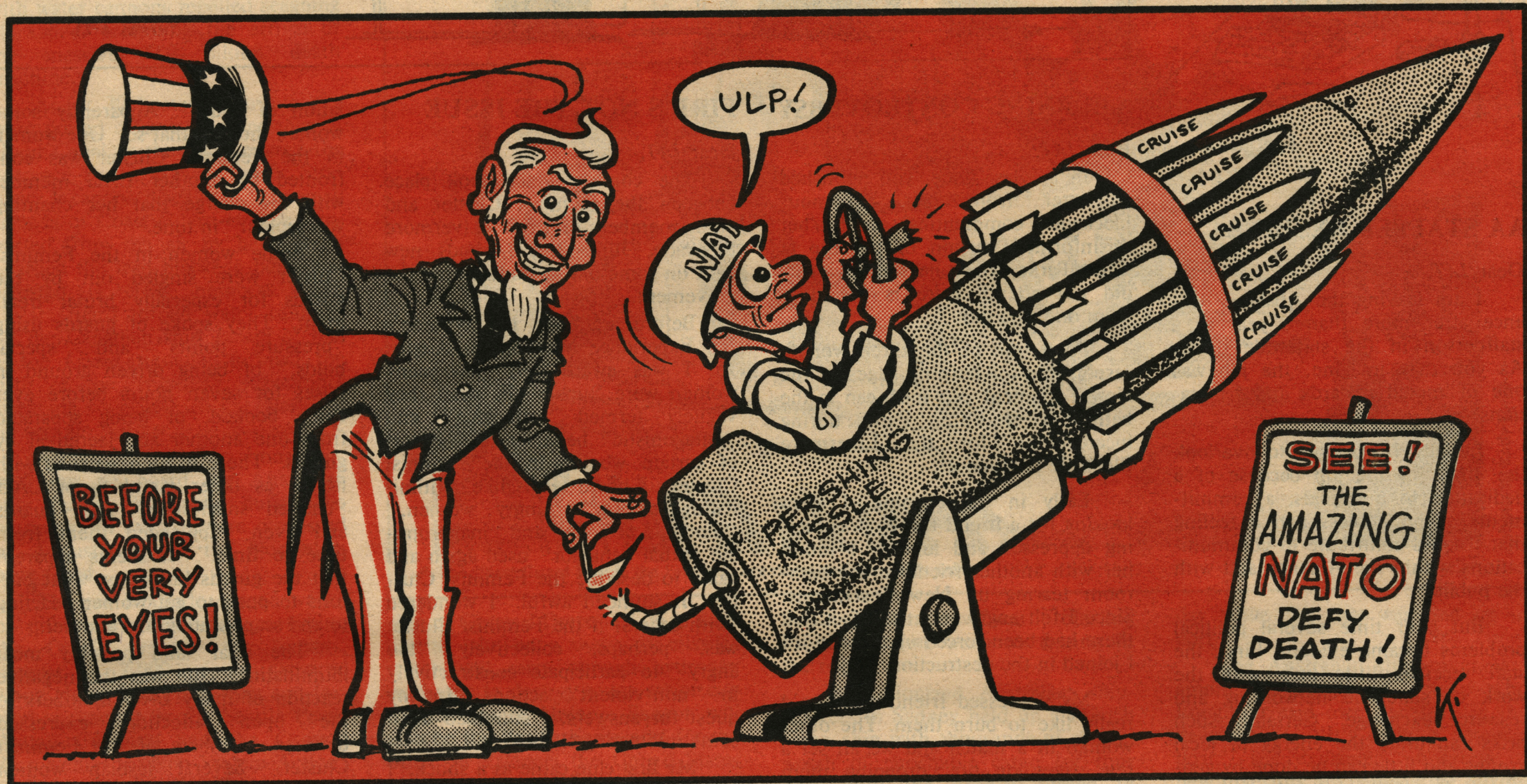


It's About Times

Abalone Alliance Newspaper

September-October 1982



cartoon by Jay Kinney

New "smart" missiles flunk tests

The first full flight test of the new Pershing II missile on July 22 went smoothly -- for about 17 seconds. Then something went wrong with the missile's first stage and the whole thing blew apart, scattering pieces over the test range at Cape Canaveral, Florida.

The cause of the Pershing II's debut flop was not immediately known. But the problems with another new weapon, the Cruise missile, are easy to understand if not to remedy.

According to a report by the General Accounting Office (GAO), only two-thirds of the 24 air-launched Cruise missiles tested from April 1979 to December 1981 "successfully arrived at the target." Many of the others crashed, leaving the independent Air Force Test and Evaluation Center to rate the missiles' performance and reliability as "deficient."

Air Force spokesmen described the ten tests from April 1981 to January 1982 as "completely successful," but this appraisal applies only to the functioning of various missile components in isolation. It fails to address the GAO and Air Force Test Center criticisms of the missile's overall performance, reliability, and ease of maintenance.

The Cruise missile's main problem lies with a computer-based guidance system known as Terrain Contour Matching, or TERCOM. Ideally, the system works by comparing radar echoes from the ground beneath the missile with maps stored in its computer memory, making course corrections so that the echoes and maps match each other all the way to the target.

But the terrain maps that the missiles carry are based on optical reconnais-

The deployment of the Cruise and Pershing II missiles is aimed more at keeping European economies bound to the US than at holding off the red hordes.

sance like satellite photos, and often don't correlate very well with the radar echoes the missile receives from its surroundings while in flight. It is also difficult to insure that hills and dales will be pictured in the same way from a satellite at an altitude of 22,000 miles as from a missile only 300 feet up. These problems could be solved by implanting detailed, low-altitude radar maps in the missile's guidance system, but the Soviet Union isn't too likely to invite the Defense Mapping Agency to take a topographical tour of its territory.

Even without this obstacle, there are problems in relying on radar guidance. Foliage and rainfall, changing with the seasons, alter what radar "sees." TERCOM can be thrown off by changes in the landscape caused by ice and snow, which cover the USSR much of the year. It easily becomes lost over vast areas of flat terrain (known in Russia as the steppes).

Sharp contours provide better navigation landmarks, but present other difficulties. The Cruise can't climb very quickly because it has small wings for its weight and an underpowered engine. Since it must fly low to evade Soviet air

defenses, it is susceptible to abrupt and unplanned stops at steep hills.

In sum, the Cruise works best in areas with gently rolling hills, almost no trees, and little rainfall -- places like the Air Force's missile test range inland from Point Mugu in Southern California.

Given enough time, all these technical difficulties may be fixable, but the missiles are scheduled for deployment in December of 1983. The original plan for 28 Pershing II test firings has already been reduced to 18, and its design-to-production schedule has been compressed from 74 to only 52 months. Even if this speed-up program is successful, it means the Army will still be testing the Pershing II as "finished" missiles are being shipped to Europe.

The unseemly rush to get the new missiles out the door -- even if they don't work -- is based on the Reagan administration's well-founded feeling that the on-time deployment of these weapons is essential to its plans. The growth of both the European and American disarmament movements has changed the political climate of the arms

race, especially in West Germany where many of the missiles are to be stationed.

US officials fear that any delays in delivering the missiles will give West German Prime Minister Helmut Schmidt an excuse to back off from his increasingly shaky support for their deployment. The issue has already lost him the support of the youth wing of his ruling Social Democratic party and threatens to help put an end to his political career.

Schmidt is also under intense pressure from West German business interests to give up Cold War isolation from the East and to support policies of detente and trade with the Soviet Union. The relative proximity and complementarity of Europe's advanced technology and Russia's vast natural resources makes them natural trading partners, much to Reagan's and US corporations' dismay.

The Reaganites realize that a European-Russian trade alliance might mean a great loss of US export markets, and are doing everything they can to stop that friendship -- such as Reagan's unsuccessful attempt to halt the European-Russian natural gas pipeline under the pretense of his concern for the Polish workers and their right to organize. The Cruise and Pershing II deployment is aimed more at increasing Cold War tensions and keeping European economies firmly tied to the US trading bloc than at holding off the red hordes.

-- Steve Stallone
LAT staff

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Letters



- Susan Dembrski

AA STAFFER RESIGNS

Dear IAT,

I am leaving the Abalone Alliance after more than a year as a staffperson in the statewide office. As you may imagine, the job was one of mixed rewards and frustrations.

Initially I was able to overlook the stress of the job because of a dedication to our goals, a commitment to the process and a feeling that I could contribute to communications within the Alliance and with the public.

But over time several political problems became evident. First, the staff receives little help with the work of statewide networking and resource exchange. Certainly such tasks can drain the energy of local groups and little can be done by geographically removed member groups.

But this is no excuse for the low input of support and participation the staff receives. This lack of input is often an intentional avoidance of concrete political differences which people in the AA tend to suppress in favor of "non-violent harmony."

Many issues have arisen which required immediate attention, but in which the organization showed little interest. These included vital tasks like setting up budgets and conferences, reviewing the planning of the Financial District Action, etc. As a consequence the staff was forced to make decisions -- and later was criticized for acting out of process. But where are the task groups and collectives that should be doing this work?

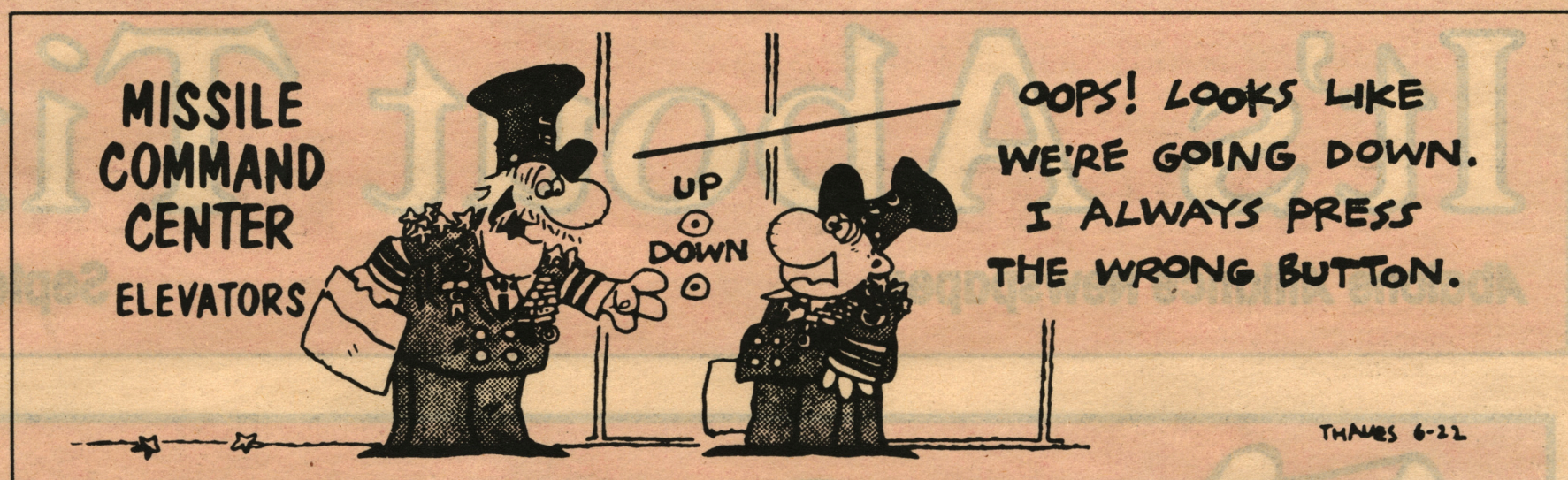
It is a political embarrassment for me to associate with the AA at this time. We are an extraordinarily self-centered, white, middle-class group of moralists. Our lip service is in direct conflict with our activities. I've tried to maintain hope that our strategy for social change would include coalition building with ethnic minorities and the "working class," but in fact, this has never been realized as a priority in our actions.

