

It's About Times

September 1980



photo by Ellen Shub

The Black Hills Survival Gathering drew 10,000 to South Dakota for a 10-day mid-summer strategy conference. See pages 6 and 7.

Radiation overboard!

"The practice had its inception in 1946. It began as an infrequent, garbage disposal type of operation. Drums of low contaminated trash simply were taken out to a convenient location and put overboard," reads WASH-734, a 1956 Atomic Energy Commission report on nuclear waste disposal. "Second hand drums, reconditioned in some cases, are used throughout. Many of the drums are without tops."

Before the dumping ceased in 1970, over 59,000 barrels of radioactive garbage had been dumped in twelve Pacific Ocean locations, two in the Gulf of Mexico and 23 in the Atlantic Ocean. Three of the Atlantic dumping sites had also been used for toxic chemicals and defunct Navy munitions.

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) studied the environmental effects of dumping at one of these sites off the Farallones Islands, west of San Francisco. They have refused to reveal the results of that study

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KQED investigation Concord nukes confirmed

"It's just common knowledge" that nuclear weapons have been stored at Concord, according to a former security guard on nuclear arms interviewed anonymously by San Francisco's public television station KQED. In fact, the Concord Naval Weapons Station is the main supplier of conventional and nuclear weaponry to the Pacific fleet.

An attempt to document this "common knowledge" by KQED reporter Steve Talbot, cameraman Fred Cook and producer John Dann led to their detainment for six hours at Concord, confiscation of their film and threats of arrest on espionage and national security violations. The confiscation and attendant publicity ironically resulted in sources both in and out of the military coming forward with additional information.

KQED's report details the extraordinary level of security and secretiveness at the Concord Naval Station. Alongside this secretiveness is an apparent atmosphere of fear among employees—fear of losing their jobs if they voice concern with health and safety problems.

This concern led to a dialogue between

workers at the Concord station and the Mt. Diablo Peace Center, a group which has been working toward investigations of all nuclear weapons facilities in the Bay Area. "The Navy's machine guns, double fences and hidden armored personnel carriers show that it's more concerned about the security of the weapons than about the security of the workers," charged Gary Dobson of the Peace Center. The Peace Center's work led KQED to Barbara Devenport whose husband Frank died of malignant melanoma (a skin cancer) in 1971 after working for 20 years at Concord. Dobson told *It's About Times* that Frank Davenport had discovered that the dosimeter (radiation detection device) which he wore didn't work after an incident exposing workers to large amounts of radiation. Apparently a whole shipment of dosimeters had been faulty.

Talbot also reported that evacuation and emergency planning at Concord are nonexistent. In 1944 one of the worst explosions in U.S. history killed 300 people at Port Chicago, adjacent to the Concord base. At the time the nearby population was small, but today suburban houses sprawl close enough that weapons bunkers are virtually in their backyards. A public airport is nearby, public highways crisscross the base and the historically active Concord Fault is less than two miles away with a Richter scale potential in excess of 6.0.

As early as 1973 a Contra Costa County planning document expressed concern over the East Bay Municipal Utilities District aqueduct and the Contra Costa canal which run right by nuclear weapons bunkers and supply water for more than one million people. According to Talbot, the document states, "The lives of a few motorists lost by an explosion might be peanuts compared to the severe damage to the entire water supply for the East Bay, especially when. . . radioactivity and fallout are involved and when the facilities are too hot to repair."

As a result of the dazzling glare from the television cameras, Talbot reported, the Contra Costa County Supervisors passed a resolution on August 26 promising to seek written reports on "all toxic and hazardous materials stored or transported in Contra Costa County . . ." and including radioactive materials.

Ward Young
IAT Staff

Nuclear war made thinkable

Nuclear war preparations have hit the headlines again. Officially, the recently-announced policy changes and technologies are breakthroughs that will give the US better defense capability as well as humane policies that will save Russian and American lives. But a "new" radar absorption system has been technologically feasible for years. And Presidential Directive 59, which supposedly allows the government wider options in fighting a "limited" nuclear war, merely makes official what has been US policy since at least the fifties.

Even commentators in the established media are speculating that Carter's sudden embrace of these tough policies are part of his attempt to out-hawk Reagan. The Carter moves also deliver to the Pentagon what is dear to its wicked old heart—expensive new weapons systems and a magnified influence in US foreign policy—and undoubtedly will unleash similar forces in the Soviet Union.

But what of the substantive content of these nuclear plans? For what actual moves might this rash of symbol-manipulation be preparing us? What is now "thinkable" to the button-pushers? All we can do here, and only very briefly, is to report the claimed objectives of some of the new policies and technologies and compare these to other "useful" capabilities that they allow.

The radar absorption that makes planes invisible will supposedly ensure that our side won't be shot down—while it's retaliating for a Russian attack, of course. But it seems obvious that this is the ultimate in first-strike weaponry, perfect for a surprise attack.

The MX is a little more complicated. Its "defensive" justification of hiding land-based missiles from the Russians actually makes some sense—if we ignore the fact that the missiles carried by our submarines alone could wipe out the USSR many times over. The MX also makes the people who happen to live nearby into prime targets for dozens of Russian MX-seeking bombs.

In the brouhaha about the enormity of the MX project and its disastrous effects on the Utah-Nevada area, the characteristics of the missile itself are often overlooked. In *The Counterforce Syndrome*, Robert Aldridge explains that "the MX will sport a new guid-

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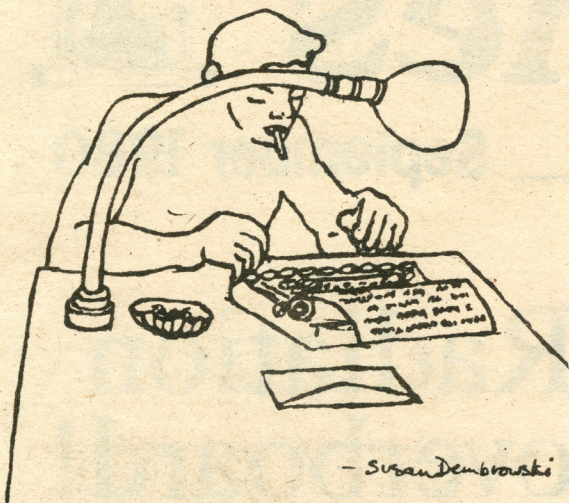
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Letters



IAT reader poll

Thanks to everyone who responded to the reader polls at the last conference and in the mid-June-July issue. Here's a summary of the comments and some samples.

Almost everybody said that the calendar is too small or arrives too late to be very useful. We agree, and need your help to improve it. Please, folks, send us notices of your events just as soon as you have a date and a contact number. Don't wait until all the details are worked out—remember that it can be a month or more between when we get the announcement and when people see the paper. We'll do our best to include items that reach us after normal deadlines.

Two people suggested more news on local groups. If you've noticed that some local groups get a lot more coverage than others, it's because they send us articles. If you don't have time to write one, consider sending us a photo of your latest event with a line or two explaining what it was about.

Our most popular feature seems to be the "Corporate Lies Department" although one reader thought the name was too radical and might alienate neutral readers. Most people like the letters column, some don't, but everyone seems to read it.

We got differing points of view about our mixture of news and analysis. Representative comments: "It might be better to more obviously separate the sections on internal communications and outreach/education." And, "Dislikes—folksiness, the use of 'we.' (News-papers never use it—why should the anti-nuclear movement?)" But from another respondent: "I like the personal style of articles in which authors are proud to admit their bias, not pretending to be detached, objective, etc."

Some other comments:

"The terminology... could be above the heads of some (who are new to the nuclear issue)."

"IAT makes people stop and think."

"Definitely not too simplistic!"

"Articles tend to be far too short... analysis should be longer. The articles have been a bit too simplistic, if anything. A better technical analysis on health, safety and economics would be good."

"I like your working-class focus."

"Too much type, not enough graphics."

"Please don't ever drop the (subscription blank) phrase 'what publication is hated but read faithfully by top PG&E executives?' Every time I read that I think of them reading it."

"IAT, just like every other leftist publication, tends to be somewhat secular and in-crowd. But to lose this quality in order to appeal to a wider cross-section of people would mean sacrificing some of the comfortable (to me) nature of IAT."

And finally, just one (blush) pat on the back: "Congratulations on August [issue]. What coverage! Read every word."



Feminists speak against nuclear power and weapons at a United Nations-sponsored forum in Copenhagen, Denmark, July 1980.

Black Hills literature policy

The organizers of the Black Hills Survival Gathering [see pages 6-7] required advance approval of all literature to be distributed there and warned all participants that unauthorized materials would be confiscated. Here are some reactions to this policy. Your comments are invited.

Was it censorship?

Several weeks before the Black Hills Survival Gathering, *It's About Times* received an "open letter to the movement" that was highly critical of certain preparations for the event. The writer objected to the announcement that all literature and display materials brought to the Gathering would be reviewed and that all unapproved literature would be confiscated:

"This is a first for the movement. We've had our boredom organized before, but censored? ... There might well be Moonie Maoists dressed in their red bunting with newsprint battle axes. Will good taste or censorship keep them out? Hardly. They admire that sort of thing; their organizations openly imitate societies even more regimented than this Gathering."

"Setting up the Gathering with these high school rules and regulations assumes the locals won't know bullshit when they smell it and worse, that they need some bureau to protect them from it. The ability of folks in South Dakota to decide for themselves and to act in their best interests is one of our only weapons. We neglect it at our peril."

As it turned out, the only material not approved by the Black Hills Alliance was literature for electoral campaigns and the Revolutionary Communist Party. We have no particular affinity for electoral politics and are disgusted with the RCP. We can publicly disassociate ourselves from such groups and loudly explain our differences, but we should not attempt to legislate their disappearance.

Black Hills staff member Lilia Jones denies that the policy amounts to censorship, explaining to *IAT* that it was undertaken only to ensure favorable media coverage and "consolidate our local base of support." We sympathize with the difficulty of getting fair treatment in the established media but fail to see how the Black Hills justification differs from

that of any other censor. Jones argued that the refused groups were free to distribute their literature anywhere except at the Gathering. But this sounds like the "love it or leave it" attitude which restricts free speech only to places where it is ineffective.

Supporters of the Black Hills policy say, "You wouldn't turn over the pages of your newspaper to just anyone." True enough, but a fallacious argument. A newspaper is very different from a conference, which is traditionally a "public space" for the open exchange of ideas. The columns of a newspaper are a limited resource compared to the possibilities for dialogue among 5000 people at a ten-day conference.

If, for example, the US government were to institute a policy like the "literature review" of the Black Hills Alliance, we'd have a flock of ACLU lawyers on them and call demonstrations in the street. And it's still censorship when it's done in the name of "the people."

Marcy Darnovsky
Steve Stallone
Bob Van Scoy
Ward Young
IAT Staff

That's not the point

The authors are simply missing the point. Exclusion of ten pages of literature out of the 12,000 pages submitted to the Gathering is not significant and is not what should be discussed here. The issues are land and water rights, nuclear power and weapons, building a land-based movement, appropriate technology development, Native American sovereignty, health, radiation and biohazards.

These issues are the heart of the discussions that took place at the Survival Gathering and it is to them that our attention should be directed.

Claire Greensfelder
Frances Peavey

IAT back issues

... are now available. Whether you are a recent subscriber or just missed some issues, we have a deal for you. If you send us \$4, we'll send you as complete a set of *It's About Times* as we can put together. You'll get at least seven issues, probably more, and help us turn newsprint into the cash we need to keep going.

Laugh at our early mistakes, cringe at our recent ones, get informed and entertained and end up with fireplace kindling in the bargain. Just send \$4 to the address on the subscription blank and we'll get them to you as soon as we can.

Errata

- The article in the August issue on Brazil and Argentina mentioned that if Brazil's nuclear spending continues, interest payments on the debt will be \$30 billion annually by 1984. This figure actually includes both interest and repayment of the principal.

- In "Dusting off the Stars and Stripes" (August), a phrase stated that President Carter planned to increase defense spending by a trillion dollars over the next three years. It should have read, "Total defense spending will be \$1 trillion over the next five years."

- In the Mid-June-July issue, a Short Circuits item on Seabrook mentioned that Construction Work In Process (CWIP) charges are "now allowed in California." That now should have been a *not*.

- We neglected to credit People's Translation Service for their help on last month's international features. This small, dedicated volunteer group puts out *Newsfront International*, a monthly review of the world events which are often ignored by the established media. Subscriptions to *Newsfront International* are \$12 per year from PTS, 4228 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA 94609.

Help prevent burnout

... ours. We're trying to find a Bay Area affinity group willing to help us mail *IAT* to subscribers and groups every month. The mailing is usually on the first Tuesday of the month and could be done during either the day or evening. It's easy, it's fun and it's only a few hours work for a group. Your help would let us regain our sanity after a long weekend of layout, and do a better job of organizing the next issue. Please contact us. Individual help is also welcome and much appreciated.

Abalone Alliance Newspaper

It's About Times

It's About Times is the newspaper of the Abalone Alliance, a California anti-nuclear/safe energy organization consisting of over 60 member groups (see page 11). The opinions expressed in *IAT* are those of the authors and are not necessarily endorsed by the Abalone Alliance.

It's About Times is a project of the American Friends Service Committee. *IAT* is published ten times per year. The annual subscription rate is \$5.00.

