It's About Times

Abalone Alliance Newspaper — February-March 1983

MX foes get a Vandenberg welcome

Defying driving rains and the U.S. Air Force, hundreds of MX opponents descended on the missile's test site to emphasize its role as an aggressive first-strike weapon.

Neither torrential rains nor delays in the testing of the MX missile could keep the first blockaders from stepping into the road at Vandenberg Air Force Base just after dawn on Monday, January 24. In minutes a monumental traffic jam resulted. For the next hour, the smartly dressed soldiers who greet traffic at the sprawling, 35-mile long airbase were unable to snap their customary salutes or usher soldiers and workers past the Flash Gordon-style entrance which welcomes all to "Space and Missile Country."

As determined blockaders at the base's main gate tried to halt the incoming cars, they were dragged away by Air Force police, who frequently used painful pressure point holds. In the first hour or so, dozens of people were taken away as they tried to halt operations at Vandenberg in protest of its role in the development and testing of the MX.

Just when the action's progress became predictable -- with affinity groups stepping into the road and being carried off moments later by soldiers -- blockaders shifted gears. With the "A Change of Heart" cluster in the forefront, they decided to liberate some of the Air Force's real estate and moved onto an open, grassy field 100 yards from the main gate.

This tactic thoroughly scrambled the authorities' centralized planning and left occupiers free to wander about mostly undisturbed for half an hour, accompanied by a few bewildered soldiers. Some of the blockaders filled the time with improvised songs such as *Swing Low, Sweet Paddy Wagon* and *This Land is my Land,* "from the Minuteman silos, to the MX launch pad." Others talked soberly with reporters about the MX and its role as an aggressive "first strike" weapon designed for initiating nuclear war.

Eventually the Air Force brought in reinforcements, established a line, swept toward the occupiers and took them away. The soldiers were ordered to space themselves every 20 yards or so along the "Green Line" marking the edge of base property, which in this case was a single strand of wire that had been hastily strung for the occasion. Supporters of the action tried to engage the young soldiers in conversation. Apparently ordered not to fraternize with the enemy, most of the soldiers stared straight ahead and said nothing, which deterred almost none of the peace proselytizers.

The next blockaders tried another tactic: blocking the intersections surrounding the base entrance. But they too were quickly dragged away by some of the hundred or so California Highway patrol officers lining the streets outside the base.

Meanwhile, 37 "backcountry" occupiers who had started out in a 3 am downpour had managed to hike within 1/4 mile of operational Minuteman missile silos. What was in store for them surprised everybody. Base security obligingly allowed the occupiers to conduct ceremonies including the planting of fig trees and even assisted in wrapping missile silos in yarn.

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Letters

- Susan Denaroski

COSTLY CRITIQUE

Dear *IAT,*

Enclosed is a check for $25.00 from Pelican Alliance for Safe Energy.

At our last Pelican meeting we discussed your pitch for money. In response to concerns raised in the enclosed letter *[Ed: reprinted below]* we decided to send only $25, rather than $50, which was our original proposal. We are hoping that *IAT* will respond to these concerns, so that we can resume our wholehearted support of the paper.

[The letter]

It's About Times is a source of information and opinions that the general public will not find in the mainstream press. In the past, I have felt proud to place a few copies in public places to share the articles and photographs which tell the story of people acting nonviolently and powerfully, as at Livermore and Diablo Canyon.

Occasionally IAT features articles that seem to divide people rather than unite us. When I read Howard Ryan's article on Gandhi in the November 1982 issue, I was troubled that such a limited viewpoint took up two full pages. I wish the editors had included a bibliography of other sources on Gandhi, particularly *Gandhi the Man* by Eknath Easwaran and Gandhi's autobiography, *The Story of My Experiments with Truth.* The Ryan article gave me no real sense of Gandhi's spirit and intentions.

I believe that we human beings are capable of the transformation necessary to keep life happening. We also are capable of blowing it. I hope you people at *IAT* will choose to print more articles that inspire your readers to effective creative actions.

-- William Fudeman
Pt. Reyes

More letters on Gandhi article - see pages 4&5

HELEN CALDICOTT TUNNEL VISION

Dear *IAT,*

Edward Teller prompted me to write this. I had pretty much dropped the idea until I heard him on the National Press Club radio show. Someone asked, "Will the US and USSR fight a nuclear war before 1990?" His answer was that if we didn't give into "Soviet Dictators" and if the peace movement wasn't successful, "then conflict could be postponed." This was the first time anyone had confirmed what I had come to believe was just my personal paranoid excuse for staying aloof from the born-again Ban the Bomb Movement.

It first occurred to me in the dentist's chair. They had given me their usual dose of nitrous oxide. Whenever I'm on drugs I try to figure out solutions to the world's problems. The image that came to me was ten years in the future; no nuclear bombs had been exploded, save tests, and our everyday conditions had declined still further while much of our energy had been devoted to fighting nukes. It seems to me that the people who control the people who give orders to the people who could push the button don't want nuclear war at all, but are all the while benefiting from preparation for it and from the resultant single-issue opposition to these preparations.

Obviously the ubiquitous "they" get rich off any war preparation, but now we've reached the point where we cannot actually have the big war. It's too big even for the big guys. I wonder if they believe any of the crap about survivable, winnable or limited nuclear war. Whether those in control want to explode the bombs or not, the narrowly focused nature of the anti-bomb movement provides distraction from most other areas of everyday life.

How can a person preoccupied with megatonnage and blast waves be concerned with their boring, demeaning and underpaid jobs? My answer is that many people aren't paying attention to their immediate, personal lives (for a variety of reasons) and are instead putting much of their best energy into chanting, "No Nukes" or "Hara Krishna" or "Go Niners." I don't think that fighting nukes (or being spiritual or sports-minded) is invalid at all; I just want a more balanced notion of politics. We will be far more powerful if we ask for everything at once.

If it is true that they are being aided by the anti-bomb focus then a conspiracy theory can easily be constructed on massive quantities of circumstantial evidence. I don't care whether these insane and immoral war plans and systems are intended to provoke us or not. I care that we oppose them along with all other affronts on our lives.

I know it will seem sacrilegious to some, but I'm beginning to believe that the chance of intentional nuclear war is not as great as most peace movement spokespersons suggest. For not only is nuclear war harmful to children and other living things, it would wreck the commodities market, Soviet hegemony, country clubs and Red Square. Those who control the button (if there is one) may not be so eager to push it.

--Jim Rosenau

Nuclear industry challenges state bans

Lawyers for the state of California are now defending the constitutionality of the state's Nuclear Safeguard laws before the US Supreme Court. Enacted in 1976, the laws require a working high-level nuclear waste disposal system. Since such a disposal system is not technologically feasible in the foreseeable future, the laws effectively prohibit the construction of new nuclear plants in the state.

When the measure was being debated in the California legislature, the state's electric utilities supported it. But this was just a ploy to counter public support of Proposition 15, scheduled for a vote before the entire electorate just two weeks after the measure was passed. Prop 15 would have closed all nuclear power plants in the state if each could not be certified to be safe. Immediately after the passage of the "compromise" legislation they had backed, PG&E, Southern California Edison and the Pacific Legal Foundation challenged its constitutionality.

So now the question of nuclear power will be argued before the Supreme Court as a matter of states' rights -- whether each state or the federal government has the jurisdiction to decide on issues of health and safety and energy policy. Thirty states have filed briefs on behalf of California and seven have enacted similar laws. Groups supporting the utilities include the Fusion Energy Foundation, the Edison Electric Institute and the Atomic Industrial Forum.

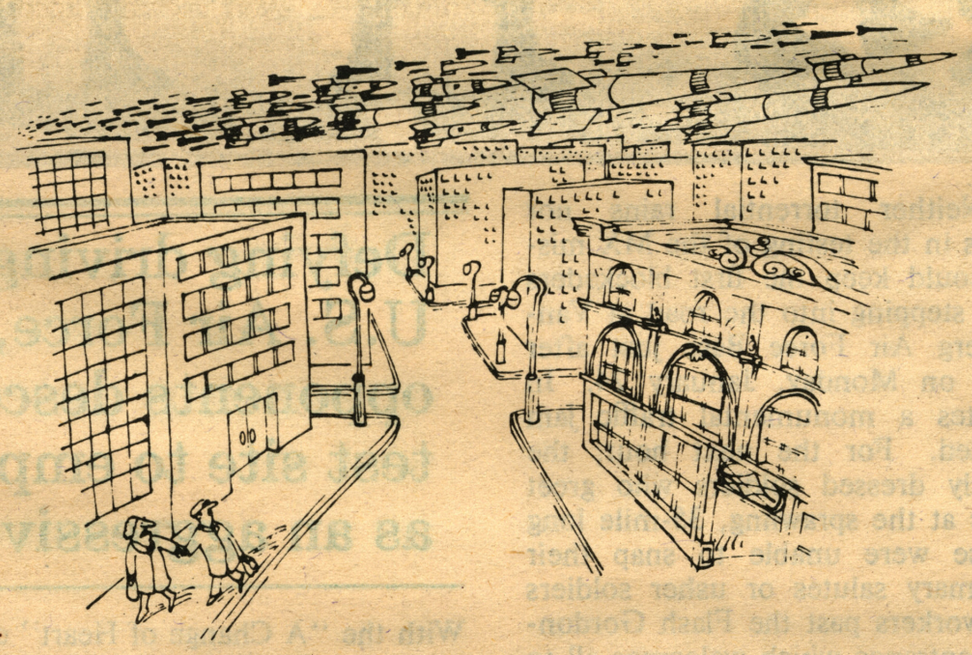
Some critics have argued that the passage of the federal waste disposal laws in Congress last December makes the whole proceedings moot. But attorney Kathy Dickson, special counsel for California, asserts that while the new disposal law sets up a procedure for waste disposal, it doesn't mean the problem is solved.

"Even if the first repository were available in 1999, it would not necessarily relieve the spent fuel requirements for any specific reactor -- since many repositories, not just one, will be required to dispose of all the wastes from all currently operating reactors," the state argues in its brief.