Our articulated goal of a democratic, integrated mass movement has no relation to the process we use or to the types of actions enjoyed by the AA. Each activist must take personal responsibility for crossing class and racial lines. A democratic future means taking the risk of finding out who "the people" really are, and discovering what we need to do to support one another.

The world is not going to change because we believe that our position is morally above reproach. Civil disobedience does not effectively agitate for meaningful work or equal opportunity in this society. Loving each other will not automatically cause corporations to give up their power.

-- Susan Swift

former AA staffperson



THAMES 6-22

A BURNING CONTROVERSY

Dear IAT,

In the last issue, you published a letter from an anonymous blockader commenting on his/her misinformed version of the fire at Camp Parks, which he/she obviously did not attend. Here is the story from one who did.

I am one of the three women responsible for burning pages of the New Testament in a trash can in the bathroom of Camp Parks during incarceration for the Livermore Blockade on June 21.

Early in the evening, I went looking for a friend I knew was feeling depressed and lonely. I found her with another friend in the bathroom tearing up New Testaments. Since I felt angry about the fact that these had been forced upon us in jail I joined in the destruction.

My depressed friend said she'd really like to burn them. The other woman lit a match and we all set a few pages on fire, dropping them into a nearby empty garbage can. We tore up more books and threw them in into a nearly empty garbage can.

Then the woman I'd come looking for and our friend realized the action was a mistake and quickly went to bring water from the sink in butt cans while I held the lid on the garbage can so the fire wouldn't get air. We doused the burnt pages well and left the bathroom. There was smoke but no fire.

Later in the evening the head guard called everyone together because she had found -- or been shown by some blockaders -- remains of our action. She implied that guards and cooperative prisoners had saved the wooden building and its occupants from danger. This is not true.

The small, very brief fire in a large can, in a room with lots of water, looked after by three women, was never a physical danger. The guard also stated or implied that she had to put out the fire. This is not true. We who set the fire and put out the fire could not reveal ourselves and tell the true story in that large group surrounded by guards.

The fire was a bad idea. We knew that as soon as it began. It was dumb because of its psychological effects on everyone in an explosive social setting.

The understandable fear on the part of many imprisoned blockaders grew into something else. There are people in this LAG action, a good many it seems, who can not let go of this incident. It has become a symbol.

Symbols are not arbitrarily chosen. I think the fire embodies what some LAGers fear about strong women in general and/or dykes. Fire represents the volatile. This particular fire represents behavior not completely understood, behavior initiated by unseen energy, and behavior out of the fearful perceiver's control.

-- Another Livermore blockader

FIRE'S NOT THE ISSUE

Dear IAT,

The conflict which took place between the Feminist Cluster and other members of LAG (Livermore Blockade, June 21-22) sheds new light on some old shadows within the movement.

Before attending the Women's Jail Experience Meeting on August 15, I was aware only that many women were "upset" by what they vaguely termed "offensive" and "antagonistic" behavior on the part of certain women in the Feminist Cluster. I heard terms like, "intimidating tactics," "angry women," "violation of code" and "inappropriate sexual behavior" used again and again to describe the Feminist Cluster. It sounded awful. I wondered (with others) if the Feminist Cluster was, perhaps, collectively "too angry" to participate constructively in "non-violent" actions. In my quest for answers, I stumbled upon some interesting clues.

My first clue came as a shock. I had spoken with literally dozens of women in the weeks after the jail experience. All claimed to be "extremely concerned" about the "problem." All had been particularly vocal about their concern.

At the Women's Jail Experience Meeting I noted that, of all the women present, there was only one with whom I had previously spoken and she was from the Feminist Cluster. It seemed that the very women who were "most concerned" about the "problem" couldn't quite get it together to attend a meeting specifically designed to deal with that problem.

My second clue came when, after the "opening ritual," we broke into small groups and I found myself in a group of ten women, seven of whom were members of the Feminist Cluster. We began with "feelings sharing." It became very clear in the hours I spent with these women that, with the possible exception of the "Bible burning," there were absolutely no violations of the non-violence code; unless, of course, one considers chanting or open expression of love between women a "vio-

lation of code." Apparently some women thought that so. One woman in the Feminist Cluster was confronted by another LAG member with the charge that her chanting was violent "in tone."

Some women in the Feminist Cluster were singled out by the guards for especially brutal treatment. They spoke of guards using "pressure points" and "special holds," of being driven around in buses for seven hours before ever being booked, of being separated from one another and jeered at by guards. These women watched with horror as other members of LAG "chatted solicitously" with guards and even "applauded them from time to time." It seems apparent that the guards knew just what buttons to push to get women reacting to and scapegoating one another.

The final (and possibly most illuminating) clue was the negative reaction of many LAG members to the open affection expressed between members of the Feminist Cluster. Several lesbian women were told that this type of "behavior" was "antagonizing the guards." Yet their own solicitous behavior toward the guards seems to indicate that these same women knew very little about the abuse the Feminist Cluster had suffered at the hands of these guards. Dare I suggest that there might be just a slight case of (gulp) homophobic reaction here?

In conclusion, I feel certain that the non-violence code was *never* intended to be interpreted as a "religion" or "Ten Commandments" of the antinuclear movement. Those who do interpret it that way are, I believe, a "moral minority," and could represent an insidious trend within the movement if allowed to go unchecked. Furthermore, we are going to lose some fine women if we continue to pursue this myopic "moral vision."

If the non-violence code is interpreted as a way that deprives any person of her right to freedom of expression, our purpose is already defeated.

-- Sandy Leon

More letters on page 9

It's About Times

Abalone Alliance Newspaper

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

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7000 demonstrate at Washington state port

Trident runs sea blockade

The first Trident submarine, the *Ohio*, arrived safely in its home port of Bangor, Washington on August 12 after 40 Coast Guard cutters armed with water cannons repelled seagoing blockaders protesting the arrival of the massive \$1.2 billion death machine.

About 30 boats of various size were poised close to the entrance of Hood Canal as the *Ohio* neared the entrance to the Navy's Pacific Strategic Weapons Facility. The small armada of Coast Guard cutters, supported from the air by helicopters, boarded the lead blockade boats and arrested 14 crew members. The Coast Guard turned water cannons on the Canadian ship *Lizard of Woz* as the *Lizard* attempted to block the path of the oncoming submarine, sweeping six people off the deck, but no serious injuries were reported.

According to Gai Longmuir, who was on board the Australian ship *Pacific Peacemaker* during the blockade, all charges were dismissed by August 20, and the blockaders were freed.

The sea blockade capped weeks of public demonstrations protesting the *Ohio's* arrival. On Sunday, August 8, 7,000 people gathered along Hood Canal in a rally and festival sponsored by the Seattle Peace Action Coalition and the Ground Zero Center for Non-Violent Action.

The action was the first in what blockade spokespeople say will be a continuing series of land and sea actions aimed at halting the multi-billion dollar Trident program. The *Ohio*, built by the Electric Boat Divi-



The Coast Guard boards the *Pacific Peacemaker* and arrests its crew.

photo by Kady Joost

sion of General Dynamics, is in Bangor to take on a cargo of missiles which will carry enough hydrogen warheads to destroy every major city in the Soviet Union. Bangor will also be the Pacific home port for the other 30 Tridents the United States plans to build by 1998.

For the *Pacific Peacemaker*, the Trident blockade was not its first brush with protest. Earlier this summer, French authorities impounded the ship in the Pacific southwest of

Tahiti as the crew was protesting French nuclear weapons testing in the region.

But unionized Australian shipworkers in Sydney held up a French cargo ship with thousands of dollars worth of perishable cargo for four days until the French agreed to release the Australian ship. "The workers told [the French government] 'you've got one of ours, but we've got one of yours,'" Longmuir said. French shippers lost \$26,000 a

day while the ship was tied up in port.

The Australian shipworkers are among thousands of people who Longmuir said own "shares" in the *Peacemaker*. "It's really a people's boat," she explained. A group of new investors are considering buying the boat -- or a number of shares in it -- for use in peace activities in the next few years.

-- Tim Redmond
IAT staff

Break out the whitewash

PG&E's do-it-yourself Diablo study

The closer the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant is examined, the shakier it looks. A new report which casts further doubt on the plant's ability to withstand seismic shocks has prodded the Pacific Gas and Electric Company to agree to a substantial "reverification" of the plant's seismic design.

Although the reverification will cause significant delays in PG&E's plans to begin low power testing, the company hopes it will convince critics that every possible effort has been made to insure that the plant is capable of withstanding seismic shocks. But the reverification procedure is already under suspicion, since PG&E has convinced the Nuclear Regulatory Commission that no outside consultants should be involved in it.

The utility hopes its study will resolve the questions raised by a skeptical new report released July 1 by Brookhaven National Laboratory, which was commissioned by the NRC last November to restudy seismic stress factors in the "annulus" area of the plant. The Brookhaven investigation questions the accuracy of earlier earthquake safety studies of the annulus, which houses some of the pipes through which critical cooling water flows to the reactor core and was the site of the infamous blueprint mixup that Diablo engineers discovered last September.

Critics of the plant have suggested that Brookhaven be commissioned to expand its study -- which

used "state of the art" computer models -- to cover other sensitive structures. "There is no reason to believe that Brookhaven's findings would be limited to the annulus area," said Joel Reynolds, an attorney for the Center for Law in the Public Interest, which is handling the Diablo legal intervention.

But PG&E insists that the reverification study need involve only the less sophisticated techniques used in the much criticized Diablo seismic investigation done by URS/John A. Blume Associates of Berkeley in the mid-1970's. "Brookhaven used techniques far more refined than the NRC requires.

We probably won't use as highly refined techniques," said Dick Davin, a spokesperson for the giant utility.

The NRC agrees. "We won't necessarily require state-of-the-art technology to be applied everywhere in the plant," said Frank Miraglia, an engineer in the NRC's reactor regulation branch.

The NRC's Atomic Safety and Licensing Board has apparently already decided to ignore all evidence of seismic problems at Diablo, and has given its approval for full-power operation of Unit One. The August 31 ASLB decision has no immediate impact since the full NRC

must approve the actual license, but opponents plan to appeal it.

The Brookhaven report makes no specific recommendations about safety at the \$2.6-billion plant. But it adds fuel to critics' contentions that PG&E has whitewashed some serious questions about the plant's ability to withstand an earthquake along the Hosgri fault, located about two and a half miles away.

