACTION FOR SAFE ENERGY,
P.O. Box 106/95468

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CENTRAL VALLEY & SIERRA

CHICO:
CHICO PEOPLE FOR A NUCLEAR FREE FUTURE,
930 Walnut St./95926 • (916) 893-9078

DAVIS:
PEOPLE FOR A NUCLEAR FREE FUTURE,
411 5th St./95616 • (916) 753-1630 M-F 12-6 P.M.

EXETER:
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FRESNO:
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ARTISTS FOR RESPONSIBLE ENERGY,
27900 Skyview/95490

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P.O. Box 393/95490 (707) 459-4852

GREATER BAY AREA

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EAST BAY ANTI-NUCLEAR GROUP,
1600 Woolsey St./94703 • (415) 841-6500, 665-1715

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LEGAL ACTION FOR UNDERMINING GOVERNMENT
HARRASSMENT IN SOCIETY,
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SAN FRANCISCO:
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UC Med Center, c/o Michael Kosnett, MU 249/
94143 • (415) 666-2010

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PREPARERS COLLECTIVE, P.O. Box 693/95060
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NUCLEAR RESISTANCE COALITION
DIABLO CANYON TASK FORCE,
4670 Hollywood Bl. #103/90027 • (213) 666-1517,
395-4483
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c/o Michael Newcomb, 44 Ozone Ave./90291

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TOPANGA:
LOU SNIT,
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VENTURA:
VENTURA PEOPLE FOR A NUCLEAR FREE FUTURE,
P.O. Box 308/93002