William Chamberlin, the General Counsel for the Energy Commission who argued the case before other courts, volunteered his services to the Supreme Court. A freeze on out - of - state travel forced him to use vacation time and fly at his own expense to defend the California law. Governor Deukmejian refused to allow him an exemption from the freeze for this work.

In a related issue, the Supreme Court has agreed to hear an appeal to reinstate $10 million in punitive damages against the Kerr-McGee Corporation for negligence in the death of Karen Silkwood, awarded to her family by an Oklahoma court. A number of states have joined the Silkwood family, arguing that the federal court that overturned the award does not have preemption over the states in regulating negligence.

--Mark Evanoff
IAT staff



"Come on, Brian, don't let's get involved."
Banx, United Kingdom

from the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*

It's About Times

Abalone Alliance Newspaper

It's About Times is the newspaper of the Abalone Alliance, a California antinuclear/safe energy organization consisting of over 50 member groups (see page 11). The opinions expressed in *IAT* are those of the authors and are not necessarily endorsed by the Abalone Alliance.

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Managing Editor: Steve Stallone

Editorial staff: Marcy Darnovsky, Mark Evanoff, Tim Redmond, Bob Van Scoy, Ward Young

Poetry Editor: Bill Garrett.

Production friends: Sandy Leon and Shendl Tuchman

Typesetting: Cindy Cornell and Bill Garrett

Cover photo by Bob Van Scoy

 It's About Times / 2940 16th St. Room 310 / San Francisco, CA 94103 (415) 861-0592.

To bombs, everywhere

Where has all the uranium gone?

International agencies created to prevent the diversion of highly enriched uranium intended for "peaceful purposes" are incapable of detecting any diversion for weapons use, according to an August 1982 General Accounting Office (GAO) report. The report's findings include:

Countries receiving highly enriched uranium under Atoms for Peace auspices in quantities large enough to build a nuclear bomb have gone for more than a year without inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), created to monitor the use of nuclear materials and help other countries develop nuclear power. All waste material was to be returned to the United States. However only 7 percent of the highly enriched uranium has been returned.

According to the IAEA, it takes only 7-10 days to convert unirradiated highly enriched uranium into bomb components. Elaborate reprocessing facilities are not needed. Irradiated fuel (highly enriched uranium after it has been placed in the reactor) takes a bit longer, 30-90 days.

A country could easily divert enriched uranium for weapons and go unnoticed. The IAEA lacks the technology to measure the quantity of highly enriched uranium once it has been loaded into a reactor. Hence it it impossible to know what a country does with its highly enriched uranium.

Plant security is another problem. Between 1966 and 1979, 39 breaches of security occurred at the nuclear power plants participating in the IAEA program. Many countries don't allow the IAEA to test their security systems or even to inspect their plants. Among the non-cooperating countries are Argentina, South Korea and Taiwan.

The US government seems unable to keep accurate records of the highly enriched uranium shipped from this country to other countries. The figures of the IAEA, the Department of Energy and the State Department don't match.

--Mark Evanoff

IAT staff

Source: "Obstacles to US Ability to Control and Track Weapons-Grade Uranium Supplied Abroad," United States General Accounting Office, August 2, 1982, GAO/ID-82-21. A free copy can be obtained by writing the US GAO, Documents and Handling and Information Services, PO Box 6015, Gaithersburg, MD 20760.

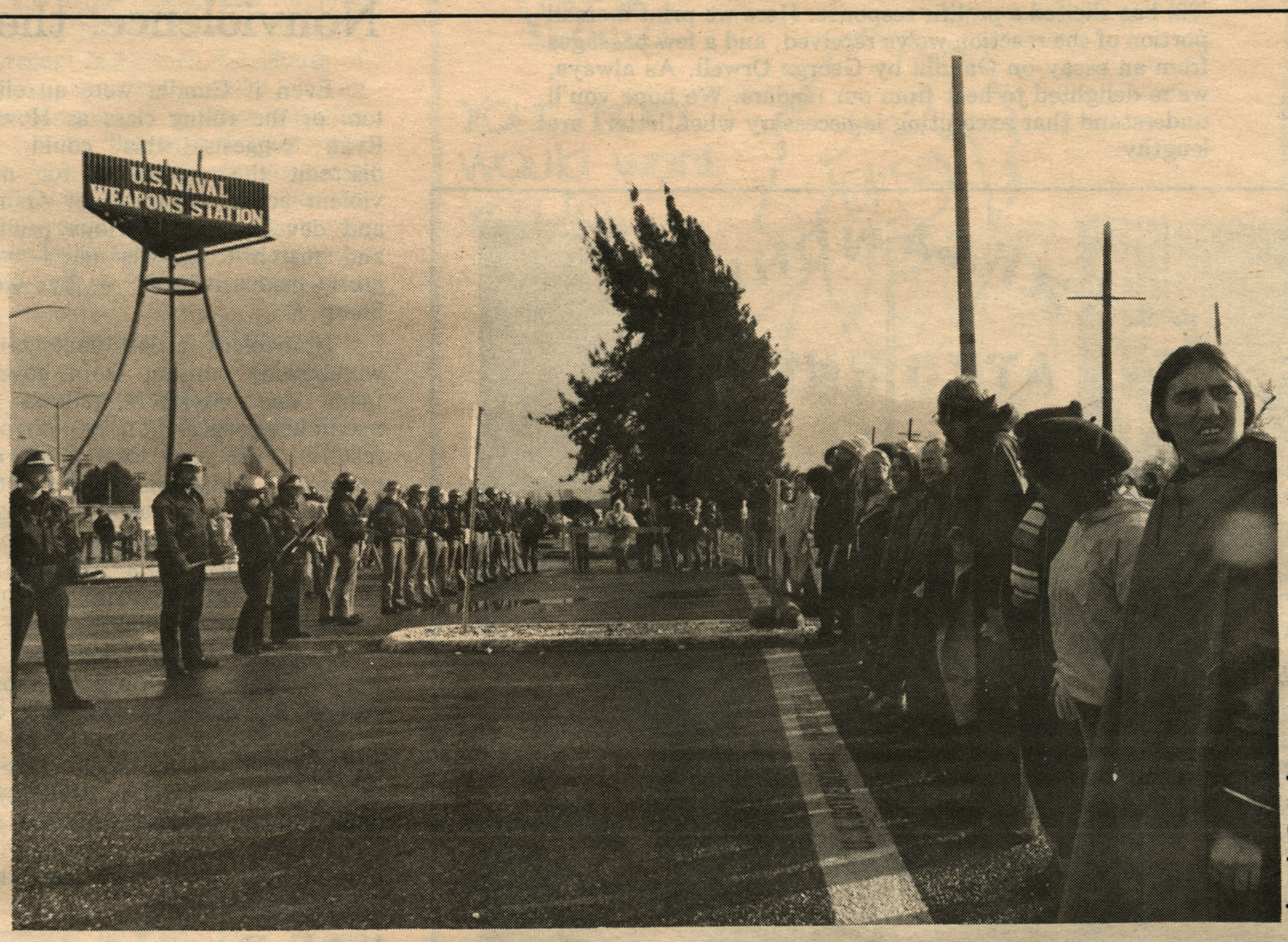


photo by Betty Lee

Police and blockaders face off at Port Chicago on January 29. About 2000 demonstrators and more than 150 blockaders organized by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador rallied against US involvement in El Salvador and Port Chicago's role as the principle conduit for weapons for the junta.

Disarmers take the heat

Cruise missile factory bombed

Canadian police raided the homes and offices of disarmament activists in Toronto, Canada in December and claimed to find evidence linking the groups with the bombing of a factory that makes cruise missile components.

Litton Systems Canada in Toronto has been the frequent target of demonstrations and civil disobedience actions for the last two years, since it began making guidance systems for US cruise missiles. The bombing, on October 15, injured seven and caused $5 million in damage. A group called Direct Action claimed responsibility a few days later.

Activists consider the police raids on the Alliance for Non-Violent Action (ANVA) and the Cruise Missile Conversion Project (CMCP) to be the latest in a series of actions by authorities to smear the anti-Cruise campaign by association with the bombing. On November 11, police had prevented a demonstration at the Litton plant, claiming that the protesters posed a threat to Litton employees.

When activists decided to blockade the road in front of police lines, the police responded with punches, kicks and hair-pulling. About 70 people were arrested that day, among them 21-year-old Ivan Lacouvie, who was then charged with the bombing. The crown prosecutor claimed to have uncovered a "Russian connection" to CMCP when they found in Lacouvie's address book a note about his trip to a Prague youth conference and to Russia. But after questioning the young man for 12 hours, charges were dropped.

Some disarmament activists believe the bombing was done by extreme rightists to discredit the anti-cruise campaign. Police used a similar bombing by Direct Action of a power substation on Vancouver Island, British Columbia in May 1982, as a justification for searches of antinuclear activists there.

CMCP also points out that police raids are not uncommon in Toronto, particularly against the gay community. The police "know we're not involved in the bombing," says CMCP. "It is clearly an attempt to smear our names in the public eye."

--Ward Young

from clippings provided by CMCP

Navy tries to sink N-sub dumping ban

Shortly before adjournment of the 1982 Congressional session, Rep. Glenn Anderson of Harbor City and Oregon Senator Packwood attached a two-year moratorium on ocean disposal of radioactive wastes to a gas tax-increase bill. The bill, which President Reagan desperately wanted, was passed complete with the anti-dumping amendment.

The new law requires submittal of detailed site-specific environmental information before a disposal application could be considered by Congress. After the two-year moratorium expires, both Houses of Congress would need to approve ocean dumping of radwastes.

In an attempt to circumvent the moratorium, the federal government is proceeding with rule changes and impact statements to allow disposal of radioactive sub hulks and reactor vessels off the Northern California coast and elsewhere.

The Navy has released the Draft Environmental Impact Statement for their proposal to dump submarine hulks with reactor vessels still inside. There are about 50,000 curies of radioactive material in each of the sub hulk / reactor vessels, more than the total dumped off the US West Coast between 1946 and 1970. The Navy plans to dispose of over 100 old subs in the ocean, mostly off the Northern California coast.