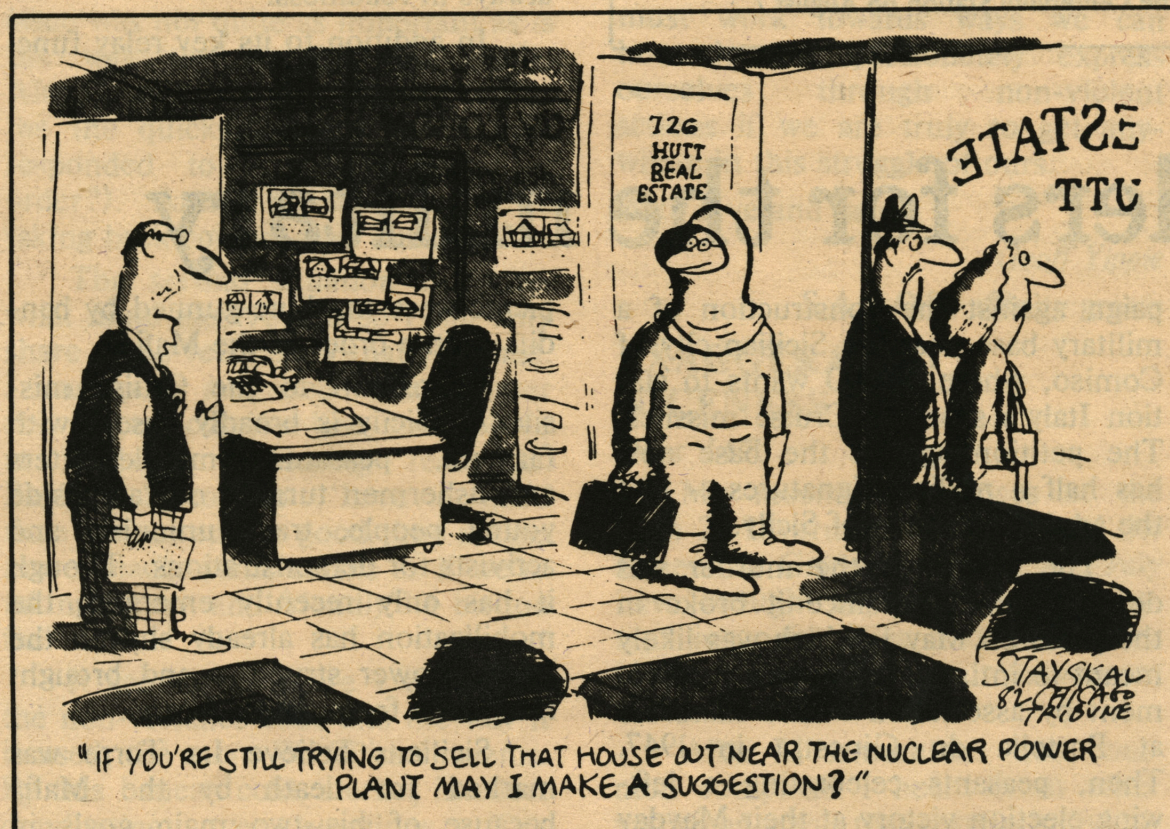
The carefully worded, highly technical report says, essentially, that Brookhaven investigators were "unable to duplicate" URS/Blume's original results for the annulus area. The Blume study was used as the basis for designing PG&E's seismic safety features throughout the plant.

The Brookhaven study uses three-dimensional computer models to predict the effects a 7.5 magnitude earthquake on the Hosgri fault would have on the annulus. It suggests that the area might be subject to greater and different types of stress than Blume had anticipated.

"The report has enormous implications. If it doesn't cause some serious reanalysis of the plant, then there is something very wrong with the [licensing] system," according to Reynolds.

Whatever those implications, PG&E still hopes to have its low-power license reinstated early in 1983, and plans to begin full-power operation as early as May.

-- Tim Redmond
IAT staff



Navy facility in Humboldt County

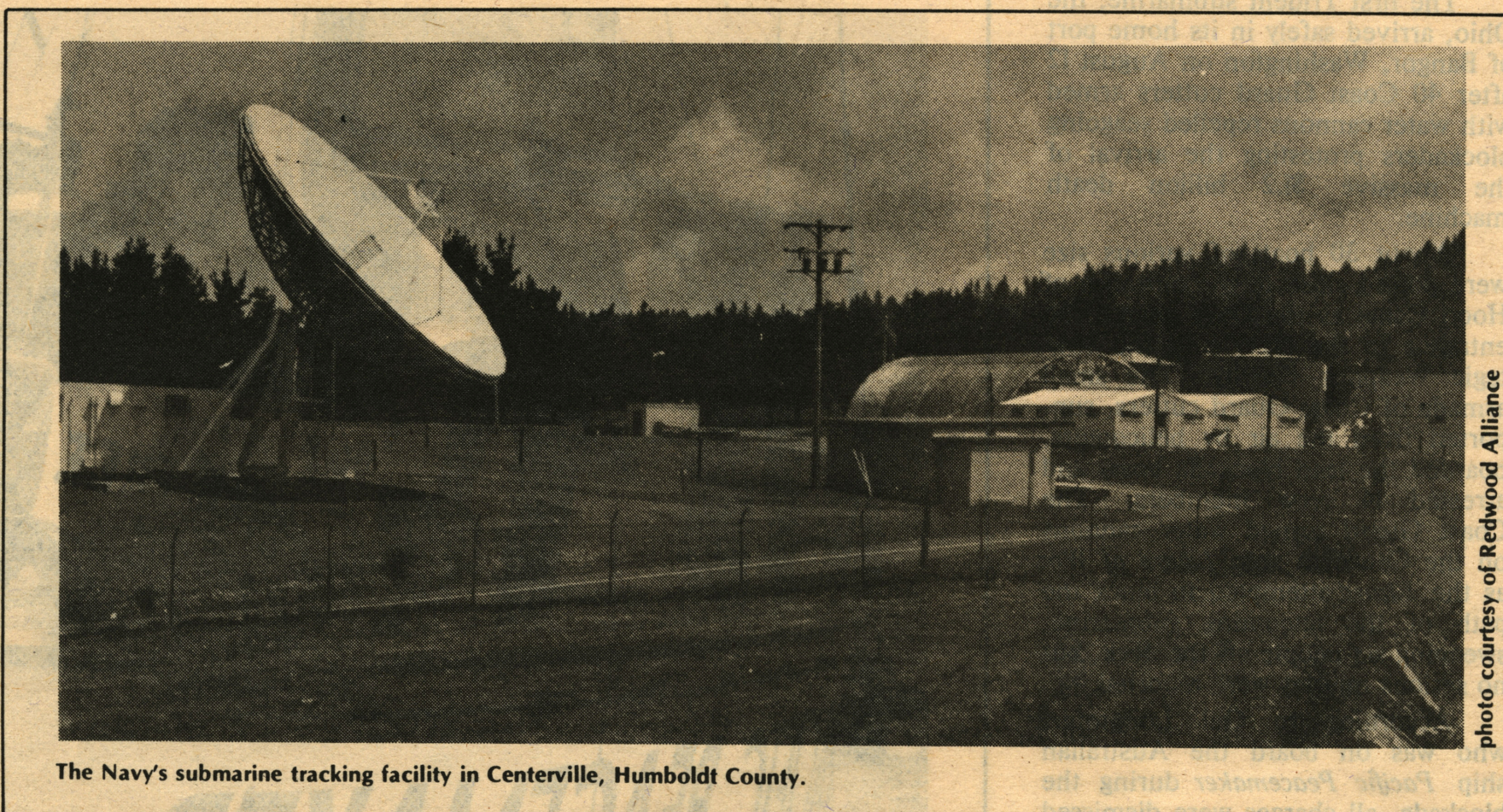
Centerville Station spies on Soviet subs

A hundred yards above the waves of the Northern California coast, cows chomp blissfully in meadows adjacent to an electrified fence. Behind its perimeter, a lowslung set of windowless structures sit, looking almost like a natural feature of the landscape.

This, nautical maps of the Humboldt Bay area indicate, is the US Navy's Centerville oceanographic station, an entity which the government would prefer us not to notice. Indeed, base Administrative Officer Kay Koundouriotis refused to tell *IAT* what the 250 swabbies assigned here do to earn their keep. The Third Fleet's Pacific Command, headquartered in Hawaii, would not remark on how the facility fits into the nation's military defenses or on the purpose of the base's "Readiness Training Facility." Neither would it explain the function of a pair of python-thick cables that plummet into the beach below the bluff. But a host of interviews and an examination of the available literature make some surmises and conclusions possible.

The Centerville facility is a key Pacific rim component of the Navy's sound surveillance system (SOSUS), the backbone of US anti-submarine warfare capabilities. Computers at Centerville and its 20 counterparts throughout the world track sonar signals from a vast array of underwater listening devices called hydrophones, which are strung about the Pacific basin from the West Coast to Pearl Harbor to Kamchatka. These distant ears in the ocean have a range of 10,000 miles when used in association with Navy satellite communication systems.

All over the Pacific, sea sounds booming along the ocean floor



The Navy's submarine tracking facility in Centerville, Humboldt County.

photo courtesy of Redwood Alliance

through thousands of miles of sensing cables laid along the continental shelves are monitored in unassuming structures like those set into Centerville bluff. Base technicians sort and relay them to the Navy's Acoustic Research Center, located at Moffett Field on the San Francisco Peninsula. There, computers delineate the minutest movements of Soviet submarines in their pens 5000 miles away in the southern Siberian Sea of Okhotsk. Whenever a Russian sub leaves port, SOSUS is listening hard enough to pinpoint its track.

The plated cables, so mysteriously snaking in and out of the Centerville oceanographic facility, unrecorded on Coast Guard charts and deep enough not to foul boat

drag nets, are often deliberately severed by Russian "trawlers," according to fishing industry sources. Civilian patch crews are forever at sea keeping the SOSUS cables shipshape.

Information gathered by the West Coast's four known SOSUS ground stations (the others are at Pacific Beach, Washington; Coos Head, Oregon; and Point Sur, California) and funneled through Moffett's computers is instantaneously transmitted via one of the Navy's four Fleet Communication Satellites (FLTSATCOM in the parlance) to San Diego. There, the Underwater Warfare Command Center evaluates Soviet sub movements for strategic implications. Simultaneous evaluations are transmitted to a similar Atlantic command post in Norfolk, Virginia by a system known as Secured Acoustic Data Relay (SADR) which is relayed exclusively through Centerville.

Once SOSUS determines that a Russian sub is moving towards deep ocean, one of 73 nuclear-powered US submarines is quickly dispatched to shadow the vessel. Civilian-crewed surface ships towing arrays of hydrophones comb the Soviet sub's anticipated course and fixed-wing Lockheed PC-3 Orions sew suspicious areas of operation with acutely sensitive sonar buoys. Magnetic anomaly detectors harnessed to the tails of these planes transmit precise sub locations to anti-submarine command posts on both coasts where preemptive strike capabilities are always in readiness.

In addition to its key relay func-

tion in the SADR system and its role as a "Readiness Training Facility" (prestigious enough to school foreign personnel in anti-submarine detection), Centerville is the western-most SOSUS outpost in the continental US. This gives it a unique surveillance window on Soviet activity in the area of Petropavlovsk, where the Russian Pacific submarine fleet is headquartered.

The moment Soviet subs move into open sea, they are covered by an armada of American planes, surface ships, and attack submarines armed to the teeth with computer-guided "intelligent" torpedos, cruise missiles and nuclear depth charges.

Annual appropriations for anti-submarine warfare are in the \$7 billion range, 16 percent of the Navy's budget. Over a billion dollars is slated for researching and developing new systems, including one involving satellite-mounted blue-green lasers that will work in conjunction with SOSUS. This leap forward, currently being developed at the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, will be able to penetrate the world's oceans with its peer and thus could render Soviet submarines indefensible.

