

# It's About Times

Abalone Alliance Newspaper

February—March 1984



## Nuclear power industry — freezing in the dark

**I**N the month of January two nuclear power plants were cancelled completely, two more were suspended and another is being converted to coal. And for the first time in its history, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission denied a license to a utility.

Almost in defiance of its own massive promotional campaigns, a generally sympathetic regulatory commission, and a financial and ideological commitment to what some industry officials have called the "nuclear imperative," the nuclear industry has edged near the brink of disaster through its own ineptitude. The recent setbacks have brought home the reality that nuclear executives have thus far managed to stubbornly deny -- that nuclear power is destined for the junk heap of history.

Though PG&E's Diablo Canyon still staggers through hearing after hearing, on January 13 the Nuclear Regulatory Commission's licensing panel refused an operating permit for Commonwealth Edison Company's nearly completed \$3.35 billion twin reactor. The NRC ruled against the Byron plant near Rockford, Illinois because of what it called "inadequate quality control in its construction."

Commonwealth Edison Co. raised its estimate of the cost of start-up delays at its Byron and Braidwood nuclear plants to more than \$900 million from \$350 million.

The NRC's licensing board said it had "no confidence" in work performed

**January has left the nuclear power industry groping in the dark as utilities across the country are forced to face the cold fact that even they can't afford nuclear power.**

by the plant's electrical contractor, a company with a "long and bad" record. It also said a supplier of safety-related electrical and control equipment for Byron is under investigation by the Justice Department for a "fraudulent and ineffective quality assurance program."

The board cited three other contractors, Systems Control Corp., for fraudulent and ineffective quality assurance; Reliable Sheet Metal, the heating, ventilating and air conditioning contractor, which the board said "needed a 100 percent independent over-inspection of its work;" and Hunter Corporation, the piping contractor, "because the sloppy documentation cannot assure reliable control... of faulty work."

Although it is expected the company will appeal this decision, it was significant in that it was the first such rejection in the NRC's history.

### Boot Hill for Marble Hill

On Monday, January 16, the Public Service Company of Indiana announced

it was abandoning its plant at Marble Hill -- after spending some \$2.5 billion to bring it only half way to completion.

The decision sent shock waves through the industry because construction was so far along. Work on the first unit was 59 percent completed, and the second unit was 37 percent finished. Up until now, the most complete plant to be scrapped was the Tennessee Valley Authority's Phipps Bend unit, which was 27 percent finished when cancelled in 1982. But Marble Hill was only the latest of more than 100 nuclear projects to be abandoned since 1974 -- most in the planning or early construction stages.

As in the case of Diablo Canyon, Marble Hill's actual cost was far greater than projected. From an initial estimate

of \$1.4 billion in 1973, Marble Hill's bill skyrocketed to more than \$7 billion today, leaving the Public Service Company of Indiana with what it has modestly dubbed a "cash emergency."

The utility had appealed to the state Public Utilities Commission for permission to increase its rates by 8 percent a year for six years -- before the plant even began generating electricity. But there seems no reason to complete the plant since the utility already has a 47 percent peak reserve margin -- more than twice the amount needed.

Governor Robert D. Orr appointed a commission to study the plant which recommended the project be shelved, but that the customers pick up the tab for the managerial blunder. The utility, however, wants even more. Why, the company reasons, *shouldn't* the customers pay for the whole package? After all, according to Senior Vice President of Finance Vern Rehrstrom, "The investment was made for the customer. Therefore, shouldn't he pay for it?"

### Let them burn coal

On Tuesday, January 17, the Cincinnati city council began considering a resolution calling on the Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co. to abandon its William H.   
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# Letters



*Editor's note: The following letter was sent to us by Fred Dickson, an IAT reader who has contributed to Alan Cranston's campaign for president. After reading an IAT piece on the California senator, (Oct-Nov. 1983) Dickson sent Cranston a letter challenging him on some of the points raised in the article. In the interest of continuing and broadening this debate, we have printed the letter Cranston wrote in reply, and a response to Cranston by the authors of the original IAT article.*

Dear Fred,

I greatly sympathize with your concerns about the article to which you referred. Let me assure you that your contribution to my campaign was no mistake.

As you may have surmised, the article represents a very slanted point of view. The bias is evident right from the beginning, when the anonymous writer refers to my "jumping on the Freeze bandwagon." I first became aware of the nuclear danger when I met with numerous scientists and experts, including Albert Einstein, at Dublin in 1945. Besides have been an original co-sponsor of the Kennedy-Hatfield freeze resolution, I have been a consistent, forthright advocate in the Senate for the need to achieve a freeze as a crucial first step towards the reduction of nuclear stockpiles. Among the Democratic Presidential candidates, I was the first to support the freeze openly, in January, 1982.

I appreciate your concern over my support for the B-1. I must point out that a freeze would stop production of the B-1. We would be fooling ourselves, moreover, if we did not acknowledge the necessity of maintaining an effective deterrent until we set a freeze.

Our deterrent is based on the nuclear triad of air-, sea-, and land-based missiles. Bombers are the best of the lot from an arms-control standpoint. They are slow, and thus not first-strike weapons. They are easily monitored and can be recalled if they are sent out in error or if the situation changes, unlike unmanned missiles, which cannot be recalled.

Deterrence does not require "state-of-the-art" equipment. I have outspokenly opposed the reckless Reagan defense budget proposals, including the MX, neutron bomb, binary chemical weapons, nuclear carriers, and the reactivation of old WW II battle-ships.

My vote on the MX (which, by the way, came in 1979, not 1981) was not to continue development, but to continue research on the *possibility* of developing the MX. This position was supported by a large majority of the Senate. This vote took place before the MX was to be based on the race-track system, and before the Congress closely examined its strategic and practical problems.

Upon such an examination, I concluded that the MX would not add to our security, but would instead make a tempting first-strike target for Soviet missiles. In the long run, as the Soviets would of course develop similar technology, it would serve to escalate the incredibly dangerous, expensive arms race. I thus spoke out strongly against it, and have voted on every occasion to kill it since then.

While the author mentions the functions of the Federal Renegotiation Board, he does not mention the fact that it was largely ineffective in performing those functions. The Board spent more money than it was getting back from defense contractors, and had no control over cost overruns -- the major problem in defense contracting. Because the need to monitor closely the procurement

procedures of the Defense Department remains real, I co-sponsored legislation designed to replace the outdated and no-longer-useful Board. This legislation created an Inspector General at DoD, largely responsible for finding account overcharges.

Additional legislation would set up an independent office in the Pentagon to evaluate and test weapons systems. This differs from the IG in that the purpose is to eliminate the problems of cost overruns in new weapons systems, and to make sure that the new equipment works. This office would make a recommendation on the cancellation of a program that far exceeds its original costs, as was the case with the Bradley Infantry Fighting Vehicle.

Regarding Lockheed, the recent government bailout of Chrysler shows that the government often times must step in to help industry and save thousands of workers from the despair of unemployment. Lockheed not only is a defense contractor, but is also a major producer of commercial aviation equipment and other lay technologies.

Finally, Fred, I'd like to know the source of this article so that I can publicly respond to these unfair attacks. I hope that this letter reassures you that I am still worthy of your support. I welcome your comments, and greatly appreciate all that you have done for my campaign.

-- Alan Cranston

**Tim Redmond and Steve Stallone respond:**

Cranston's letter raises some important questions and allows us to address some issues not fully discussed in the original piece.

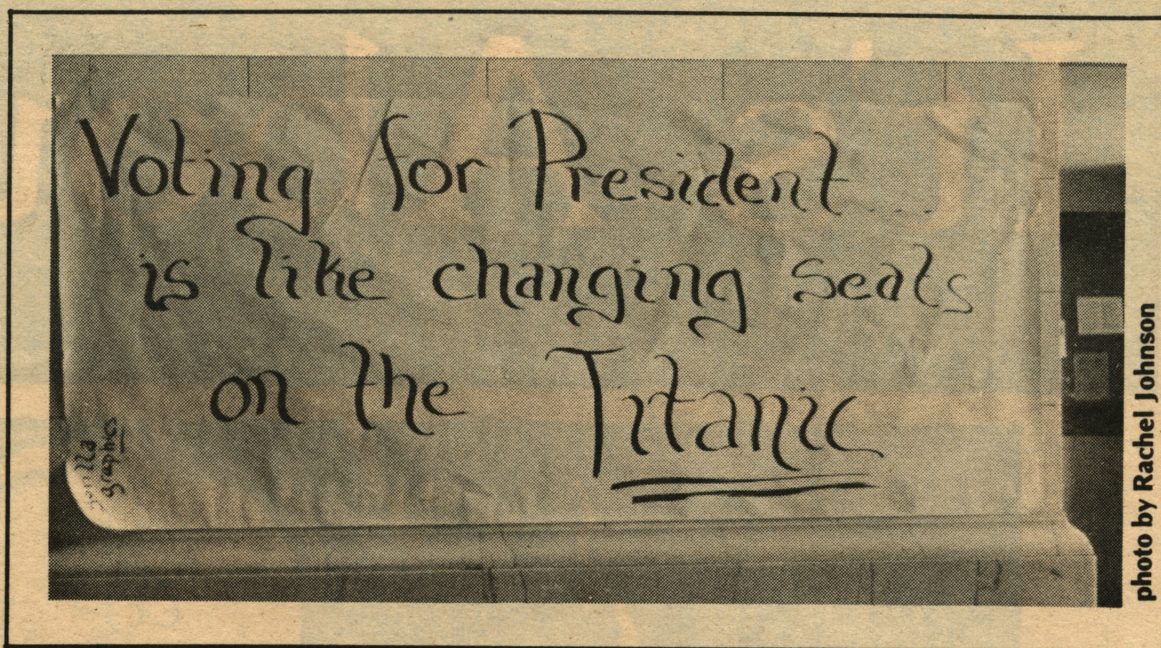
The article was a collective effort by Tim and Steve. Under the pressure of looming deadlines, it was edited to the satisfaction of neither of us and so ran without a byline -- admittedly a mistake for so controversial an issue. Nonetheless, we still stand behind the main point of the article -- that Cranston's support of the B-1 bomber and other weapons systems while mouthing support of the Freeze makes him just another doubletalking liberal politician out to use the disarmament movement for his own purposes.

To understand our criticisms of Cranston, it's important first to understand the nature of a modern political campaign. In our media-based society, a presidential campaign is almost entirely a public relations effort -- a sales job. Almost all big-time campaigns in America are run essentially the same way sales and marketing campaigns are run. First, you identify a potential market for your product. You survey that market, and determine the prevailing attitudes. Then you design an advertising strategy to emphasize the positive attitudes towards your product, and play down (or at least confuse) any negative feelings your product may elicit. In other words, you find out what the public can be made to buy. Then you create that image for your product and sell it to them.

So when we say Cranston "jumped on the freeze bandwagon," we are not saying he suddenly decided to announce his opposition to nuclear war. We are saying that, during the early stages of his campaign strategy formation, Cranston's political advisors identified the 11 million Americans who voted for the nuclear freeze in 1982 as a major potential market for his presidential bid. As a long-shot contender, Cranston's only hope was -- and is -- to attract a major bloc of voters already organized around a specific issue or concern. And since organized labor already appeared committed to Walter Mondale, and the possibility of a black candidate was looming, Cranston geared his campaign toward the constituency most likely to throw its considerable weight behind him -- the freeze movement.

So if his literature and recent public statements seem to portray him as a man driven by a lofty quest to save humanity at all costs, bear in mind that you are seeing a carefully crafted image -- one Cranston must sell to the freeze movement and peace sympathizers if he is to have the slightest chance of winning the nomination.

Cranston's letter is an excellent example of how facts can be stretched and the inconsistencies obfuscated in the interest of a political point. Take a close look at how he defends his support for



the B-1 bomber and his past vote in favor of the MX.

Although the freeze he claims to support would stop B-1 production, he says "We would be fooling ourselves" not to acknowledge the "necessity" of maintaining an "effective deterrent." Presumably, the B-1 is part of that "necessary, effective deterrent."

But Cranston doesn't say that, not in so many words. Instead, he says that "bombers" are the best of the deterrence triad because they are slow, and, unlike missiles, can be called back. He goes on to say that "Deterrence does not require 'state of the art' equipment." (Notice that among the "state of the art" hardware he says he has opposed is "the reactivation of old WWII battleships.")

Then Cranston waves his hands and moves on to the MX -- without ever having told us why he supports a new, expensive bomber that his favorite cause would involve scrapping. If deterrence doesn't require "state-of-the-art" equipment, and the advantage of bombers is that they are slow, why spend billions more on the B-1 when the present B-52s are older and slower?

Cranston's vote on the MX, he says, was "not to continue development, but to continue research on the *possibility* of developing the MX. This position was supported by a large majority of the Senate."

Justifying support of this expensive boondoggle just because the proposal was backed by a large majority of the Senate is a silly excuse that wouldn't get past a kindergarten teacher.

His 1979 vote may have taken place before Congress had figured out that the missile was a ridiculous waste of money -- so far as we can tell, Congress still hasn't figured that out. But the MX was not a stupid idea *simply* because it would cost tens of billions of dollars to destroy the entire ecosystem of the Nevada/Utah desert. Its pinpoint accuracy and multiple independently targeted warheads made the MX missile a provocative, destabilizing first strike weapon. How much more research does one who claims to oppose the escalating arms race need? And this man wants us to make him president?

As for the Federal Renegotiation Board, Cranston may be happy that the Defense Department has taken over responsibility for monitoring its own budget, but it leaves us a bit nervous. And, we suspect, it has made certain

generals and corporate presidents much happier.

If the freeze movement wants to become an effective political force, freeze backers -- and disarmament advocates in general -- need to start facing up to political reality. If they need any insights, they need look no further than the recent Congressional action on the Freeze resolution. The House of Representatives, with much hoopla, passed a freeze bill last year so watered down that it would have absolutely zero effect on American military policy -- and then turned right around and voted to fund the MX missile.

Congress voted for the freeze purely for political reasons -- so they could tell people they'd voted for it. Cranston knows very well that a real nuclear weapons freeze would have a massive impact on America's economy.

The Investor Responsibility Research Center, a Washington DC-based based group that researches major corporations for "socially responsible" investors, released a report in January that lays out the amount of money 19 leading defense contractors would have lost if a nuclear freeze had been in effect in 1981. The numbers are quite revealing: Martin Marietta, the most "freeze-impacted" firm, would have dropped 39% of its \$546 million in DoD contracts if the freeze had been in effect that year. Rockwell International would have lost 23% of its contracts; Lockheed, 32%.

Alan Cranston's home state has the second most defense-dependent economy in the nation, after Connecticut. The effect of a freeze on California, as well as the rest of the nation, would be staggering.

Cranston knows that a nuclear weapons freeze is feasible only if it is coupled with some serious changes in the economy -- changes that would have some nasty implications for the future of our present power structure. Let's face it -- conversion of the military industrial complex would mean some changes in who makes decisions about what and why. And the ruling class is not about to relinquish its prerogative over these matters just because it has been outvoted.

If we allow our energies to be diverted into the campaigns of duplicitous politicians, we deserve what we'll get -- stabbed in the back. If we must vote to defend past gains or to gain "social space" to continue our struggles, let's do so without illusions.

## It's About Times

Abalone Alliance Newspaper

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## Abalone Alliance actions continue

# Workers charge Diablo is unsafe

Pacific Gas and Electric Company wants Diablo Canyon in operation by March despite 175 worker allegations of design flaws.

The Abalone Alliance has responded to the impending licensing of the Diablo Canyon nuclear plant with the People's Emergency Response Plan, which swung into action on Friday the 13th of January. Rather than staging one massive action, affinity groups are timing their activities for a prolonged presence at the plant in San Luis Obispo. By press time, 255 people had been arrested, and an additional 1500 have participated in legal demonstrations or weren't caught for activities some law enforcement agencies might consider illegal.

Autonomous affinity groups have been hiking to the plant site along hidden trails in the hills behind Diablo or staging theatrical events and blockades at the front gate. One group got a limousine driver to take his classy car and the day off to chauffeur two demonstrators to the plant's front gate. Once there, the two "celebrities," wearing Kissinger and Reagan masks, walked across the blue line and were arrested. Another group placed themselves in coffins and supporters carried the caskets to the San Luis Obispo PG&E office.

An affinity group called Those Fucking Anarchists ignored the front gate, but still managed to blockade. Accompanied by other affinity groups from San Jose and Fresno, the cluster hiked through the back country during the night, and arrived at the Diablo access road at dawn. Traffic whizzed by as workers raced to the plant, frustrating the blockade attempts. Eventually one driver stopped to yell at the group, which gave people a chance to stretch a paper banner across the road warning "Danger -- Radiation." No car drove



1500 people protest Diablo Jan. 15th.

photo by Mark Evanoff

agency Response Plan.

Activities are not confined to San Luis Obispo. People in San Francisco are leafleting and picketing outside PG&E corporate headquarters every Friday. The Diablo Canyon Task Force staged a march through Walnut Creek culminating in a demonstration at the NRC offices. A police barricade

challenged plant design, inadequately documenting design changes, and harassing workers who find design mistakes. If these allegations prove to be true, the repairs and interest payments needed to bring the plant up to NRC safety standards could add another \$1 billion to its cost, according to Friends of the Earth energy economist Jim Harding.