It's About Times

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IAT welcomes letters, articles, photos and artwork from its readers, but reserves the right to edit them.

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PG&E to phase out PCBs?

"We are simply trying to do the right thing," claimed PG&E news director Don Hanes on August 5 as he announced the utility's plans to phase out its PCB-filled capacitors.

PCBs (polychlorinated biphenyls) are used in electrical capacitors because of their insulating properties and ability to withstand high temperatures. But they are also extremely toxic, causing many serious health effects including skin diseases, miscarriages, neurological disorders and cancer. Because of their stability they get into the food chain and accumulate in plant and animal tissues.

PG&E claims its program to replace PCB capacitors with mineral oil ones could cost some \$50 million and take two to three years to complete. But with capacitors blowing out almost every other day in Northern California, often in residential areas, this is not soon enough.

PG&E insists their motives for the phaseout are completely altruistic. But the announcement came suspiciously soon after PG&E linemen in Sonoma and San Jose refused to clean up the toxic spills without proper training and protective equipment. PG&E may also have been influenced by the efforts of Chambier Bechtel and Allen Simontacchi, himself one of the suspended Sonoma linemen, who set up the PCB Project to publicize the PCB problem and organize the fight against it. (See *IAT*, May-mid-June 1980)

On August 13 PG&E announced it would install special current-limiting fuses designed to make blow-outs of their PCB capacitors less frequent. Although the fuses for the 120,000 capacitors are supposed to be installed by early next year, most of them haven't even been bought yet. PG&E spokesperson Ed Slingland said the company is "still in the bidding process."

But even if PG&E does phase out their PCB capacitors, the problem will not just go away. They are used by other utilities across the country, by private industry and by many mass transit systems. They can be found riding atop most of San Francisco's Muni trolleys and under almost all of BART's cars. They are in electrical units called "dummy loads" used by amateur radio operators for transmitter testing as well as in other small electrical units and household appliances like color TV sets, fluorescent lights and some microwave

ovens.

Even if all these units could be tracked down and isolated the problem of how to dispose of millions of pounds of the toxic chemicals remains. Environmental Protection Agency rules state that liquid PCB wastes must be burned under extremely rigid controls. But presently there is no incinerator in the country that is EPA-certified for the task. So these wastes are kept in sealed barrels and placed on concrete or metal surfaces in enclosed buildings surrounded by dry moats, awaiting a permanent solution. Solid PCB wastes are buried at EPA-approved chemical dump sites.

On August 21 Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co. announced it had developed a process to convert PCBs to non-toxic substances. The process uses a sodium compound to strip chlorine from the PCBs, supposedly rendering them environmentally safe and producing sodium chloride (table salt) as a by-product. Goodyear claims commercial-scale conversions of the method have been successful. The EPA is investigating the process.

—Steve Stallone
IAT staff



Members of the Direct Action Working Network (DAWN) try to return package of "radioactive waste" to PG&E executives. The action took place at PG&E's downtown San Francisco offices on August 6, the 35th anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima.

Hell no, we won't show

Nineteen and twenty-year-old males are apparently not unanimously complying with the new draft registration law. Estimates compiled by the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, based upon local postmasters' figures and reports from picketers, indicate a noncompliance rate of at least 30% nationwide, not including the South.

In some regions the rate is even higher. For example, in Martinez, Ca. 87 people registered out of an estimated 450 available. (This is based on 2% of the city's population, the national percentage of nineteen and twenty-years-old males.) In Marin County 1500 to 2000 registered out of 4400. In San Mateo County, 5000 out of 8500. In Sonoma, 1000 out of 2000. Even in conservative San Diego only 22,437 signed up out of 36,000.

Outside California 40,900 out of 60,000 registered in Chicago, 23,000 out of 34,000 in Seattle and 36,000 out of 63,550 in Atlanta. While no figures are yet available for San Francisco, Los Angeles and New York, indications are that the turnouts there were light. In addition, many who registered explicitly vowed to resist induction. And many registered under phoney names. In Ithaca, NY, for example, registrants included "Jimmy Carter" and "Ted Kennedy." Such a high noncompliance rate exceeds even the rates during the Vietnam War, when most resistance centered around inductions and more than 90% complied with registration.

The Selective Service System's director, Bernard Rostker, has vowed to go after the resisters. He said his agency has been recording the names of the men who have publicly announced they would not register, stating, "The kid who throws down the gauntlet to the government will be prosecuted." Failure to register is a felony and carries a maximum sentence of five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine.

Sometime in November the SSS will be comparing the registration lists with a computerized master list compiled from driver's license files and names of high school graduates. And if that's not enough the SSS will ask Congress to amend the Privacy Act to give them access to census data and IRS and Social Security files that are now confidential.

But if preliminary figures are correct, the government may end up prosecuting a million men or more. Besides the enormous expense of such legal action, neither the federal courts nor the federal prison system have the capacity to handle this great an influx of

"felons." Right now the movement's strength is its large numbers. The government cannot throw massive numbers of young men in prison without causing a major political upheaval.

But this noncompliance isn't necessarily a new radical challenge to the social system. Nonregistrants have a variety of reasons for their actions. Some agree with Ronald Reagan's view that highly paid volunteers should be the ones upholding America's interests. They do not want their potential careers disrupted. Others didn't know they were supposed to register. Some take the Ted Kennedy view that a draft is not necessary *at this time*, that no vital US interests are being threatened. And still others assert a pacifist opposition to war preparations. Some of these would prefer a national system that would allow a "social service" alternative.

Another perspective on the draft is the one voiced by liberals like John Anderson, Barry Commoner, Tom Hayden and David Harris. They believe that the only

way to avoid fighting overseas to protect raw materials is to cut back on "wasteful lifestyles." To quote Hayden, our choice is "conscription or conservation." But even though it is masked in the fashionable New Age lingo of E.F. Schumacher, lower expectations mean austerity. And austerity means less for the growing number of Americans who are already just scraping by.

Rejection of the draft will severely hamper war moves by the corporate state. It would mean a temporary slowdown in the rush toward widening regional conflicts and World War III. Any war that this government, or any government, will engage in is not in *our* interests and must be resisted. A nation's armed forces either safeguard its international interests as a business entity, or even more frequently, are used internally to put down social upheavals, be they anti-nuke occupations in West Germany, People's Park in Berkeley or strikes in Poland.

—Gus West

Outspent eight to one

Maine reactor ban targeted

With only a few weeks remaining before a September 23 vote, corporations throughout the country are pulling out the stops to defeat a nuclear referendum in Maine. If the measure is passed the state's only nuclear plant, Maine Yankee, would be closed and future nuclear power development would be prohibited.

Central Maine Power, which operates Maine Yankee, has helped form a "citizens group" to oppose the ban. "Save Maine Yankee" had collected \$502,000 in corporate donations by mid-August. Donations from interests outside the state include \$50,000 each from Westinghouse, the First National Bank of Boston and Goldman Sachs, a Wall Street investment firm. *Nucleonics Week* reports that the Edison Electric Institute, the chief lobbying organization for US utilities, is providing "advisory help" to anti-referendum efforts.

Spokesperson Neil Korsen of the Greater Portland Nuclear Referendum Committee (GPNRC) told *It's About Times* that groups sponsoring the referendum have raised about \$60,000. Although they are trailing in opinion polls, anti-nuclear organizers are encouraged by surveys showing that many referendum oppo-

nents will change their minds when presented with information on alternatives to nuclear power. GPNRC plans a campaign centered on personal and telephone contact with local voters as well as newspaper ads endorsed by area scientists, physicians and businesspeople.

The campaign against the referendum is expected to be heavily media oriented and focus on the economic hardships that will supposedly result from closing the plant, including higher electric bills, power shortages and unemployment. But supporters of the measure point out that the plant was shut down for five months last year with no ill effects. They advocate a program of conservation and development of Maine's numerous renewable energy resources, which include waste wood, small hydroelectric, tidal power, cogeneration and solar. Developing a few of these resources, they say, would increase employment in the state and even make it a net exporter of electricity.

—Bob Van Scoy
IAT staff

Bombs Away!



Every nuclear warhead in the U.S. arsenal is designed either at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (LLNL) 40 miles east of San Francisco or at the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory (LASL) in New Mexico. This new column will keep you in touch with what's happening at the homes of the A-bomb, H-bomb and N-bomb.

Nuclear experiments near the Bay Area

Not only does the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory design nuclear warheads, it also cooperates with experiments on their use. At the Camp Parks military reservation 35 miles east of San Francisco, an experiment was recently concluded which aimed to trace the spread of plutonium into the food chain by growing wheat in soil which was contaminated with the radioactive element at LLNL.

This was one of the more recent fallout experiments at the "Camp Parks Radiation Range." Between 1959 and the early 1970's, the Naval Radiological Defense Laboratory and the Stanford Research Institute manufactured "synthetic fallout" and exposed penned test animals to doses up to 500 rems per hour. Dr. John Krebs, former director of the Camp Parks operation, explained that "most were dead by the thirtieth day." Big surprise.

After the US signed a weapons test ban treaty in 1958 an outdoor explosive test pond was developed at Camp Parks. According to Army records, this was a "virtual godsend in the continuance of simulated weapons effects studies during the weapons test moratorium."

Although the Army had claimed that no radioactive materials are currently stored at the site, in July a Livermore Valley newspaper reporter learned that a garage-sized compartment in a warehouse at Camp Parks still houses two of the radioactive "hot cells" used to manufacture fallout. An Army spokesperson said that decontamination of the building could take three to four months. But, of course, Army and NRC officials say that there always was and currently is—what's the phrase?—No Danger to the Public.

To sever or knot?

On September 18 and 19 the University of California Regents will decide whether to continue to lend the University's name to the nuclear weapons labs at Los Alamos and Livermore. UC's connection to LASL and LLNS dates from their establishment in 1943 and 1952, respectively. The current five-year contract expires in 1982, and the Regents must give notice of their intentions to the Department of Energy by October 1.

Though UC has managed the labs in name, the UC Nuclear Weapons Labs Conversion Project contends that the University's assignment with respect to the labs and their weapons work is *not* to manage them, but to manage public opinion about them. Concurring with the assertion that the University has exercised no control or influence over the labs, the faculty Zinner Committee stated in 1970 that "the laboratories enjoy a delightful autonomy within the protective shelter of the University, so delightful as to border on the licentious."

Termination of the University's longstanding link with the labs would be a strong statement of opposition to the nuclear arms race. In addition, severance of the ties would deal a blow to the weapons development program. A DOE report stated that there are "few qualified candidates" among other universities and "few credible candidates" in the private sector. The report also predicted difficulty in retaining quality personnel if the labs were set up as independent non-profit institutions.

Be counted in opposition to the arms race. Attend the Regents public hearing and meeting. See page 12 for details on the time and place.

AEC gets blasted

The Atomic Energy Commission was on the receiving end of a blast last month in a Congressional subcommittee report which charged that hazards posed by atmospheric nuclear weapons tests were "not only disregarded, but actually suppressed."

In its investigation into the effects of 223 above-ground nuclear tests conducted from 1951 to 1963, the House Commerce Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations charged that the AEC discouraged health studies and concealed information on radioactive hazards for fear of losing Congressional and public support for the testing program.

Though in 1965 the US Public Health Service had recommended a study of leukemia deaths and a medical review of children living downwind of the Nevada Test Site (NTS), the subcommittee cited a memo by then-AEC General Manager Dwight Ink which states that "performance of the above US Public Health Service studies will pose problems to the commission. The problems are: (a) adverse public reaction; (b) lawsuits; and (c) jeopardizing the programs at the Nevada Test Site."

Mrs. Lois Blood of Cedar City, Utah, a witness to the testing program, told the Senate committee hearing in June, "The Atomic Energy Commission said there was nothing to fear. Each time a bomb was set off, we'd go out and watch the flashes. And many teachers in the schools would let their classes out to watch the mushroom cloud."

Mrs. Blood said she has lost 15 friends and relatives to cancer including her 15-year-old son, her husband, father and sister. Statistics indicate that Utah residents, many of whom were in the path of fallout from the tests, have higher than expected rates of leukemia, thyroid cancer and thyroid abnormalities.