Marine Biology professor Jackson Davis disagrees with Navy contentions that this would be "low-level" dumping, that it is not near a major port or rich fishing grounds, that there is no upwelling that would bring radioactivity to the surface, and that there would be no significant adverse effect to the ocean environment or to humans.

Hearings are scheduled for February 24 in Sacramento to comment on the Navy's DEIS for radioactive submarine and reactor vessel dumping. Written comments will be accepted until March 31, 1983.

End Nuclear Dumping in the Pacific is an Abalone Alliance group opposing the disposal plans. It is also concerned about waste discharge from nuclear power plants, especially Diablo Canyon, and may apply pressure against Japanese plans for late spring dumping of high-level nuclear waste near the Mariana Islands.

For more information or to obtain key sections of the Navy's DEIS to facilitate your comments, contact Bruce of End Nuclear Dumping in the Pacific, *614 Gretna Green Way, Los Angeles, 90049, (213) 472-4406, or Barbara, (213) 455- 2765. Other good contacts are Greg de Giere of Sen. Barry Keene's office, (916) 323-0417, and Cathy Ryan of Greenpeace Sacramento at (916) 448-2092.*

In defense of Gandhi: readers respond

Howard Ryan's critical article on Gandhi (*IAT*, November '82) has elicited a prolific response. Here we print a small portion of the reaction we've received, and a few passages from an essay on Gandhi by George Orwell. As always, we're delighted to hear from our readers. We hope you'll understand that excerpting is necessary when letters are lengthy.

Johannesburg, 1905. "Gandhi had no class loyalties of any kind."

Class consciousness is divisive

Upon reading his essay on taking a new look at Gandhi and nonviolence, it soon became clear to me that Mr. Ryan had a specific bias which influenced the whole course of the argument. He chose to apply the structures of Marxist social theory to the life and times of Gandhi.

Mr. Ryan's version of Marxist analysis simplified the whole of the complex social situation into three simple groups: the British, the bourgeoisie, and the poor workers. He assumes that these groups are clearly identifiable, and that their interests are mutually exclusive. These are both false assumptions.

Mr. Ryan's thesis is belied by his simplistic bias. If Gandhi had promoted simplistic class consciousness, it would have been divisive within his community. The same is true today. We do not need to concentrate upon what is different among us, but upon what we have in common.

How can we respect Mahatma Gandhi since he did not lead the masses to revolt?

An aggressive revolt is not necessarily democratic. The "workers' revolt" in Russia was already accomplished, and its course was clear. Russia was so close to India that the course of the revolt in Russia could be expected to influence the effect of such a revolt in India. Who in their right mind would wish to bring that upon their land?

Anyone with a sense for the ideals of nonviolence recognizes that nonviolence appeals to the intelligence and good will of all concerned. Nonviolent public protest wishes to provoke thought, to waken the rest of the populace to the challenge of living their lives upon an ethical basis of respect for all life. It is obvious that violence merely evokes emotional reaction, which is of no use in a truly democratic political process.

"Violence merely evokes emotional reaction, which is of no use in a truly democratic process."

Mr. Ryan proposes that we should question whether Gandhi deserves our respect, and whether we should emulate his methods. By his questions, Mr. Ryan shows that he is confusing the ideal of nonviolence, which can become a personal conviction for anyone with a sincere concern for social justice, with the specific historic application of that conviction by Gandhi and others in India.

We are not emulating Gandhi's methods. We are applying to our social actions a conviction we arrived at from the experience of our own lives. Gandhi is not our leader.

It became clear to me that the real question for Mr. Ryan was:

Mr. Ryan lays the blame for the interreligious wars and the inequitable outcome of the terms of independence at Gandhi's feet. He claims that there is a direct cause - and - effect relationship between Gandhi's refusal "to support violent popular struggle" and the "bloody sea of interreligious violence." Simplistic cause-and-effect thinking has no place in social analysis; it only holds sway among the likes of billiard balls.

Mr. Ryan has, in fact, given us no cause to be skeptical towards nonviolence as a general principle, and little understanding of its specific application in Gandhi's time.

--David Daum

Nonviolence: the purest anarchy

Even if Gandhi were an elitist tool of the ruling class as Howard Ryan suggests, this could not discredit the arguments for nonviolent action advanced by Gandhi and developed by various pacifists and anarchist pacifists and -- with great persuasiveness -- by Gene Sharp.

Nonviolent action depends on withdrawing consent from government *and* employers, allows the maximum participation by everyone, results in the least loss of life and property, heightens the moral superiority of the actionists, gains the sympathy of the general populace, divides the ruling class, and has been known to win over the police and soldiers upon whom they rely.

Violent action depends on wresting power from rulers, mostly attracts the more violent male element, causes immense loss of life and property, taints the actionists as thieves and murderers, loses sympathy of the general populace and even helps unite them behind the now united ruling class and their fearful, self-protective police and armed forces.

During violent revolution both the violent actionists and the state become more and more centralized while the other institutions of society are destroyed. Even if the revolutionists take power, they will usually be led by their most ruthless, authoritarian members who have control of the massive governmental structure.

Gandhi cared about the future of India and the world and knew that revolution by violence would lead to rule by violence. His vision was of a nonviolent society where even laws were enforced nonviolently. He wrote in 1940, "Complete nonviolence would be the purest anarchy." He did not want to jeopardize the long term goal of a nonviolent society by suffering violence in the short run. Those of us who do want a nonviolent society must heed his warning.

-- Carol Moore
Los Angeles

"All Ryan's errors are predictable"

Mr. Ryan's attempts to interpret Gandhi without any cognizance of nonviolence would be about like me trying to interpret Marx if I did not accept the existence of exploitation. All his errors -- thinking nonviolence is a tactic to be used to coerce adversaries when other tactics are unavailable, thinking that crossing the line from nonviolent persuasion to violence is only a matter of degree -- are predictable.

Mr. Ryan's main point is his discovery that Gandhi's real loyalty was to the "Indian bourgeoisie." Gandhi had no class loyalties of any kind. And Mr. Ryan's formulation is bound to cause discomfort to students of modern Indian history, since at the time Gandhi was active this social class in India would have been very hard to define. Conversely, Mr. Ryan ignores Gandhi's lifelong toil for the peasants and disenfranchised castes, I suppose following Marx, who regarded peasants as an annoyance.

I wish to emphasize the importance of what is really at stake here, for I believe that those who reject Gandhi, for whatever patched-up reasons, do not clearly know what they are doing. We who advocate nonviolence feel a strong tug of sympathy for all radicals, and can join forces with them on many issues, such as liberation struggles. But there are times when we despair of seeing in them that departure from the prevailing conquest ideology which alone can build for us -- I mean all of us -- a desired future.

Mr. Ryan's article is illustrated by a cartoon from the *London Daily Express* showing Gandhi as the monkey who sees, hears, speaks no evil while communal rioting rages behind him. The cynical caption reads, "The nonviolent mahatma." Gandhi, whom Mountbatten called "my one-man army," did more to stop the rioting than any living human.

Why was it printed? Obviously the imperialists in London could not afford to let the facts be known. Their story was that Indians could not rule themselves, that only a British army could keep order in that part of the world. Indeed, if you look closely at the right side of the cartoon, you see a European woman being chased by the violent natives -- the ultimate racist horror. What on earth does Mr. Ryan mean by all this -- assuming that the inspiration for resurrecting this cartoon was his? Which side is he on? *[Ed note: In fact, the cartoon was our choice -- and, it seems, a poor one. It was intended to illustrate one contemporary view of Gandhi, not the author's.]*

But I cannot end without offering an olive branch to Mr. Ryan. For all his willful imposition of a limited and inappropriate frame of reference on Gandhi, he throws out a challenge we cannot brush aside: ours has in fact been an unexamined and superficial discipleship to the Mahatma. We have devised no constructive program, no 15- to 20-year struggle to control negative emotions, no spinning (or its modern Western equivalent), no educational work. Because we march on Diablo Canyon or Vandenberg we say we're using Gandhian nonviolence.

This is not to say we should abandon such techniques -- another point of complete agreement between Mr. Ryan and myself. But many stand before the gates of Livermore today who have not yet thought through whether they are anti-something or truly nonviolent. I believe that half a dozen people who *knew*, and who were ready to stop Livermore with their lives, would be more effective than a thousand who are unclear and content themselves with a symbolic protest.

Conceivably, a general moving from 'you against me' to 'you and me against the problem' at an International Peace Academy exercise is being more Gandhian at that moment than a protestor standing before the gates of Livermore with rancor in his or her heart for the scientists. If Gandhi were alive today, he would explain, as we have not done well, the dynamics of nonviolent action to people like Mr. Ryan on one side and people like Mr. Reagan on the other.

-- Michael Nagler

to a critique of nonviolence

Far from constructive

Howard Ryan's article on Mahatma Gandhi in the November 1982 issue is far from being conducive to constructive discussion on nonviolence. Instead, the article's several mistruths and distortions show it to be a hollow piece of propaganda.

The article continually criticizes Gandhi for serving the Indian upper class and its interests. Throughout his life Gandhi worked to lessen the restrictions and oppression of the caste system, and he shocked many of his friends by rejecting the privileges to which his birth entitled him.

His goal was not so much to free the Indian nation, but to free the Indian people. He had remarkable success at this, with a minimum of rhetoric. One of his notable efforts was his close work with the untouchables and his teaching of basic sanitation: how to keep their plumbing-less toilets clean, and the value of over-all cleanliness in the home. Anyone who has spent time in such a poor country, with rates of disease and death high above ours, can appreciate the importance of this work.

The most far-fetched assertion in the article is that Gandhi or his principle of nonviolence can be held in any way responsible for the Hindu / Sikh / Muslim war which accompanied the partitioning of India in 1947. At the time, Gandhi was the *popular leader of the masses of* India. Mohammed Ali Jinnah and Jawaharlal Nehru (father of today's Indira Gandhi) were the political leaders of the Muslim minority and the Hindu majority, respectively, in a mainstream sense. Fearing a lack of power for himself and the Muslims in an undivided India, Jinnah insisted on the creation of a new Pakistani nation, and he promised a mass civil war otherwise.