The Government Accountability Project, which has worked with whistle blowers at the Zimmer, Midland, and Three Mile Island nuclear plants, has been helping workers at Diablo point out the design problems. Legal Director Tom Devine explained, "In terms of quality assurance, Diablo Canyon equals the worst lemons in the nuclear industry. I've found as much at Diablo Canyon in two months as I did in the two years I looked at Zimmer." (Owners of the

Canyon. State Board of Equalization Chairman William Bennett, who was President of the Public Utilities Commission when PG&E was given permission to build Diablo, said that the utility's stockholders should bear all costs beyond the \$188 million originally authorized by the Commission. If that should force the utility into bankruptcy, "The assets should be turned over to the public."

Bennett pointed out that most of the men who authorized Diablo Canyon, both within PG&E and the Public Utilities Commission, have passed away. "Diablo Canyon is the legacy of dead men. It should never become operational." Abandoning Diablo Canyon, Bennett added, would be a service to the shareholders as well as to the ratepayers, who he alleges are being billed illegally

**"Diablo Canyon is the legacy of dead men. It should never become operational."**

through the banner, tying up traffic for three hours.

Many of the actions are being carried out by local residents. San Luis Obispo high school students are forming coalitions with schools throughout the state for coordinated actions at Diablo. Local families are preparing for a family day blockade in mid-February. In January, a group from Cal Polytechnic University called Concerned Faculty and Staff were arrested.

Not everyone is getting arrested. Some people are distributing leaflets and 1500 people participated in a legal walk January 15 to protest the plant. Any action against the plant within the Abalone Alliance code of non-violence is considered part of the People's Emer-

prevented the planned sit-in. Abalones in Santa Cruz organized a sit-in at the local PG&E office.

### GOVERNMENT TAKES NOTICE

Prompted by 175 worker allegations of design flaws at Diablo Canyon, both federal and state legislatures are conducting investigations into the NRC's regulation at the plant. Representative Morris Udall held Congressional hearings January 24, and Assemblywoman Gwen Moore held hearings in Sacramento February 2. Both proceedings provided workers the opportunity to explain why Diablo Canyon is not safe.

Twenty-one workers have submitted sworn affidavits attesting to Bechtel's practices of destroying documents that

**"If PG&E goes bankrupt, its assets should be turned over to the public," says the former head of the PUC.**

Zimmer plant decided in January to convert the facility to coal rather than correct all the design and construction flaws).

At Diablo, workers finding too many design mistakes have been either transferred or fired. Several were laid off last October, ostensibly because the design reverification had been finished. Design engineer Charles Stokes was among those out of a job. Stokes had located several discrepancies in pipe support design and offered to work free to complete his review program. Bechtel refused the offer. The Department of Labor investigated the firing and on January 9, ordered Stokes reinstated with full back pay.

The charges leveled by Stokes and other engineers and inspectors constitute violations of the Atomic Energy Act. Workers are charging that plant management deliberately ignored quality assurance guidelines. But the NRC is refusing to bring in the Office of Inspection, which investigates criminal misconduct.

According to Mothers for Peace member Nancy Culver "The NRC is more concerned with determining if a specific problem is unsafe, rather than determining the cause of the problem, and where else it might have occurred."

State officials are floating ideas on methods to pay for abandoning Diablo

for more than \$197 million a year in interest on money PG&E borrowed to build Diablo.

Public Utilities Commission economist Ron Kneet estimates that if Diablo Canyon enters operation, ratepayers will fork out \$1.5 billion more over the life of the plant than if the utility provided the same amount of electricity with oil and gas fired units.

-- Mark Evanoff  
IAT staff

## Who shall pay?

The state Assembly has written a bill disallowing utilities from making money by choosing the most expensive sources of electricity generation available. The "value-added" concept of the new bill only allows utilities to collect for what electricity is worth -- the cost of generating it in an oil-fired plant. Under this system, people selling electricity generated by windmills, by burning natural gas, or through nuclear power would all be paid the same price by the consumer. If utility managers invested in an expensive technology to generate electricity, stockholders would lose their investment. The nuclear utilities are lobbying against this legislation.

-- M.E.



Faculty and staff from California Polytechnic University are among the first arrested during the People's Emergency Response Plan.

photo by Mark Evanoff







# Dam the rivers, full profits ahead

The folks down at 77 Beale Street in San Francisco work hard on their image. Call PG&E's Public Information and News Bureau any business day, and you'll find a staff full of friendly-sounding flaks ready with a cheerful, well-articulated company statement. No waiting, no hassle.

So I was more than a bit surprised when I phoned the company one day in mid-January and was told no press representatives were available. "I'm sorry," the operator said. "We only have one representative on duty today, and he's out to lunch. The rest of our news bureau is all down in San Luis Obispo."

From a public relations standpoint, it made perfect sense to send a full battalion down to defend the Diablo Canyon plant from the marauding Abalone Alliance. After all, Diablo was very much in the news, while the project I was interested in -- a project which to PG&E is every bit as important as its besieged nuclear plant -- was taking place about 3,000 miles to the east and was just not in the news at all.

But while newspapers all over California converged on San Luis Obispo, a deal has been going down in Washington, D.C. that is worth more to the nation's Investor-Owned Utilities than 25 Diablo Canyons. The IOU's are attempting to snatch \$100 billion worth of public property, and if they pull off their little stunt, they'll get it for almost nothing -- and keep control of it forever.

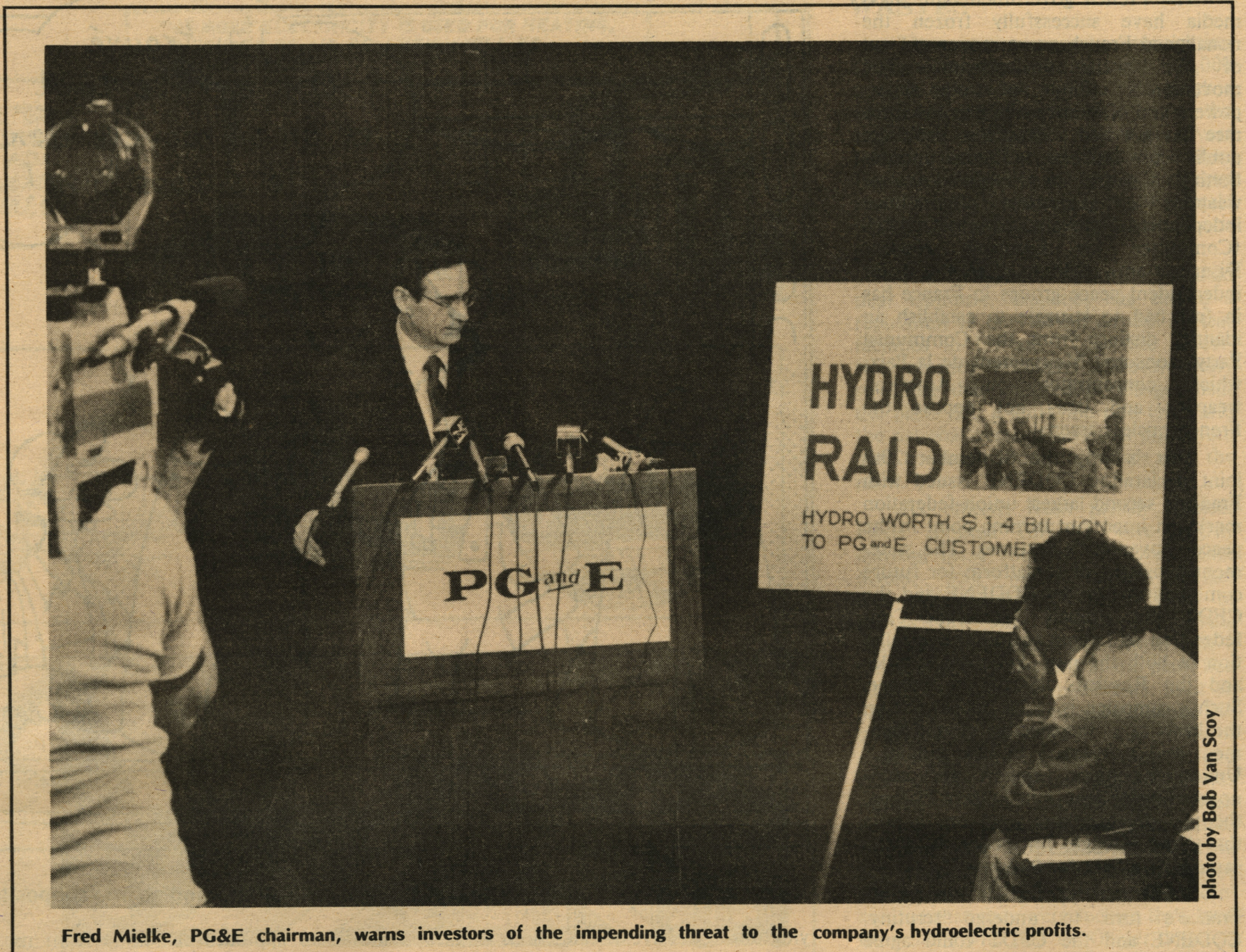
What PG&E and its friends are after, not surprisingly, is electrical energy. The kilowatts in question are the ones generated by the nation's rivers, which under the 1920 Federal Power Act, are public property.

The Federal Power Act has its roots in a controversy that was among the most volatile political issues in the development of the Western states. As California, Oregon, Washington, Colorado, and neighboring areas evolved into major population centers around the turn of the century, developers and private utilities began plans to build power dams along the hundreds of wild rivers that carry snow runoff from the Sierra, the Coastal Ranges, and the Rocky Mountains.

Public power advocates and environmentalists such as John Muir and even Theodore Roosevelt fought the plans to desecrate natural resources for electricity. But the utility industry was beginning to amass considerable political clout, and many Western politicians lined up to support the dams.

Eventually, the battle reached Congress, where the Federal Power Act was passed as a compromise. It confirmed that every "navigable or potentially navigable" river in the country is public, and that energy generated from public rivers could be sold only at non-profit rates by public power companies -- presumably for the benefit of the public. However, private firms were given the right to dam the rivers for water and power, but only on the condition that after 50 years, the rivers -- and the dams -- would revert to public ownership.

The Act was highly favorable to the utilities. The long-term licenses issued by the Federal Power Commission carried no yearly fee; there was no "rent" paid on the rivers. Provisions were made



Fred Mielke, PG&E chairman, warns investors of the impending threat to the company's hydroelectric profits.

to allow the utilities to renew their licenses for another 35 to 50 years, but only if no public agency appeared with an offer that would put the electricity to a more acceptable use.

In the ensuing years, the Power Commission and its successor, the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission

come due.

At first, PG&E and other private utilities cast their lot with FERC, assuming the appointees of the President of the United States would show them favor. And in most cases, that's been true. But twice in the last few years, the commissioners have sided with a public

## Just about every penny of the billion-odd dollars PG&E makes from hydroelectricity is clear profit.

(FERC), issued hundreds of licenses on rivers across the country. By now, more than 700 hydropower projects turn the energy of falling water into electricity; the vast majority of the licensees then sell the power for a profit. In California alone, some 120 FERC licenses have been issued, many of them to PG&E.

During 1982, PG&E generated about 20% of its electricity through hydro dams, and sold most of it to residential customers at roughly six cents a kilowatt hour. Of course, the water, like sunlight, is free, and the dams have been paid off many, many times over. Aside from the cost of moving the electricity around and printing bills to consumers, just about every penny of that billion-odd dollars is clear profit.

Which is quite a nice little deal for PG&E. The problem is, a good number of the company's 78 dams were built in the decade or so following the passage of the FPA; over the past few years, the 50-year promissory notes have begun to

power agency, and ruled that a license to a private utility would not be renewed.

In California, a consortium of municipal utilities has filed for the right to "recapture" two of PG&E's FERC licenses, and several others will potentially be up for grabs by 1990.

All this has raised an occasional eyebrow in the mainstream press, and a few newspapers have done sizeable stories on the FERC license "controversy." But last November, when an Alabama Congressman introduced a bill that would reverse the Federal Power Act and effectively turn the rivers over to their current licensees forever, almost nobody seemed to have noticed.

The bill, HR 4402, bears the innocuous title, "The Electric Consumers Protection Act of 1983." Among its co-sponsors are 26 California representatives, 18 of them Democrats -- including avowed environmentalist Barbara Boxer (D-SF/Marin), who won a Common Cause award for Open Government in 1980.

When I called Boxer's office to ask about her support of the bill, her energy advisor Sam Chapman assured me that his boss was a "consumer advocate." In fact, she was protecting consumers from a \$140 million rate increase. "She's not worried about PG&E," he said, "but about the consumers in her district."

I asked Chapman how he knew the bills would go up so dramatically. That's what PG&E had told him, he said. Did he check it out himself, or ask anyone else to check -- a consumer group, maybe? No.

What about PG&E's efforts to keep San Francisco from operating a municipal utility, though it is required to do so under a federal law passed seven years before the FPA? Chapman told me about Boxer's impressive record as a feminist and a foe of special interest

groups.

A short time later, when I asked Boxer herself how she had come to co-sponsor the bill, she said she'd been asked to do so by "consumer groups" in her district -- not, she insisted, by PG&E.

"Which consumer groups were those?" I asked. She didn't remember, but when I called again three days later, she was able to read me the list. It was impressive: she'd been asked to sponsor the bill by the Marin County Board of Supervisors, the city council in just about every city in Marin, the Chambers of Commerce in all those cities, the Marin Property Owners Association, the Fillmore (San Francisco) Merchants, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the national Small Business Administration, the California PUC, and the AFL-CIO.

I may have missed a few, but one thing is clear: there were no "consumer groups" among them. "I must have been mistaken when I told you that," she said.

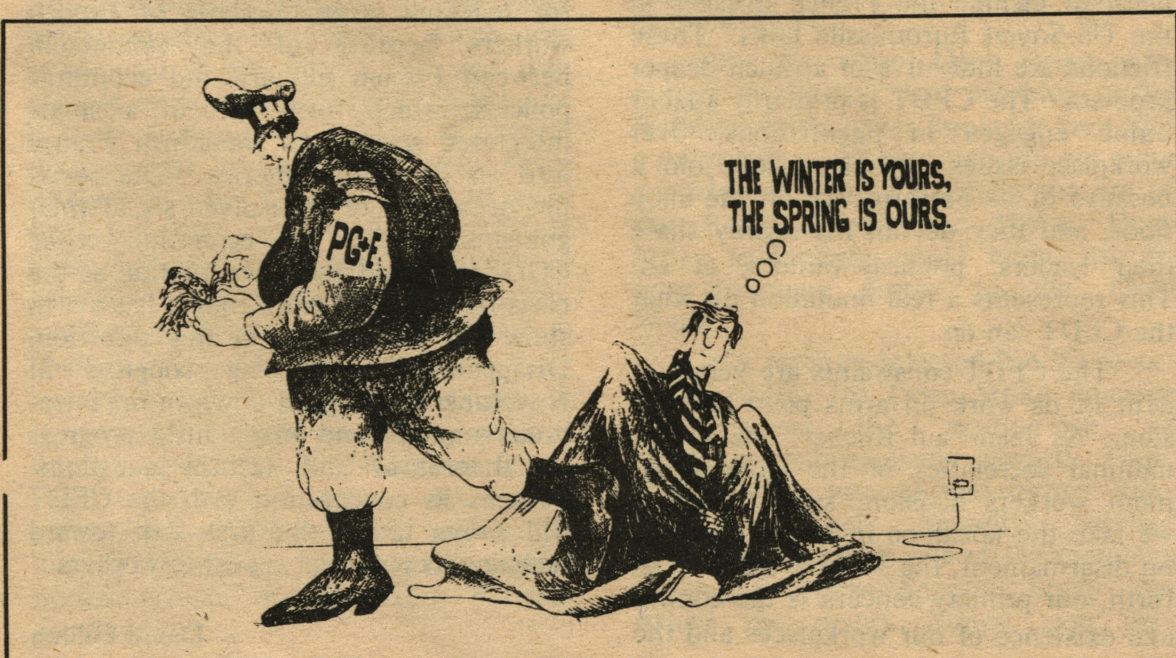
In fact, PG&E has lined up more than 100 cities and 32 counties in the state to pass measures supporting the House bill. In most cases, the measure passed with little fuss and essentially no debate. The only places where the resolutions met any challenge were where public power advocates had somehow gotten word ahead of time and demanded a presentation of "the other side."

"I think a lot of the people who sponsored this bill didn't quite understand what it says," explained one of the directors of the Northern California Power Agency, which is helping to challenge of PG&E's licenses.

In San Francisco, where PG&E has quite a few friends in city government, there has been no mention of the bill, no attempt to get a resolution of support through the Board of Supervisors. Which makes perfect sense when you stop to think about it. Only about a year ago, a citizen group tried to pass a ballot initiative calling for the municipalization of PG&E, and the issue of public ownership of the rivers might well have raised at least a minor stir. That's just what PG&E wants to avoid, at all costs.

After all, if word got out, folks like Barbara Boxer might get a chance to hear the other side of the story.

-- Tim Redmond  
IAT staff





# French union edges toward disarmament

The French government and mass media have successfully frozen the nonaligned French peace movement out of the social mainstream. The movement's critique of both superpowers and of France's role in the arms race has not had a chance to penetrate public consciousness. There, unquestioning support for France's nuclear weapons as guarantors of national independence prevails. The CODENE (Committee for European Nuclear Disarmament) coalition of all the major independent peace groups in France has in fact had to struggle to establish an identity distinct from the Communist Party-sponsored Mouvement de la Paix, which concentrates on American weapons and does not oppose the French nuclear arsenal.