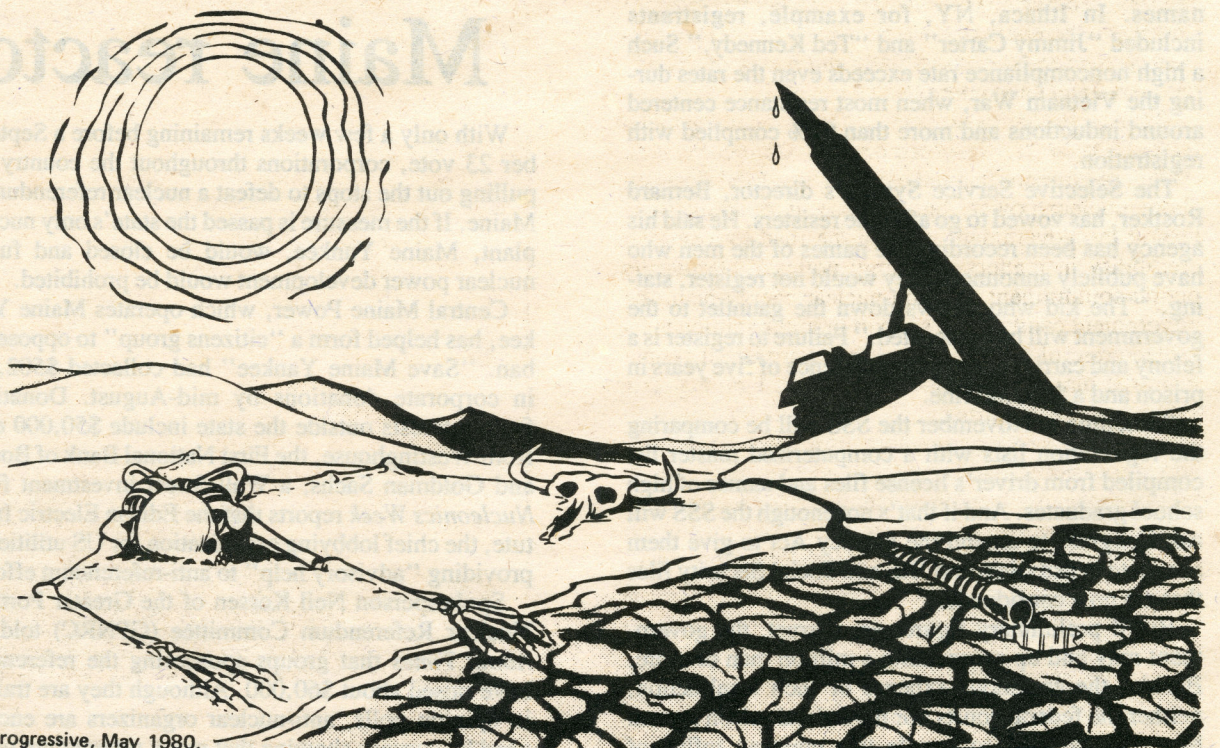
Underground tests continue

Atmospheric nuclear testing was banned in 1963 but subsurface tests continue in Nevada at a current average rate of once every three and a half weeks. Though Department of Energy officials admit that 40 tests have sent radiation clouds beyond the test site border—one was tracked as far as the Canadian border—Nevada Test Site manager Mahlon Gates states, "Since November 1971, we have not measured any dose to the off-site public from the underground testing program."

But Preston Truman of Utah has checked federal monitoring stations immediately following underground tests and has discovered that the monitoring equipment had never been turned on. Truman is director of Citizen's Call, a group which has gathered 2000 signatures from Utah residents who demand permanent closure of the test site. Citizen's Call is concerned not only with radiation escaping from underground caverns, but also with evidence suggesting that radiation may be polluting the region's water supply.

Colonel Raymond F. Brim, who was responsible for monitoring off-site fallout at the NTS from 1966 to 1975, lends support to Truman's skepticism. In testimony before the House subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations last year Brim said, "The American people have not received the true facts over the past 16 years of underground testing regarding nuclear fallout and radiation. There is indisputable evidence on record that shows that the people, not just of Utah and Nevada, but of a much wider and more encompassing area of the United States, were unknowingly subjected to fallout of radioactive debris that resulted from ventings of underground and cratering tests conducted at the Nevada Test Site."

—Sue Bloch
UC Nuclear Weapons Labs
Conversion Project



The Progressive, May 1980.

The MX Follies

The desert valleys of the Great Basin region of Nevada and Utah have been slated by the Air Force for sacrifice to the MX missile system.

The beauty of this serene and remote land is stark and its silence is striking. Even in town the gentle breeze is audible. Further up in the hills which rise sharply from the high desert floor, the air carries the scent of sage.

But such contemplation is jarred by the anticipation of valleys torn up with MX construction. If the Pentagon and the administration have their way, thousands of miles of missile tracks and new roads, along with an enormous influx of people, will be involved in what has been dubbed "man's biggest construction project." Understandably, the residents of the area are less than enthusiastic about the plan to turn their home into a "sponge" that will attract and absorb attacking nuclear warheads.

The MX missile is the latest addition to the US nuclear weapons stockpile and a significant new step in the arms race. It is the centerpiece of the Carter administration's recently announced revision of nuclear war strategy. Counterforce, as the policy is known, is by no means new, but Carter's signing of Presidential Directive 59 makes it official policy and the Air Force insists that it can't be carried out without the MX. (See accompanying story.)

Despite the Air Force's extensive public relations efforts, the MX system has been met with sharp criticism in the area. The problems are enormous and many. The impact on the fragile desert ecology would be devastating. Vast quantities of water, already scarce in the desert, would be required. Indian land rights would be threatened. Local economies, which are based largely on ranching and mining, would be dismantled by the MX land grab and a huge influx of new residents for MX jobs would overwhelm available services. The greatest threat, of course, would be that of living in the bull's eye of a major nuclear target.

A Stop MX Campaign in the Great Basin has generated widespread local opposition in the past months, prompting many state politicians to oppose the missile and even forcing some changes, albeit cosmetic ones, in the Air Force's plans. But after a flurry of town meetings, debates with the Air Force, letter writing, abundant media coverage and a traveling "road show" — all of which have helped build and articulate grassroots opposition — the Stop MX effort still faces an enormous challenge.

The Air Force is stepping up its efforts to convince the locals that the MX will be at worst a minor inconvenience and to convince Congress to fund new weapons systems. Heightened global conflict is being used to generate support for more aggressive foreign policies and bigger military budgets, strengthening the promotion of the MX.

The Great Basin MX Alliance faces the dual task of maintaining the strong regional opposition effort while launching a national effort against the MX. The missile is not welcome in Nevada and Utah, but the people of this sparsely populated region won't be able to stop it alone. An ambitious effort has begun to reach networks of potential allies, including other rural organizing groups and environmental, legal, public policy, peace, anti-nuclear, scientific, agricultural and legislative organizations. Congressional funding for the MX and a Draft Environmental Impact Statement, due to be released this month, are two main targets for the coming months.

—Martha Henderson

Paradise Lost : Pacific nuclear resistance

The Pacific Ocean is rapidly becoming one of the most intensely nuclearized regions on earth. Nuclear weapons are tested and stored in the Pacific and nuclear submarines prowl its deep waters. Nuclear power plants are beginning to dot the coastlines of the Pacific Rim and wastes generated by plants in Japan are regularly transported through Pacific waters for reprocessing in France and Britain. The nuclear industries of Japan and the US increasingly rely on Pacific Rim exports for their very survival. Along with the USSR, they are seeking a Pacific island for use as an international reprocessing center and waste dump.

Confronting this military and industrial nuclear onslaught is the escalating resistance of Pacific peoples. Sixty delegates from 17 Pacific Island and Rim countries met near Honolulu in May to develop a two-year strategy of opposition.

The week-long Nuclear Free Pacific Conference 1980 (NFPC'80), organized by a coalition of 47 organizations, is built on a 25-year tradition of popular Pacific nuclear resistance. Local and regional protests against US nuclear tests at Amchitka and Bikini in the 1950's grew into an international campaign against French atmospheric testing near Mururoa in 1971-1975. Activists from the US, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, France, and Fiji sailed to the rough waters near Mururoa, stalling the tests and stimulating international press coverage. Many sailors were arrested and beaten by the French and their boats impounded. Labor organizations joined in the protests. Fijian air transport and dockworkers unions boycotted trade with France, and all Australian and New Zealand unions banned any commerce, shipping and telecommunications with France for a year.

Despite these political headaches, France continued its atmospheric tests until its technical data base was completed in 1975 and further nuclear weapons development was assured through underground tests. The Mururoa Campaign, however, had given birth to the Fijian organization, ATOM (Against Testing on Mururoa) which organized the first Nuclear Free Pacific Conference in Fiji in 1975."

Political independence: an anti-nuclear strategy

Nuclear opposition in many Pacific nations is an integral part of a fight for political independence or liberation. France still holds the islands of French Polynesia, including Tahiti and New Caledonia, as formal colonies. Tahiti is crucial to French nuclear weapons development since it lost its desert testing ground when Algeria won independence in 1966.

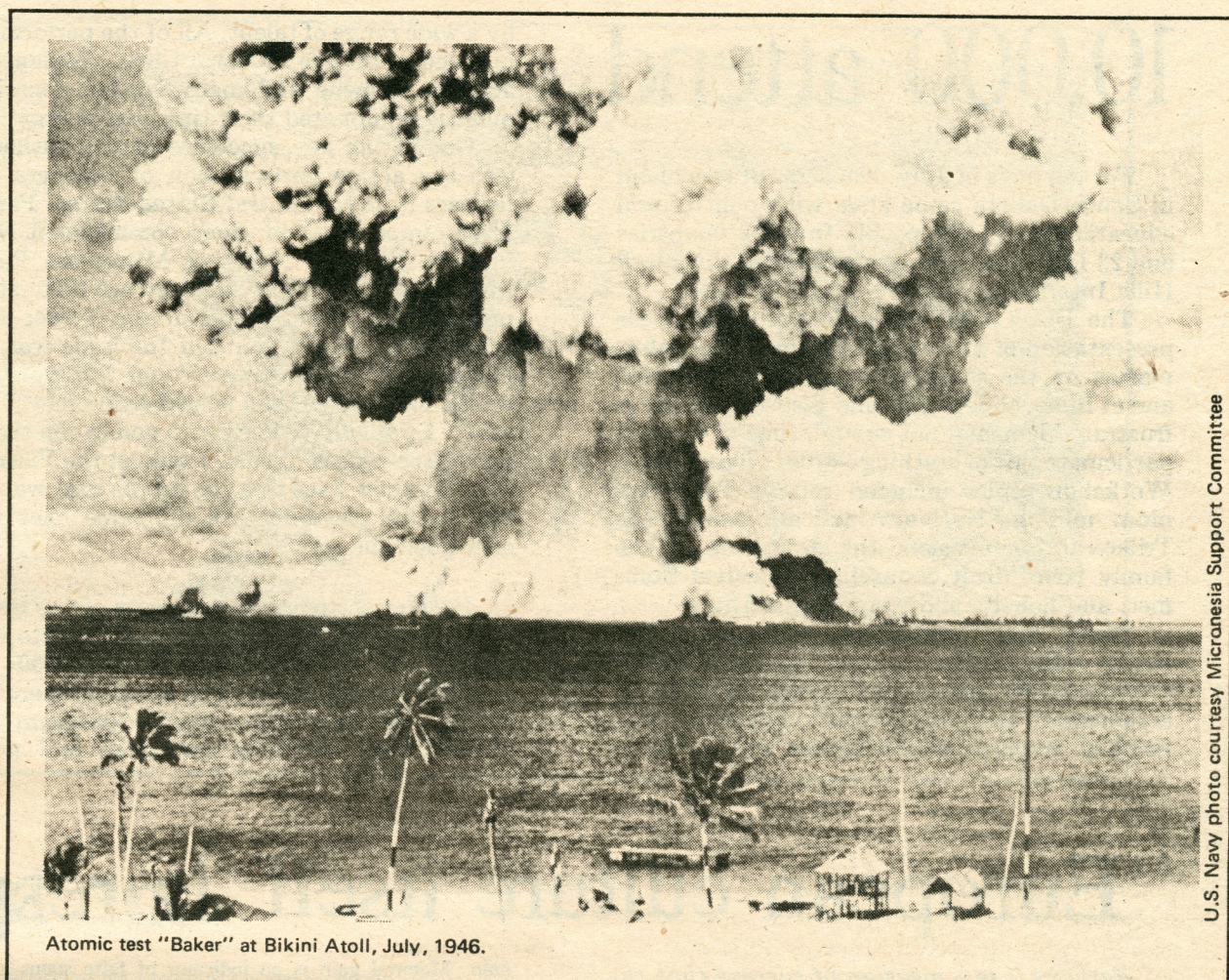
Denmark: We can manage without nuclear power

Danish anti-nuclear activists were overjoyed last February when, after years of persistent organizing, education and action, the Danish Parliament decided to postpone indefinitely any decision about the introduction of nuclear power into the country.

The government's action followed the national anti-nuclear organization's introduction of its most ambitious information campaign to date, called "We Can Manage Without Nuclear Power." As part of the campaign a 10-page full-color "Sunday supplement" style booklet was distributed to a million households last January. It describes the dangers of a nuclear-powered future and the alternatives that can work for Denmark: energy efficiency, conservation and a mix of natural gas, wind and solar energy sources.

But new problems lie ahead. According to the OOA (Organization for Information on Atomic Power), "The government has indeed postponed the decision about nuclear power, but the way it is doing so is setting the government well on the road to losing its credibility in matters of energy policy." Despite its public commitment to a non-nuclear energy plan, the government continues to support uranium mining in its protectorate of Greenland and has transferred people from the main Danish nuclear research lab to do this "new" energy planning.

The OOA is now giving high priority to information and discussion concerning local and regional energy plans, especially heating planning. The electric companies want people to switch to electric heat to bolster the need for centralized coal plants instead of decentralized combined heat and power plants. A recent OOA report stated, "The planning and carrying out of an ecologically and socially responsible energy policy obviously depends to no small degree upon how much public pressure OOA and other groups will be able to mobilize."



Atomic test "Baker" at Bikini Atoll, July, 1946.

U.S. Navy photo courtesy Micronesia Support Committee

The US role in the Pacific is perhaps more sophisticated and more omnipresent than that of France. During the 40's and 50's the Marshall Islands were the site of 69 US nuclear tests. During the tests the entire populations of Eniwetok and Bikini Islands were removed from their homes. While some have been allowed to return following a massive US "clean-up" operation, many scientists and Islanders continue to doubt that the islands are safe for human habitation.