Tensions between the religious groups were already very high. Although Ryan's article claims that Gandhi's nonviolence led to a heightening of these tensions, history shows that he risked his health and life in several strikingly successful attempts to bring the two groups together, even if temporarily.

Examples of this include peacekeeping visits to areas torn by still-raging communal riots, and many taxing fasts, as long as several weeks in length, which ravaged his frail body yet helped to create a breath of harmony between the rival Hindus and Muslims. Gandhi's heart was behind a united India, but in the face of Jinnah's very real threat, he became convinced there was no alternative, and he finally and very reluctantly agreed to the partitioning.

As Muslims and Sikhs and Hindus picked up to move to their new land across the imaginary partition lines, there began uncontrolled looting of the homes and shops the refugees left behind. Combined with fervent anger and hatred stirred up by the opposing religious groups, and fueled by the pervasive and desperate poverty of the Indian people, the looting grew into an ugly bloodbath. Only hindsight can develop a scheme which would have prevented the war. But to insinuate that Gandhi is to blame is far from the truth.

The article misleadingly points a finger at Gandhi for recruiting for the British in World War I. However, he recruited not combat troops, but a medical unit to provide care for the wounded, in keeping with his love of nursing.

As Ryan indicates, Gandhi had numerous and varying connections to labor issues. For example, he led a successful strike of textile mill workers in 1918 which resulted in a fair wage increase and introduced the principle of arbitration into labor relations in India's textile industry. Other cases where Gandhi took an active role in worker struggles occurred in South Africa; with the farmers of Champaran, India; and in the nationwide one-day strikes ("hartals") of 1919. At times he did indeed refuse to give his support or endorsement to strikes, such as when he felt a strike would lead to violence. In India strikes are a different kind of animal than here. With discipline and focus they have achieved success. But many "general" strikes which occurred then (and still do today) only hurt the already dismal Indian economy and aggravate inter-group friction. What Indian society needs most is a sense of construetive co-operation.

"The author goes a bit overboard criticizing Gandhi for not being a good revolutionary, while analyzing the complex Indian society at a safe distance."

The article is correct in refuting the notion that Gandhi single-handedly brought about India's independence. Gandhi would have heartily agreed himself. But the author goes a bit overboard, as the general tone of his article is one of criticizing Gandhi for not being a good revolutionary, while analyzing the complex Indian society at a safe distance.

More than once, Gandhi is scolded for not supporting the people as they were near a violent flash point, and it is implied that this was (even if unintentionally) ultimately for the benefit of those in power. Gandhi realized that violence itself was a tool of his oppressors in South Africa and India. This of course represents the essence of the difference between those favoring the use of nonviolence and those who feel it insufficient.

If *It's About Times* wants to further constructive dialogue on the appropriateness of nonviolence, it should do more than take pot shots at Mahatma Gandhi. The closing sentence of the November article calls for "a greater skepticism toward nonviolence as a general principle," without (as usual) an honest look at the alternatives. Such a half- statement plays more to emotion and self-indulgence than it does to the growth of the movement.

-- David Troup

Gandhi with Jawaharlal Nehru.

George Orwell on Gandhi

The following excerpts are from "Reflections on Gandhi," an essay by George Orwell written in 1949, a year after Gandhi's death.

It was apparent that the British were making use of [Gandhi], or thought they were making use of him. Strictly speaking, as a Nationalist, he was an enemy, but since in every crisis he would exert himself to prevent violence -- which, from the British point of view, meant preventing any effective action whatever -- he could be regarded as "our man." In private this was sometimes cynically admitted.

The attitude of the Indian millionaires was similar. Gandhi called upon them to repent, and naturally they preferred him to the Socialists and Communists who, given the chance, would actually have taken their money away. How reliable such calculations are in the long run is doubtful; as Gandhi himself says, "in the end deceivers deceive only themselves"; but at any rate the gentleness with which he was nearly always handled was due partly to the feeling that he was useful.

Of late years it has been the fashion to talk about Gandhi as though he were not only sympathetic to the Western Left- wing movement, but were integrally part of it. Anarchists and pacifists, in particular, have claimed him for their own, noticing only that he was opposed to centralism and State violence and ignoring the other-worldly, anti-humanist tendency of his doctrines.

But one should, I think, realize that Gandhi's teachings cannot be squared with the belief that Man is the measure of all things and that our job is to make life worth living on this earth, which is the only earth we have. They make sense only on the assumption that God exists and that the world of solid objects is an illusion to be escaped from. It is worth considering the disciplines which Gandhi imposed on himself and which -- though he might not insist on evey one of his followers observing every detail -- he considered indispensable if one wanted to serve either God or humanity.

On three occasions [Gandhi] was willing to let his wife or a child die rather than administer the animal food prescribed by the doctor. It is true that the threatened death never actually occurred, and also that Gandhi -- with, one gathers a good deal of moral pressure in the opposite direction -- always gave the patient the choice of staying alive at the price of committing a sin: still, if the decision had been solely his own, he would have forbidden the animal food, whatever the risks might be. There must, he says, be some limit to what we will do in order to remain alive, and the limit is well on this side of chicken broth. This attitude is perhaps a noble one, but, in the sense which -- I think -- most people would give to the word, it is inhuman.

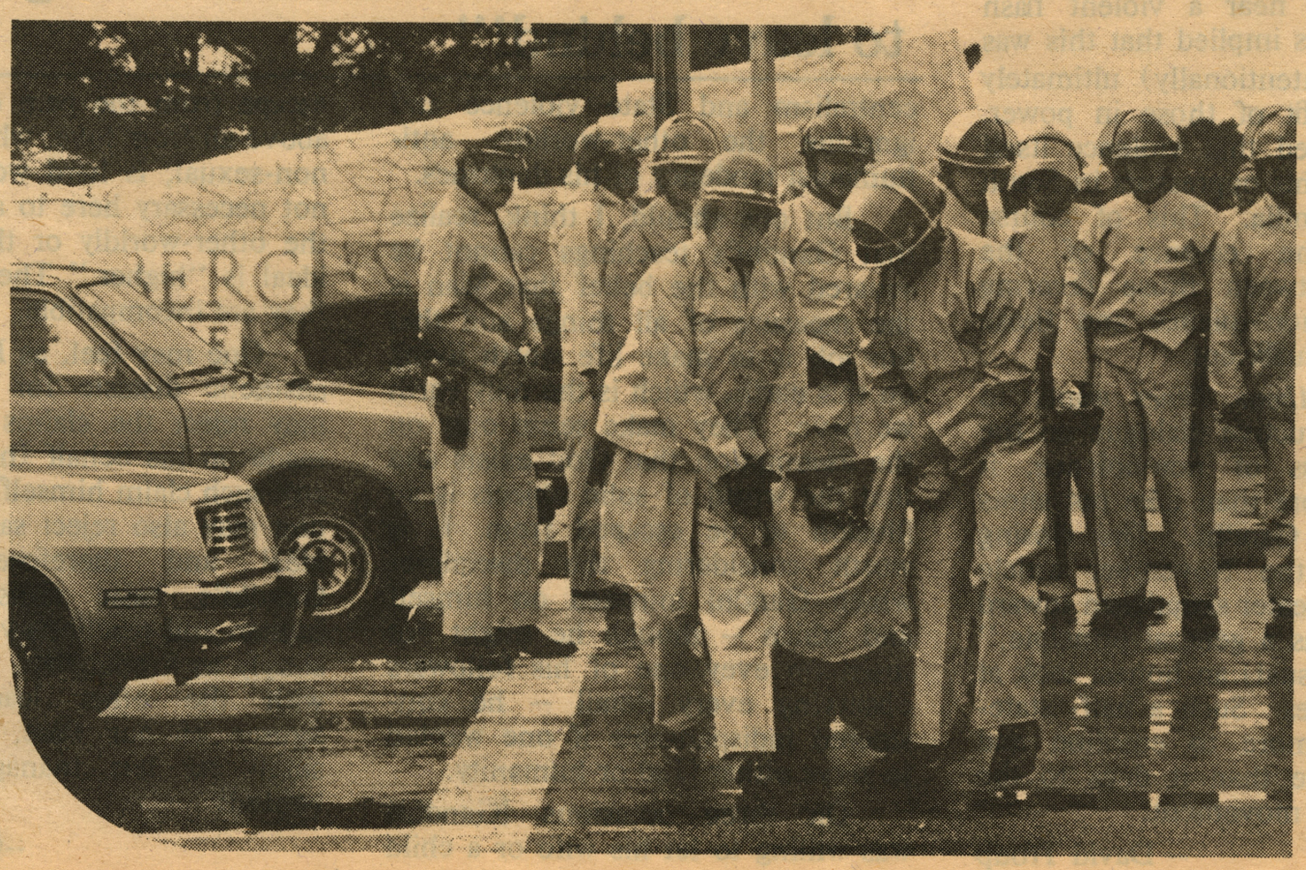
In this yogi-ridden age, it is too readily assumed that "non-attachment" is not only better than a full acceptance of earthly life, but that the ordinary man only rejects it because it is too difficult: in other words, that the average human being is a failed saint. It is doubtful whether this is true. Many people genuinely do not wish to be saints, and it is probable that some who achieve or aspire to sainthood have never felt much temptation to be human beings.

If one could follow it to its psychological roots, one would, I believe, find that the main motive for "non- attachment" is a desire to escape from the pain of living, and above all from love, which, sexual or non-sexual, is hard work. But it is not necessary here to argue whether the other-worldly or the humanistic ideal is "higher." The point is that they are incompatible.