In the February 1981 *Scientific American*, Joel S. Witt wrote, "If continued US Navy efforts to monitor Russian submarines advance to the point where all deployed boats can be tracked from their pens to their operational areas and back again, it would be a significant first step towards the acquisition of a potentially destabilizing first-strike capability."

-- John Ross



Redwood Alliance members demonstrate at the Centerville Station on August 7.

photo courtesy of Redwood Alliance

Mafia murders for the military

The US government's move to place Cruise missiles in Sicily now has a powerful ally -- the Mafia. On April 30, Pio La Torre, regional secretary of the Communist Party and an opponent of Cruise missiles in Sicily, was assassinated by the Mafia.

The murder took place in Palermo, just a few hundred meters from where La Torre was born, one day after CUDIP (Committee for Disarmament and Peace) began a hunger strike. This protest was the start of a signature-gathering cam-

paign against the construction of a military base near the Sicilian city of Comiso, where NATO wants to station Italy's share of Cruise missiles. The petition against the base now has half a million signatures -- half the adult population of Sicily.

The timing of the murder was doubly significant since it broke in the press on May 1, which was likely meant to intimidate the peace movement by association with a massacre at Portella du Ginestra in 1947. Then, peasants celebrating a left-wing election victory at their Mayday

picnic were machine-gunned by bandits on the order of the Mafia.

Opposition to the Cruise missiles in Sicily is broadly based, with farmers, peasants, marble-cutters and fishermen turning out alongside young people, trade unionists and activists for demonstrations. Though it has only recently emerged, the mobilization has already shaken the Italian power structure and brought retaliation from its enforcers.

Sicilians believe La Torre was marked for death by the Mafia because of his two main goals in

returning to Sicily eight months earlier: to carry on the struggle against the Mafia and to press forward the work of the peace movement, in which he saw a renewal of old battles for land reform.

The Mafia stands to gain a great deal from construction of the Cruise missile base in Sicily by tendering crooked contracts at inflated prices. The Mafia also has a great deal of control over the region's banking system.

-- Ben Thompson *E.N.D. Bulletin*, July-August, 1982

MX missile to visit the South Pacific

The first MX missile is scheduled to lift off from a test pad in Southern California next January, fly 4,300 miles over the Pacific Ocean, and land in the lagoon of Kwajalein Atoll in the Marshall Islands. To the Air Force, this will be merely another test at its Vandenberg base, where all the intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM) in the US nuclear arsenal have been flight tested. But the Livermore Action Group (LAG) and hundreds of residents of the Marshall Islands are determined that this first test of the MX missile will be anything but routine.

LAG will attempt to occupy the launch area at Vandenberg during the week of January 21-27. If the MX missile is fired that week, it will be over the heads of demonstrators against whom the US government has mobilized a massive police force to protect itself.

There will be protests where the MX lands, too. On Kwajalein Atoll, hundreds of people are currently occupying islands near the target zone. They are demanding an end to missile testing and a return of the land taken from them when the US



established Kwajalein as the US Pacific Missile Test Range. The occupation started on June 19 and has held up in the face of arrests, beatings, cutoffs of water and food, intimidation of islanders supporting the occupation and a dearth of press coverage in the United States.

The United States has occupied the Marshall Islands since the end of World War II, and has used them primarily for military purposes. In

the late '40's and '50's, the American military conducted atmospheric nuclear weapons tests on a number of islands, and threw Marshallese off their ancestral lands. Many of them were exposed to deadly fallout.

Starting in 1960, the US began using Kwajalein Atoll as the target area for missiles fired from Vandenberg Air Force Base. The residents of many of Kwajalein's 90 islands were forcibly relocated to 66-acre Ebeye Island, comparable in size to Hawaii's Ala Moana shopping center. Today, Ebeye's residents live in the most crowded conditions in the Pacific, in dilapidated housing with no sanitary facilities, no local water supply and not even a single coconut tree. The Americans live three miles away on Kwajalein Island, in an air conditioned community with abundant recreational facilities, an excellent hospital and many other amenities.

Largely because of the suffering to which they have already been subjected, the Marshall Islanders have taken a militant stand against missile testing. The current occupation by the Marshallese of Kwajalein is not the first, and it will probably not be the last in what promises to be a long struggle for self-determination. But the US government is determined to continue its nuclear missile tests and has proposed a "compact of free association" which would give it exclusive military access to Kwajalein for 50 years in return for \$2 billion.

The most advanced missiles are not only tested at the Marshall Islands; they are also used as targets for anti-ballistic missile systems under development by the Army.

The MX missile is the most

accurate intercontinental nuclear missile yet developed. It has a range of 7000 miles and can strike within a 300-foot radius of its target. The MX will carry at least ten independently targeted nuclear warheads, each of which will be over 17 times as powerful as the Hiroshima bomb.

This kind of accuracy and devastating power adds nothing to the ability of the US to threaten Soviet cities and industry, which would presumably deter a Soviet attack on the United States. Its purpose can only be to attack Soviet military targets, especially missile silos, in a first strike. Such a capability is very threatening to the Soviet Union, and may provoke them to establish a launch-on-warning system.

The MX test in late January will be the first of over 30 flight tests planned from Vandenberg over the next three years. "This is only a test," as they say in civil defense, and in these tests the missiles will not contain nuclear warheads. But they are essential in making the MX accurate enough for first strike.

The MX has also been strongly protested by Americans, who have slowed its development. In the late 1970's the Carter administration made the mistake of proposing that the MX be based in a huge racetrack shuttle system in Utah and Nevada. The most expensive construction project in history, the shuttle system would have drastically altered the ecological and social stability of this sparsely populated area.

Equally important, the people living in the area had already suffered severely at the hands of the nuclear weapons establishment when they were exposed to fallout from nuclear weapons testing in the 1950's and 1960's. Under strong protest from local residents, the racetrack basing was scrapped.

Since the military still has not figured out how to base the MX, Congress has been reluctant to allocate funds for its full-scale development and production. But recently, under strong pressure from the Reagan administration, it restored \$460 million that it had previously cut from next year's budget.

-- Dave Raymond

If you are interested in taking part in or helping to plan the non-violent occupation at Vandenberg, or would like more information, contact the Livermore Action Group, 3126 Shattuck, Berkeley, CA 94705, (415) 644-3031.

This Missile Needs a Home. Won't You Help?

The PENTAGON IS HAVING TROUBLE FINDING A SAFE HOME FOR THE MX MISSILE. NOBODY SEEMS TO WANT THIS POOR, DEFENSELESS WEAPON IN HIS BACK YARD. IN THE SPIRIT OF VOLUNTEERISM, WON'T YOU SEND YOUR SUGGESTION TO THE PENTAGON?

To: The PENTAGON
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dear Sirs:
I THINK YOU SHOULD STICK
THE MX MISSILE



STEIN '82 NEA
ROCKY MTN. NEWS

Reagan says "Nyet!"

US rejects nuclear test ban talks

One thing you can say for the Reagan Administration -- it ain't subtle. When it decided to throw the existing nuclear weapons treaties into question, it did so with a blast. On August 8, windows shook in Las Vegas, and 21 minutes later a chunk of Nevada desert the size of three football fields collapsed above the 2,100 foot deep underground test site.

What set this blast apart from routine tests was the administration's obvious attention to its political and diplomatic repercussions. For the first time in two years, reporters were invited to watch on television from a concrete bunker ten miles away. Energy Secretary James Edwards played host and found the test "exciting."

The timing of the test was also provocative. Held only a few days from the anniversary of the

Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings, it drew acerbic comments from the mayors of those cities. And it followed by just a few weeks the administration's announcement that it would not resume negotiations on a comprehensive nuclear test ban.

Secretary Edwards announced at the test that the administration does not yet consider it necessary to lift the 150-kiloton ceiling -- Hiroshima times 10 -- on nuclear testing that President Nixon and the Russians accepted in the 1974 Threshold Test Ban Treaty. But he left the door open for bigger blasts if "our opponents" make advances in protecting their cities against nuclear attack.

Edward's threat of bigger booms to come followed closely the decision to drop negotiations with Britain and Russia on a comprehensive test ban. On July 20, officials said that

verification measures of existing treaties were inadequate. But the Administration would not say what improved measures it was contemplating or whether the Soviets would accept changes in the treaties.

Verification has long been a sticky arms control issue and has been used to prevent the completion of any meaningful agreements. Opponents of a comprehensive test ban (particularly in the Departments of Energy and Defense) have been pushing for stricter requirements ever since Carter postponed talks in 1980. Senate hawks have used the verification issue in order to stop ratification of the Threshold Test Ban Treaty and the Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty. The recent revival of the issue coincides with the administration's desire to test warheads for its new missiles.

While nuclear opponents argue

that a comprehensive ban on weapons testing would be a serious barrier to the arms race, the Departments of Energy and Defense have been trying to put an end to talk of such a ban. They pushed Reagan to publicly abandon the concept, as well as to give support for improved verification of existing treaties. But the State Department and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency disagreed and got Reagan to claim that a weapons test ban is still an "ideal" -- at least for press conferences. These agencies argued successfully for the appearance of support for a nuclear test ban, and by extension, for arms control. Otherwise they argued, it would be difficult to counter the European disarmament movement and the Freeze campaign.

-- Ward Young
LAT staff

A cure for the cold

The piles of backpacks looked out of place in the lobby of the European Parliament building in Brussels, but they were a mark of the meeting's success. The convention of European Nuclear Disarmament (END), held in these chambers to take advantage of translation facilities, drew about a thousand peace activists. Some came from as far away as Iceland and Turkey.

The July 2-4 conference followed a year of rapid growth for the many peace movements of Europe. Its purpose was not to formulate one grand strategy for all of them, but to provide a place for different types of activists to meet and possibly to plan coordinated actions.

The level of coordination in Europe is already high. Demonstration dates are chosen internationally for maximum effect. Two organizations, END and the Dutch Interchurch Peace Council (IKV), act as channels for movement networking. While neither group intends -- or would be allowed -- to evolve into a decision-making body, their work has shown that joint planning is both possible and desirable. At the next END convention, in May, 1983 in West Berlin, there is sure to be more emphasis on strategy, since Cruise missile deployment, scheduled to start next September in Greenham Common, Britain, will be just around the corner.

THE GRASSROOTS AND THE PARTIES

Like the END conference, the European peace movements are wonderfully diverse. Depending on the country, the peace forces include Social Democratic members of parliament and Communist Party bureaucrats, Green Party eco-radicals, pacifist feminists, liberal professionals, and members of rebellious youth movements.

All these activists are united in their opposition to the new missiles. Together with the hundreds of thousands of nonaffiliated people who come to antiwar demonstrations, they constitute a movement that has already fundamentally altered the European political scene.

On the whole, the European peace movement seems to be able to live with its many stripes, including the more

eccentric and radical ones. But not surprisingly, the different kinds of activists, with their conflicting opinions and political cultures, often disagree about emphasis, organization and style.

This was immediately apparent at the END convention. The grassroots activists, who brought their backpacks and stayed in youth hostels, are a very different breed from the anti-NATO parliamentarians who arranged the venue at the European Parliament.

At the conference's opening plenary, a seemingly endless stream of introductory statements from mostly government types provoked some of the more bluejean-oriented conventioners to come to the stage and post signs -- in five languages -- calling for "more action, less talk." These frustrations were symptomatic of a larger controversy within and among the peace movements about the degree to which parliamentarians and the left parties should be involved.