The US nuclear bombs not only devastated whole atolls but exposed the land and peoples of the Marshall Islands to high levels of radiation. One hydrogen bomb test, "Operation Bravo," March 1, 1954, was conducted despite warnings about changing winds. A white, snow-like ash fell on the people of Rongelap 4-6 hours after the blast, forming a layer on the island one and a half inches thick. Twenty-two hours later, mist-like fallout descended on the people of Uterik.

Symptoms of acute radiation exposure—itching and burning of the skin, eyes and mouth, nausea, vomiting and diarrhea—began to appear four days later, while second-stage symptoms—partial or total loss of hair, and skin "burns" on neck, shoulders, arms and feet—appeared by the end of the month. Twenty-eight US military personnel, also exposed during the bomb test, were removed 38 hours after the blast. The Rongelapese were removed after 62 hours, while the people of Uterik were left on the contaminated island for 78 hours.

According to Rongelapese Magistrate and NFPC'80 delegate Nelson Anjain, 75% of the native food of Rongelap is not edible, and more than 20 of the once beautiful islands within the atoll are contaminated and uninhabitable. Furthermore, claims Anjain, more than 50% of the people who lived on Rongelap when the testing took place have developed thyroid cancer and more than 90% are now experiencing certain kinds of sickness unknown before the testing.

US Department of Energy examinations regularly conclude that the island is safe and islanders are told that their health problems stem from colds or the flu. But in 1976, a team of Japanese doctors and scientists wishing to inspect the island were denied access by US military authorities.

The Palau Constitution

The people of Palau carried their wariness of US designs into the political arena. In 1978-79 the Palauan legislature drafted the first constitution of Palau, which among other things would prohibit the exercise of eminent domain, which the US uses to seize land for military purposes. Another clause prohibiting "harmful substances," including nuclear materials, without the express consent of 75% of the voters, made Palau the first country in the world to write an anti-nuclear constitution. On July 9, 1979, in a UN-observed referendum, the "Constitution of the Republic of Palau" was overwhelmingly approved by a 92% vote.

The US government, which was eyeing 32,000 Palauan acres for development, was upset. Even before the July vote the US proclaimed the constitution to be incompatible with the concept of free association and threatened to withdraw aid to Palau if it passed. After the vote the US refused to recognize the constitution and pushed a small group of pro-American legislators to write a new version deleting the "objectionable" articles and submit it to a vote.

The US poured thousands of dollars into Palau to pass the "US Palau Constitution," as it was called. But the dedication of Palau activists resulted in its defeat by a 31% to 69% margin, and the removal from office of the legislators who sponsored it.

The original constitution was again up for a vote on July 9 of this year and although results are not officially in, activists close to the Palau situation expect a victory. The US government is again expected to respond negatively and the people of Palau have asked international (and especially US) support for their fight for self-determination.

—Lyuba Zarsky
Nautilus Alliance

Contact: OOA/ Skindergade 26/ DK-1159/ Copenhagen, Denmark. For a copy of the OOA's brochure-magazine, with English translation and description of campaign, send \$2.50 to Border Crossings/ Box 1253/ Brattleboro, Vt. 05301.

—Anna Gyorgy



A windmill is installed on a Danish farm.

photo courtesy Green Mountain Post Films

The Black Hills S

10,000 attend

For ten days in July, 180 acres of ranchland in South Dakota came alive with politics and education as 10,000 people from 32 countries and 23 Indian nations assembled for the Black Hills International Survival Gathering.

The Black Hills Alliance coordinated the presentation of an impressive amount of information on the stage, at over 300 workshops, and at films, slide shows and display booths. A frustrated lament—not enough time to see and participate in everything—was often heard. Workshop topics included solar energy, uranium mining, Native American issues, the Trilateral Commission, the extinction of the family farm, draft counseling, Survival Summer, and holistic and women's health.

Every night participants sat out under sunset skies as they turned to starry nights while speakers presented research on different corporations and issues. After the speakers had finished, musical entertainment was provided

by a wide range of talent. All of the performers, including Bonnie Raitt, Chris Williamson, Jackson Browne and many Native American musicians, donated their time and energy.

One of the key successes of the gathering was the active participation of ranchers and farmers from the central United States. Particularly impressive in their commitment were farmers from the Northern Minnesota Power Line fight. In a witty and stirring main-stage presentation, a farmer from the Power Line spoke of her realization that the issue was not just a fight over a tower in her backyard. "I wish I had known then what I know now," she said. "I would have been with you in the sixties and the seventies. I wasn't against the Vietnam War, but now I see that the people that want to put in this powerline are the same ones who continued the war."

Besides the political successes of the Survival Gathering, its organizational aspects were superb. A volunteer force of over 800 was working around the clock on security, merchandising, transportation, media, program and medical care. Security personnel and peace

makers were always on hand. It was safer and more secure in our tent-and-tepee community on the plain than in most of our home neighborhoods.

The site was designed to leave a minimum impact on the land, which had been donated by rancher Marvin Kammerer. Temporary structures were hand built from small pine logs and canvass. The lighting and stage sound were all powered by solar energy.

On the last day of the gathering 2300 people assembled for four hours in 95 degree heat to hear speeches by the organizers on plans for the future. The rest of the day was spent in regionally-organized small groups, analyzing and debating the "land-based strategy" which the organizers had presented. This strategy takes at its heart people's relationship to the land and their efforts to save it from destruction, and calls for leadership in the survival movement to come from people who are living on the land in harmony with it—specifically indigenous peoples of this country.

The Black Hills Gathering was an inspirational and energizing event. To laud it is not

"European culture itself is responsible"

Perhaps it is a measure of success that the Black Hills Gathering raised controversy on so many issues. We hope that the opinions expressed here will clarify and further the discussions. [See page 2 for more on the Gathering.]

These excerpts are taken from Russell Means' keynote address at the Black Hills Gathering, a speech that was the focus of intensive discussion throughout the event. A transcript of the full address, which runs to 16 pages, is available for \$2.00 from the Black Hills Alliance, Box 2508, Rapid City, SD 57709.

The only possible opening for a statement of this kind is that I detest writing. The process itself epitomizes the European concept of "legitimate" thinking: what is written has an importance that is denied the spoken...

So what you read here is not what I've written. It's what I've said and someone else has written down. I will allow this, because it seems that the only way to communicate with the white world is through the dead, dry leaves of a book. I don't really care whether my words reach whites or not... My concern is with those American Indians who choose to resist this genocide, but who may be confused as to how to proceed...

I should be clear about something here, because there seems to be some confusion about it. When I speak of Europeans or mental Europeans, I'm not allowing for false distinctions. I'm not saying that on the one hand there are the byproducts of a few thousand years of genocidal, reactionary European intellectual development which is bad, and on the other hand there is some new revolutionary intellectual development which is good. I'm referring here to the so-called theories of Marxism and anarchism and "leftism" in general. I don't believe these theories can be separated from the rest of the European intellectual tradition. It's really just the same old song...

Newton "revolutionized" physics and the so-called natural sciences by reducing the physical universe to a linear mathematical equation. Descartes did the same thing with culture. John Locke did it with politics and Adam Smith did it with economics...

All European tradition has conspired to defy the natural order of things.

Each of these intellectual revolutions served to abstract the European mentality even further, to remove the wonderful complexity and spirituality from the universe and replace it with a "logical sequence." This is what's come to be termed as "efficiency" in the European mind. Whatever is mechanical is perfect, whatever seems to work at the moment—that is, proves the mechanical model is the right one—is considered correct even when it is clearly untrue. This is why "truth" changes so fast in the European mind; the answers which result from such a process are only stop-gaps, only temporary, and must be continuously discarded in favor of new stop-gaps which support the mathematical models; which keep them (the models) alive...

American Indians see [Marxism] simply as still more of that same old European conflict between *being* and *gaining*. *Being* is a spiritual proposition. *Gaining* is a material act. Traditionally, American Indians have always attempted to be the best people they could. Part of that spiritual process was and is to give away wealth, to discard wealth in order not to

gain. Material gain is an indicator of false status among traditional people while it is "proof that the system works" to Europeans...

Terms like "progress" and "development" are used as cover words here the way "victory" and "freedom" are used to justify butchery in the dehumanization process. For example, a real-estate speculator may refer to "developing" a parcel of ground by opening a gravel quarry there; "development" really means total, permanent destruction with the earth itself removed. But European logic has gained a few

Things come full circle. Back to where it started. That's revolution.

tons of gravel with which more land can be "developed" in the construction of road beds. Ultimately, the whole universe is open—in the European view—to this sort of insanity...

We are resisting being turned into a national sacrifice area. We are resisting being turned into a national sacrifice *people*! The costs of this industrial process are not acceptable to us. It is murder to dig the uranium here and to drain the water-table, no more, no less. So the reasons for our resistance are obvious enough and shouldn't have to be explained further. *To anyone.*

Now let's suppose that in our resistance to extermination we begin to seek allies. (We have.) Let's suppose further that we were to take revolutionary Marxism at its word: that it intends nothing less than the complete overthrow of the European capitalist order which has presented this threat to our very existence. This would seem to be a natural alliance for American Indian people to make. After all, as the Marxists say, it is the capitalists who set us up to be a national sacrifice. This is true as far as it goes.

But, as I've tried to point out, this "truth" is very deceptive. Look beneath the surface of revolutionary Marxism and what do you find? A commitment to reversing the industrial system which created the need of white society for uranium? No. A commitment to guaranteeing the Lakota and other American Indian peoples real control over the land and resources they have left? No, not unless the industrial process is to be reversed as part of their doctrine. A commitment to our rights, as peoples, to maintaining our values and traditions? No, not as long as they need the uranium within our land to feed the industrial system of the society, the culture of which the Marxists are still a part...

Revolutionary Marxism and all industrial society seek to "rationalize" all people in relation to industry, maximum industry, maximum production. It is a materialist doctrine which despises the American Indian spiritual tradition, our cultures, our lifeways. Marx himself called us "precapitalists" and "primitive"...

The only manner in which American Indian people could participate in a Marxist revolution would be to *join* the industrial system, to become factory workers or "proletarians" as Marx called them. The man was very clear about the fact that his revolution could occur only through the struggle of the proletariat, that the existence of a massive industrial system is a precondition of a successful Marxist society...

At this point, I've got to stop and ask myself whether I'm being too harsh. Marxism has something of a history. Does this history bear out my observations? I look to the process of industrialization in the Soviet Union since 1920 and I see that these Marxists have done what it took the English "industrial revolution" three hundred years to do; and the Marxists did it in sixty years. I see that the territory of the USSR used to contain a number of tribal peoples and that they have been crushed to make way for the factories. The Soviets refer to this as "The National Question," the question of whether the tribal peoples had the right to exist as peoples; and they

decided the tribal peoples were an acceptable sacrifice to industrial needs. I look to China and I see the same thing. I look to Vietnam and I see Marxists imposing an industrial order and rooting out the indigenous tribal mountain peoples...

I do not believe that capitalism itself is really responsible for the situation in which we have been declared a national sacrifice. No, it is the European tradition; European culture itself is responsible...

There is another way. There is the traditional Lakota way and the ways of the other American Indian peoples. It is the way that knows that humans do *not* have the right to degrade Mother Earth, that there are forces beyond anything the European mind has conceived, that humans must be in harmony with *all* relations or the relations will eventually eliminate the disharmony... The natural peoples of this planet know this and so they do not theorize about it. Theory is an abstract, our knowledge is real.

All European tradition, Marxism included, has conspired to defy the natural order of all things. Mother Earth has been abused, the powers have been abused, and this cannot go on forever. No theory can alter that simple fact. Mother Earth will retaliate, the whole environment will retaliate, and the abusers will be eliminated. Things come full circle. Back to where it started. *That's* revolution. And that's a prophecy of my people, of the Hopi people and other correct peoples...

American Indians are still in touch with these realities, the prophecies, the traditions of our ancestors. We learn from the elders, from nature, from the powers. And when the catastrophe is over, we indigenous peoples will still be here to inhabit the hemisphere. I don't care if it's only a handful of red people living high in the Andes, indigenous people will survive and harmony will be reestablished. *That's* revolution.

—Russell Means



Black Hills Gathering participants listen to Russell Means' speech.

Survival Gathering

to say that there were no conflicts or that everyone came to agreement in ten days. The strength of the gathering was its spirit and the depth of the information presented, which gave many attendees a sense of a movement that has matured.

The strategies put forth—land-based organizing and sovereignty of native peoples—were discussed at length throughout the ten days. These discussions are now continuing in Minneapolis, Boston, the San Francisco Bay Area and other cities. A California/Northwest Survival Gathering in 1981 has been proposed.

If you are interested in finding out more about the Black Hills Alliance or the Survival Gathering, contact the American Indian Movement (2719 Florida Ave., Richmond, CA 94804, 415-234-5155) or the Black Hills Alliance (Box 2508, Rapid City, SD 57709, 605-342-5127.) Tapes of all main-stage presentations and many of the workshops, as well as transcripts of some of the key addresses, will be available soon.

Claire Greensfelder
Frances Peavey



photo by Karl

Russell Means' dead end

Although Russell Means claims not to "really care whether [his] words reach whites or not," they have created quite a stir among the 10,000 mostly white participants in the Black Hills Survival Gathering. In fact, the keynote address at the Gathering was a strange place to make such a statement unless Means fully intended that the honkies in the "survival movement" listen—and listen good.