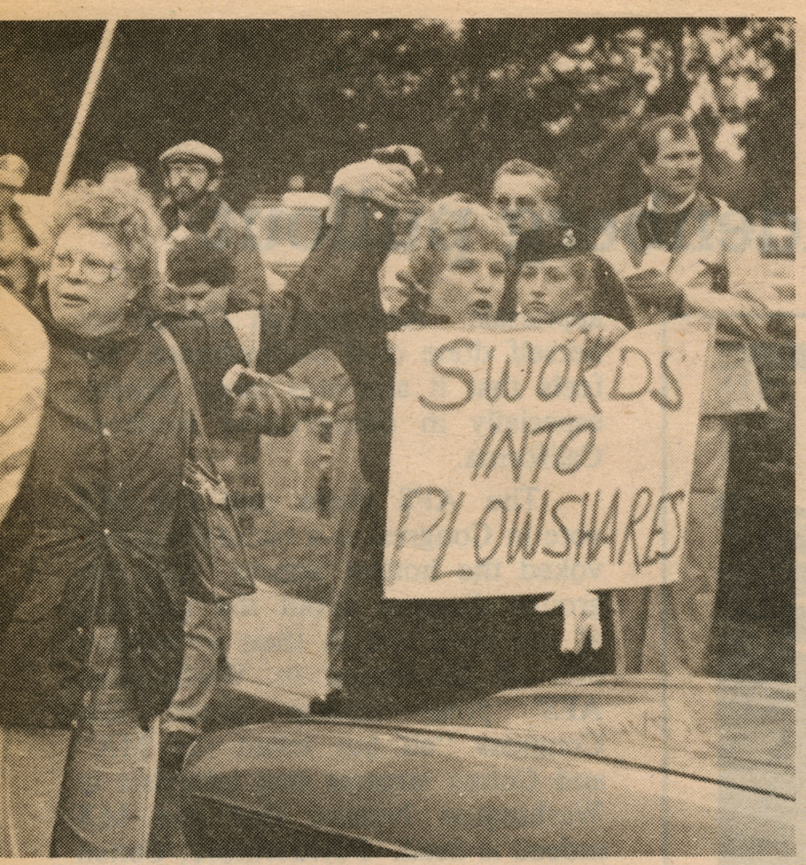
One may feel, as I do, a sort of aesthetic distaste for Gandhi, one may reject the claims of sainthood made on his behalf (he never made any such claim himself, by the way), one may also reject sainthood as an ideal and therefore feel that Gandhi's basic aims were anti-human and reactionary: but regarded simply as a politician, and compared with the other leading political figures of our time, how clean a smell he has managed to leave behind!

--George Orwell

"How clean a smell he has managed to leave behind!"



photos by Bob Van Sc



OP

by and Betty Lee

"Rally cancelled due to victory"

Anger over Alliance for Survival's Vandenberg pullout

Just a few weeks before the January 24 Vandenberg protest, the Los Angeles Alliance for Survival sent out press releases and several hundred letters under the headline, "Rally canceled due to victory." The rally in question was AFS' "Stop the MX" rally, which had been planned to coincide with a blockade sponsored by the Vandenberg Action Coalition. The "victory" was the Congressional vote to delay MX funding until a basing mode for the missile is approved.

The abrupt cancellation threw the organizing efforts for the January blockade into confusion. For a while there was talk of calling off the whole action. The reaction from the organizers of the civil disobedience was "disappointment mixed with a good dose of anger," according to Livermore Action Group (LAG) staffperson Tamara Thompson. "It was sabotage from within the movement," said Heather Huxley, a member of the LAG media committee.

Relations between Alliance for Survival and LAG, one of the major groups in the Vandenberg Action Coalition, had been mutually wary from the start. "We can't officially condone civil disobedience," explained AFS director Ellie Cohen, "and we never agreed that the final decisions on the rally were to include all the other groups."

LAG had agreed to this arrangement, and to an AFS stipulation that no one would be allowed to speak about civil disobedience at the rally, said Thompson, because "we just didn't have the resources to put on a rally ourselves." Everyone knew that there were political and procedural differences, Thompson said, but "I never in a million years thought they'd pull out."

Thompson and many others were particularly incensed because AFS seemed completely unconcerned about what the cancellation meant for the planned civil disobedience activities. "They consulted other groups, and lots of people in Washington, but not us," she said.

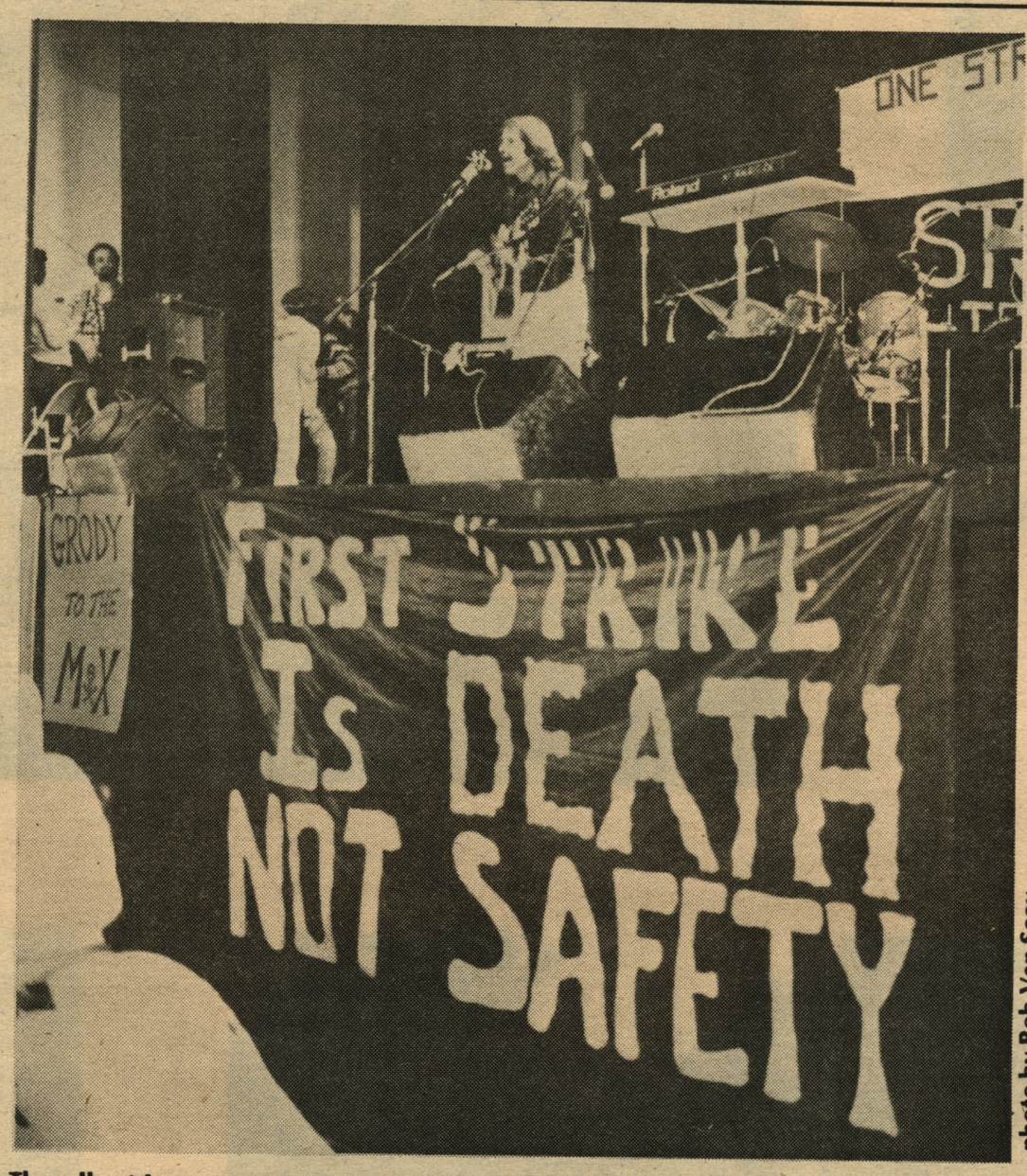


photo by Bob Van Scoy

The rally at Lompoc on January 23. LAG scrambled to organize it after the Alliance for Survival pulled out. The original site was rained out and the rally moved to Lompoc Civic Auditorium at the last minute.

"They have a bureaucratic structure that lets them make these instantaneous decisions and not even consider how they affect anyone else."

Cohen concurs with this history, and regrets it. "When we called Tamara -- and believe me, I'll never do this again -- we called to inform them rather than to consult with them. I really apologize for not understanding more deeply how LAG and the other organizations up north work." Cohen has offered to come to northern California to meet with LAG activists and try to mend as much of the rift as possible and to establish better communications.

The proposed meeting will probably take place, though Thompson has doubts about the possibility of future joint efforts. "Most people get shafted once and aren't willing to try again," she said. "We'll have to discuss our political differences before we can work out a way to make decisions together."

The political differences are significant. Each group criticizes the other's structure and tactics, and doubts the other's basic approach. Fom LAG's point of view, AFS is too bureaucratic and too oriented towards electoral politics. For its part, AFS thinks LAG's structure makes it incapable of reaching either quick decisions or realistic political appraisals. And though Cohen has herself done civil disobedience, she feels that it alienates many people, especially in conservative southern California.

The AFS claim that the MX vote in Congress is a victory has provoked the hottest debate. The two groups disagree about the meaning of the vote and in their interpretation of the mood in Washington. AFS' press release stated that Congress "all but killed the MX" and Cohen stresses that lobbyists in Washington believe that the MX indeed is dead. Furthermore, Cohen believes that "it was important to claim victory in order to say that we're on the right path. We changed the votes of at least two Congressmen with the phone calls we organized from this office, and I really believe in rewarding people, saying 'yes, we've accomplished something.'"

LAG interprets the Congressional action as unlikely to amount to more than a delay. "It's a fiscal maneuver by the liberals and has nothing to do with disarmament," said Thompson. "AFS has been duped."

In any case, the sentiment in LAG is that sending supporters home is no reward; that the proper response to the MX vote is to keep up the pressure. "AFS' sense of politics is like a leaf in the wind," Thompson said. "Their attitude is, 'Let's react to Congress' instead of insisting that Congress respond to us. They don't differentiate between the demands of the Freeze and the demand for disarmament."

If the meeting proposed by Cohen comes about, LAG and AFS will attempt to hammer out a way to work together -- or at least to operate cooperatively on the same "turf." The results of the negotiations may be a clue about the kind of harmony or discord the diverse antinuclear forces in the United States will manage.