This is why the September 20th joint declaration CODENE issued with France's second largest union federation marks an important turning point in the peace movement's fortunes. The statement consisted of a platform for future combined actions by CODENE and the CFDT (the French Democratic Confederation of Labor) against the installation of both the new American missiles and the Russians SS-20's in Europe. Such a campaign is to be carried out on the basis of a "perspective of nonalignment and a rejection of bloc politics." Underlining their support for autonomous peace groups in Eastern Europe, the two organizations went on to note that "the struggle for peace is at the same time a fight for freedom."

Unfortunately, when it came France's turn to undergo scrutiny, CODENE and the CFDT could agree only to pressure the government to do everything it could to "become a part of the [disarmament] process." This was a response to the perception that France is just sitting on its hands, waiting for the two superpowers to move. CODENE alone went on to call for an immediate halt to further nuclear arms production and research in France. The declaration concluded with a shared reaffirmation of opposition to nuclear arms and a call for a national debate on the question.

Despite the declaration's moderate tone, the agreement between the CFDT and CODENE creates an opportunity for CODENE to gain a real mass following. In the first place, the fact that a large organization like the CFDT is willing to associate with it gives CODENE a legitimacy it didn't have before. It can no longer be dismissed as just a bunch of crazy pacifists. Secondly, the entire CFDT organization, from the locals to the national bodies, is now open to discussing disarmament issues with CODENE and its member organizations. CODENE has the chance to draw the CFDT and its individual members closer to its positions on France's nuclear weapons, its arms industry, alternatives to conventional armed defense, relations with the Third World, etc.

The CFDT's specific identity as a labor union makes the accord even more significant. The dialogue with workers that it makes possible opens up an exit from the middle-class ghetto to which the government would like to confine CODENE. The insights CODENE could gain from workers would give it a broader understanding of French society's underlying problems. On a tactical level, worker support would enhance CODENE's ability to pressure the government, since its capacity to car-



Dessin Petit-Roulet

"I've got it. We drop all this and go into suppositories."

rying out aggressive street actions would be greatly increased. Then there's the possibility of workplace actions, even in the arms industry itself -- that would shake things up!

At least this is the theory, and if any union can fulfill it, the CFDT can. The CFDT's ambition is to be the "motor of social change" for France. While remaining independent of the political parties and carrying out its daily tasks as a labor union, it seeks to coordinate many different social struggles. The CFDT's ultimate goal in these activities is to create a society based on workers' control of production. Along the way, it tries to promote alternative types of economic development based on real human needs. Its opposition to France's nuclear energy program, for

started to approach the issue from its own particular position in society. Its federation of state armament workers has been cooperating with the Movement for a Nonviolent Alternative (a member of CODENE) on a program to convert arms plants to peaceful uses. On the local level, the CFDT unit in a state-owned weapons factory in Brest (Brittany) held a series of hearings on conversion last spring. The union, which is the largest in the plant, concluded with a statement opposing the expansion of military production to promote economic recovery. It instead advocated diversifying the factory's production into civilian areas.

The first result of CODENE-CFDT collaboration was the joint October 23rd peace demonstration in Paris. Although

employment of the people we represent." The union argues for diversification of production on the grounds that the arms industry needs a broader, more stable economic base. As for complete conversion, Rocher says, "This will not happen tomorrow. In our activity we must be absolutely sure to involve the workers in this alteration of work, method and structure. You can't turn people's heads around just like that. [The debate in our last] Congress showed us how slowly and deliberately we have to proceed."

Another problem with the CFDT is that its trade union role makes it impossible to stay really aloof from party politics. The CFDT has to interact with the government constantly in an effort to influence economic and labor policy. As a result, the CFDT has become loosely identified with the current Socialist-led administration. This was reflected in its poor third-place showing in the November elections for the local social insurance boards. It would be the height of irony if CODENE was hemmed in by the CFDT's need to work with the government.

These are the strengths and weaknesses of CFDT support. What CODENE actually needs is a nonunion entree to the working class. One model of how this could be done was the Marseilles-to-Paris march for immigrants' rights in which several of CODENE's member organizations were involved. This highly successful march was organized by a group of immigrant youths whose idea was to provide a non-violent alternative to fighting with the police. It started in October and ended in December when 100,000 people marched in Paris against racism in France.

CODENE itself has the potential for reaching large numbers of French workers because of the connection between French military and economic policies, which form part of a single integrated attempt to transform France into an imitation America. The result has been a set of unresolved social antagonisms capped by economic crisis. CODENE could use this situation as the basis for outreach work, but it has yet to show any real ability in this direction. Disappointingly, its big congress in November got bogged down in organizational matters and made little progress on theoretical and tactical questions. Perhaps its cooperation with the CFDT will prove to be the first step toward realizing its potential appeal to workers.

-- David Gilden

## The dialogue with workers of the CFDT opens up an exit from the middle-class ghetto to which the government would like to keep CODENE confined.

example, led it to propose more rational sources of energy.

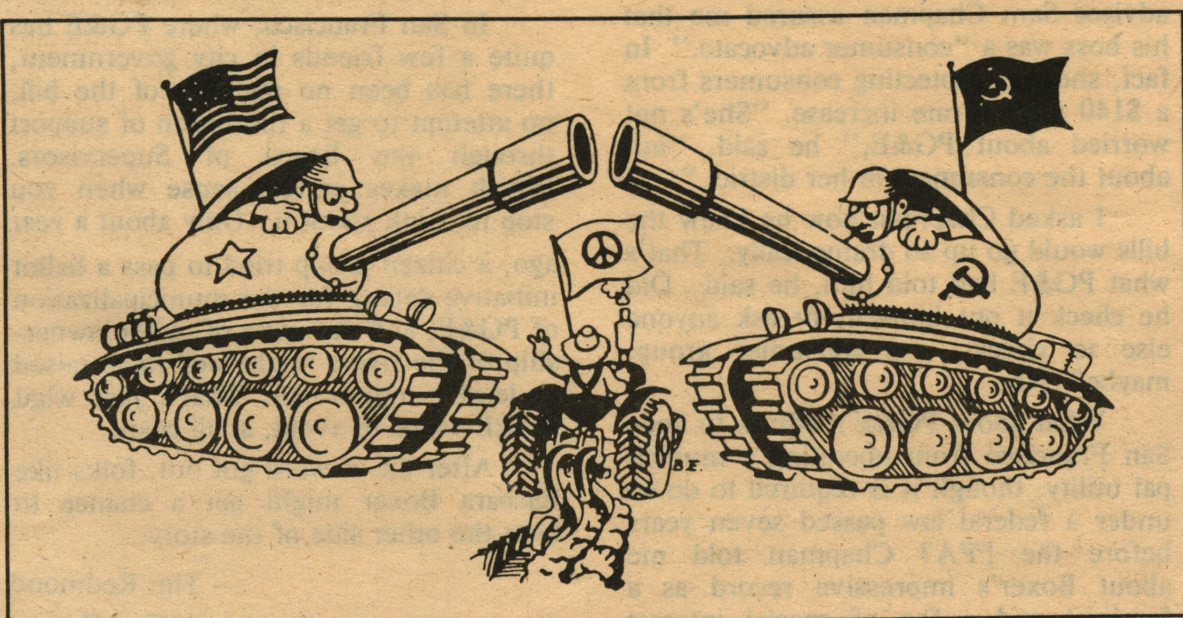
Right now the CFDT has a major problem: there really aren't any large social struggles going on in France. The ruling Socialist Party's failure to live up to its promises has created a demoralized, confused political atmosphere that does not provide the CFDT with a radical context in which to act. The CFDT therefore risks gradually degenerating into a humdrum business union with a nearly forgotten set of high-sounding principles. The fact is the CFDT needs protest groups like CODENE as much as they need it.

With the first signs of controversy in France over disarmament, the CFDT

the press belittled it, the 20,000 people who showed up made this demonstration the biggest the independent peace forces have ever had. It also kept up the momentum established this summer when 20,000 people gathered for a conference CODENE organized. Furthermore, CODENE achieved rough parity with the Mouvement de la Paix, whose demonstration the day before was only slightly larger.

The CFDT representative's speech highlighted the continuing tensions between the two organizations, however. His talk contained an implied attack on the pacifist organizations within CODENE. Then portions of the crowd booed his opposition to the Russian proposal to include the French missiles in the US-Soviet Euromissile talks. These frictions are indicative of a much deeper problem. The CFDT is primarily a labor union engaged in negotiations over workplace issues. People mainly join it because of its performance on the shop floor, and they do not necessarily share their leaders' political outlook at all. This represents a real limitation on what the CFDT can do.

The CFDT constraints are very evident in its work on arms plant conversion. As Jean-Paul Rocher, one of the national secretaries of the state armament workers division, says, "Even if we take the positions in our Congresses on disarmament, the Third World and so forth, our primary concern is the continued existence of our workplaces and the





# El Salvador rebels eye Reagan election

The fate of the Salvadoran revolution will very likely be decided in the next nine months. With the rebel FDR/FMLN stronger than ever before, government troops are so demoralized that with increasing regularity they refuse to fight. The sweeping mobilizations engineered by US military strategists since mid-1983 (when the US took control of day-to-day combat operations) have been decisively foiled. Every week of the past six weeks the FMLN has scored at least one major victory. It seems clear that, barring US intervention, the FMLN is on the verge of outright victory.

But US intervention cannot be ruled out. Flushed with the success of the recent media/military operation in Grenada, Reagan and Co. would like nothing better than to prey upon the Salvadoran and Central American revolution. The sharks have tasted blood. But with an election approaching, even counterrevolution must be handled gingerly. This is the significance of the Kissinger Commission report. It is evidence of the increasing success of the Reagan regime in generating a "bi-partisan consensus" for stepped-up interventionism.

Few situations worldwide are as dangerous for Reagan's re-election hopes than the FMLN's momentum in El Salvador. While the Lebanese entanglement is perhaps equally explosive, the price of avoiding disaster there -- withdrawing the Marines -- is less costly. Israel and Gemayel's Phalangists will protect US interests in the event of an American pullout. In El Salvador, though, the alternative to US intervention is rebel victory. Either Reagan "stays the course" or the FMLN wins.

If the FMLN forces the issue, El Salvador may well become Reagan's Achilles heel. A rebel "final offensive" would leave Reagan a scary choice: either direct intervention and possible mass disapproval, or defeat and the appearance of weakness. No other single issue is as potentially dangerous for the Commander-in-Chief.

Personally, Reagan clearly has an appetite for intervention. His congenital optimism inclines him to act first and let the chips fall where they may. Still, Reagan is nothing if not a canny campaigner. To make intervention optimally palatable to the public, an effort must be made to prepare Congress and the media. This seems to have been largely achieved. Impressed by Reagan's propaganda coup in Grenada, Congress is

quieter than ever *vis-a-vis* interventionism.

The Kissinger Commission report is significant above all for the lack of dissent it elicited. A transparent effort to fabricate a "consensus" by affiliating bi-partisan forces to Reagan's policy (including former Carter campaign chief and Democratic Party head Robert Strauss), the Kissinger report was received in a way that bespeaks an emerging *real* consensus. Congressional doves are cooing quietly. The main debate now seems to be over the *degree* of counterrevolutionary energy to be expended.

The FDR/FMLN is perfectly clear about US trends and the choices this permits the Salvadoran revolution. If they decide to prosecute the war fiercely enough to win by November, they, in effect, will be making an all-or-nothing gamble. Either Reagan will intervene overwhelmingly or he will refrain out of fear of public disapproval -- and the FMLN gains a stunning victory.

If, on the other hand, the FMLN exerts pressure but desists from a final offensive, a number of results are possible; Reagan could decide to intervene anyway; he could decide to negotiate, hoping to buy time for a post-election invasion; or he could be forced into serious negotiations, where the FMLN would trade some of its objectives for a compromise solution.

Signs emanating from El Salvador make it appear that the FMLN will opt for negotiations. Such a decision would be understandable -- the risk of absolute annihilation must seem very great -- but it would also be regrettable. Negotiations will probably yield far less than real popular power for Salvadoran workers and peasants. Reagan's bargaining position seems strong enough to preclude a government even as radical as Nicaragua's Sandinista regime.

Indications that a negotiated settlement may be imminent include the recent turnaround of the FPL, the strongest and, until now, the least compromising of the five FMLN groups. Formerly opposed to negotiations, the FPL has executed a nimble about-face.

Last April, the two top FPL leaders died violently. The circumstances are still unclear. Originally, the FPL said that second-in-command Melida Anaya Montes was killed by renegade Rogelio Bazzaglia, and that first-in-command Salvador Cayetano Carpio committed suicide in despair; now, however, after nine



photo by BelSmith

**Right wing death squads? Right here in San Francisco? Well, not really. But a group of demonstrators forced the Salvadoran consulate to close down Jan. 23rd while they staged a mock attack by national guard troops. The demonstration also disrupted business at the San Francisco consulates of Honduras and Guatemala, which are in the same building as the Salvadoran consulate. The action was a response to the Kissinger Commission's recommendation that \$8 billion in U.S. military assistance be provided to Latin American countries. Police arrested 31 people; all have been released and charges are pending.**

months, the FPL has suddenly announced that Cayetano Carpio ordered the murder of Anaya Montes, and then committed suicide to avoid retribution. While this might well be true, two features of the FPL's story raise suspicion. The first is the FPL's long silence. They decided to speak, by their own admission, only after a pro-Cayetano Carpio faction left the FPL. The second is the factional interest current FPL leaders seem to have in discrediting Cayetano Carpio. Long the FPL leader, Cayetano Carpio was adamantly against compromise with the US whereas the present leaders favor negotiations.

Now, with Cayetano Carpio dead, his successors accuse him of grave crimes. The FPL polemic against him is alarming. Where Cayetano Carpio and the current leaders disagreed, he is por-

trayed as a "fanatic" -- but his views are never confronted directly. The very word "negotiations" is barely mentioned at all. All criticisms of Carpio are *ad hominem*, and no evidence of his alleged crimes is presented.

Cayetano Carpio may well have ordered the murder of Anaya Montes. And his anti-negotiations stance may have been wrongheaded. But the wisdom of the FPL/FMLN line will not be demonstrated by personal polemics against him. The FMLN will never be able to take advantage of its military strength or the approaching US elections if it is reduced to relying on the blind faith of a few enthusiasts. Only by keeping the trust and support of the people in El Salvador and the US can it hope to achieve victory.

--David Smith

## Close the Gap

More than 700 women traveled from all over Australia to join a two-week peace camp outside Pine Gap, one of three major American bases in Australia. Officially called a "Joint Defense Space Research Facility," Pine Gap is run by the CIA. It has been called the largest CIA base outside the US.

Pine Gap is used for eavesdropping on a huge scale, but the Australian public has never been informed about what it does. It can be used to enhance US first-strike capabilities by collecting information on Soviet radar defenses. Yet the Australian government insists that its purpose is for nuclear deterrence. The lease arrangement for the base expires in 1986, and the women felt that now is the time to begin drawing attention to it and developing a strong campaign for its closure.

Pine Gap is in the very center of Australia, a desert environment where temperatures were over 100 degrees. Water had to be trucked to the camp from Alice Springs, about 20 kilometers to the north.

The peace camp began on November 11, which is both Remembrance Day (remembering the dead of all wars) and the anniversary of the 1975 dismissal of the Labor Government by the Governor General. Actions were held daily, and on one occasion led to 111 arrests. 109 of the arrested women gave their names as Karen Silkwood to mark the anniversary of her death.

The first day's activity was a march

from the camp, about a kilometer from the base, to the main gate. It was led by a group of Pikjantjatjara women who have traditional affiliation to the land on and next to the base. Women decorated the fence and hung up a banner "Greenham Women Everywhere."

On November 13, women jumped the security gate and cut through a barbed-wire fence. First, they held a piece of calico with a barbed-wire fence painted on it across the road and made a

**Officially called a "Joint Defense Space Research Facility," Pine Gap is the largest CIA base outside the US.**

human pyramid formed in front of it. The women then mimicked scaling the "fence" and were promptly "arrested" by five women dressed in American military costume, armed with water pistols and a toy rifle. Soon the street theater turned into the real thing as about 100 women vaulted the main gates. After about an hour the women announced that they planned to camp inside the base, which sparked their arrests.

The women wanted to challenge the Defense (Special Undertakings) Act which covers the base. Under the draconian provisions of that Act, being on the base can lead to seven years' imprisonment. Prosecutions for illegal entry can proceed only on the direction of the Attorney General; any case can be

heard *in camera* and all evidence destroyed. However, the police chose to charge the women under the Commonwealth Crimes Act to avoid highlighting the Defense Act.

The arrests of the women drew a great deal of media attention. Police seemed angered that the women refused to give their real names and became quite brutal with those who tried to resist fingerprinting. After allegations of police brutality, two observers from the

Human Rights Commission went to Alice Springs to investigate. Women were denied access to lawyers and doctors, strip-searched, and left without water. Thumbscrews were used to obtain fingerprints.

On the day the first cruise missiles were delivered to Greenham Common, a group of women lifted the main gate off its hinges and marched onto the base again. As they approached the gate carrying a mock cruise missile, the protesters were addressed by "Professor Wipemout, Doctor of Death, CIA, FBI, KGB," a caricature of an American proponent of nuclear arms. Shouting "give it back, give it back," the women threw the symbolic missile over the fence and then went through the gate.