Had Means gone beyond the high school civics version of reality he would perhaps have realized that what he so casually lumps together as "white society" is actually a constant tug of war between those who pilot the system of life called capitalism and those whose lives are sacrificed to it. It is not only the Indians who have suffered.

Does Russell Means truly believe that the existence of this history can be ignored, that it's possible to return to the way of life of 400 years ago? Could four billion people live as the Indians did? If so, how? Means doesn't give one iota of a programmatic suggestion.

Just what does Means intend when he recommends that "the industrial process is to be reversed"? Which industry and technology are we supposed to reject? Are we supposed to ban the wheel, burn all the digging sticks?

I was told that when these questions were put to Means at a workshop, he too had difficulty defining a strategy to accomplish his goals. "The first thing we'd abolish would be telephones and television," he reportedly said. But immediately he had second thoughts: "Actually I like watching football games on TV. And I talk on the telephone a lot." (Of course, it's possible that hearsay has distorted this episode. Consider: the written word has its advantages.)

If Means is too intelligent to believe his own rhetorical flourishes, what is his real intent? What does he have in mind for that interval between now and the deluge?

A participant in the Black Hills Gathering told me that in her opinion the single message of the event was that the

Indians should be the leaders of the anti-nuclear and survival movements. I have heard Indian spokespeople say literally the same thing at other forums.

What is most astonishing about this blatant pitch for hierarchy is that so many anti-nukers will tolerate it. For a movement whose watchword was "Question Authority" it has been frighteningly complacent about this attempt to establish kingpins.

Although Russell Means claims not to be a "leader," he has set himself up as a prophet who interprets the wisdom of the Indian Way. With this, he has appealed to the worst in the anti-nuclear movement, to the impulse towards easy answers and benevolent leaders. If we suckle up to Mother Earth and accept the Indian elders as father figure, all will be well with no effort on our part. We merely have to trail after the Indians until that sweet moment of deluge when all the whites will be wiped out and only the "correct peoples" will remain. Means' apocalyptic pitch is a seduction to the surrender of all critical thinking.

Another of Means' tools of manipulation is guilt. Whites—and particularly white leftists—have a way of worshipping other cultures in their frenzy to reject their own, whether it's the American Blacks who have rhythm and roots or the Vietnamese who must be our friends—and role models—because they are fighting the US government.

Machines do not oppress. People and social systems do.

A similar guilty attitude toward the American Indians is now being urged on the white anti-nuclear movement by people like Russell Means. No doubt it is difficult for some Indians, who have been powerless for so long, to resist using their newly discovered power of manipulation against the sector of the white population that will fall for it. It will probably gain them some subservient sycophants and some money from rich liberals. But to call everything you don't like "white" is nothing less than racism; to hail the Indians as the "correct peoples" is reverse cultural imperialism. This is most definitely not the way to forge a real solidarity between people of different cultures whose common interest lies in the destruction of capitalism and the creation of a society without domination of nature or domination among human beings. It would be tragic if the glimmers of that possibility were to be extinguished.

I have no way of knowing if Russell Means really speaks for the majority of American Indians or if his ideas reflect theirs. What I have always respected and admired about the Indian culture is the extent to which it has resisted incorporation into an oppressive system; the extent to which Indians have refused to submit to the wage slavery of the factory and the office. But to blame oppression on industrial society is to personify machines and to give them the powers of human beings. Machines do not oppress. People and social systems do. To make humanity an undifferentiated part of nature is to ignore all of history and society.

In the name of Mother Earth and harmony, Russell Means has asked us to follow him into a metaphysical realm beyond logic and dialogue. He has used a mystical "eternal truth" to justify a racism that allows him (at least for rhetorical purposes) to refuse to discuss these issues and ideas with whites.

Not that romantic ideas about nature don't cut both ways. In Thoreau, Walt Whitman and the Beat poets, for example, they were part of a rebellion against industrial society. But again, these ideas arise from social situations and not from the Great Spirit or from our genes. If they are not openly acknowledged and evaluated they can sap the strength and potential of social movements.

Means' distinction between "being" and "gaining" is a

static dualism—and it also has plagued some white thinkers. "Being," for example, was very much the fashion among the existentialists. "Gaining" is an ideology that has been used to bolster commodity society by those who profit from it. Ironically, by now even the hip advertisers and market researchers have recognized the widespread dissatisfaction with commodity society and are busy trying to sell us lifestyles and experiences—"being."

Contrary to what Means attributes to him, Marx rallied against "gaining," explaining how such a notion is enforced by a society which gears all activity to the marketplace. In fact, an explanation of the ways in which capitalist society removes people from their experience and alienates wage workers from the product and the process of their labor, is the basis for much of Marx's later analysis.

Instead of either "being" or "gaining," Hegel and Marx posed the concept of "becoming." "Becoming" assumes that humanity is part of nature and that it is in our nature to change the world around us.

Obviously the society that all too many of us tolerate has grossly violated the natural environment. But the corrective is not to adopt a species guilt which denies us the right to pursue the imaginations and creative powers that make us human. Nature itself is not static and unchanging; from a stew of chemicals it has evolved a profusion of life that includes humanity.

The human race has been described as "the self-conscious layer of the biosphere." Because we are self-conscious and social beings we can develop a relationship of stewardship to nature that respects and even nurtures the physical environment while it allows us our human abilities to create, to build, to experiment and even to abstract, as one way among many of apprehending our reality.

According to Russell Means, "Things come full circle. Back to where it started. That's revolution." Sorry, but that's not revolution. It's an impossible proposition that violates the essence of nature as well as of society. If there is a global catastrophe, the earth will not be the one the Indians knew found hundred years ago. More likely it will be a barren hulk dotted with radioactive ruins, contaminated rivers and perhaps a few hapless human beings trying to survive in an environment of shortages, sickness and poison.

Social evolution—what we call history—has its own dynamics of motion. And they're not always pretty. We have come to a point in history where our powers as a species are increasingly magnified. The scale of potential damage to the environment is matched only by the social devastation that this society can—and has—undertaken. And the situation is very much the same all over the world.

I can agree wholeheartedly with Means when he points out that life in Russia, China and Vietnam is not so different from in the US. But unlike Means, I wouldn't use these countries that call themselves socialist to damn Marxism, anarchism or the possibility of real social transformation. We should judge countries, like people, not by what they say about themselves, but by what they do. And in these "socialist" countries, the way of life is still determined by the world market and not by people's needs and desires. Relations of power and privilege remain and the daily activity of the vast majority of the population is still completely outside their own control.

Societies, ideas, the very notion of what it is to be human, all change and develop. The "truth" also changes, because it is historically and socially determined. In evaluating a new society, the establishment of benign technologies and the encouragement of cultural and individual diversity will be litmus tests. But it is not until we ourselves take our society out of the control of the blind logic of capitalism that we can be assured of survival or begin the full enjoyment of our human possibilities.

—Marcy Damovsky
IAT staff



photo by Ellen Shrub

Short Circuits

TVA BLACKLISTS WORKERS

The Tennessee Valley Authority fired 252 construction workers at its Phipps Bend nuclear plant on August 11. The government-owned utility said the workers were part of an illegal strike at the facility. Officials said that 42 workers who were part of the original walkout on July 28 will never be allowed to work on another TVA construction project. That walkout began over the firing of ironworker foremen.

—from *SF Chronicle*, 8/12/80

NEW RADIATION REPORT OUT

After a year of bitter internal wrangling, the Biological Effects of Ionizing Radiation (BEIR) committee of the National Research Council has approved a report estimating lower cancer risk from radiation exposure.

According to the new estimates announced July 29, between 75 and 230 people will die for each million person-rem of radiation exposure. This compares to estimates of 115 to 620 in an earlier report.

The estimates were the work of a special subcommittee headed by Jacob I. Fabrikant of the University of California. Notably, Fabrikant also belongs to the "steering committee" of Citizens for Adequate Energy, a corporate-sponsored California pro-nuclear group.

The radiation report has been strongly criticized by the chairman of the full BEIR committee, Dr. Edward Radford of the University of Pittsburgh. He says the new report takes a "roundabout approach" which "in effect discards all the human studies of radiation-induced cancer" except for one Japanese study.

The report does not recommend radiation-protection standards, but past BEIR reports have been used as a scientific justification for government radiation regulations.

—from *Nucleonics Week*, 7/31/80

WESTINGHOUSE SEES NUCLEAR COMEBACK

Theodore Stern, Westinghouse executive vice-president for nuclear systems, is not worried by the current lack of American orders for new nuclear plants. According to Stern, "Nuclear power will make a good comeback in the US because the country simply does not have an alternative."

Three Mile Island has actually helped the company's nuclear business, Stern says, pointing to increased demand for systems analysis and training. Westinghouse also has a backlog of 67 ordered plants, 43 in the US, which will keep it in business for 12 to 14 years. Stern says the company's prospects in nuclear refueling and waste disposal are also bright. But he sees problems in domestic business after 1993, since "without a substantial increase in load demand, there will be no new domestic orders."

—from *Nucleonics Week*, 7/17/80

BRAIN CANCER HIGH AMONG OIL WORKERS

The *Washington Post* reports that the brain cancer incidence among petrochemical workers is twice that of the rest of the population. In an investigation that started in early 1979, says the *Post*, 25 brain tumor cases—24 of them fatal so far—have been discovered among workers at a Dow chemical plant in Freeport, Texas. Another 18 fatal cases turned up at a Union Carbide plant in Texas City.

Preliminary reports from other studies show higher rates of brain and stomach cancers among petrochemical workers along the Texas Gulf Coast. As a result, the union and the National Cancer Institute are studying the entire industry.

—from *Zodiac News Service*

RADIATION WORSE FOR WOMEN

Women are twice as likely as men to develop cancer as a result of being exposed to low levels of radiation, says Dr. Edward Radford, a medical researcher at the University of Pittsburgh.

Radford recently headed a National Academy of Sciences study into the long term effects of ionizing radiation on the human body. He has calculated that anywhere between 400,000 and one million women in the US today will come down with radiation-induced cancer sometime in their lifetimes—that is, cancer caused by their exposure to X-rays and other forms of human-made radiation. The number of men who will be similarly affected, Radford says, is about half that figure.

—from *Zodiac News Service*

NUCLEAR BLUEJEANS?

In researching this month's article on "Citizens for Adequate Energy," a corporate-sponsored pro-nuclear group, we happened to browse through a list of the organization's financial contributors. We expected (and found) the usual nuclear firms, banks and stockbrokers. But we also found Levi Strauss and Co., makers of the familiar Levi's bluejeans.

Why is a pantsmaker helping to sell nukes? We called the company's PR department to find out, but they haven't returned our call yet. Meanwhile, you might remind the firm that a lot more Levi's end up on anti-nuclear young people than on corporate executives.

—Bob Van Scoy

Update: Levi Strauss later returned our call. A spokeswoman for the company confirmed the donation, but said it was not intended in support of nuclear power. She said Levi Strauss favored the development of other energy sources and made the contribution to CAE "only because we were given assurances that [CAE's] efforts were not limited to nuclear energy." But she confirmed that the company was aware the group was funded by PG&E and support for nuclear power was a part of its program.



Engelhardt, St. Louis Post-Dispatch

ONE, TWO, MANY LOVE CANALS

The Environmental Protection Agency reports that it is helpless to prevent a rush by companies and illegal haulers to dump toxic chemical wastes before new and stricter federal regulations and penalties go into effect on November 19.

According to the EPA, the illegal dumpings of contraband chemicals—in abandoned trailers, shopping center parking lots and along roads—pose a distinct threat to human health. A waste dealer in Stamford, Connecticut was quoted as saying, "My guys are dumping any place they can find an empty field without too many police cars sitting on it."

One popular ploy is to rent a warehouse, garage or empty building, pack it with thousands of drums of toxic chemicals and then disappear. The total cost to the company or hauler is just a few months rent and the landlord is stuck with the disposal problem.

—from *Zodiac News Service*

Waste bailout moves through Congress

The US Congress is moving toward new nuclear waste storage programs that will free utilities from extra expenses and give the tab for most forms of nuclear waste to the federal government. S.B. 2189 passed the Senate July 30.

Under the provisions of this bill the federal government will abandon efforts to store nuclear waste in underground caverns and will instead settle on near-surface storage, making permanent the reliance on what has always been considered "temporary" storage systems. Provisions are made for replacing the facilities that fail to contain the wastes. Utilities will be charged a once-only fee to cover all transportation and storage fees. Existing waste repositories owned by the utilities will be purchased by the federal government.

OIL IMPORTS AT FIVE-YEAR LOW

The American Petroleum Institute reported August 20 that US crude oil imports have reached the lowest level since 1975. Imports averaged 6.2 million barrels per day in July, down 25% from the same month last year. Domestic crude production increased 4.2% over the same period to a daily average of 8.7 million barrels.

The reduced imports are largely due to decreased demand for gasoline. Gasoline use has dropped about 7% over the last year, causing a glut at American refineries. In July the refineries produced 1.7 million barrels more gasoline than were sold, according to oil industry analyst Dan Lundberg, and inventories of unsold gas are up 10% over last year. "The nation has achieved some conservation in gasoline consumption," Lundberg said. "The industry's problem now is how to live with it."