-- Marcy Darnovsky
IAT staff

MX foes get a Vandenberg welcome

continued from page 1

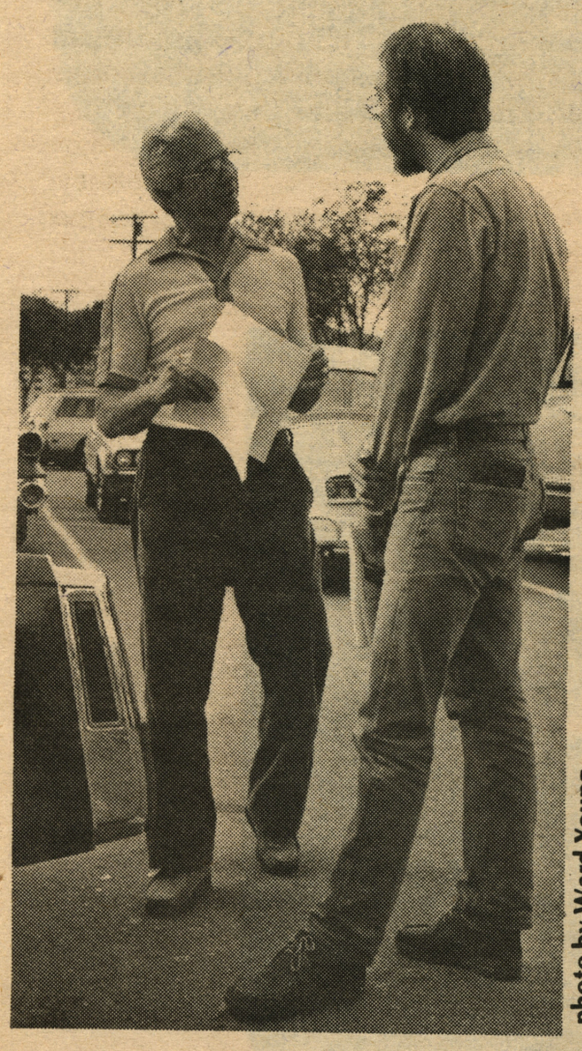


photo by Ward Young

A member of Hard Rain affinity group hands a leaflet explaining the groups' reasons for blockading at Vandenberg Air Force Base to the former mayor of Lompoc, D.C. Stevens.

After being detained, the occupiers were taken through the north end of the airbase, a security area. They noticed spirited discussions across rank concerning the aims of the blockaders.

By day's end, 211 blockaders had been detained or arrested by the massive security force of 605 Air Force and civilian police. Blockaders arrested by the civilian authorities were released the same day after being taken to the Santa Barbara County Jail.

The Air Force gave *most* of the blockaders it was holding "ban and bar" letters ordering them to stay off the base. It drove them in buses to another Vandenberg gate, where they were let go.

Affinity groups were carefully separated at arrest and groups of blockaders were kept small throughout their time in custody -- tactics aimed, no doubt, at minimizing the prospect of jail solidarity or resistance. Frequently one or two people in an affinity group were released many hours after the other members, maximizing anxiety and sore feet among support people.

Another new twist in the authorities' strategy was the use of selective arraignment. Apparently at random, 37 of the blockaders were singled out and arraigned before a magistrate on federal charges. Although they had committed the same "crimes" as the people who were released, the 37 were given a harsher punishment: a $100 fine or probation until they had completed 20 hours of community service.

The nine people who refused to take either option were sentenced to three days in jail and shipped off to jails in Los Angeles. Although the punishment was relatively mild, it may imply that the government is testing the idea of discouraging civil disobedience by coming down hard on a few "representative" protesters, rather than giving everyone the usual few days in jail.

From the standpoint of public awareness, the blockade and the Lompoc rally which preceded it on Sunday were successful even beyond many participants' hopes. Many obstacles were overcome, including the surprise pullout of the group responsible for the rally (see page 8) and a severe storm that flooded the park that was to be the rally site and turned the blockaders' camp into a foot-deep sea of mud.

But a spirit of possibility prevailed -- and the twice- rescued rally drew an overflow crowd, inspiring many of its participants to join in marching to the Vandenberg gate when it was over. That spirit was part of a larger commitment to keep the pressure on the government, no matter what the current whim of Congress, until the MX is really dead -- and beyond.

The organizers of the blockade, the statewide Vandenberg Action Coalition (VAC), plan to return and mount another blockade whenever MX testing actually begins. Although potential test dates are now classified, organizers will be looking for advance preparations for the launch, which they think could happen as early as March. Participants would then be alerted by phone tree, and they would descend on the base with the hope that the Air Force wouldn't dare to carry out the test with blockaders sneaking around the backcountry. A larger action on a fixed date in March or April, regardless of the launch, is also being debated.

--Ward Young
Bob Van Scoy
IAT staff

The Freeze campaign: democracy's acid test

The National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign may prove to be the "acid test" of our electoral system, according to its supporters.

Alex Forman, an organizer with the Northern California and National Weapons Freeze Campaign, believes "we have to exhaust every democratic means possible," before turning to "more direct action." A veteran activist of 25 years, Forman feels that the left has often been too quick to reject the present political system, consequently alienating potential allies.

Jim Shipley, campaign manager of the Marin Nuclear Weapons Freeze, agrees with Forman's analysis. "If this still is a democratic system the freeze should work," Shipley asserts. However, Shipley seems aware that the interest of corporate profits inherent in the capitalist system means, "the power has been pulled away from us."

Both Shipley and Forman concede that as freeze activists team up with progressives and/or become disillusioned with the existing system, they may begin to question many previously basic capitalist assumptions. "The freeze movement may not seem radical, but its implications are extremely radical," asserts Forman, "because it says the people have a right to vote on issues of war and peace."

Forman stresses that the political spectrum within the freeze movement ranges from socialists to conservative capitalists and that "the freeze provides a forum for people of different ideologies to come together and exchange ideas and philosophies." "The freeze has made

instrumental in the deletion of $988 million from the defense appropriations bill earlier earmarked for production of the first five MX missiles.

This recent setback in the House of a major weapons system is an encouraging signal to those lobbying for a freeze. But with Reagan vowing to push for the missile system in the Republican-controlled Senate, freezers will be in for a much tougher battle the next time around.

Regardless, freeze proponents are optimistic. Claiming that the freeze movement is unique in its decentralized atmosphere, grassroots-style organization and political and geographical diversity, freezers believe the freeze offers something for everyone.

But can a movement that refuses to put forth any analysis on the connections between nuclear power and weapons, that will not take a stand on US imperialism or intervention in Third World countries as part of the same policy and that, in general, refuses to even make a connection between nuclear weapons and the system that spawned them, possibly succeed? Can a campaign that concentrates on firestorms and loss of tax dollars make any impact in terms of the very real social, economic and political changes necessary for a lasting and truly radical mass movement toward peace *and* justice?

Jim Shipley thinks it can. Asserting that many folks within the freeze movement are for complete disarmament but that the "political reality" says that the American public at large is not ready to accept that particular notion "because of the

"Minorities don't trust the system. We're hoping we can still convince people to get out and vote."

people skeptical of the old realities for the first time ever," says Shipley, "and that's the beginning of a major change."

The National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign is not a national organization in the usual sense. It is a campaign with a focused effort aimed at achieving a specific goal within a particular time period, in this case, a bilateral freeze on nuclear weapons before the two nuclear superpowers build and deploy a new generation of even more dangerous and destabilizing nuclear weapons.

This could prove difficult in light of the fact that one Trident submarine has already been deployed and the first- strike Cruise and Pershing IIs are being prepared for deployment by December of this year.

Presently the primary focus of the National Freeze is to get a strong resolution passed in the House. "Once the freeze passes the House," says Shipley, "the National Freeze will actively lobby against all new missile systems." Freezers are confident that the resolution will pass the House as it came within two votes of passing last August 5.

The freeze campaign, however, faces some extremely difficult problems, not the least of which is the upcoming battle against the MX missile system in the Senate. In December, with the help of state and local efforts, freeze lobbyists were

widespread and deeply entrenched fear of Communism in this country."

Shipley further suggests that because the freeze provides a comfortable place for previously non-political people to plug in, "the freeze has served as a conduit for people to become involved in the movement. There are people who started out with the freeze and now want to go to Vandenberg or Diablo...but they had to start somewhere."

Freezers reluctantly admit that to date their outreach to minorities has been disappointing. Although several minority outreach committees have been set up and a concentrated effort made in that direction, "Minorities don't trust the system," Shipley says. "We're hoping we can still convince people to get out and vote...we need minorities in the freeze." Shipley hopes the freeze will serve to validate our present system and demonstrate to minorities that "we can affect change." He believes that "people have lost their sense of empowerment in America," and hopes that the freeze can provide a "vehicle of empowerment for everyone."

It does, however, stretch the imagination a bit to think of a single issue movement like the freeze providing a "vehicle of empowerment", especially in the case of minorities.

Meanwhile freezers are bristling under recent criticism from elements within the antinuclear power movement. In response to Marcy Darnovsky's allegations in the May/June issue of *IAT* that the freeze is "disarmament in a vacuum" and generally a shallow, elitist and fear mongering movement, they assert, "this is counterproductive."

Patricia Ellsberg, peace activist and freeze organizer, agrees with this assessment. Ellsberg and Shipley both contend that it is not the criticism that bothers them but the tone of the criticism. Or as Ellsberg puts it, "It becomes difficult to sift through the sarcasm and get what you need when people are being condescending or hostile."

One problem seems to be the assumption on the part of some direct action people that they are more politically sophisticated, more aware or more experienced than their freeze counterparts. Since freezers are operating under the assumption that we are still living in a "democracy," they are often perceived as being hung up on tradition or rather hopelessly myopic. Charges of elitism, racism and lame liberalism become academic when one considers this radical difference in perception. Herein lies the root of the schism.

Steve Ladd of the Freeze Regional office in San Francisco doesn't think that direct action groups have a monopoly on veteran

"If this still is a democratic system the freeze should work."

activists or on political savvy. Ladd, a veteran activist himself, believes this kind of attitude can only generate more ill feeling and urges "tolerance to the various approaches. The debating of strategies is good," Ladd says, "But we always need to remain open."