The authorities were quick to replace the gate with a new, heavier structure, to which the women responded by painting on it "Congrats Boys on a Hasty Erection." Even the police saw the humor.

The camp closed on November 25 with a declaration in which the women stated that they "totally reject that society which is built on violence and fear, and which places reliance on the building and maintenance of a military machine whose outcome is the annihilation of humankind and the devastation of the environment." The statement sets out their commitment to bring about change, to "create together a world which emphasizes the supporting and sustaining of life on this planet."

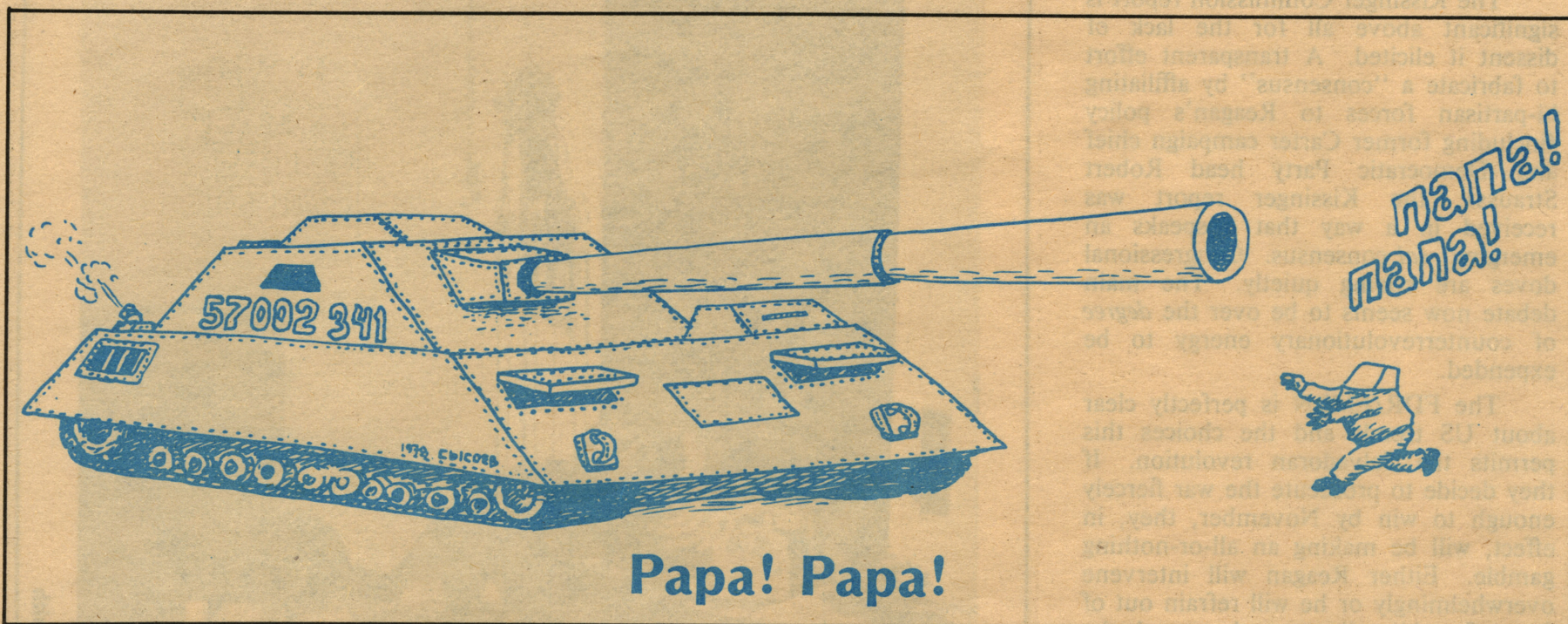
The women's action was supported by other women all around Australia, both financially and with support rallies, vigils and a concurrent camp outside the Defense Department in Canberra. About 30 women maintained a camp there underneath the Australian-American War Memorial. That camp finished with the planting of a peace garden on the grassy square in the shape of the feminist/ban the bomb symbol. Two hours after our departure, our garden had been removed to allow "normal maintenance" of the area.

Discussions have now begun about further women's actions in Australia by Women for Survival.

-- Janet Hunt



# Eastern European peace activists



## East Germany: Arrests escalate as Euromissiles arrive

Last year's Hot Autumn has given way to the winter chill of the new Cold War, bringing with it not only more warheads and delivery systems but escalating attacks on Eastern Europe's beleaguered peace activists. In East Germany, where autonomous peace campaigns are most widely supported, government repression has acquired a newly ominous intensity.

Grassroots peace activists in the German Democratic Republic often speak of creating "space" in their society for independent peace initiatives. They had tentatively secured limited room to maneuver while the Geneva talks were on and their government was courting the Western peace movement. But since the deployment of the cruise and Pershing II missiles, that "space" is rapidly shrinking to the dimensions of a jail cell.

As the START talks hit their inevitable skids, Andropov began dropping hints of "necessary steps" to counter the new western missiles. While millions were demonstrating world-wide on October 22, State Security men were busily rounding up hundreds of activists to preempt a "die-in" scheduled for five minutes to noon at East Berlin's famous Alexanderplatz. (See *IAT*, December 1983 - January 1984.) By 11:00 am the event had turned into an unscheduled police demo against the peace movement. The interned were all released towards late afternoon, but intensive interrogation ("How do you evaluate the international situation?") offered a taste of repressive measures to come.

On October 24, Moscow announced that it was responding to the NATO deployments with "additional tactical-operational missile complexes" of its own, beginning in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, and a noticeable hardening of police tactics immediately became evident. Six young workers were arrested in Weimar in response to a graffiti campaign ("SS-20 - No Thanks!") In Potsdam, police cracked down with hysterical overkill on several public and workplace attempts at a "moment of silence" for peace.

Activists in Leipzig scheduled a candlelight vigil for peace and disarmament outside the International Peace Film Festival November 18. No sooner were the candles lit than the group of forty was brutally attacked by the police. As of this writing (early January), five young workers remain in custody without being formally charged. Among the arrested was Patrice Castillo, 21-year-old son of the noted Guatemalan resistance leader Otto Rene Castillo who was shot in 1967. The younger Castillo was himself the subject of a film previewed at the festival in 1979.

In the most menacing escalation of police tactics to date, two women -- Barbel Bohley, 38, and Ulrike Poppe, 31 -- were arrested in East Berlin on

December 12. They are being prosecuted under paragraph 99 of the penal code, which forbids the "treasonous divulging of information," even of a non-secret variety. The indictment hints at conversations between Bohley and Poppe and a British peace activist, and at Green Party pamphlet materials brought over by the Greens on an

*for women as an expression of their equal rights, but as a contradiction of their womanhood. We do not see that our equality with men consists in standing alongside those men who take up arms, but alongside those who, like us, have recognized that the abstract terms "enemy" and "opponent" are tantamount to the destruction of human beings -- a destruction that we reject . . .*

### State Security men rounded up hundreds of activists to pre-empt a die-in.

official visit to East Germany last November. (The GDR, it should be noted, has ratified both article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which guarantee the right to "seek, receive and impart information regardless of frontiers.") The two face up to twelve years in prison.

Since the charges are completely spurious, one can only conclude that the use of the notorious paragraph 99 is intended as a calculated warning not only to the GDR's own unofficial peace movement but to the Western peace and women's movements as well. Presumably we should forget about problems of the global arms race and stick to lobbying our own governments on arms control -- preferably in accordance with the Kremlin's latest proposals.

Autonomous peace initiatives in East Germany embrace a deep-seated anti-militarism. Campaigns for conscientious objection and alternative military service have a long history in the GDR. In recent years, long-simmering anti-militarist sentiment has been provoked into public opposition by new primary grade readers extolling the virtues of military discipline, by ostentatiously displayed war toys, and by civil defense exercises which for sheer macabre silliness rival American duck-and-cover routines of yesteryear.

This organic anti-militarist sensibility has fused with a principled opposition to any and all additional deployments in either superpower bloc. East German women have been in the forefront of the new peace movement, and Barbel Bohley and Ulrike Poppe have been among the most energetic and effective activists in the East Berlin-based Women for Peace.

In March of 1982 the East German government passed a new Conscription Law authorizing the call-up of women between the ages of 18 and 50 in "states of emergency." In October of that year, several hundred women peace activists signed a letter to party chief and head of state Erich Honecker protesting the new provisions and raising other peace-related issues. The letter read, in part:

*We women do not see military service*

*prevented through a balance of terror . . .*

*"More and more people refuse to live in the shadow of missiles, refuse to be deceived by civil defense exercises designed to convince us that survival on the battlefield is possible, refuse to tolerate the growing militarization of daily life, refuse to allow their children to be taught to shoot . . .*

Friends of peace and democracy have already organized protests in West Germany and England, and it is to be hoped that the American peace movement will rise to the occasion. The conviction of these two courageous women -- or their forced emigration to the West -- would be a major defeat for all of us.

-- Peter Rossman

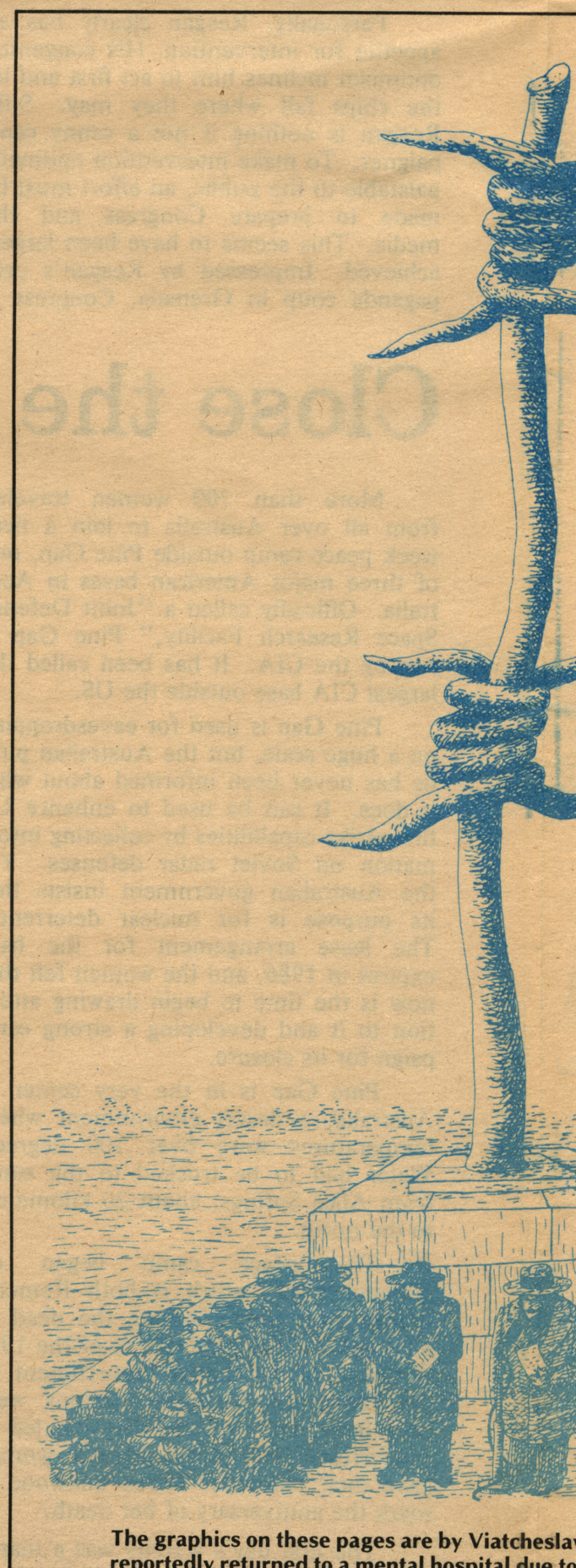
For further information, contact Campaign for Peace and Democracy East/West, 301 W. 105th St., New York, NY 10025.

### STOP PRESS

As we go to press we have just learned of the release of Barbel Bohley and Ulrike Poppe in response to growing international protest culminating in a demonstration at the recent World Peace Council meeting in West Berlin.

However, in the provinces, peace activists remain in jail. They include Patrice and Anke Castillo, Sven Wetzig, Olaf Schubert, Bettina Muntzenberg, and Bernd Stracka in Leipzig; Boland Radow, Tobias Philipp, and Vera and Alexander Arnold in Potsdam; Holm Kirsten, Grit Ferber, Thomas Onisseit, Ulrich Jadke, Andreas Tillmanns, and Jörn Luther in Weimar.

The release of Poppe and Bohley demonstrates the Honecker regime's vulnerability on this question. We urge all to send letters and telegrams of protest (and to notify their organizations to do likewise) to: Erich Honecker, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Marx-Engels Platz, Berlin 102, German Democratic Republic.



The graphics on these pages are by Viatcheslav reportedly returned to a mental hospital due to



# ists persist despite repression

## Back in the USSR: Crimes and punishments

Early in 1983, the author of this article was deported from the USSR because of his independent peace activities. Sergei Batovrin is one of the founders of the Moscow Group to Establish Trust Between the USSR and the USA. (See IAT, October-November 1983.)

What punishment is in store for a Russian citizen who proposes a ban on war toys in both East and West, or a Soviet-American program to teach peace in the schools? How many years in labor camp will someone serve for calling on the USSR and the US to exchange not mutual recriminations but their children for the school holidays?

These questions may seem crazy, but the KGB has already determined the answer: up to seven years of prison camp, plus five years of internal exile. The exact sentence for Oleg Radzinsky, an independent peace activist arrested in Moscow last October for making these suggestions, will be announced at his trial. Two other members of the Moscow independent peace group, Alexander Shatravka and Vladimir Mishchenko, were tried in April and sentenced to three years and one year, respectively, in a labor camp. Their crime? Collecting signatures to an appeal to the citizens of the USSR and the US to extend the politicians' dialogue in both countries.

For a year and a half, hundreds of KGB agents have methodically stifled a small group of Soviet citizens. The independent peace committee, known as the "Group to Establish Trust between

the USSR and the USA," or simply the "Trust Group," did not criticize the Soviet government. Rather, it tried, with stubborn persistence, to put into practice what the Soviet government talks about incessantly: disarmament and overcoming distrust between the peoples of the West and the East.

Many people, particularly antinuclear activists in the West, wondered what the Soviet authorities would finally say about the Trust Group's activities for peace. Until recently, the government's reaction had been fists and barbed wire. Finally, at the trial of Shatravka and Mishchenko in April, the authorities made a more articulate response. However, they weren't anxious to publicize it. The official statement, written by a commission of Soviet "political experts," was read aloud at the closed trial in a far-off village in the Tyumen Region of Siberia.

This strange setting was chosen so that no idealists in the West would ever hear about the pronouncements. But thanks to the curiosity of Western peace activists, three documents from the trial have made their way to the West. In these documents, "representatives of Soviet political science," as they call themselves, give their official evaluation of the "crimes against the State" com-

### The accusations levelled against the independent peace activists reflect the difference between what Soviet officials say and what they mean.

mitted by Shatravka and Mishchenko.

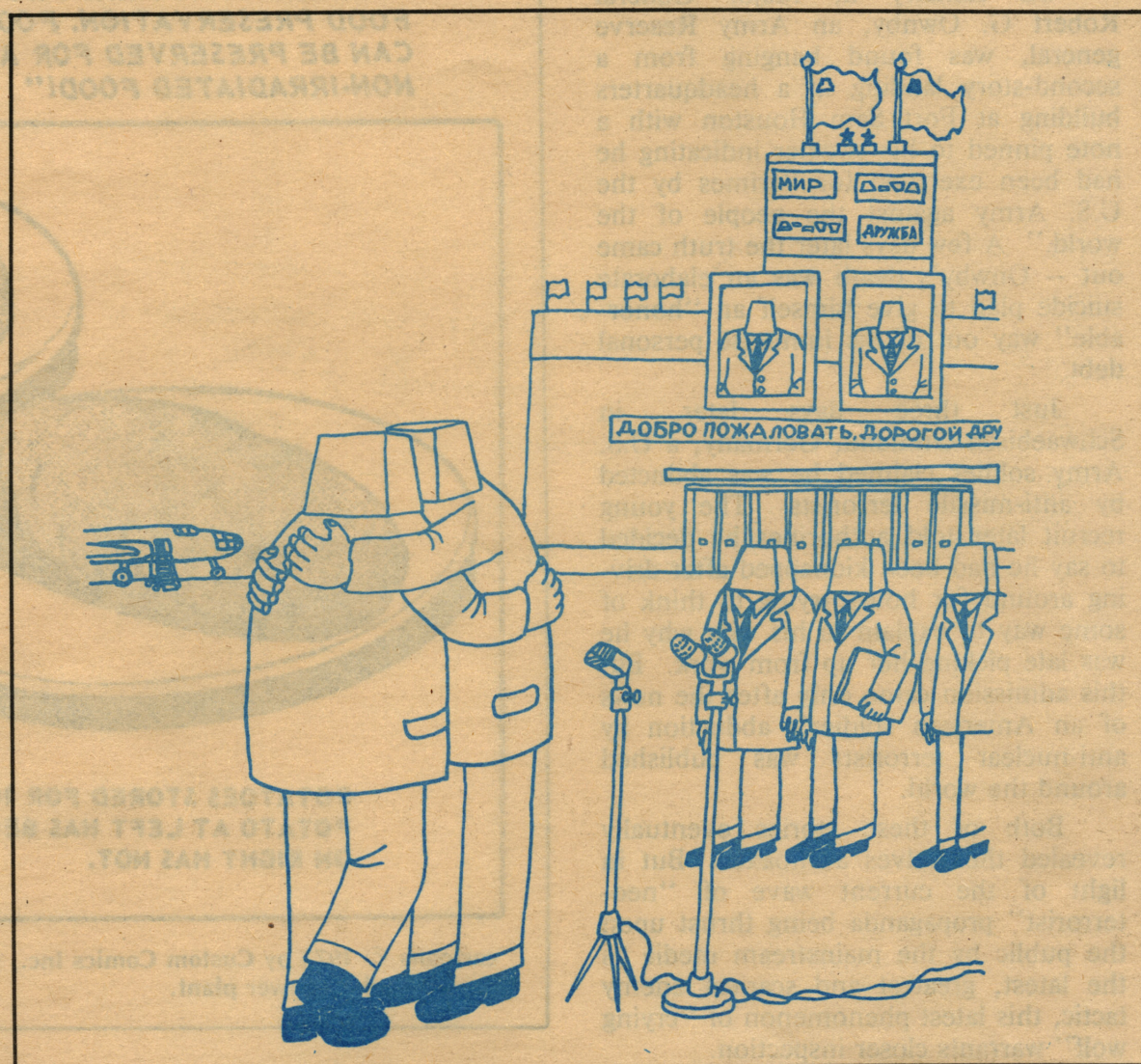
The "Experts' Commission" consisted of professors and deans of Soviet universities. The accusations they leveled against the independent peace activists reflect the ugly truth about the difference between what Soviet officials say and what they really think.