The Dutch IKV, for example, is far less oriented towards socialist politicians

of the demand for "European autonomy" from the bloc system and the Cold War.

This formulation opens the way for public discussion about geopolitics and the global economy, and helps to organize the common interests among Europeans -- at the most banal level, the common interest in not being blown up -- into a coalition with real political clout.

But the peace movement is not alone in its interest in an autonomous Europe. As economic rivalry between the Common Market and the US grows, Western European capital is finding it more profitable to support detente policies and expand trade with the Eastern bloc than to participate in Cold War mania. The deployment of the Cruise and Pershing II, like Reagan's attempt to stop construction of the European-Russian natural gas pipeline, is meant to keep Europe economically bound to the US and isolated from the Soviet bloc.

Although the anti-Cold War framework can support a fairly sophisticated

The European disarmament movement is demanding autonomy from the bloc system and the Cold War.

than is END. But there is also disagreement within END about the role of the left parties.

Many European activists feel that the presence of the parliamentarians will guarantee that the pressures generated in the streets are translated into action at the state level. Jorn Lambert from Agenor, the Belgian group that hosted the convention, argued that successfully forcing policy changes will insure "that all these thousands who are marching for the first time will not get disillusioned and drift towards cynicism, apathy and the right."

Yet this perception is balanced by a very high level of sensitivity to the danger that involvement in state politics could disempower the movement. As often as I was told that the state must be forced to respond to pressures from the mass movement, I heard twice of the necessity for maintaining "independence." One conference participant told me that since the European movement is so diverse and dynamic at the local level, people are "aware of the need for independence, but not worried about losing it."

THE EUROPEAN COALITION

Another kind of "independence" is also an important issue to the European peace movement. Largely following the lead of END and E.P. Thompson (see "Letter to America," in *The Nation*, January 24, 1981), the movement has structured its political analysis in terms

political analysis, it has been the object of some criticism. One charge is that the idea of a Europe dominated and victimized by the superpowers can obscure very real conflicts within European society. There are elite interests well served by the classless overtones of such an abstract entity as "Europe."

The danger is that, in the words of West German political analyst Walter Suss, the "peace movement could become the ground for a 'movement' with which it would have little in common: a European 'nationalism' that -- if it were to succeed -- would be the bearer of a 'European nuclear force.' Whoever doubts such a possibility should examine Mitterrand's policies."

The fast and loose way in which the European movement talks about autonomy from the bloc system may be dangerously confusing, but it is balanced by an ongoing discourse about social conflict that is much more radical. Sometimes it even seems to encourage

Against the great orthodoxy of the Freeze, other American approaches to peace politics appear as mini-movements.

that discourse. For example, E.P. Thompson's concept of "exterminism" -- the idea that militarism has developed a logic of its own and that the warfare state has come to be "about itself" -- has attracted a bevy of friendly critiques and amendments.

Thompson's critics argue that this is a "depolticized" notion that makes the power elite's pursuit of war readiness seem irrational, instead of recognizing militarism as a mechanism of political and economic control. They argue that if the peace movement is to help people see the reality of their lives as Europeans, it will have to forego the image of a continent held helpless by the exterminist forces of the cold war.

To put it bluntly, Europe has strong imperialistic interests in the Third World in parallel with those of the US, and it relies on American militarism to maintain the international conditions for its viability as a highly industrial, export-oriented power. Indeed, in many ways Europe is more dependent on keeping



the Third World a subjugated area than the US. Europe imports a far greater percentage of its oil, and so is more vulnerable to instability in the Middle East.

In the eyes of an American, there is something bordering on self-delusion in the way that Europeans peace activists talk about a "bloc-free" Europe. This Europe would be the greatest economic

power in the world, and would be unable to give up its exploitative relations with the Third World without major social realignments.

It is undoubtedly true, as it is often said, that these kinds of changes are not possible until the structure of the Cold War is dismantled. But while the Cold War must be broken down, it cannot be allowed to delimit the movement's analysis. In the end, the problem of capitalism must be publicly broached.

THE AMERICAN SITUATION

In contrast to the anti-Cold War politics of the Europeans, the American movement tends to pass over the causes and history of the arms race in favor of a campaign focusing almost exclusively on fear and a politics defined increasingly in the electoral terms of the Freeze.

The Freeze may get a lot of resolutions passed, but the price of those resolutions may be losing the American peace movement down the sinkhole of



Emblem of the European Nuclear Disarmament Conference

Know your nuclear missiles

The Cruise missile is a small pilotless jet airplane, typically about two feet in diameter and twelve feet long. It is designed to follow the contours of the land at very low altitude, making it difficult to shoot down. A computer guides these maneuvers and matches the terrain to internal maps, resulting in very high accuracy (if it works).

The Cruise missile's relatively low cost means it will be armed with conventional (high explosive) bombs as well as nuclear warheads. Since conventionally and nuclear armed Cruise missiles look the same, and since the small missiles are easily concealed, deployment of the Cruise complicates verification of nuclear arms control or disarmament measures.

The Pershing II is an updated version of the earlier Pershing IA missile. The new version has a 1500-mile range, nearly four times that of its predecessor. Its 150-foot predicted accuracy reportedly makes it the most accurate missile yet built -- and an ideal weapon for a "first strike" attack against missile silos and other "hardened" military targets.

Deployment of the Pershing II in Europe would for the first time put much of the Soviet Union within the reach of highly accurate missiles which could destroy their targets only minutes after launch. Fear of a knockout attack could lead to nervous fingers on Soviet nuclear triggers -- and increase the chance of nuclear war through accident or miscalculation.

Common Cold War



official politics. What will counteract the disempowering of the movement which comes with relying on politicians? And what about all the pro-Freeze Congressmen and Senators busily supporting a 1983 military budget that funds the weapons escalation the Freeze is supposed to stop?

It is possible for the American peace movement to acknowledge conservative political realities without bargaining away its independence and critical spirit. The movement that can stop the arms race will have to speak to middle America, but without pandering to Cold War mythology. The Freeze may mobilize millions with its bilateral call, but it obscures the fact that the US has always -- unilaterally -- escalated the nuclear arms race, and that it continues to do so.

The economic crisis and the heating up of the Cold War have broken the post-'60s political stasis, but the marriage dance of the Freezers and the Democrats is hardly the basis for a radical reconstruction of anti-war politics.

Against the great orthodoxy of the Freeze, other American approaches to peace politics appear as mini-movements. The anti-intervention movement, the anti-draft movement, the direct action coalitions against weapons facilities, and the attempts to link the arms race to the economic crisis are all crucial. But none of them has been able to seriously challenge the "don't-fry-the-children" school of organizing.

A new campaign focusing on the American revival of the Cold War could help bring these alternatives together and give them a framework that retains popular appeal while allowing for a radical elaboration. A campaign against the Euro-strategic missiles would be a catalyst for this anti-Cold War politics, if only because it would unfold together with what will almost certainly be a very flashy European resistance.

Not that the American peace movement should become a support group for the Europeans. The internationalism that could crystallize during such a campaign need not smell like the self-effacing Third Worldism of the '60s and '70s. We have plenty of reasons of our own for opposing the new missiles.

Within such a campaign, a radical anti-Cold War politics could be articulated in a clear and accessible manner. Imagine a political culture in which interpretations of current events, of the economic roots of war, and of the geopolitical functions of nuclear weapons could co-exist with "analyses" like Helen Caldicott's ("A baby is a baby is a baby").

An American movement in regular contact with a more diverse and often more politically sophisticated European movement would be prone to healthy self-examination: American activists would gain more familiarity with the sorts of questions Europeans ask themselves, and with the respect for political diversity which they have had to develop. It would strengthen the European movement too; the very existence of a strong and lively American peace movement could still any stirrings of European nationalism.

Finally, a campaign against the Cruise and Pershing II would both complement the Freeze and underscore its political weaknesses. This has been pointed out by the organizers of the *Stop the Cruise/Pershing II Clearinghouse* in Philadelphia, a small group arguing for a campaign to oppose the Euro-strategic missiles. "The problem here is timing. The most optimistic timeline for the success of the Freeze . . . puts [it] after the deployment of these two weapons systems. Without an anti-Cruise/Pershing II component, the Freeze Campaign will become obsolete and virtually irrelevant just as it seems within reach of its goal."

An American peace movement large enough for both the liberal politics of the Freeze and a potentially radical anti-Cold War politics would help people think more about what they are doing, and about what it will really take to win. Such pluralism seems to exist in Europe: unity is valued, but it isn't expected that disagreements will be kept quiet or that everyone will make the same compromises with power.

Direct action, stop-gap bilateralism and radical analysis can strengthen each other. It is possible to imagine an American peace movement that takes the politics of the state seriously without



collapsing into an irresponsible reformism, but only if that movement has a strong independent political culture.

GERMANY AND THE EASTERN MOVEMENTS

The appearance of independent peace movements in the Eastern bloc seems to herald the kind of trans-bloc movement for which many have been hoping. This new brand of Eastern European dissidents, loudly critical of the official peace postures of the Soviet bloc governments, has already shown a remarkable boldness and persistence.

We have heard very little of these developments in the US. (The exception is Adam Hochschild's article in the September issue of *Mother Jones*, which paints a vivid picture of the East German peace movement.) In fact, citing the absence of similar protests in the



"Swords into Plowshares—in West and East—starting here." The symbol of the East German peace movement.

Soviet bloc was the routine way to dismiss the million-strong June 12 demo in New York City.

The Western European movement has been greatly encouraged by the peace protests in the East. But especially since the Polish crackdown, it has been seriously divided about the best kind of relationship to foster with Eastern peace activists. The drama is most visible in the Germanies.

West Germany is one of the greatest economic powers in the world, but the post-war economic boom is over and the global recession is hitting it hard. East Germany, tied to the West by language, television and trade, is suffering as well.

In East Germany the question is not when repression will start, but if it will get serious.

The stirrings of the East German peace movement coincide with a diffuse political and social crisis set off by the economic crisis. Add the massive movement in the West and new youth cultures on both sides and you get a tempestuous brew.

In East Germany the question is not when repression will start, but if it will get serious. Already the situation is less open than it was a few months ago. Wearing the "Swords into Plowshares" patch, which had become the sign by which anti-militarists could recognize each other, now evokes routine, if still mild, hassle from the police.

The patch, printed by the church, was a clever takeover of a symbol that the government finds embarrassing to oppose -- it is a picture of a statue recently given to the United Nations by the Soviet Union. Now that this symbol has been disallowed, East German activists have taken to wearing blank patches as protest.

The disagreements in the West about how to relate to the Eastern movement revolve around differing attitudes towards the state capitalist regimes of the East and differing evaluations of what will provoke them to repress opposition movements. Many END members and some West Germans tend to regard all hesitation to support the Eastern movement as being soft on the Russians.

Others, including many religious activists in West Germany and Holland, have been carefully building networks with Eastern dissidents for years, and are hesitant to associate too openly with them for fear of giving the Eastern state a pretense to claim that the movement is controlled from the West, and thus a pretense for repression. In this view, as

it was expressed by Jon Bohme of the West Berlin Fellowship of Reconciliation, some Western activists "instrumentalize" the Eastern movement: they make a great show of supporting it to protect themselves from the charge that they are pro-Soviet.