There are, of course many valid points to be made on both sides of the debate. Theoretically, at least, there seems to be a sound basis for optimism among freeze proponents. In addition to the ballot victories this fall, the freeze has won the endorsement of 310 city councils, 61 county councils, 444 New England town meetings, one or both branches of the legislature in 17 states, most major religious denominations and 10 international labor unions.

But what do all these numbers signify in terms of the arms race? If we are not living in a democracy but a plutocracy, as many believe, the chances of ever getting a freeze are indeed bleak. And, as Darnovsky pointed out in her controversial piece, if no real analysis of the political and social institutions that support the bomb is espoused what's to keep people motivated if freeze lobbying efforts fail? Will people still feel empowered when their delegates come back from Washington with little more than promises and patronizing motions?

Although Ellsberg maintains the freeze will "go for broke if we have to and try to get all funding cut off for the MX and Pershing," with the existing time line the freeze will be under enormous emotional and political pressure to surrender itself to Democratic opportunists.

As diverse as the freeze movement is and as muddled as its philosophy seems at times, at least one thing is clear: The freeze movement has become a political force to be reckoned with and has given the Right something to chew on. The freeze has opened a political Pandora's Box and the beasties therein are not going to go away.

While the various factions of the peace movement iron out their differences, we would all do well to take some time to radically reassess previously unchallenged concepts, assumptions and ideologies. For in the final analysis, the question of whether or not we get a freeze resolution is almost incidental. It will be the by-products of the freeze -- the new perceptions, the dialogue and ultimately the radical restructuring of an obsolete political, social and economic system that determine the success of the freeze.

-- Sandy Leon
IAT staff

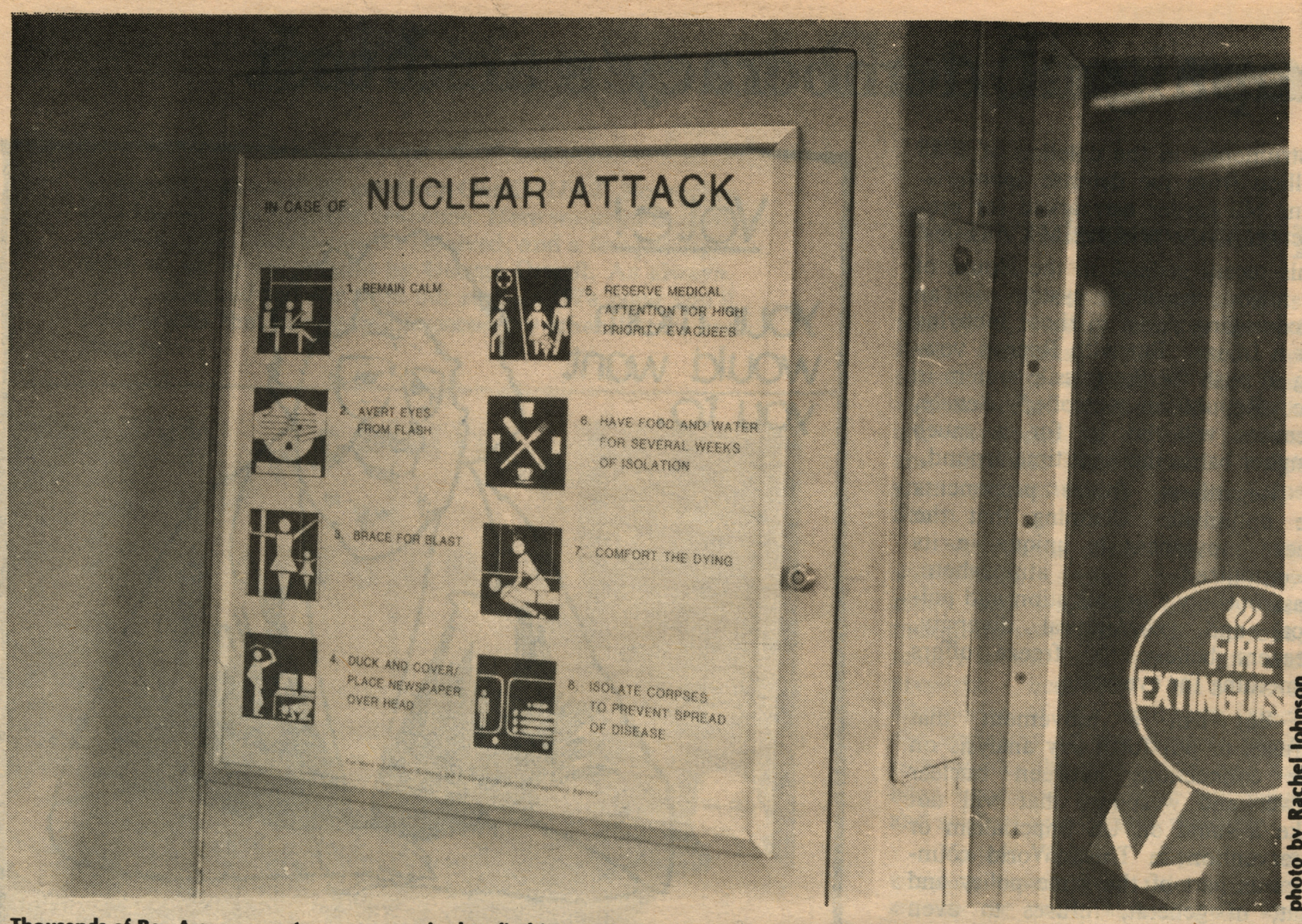


photo by Rachel Johnson

Thousands of Bay Area commuters were surprised to find instructions about what to do in case of nuclear attack on nearly every BART train on the morning of February 1st. BART and FEMA (Federal Emergency Management Agency) officials were even more surprised—claiming the use of paid advertising space on BART and the use of FEMA's name on the posters were "unauthorized."

Announcements

NOW AVAILABLE

"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. It is a comprehensive critique of the consensus method widely used in the antinuclear movement. Major themes include the hidden coerciveness and non- democratic character of consensus; how the method keeps us from organizing more effectively and broadening our constituency; the class bias behind consensus; misconceptions of feminist process in the antinuclear movement; distortion of voting by consensus advocates and examples of groups who use majority vote in a sensitive, cooperative way.

Copies may be purchased for $1.25 at the LAG office, 3126 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley; or send $1.50 per copy (includes postage) to Overthrow Cluster, PO Box 961, Berkeley, CA 94701. Also available at The Old Mole Bookstore and Modern Times.

ANNOUNCING: *URANIUM: THE REAL FACTS*

Public Citizen, the public interest advocacy group founded by Ralph Nader, is pleased to announce the publication of a new booklet on uranium mining. *Uranium: The Real Facts* is a 41-page booklet full of information on the effects of uranium mining and milling on workers and the environment. It was written by Dr. Eve Bargmann of Public Citizen's Health Research Group to counter the misinformation contained in the *Uranium Fact Book* distributed by Marline Uranium Corporation in its effort to encourage citizens to support uranium mining in the state of Virginia.

The booklet is being widely distributed throughout Virginia and is now available nationwide. Copies are available for $2.50 each (postpaid) from Public Citizen's Critical Mass Energy Project, P.O. Box 1538, Washington D.C. 20013. For 10 copies or more the price is $1.50 each postpaid.

TUBE LEAKS: A consumer's and worker's guide

An epidemic is plaguing pressurized water reactors, the most common type of nuclear reactor in the United States. It strikes the reactors' steam generators, where thousands of delicate metal tubes carry radioactive cooling water through the secondary coolant, which turns into steam to run turbine-generators.

Tube Leaks, written by the staff of Critical Mass Energy Project, is a comprehensive 60-page report on steam generator failure, and its financial and public consequences. The report describes the generators, lists plants with steam generator problems, and recounts the serious accident caused by a faulty generator in January 1982 at the Ginna plant near Rochester, New York.

The report also discusses worker exposure from repairing highly radioactive steam generators. Even simple repairs require hundreds of workers, called "sponges" because they quickly "soak up" the maximum dose of radiation. A separate section in the report covers political and legal strategies for working on these important nuclear safety issues.

Single copies of *Tube Leaks* are available for $4.50, postpaid, from Critical Mass Energy Project, Box 1538, Washington, D.C. 20013.

HOUSE NEEDED

The Abalone Alliance is looking for a house, building or piece of land for development of an overnight hostel. The site needs to be on or near the coast or the bay and we would prefer a site in the SF Bay Area. If you have any information or leads concerning such a site please contact the Abalone Alliance at 861-2510.

CANVASSERS NEED CAR

The Abalone Alliance needs a car in order to expand the area that the door-to-door canvass can cover. You can help the AA -- and get a possible tax deduction -- by donating one. Please call Geoff at (415) 861-2510 for details.

EARTHSTAR RADIO

Earthstar Radio is now broadcasting every Saturday night on KFAX 1100-AM from 11:15 p.m. until midnight. The shows contain information on peace activists and groups throughout northern California.

There are special guests each week, including recent participation by Daniel Ellsberg, draft resister Benjamin Sasway, and Bill Perry, formerly of the Livermore Labs. Music by artists in the movement, along with comedy and theatre, are also part of the shows.

For further information or announcements you want publicized, contact Earthstar Radio, 220 Redwood Hwy, Mill Valley, CA 94941, (415) 381-0531.

VANDENBERG ACTION ENDORSEMENT SOUGHT

The Vandenberg Action Coalition (VAC) is sponsoring three actions—the one in January, one in March and a floating date action at the time of launch of the first test firing of the MX missile. All use the AA NV code. CANE along with So-No-More Atomics, the Sequoia Alliance, Newts against Nukes, and AC/DC proposes that "the AA endorses the March and the Floating Date actions." For more information contact CANE at P.O. Box 377, Palo Alto, CA 94302 or the Mid Peninsula VAC at 415-326-8073.

IAT VOLUNTEER NEEDED

We're looking for someone who wants to work with state-of- the-art database management systems for keeping track of our subscribers. Please contact *It's About Times,* 2940 16th St. #310, SF 94103.