—from *SF Chronicle*, 8/10, 8/21/80

UTILITY CONSPIRACY TRIAL STARTS

In the first action of its kind, the Commonwealth Edison Company and two officials of its Quad Cities nuclear plant went to trial in early August on federal charges of conspiracy and fraud. The trial is the result of a nine-count criminal indictment brought last March which charges the utility with falsifying records at Quad Cities in order to cover up violations of Nuclear Regulatory Commission security regulations. The company allegedly ordered its security guards not to record reports that security doors leading to vital areas of the plant were left unlocked and unguarded.

Commonwealth Edison defense attorneys claim that reports of the violations were not required and maintain that plant security was not threatened. But they concede that certain "vital doors" at the plant were left open.

—from *Nucleonics Week*, 8/7/80

PLUTONIUM WORKER CONTAMINATED

An August 22 plutonium spill at a Department of Energy laboratory near Chicago resulted in the contamination of a worker, his car and his Bolingbrook, Illinois apartment. The contamination was discovered August 25 in routine monitoring at the New Brunswick laboratory. The worker's identity and other details were not available as *IAT* goes to press.

Plutonium, a man-made radioactive element, can cause cancer if inhaled in even microscopic amounts. It is produced in nuclear reactors and is used primarily in nuclear weapons.

—Bob Van Scoy

SORRY, OLD CHAP

The management of British Nuclear Fuels Limited (BNFL) has made an unprecedented apology in the wake of a leak of highly radioactive nuclear waste at its Windscale reprocessing plant. The leak, which apparently began years ago, was from a building that has been unused for twenty years but never decommissioned. Waste was accidentally piped to the unused building, where it overflowed a sump. About 100,000 curies of radioactivity seeped into the soil, with one area so heavily contaminated that anyone digging in it would receive a fatal radiation dose in about an hour.

"However reprehensible it may be," said a BNFL spokesperson, "it became something of a forgotten plant. It was an error, but we should have decommissioned it. . . . The company's senior management takes full responsibility for the lapses."

But Friends of the Earth and the General and Municipal Workers Union, which represents many plant workers, feel an apology is not enough and that BNFL's managers should be prosecuted for their negligence.

—from *Nucleonics Week*, 8/7/80

The utilities are guaranteed any profit if reprocessing of spent fuel is developed.

States would not be allowed to veto the siting of waste repositories within their borders. Though a governor could veto a project, overriding authority is given to the President in the "national interest."

The House is working on its own version of the bill, H.R. 7418, which would allow nuclear waste repositories to be built without an Environmental Impact Statement, without NRC licensing and without independent review by local and state governments. Passage is expected before the House adjourns in October.

—Mark Evanoff
IAT staff

No Nukes!—the movie

The film of the MUSE concerts in New York City poses the musical question: Can the same old stars and the same old smiling suns inspire "no nukes?"

The answer is ambiguous and depends on your cultural and aesthetic tastes. If you like the soft/folk rock of the late sixties, the acoustic guitars a-strumming and the pretty vocal harmonies, you'll love this movie. If your musical inclinations are more diverse you may be hard pressed to find satisfaction from the sound track.

The star-studded cast is nothing if not professional, veteran entertainers well-experienced in putting together tight bands and shows. The sound is clean and well mixed (see it at a theatre with a Dolby sound system) and the film editing, especially of the concert itself, is superb.

Graham Nash does an excellent, almost soulful version of his "Barrel of Pain." In the middle of the tune the film cuts to an interview with Graham in which he explains that the inspiration for this song came when he learned of the leaking barrels of radioactive wastes dumped off the Farallones Islands near San Francisco. Cutting back to the concert and one last chorus of the song you can feel Graham's pain as he cries, "I don't wanna hear it no more!"

Jackson Browne sticks with the romantic, self-indulgent, introspective style that made him famous as he kicks out a hot version of "Running on Empty." Happily, in this song he realizes the problem isn't one of his individual psyche, but is the human condition of the twentieth century. ("I look around at the friends that I used to turn to to pull me through/ Looking into their eyes I see them running too.") In a short interview segment Jackson, in his self-styled subjective way, makes one of the most radical statements in the film when he gets downright pissed and says, "Why is my life being endangered by someone's profit?" Then we get a short version of his eco-disaster song "After the Deluge." All the time it is David Lindley's fine lap steel and fiddle work that drives the band and keeps it musically interesting.

Crosby, Stills and Nash harmonize "Suite: Judy Blue Eyes" (again) and prove that although they are all pushing forty they can still sing like angelic choir boys. Graham Nash, James Taylor, Carly Simon and John Hall sing Dylan's old standard "The Times, They Are A-Changin'" and although the harmonies are beautiful the times haven't changed much if we are still pleading for senators and congressmen to "please heed the call."

Shockingly, mellow sweet baby James Taylor gets gutsy and exhorts the crowd to "Stand Up And Fight." He sings it like he means it. But elsewhere in the film he does one of his silly little love songs that along with



photo by Barbara Bowman

The Sponges affinity group handed out leaflets and copies of It's About Times to audiences at showings of "No Nukes I!" The Sponges style themselves after mutant sponges found on radioactive waste barrels dumped near the Farallon Islands.

Jessie Colin Young's rehash of "Get Together" has to be one of the most insipid leftovers molding from the sixties. Jessie is so bored with his own stale and banal lyrics that he quickly slurs through the second verse just to get it over with.

The highlight of the film is undoubtedly Bruce Springsteen. Even as he slowly begins his first song, "River," you can feel the restrained strength and energy about to burst out. And it does. When he lets the band loose it's all fire and bravura. Bruce himself tears up the stage singing, dancing and playing guitar. At the

end of his set he exclaims, "I'm just a prisoner of rock 'n' roll!" And boy, can he make that jailhouse rock!

In the middle of the movie we are treated to a short film shown to the concert audience during a set change. Complete with Defense Department footage of GIs witnessing an atomic explosion, an interview with one of those soldiers as he lay dying of leukemia, an embattled South Dakota farmer and more, the film brings home an effective anti-nuke message that alone is almost worth the price of admission.

The biggest shortcoming of the film reflected that of the US anti-nuclear movement in general—a certain cultural and racial isolation. The only non-white act in the movie was Gil Scott Heron's band playing "We Almost Lost Detroit This Time," a song inspired by the partial meltdown at Detroit's Enrico Fermi nuclear power plant in 1967. (Leave it to Gil to point out: "When it comes to people's safety, money wins out every time.")

The US anti-nuclear movement's predominant culture—the soft rock, the trees and smiling suns, the non-violent and simple living ideologies—have been major reasons why the movement remains mostly young and white. "No Nukes!" was an opportunity to reach out to blacks, Latinos and others, but MUSE passed up the chance. And this despite the fact that the acts at the concert and rally were more diverse. Chaka Khan, a black woman vocalist formerly with Rufus, Peter Tosh, a reggae singer and one of Bob Marley's original Wailers and Sweet Honey in the Rock, four black women singing a capella all were there. We can only speculate as to why they did not appear in the movie.

Rallies featuring big stars like the one in *No Nukes!* have become an earmark of the anti-nuclear movement. They have always made many anti-nuke activists uneasy because they demand an "audience" rather than participants and can make politics into a spectator sport in which the rules are defined from the stage. But there are always those who claim that the performances "energize" them, a comment heard from many who saw *No Nukes!*

The MUSE concerts and movie raise an additional question, because one of their stated purposes was to raise money—a lot of it—for the anti-nuclear movement. A good chunk has already been given away. But the selection of which groups get a share of the take will have no small influence on the politics and direction of the movement, especially since other funding sources have begun to assume that the anti-nuke groups are already taken care of. Let's hope MUSE agrees that political and strategic decisions are best made by the grassroots groups themselves.

No Nukes Left—a journal

There comes a time in the development of oppositional movements when enough of its own history is accumulated that self-conscious reflection becomes a pressing necessity. This time has certainly arrived for the US anti-nuclear movement and the publication of the first issue of *No Nukes Left* this summer is part of that process.

No Nukes Left bills itself as "a quarterly journal of internal political discussion, debate and analysis written for and by anti-nuclear activists nationally and internationally." As the title implies the publication collective takes a "leftist" position on the nuclear issue. That is, they see the development of nuclear power and weapons as the result of the "profit-based economic system and the political structures which reinforce it" and are opposed to "racism, class exploitation and sexism."

Although not dogmatic, their politics include many of the confusions typical of leftism, such as unqualified support for "national liberation movements" without assessing their content. One wonders whether they supported the national liberation of China which, during the halcyon days of Mao Zedong, acquired both nuclear weapons and power, or that of Castro's Cuba which is still trying to get its first nuclear power plant going. Most importantly, the workers in each of these "workers' states" still sell their labor power for a wage and take commands from above.

Nevertheless, the texts in this issue are refreshingly honest attempts to come to grips with the political ideas, tactics and strategies of our struggles. The lead article, by *IAT*'s own Marcy Darnovsky, critically assesses the culture and the popular ideologies of the anti-nuke movement. This piece is required reading for anyone seriously concerned with these questions.

"The Total Tactic: Minnesota Farmers Fight Back" chronicles the battle by a coalition of local farmers, Indians and urban activists against energy industry plans to erect a high-voltage powerline. (A slightly edited version of this story appeared in the April, 1980

issue of *IAT*.) The "total tactic" employed by this movement is described in a wonderfully irreverent style. The authors suggest that its continuing participation in legal arenas such as court actions and electoral politics have helped win the widespread sympathy and support they've enjoyed for the direct action of "bolt weevils" and "cut worms" who regularly topple powerlines.

The issue of racism and the anti-nuke movement is approached in three articles. One short piece by Josh Nesson describes the defeat of an anti-racist position in the list of demands adopted by the Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World's April 26 rally in Washington. In another article Jim Houghton, a long-time black activist, makes some important points about the need for black and white workers to join forces against nukes and for socialism. The last of the three describes the experience of white anti-nuke activists trying to build a coalition with blacks in Mississippi.

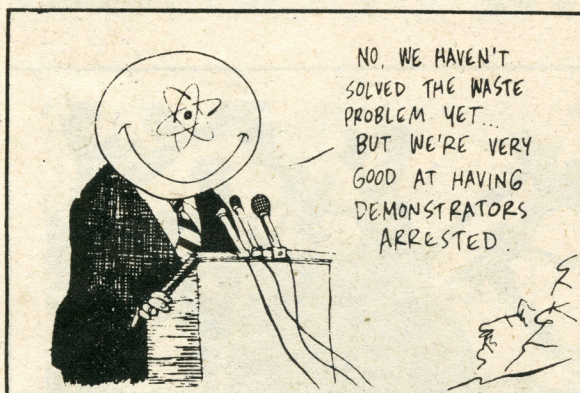
A drawback of these treatments of racism is that white anti-nukers castigate themselves for being "middle class" throughout the magazine. This constant self-flagellation is a boring ritual that begins to sound as insincere as it is inaccurate. Most white anti-nuke activists have very low incomes and hold down part-time and menial jobs. Many of those who are college educated have consciously rejected pursuing careers. Branding these people "middle class" is not only wrong, but insulting.

Also included in this issue is a piece about the May 24 action at Seabrook and problems within the Coalition for Direct Action, poetry and photos from Harrisburg, and more. This journal is definitely worth the price, \$1.25 per issue. Subscribe to it, read it, participate in it.

No Nukes Left, P.O. Box 643, North Amherst, MA 01059, (617) 544-6055.

—Steve Stallone
IAT staff

—Steve Stallone
IAT staff



Radwaste

[continued from page 1]

until 1981. A preliminary report released because of public pressure claims that "there is no evidence of any hazard to fish or humans from the dumping."

These studies stand in sharp contrast to studies conducted by the Radiological Division of the California State Health Department. In tests on fish caught off the Farallones and fish purchased from Bay Area markets, two samples contained significant quantities of cesium-137. Because of these levels, according to Food and Drug Administration standards, "periodic confirmatory surveillance" is required.

These same tests consistently revealed relatively high levels of beta and gamma radiation from an "undetermined isotope." Beta levels in excess of 2500 pCi/kg (wet weight) were detected in butter fish, sable fish, red snapper, sea bass, rock cod, oysters, clams and mussels.

The Health Department did not test for Strontium-90, krypton-40, iodine-131 and cobalt-60, though federal documents confirm its presence in the waste packages. Depending on the source of the beta radiation biological damage could result.

On August 19 Dr. Jackson Davis, professor of Biology and Environmental Studies at UC Santa Cruz, released a report he has compiled for San Francisco Supervisor Quentin Kopp.

Davis concludes that "the potential for adverse impact on the economy and health of California citizens may be greater than previously suggested. The potential exists for the movement of radioactives from deep ocean sites to the surface, where they could be incorporated into organic food chains."

Ocean currents from the dump sites flow into the San Francisco Bay. Drifters released at a depth near the dump site were recovered along the shore inside the bay, suggesting one of the paths that the radiation travels.

Before the renewed interest in the dumping EPA scientists publicly discussed similar fears. Robert Dyer, project director of the EPA's Radiation Program

Calendar

September 7: Training for monitoring nuclear weapons facilities. The Diablo Valley Survival Summer group will coordinate people monitoring the Concord Weapons Station for the shipment of nuclear weapons and nuclear waste. They would also like to meet with people interested in monitoring the Alameda Naval Station and Mare Island. Trinity Methodist Church, Fireside Room, Berkeley. 1-5 pm. Contact: Gary Dobson (415) 933-7850.