Blockade at Livermore Lab

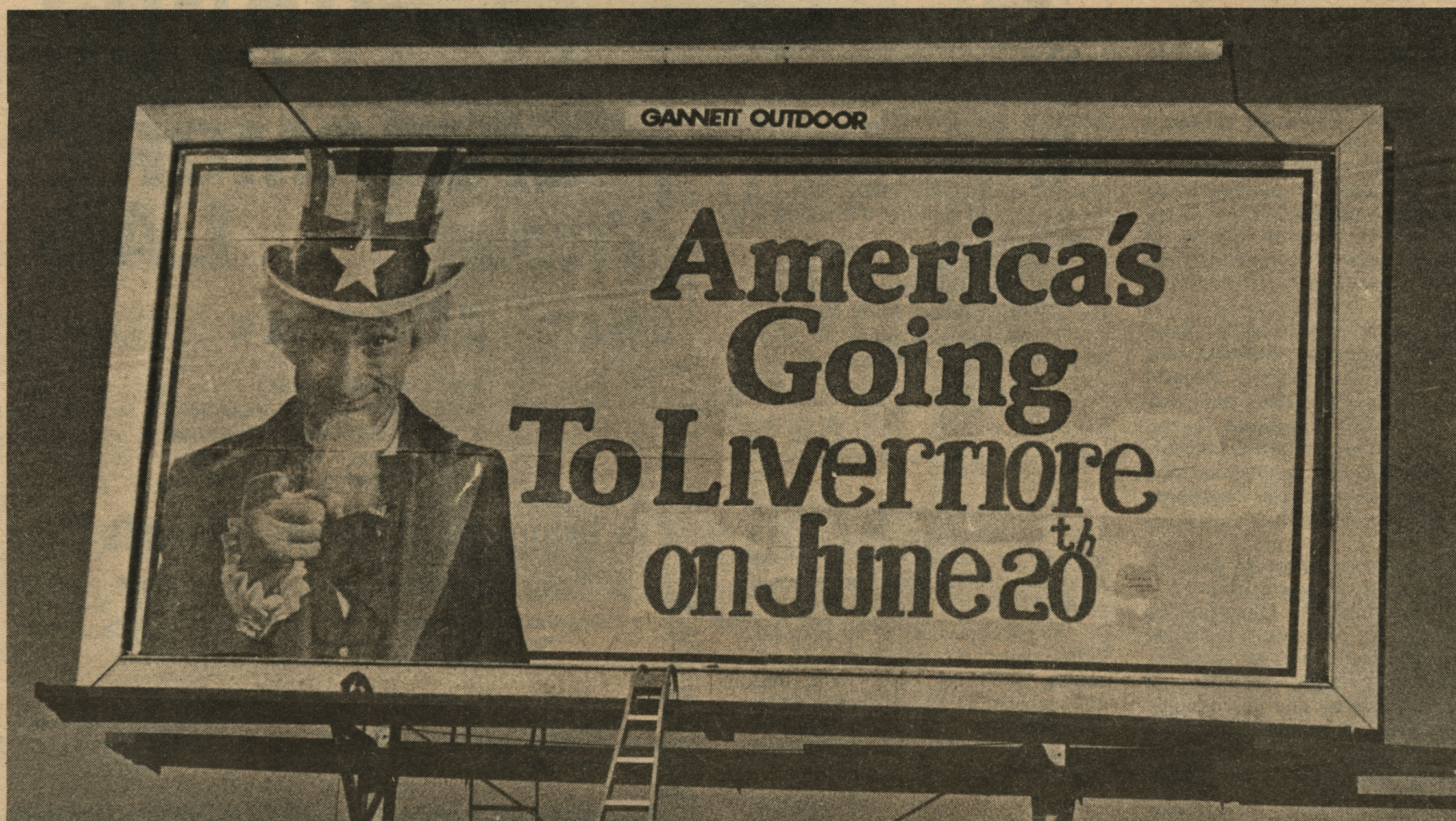


photo by Rachel Johnson

For information, contact Livermore Action Group (LAG) 415-644-3031

DISARMAMENT ARTS

festival



IN CONJUNCTION WITH INTERNATIONAL DAY OF DISARMAMENT, JUNE 20TH, BAY AREA ARTISTS FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT PRESENTS NINE DAYS OF THEATER, MUSIC, DANCE, PERFORMANCE AND VISUAL ARTS: A RENAISSANCE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE.

E V E N T S

- **PHOTOGRAPHERS' REACTIONS TO NUCLEAR WAR.** A Photography exhibit at 20x20 Gallery, 1261 Howard St., S.F. **FESTIVAL OPENING:** Monday, June 13th, 7 pm, with poetry by William Carney and music by the Baroque Arts Ensemble. Show runs till June 20th.
- **PERFORMANCE: PEACE** Two separate nights of diverse and creative reactions to the nuclear threat will be held at Theater Artaud featuring Elvia Marta, the Dionysian Duncan Dancers, the Footloose Dance Company, Pleiades Poetry Group, New Performance Consort, Reliable Source Puppet Theater and many others. Thursday, June 16 and Friday, June 17 at 8pm. 450 Florida St., S.F. Tickets \$5.00 each show, \$9.00 for both. 621-7797.
- **A BENEFIT CELEBRATION OF DANCE, THEATER, AND MUSIC.** DANCE: From Oberlin Dance Collective--Brenda Way, Katie Nelson, and Kimi Okada collaborating with Lance McGee (Pickle Family Circus). Also works by Cecelia-Marie Bowman, Aaron Osborne, Alonzo King, and the Dionysian Duncan Dancers. THEATER: Bob Ernst (Blake Street Hawkeyes), Jane Dornacker and Pons Maar. MUSIC: Marc Regnier and Phoenix. New Performance Gallery, Monday, June 20th, 8:30 PM. -- 3157 17th St. S.F. \$8.00 863-9834.
- **THE ARTIST AND THE ISSUE: VISIONS BEYOND THE BOMB.** A visual arts exhibit including works by over forty Bay Area Artists to be held at Southern Exposure Gallery, 499 Alabama St., S.F. at Project Artaud. Opening: Wednesday, June 15th, 6pm. Show runs till June 21st.
- **B.A.A.N.D. AND BILL GRAHAM PRESENT: TRANSLATOR** with THE CONTRACTIONS plus TIMES BEACH in a benefit concert at the Old Waldorf. Sunday, June 12th at 9pm. For more information, call 397-3884.
- **CABARET/DANCE PARTY.** A benefit night of music, comedy and dance at the Women's Building featuring Jane Dornacker, Linda Hirschorn, Kirk Olsen, Les Nickoletts, ACRONYM, Paula Poundstone, Dick Crook and Friends, Zazu Pitts Memorial Orchestra and others. Saturday, June 18, at 8pm. Tickets \$5.00.
- **BODY MUSIC.** A benefit evening of belly dancers, Irish classical music and performance at Finn Hall in the Cultural Movement Center featuring Blue Nile, Tamano and others. Sunday, June 12th at 7:30pm. 1819 10th St. Berkeley. Tickets \$5.00.
- **THE KEY.** A disarmament street performance. Friday, June 17th at 2:00pm at Victorian Park near Fisherman's Wharf; Saturday, June 18th at 2:00pm at the Bandstand at Lake Merritt in Oakland; Sunday, June 19th, noon till 5:00 at Marks Meadow in Golden Gate Park.
- **GOLDEN CIRCLE-SILVER CROSS.** An outdoor performance with electronic music choreographed by Patrick Morgan at the Embarcadero Center Plaza. Monday, June 20th at noon.



FOR MORE INFORMATION PLEASE CALL 621-9061.

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