The official Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace asks people to believe that it is impassively objective and independent from the Soviet government and the Communist Party. But this propaganda, on which no money is spared, is unwittingly exposed in the statement of the Experts' Commission. Its very first point is that the idea of a citizens' struggle for peace that is independent from the government is a crime, punishable under the penal code. "In our society," they write, "such an idea would mean forming groups that were independent of the struggle to save humankind, which is now being led by the Party and the Government. Any appeal to the Soviet people -- going over the heads of the Party and the Government, who consider the struggle for peace to be the essence of their foreign policy -- discredits the Government."

This statement explains why Radzinsky, Mishchenko, Shatravka, and Vladimir Kornev are eating prison gruel today as a result of their peace activities, while Yury Zhukov, head of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, gets special "Kremlin rations" for his. If the official Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace wants to prove its independence, it will have to send its officials to prison too.

In a succession of articles and statements, Soviet officials have reproached the "unscrupulous politicians" in the West who claim that disarmament issues are too complex for the general public. However, in the official evaluation of the Trust Group's *Appeal*, the experts declare that "modern weapons systems are so complex that it is virtually impossible, and even unwise, to involve the uninitiated in discussions of these problems."

The "representatives of Soviet political science" also found room to evalu-



ate the Western peace movement. They state unequivocally that the purpose of the Moscow independent peace group is to "damage the authority of the Soviet State and its government in the eyes of those international forces which are viewed by us, and really can be used,

### MORE HARASSMENT IN MOSCOW

The Moscow "Group to Establish Trust Between the USSR and the USA" hopes to survive. If it can sustain itself under the current rash of arrests and interrogations of members and supporters alike, the Trust Group intends to continue its efforts to increase awareness of peace issues within the Soviet Union and to develop grassroots contacts with citizens of the "opposing bloc."

A day-long exposition of peace activities on September 20 was a bright moment in this otherwise troubled autumn. The expo was visited by some 300 Moscovites and drew two new members to the Trust Group. Planning a full two weeks of peace activities, the Group had intended to culminate the effort with an internationally coordinated demonstration on behalf of jailed member Oleg Radzinsky. The October 1 demonstrations were held in Paris, Amsterdam, New York and Toronto. In Moscow, key Trust Group members were put in jail for the day.

On October 14, Radzinsky, a 26-year-old linguist, was tried in a court outside of Moscow. Reporters, family, and friends were unable to attend the trial, though Radzinsky's mother was allowed to see her son while the verdict was being read.

Radzinsky was not directly charged for his peace activities. Rather, he was convicted of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" relating to a "crime" he had committed some ten years earlier (the possession of samizdat, or unauthorized manuscripts). The prosecution was not able to provide any evidence of samizdat, but Radzinsky was nevertheless sentenced to one year of imprisonment (already served in pre-trial detention) and five years of internal exile.

Group members who attempted to attend the trial of Radzinsky were detained by the KGB. Some were severely beaten, and they were locked in a police dormitory until the trial was over. On December 8 Trust Group member Olga Medvedkova was taken for an interrogation and told that she would be tried before the new year for "resisting a police officer at the trial of Mr. Radzinsky." She is likely to face a term of two to five years. Three other group members were also questioned about her case and face possible sentences.

Given the tense situation, it is unclear how much room the Trust Group will have to carry out their plans. The Soviet government seems increasingly intolerant of any activity not completely under its direction, and thus the independent peace activists face enormous obstacles in their struggle for peace. They call on Western pacifists for their support.

-- Danielle Artman  
reprinted from *Disarmament Campaigns*

-- Sergei Batovrin  
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lav Syssoiev, who Soviet authorities have  
to his "pornographic proclivities."



# Short Circuits Short Circuits Short Circuits

## CRYING WOLF

On January 11, Major General Robert G. Ownby, an Army Reserve general, was found hanging from a second-story landing in a headquarters building at Fort Sam Houston with a note pinned to his sweater indicating he had been executed for "crimes by the U.S. Army against the people of the world." A few days later the truth came out -- Ownby's death was an elaborate suicide plan to give himself an "honorable" way out of his immense personal debt.

Just three days later, in Schwaebisch-Gmuend, Germany, a U.S. Army soldier claimed he was abducted by anti-missile terrorists. The young recruit later told authorities he decided to say he had been kidnapped after driving around for hours trying to think of some way to explain to his wife why he was late picking her up from work. But this admission came only after the news of an American soldier's abduction by anti-nuclear terrorists was published around the world.

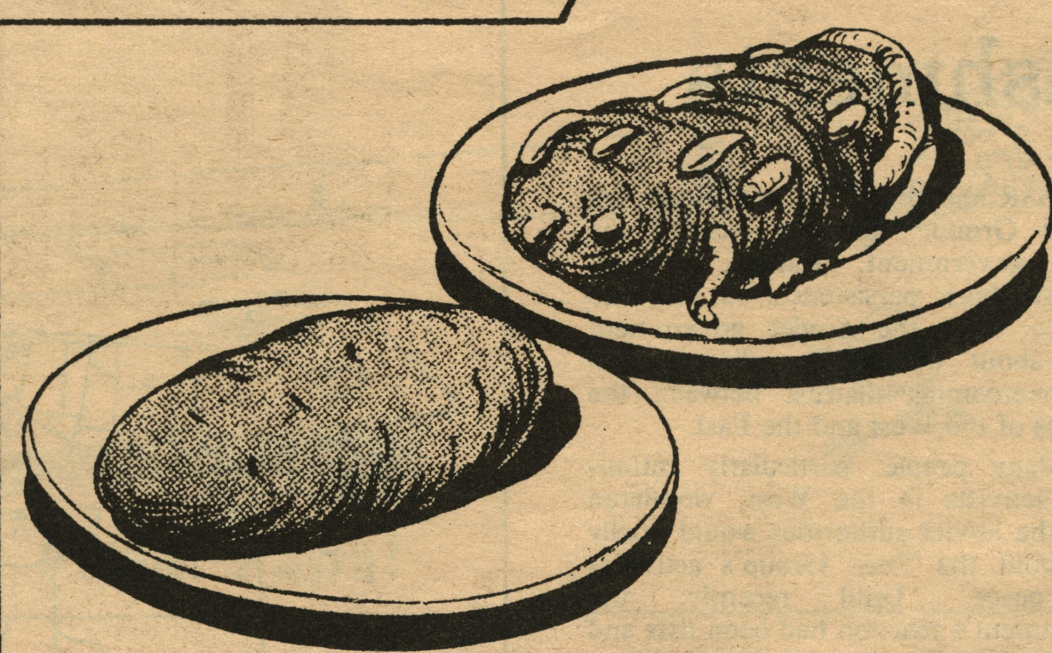
Both of these stories eventually revealed themselves as hoaxes. But in light of the current wave of "neo-terrorist" propaganda being thrust upon the public by the mainstream media as the latest, greatest and scariest enemy tactic, this latest phenomenon of "crying wolf" warrants closer inspection.

From the White House to the Middle East, American officials are gearing up for what is expected to be the wave of the future in tactical warfare -- terrorism, and especially suicide missions. The excuse serves its perpetrators well. America's ruling elite can now beef up its security forces around the world, no questions asked, providing the new veil of secrecy so eagerly sought by the Administration and Pentagon officials alike. And the bad press given the anti-nuclear movement around the world serves as a tidy fringe benefit to their unworthy cause.

The recent hoaxes seem almost a logical offspring of the current government obsession with terrorism and the mainstream media's blithe acceptance and glib repetition of this latest government line. But "Wolf! Wolf!" who believes them anymore?

-- Sandy Leon

"RADIOACTIVITY HAS PROVEN ITSELF IN THE FIELD OF FOOD PRESERVATION. FOOD EXPOSED TO RADIATION CAN BE PRESERVED FOR A MUCH LONGER TIME THAN NON-IRRADIATED FOOD!"



POTATOES STORED FOR 18 MONTHS AT 47 DEGREES. POTATO AT LEFT HAS BEEN IRRADIATED, THE ONE ON RIGHT HAS NOT.

cartoons © 1973 by Custom Comics Inc., for Portland General Electric, owners of the Trojan nuclear power plant.

## NUKE-BURGERS, ANYONE?

The U.S. Food and Drug Administration is about to propose regulations that would allow the use of radiation to process and preserve fruits and vegetables. FDA officials regard radiation as an alternative to ethylene dibromide (EDB), a highly carcinogenic citrus and grain fumigant.

The food industry concedes that possible snags in the plan could occur if the FDA forces it to identify irradiated foods with a label describing the treatment. The industry worries that the process will be dubbed "nuke-food," and scare off consumers.

Industry officials predict that food irradiation will revolutionize the industry, perhaps becoming as big as freezing or canning. In California, one firm, Emergent Technologies, is planning 20

food irradiation plants, and there are about 100 plants operating worldwide.

Last July, the FDA approved radiation doses of up to 1 million rads to control bacteria in spices and seasonings. The new proposals would allow up to 100,000 rads of gamma radiation to be used on fruits and vegetables. The FDA considers 100,000 rads to be a "low dose." But the doses are large compared to medical X-rays, which typically use under one rad. The fatal whole-body dose for humans is under 1000 rads.

One obvious concern about the new process is occupational safety. Since the radiation levels used are so high, any shielding failure at an irradiation plant could result in massive and even fatal radiation exposures within a few minutes. As with the pesticide industry, worker health and safety may turn out to take a back seat to production, again with tragic results.

Although considered superior to EDB by some scientists, irradiation may also pose some risks to the consumer. It has been found to cause chemical changes in food, including the creation of "minute" amounts of chemicals labeled unique radiolytic products, or URPs. Scientists still aren't exactly sure what these chemical changes mean from a health standpoint. But in the event that the FDA allows the food industry to go ahead with its plan, the phrase, "Let the buyer beware," is sure to take on a new and insidious meaning.

## NO HONOR AMONG NUCLEAR THIEVES

Takis Veliotis used to have a reputation as a master manager who could take failing shipyards and turn them around. Apparently, while he was cutting the workforce and reorganizing the General Dynamics yards in Quincy, Mass. and Groton, Conn., he was also lining his own pockets. When his penchant for taking kickbacks was first suspected, he abruptly retired from General Dynamics and fled to his native Greece.

What makes Veliotis so important is that General Dynamics' Groton yard is the Navy's major nuclear submarine builder. When he vanished, he took with him a great deal of knowledge about how those submarines are designed and constructed. A lot of people want to talk to him.

Now that Veliotis is actually under indictment for receiving \$2.7 million in kickbacks from a supplier, a deal with the government seems to be in the works. Veliotis is offering to tell how General Dynamics fraudulently overbilled the US by \$639 million dollars on its contract to build the Navy's most advanced attack submarine. This contract has been the subject of controversy for years, both in and out of govern-

## C-CLAW THEIR EYES OUT

The US Army has developed a portable weapons system which uses lasers to permanently blind enemy soldiers up to a mile away. The system, called "C-CLAW" (for Close Combat Laser Assault Weapon), would sweep a low-power laser beam back and forth across a battlefield, blinding anyone who looked directly at it.

According to Colonel Edwin Beatrice, who heads the Ocular Hazards division at the Army's Letterman Research Institute in San Francisco, "the eye focuses the [laser] energy by a very significant factor -- about 100,000 times." If the intensified light strikes the eye's fovea, or optic nerve, an effect called "photocoagulation" occurs, and the eye is flooded with blood. The effect, according to Beatrice, is irreversible.

The weapon's supporters argue that it is "odorless, quiet and deadly at a distance," and suited to such tasks as blinding Warsaw Pact tank commanders and knocking out electronic sensors as well as human eyes. They say it would be an effective "instrument of terror" against opposing forces.

According to an Army spokesman, the laser system "is under development and is going to be handled by the Army Missile Command. But what it does and how it works is classified." A version of the system has been under development for several years, starting with a 1982 feasibility program called "Roadrunner" to put a C-CLAW on an M-2 Bradley tank.

The Army officially denies any ethical qualms about C-CLAW, but the program has apparently touched off a debate within the Army about probable public reaction once the purpose of the weapon became known. The Roadrunner program was hurriedly removed from the 1985 budget in early February after details leaked out, and the depth of the Army's PR concerns can be judged from the fact that no reason was given aside from wanting to save money for other projects. The UPI item on the cancellation, apparently cribbed from official sources, refers to the program's purpose as "negating enemy optical devices on the battlefield," which certainly sounds less bloodthirsty than burning soldiers' eyes out.

The Roadrunner system may be officially dead, but it wouldn't be hard to hide its \$20 million in 1985 funding under some less visible category in the bloated Pentagon budget. And Roadrunner, as well as the C-CLAW program in general, are only parts of a recently launched Army initiative to find combat uses for new laser, particle beam, and microwave technologies. According to an Army source, "the majority of development funding is directed to low-energy lasers that cause blinding."

-- Based on San Francisco Chronicle, 12/17/83, 2/2/84

## CHINESE GO NUCLEAR JUNKYARDING

In January, Chinese nuclear specialists went shopping for hardware at two abandoned reactors owned by the financially ailing Washington Public Power Supply System (WPPSS). The Chinese were reportedly interested in buying equipment, material and engineering information for their own nuclear power program. Such a sale could involve hundreds of millions of dollars and could help cover part of the \$2.25 billion debt on the two WPPSS projects.

-- San Francisco Chronicle 1/16/84

ment. No charges have ever been brought, however.

Veliotis' \$2.7 million bribe is from just one contractor and GD's \$639 million from just one contract. Considering how much military work the two have been involved in, these sums may well be only the tip of the iceberg. The GD-Veliotis affair promises to give us all a peek at what an incredible boondoggle the arms race represents.

-- David Gilden



Inside the Livermore Lab

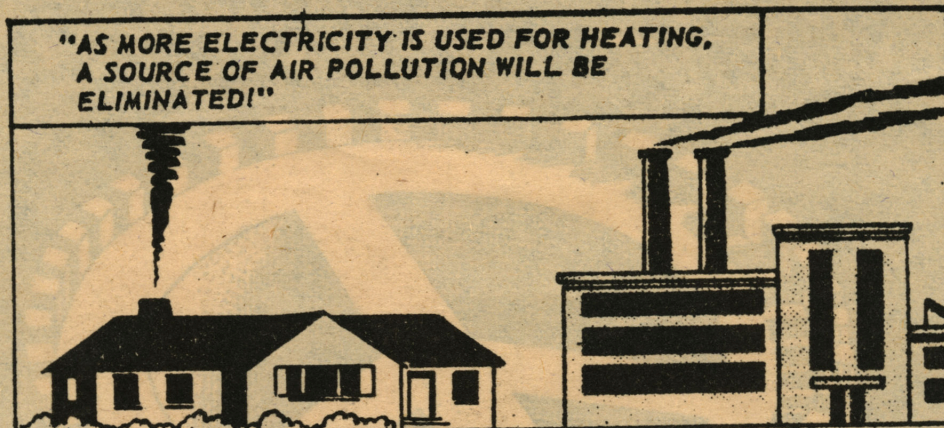
photo by Steve Stallone



# Short Circuits Short Circuits Short Circuits

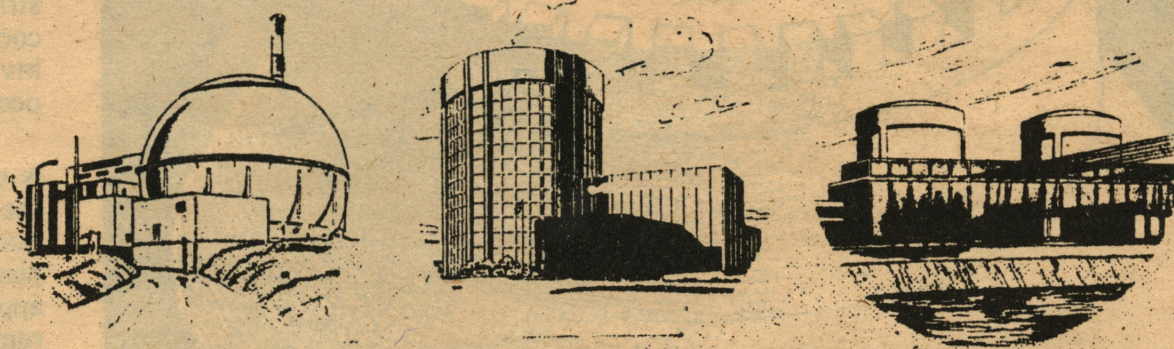


AND NOW IT'S TIME FOR A RECAP... TIME TO SUMMARIZE THE IMPORTANT ADVANTAGES OF NUCLEAR GENERATION OF ELECTRICITY!