HELP WANTED

IAT is looking for someone to undertake a sales / distribution effort for the newspaper at bookstores, newsstands, etc. We'll negotiate a deal based on your financial needs and ours. Please contact *It's About Times,* 2940 16th St. #310, SF 94103.

LET'S TALK ABOUT PEACE

We are members of a group called Parenting in a Nuclear Age (PINA), a project of Bananas Childcare Referral Service. We are writing a peace curriculum for elementary school children.

Our units include Expressing Thoughts and Feelings, Peace as a Process, Nuclear Facts, History of Nonviolent Action, Survival of the Cooperative and Action and Empowerment.

We are two experienced teachers, Julie Lemoine and Randi Farkas. We are available to teach a series of four sessions with upper elementary classes based on these units. The sessions will include discussion, drawing, role-playing and presentation of some facts.

Please call Julie at (415) 658-3552 or leave a message at (415) 254-0199 if you are interested in this program. We will schedule sessions January through June.

ATTENTION NONVIOLENCE TRAINERS

We'd like to announce the formation of the Southern California nonviolence trainers / preparers collective. For information and the scheduling of trainings in your area, contact us at PO Box 772, Ojai 93023 or call (805) 646-3832. We'd like to hear from current trainers in Santa Barbara County and south to San Diego to begin outreach and organization.

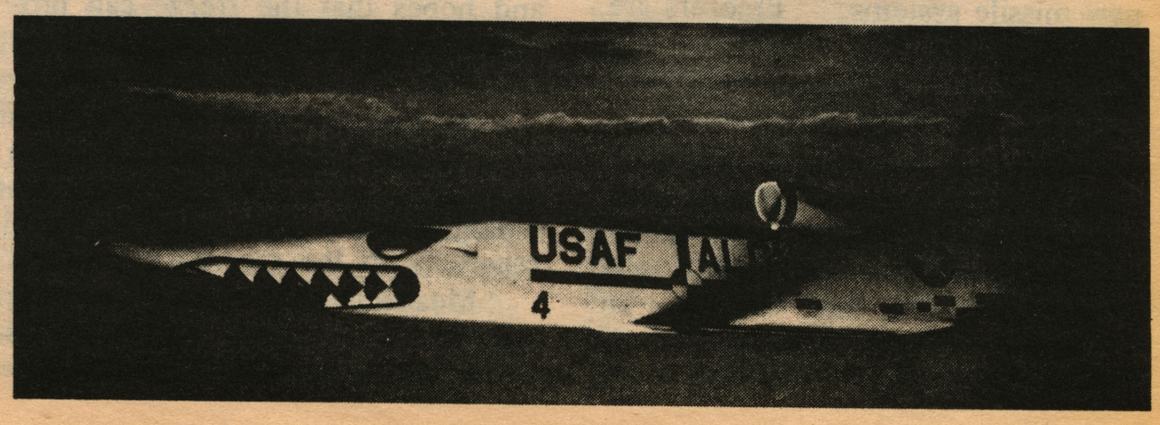
CRUISE/PERSHING CAMPAIGN UPDATE

A Nuclear Free World's Fair on Sunday, April 30th, and a massive demonstration at the Sunnyvale headquarters of Westinghouse on Monday, April 18th, are planned by the Cruise & Pershing II Collective as major events in its campaign to educate workers in the community to the deadly products being made in our own Silicon Valley.

Westinghouse, a multi-national corporation which makes components of many U.S. first-strike weapons, as well as 40% of all the world's nuclear power plants, is the current focus of the C/PII Campaign. The Campaign includes leafletting and talking to workers, talks with management, media coverage, and urging boycotts of other Westinghouse products, such as 7-UP and Hawaiian Punch.

The Fair and mass demonstration in April will be part of the Midpeninsula's War Prevention Month.

A Peace Camp in sight of one or more nuclear weapons' producers in the Silicon Valley, and a campaign to focus attention on the contributions of Rolm Corporation to the manufacture of Cruise missiles, will follow in the early summer. Contact: Mary Klein, 328-0367.



Calendar

February 19: Grass Roots Cultural Center, 1947 30th Street, San Diego, invites you to attend a benefit party to support the work of the Pacific Peacemaker. Meet skipper Ted Phillips and crew as they present a slideshow and discussion of their mission of peace aboard the 54-foot Australian sailboat. Their voyages have included attempts to block nuclear testing, and protests against the lethal Trident submarine. 8:00 p.m. Contact: 232-5009.

February 22: "What Difference Could a Revolution Make?" Slideshow followed by talks with author Nick Allen, recently returned from Nicaragua and a talk with a member of Casa El Salvador- F.M. 7:30 p.m., La Pena, 3105 Shattuck, Berkeley, $2.50. Contact: (415) 644-3636.

February 25: Grass Roots Cultural Center is proud to announce a special benefit performance by America's best known and most outspoken folksinger, Pete Seeger. 8:00 p.m., California Hall, San Diego, $8 advance, $9:50 at the door. Contact 232-5009.

March 3: Tell Reagan we want jobs, food and housing--not racism, war and cutbacks! Demonstration in San Francisco at state dinner for Queen Elizabeth. Contact: (415) 821-6545, 621- 0425.

March 6: World Premiere of *THE FOUR CORNERS: A National Sacrifice Area?* This new film documents the hidden costs of uranium mining and milling, coal strip-mining, and synthetic fuels development on the Colorado Plateau, home to Hopi and Navajo Indian tribes and Mormon ranching communities.

Kate Wolf and Hopi spokesman Thomas Banyacya will appear in person along with the filmmakers. 2 p.m., New Varsity Theater, 456 University Ave, Palo Alto. $5 admission.

This film is available to Abalone Alliance member groups for benefits. Contact Toby, (415) 747-0685.

March 8: *THE FOUR CORNERS: A National Sacrifice Area,* 155 Dwinelle Hall on the UC Berkeley campus, 7:30 P.M. Thomas Banyacya and the filmmakers will appear in person.

photo by Mary Klein

Whales for Human Responsibility join demonstrators protesting deployment of the Cruise and Pershing II missiles.

March 7: *THE FOUR CORNERS: A National Sacrifice Area?* York Theater, 2789 24th Street, San Francisco, 7:30 p.m. Benefit for Friends of the Earth. Thomas Banyacya, Kate Wolf and the filmmakers will appear in person.

March 19: Can There Be Peace Without Justice? AFSC annual meeting, 10:30 a.m. to 6:00 p.m., First Unitarian Church, San Francisco.

Reverend Gerard Jean-Juste, Executive Director of the Haitian Refugee Center in Miami, will deliver the major address at 4:30. Program includes films, slideshows, and eleven workshops. Contact AFSC, (415) 752-7761.

AA Safe Energy Groups

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

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

NORTH

ALBION:
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WOMEN FOR SURVIVAL,
Box 72/95410 • (707) 937-0462

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

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

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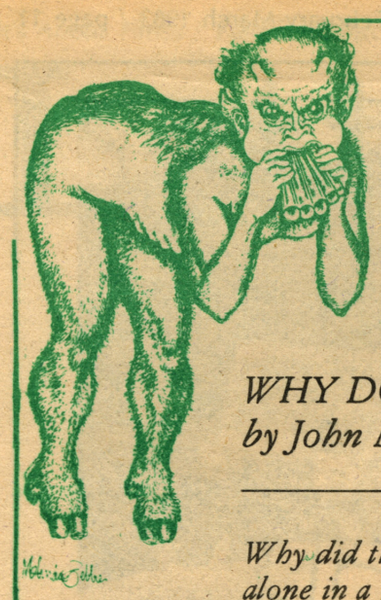

PAN: Poets Against Nukes

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

WHY DO THE YOUNG ALWAYS DIE
by John Mueller

Why did the young man die
alone in a foreign wood
Why did the bullets
of another young man
drain red blood
onto the pine needle floor

Both young men were fighting for love
but love of a different sort
as told to them
by older men
who did not fight

Why did the young woman fry
in Hiroshima's heat
with only a word of love to her child

Why did the widow buy
ideas from her father the fascist
Why did a young woman die
at the hands of the liberators
angry with so much death
they could only make more

Why does the sense of a war
collapse in the fear
of a young man's eye
Why do they die
Why do the young always die

HIS SURREALITY CONTINUES
by William Garrett

to open
the shutters
& clear out
the dust

it makes

that's right
it makes

it makes the sun stand back

it makes

it makes the wood
tighten its grain
& persevere

it weathers
the barrage of feathers
& asks the right
question
at the right time

in the early morning luminescence
it irradiates

& takes one step forward

THEY CALL THIS VOLCANO A SHE
by Leslie Simon

you think it is coincidence
you who don't know the land has heart
one point just opposite the other
north to south
west to east
erupts
while
one point just opposite the other
explodes
one is lava
one is life
one is volcano
one is riot
in Florida, Black people riot
at justice undone
in Washington State
the earth concurs the nightmare
blowing ash and steam
a fitting affirmation
to the continent's
unsystem of life
the most northwest
says to
the most southeast:
"I heave off hot rock
in sympathy"

they call this volcano a she
they call this volcano a saint
only a woman
only a saint
the heart of the land
spits back
sisses back
to her children
yes, riot
yes, plunder
yes, erupt
balance yourself out
hot and red
riot
riot
riot
erupt!

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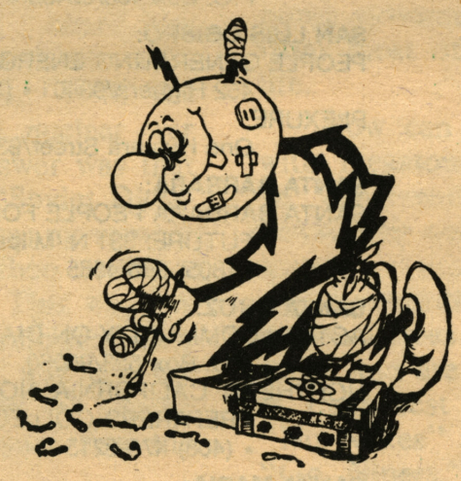

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