September 12-14: ABALONE ALLIANCE SKILLS SHARING CONFERENCE. Workshops in canvassing, issues analysis, public speaking, publications, direct action, nonviolence, facilitation, coalition building, blocks to getting involved, strategy and more. If you would like to sponsor your own two-hour workshop call the Abalone office. Cost of the conference is \$10 which includes five vegetarian meals, camping, materials and childcare. Contact: SUN, Box 772, Ojai, CA 93023 (805) 6467-3832.

September 18: Public hearings before the regents on severing ties between the University of California and the Lawrence Livermore and Los Alamos Labs. 3-6

pm, California Hall, 625 Polk St., San Francisco. The hall holds 500 people; its important to show a strong presence against the Labs. Contact: UC Labs Conversion Project (415) 982-5578.

September 20: Benefit for Abalone Alliance & Mt. St. Helena Community Store at Tucker Farm Center midway b/t St. Helena and Calistoga Hwy. 29/128. 7:00 PM. Featuring The Harvest Band and Foot in the Door. Sponsored by Upper Napa Valley Energy Alliance. Info.: (707) 942-0176.

September 19: Demonstration at the Regents' meeting, where the vote on severance will take place. 55 Laguna St., San Francisco. Contact: UC Labs Conversion Project (415) 982-5578.

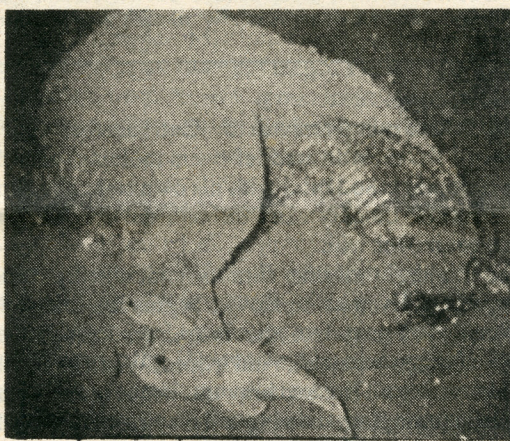
September 23: Film showing *Danger: Radioactive Waste*, plus guest speaker Michael Klare from the Institute for Policy Studies. At The Gallery in Nevada City, 7:30. Contact: PNFF (916) 272-4848.

September 23: Abalone Alliance Benefit featuring Tom and Gwyn Hunter, Lynn Grasberg and Friends. Mission Blue Cafe, 8:00 p.m., 300 Precita, near Flosom and Army. \$3.00 suggested donation. Info. 543-3910.

called the phenomenon a biological "short circuit" in a February 6, 1980 interview with the *Berkeley Gazette*. EPA scientists were openly worried about the direct contamination of fish by radioactivity escaping from the sea floor and the subsequent contamination of human beings who eat the fish.

But now the EPA has changed its story. Ray Johnson, chief of ocean programs for EPA's radiation division said, "Even if [the barrels] do leak—and we do know they will eventually—the radiation will be so diluted you cannot measure it. If they just lasted so long as it took to get them over the side of the ship, then they served their original purpose."

No studies confirm Johnson's statements, but a 1978 investigation by the Lawrence Berkeley Lab



A damaged radioactive waste barrel dumped off the Farallones Islands. Giant sponges have been found growing on some of the barrels.

photo courtesy Environmental Protection Agency

found plutonium-238 levels ten to twenty times higher than normal in sediments surrounding the barrels.

The WASH-734 report admits "emitted radiation at the surface of a drum may be as much as one roentgen per hour" and concedes that the radioactivity dumped on the ocean floor totaled 30,000 curies, an estimate that could be off by as much as a factor of ten.

The Atomic Energy Commission had a difficult time with the dumping. The dump sites were supposed to be 3,000 to 6,000 feet below the surface but divers have found barrels at a depth of 60 to 75 feet. WASH-734 explains how this might have happened: "Because of such uncontrolled factors as sudden inclement weather and malfunctioning equipment some packages of wastes have been deposited in alternative areas." (Bureaucratized for, "Any old place at all.")

Supervisors from eight California counties, angered by the lack of response from the EPA, are now demanding that the Department of Energy, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration and the Defense Department all release the information they have on radioactive dumping. If the agencies don't cooperate Kopp has vowed to use the Freedom of Information Act. The group of Supervisors will also ask the House Subcommittee on Energy, Environment and Natural Resources to petition the documents from the agencies. The committee intends to begin its own investigation in September.

Source cited: W. Jackson Davis, Ph.D., *Report to the Honorable Quentin L. Kopp Re Oceanic Radioactive Waste Dumpsites*, University of California at Santa Cruz, August 19, 1980.

—Mark Evanoff
IAT staff

Nuclear war

[continued from page 1]

ance system known as the advanced inertial reference sphere (AIRS) which will provide midcourse positioning to within 100 feet . . . Later, when supplemented by Navstar [a global positioning system of 24 satellites being developed by the US] the midcourse error will be cut to 30 feet."

This tremendous accuracy suggests first-strike, since there is no need to be so precise if you are aiming at cities and industrial capacity, and no reason to target Russian missile silos if they are empty—in other words, if the Russians start it and we're just reacting. The Fiscal Year 1979 Arms Control Impact Statement admits as much: "If the MX were deployed in substantial numbers, the US would have acquired, through both the Minuteman and MX programs, an apparent capability to destroy most of the Soviet silo-based ICBM force in a first strike."

Presidential Directive 59, or Counterforce—as it has been known to "defense" analysts for years—is the policy that describes how these weapons will be used. They will be aimed at strategic military targets in the Soviet Union such as missile silos, nuclear stockpiles and command and communications centers. The official justification for Counterforce was first made public by Nixon in May 1973. According to Aldridge, Nixon "declared in his foreign policy message to Congress that deterrence based on the ability to kill tens of millions of people was 'inconsistent with American values.' He claimed that a President needed a nuclear strategy that would allow greater flexibility in his choice of options." This makes "nuclear war appear more acceptable because it sounds more humane to retaliate against

military targets than population areas."

But as usual in discussions of nuclear war, appearances are masks. According to former Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld in the Fiscal Year 1978 Defense Report, "the most ambitious (damage-limiting) strategy dictates a first-strike capacity against an enemy's strategic offensive forces which seeks to destroy as much of his megatonnage as possible before it can be brought into play. An enemy's residual retaliation, assumed to be directed against urban-industrial targets, would be blunted still further by a combination of active and passive defenses, civil defense, stockpiles of food and other essentials, and even the dispersal and hardening of essential industry."

Read this statement carefully, because this is what it means: We destroy as many Soviet missiles as possible during a first-strike sneak attack and prepare ourselves for surviving the retaliatory strike. The Soviet Union is politically destroyed and we rebuild. Winning a limited nuclear war is defined by the Pentagon as the ability to rebuild the economic infrastructure quicker after a nuclear war.

But the "flexibility of options" excuse covers up yet another potential nuclear scenario. Counterforce responses have always been included in the US war plans, but those were for relatively massive attacks. PD 59 seems to be announcing plans for a limited nuclear attack, perhaps only a few missiles against selected military targets. Aldridge concludes (years before PD59) that the "real utility of limited nuclear war emerged on May 30, 1975, when Schlesinger finally admitted publicly that the US would consider using nuclear weapons first to stop communist advances such as in Europe and Korea."

Michael Klare of the Institute for Policy Studies updates that scenario. "The policy will

work well with Carter's plans for invasion of Iran as revealed by columnist Jack Anderson," Klare told *It's About Times*. "PD 59 will allow the US to tell the Soviet Union to stay out when the US goes in to punish a client"—stay out or risk nuclear retaliation.

In all of this there is one problem that has not been discussed. If the political leaders are wiped out in their command shelters, who gets to call off the war?

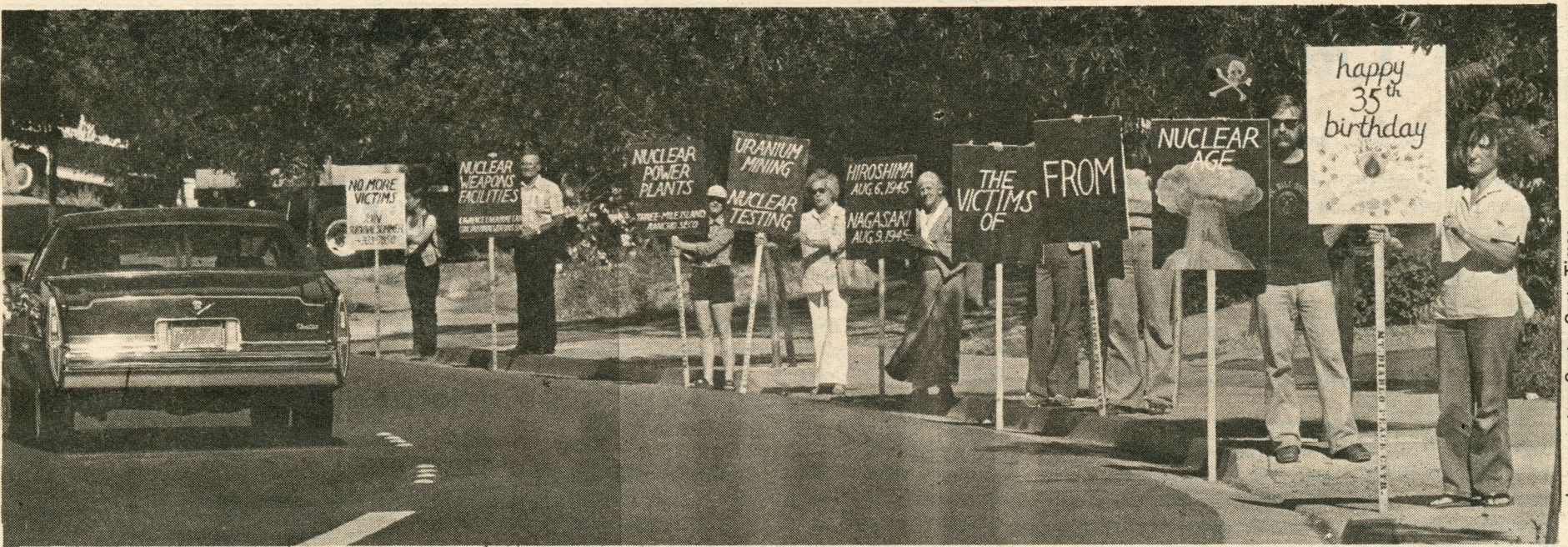
Mark Evanoff
Marcy Darnovsky
IAT Staff

Diablo petition

On August 28th, the Center for Law in the Public Interest filed two petitions with the Public Utilities Commission appealing the July 29th decision to deny a re-opening of hearings and a conversion study of Diablo Canyon.

One petition is being filed on behalf of the Sierra Club, the California League of Women Voters and several San Luis Obispo groups. The other is being filed on behalf of several PG&E shareholders. The latter will also include a conversion study developed by the Diablo Conversion Project.

Since the PUC is not expected to decide the Diablo issue on its merits, it is imperative that public pressure be exerted on PUC President John Bryson. The Diablo Conversion Campaign is promoting a Rate Protest Campaign to help accomplish this. We need your help! Rate protest kits are available through the Abalone Alliance office or at the Diablo Conversion Campaign office, 944 Market Street, Suite 309, San Francisco, CA 94102. (415) 543-8072.



Members of Contra Costans Against Nuclear Power and the Mt. Diablo Peace Center form a human billboard at a freeway entrance on Hiroshima Day, August 6.

PG&E embraces free speech?

Pacific Gas & Electric has agreed to let our San Francisco affinity group redistribute anti-nuclear literature inside its downtown San Francisco Energy Expo Visitors Center. The Expo is a multimedia museum devoted to promoting nuclear power. The Expo's Diablo Canyon exhibit shows how happy fish are when the water is 19 degrees warmer and how nuclear radiation is really insignificant.

Several years ago, members of People Against Nuclear Power, as part of their "Citizen's Right to Know" campaign, tried to leaflet at the Energy Expo, but were denied access.

At lunchtime on August 8 the Department of California Corrections, our affinity group, met at the Expo and began quietly handing out leaflets

questioning the wisdom of nuclear energy and uranium mining. The supervisor of the Visitors Center, Susan Baurmann, walked briskly over and asked for copies of our leaflets, which we provided her.

In the discussion that followed, we made our position clear. Energy Expo is a public place, run by a public utility, but it presents one side of a public debate — PG&E's — as the *only* side. We insisted on our right to present another position and mentioned the recent decision of an Alameda County court affirming the right of members of the Weapons Labs Conversion Project to distribute their literature in the visitors center at Lawrence Livermore Lab. (It was this decision that prompted our action.)

Ms. Baurmann alerted her boss, who discussed the situation with company lawyers. His eventual decision was to let us distribute our literature on an ongoing basis and to set up our own literature rack at the Expo. Conditions of this agreement are that leafletting be limited to a few individuals at a time, that no picket signs are used and that literature be in good taste (no pictures of dead babies).

This new policy opens the way for anti-nuclear groups statewide to distribute literature at visitors centers and local offices. Together with advertisements countering PG&E, such a campaign could help break the utility's monopoly on energy messages.