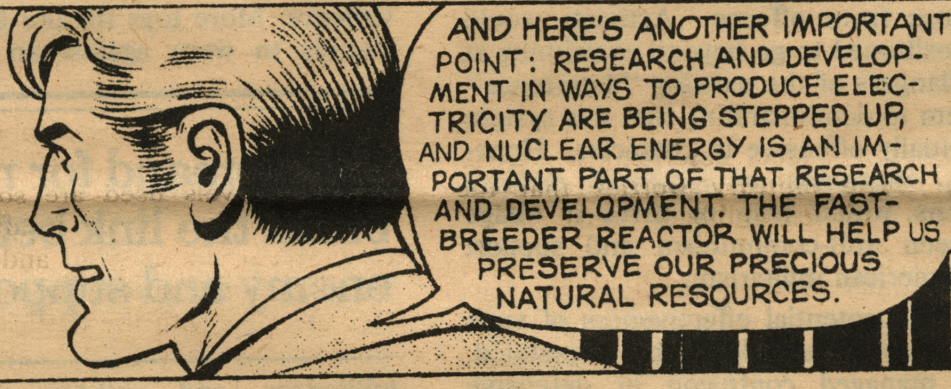
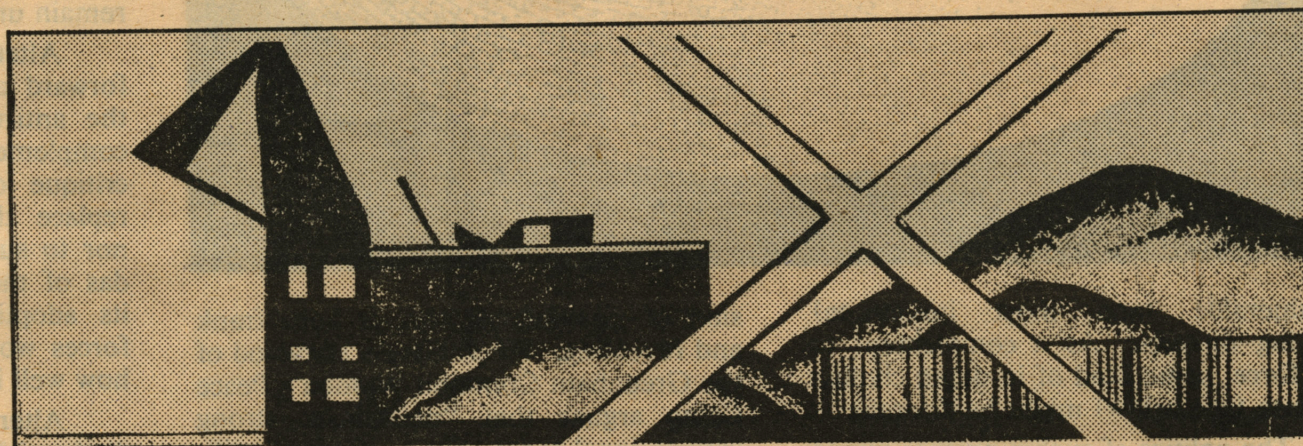


"AS MORE ELECTRICITY IS USED FOR HEATING, A SOURCE OF AIR POLLUTION WILL BE ELIMINATED!"

"NUCLEAR PLANTS ARE CLEAN, ODORLESS, AND GENERATE ELECTRICITY WHICH CAN BE USED TO CLEAN UP THE ENVIRONMENT."



"SINCE NUCLEAR FUEL REQUIRES FAR LESS SPACE, RESERVE COAL AND OIL DON'T HAVE TO BE STORED. THIS MAKES FOR CONVENIENCE... AND FOR MUCH BETTER-LOOKING PLANTS!"



AND HERE'S ANOTHER IMPORTANT POINT: RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IN WAYS TO PRODUCE ELECTRICITY ARE BEING STEPPED UP, AND NUCLEAR ENERGY IS AN IMPORTANT PART OF THAT RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT. THE FAST-BREEDER REACTOR WILL HELP US PRESERVE OUR PRECIOUS NATURAL RESOURCES.

## NUKE WITHOUT A CAUSE

A senior Navy officer has acknowledged to Congress that the Navy has not figured out how to use a nuclear anti-aircraft missile on which it has been working the past five years.

Still, the Reagan administration plans to request more money for the nuclear warhead for the Standard SM-2 missile in 1985. The weapon was originally scheduled to be installed on ships in 1987. Since 1978 the Los Alamos National Laboratory has been developing a nuclear warhead for the missile, which is already aboard Navy ships armed with a conventional warhead.

The problem is that use of tactical nuclear weapons requires presidential approval and in hearings on Navy nuclear programs last March 15, it was shown that no use had been found for the weapon. Since then Navy officials have tried unsuccessfully to find a home for the hapless missile.

The nuclear warhead for the SM-2 would replace the Terrier, which was introduced in the 1950's and was also capable of firing either a conventional or nuclear warhead. It is one of several new nuclear anti-aircraft devices being pushed by the Reagan administration. But scientists and military officials recently have questioned the weapons' usefulness saying such nuclear explosions could destroy electronic devices in friendly planes and ships nearby.

The older weapons were developed to destroy a large bomber force when it was expected that the Russians would build one. They never did. Now administration officials are saying the nuclear warheads are needed against nuclear cruise missiles from Russian bombers.

## HOME ON THE RANGE

With antinuclear sentiment now a major force in European politics, NATO has developed something of an image problem. Fortunately, the boys have come up with a new doctrine. Going by the name "Deep Strike," it involves the integration of new computerized anti-tank technology into the existing military infrastructure. The PR angle is to sell this new step towards the "integrated (nuclear/non-nuclear) battlefield" as a reasonable accommodation with antinuclear concern.

The technical sophistication of some of the non-nuclear systems contemplated for Deep Strike would break new and dangerous ground. The Helkath mobile mine, for example, would use artificial intelligence to allow it to "wait" for Russian armor. More dangerous, in the short term, are the systems designed for use against "urgent" targets like air bases. Their deployment and the doctrine which specifically calls for their use to initiate attacks against the East are provocative in the extreme.

Like the cruise, Deep Strike technology would be "dual capable" -- the Russians could never know for sure that a missile or a sub-munition did not carry a nuclear device. Finally, in the era of the Rapid Deployment Force, Deep Strike technology would invite use by interventionary forces in the Third World.

In a recently released NATO report which argues for Deep Strike doctrine and systems, the "no-first-use" of nuclear arms is explicitly rejected. Thus, it is of some interest that former Kennedy National Security advisor McGeorge Bundy is one of the members of the European Security Study that issued the report. Bundy, you may

remember, was one of the "four wise men" who wrote the infamous article in *Foreign Affairs* a few years ago that called for the adoption of a no-first-use policy and an increased "conventional deterrent." Another one of the authors of the NATO study, British Field Marshall Lord Carver, has recently been so successful in his pro-peace posturing that *Mother Jones* ran an article extolling him as a great peacenik general.

With friends like this...

-- from *Strengthening Conventional Deterrence in Europe: Proposals for the 1980s*, Report of the European Security Study (ESECs), New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983.

-- from WISE, 12/6/83

## BATTLE OVER BRITISH WASTES

The environmental organization Greenpeace has been fined 50,000 pounds as a result of efforts to block a nuclear waste disposal pipeline in the Irish Sea. Although volunteer divers failed in their effort to stopper the pipe, the action helped to focus public concern around the pipeline and the Windscale nuclear reprocessing plant where it originates.

The Windscale operation, located near Cumbria, England, has earned a reputation as one of the dirtiest nuclear facilities in Europe. Yorkshire Television recently produced a documentary revealing that children in villages near the plant had a leukemia rate ten times the national average, and that plutonium dust had been found in houses near the plant.

As officials from British Nuclear Fuels Limited (BNFL) were angrily denying these charges, the Greenpeace divers, who wisely carried Geiger counters, encountered high levels of radioactivity and retreated, receiving significant radiation doses. Apparently a mistake in tank flushing at the plant had allowed contaminated solvents used in plutonium reprocessing to be flushed out to sea. Between 500 and 7000 curies of radioactive materials were released, and part of the resulting oily slick was washed up on the Seascale beach, which had to be closed for decontamination. Contaminated seaweed was found in several locations and had to be removed for disposal. The Greenpeace crew commented that they were luckier than local fishermen, who had no Geiger counters and might have been heavily contaminated without knowing it.

On November 30 the Department of the Environment issued a statement advising people to stay away from the coastline near the plant, and seaweed was still being washed ashore with between 100 and 1000 times the normal level of radioactivity. The hot seaweed is, ironically, being dragged back to Windscale for land disposal.

Increasing pressure is being brought on the Government to force the plant to stop its contamination of the surrounding area and to cease discharging wastes into the Irish Sea. Following the Yorkshire TV documentary, the government was forced to appoint several authorities to review the medical evidence of increased cancer rates. Regional actions against the plant are building, and concern about the plant is also rising on the west coast of Scotland, which receives ocean currents from the area of the plant.

Activists chartered a train to London on November 12 to present a petition to the Prime Minister. They dumped estuary mud from Cambria on the pavement, and experts had to be called in to determine a safe method of disposal.

AND THANK YOU FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO PRESENT THE STORY OF NUCLEAR POWER IN ELECTRICAL PLANTS. PLEASE REMEMBER THAT YOUR ELECTRIC COMPANY WILL EXPLORE ALL MEANS TO BRING YOU ELECTRICITY RELIABLY AND EFFICIENTLY!



15

THE END



# Hopes for a non-nuclear defense

Americans will never accept an anti-military program which leaves them defenseless. Idealistic calls for non-violence are not enough: at least some of the paths to a non-nuclear future must pass through the thickets of defense policy. Thus the importance of the discussion, now fairly advanced within the European movement, about "alternative" or "non-nuclear" defense.

## Alternative defense strategies

The central premise of nuclear-free defense is that even in a nuclear age, defense and offense are vastly different activities. For example, a country could be armed to the teeth for territorial defense without having weapons suitable for use against a neighbor. Such a country could be said to have a "non-provocative" military.

The British Alternative Defense Commission, recently organized by long-time peace activists, has enumerated a variety of possible components of a non-provocative European defense policy. Their suggestions vary from the purely political (for example, breaking up the integrated command structure of the NATO alliance, currently controlled by the U.S., into a looser decentralized coalition of national forces) to the purely military (for example, switching to a defensive orientation relying on antitank and anti-aircraft weapons). The details are many and the discussion fascinating (see the books and articles noted below), but for our purposes it is sufficient to note the basic justifications of their approach.

Militarily, the crucial point is that modern computer technology, specifically new precision guided munitions, has strengthened the case for territorial defense. It has become possible to design dispersed and highly mobile forces ("techno-guerrillas") which, while difficult to search out and destroy, can themselves destroy attacking tanks and aircraft. Since these forces would not make use of such "weapons platforms," they would not be vulnerable. Nor would they constitute a threat to neighboring regions.

Politically, the crucial fact is that the idea of alternative defense demonstrates the practicality of eliminating the European nuclear deterrent. The Cruise and Pershing II can hardly be justified as a response to a possible Russian invasion, even within the tortured logic of the military establishment, if such an invasion can be stopped by other means. So the demand for non-nuclear defense can help undermine nuclear militarism by helping to break the link between fear of the superpower enemy and support



invulnerable (and most inaccurate) existing missiles. As a complement to this force, some kind of in-depth civilian defense (see below) might be desirable.

The politics of such a posture would be similar to the politics of European territorial defense: the separation of defense from offense. Activists would be positioned to go beyond exclaiming at the dangers of the existing "deterrence" system to demonstrating that this system is actually offensive in character. Hopefully, awareness of territorial defense options would help to drive a wedge between anti-communism and support for American militarism.

The potential effectiveness of such an approach shouldn't be overstated. The managed confusion of defensive and offensive force is only one factor underlying public support for interventionary militarism. Abominations such as the Rapid Deployment Force are justified only indirectly as being defensive; more commonly they are presented as defending "American interests" throughout the world. Still, it is difficult to contest popular attachment to the spoils of imperialism when that attachment is masked by fear of the superpower enemy. The unambiguous

sion of nonviolence that is both frank and revealing. When Carole Harwood of the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp argues that "neither a strong conventional force nor a citizens' militia... go any way towards shifting the balance away from a mentality of violence. More toys for the boys?" she intends to warn against an alternative

The aim would be to "exact a very high admission price from a potential invader" while avoiding both the militarization of society and the dangers of nuclear based "defense" systems.

## The dangers of systematic confusion

There are many possible kinds of alternative defense strategies. Citizens' militias alone will not deter a potential invader, but in combination with "techno-guerrilla" units armed with sophisticated anti-armor systems, they would most certainly take a heavy toll. Nonviolent defense ideas (general strikes and generalized non-cooperation), while of little use against invasion, can make a successful military occupation much more difficult.

The demand for alternative defense is useful because it adds to the detail of the anti-military vision, and in so doing, makes it more compelling. But it is utopian too: like peace conversion and other apparently reasonable proposals, it will remain impracticable as long as the dominant institutions of modern society remain unchallenged.

Alternative defense is not being put forward as a substitute for the rest of the anti-war program, but rather as a complement to it and sometimes as a critique of it. It is not intended to replace the demand for disarmament, nor to subvert the larger political agendas of the movement. Whether or not its adoption would strengthen antiwar forces would depend at least in part on how well it was understood.

Alternative defense must be sharply distinguished from the program of those who would reduce dependency upon nuclear armaments only to increase the size (and the destructive power) of the non-nuclear arsenal. The Kennans,

## The demand for non-nuclear defense can help break the link between fear of the superpower enemy and support for the arms race.

militarism, and perhaps against any weakening in the clarity of the anti-militarist politic. Such a warning may seem justified insofar as it is intended against the death dance of "arms control," but it is far too glib, far too easy.

If the idea of defense-in-depth is ever to become part of a successful anti-war program, the peace movement will have to develop a more satisfactory response to the fear of militarization than abstract nonviolence. The editors of *Nuclear-Free Defense* have helped out by widening the terms of the discussion. They include some unusual voices, like that of the anarchist Stuart Christie. The author of *Towards a Citizens' Militia* and an attempted assassin of Franco, Christie is one of the few who has considered the defensive use of military force as part of the construction of a new society.

He recommends the adoption of "a two-tier defense force -- a standing army and a Community Defense Force based on a local and industrial level." The standing army would be "structured differently from the present army, and... run by Soldiers Councils. All commanders [would be] elected by units, each unit being small enough to work out its own fluid command structure."

Bundys, Smiths and McNamaras of the world (War Criminals for Social Responsibility?) have no commitment to disarmament, and even less to the development of non-provocative military forces. We can expect them and their ilk to transform these ideas into forms useful within the terms of the Cold War. For example, NATO's new "Deep Strike" doctrine calls for precision guided munitions for use against Russian tanks -- but in this case the munitions are designed to be rapidly deployed deep behind Russian lines, and would thus be extremely provocative in a crisis situation.

The systematic confusion of offense and defense is only one of the many methods by which the population is brought in line with the desires of the militarists. It may not even be the most important. The frustrations of daily life feed nationalist psychoses that are more than powerful enough to overwhelm any peace movement which confines itself to rationally contesting the structures of military power.

Still, alternative defense is a crucial new kind of social counter-planning. Like other strategies of its kind it is sorely limited, yet absolutely essential.

-- Tom Athanasiou

## The central premise of nuclear-free defense is that even in a nuclear age, defense and offense are vastly different activities.

for the nuclear arms race. It could also aid the elimination of provocative military forces and the relaxation of the bloc system.

## Alternative defense, American style

America is not Europe. Over there the sustaining myth of the Cold War is the threat of a Russian tank invasion across the eastern plains. (Of course, such an invasion is neither imminent nor militarily feasible.) Over here, it is the missiles and not the tanks which are purported to be coming, and so the problem of designing a truly defensive force structure is more difficult.

Nevertheless, alternative defense policy can be translated to fit the needs of regions more threatened by nuclear missiles than invading tanks. In such situations, it would mean accepting a minimal nuclear deterrent force that is consciously kept from developing into the basis of a nuclear war fighting system. Such a minimal deterrent could consist of only a few percent of the most

separation of defense and offense is a big step in the right direction.

## "Defense in depth"

Strategies such as these challenge neither the role of military force in society nor the state's monopoly on violence. There are, however, variations on the theme of alternative defense that are more utopian in their intent, and whose proponents are not so concerned with immediate practicality. These "defense-in-depth" strategies differ significantly from the non-provocative military forces discussed above -- they are intended to be practiced by civilians themselves.

The most well known of these strategies is the one put forward by the pacifist wing of the antiwar movement. Committed to nonviolence, groups within the War Resisters League here and the Green Party in West Germany propose a policy of mass non-cooperation and civil disobedience.