This charge seems too harsh. END, which is foremost among those who loudly support the independent movement in the East, seems more interested in emphasizing the similarity between the "exterminist" apparatuses of the two sides than in covering its right flank. Its call for a non-nuclear Europe "from Poland to Portugal" emphasizes the similarity between the goals of the two

movements not out of fear of being associated with "the Commies" but because this similarity is profoundly important and revealing.

Not that there isn't reason to be nervous. The harassment of the Swords into Plowshares movement began immediately after the publication in West German newspapers of the joint East/West Berlin Appeal for the disarmament of the Germanies. It is precisely the cross-bloc nature of the appeal that made it so threatening to the Eastern authorities.

West German political analyst Walter Suss thinks that as soon as the Russians become convinced that detente is dead, the Eastern movement is dead too. In his view the Russians allow Eastern opposition only because they want so badly to improve relations with the West.

If the US can succeed in drawing Europe into the new Cold War, the Russians may decide they no longer have anything to lose by clamping down. So while the prevention or provocation of repression in East Europe doesn't depend directly on Western peace movements, the pressure it generates against a superpower standoff might indirectly protect East European peace forces.

The best hope for a future without the war is a democratic grassroots movement that refuses to accept the terms of the superpower conflict, that understands the difference between governments' interests and its own, that rejects nationalistic and militaristic propaganda. In these efforts, the peace movements of the two Europes are crucial to one another. Each strengthens the other in the battle to break out of the Cold War and to challenge the insanity of its social system.

-- Tom Athanasiou

San Onofre-2 licensed

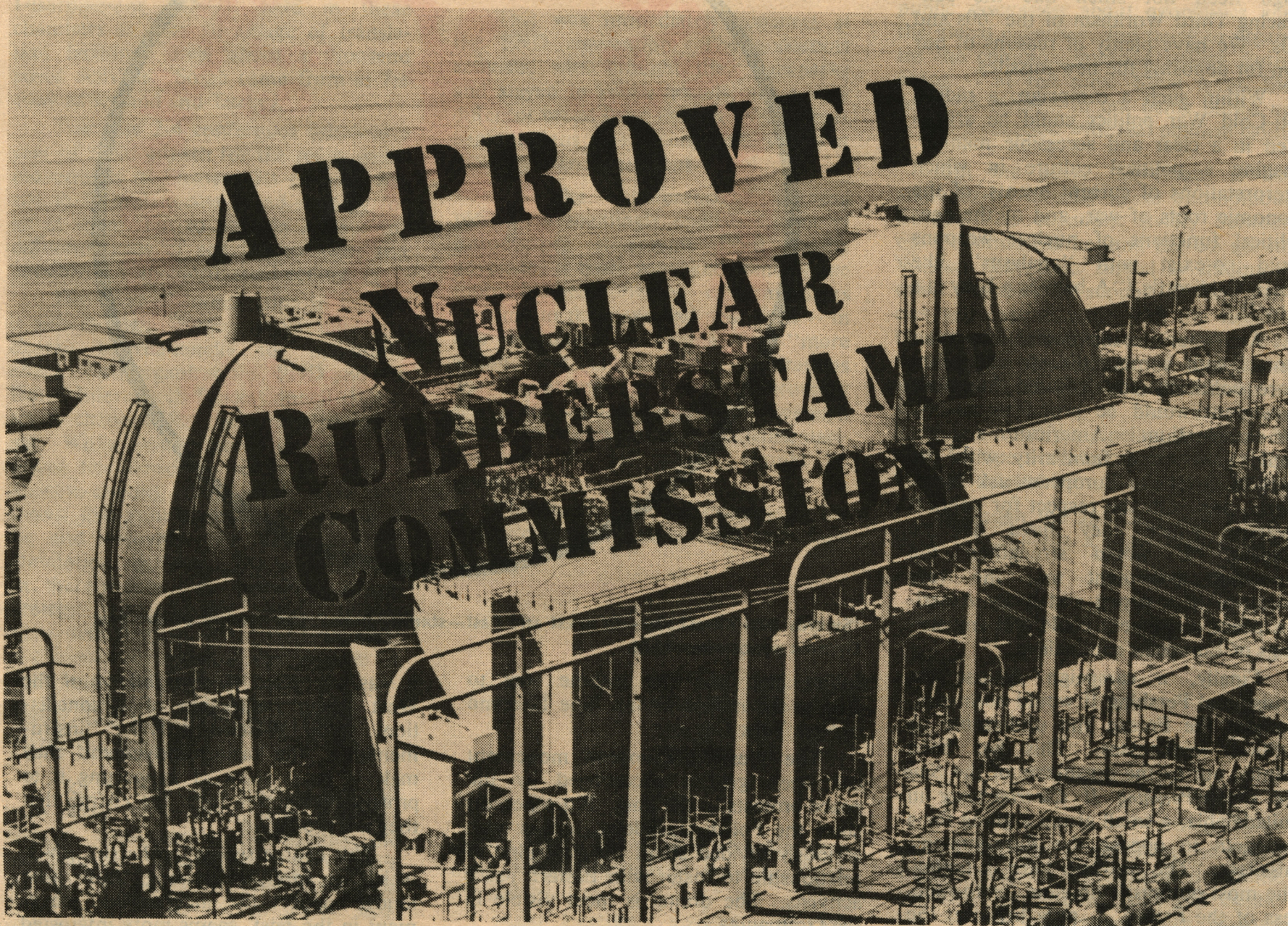
On July 28, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission unanimously approved a full-power operating license for the first of two newly completed nuclear reactors at San Onofre. The approval came one day after a federal appeals court in Washington rejected plant opponents' con-

tentions that the plant is located too close to earthquake faults.

Southern California Edison, the plant's operator, says it intends to have the 1100-megawatt nuke in full operation by the end of the year. The reactor is presently undergoing low-power testing.

A smaller reactor at the site, located between San Diego and Los Angeles, has been in operation since 1968. Another 1100-megawatt nuclear unit is scheduled for operation next year.

-- SF Chronicle, 7/29/82



Another no-good nuke

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission has given the go-ahead to another nuclear power plant plagued with substandard equipment and accusations of falsified documents. On August 5, it approved a full power operating license for the LaSalle nuclear power plant, 60 miles southwest of Chicago.

The Commission was not deterred by the fact that the plant's heating, ventilation and air conditioning system (HVAC), which protects plant operators in case of accident, is not up to its own specifications. Its only acknowledgment of the problems was to restrict LaSalle to operating at 50% capacity until the HVAC equipment is repaired.

Questions about the HVAC system surfaced last June, when four employees of the Zack Corporation which installed it told the NRC that

quality assurance documents for the job had been deliberately falsified. In one violation that was covered up, the records of unqualified welders were replaced with faked qualifications. A later investigation of visible welds revealed that 7% were below standard.

According to Tom Devine of the Government Accountability Project, "If there is not a prosecution in this case, the criminal laws on nuclear safety are not worth the paper they're written on. The evidence points to the highest level management in Zack Corporation, although there is an effort to fix the blame on the lower-level employees."

The NRC has already done its best to completely ignore the evidence and the charges. On July 19, without any investigation, it granted LaSalle's low-power license. On July 22, just days before the NRC com-

missioners met to consider a full-power license, Channel 5 in Chicago ran an interview with the four outspoken Zack employees. The following week, the Government Accountability Project filed the men's affidavits with the Justice Department. But none of this stopped the NRC from giving the full-power green light.

There are still other scandals surrounding the LaSalle reactor. The Zack Corporation has already admitted to throwing away falsified documents. And the NRC has been forced by critics to reopen its investigation into accusations by construction workers that the plant's high radiation wall was improperly built. However, no investigation has been scheduled into charges that the workers were threatened for speaking out.

-- Mark Evanoff
IAT Staff

Reprocessing declared dead

A new study of nuclear reprocessing plants concludes that accidents and technical problems shut down the facilities so much of the time that they are "not commercially viable."

The report on the operating record of the plants was prepared by nuclear engineer Arjun Makhijani for the Washington-based Health and Energy Project. He found that the average life of reprocessing plants around the world is only six years, and that they have operated at from just 10 to 35 percent of their designed capacity, compared with the 80% "generally assumed in calculations of the economics of reprocessing."

The study, made public July 20, seems certain to become a new factor in the debate over the Reagan Administration's plan to rescue the

troubled Barnwell reprocessing facility in South Carolina. The Energy Department is recommending that the government agree to purchase all the plutonium that the plant produces -- which can be used to make nuclear weapons as well as reactor fuel -- and to insure private investors in the plant against any government policy changes that would prevent its operation.

Although there is currently plenty of uranium for the depressed nuclear industry, and therefore little demand for reprocessing, it is vital to the nuclear industry's future schemes. Nuclear promoters envision a future energy economy of hundreds -- or even thousands -- of breeder reactors. The plutonium they produce would have to be extracted from their wastes by reprocessing plants in order for it to be recycled

as fuel for other reactors.

But Dr. Makhijani's study of all six existing civilian reprocessing facilities shows that even the newest have severe problems. The report says that the two most modern plants -- La Hague in France and Tokai in Japan -- have operating records even worse than their earlier counterparts.

The newest facility, in Tokai Mura, performed at about 15% of capacity in its first year according to the report and has "already had several breakdowns, accidents and severe worker exposures to radioactivity." The operators of the Japanese plant announced on April 15 that it would be closed "for about one year" as the result of one of the accidents.

-- based on SF Chronicle, 7/20/82

Reds alert

Something was making Associated Press' president and general manager Keith Fuller see red wherever he looked. The improbable setting for this vision was a speech on freedom of press to the Salt Lake City Rotarians in June.

Without warning, Fuller discarded his lofty topic and launched into an attack of the US disarmament movement. Criticizing "the well-intentioned naivete" of antinuclear demonstrators, he said of the thousands who gathered in New York in June, "I fear that these innocent people can be led into a trap, much like some of our children were during the 1960's."

"To innocent people caught up in well-disguised foreign ploys I bear no anger," he said. But individual Americans and groups calling for US disarmament without advocating a parallel Soviet action could not be taken seriously. "In fact, I think they should be investigated with great fervor."

Did he mean to say that the antinuclear organizations are communist fronts? Well, no, Fuller said to the Salt Lake City *Deseret News*. But you've just got to wonder about any group that calls for unilateral rather than bilateral or multilateral disarmament.

Another piece of Freeze red-baiting -- this one rated vintage material by connoisseurs Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway of the *Village Voice* -- was discovered in a secret memo to pollster Lou Harris which he inadvertently released at a speech before a gathering of disarmament groups on July 27.

"An urgent, dedicated hunger for peace in a nuclear era has literally overtaken our people," Harris said. However, he warned the audience, "Any, even remote, suggestion that the US disarm unilaterally will destroy the movement."

Following his remarks Harris distributed copies of his remarks and back-up materials from a sheaf of papers in his briefcase. In the sheaf of papers was a memo dated July 6 to Harris from "DB" about foundations that fund the Freeze.

The memo states, "As you requested, I have done some research on the individuals and organizations who will be represented at the Rockefeller Family Fund meeting . . . All the groups and people described below have consistently advocated unilateral American disarmament, and all have been harsh critics of American foreign policy."

"Frankly, after going through the list, it seems to me that the Rockefeller nuclear arms control project runs the clear risk of being thoroughly infiltrated by far left and Communist front organizations before it even gets off the ground . . . I don't want to sound like Joe McCarthy, . . ."