We have agreed to coordinate and schedule leafletting at the Energy Expo. If you are interested, call these contact people: Frances Peavey (415) 641-8522, Myra Levy or Charlie Varon (415) 648-7425.

—Charlie Varon

AA Safe Energy Groups

*Denotes that several community/neighborhood groups and affinity groups are working in the vicinity.

ABALONE ALLIANCE OFFICE: 944 Market St., Room 307, San Francisco, CA 94102
• (415) 543-3910
DIABLO PROJECT OFFICE: 452 Higuera St., San Luis Obispo, CA 93401 805 543-6614

NORTH

ARCATA:
REDWOOD ALLIANCE, P.O. Box 293/95521 • (707) 822-7884
COVELO:
DOWNWIND ALLIANCE, c/o Round Table Co-op, P.O. Box 175/95428 (707) 983-9969
MENDOCINO:
CITIZENS ALLIANCE FOR SAFE ENERGY, Box 887/95460
NAPA:
NAPA VALLEY ENERGY ALLIANCE, 2119 Brown Street, #4/94558
CALISTOGA:
UPPER NAPA VALLEY ENERGY ALLIANCE
2200 Diamond Mtn. Rd./94515 (707) 942-5856
SANTA ROSA:
COMMUNITY NETWORK FOR APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY, 709 Davis St./95401 • (707) 528-6543
*SO NO MORE Atomics, 883 E. Sonoma Ave./95404 • (707) 526-7220
SONOMA:
SONOMA ALTERNATIVES FOR ENERGY, P.O. Box 452/95476 • (707) 996-5123
TRINIDAD:
TRINIDAD ALLIANCE Box 60/95570 • (707) 677-3486

CENTRAL VALLEY & SIERRA

CHICO:
CHICO PEOPLE FOR A NUCLEAR FREE FUTURE, 708 Cherry St./95926 • (916) 891-6424
DAVIS:
PEOPLE FOR A NUCLEAR FREE FUTURE, 411 5th St./95616 • (916) 753-1630 M-F 12-6 P.M.
FRESNO:
PEOPLE FOR SAFE ENERGY, 366 N. Van Ness/93701 • (209) 268-3109 or 441-8839
MODESTO:
STANISLAUS SAFE ENERGY COMMITTEE, P.O. Box 134/93354 • (209) 529-5750
NEVADA CITY:
NEVADA COUNTY PEOPLE FOR A NUCLEAR FREE FUTURE, P.O. Box 457/95959 • (916) 272-4848
NORTH HIGHLANDS:
SACRAMENTANS FOR A NUCLEAR FREE FUTURE, c/o Dan Eichelberger, 3430 E. St. Apt. 72/95660
RED BLUFF:
TEHAMANS AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER, 103 Glenna Lane/96080
REDDING:
VOLCANIC ALLIANCE, 431 Manzanita Lane 96002
SACRAMENTO:
Citizens for Safe Energy 1917-16th St./95814 • (916) 442-3635

VISALIA:
SEQUOIA ALLIANCE, 824 Goshen #C/93277
• (209) 625-1328

GREATER BAY AREA

BERKELEY:
PEOPLE'S ANTI-NUCLEAR COLLECTIVE, U.C. Berkeley, 607 Eshelman Hall/94720 • (415) 642-6912
BOLINAS:
BOLINAS AGAINST NUCLEAR DESTRUCTION, P.O. Box 708/94924 • (415) 868-1401
CONCORD:
CONTRA COSTANS AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER, P.O. Box 743/94522 • (415) 934-5249
EL GRANADA:
COASTSIDERS FOR A NUCLEAR FREE FUTURE, P.O. Box 951/94018 • (415) 728-7406
OAKLAND:
EAST BAY ANTI-NUCLEAR GROUP, 585 Alcatraz, Suite A/94609 • (415) 655-1715
PALO ALTO:
CITIZENS FOR ALTERNATIVES TO NUCLEAR ENERGY, P.O. Box 377/94302
PT. REYES:
PELICAN ALLIANCE, P.O. Box 596/94956 • (415) 663-8483
SAN ANSELMO:
*ABALONE ALLIANCE OF MARIN, 1000 Sir Francis Drake Blvd./94960 • (415) 457-4377
SAN JOSE:
GROUP OPPOSED TO NUCLEAR ENERGY, 300 South 10th St./95112 • (408) 297-2299
SAN FRANCISCO:
ALLIANCE AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER, UC Med Center c/o Vicky Sommers N319X/94143 • (415) 666-1435
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Liz Walker, David Hartough, 2160 Lake St./94121 • (415) 752-7766
CITIZENS FOR A BETTER ENVIRONMENT, 88 First St., Suite 600/94105 • (415) 777-1984
DIRECT ACTION WORKING NETWORK, 1846 Church St./94139 • (415) 826-7776
GREENPEACE ANTI-NUCLEAR COMMITTEE, Building E, Fort Mason/94123 • (415) 474-6767
*PEOPLE AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER, 944 Market St. Room 808/94102 • (415) 781-5342
NURSES FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY, 1444 7th Ave./94122 • (415) 681-1028
SARATOGA:
ABALONE ALLIANCE CLUB West Valley College, 1400 Fruitvale Ave./95070 • (408) 867-1096 or 374-6459
STANFORD:
ROSES AGAINST A NUCLEAR ENVIRONMENT, P.O. Box 8842/94305 • (415) 322-2759

CENTRAL COAST

AVILA BEACH
A.V.I.L.A.
P.O. Box 344/93424
(805) 595-7208

LOMPOC:
LOMPOC SAFE ENERGY COALITION, P.O. Box 158/93436 • (805) 736-1897
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CORPORATE FRONTS DEPARTMENT

"Citizens for Adequate Energy"

The energy industry is becoming increasingly creative in its sales techniques. Faced with continually rising public mistrust, industry public relations planners have hit on the idea of creating "citizen groups" which appear to be independent organizations—while they promote corporate policies. These groups can then be used to create an apparent public demand for energy development schemes which would be dismissed as simple corporate greed if proposed by the energy industry itself.

"Citizens for Adequate Energy" (CAE) is PG&E's variation on this tactic. Born late last year with the help of a \$20,000 PG&E grant, CAE's structure imitates that of a grassroots anti-nuclear organization. For example, it has 19 local chapters, a monthly newsletter called *Energy News* and "Monthly Memos" which report on chapter activities like "energy luaus."

But if you had visions of CAE members working out their differences in a statewide conference, forget it. Orders in CAE come from the top. An article in the June newsletter informed members that "an Executive Committee has been established as CAE's policy making body" and proceeded to lay down the rules for local chapters:

Local chapters will be advised of Executive Committee actions by memos, newsletters and staff reports. Activities and decisions at the chapter level, as well as positions taken on local projects, must be consistent with Executive Committee policy.

Chapters wishing to take a position on specific projects or issues not covered by established policy must bring the subject before the Executive Committee for discussion and decision.

PG&E is taking no chances with democracy. The "Executive Committee" includes such nuclear industry folks as Bechtel vice-president Robert Allen and PG&E vice-president Richard Clark. It appears that CAE is in little danger of deviating from the official industry line.

CAE's finances aren't exactly "grassroots" either. True, each newsletter contains a subscription blank and a contribution pitch, just like the newsletters of safe energy groups. But we doubt that CAE needs the money, since its list of corporate contributors names 56 firms. Among the group's sponsors are six stock brokerage firms (thanks, Paine, Webber), California's two largest banks, two oil companies, and numerous nuclear and construction corporations.

While not listed as a contributor, PG&E continues to provide money and other assistance to the group. An inside source tells us that a recent CAE mailing was picked up at the printers' by a PG&E employee—who paid for it with a company check.

If you can't beat 'em, pretend to join 'em

It is no surprise that CAE's main goals—licensing Diablo Canyon, building the Point Conception Liquefied Natural Gas terminal and filling the New Melones Reservoir—are identical to PG&E's. But the organization also supports the development of conservation and alternative energy sources. It claims that California's energy problems are so severe that we must develop *all* potential energy sources.

The CAE approach tries to make comparisons of nuclear plants with better alternatives seem irrelevant.

If the public can be convinced there is a "crisis," then CAE can say "We're for solar and conservation too, but they just aren't enough to keep us from freezing (or sweating) in the dark."

The key to this strategy, of course, is selling the idea that an energy shortage is imminent. This may seem a difficult task in a year when US refineries are brimming with surplus gasoline, but CAE does its best with headlines like "Californians See Serious Energy Shortage Ahead" or "Electricity Supply 'Minimally Adequate.'" The December *Energy News* quoted a poll that found that "81 percent of the public takes the energy problem seriously."

As well we should, because the problem is serious. But we do have a *choice* of solutions. The energy conflict is not, as CAE pretends, a matter of "those who oppose everything" standing in the way of progress. It is instead a struggle over *which* future energy sources will be developed and who will control them. CAE's "leaders" are clearly aware of this, and it shows in their selective enthusiasm for a few "alternative" energy sources. Technologies that are adaptable to democratic, community-scale development—such as solar, wind and small cogeneration—are given brief (and mixed) notices in the group's literature. On the other hand, geothermal power received almost a full page in the last *Energy News*. It is probably a coincidence that California geothermal development is largely controlled by Union Oil and PG&E, both CAE contributors.

Although the group's strategy is somewhat novel, CAE carries on the old nuclear industry tradition of "fudging" the facts. Some examples:

Some "Snake Oil" about oil

(from CAE's "fact sheet" on the Diablo Canyon nuclear plant)

Diablo Canyon will save the equivalent of 700 million barrels or almost 30 billion gallons of oil during the life of the plant. These oil savings could provide all the gasoline needed to run 700 thousand automobiles for the next 35 years.

This is simply untrue. Power plants burn "residual fuel oil," which is a *waste product* of gasoline and heating oil refining. As the name implies, residual fuel oil is the "dregs" of the crude oil barrel, what is left



Diablo Canyon, in full operation, would save the equivalent of 20 million barrels of oil a year. That's 38 barrels of oil every minute

IAT's alternative caption: "Here at PG&E, we realize that conservation programs could save this much oil every minute and also eliminate the need for Diablo Canyon. This would save our customers money. But we've invested nearly \$2 billion in this plant and you're going to pay for it."

after gasoline, heating oil and other products have been extracted. As Nuclear Regulatory Commissioner Peter Bradford recently said, "Nuclear power is, of course, only usable to produce electricity and therefore can, for all practical purposes, only free up residual oil, of which there is somewhat of a surplus anyway. . . . The fact that more residual oil is available does not mean there will be an increase in the supply of heating oil or gasoline."

That must be a BIG reactor

(from "The Experts on Energy," July-August *Energy News*)

"There are only two courses we can take that are, in a quantitative sense, important in reducing our demand for imported oil over the next decade. One is conservation. The second is completing the (nuclear) electric power plants that are now planned or in construction, each of which could affect our imports to the extent of perhaps six million barrels of oil a day. We aren't going to make much progress in the other alternative fuel sources in that period."

Charles Hitch, President Emeritus of the University of California, member of the Electric Power Research Institute's Advisory Council
EPRI Journal, May 1980

We hope Hitch's reputation as an "energy expert" isn't based on this quote. In reality, each reactor would replace burning about 25,000 barrels a day, so Hitch's claim is 240 times too high. And again, this is residual fuel oil which can't be used to run cars or heat homes.

A long infancy

(from December, 1979 *Energy News*)

A source of energy just in its infancy is cogeneration—the combined production of electricity and heat. With cogeneration, about half as much fuel is used to produce electricity and steam as would be needed to produce the two separately.

US utilities have slowed the development of cogeneration because it is less profitable than utility-owned power plants. Only 4% of US electricity is cogenerated, compared to 27% in Finland, 34% in Rumania and 10% in Sweden. Many of these plants have been in reliable operation for decades. The only "infancy" is in PG&E's cogeneration program. The utility's foot-dragging on cogeneration development so outraged the normally placid California Public Utilities Commission that it fined PG&E \$7 million last December 18.

Incidentally, the state Energy Commission estimates California's cogeneration potential at 6,700 megawatts which could be developed by 1985. This is more than the combined output of *all* the nuclear reactors finished or under construction in the state. No wonder PG&E wants to prolong cogeneration's already lengthy California childhood.

Don't expect CAE to go away, since it's being guided by some of the country's most experienced nuclear promoters. Summer "kickoff meetings" for new chapters are scheduled in Napa, Alameda and Mendocino counties. If you want to keep track of CAE activities in your area, you might consider joining. Just send \$5 (\$2 student) to 58 Sutter Street, Suite 545, San Francisco, 94104.

—Bob Van Scoy

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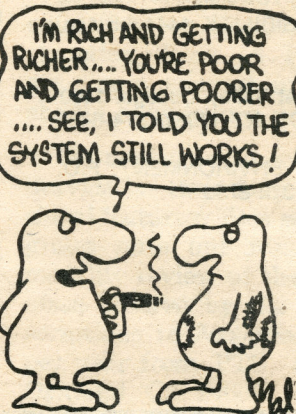
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UC Regents public hearing on contract renewal

Friday, September 19 9 a.m.—noon UC Extension Center, 55 Laguna St., SF
UC Board of Regents meeting will vote on starting negotiations for contract renewal.

For more information on these events and a 24-hour vigil contact:

UC Nuclear Labs Conversion Project
944 Market St., Rm 508, SF
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