The recent British symposium *Nuclear-Free Defense* contains a discus-

## Further reading

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**Defense Without the Bomb**, Report of the Alternative Defence Commission. New York: Taylor & Francis, 1983.

Mary Kaldor, **Beyond the Blocs: Defending Europe the Political Way**. *World Policy Journal*, Fall 1983, 777. United Nations Plaza, NYC, N.Y. 10017

Anders Boserup, **Nuclear Disarmament: Non-nuclear Defense**. in *Disarming Europe*, Eds: Mary Kaldor and Dan Smith, London: The Merlin Press, 1982.

Matthew A. Evangelista, **Offense or Defense: A Tale of Two Commissions**. *World Policy Journal*, Op. Cit.

Anders Boserup and Andrew Mack, **War Without Weapons: Nonviolence in National Defense**. New York: Schocken, 1975



# What happened to me at peace camp

Forgive the romantic beginning. It is Saturday, the first day of construction at the new peace camp in Livermore, nearly sunset. I am walking across the big field on which the encampment is set, alone, performing some small but necessary errand. The dwindling light makes the surrounding hills look flat and velvety, bringing out the sensuality of their contours. The cars hum by on the freeway, headlights sparkling. The air smells good and I suddenly notice I am happy. I trudge along, trying to avoid the holes and the cow shit, toward the sound of hammering and laughter. A small group of people is putting in the last supports behind the big sign facing the freeway. "Livermore Peace Lab," it says.

The sign is flanked by ropes hung with red and white and green banners that wave buoyantly in the wind. The sign is the latest artistic creation of Mark, who has also given us the Grim Reaper, that now familiar giant that stalks most peace movement actions. Osha, Sharon, Tad, Fern and Patrick are helping Mark secure it, worrying that the strong winds will blow it over in the night.

The material for the banners was bought in town this morning by Michael, a bargain at 79 cents a yard. He and others have cut the material and sewn it to the ropes, sitting in the sunlight here at the camp. Then the holes have been dug, the ropes attached to the stakes, the stakes driven into the holes. It is an afternoon's work for several people.

Some of these people are my friends. Others not. I have known most of them a year and a half, as long as I've

geared toward production rather than consumption, peace rather than war. I smile to myself, embarrassed at the romanticism of my thoughts. But at the same time I know that I am getting the point, at least one point, of this peculiar creation. The camp is a kind of living theater in which even an old, jaded political activist like me can suspend, briefly, my disbelief in the possible. As I sit I am remembering the vision that binds our frenetic political activity together. I can feel the relief and joyfulness of shared purpose and shared labor.

If the Livermore Peace Laboratory is a flight into a visionary future, it is also part of a grand old tradition, one that goes back at least two whole years. That was when the first peace camp, the all-women encampment at Greenham Common in England, was begun. The women are still there, squatting on the tail of the Air Force base where the newly imported cruise missiles are stored. They are embarrassing the hell out of the British government, harassing the US military with theatre, leafletting and civil disobedience, making it impossible to transport the damned missiles on trucks to scattered locations in the countryside from which they would be launched. The women at Greenham have virtually imprisoned the missiles. And by their ornery perseverance they have made themselves the moral center of the British peace movement.

Once upon a time there was no such thing as a peace camp. Someone thought the idea up, and then people who liked the idea made it happen, and it became a real thing in the world, a part of movement history and legend

## I have my doubts about this peace camp: will people show up, will they do anything worth doing, will they have any effect?

been in LAG. I've had good fights with most of them, and some sweet moments too, when what we share has broken through the squabbles of political work. The word "comrade" flits into my mind as I walk toward the group by the sign. The sound of it sends a ripple of warmth through my body.

Having done my errand I am soon heading back across the field to the center of the encampment. The smells of supper and the clang of dishes pour out of the corrugated metal cooking shack. The phones at the information center ring. Voices answer. Off to the left people are digging a long trench to carry kitchen waste water. To the right a dozen or so multi-colored tents are huddled together. In the twilight the campers move about doing their work, talking and laughing with each other.

None of this was here this morning. People made it with their hands, therefore it exists. A definitely funky, make-shift, low-budget operation.

I have my doubts about this peace camp: will people show up, will they do anything worth doing, will they have any effect? But as I sit quietly waiting for my ride back to the city, I am not thinking about that. I am, for a moment, transported out of the present, into a future I will probably never live out. I am feeling what it might be like to live in a human-scale cooperative community,

and inspiration. It is clearly a beautiful idea, rich in possibility for innovation, connection among people, and a bother to the powers-that-be.

And other people, hearing about Greenham Common, have made other peace camps in other places: five more in England, three in Scotland, eleven in Germany, two at Comiso, one in Australia, one in Canada, and in this country at Seneca Falls, Tucson, Puget Sound, Silicon Valley and now Livermore. First there was none, then one, then many. When we act something is born. Our acts move others. Sometimes, not always. When we begin we do not know the destiny of our creations. So it is with all works of art and love.

Sunday. Official opening day. Two hundred people stand in a circle. A ceremony blessing the land is led by several native American activists. At the end people move around the circle shaking hands and making eye contact with each person in the circle. Later there is music and poetry and food. The donor of the property, Harold Meford, is there. He is a lawyer, in his late sixties, dressed in a suit, shaking lots of hands, beaming with pleasure.

The media arrive with hard questions. What will the camp accomplish? How will it affect what goes on at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory? How many will participate? Do



we really expect people from the town and the Lab to show up? Will we just be talking to ourselves?

I feel uncomfortable in my role as media spoke. How do I know the answers? I have had nothing to do with organizing this camp. But even those who have don't seem to know what will happen. The critic in me says that's what's wrong with the whole idea: you plop yourselves down in the middle of the field; you call the media and demand attention; and you really don't have the slightest idea who's committed, who will show up, what they will do. Not only that, it's January and sooner or later it's bound to rain and chase people away. And here I am, trying to make the camp sound more together than it really is, stating my hopes as though they were our collective, well worked out plans.

I say that we plan to go to the Lab and to the town to talk with people, to invite them to the camp. I say that our presence calls attention to the Lab's war work. I tell my favorite story, about the ex-Lab employee who sent a message to LAG saying, "Keep it up, you really do disturb the minds of the workers."

The reporters want to know if we plan civil disobedience. I tell them no, that this is meant to be a non-confrontational experiment in communication. In my heart I wonder if the camp can muster any energy without the fuel of confrontation. The more I talk, the more my doubts come to the surface. By the end of the afternoon I notice I am feeling slightly depressed, and maybe a little sleazy too.

## The camp is a kind of living theater in which even an old, jaded political activist like me can suspend, briefly, my disbelief in the possible.

It is Monday, the day after the camp opening. I have returned to my desk, to my role as journalist. I call the camp to get the facts, ma'am. Like all the other journalists I want to know what kind of organizing is really going on, what kind of impact it's having. I feel it's only fair to point out the camp's weaknesses in my article so we can learn from them.

The answers surprise me. In two and a half days of the camp's existence at least six Lab employees have visited. One, a scientist at the Lab for 29 years, has sat by the campfire for three hours, sharing his concerns for the future. A younger scientist has come on his lunch hour with suggestions about how to pressure the Lab.

Non-employees from the town have come too, over a dozen of them. Several have asked for tasks; one has invited the campers to his church next Sunday. The

next night he is back, inviting them to his house to catch themselves on Channels 2, 5, and 40. A young couple from the horse ranch up the road have come to talk about their fears. They are 19 or 20 years old, about to be married, worried about the possibility of war in the future, poison in the present. Meanwhile the campers have leafletted at the Lab cafeteria, and are planning to leaflet in Livermore.

The media have kept coming too. Everyone is surprised at the amount of coverage: all the Bay Area newspapers, the Valley papers, the *San Jose Mercury News*. KRON announces its intention to spend 24 hours at the camp. *Izvestia* features it. A reporter from the *Tribune* calls one of the organizers, annoyed that he was not specially informed about this story.

The woman who is telling me all this, Alexandra, my media co-worker of yesterday, is excited as she talks. "It's happening," she says. "It's really happening." But then Tom, one of the main organizers, comes on the phone, tired and worried. "We need more people," he tells me, "to leaflet, to answer the phones, to talk to media and townspeople when they visit. And we could use an electrician and a couple of carpenters too." Tom has to leave the camp for a few days to return to his job. He is pleading for help in keeping alive this experiment he has worked so hard to create.

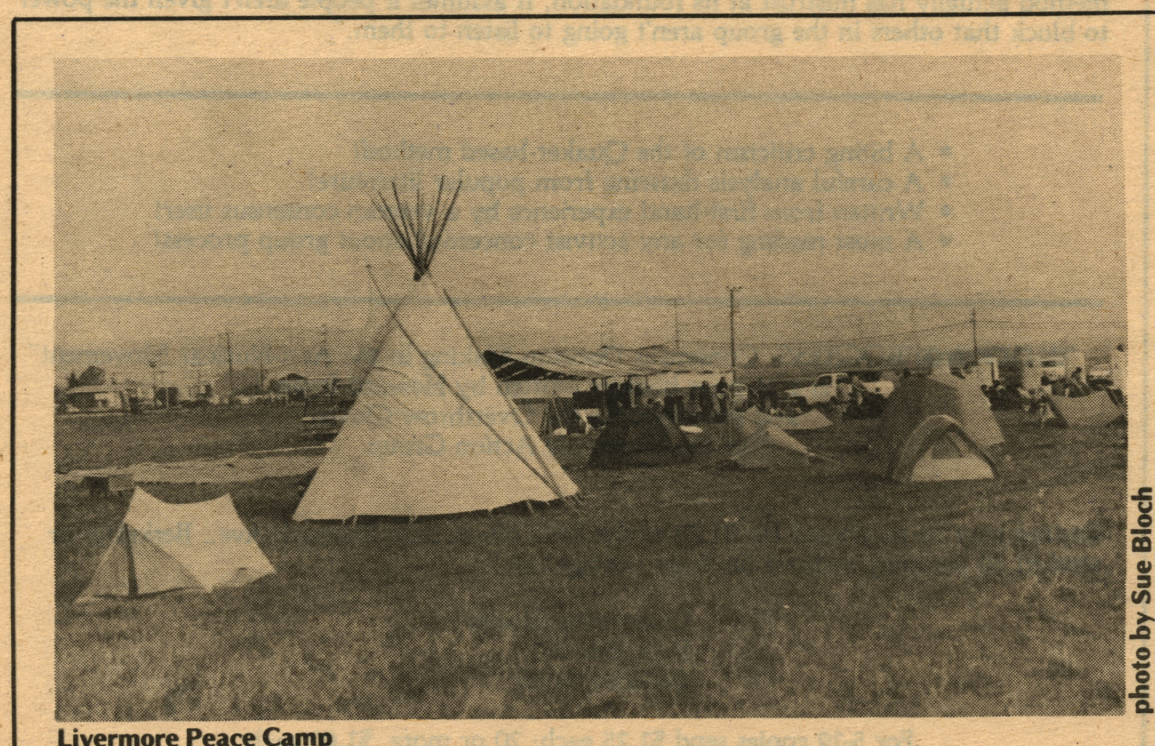
I hang up, my skepticism banished by excitement. I'm feeling a personal stake in the whole business, really for

the first time. Until now it's been other people who were making it happen, whose efforts would fail or succeed. I might offer a bit of help here or there, but basically I have been the outsider, the witness, the critic, the appreciator.

Now I am feeling as though that piece of land is mine, too. I decide to postpone being a journalist until evening. First I must call people, everyone I know who's part of an affinity group or organization that might spend a day or a few hours at the camp. Then I must figure out how to juggle my own schedule.

I want to be part of this creation, and suddenly that future I said I would never live out feels as though it is here, now, for the taking. I am grateful to those comrades, less doubting than I, who had the vision to risk it.

-- Barbara Haber



On January 28th a peace encampment was inaugurated in Livermore, California. Located on donated land facing the 580 freeway just one exit from the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, the camp is the creation of several affinity and ad hoc groups and numerous individuals. The camp hopes to remain in its present location until ownership is transferred, probably at the end of February or the beginning of March.

Other land is being sought to continue the peace camp beyond that date.

The camp will not be used as a base to organize civil disobedience. It is intended as a means of instituting non-confrontational dialogue with members of the Livermore community and workers at the Lab. For information call the LAG office, 415-644-3031 or the camp, 415-449-8308 or 8309.



## FIND YOUR LEVEL

The main attraction at Christmas dinner this year wasn't the stuffed turkey or even the chocolate cheesecake. Instead, the guests clustered around a large multi-colored wall poster titled "Social Stratification in the United States."

The poster shows a thousand "picto people" according to race, sex, occupation and income. Each figure represents a tenth of a percent of the country's adult population. Everyone's first impulse is to identify the picto figure that fits: single black clerical/sales worker making between \$12,000 and \$18,000 a year, or unemployed white husband with professional wife making \$18,000 to \$24,000.

Information about social stratification is usually buried in statistical jargon and hard-to-understand charts. This poster succeeds in getting across at a glance some of the basic economic realities of modern American life. The huge bulge at the lower-income levels is, of course, immediately apparent. Closer investigation reveals other relationships



between occupation, wealth, and income, giving them a visual and therefore visceral meaning.

The poster, produced by the Social Graphics Company in Baltimore, is based on government statistics, but the conclusions of the Social Graphics researchers differ from the official government line. Their most striking finding is that since 1978, when the first edition of the poster was published, the "middle class" (defined by the govern-

ment as families of four with incomes between \$17,000 and \$41,000) has been rapidly shrinking.

In 1978, 55 percent of the population fell into this category. By 1982, this percentage had fallen to 42 percent. Of this 13 percent difference, about a quarter had moved above the high budget line (\$41,000), but the rest had slipped below the low budget line of \$17,000. In just five years, this is a tremendous demographic shift.

These and other distressing facts are found in a 48-page booklet that goes with the poster. The poster alone is \$7.50 (including mailing and handling); with the booklet the cost is \$10. Social Graphics has also produced a nuclear arms race poster and accompanying booklet, which cost \$7.50. Both make great gifts.

Place your order with Social Graphics, 1120 Riverside Avenue, Baltimore, MD 21230, phone: (301) 837-3857.

# Announcements

## HANFORD OPPOSITION GROWS

The Hanford Nuclear Reservation, four hours east of Portland, Oregon on the Columbia River, is the world's largest nuclear complex. It produces great quantities of military nuclear fuel as well as commercial electricity. Since World War II, the Department of Energy has produced nuclear bombs and thousands of jobs on Hanford's 570 square miles.

The environmental and peace issues surrounding Hanford are overwhelming. The facility is scheduled to make 14,000 warheads in the '80's for the new generation of weapons: cruise, Pershing II, MX, Trident and the neutron bomb. Hanford has a running breeder reactor, cooled by sodium, which is considered even more dangerous than water-cooled systems. Further, Hanford is the favored site for the permanent high level waste repository the government has been looking for. It presently has stored and buried all the military wastes accumulated since World War II and has a history of leaks and accidents. Hanford has contaminated the Columbia River, called "the most radioactive body of water in the world" by the Oregon Department of Public Health.

Peace, environmental, antinuclear and many other community groups are meeting regionally to discuss possible

actions concerning Hanford. In Eugene we have been discussing publication of a Hanford Action Handbook which would contain information about the bio-region of the Columbia River, the hazards of radiation, and how Hanford affects the whole region environmentally as well as through the nuclear arms race. The handbook could be used in organizing people in the northwest. We are hoping many peace, environmental and community groups can reach out to other groups for a united effort which could have different simultaneous approaches.

The Hanford Oversight Committee, based in Washington state, is focussing on the permanent high level waste dump issue. They are developing a slide show which could be used for outreach and fundraising. (Hanford Oversight Committee, 814 NE 40th, Seattle, WA 98105, (206) 632-0500.

In Eugene, the Hanford Action Group can be reached by leaving a message for Thyme at 343-8548, or writing c/o 454 Williamette, Eugene, Or. 97401. If you have any responses, interesting ideas, possible lawsuits, or symbolic or mass actions to suggest, please write or call. Thank you.

-- T.S. Siegel  
Hanford Action Group

## FIRE IN THE LAKE

We are accepting poetry, prose and graphics for a small book. Profits will benefit political dissidents through a contribution to Amnesty International. Send submissions to Klasky/Wolterding, Editors, 533 Clayton St. Apt. B, San Francisco, CA 94117.

## WRL PACIFEAST

How many pacifists does it take to screw in a light bulb? Enjoy an evening of food and comedy at the War Resisters League-West's annual Pacifeast at 6 pm, March 31 at the Trinity United Methodist Church at Dana and Bancroft in Berkeley. Tickets are \$6 in advance, \$7 at the door, and include a raffle ticket. For information and reservations call WRL-West (415) 731-1220.

## ABALONE CANVASS JOBS

As the showdown at Diablo nears, we need \$\$\$\$\$\$. You can help us and yourself by doing community outreach and grassroots fundraising. If you want to fight the Diablo nightmare, call More or Phebe at 861-0592. Only committed and energetic people need apply.

## THE END OF THE WORLD'S FAIR

Our small group has begun to dream, plan and work on The End of the World's Fair, tentatively set for May 12, 1984 in SF. Call 626-6048 or write: End of the World's Fair, 2440 16th St. No. 152, SF, CA 94103.