According to Cockburn and Ridgeway, "The memo is a carefully contrived mixture of innuendo and inaccurate and often outdated political scuttlebutt which has been circulating the paranoid right for the last decade. Many of the statements are blatantly false and the memo in its entirety is nonsense."

Harris disowned the memo to the press, saying that a few days before the July 7 meeting an acquaintance had warned, "You'd better be careful about those people," meaning the Freeze groups. "You'd better put that in writing," Harris says he told the individual, who he refused to identify.

-- from *The Progressive*, August, 1982 and *The Village Voice*, August 10, 1982

Bohos ballyhooed at Grove gathering

As Mercedes, BMWs and Cadillacs carried the corporate elite to their annual frolic at the Bohemian Grove, a group of people claiming to be the real Bohemians stood outside the gates and waved to the men in the passing cars. The Bohemian Grove Action Network (BGAN) was holding a "counter Grove" from which to publicize corporate and government responsibility for the deterioration of the quality of life.

Although the Bohemian Club calls itself a "non-profit mutual benefit corporation" which "does not involve itself in political matters," its members include both corporate wheeler-dealers and top government officials. This year Henry Kissinger spoke to the Bohemians, reassuring them that although the world is in turmoil, the United States can retain its influence through "decisive action."

William Webster, director of the FBI, talked about the importance of more surveillance in the United States. Paul Volker, President of the Federal Reserve Board, promised that the economy would right itself in a year and a half.

German Prime Minister Helmut Schmidt, who came to the Grove to soothe troubled relations between the US and its NATO ally, was not warmly received when he stressed the importance of detente and advised that the United States begin to realize the importance of getting off a war footing.

Despite the seriousness of these matters, waiters inside the Grove told BGAN that many Bohemians were often too drunk to walk. One said that the attitude seemed to be, "eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we will die -- which to these guys means being removed from power."

This waiter, one of several who



supplied information to the demonstrators, was appalled at the corporate leadership. "The head lemmings are all drunk and leading us over a cliff without knowing what they're doing."

For two weeks, members of BGAN maintained a 24-hour presence outside the gates. As a matter of policy, they were open and friendly to everyone passing by,

including the Bohemians themselves. BGAN believes that this policy created an atmosphere in which people from the community, workers at the Grove, and the Bohemians could talk to each another. It made Grove workers comfortable enough to supply information and literature taken from inside the Grove to members of BGAN.

This year, BGAN succeeded in

sneaking four people into the Grove. A *Time* magazine writer and a National Public Radio reporter posed as waiters, and a *Time* photographer accompanied by a BGAN member hiked in through the countryside, slipping into the grounds by posing as Bohemians. The *Time* photographer caught Kissinger during his speech, and the writer did a feature article on the Grove. The story was approved for publication by *Time's* Western bureau chief, but killed in New York.

The NPR reporter was able to tape a number of the speeches, but NPR at first refused to make the tapes available to BGAN, although they had agreed to do so in exchange for help in getting into the Grove. NPR did eventually give BGAN a copy.

According to Bohemian Club policy, business is never supposed to be discussed inside the Grove. Every encampment begins with corporate officials dressed in red robes burning an effigy of "Care," after which the fun is to begin. This year a proposed amendment to the Civil Rights Act by the American Bar Association threatened the privacy of the Club. The response from the Bohemians showed that more than fun takes place during the annual encampments.

One letter circulated in the Grove by the Bohemian Club's directors warned, "No more business talks over a friendly drink. Unless of course, you are willing to have your club open its doors to everyone -- regardless of the club members' wishes." Under pressure from Club members, the American Bar Association dropped the resolution two weeks after the end of the encampment.

-- Mark Evanoff
IAT staff

Letters

Continued from page two

GROVE AND SERIOUS MATTERS

Dear Friends:

While I appreciate the energy that the Bohemian Grove Action Network put into getting people up to Monte Rio to bring some attention on the Bohos and their enclave, I am critical of certain aspects of the action. They illuminate some problems I've encountered before with Livermore Action Group and Abalone Alliance actions.

The first situation deals with the role of monitors. At the "welcoming reception" for the Bohos, we started off by lining the road that leads into the Grove. After a while a monitor told a group of us to move over to the other side of the road so we could stretch along it (to make it appear there were more of us?) and so as not to force traffic to slow down.

Now, without judging its merits, the question arises as to whether this is a decision that the monitors should have made on their own. I told the monitor I didn't think it was, but by this time most people had responded to this "request" by moving to the other side of the road.

We asked who had decided this and were told that it was the monitors' collective. I went looking for two friends who were monitors to question them on the propriety of this decision. They informed me that they had been opposed to the monitors making such a decision, and that only 5 of 20 organizers had

been involved in it. So, it was not only good process that was missing, but also honesty on the part of the monitor with whom I had initially spoken.

I didn't get the monitor's name, which is something I usually do when dealing with an authority. I am angry that I now feel that this is something I should do with someone who's supposed to be in the same camp. I also resent having to deal with this sort of bullshit when the idea of being there was to confront the Bohos.

The group of people assembled was not so large as to make it impossible for a council to decide whether or not it made sense for us to be on one or both sides of the street. The issue was not quite as important as is the way the decision got made. Also, I believe people should examine the quickness with which they responded to the suggestion (or order?). Aren't we supposed to be taking back control over our lives?

The second situation is somewhat more elusive and so I can only share some reflections that I've had. I was quite surprised to encounter the almost carnival-like atmosphere at Friday's welcoming reception. Bidding Bohos to "have a good time" when such a good time means more deadly plans seems as if we're taking "open and friendly" a bit too far!

It seems the more I encounter the non-violence code and the way it is used, the more WASPish it seems. By this I mean cold, sterile, intellect dominating over emotions. The

code is devoid of *passion*. There is no place in the code for *anger, rage or love*.

Any passion which arises in actions is viewed as a violation of the code, and indeed it is. I don't know about you, but it is both love and rage which inspire me to act. A movement which denies these basic feelings seems to be missing a fundamental source of energy.

It is possible that people's anger so scared them that in order to offset its depth they responded by being saccharinely sweet. Are we afraid that if we express our anger at these people and their actions that we will be driven to violent actions? I don't believe that violence has to result from expressing heartfelt anger. We must work towards ways we can honestly and passionately express ourselves through non-violent actions if we are truly to get anywhere in this struggle of ours.

With love and rage,

Geoff Yippie

S.A.B.O.T. affinity group

EXAGGERATED NICENESS

Dear IAT,

My recent experiences at the June 21 Livermore blockade and the Bohemian Grove action in mid-July have brought to mind some important inconsistencies and differences in the way people in our movement view non-violence.

After Livermore the most common complaint I heard from other participants was that certain individu-

als or groups were "violent." The meaning of violence in these cases was anything from chanting and questioning the guards' authority to women loving women. While people were so quick to criticize each other, there seemed to be very little anger directed towards the system, where it belongs.

Before recovering from the impact of this in-movement fighting, I went to the Bohemian Grove only to find people taking the "open and friendly" aspect of the non-violence guidelines to an extreme -- perhaps in reaction to Livermore? The action was set up to be a "greeting of the Bohos." As the Bohos drove by in their Cadillacs, many of the demonstrators smiled and waved at them, and some yelled out "Have a nice time!" or "We love you!"

This exaggerated niceness upset me in the pit of my stomach. It felt like conflict was being avoided at all costs, and anger was being repressed and denied. How can we justify blockading workers at Diablo and Livermore, and then at the Bohemian Grove -- when we're face to face with the men in power, the nuclear mentality personified -- all that can be mustered up is a friendly smile and wave? And how can we justify being so hard on each other, while being so afraid to point our fingers at the real policy-makers of violence?

-- Rachel
Spiderwomen Affinity Group

More letters on page 10

LAG plans more actions

On August 7 and 8, the week-end between the anniversary of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, 150 members of the Livermore Action Group met to thrash out the future direction of the organization. Dividing into small groups and then coming together again in plenary sessions, the participants faced the thorny questions any organization must: What are we here to do? How do we best do it? Who are we? And who do we want to be?

With some difficulty the conference consented to three major actions. The first, on October 9, will be a legal demonstration on the occasion of the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory's 30th anniversary. The Lab has plans to celebrate by holding an open house. Distinguished administration officials and various big mucktimucks in the Defense Department will be invited to the party. We will also be there, dressed appropriately in black as we hold a funeral march.

The second major action will be an occupation and blockade of Vandenberg Air Force Base on January 29, in an attempt to prevent the first flight test of the MX missile. This will be done in solidarity with the

actions of the Marshall Islanders whose home is the target of the missile test.

Finally we decided to explore the possibility of an International Day of Resistance to nuclear weapons in the early summer of 1983. Our contribution to this day would be another major blockade of the Lab, this time hopefully coordinated with actions at similar facilities around the country and in Europe.

While these decisions represent an enormously ambitious answer to

the question of what LAG should be doing, the conference had more trouble with the question of how it should be doing it. After much stormy debate, the conference finally agreed to call an empowered spokes meeting of LAG affinity groups and working groups on September 12 to make decisions on the long-term structure and decision-making processes of LAG.

How much of its ambitious program LAG will be able to accomplish with its current underpaid staff

of one, its almost empty coffers, and its membership already spinning from meeting to meeting, remains to be seen. The intense organizing push that produced the June 21 blockade left many unanswered questions and strains on the organization's alliance of varying political and personal persuasions.

Questions about the roles of women and men in LAG, and particularly about women who wish to retain their base in a separate community while working in a mixed organization, surfaced angrily in a series of blockade evaluation meetings. Questions about racism and the role of third world people in LAG don't arise with the same intensity because there are so few third world people present to raise them.

As the conference came to an end, we noted in our date books the times of future meetings. A routine act, but one that brings us closer to a confrontation with those palaces of nuclear menace whose doors we hope to board up forever and whose dismal corridors we hope to transform into gardens of possibilities.

-- Osha Neumann

Abalone November Conference

Stop Uranium Now in Ojai will host the fall Abalone decision-making conference on the weekend of November 19-21. Logistical details will follow later.

In order for a decision to be made at the conference, a proposal must be circulated, according to the structure and process guidelines, to all AA member groups at least *five weeks* before the conference. If you are circulating a proposal, please send a copy to the SF office. A budget must be included if money is

requested, and in that case the proposal must also be sent to the AA Finance Collective, c/o the SF office.

A preliminary agenda meeting will be held at 1 pm on September 25 at 2730 Ellsworth, Berkeley. Call Jane at the SF office for directions. If your group cannot attend, please send your suggestions to the office.

A Finance Collective will meet October 17, 1 pm, at the state office to review the current budget and develop a new budget proposal for the conference.

Letters

Continued from page nine

SUPPORTS THE FREEZE

Dear IAT,

I am writing in response to the "Smile and Say Freeze" article in your May-June issue as well as the letters and editorial response in the July-August issue.

The article itself I found discouraging, not so much for its informational content (which was exceedingly scarce), as for its ideological smugness. While I can understand the desire to broaden the ideological base of the Freeze movement, I cannot endorse exclusivism and snobbishness as a means for doing so.

In particular, I found the denigrating comments about retired Rear Admiral Hyman Rickover and other establishment figures to be childish and irrelevant. The fact is that the Freeze is an essential and unavoidable step on the road to nuclear disarmament, and anyone who sincerely supports it is to be commended rather than condemned. Moreover, because disarmament requires the concerted effort of humanity as a whole, ideological exclusivism is a luxury we can no longer afford.

Not that we must accept the Freeze as an end in itself, or embrace "conventional" militarism as an alternative to nuclear militarism. The point is simply that with extinction hanging over us we must set aside our differences in order to insure our common survival. Ideological bickering is inappropriate when two-thirds of the American people favor a weapons freeze. After all, in order to reverse directions we must first stop going in the wrong direction.

It is not that I do not sympathize with the impatience exhibited in your article. I, myself, support efforts to oppose not just nuclear war, but *all* war, not just "imprudent" militarism, but *all* militarism. But the point is that progress occurs only one step at a time, and the Freeze is a major (if by itself insufficient) step in the right direction.

-- Michael Smith
Novato

BE CONCRETE, PLEASE

Dear IAT,

I just caught up with Marcy Darnovsky's article, "Smile and say Freeze" (IAT, May-June 1982). I found through the cynicism and humor a courageous critique of a badly coopted movement. I am glad someone in the left was willing to openly express what many of us have been privately feeling.

While the Freeze movement has made a number of important accomplishments, notably putting the arms race on the national agenda and creating a consensus about at least talking to the Soviet Union, it will all be washed away after the election unless more fundamental connections are made.

But how to make those connections to a broad enough number of people has been the dilemma that has led many well-intentioned people to the compromises that have undermined many movements in the past. I hope *It's About Times* begins to make concrete political suggestions for avoiding the pitfalls while it continues to expose the dispersing of the vision underlying the disarmament movement.

-- Alan Ramo

Announcements

AA NEEDS SUPPLIES

The Abalone Alliance statewide office needs some office supplies that we don't have money to buy. If you or your organization can donate any of the following items, please let us know at (415) 861-0592. Your generosity is appreciated. Needed are: typewriter, file cabinet, desks and chairs, upright literature / magazine rack, radio, and plants.

POSITION AVAILABLE

Co-director of a nonviolent social change foundation; \$12,300 per year. Send resume to Agape Foundation, 85 Carl Street, San Francisco, CA 94117. Deadline November 1, 1982.

FUNDS FOR FINES

A small fund to help those who are paying fines incurred in opposing Diablo Canyon has been made available by the Dominican Sisters of San Rafael and other donors. If in need, contact Marnie Dilling, 2259 Vallejo St., SF, CA. 94123. (415) 567-9457.

PU PLAYERS NEED SPACE

The Plutonium Players, an Abalone project which has mutated into the satire group which brought you the Reagan for Shah Campaign and the Ladies Against Women Consciousness Lowering Sessions, needs help. Do you know of any *free* rehearsal space in SF, Oakland, or Berkeley suitable for four to ten people to move around, (say, do jumping jacks), and be loud but not amplified? Please call 841-6500 and leave a message with the best time to call back.

MEDICAL SUPPORT GROUP FORMED

Members of the 8+13 Palo Alto Abalone Alliance affiliate have organized a new group to provide medical communications and assistance for ecological and environmental demonstrations. They will also provide training in first aid and the use of radios. The group is looking for sponsors and people interested in participating in its work. Contact Jeff Hook at (415) 326-0838.

Stop the Cruise and Pershing II

The Cruise and Pershing II missiles exemplify a new generation of nuclear weapons. These "smart" missiles are guided to their targets by a micro-computer pilot. Most of their computer components are manufactured in "Silicon Valley" 40 miles south of San Francisco between Stanford and Sunnyvale.

The **Stop the Cruise and Pershing II** campaign of the San Francisco Mid-Peninsula grew out of affinity groups that participated in the Diablo Canyon and Livermore actions. Our plans are for a year and a half of activity publicizing the issues and trying to stop the deployment.

The impetus behind the campaign is the realization that NATO's plan to deploy US Cruise and Pershing IIs in Europe will make the Nuclear Freeze impossible. The Freeze demands that the US and the USSR be able to verify the presence

of each other's nuclear weapons, presumably through air surveillance. However, the Cruise missiles are too small (25 feet long) and too mobile (four fit in one flatbed truck) for Soviet verification -- except through on-site inspection, which NATO will hardly allow.

The Pershing IIs present a unique threat to the USSR. These missiles will be able to reach Soviet targets in less than six minutes. They also threaten the USSR with a "first strike" since they are accurate enough to destroy Soviet missiles in hardened silos.

The USSR cannot be expected to "freeze" into this new position of vulnerability. In fact, if the Pershing IIs are deployed, the Soviet government warns it will be forced to institute a policy of "launch on warning."

Currently, we are finishing research, contacting European groups and writing leaflets. We plan several teach-ins in October and a rally / demonstration next spring to be followed by the establishment of California Peace Camps.

We welcome you to join us. Here's how you can get involved:

- o form your own local campaign and network with us,
- o attend our next planning meeting, Sunday, September 19, 1 pm, 160 Lincoln, Palo Alto. Call Mary for directions at (415) 328-0367,
- o send us your address and phone number and we'll keep you updated.

Donations are greatly appreciated.

-- *Stop the Cruise and Pershing II*, c/o 227 Mountain View, CA 94041, (415) 967-3066 or 328-0367.

Calendar

September 11 weekend:

Sweet Honey in the Rock benefit concerts for Bay Area Women's Party for Survival. 8 pm, First Unitarian Center, Franklin and Geary, SF. Tickets \$8, available from WPS, 13 Columbus, SF 94111, prepaid with SASE. Or call (415) 981-8909.

Planning meeting for a rally at Rancho Seco on the anniversary of the Three Mile Island accident next spring. Contact Citizens for Safe Energy, Sacramento: Michael Gillogly, (916) 442-3635.

September 11: Benefit for Palestinian and Lebanese war victims, featuring poets Jack Hirschman and Hilton Obenzinger, 7 pm, Graduate Theological Union, 2465 Le Conte, Berkeley, \$3 donation. All proceeds to Middle East Medical Aid campaign. Contact Garrett Lambrev, (415) 655-1262.

September 12: First Annual Peace Activists Gathering. Fort Mason, SF, 9:30 am - 6:30 pm. \$5 registration; \$5 table fee. Sponsored by the Disarmament Resource Center and endorsing groups. (415) 495-0526.

September 13: Media Strategies to Address Nuclear Issues. Meeting for disarmament groups with Nuclear Task Force of Media Alliance. 7:30 pm, SF Freeze office, 2940 16th St., SF. (415) 526-1622.

September 16: Bay Area Women's Party for Survival monthly meeting focused on analysis of the Freeze Campaign. Panel discussion. 1021 Sanchez, SF. 7:30 pm. (415) 981-8909.

September 17: Abalone Alliance of Marin general meeting, potluck dinner at 7 pm, followed by film. 1024 Sir Francis Drake Blvd., San Anselmo. (415) 457-4377.

September 19: Livermore Action Group planning meeting for civil disobedience against MX missile testing at Vandenburg AFB in January of 1983. 11 am, 1998 25th Street, SF. Info: (415) 644-3031.

September 20-25: First American Indian International Tribunal, focusing on US government policies and their impacts on indigenous people throughout the world. Testimony from international lawyers, organizers and native people. An art exhibition will also be held. D.Q. University, P.O. Box 409, Davis, CA; contact George Longfish, (916) 752-6567.

September 24: Diablo Blockade anniversary party, Rock 'n Reggae Dance, 8:30 pm, Veterans' Memorial Hall, Berkeley. A benefit for the Abalone Alliance, \$4 advance, \$5 at the door. For more info: (415) 861-2510, 861-0592.

September 25 Disarmament Education Day: What to Tell the Children. Panel of educators and students, films, resource materials. Peralta School, 460 63rd St. Oakland. \$5 donation. Educators for Social Responsibility and Alameda Co. Freeze. (415) 654-6312.

September 24-October 13: No Nukes of the North Art Show, benefit for the Abalone Alliance, Art Guild of Sonoma, 460 1st Street, Sonoma. Information: (707) 997-3115.

October 1 Deadline for entering banners in *The Lifeyard*, an anti-nuke / pro-peace show. Show opens Oct. 10 at Gallery Sanchez, Noe Valley Ministry, 1021 Sanchez, SF 94114. 821-4117.

October 2

In the Matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer, a play by Heinar Kipphardt based on Oppenheimer's security clearance hearings before the Atomic Energy Commission in 1954. Performed by the Julian Theater in a benefit for the Disarmament Resource Center. 8 pm., 953 De Haro St., SF. \$8. Runs through October. 495-0526 or write DRC for tickets.

Annual Fall Dinner of the Sacramento Peace Center. Indian meal, music by Jeff Morgan, and presentation on Gandhi. 6 pm., Freeport Blvd. Christian Church on Freeport and 5th Ave., Sacramento. \$7.50 for dinner and concert, \$4 concert only.

Barefoot Gen



The true story of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima by a cartoonist who survived it. In two 300-page volumes, \$7.00 each post-paid. Order from: **Project Gen, 1280 4th Ave. #3, San Francisco, CA 94122**

October 9

"The Arms Race: From Hiroshima to the Nuclear Freeze Initiative." A public forum sponsored by the city of Davis, Associated Students, and several departments at UC Davis. 9 am.-4:30 pm. \$30; \$15 students with I.D. Room 194 Chemistry Bldg. UC Davis. (916) 752-0880.

Thanks to the Disarmament Resource Center for many of these calendar items. The Center is an information clearinghouse for Northern California peace organizations. Its monthly calendar (more extensive than we have room for) is available at these rates for ten issues per year. \$6 low income, \$10 regular, \$13 organizations and foreign. DRC, 942 Market St., Room 708 SF CA 94102. 415-495-0526.

AA Safe Energy Groups

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

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

GREATER BAY AREA

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

BOLINAS:
LEGAL ACTION FOR UNDERMINING GOVERNMENT
HARRASSMENT IN SOCIETY,
P.O. Box 249/94924 • (415) 868-0245

EL GRANADA:
COASTSIDERS FOR A NUCLEAR FREE FUTURE,
P.O. Box 951/94018 • (415) 728-3119

PALO ALTO:
CITIZENS FOR ALTERNATIVES TO NUCLEAR ENERGY
P.O. Box 377/94302 • (415) 328-0367, 857-9251

PLEASANT HILL:
CONTRA COSTANS FOR A NUCLEAR FREE FUTURE,
P.O. Box 23103/94523 • (415) 934-5249

PT. REYES:
PELICAN ALLIANCE,
P.O. Box 596/94956 • (415) 663-8483

SAN ANSELMO:
ABALONE ALLIANCE OF MARIN,
1024 Sir Francis Drake Blvd./94960 • (415) 457-4377

SAN JOSE:
GROUP OPPOSING NUCLEAR ENERGY,
520 So. 10th St./95112 • (408) 297-2299

SAN FRANCISCO:
ALLIANCE AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER,
UC Med Center, c/o Michael Kosnett, MU 249/
94143 • (415) 666-2010

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,
Liz Walker, David Hartsough, 2160 Lake St./94121
• (415) 752-7766

ENVIRONMENTAL ACTION MINISTRY,
942 Market St., Room 310/94102 • (415) 391-7112

GOLDEN GATE ALLIANCE,
2735 Franklin/94123 • (415) 673-7422

LUMPEN GUARD,
143 Noe St./94114 • (415) 864-4589

PEOPLE AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER,
1021 Sanchez/94103 • (415) 285-2262

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,
175 Blackstone/93701 • (209) 266-5471, 485-9444

REDWAY:