## VIGIL DIRECTORY

The editors of *The Nuclear Resister* are planning to publish a directory of regular presences at nuclear-related sites. Such presences are an essential means of support and nurturance for the growing resistance movement.

Contributions to the directory should be sent to *The Nuclear Resister*, PO Box 37, Tempe AZ 85281. Contributions should indicate the nature of the presence, i.e., peace camp, picketing, silent vigil, leafletting, etc. Also include the time of day, location, significance (if not self-evident), how long the presence has been going on and an address and phone number for interested parties to contact. Donations to fund the directory are also welcome.

## BLOCKING PROGRESS: CONSENSUS DECISION-MAKING IN THE ANTI-NUCLEAR MOVEMENT

"Consensus . . . is suited to more privileged groups who can afford to spend hours and hours just 'being with the process' and who have less attachment to actually making decisions and effecting social change."



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- A careful analysis drawing from popular literature!
- Written from first-hand experience by a veteran consensus user!
- A must reading for any activist concerned about group process!

"**BLOCKING PROGRESS: Consensus Decision-Making in the Anti-Nuclear Movement**" is a 16-page booklet written by Howard Ryan and published by the Overthrow Cluster of the Livermore Action Group.

Copies may be purchased for \$1.25 at the LAG office, 3126 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley; or send \$1.50 per copy ordered (includes postage) to

Overthrow Cluster  
P.O. Box 961,  
Berkeley 94701

For 5-19 copies send \$1.25 each; 20 or more, \$1.00 each.

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# Calendar

**Feb. 10:** "Seeds of Revolution," a film about agribusiness and peasant organizing in Honduras. 7:30 pm. St. Annis Chapel, 1247 Cowper, Palo Alto. Committee Against US Intervention in Central America, 327-6035.

**Feb. 10-11:** "The Open Yard," an anti-war theater piece about a man who is concerned the arms race but is paralyzed by feelings of futility and weakness. 8:30 pm at Centerspace, 2840 Mariposa, SF, \$5. For reservations call 861-5059.

**Feb. 11:** Diablo Canyon Family Action with CD! As part of the Diablo Peace Camp and Prayer Vigil, started 1/13, a march will begin at 1 pm. Meet at noon at the Avila Beach parking lot. People and \$ are needed. Info, Josh 434-1944 or Renee 239-1202.

**Feb. 12:** Planning meeting for "End of the World's Fair." Join this creative and rebellious approach to political action, a funeral march where art forms and political communities meet. 1 pm at 460 Ashbury, SF. Info, 824-9603.

**Feb. 12-17:** "Voyage of the Pacific Peacemaker," a 50 min. documentary chronicling the famous peace boat's protest actions: benefit screenings for the ship and crew. Donations requested.

Feb. 12: 5 pm potluck with live music and the film, 21st and J St, Sacramento. 447-3785. Sponsored by the Sacramento Religious Community for Peace.

Feb. 13: 6:30 pm, potluck sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation. 7:15 pm, film and speaker, First Presbyterian Church, 43 N. 4th St., San Jose. (408) 297-2299.

Feb. 14: 8 pm, La Pena, 3105 Shattuck, Berkeley.

Feb. 16: 6:30 pm, pre-film dinner served by Turning Tide. 8 pm, film, Bolinas Community Center.

Feb. 17, 7:30 pm, Mill Valley Community Center, corner of E. Blithedale and Sunnyside.

**Feb. 15:** Port Chicago Sea Blockade Meeting, opposing arms shipments to Central America. 7:30 pm at AFSC, 2160 Lake St., SF. 931-7291.

**Feb. 19:** "Women in the Black Nation's Freedom Struggle." Includes a speaker from the Center for Black Survival, slideshow "A Message to Thy People" and a taped communique by Assata Shakur. 7:45 pm at Valencia Rose, 766 Valencia St, SF. Women Against Imperialism, 652-4401 ext. 656.

**Feb. 21:** War Resisters League Disarmament Group Meeting. Action planning and group discussion of "Alternatives in the US Defense Debate," 8 pm. Info and location: 731-1220.

**Feb. 24:** Vandenberg Action Coalition meeting. Statewide VAC meetings on February 19, March 4 and 11. Info, (415) 843-7493.

## THE PICK OF PUNCH



"Not much of a nuclear free zone, though, is it?"

**Feb. 25:** Ramon Cardona, representative for El Salvador's Democratic Revolutionary Front, will talk on the current situation and US military policy in El Salvador. Premiere screening of the documentary film, "In the Name of Democracy," recording the fraudulence of the US-sponsored elections of March 1982. Sponsored by La Pena and the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. 8 pm at 3105 Shattuck, Berkeley. Wheelchair access. \$5. Info, 849-2572.

**Feb. 26:** Planning Meeting for the "End of the World's Fair." See Feb. 12 for details.

**March 3-4:** Disarmament Workshops for Beginners. Retreat style workshops in the Santa Cruz Mountains led by experienced activists such as Bob Aldridge and Natalie Shiras. Free except for meals. Call (408) 297-2299 for info. Sponsored by the San Jose Peace center.

**March 10:** International Women's Day. Women confront the US war machine at the Presidio in SF. Call 652-4401 ext. 656.

**March 17-19:** Vandenberg Actions. Legal rally on the 17th, local outreach on the 18th and C.D. on the 19th. For organizing and carpooling call Marty 863-8474 or Michael 843-7493.

**April 16 and 17:** Tax-Day Actions. April 16 actions in Bay Area communities and April 17 blockade at Lawrence Livermore Lab. Coalition work needs input and volunteers, call Fern at LAG 644-3031. Also autonomous actions by affinity groups to link military spending, taxes and human needs. For info on next spokes meeting, call Erica at LAG 644-3031.

War Resisters League is asking for redirection of war tax dollars to reach the cost of one cruise missile. Info: Dorie at WRL, 731-1220.

# Abalone Alliance Groups

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

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

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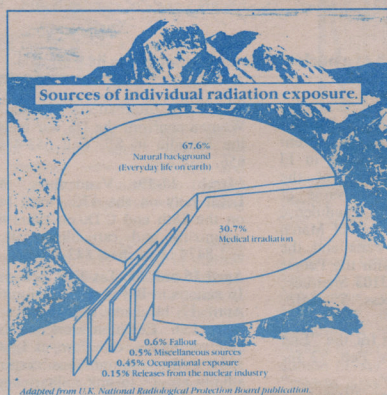
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# CORPORATE LIES DEPARTMENT

#3 in an information series for editors, reporters, researchers.  
 Your tool and source for future reference.

## RADIATION Facing fears with facts



Each of us is exposed to radiation every day. Where does this radiation come from? How does it affect our bodies? How much of it comes from nuclear plants? A better understanding of the facts can help distinguish valid concerns from needless fears.

### What is radiation?

Radiation consists of particles or rays emitted from an atom. It may occur spontaneously, from the progressively decaying atoms of a radioactive element. Or it can be induced by man: particle accelerators can bombard stable atoms, converting them into unstable radioactive isotopes; and by setting off a chain reaction in uranium, atoms can be split (fission). The fission chain reaction is the process a nuclear reactor

uses to generate heat from steam and electricity. After more than 80 years of intensive study, radiation is the most scientifically understood, easily detected, precisely measured, effectively controlled and strictly regulated of all environmental agents.

### How are people exposed to radiation?

People are exposed to radiation every day, primarily from natural sources and, to a lesser degree, from man-made sources.

**Natural sources include:** cosmic rays from outer space; the sun; the earth's crust; the air; food; water; even substances within our own bodies.

**Man-made sources include:** X-rays and radioactive materials used in

medical diagnosis and therapy; the mining of minerals; the construction of buildings and other structures; consumer products such as smoke detectors and luminous-dial watches; fallout from past testing of nuclear weapons; and the use of various fuels to generate energy (coal, geothermal steam, natural gas, and uranium).

### How is radiation measured?

A rem is a unit of measurement of radiation's biological effects on living tissue. A millirem (mrem) is 1/1000 of a rem. Radiation exposure is usually discussed in millirem because the amounts involved are very small.

A U.S. resident receives an estimated average total of about 200 millirem of radiation exposure each year. The pie chart on the left shows where this radiation comes from.

Source	Exposure
Natural	135.2 mrem
Medical	61.4 mrem
Fallout	1.2 mrem
Miscellaneous (consumer products, etc.)	1.0 mrem
Occupational	0.9 mrem
Nuclear energy industry	0.3 mrem
	200.0 mrem

Of course, these are averages. The exposure varies for each individual depending on many factors. Living at high elevations results in greater exposure from cosmic rays than living at sea level (250 millirem in Colorado compared with 120 millirem in Florida). Crews of high-altitude commercial jet airliners can get an extra 300-400 millirem from cosmic rays and the sun.

### Are these ordinary levels of radiation harmful?

To cause any detectable effect, a person's yearly dose of radiation would have to be in excess of 10,000 millirem.

There is overwhelming agreement within the national and international scientific communities that a yearly dose within the normal average range of around 200 millirem would have negligible effects on the human body. Based on estimates by the National Academy of Sciences' the normal radiation levels that all humans are exposed to would cause no more than 1 percent of all the cases of cancer and genetic defects.

### Who determines "safe" levels of radiation?

The International Commission on Radiological Protection (ICRP), formed in 1928, is an independent nongovernmental expert body established to recommend the maximum radiation doses to which people could be safely exposed. Its recommendations have been universally accepted for the last 50 years by both national and international bodies responsible for radiation protection.

### Are people exposed to higher levels of radiation in the area around a nuclear plant?

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), has said that "Emissions from nuclear power plants average an annual exposure of only a fraction of a millirem per person. The average annual exposure of people living within a 50-mile radius of nuclear stations is less than a millirem."

Even the American Cancer Society in its "Background Paper on Radiation and Cancer" (November 1980) reports that the "scientific knowledge we have indicates that there have been no cancer deaths related to the release of nuclear radiation either in or outside of U.S. nuclear power plants."

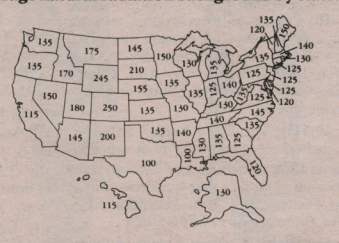
### How much radiation were people exposed to from the accident at Three Mile Island?

To quote the Kemeny Commission\*\* Report: "The maximum estimated radiation dose received by any one

\* From The National Academy of Sciences Committee on the Biological Effects of Ionizing Radiation.

\*\* Dr. John G. Kemeny was appointed by President Carter in April 1979 to head the Investigative President's Commission on the Accident at Three Mile Island. Dr. Kemeny was then President of Dartmouth College.

### Average natural radiation background by state.



Natural background radiation differs considerably from state to state due to the variation of the radioactive elements present in the soil. If a resident of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, moved to Denver, Colorado, the additional radiation he would be exposed to each year would be far more than the maximum amount any individual could possibly have received during the entire Three Mile Island accident.

individual in the off-site general population during the accident was 70 mrem." The report further states that the exposure received by the general population is so small as to have no health, developmental or genetic effects.

If a resident of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, moved to Denver, Colorado, he would be exposed to more additional radiation in one year from natural sources than anyone could have received during the Three Mile Island accident.

In over a quarter century of commercial nuclear power plant operations, Three Mile Island is by far the most serious event to occur. But the "defense in depth" safety system effectively controlled and contained the accident.

### Who are we and why are we presenting these facts

We are the U.S. Committee for Energy Awareness, a private organization of electric utilities, construction companies, equipment manufacturers, and energy users. Most of our members participate in the electricity industry and believe that nuclear energy will continue to

play an important role in America's electrical future. We believe that radiation is a much-misunderstood subject, often misrepresented in the nuclear debate. We want to provide factual information so that people can make informed decisions about energy issues.

The material presented here deals with the safety of nuclear power plants. In the future, we will deal with occupational hazards involved with the mining and manufacture of nuclear fuels.

For free booklets on the electrical future of America and the energy sources that will help fuel it, just fill out this coupon and send it to:  
 U.S. Committee for Energy Awareness  
 P.O. Box 27012  
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## Information about energy America can count on today

U.S. COMMITTEE FOR ENERGY AWARENESS

The nuclear industry doesn't have many friends in the press these days. Amid construction scandals and plant abandonments right and left, even the conservative business journals are beginning to see nuclear power as an idea whose time has gone.

Worse yet is the almost daily barrage of negative news stories which make the very idea of nuclear power seem like a bad, expensive joke. Every leak and spill, every blueprint goof, every falsified test seem to make it to the front page. So the Committee for Energy Awareness, a nuclear industry public relations group created after the Three Mile Island accident, is attempting to go to the source of the problem -- not by fixing the screws, of course, but by lobbying the reporters and editors who write and approve those critical stories.

### If you don't like the news . . .

This advertisement, from *Editor and Publisher*, is one of an "information series" intended to convince media professionals that all that nuclear negativism is simply misinformed. From the title on, the ad capitalizes on the journalistic culture's obsession with "facts." It is written in the dispassionate, "objective" style so beloved by the establishment press, restricting any admission that there even is a nuclear controversy to a single sentence in the closing paragraph. All this neutrality is supplemented by graphics showing the tiny sliver of radiation you get from nukes (less than those mountains in the background) and how Three Mile Island was no worse than living in Denver.

All very clever, and convincing at first glance. But in keeping with good journalistic practice, a little fact-checking might be in order:

### Strict control and all that

The public risks from nuclear power come from a staggering variety of radioactive substances leaked into the environment, ranging from uranium mine tailings to wastes escaping from nuclear dumpsites. Even if all the releases were monitored -- which is not the case -- it is almost impossible to predict how each of 50 to 100 different radioisotopes will be carried by wind and water, absorbed by soil, taken up by plants, further concentrated in the food chain, and absorbed by people eating the food. Recent work at the University of Heidelberg indicates that government regulators have shown a consistent bias in underestimating the amounts of radioactive materials transferred at each step in this complex process.

In light of a history which includes the loss of 300,000 gallons of high-level waste at Hanford, Washington, the massive contamination of the Rio Puerco by a tailings dam break, and leaking dumpsites from Beatty, Nevada to Maxey Flats, Kentucky, it's a bit difficult to swallow the claim that radiation is the most "effectively controlled" of pollutants (sorry, environmental agents.)

Sticklers for historical accuracy might also note that nuclear fission, the process which powers nuclear plants, wasn't discovered until 1939, and the first reactors didn't begin producing their

deadly radioactive byproducts until a few years later. It's a good question whether these materials have been "intensively studied" yet, given the interests of those promoting their production. But they certainly weren't studied for the 35 of those claimed 80 years of experience which elapsed before they were first produced.

### Low-dose fantasies

What radiation dose the public gets from nuclear power -- and how much it would get from an expanded nuclear industry -- again depends on who is doing the calculating. The ad comes up with an incredibly low number -- .3 millirem -- which amounts to a thin slice of the pie indeed. But this number is simply a fantasy.

More interesting is the legal standard for public exposure, which until recently was 170 millirems per year, nearly 600 times higher. This was reduced -- over nuclear industry opposition -- to 25 millirems per year in late 1979. But the new standard applies only to "normal, planned operations," allowing violations for doses delivered in an "unplanned" manner in order "to insure orderly flow of electricity." In other words, the new standard regulates nothing at all, allowing the industry to deliver any dose it pleases. Never has the industry agreed to any standard that would shut down a plant at any level of public exposure. So that .3 millirem is just an empty promise -- worth about as much as the promise that nuclear electricity would be too cheap to meter.

### Is death a "detectable effect"?

The most incredible assertion in the ad comes next: that "to cause any detectable effect, a person's yearly dose of radiation would have to be in excess of 10,000 millirem."

It is true that a very high radiation dose is needed to immediately destroy someone's health. But the real risk of lesser doses is cancer, and the risk is proportional to dose. Such statistical risks are very real; if you send 1 million people on a 100-mile car trip, you can predict with some accuracy how many will die in accidents. Without this ability, insurance companies couldn't operate.

It's the same for radiation. Dr. John Gofman has predicted that for each extra rad of radiation delivered to a mixed population of 1 million people, roughly 3,800 will die from radiation-induced cancer. A little quick multiplication reveals that a tenth of the ad's "detectable effect" dose, applied to everyone in the US population, would result in about 800,000 extra deaths per year -- rather a horrendous "undetectable" effect.

The same reasoning applies to lower doses, including those from natural sources. Far from being "overwhelming agreement within the scientific communities" that a 200 millirem dose is negligible, there is in fact an agreement that it causes deaths. The numbers vary widely, reflecting both political pressures and scientific disagreements, from about 5000 victims per year in the US population to about 80,000. But few scientists independent of the nuclear industry would call any dose of radiation "harmless."

Although we have to live (and die) with the risks of the natural part of that 200 millirems, we don't have to take the large medical dose as fatalistically. One of the successes of the antinuclear movement has been an increasing awareness of radiation risks within the medical community. The elimination of X-rays taken for routine or "malpractice insurance" reasons, as well as better equipment and techniques, could save many lives.

Neither medical abuses or unavoidable natural doses are any excuse for nuclear power, just like the fact that people die in auto accidents is no excuse for building unsafe roads.

### Whose facts?

By presenting the views of the nuclear industry and its scientific apologists as fact, the promoters of nuclear power hope to convince gullible journalists that there is no nuclear controversy -- only a solid and competent industry beset by the "fears" of the technically ignorant. The ad's "facts" are appealingly simple and easily digested. The truth, as usual, requires digging a little deeper.

-- Bob Van Scoy

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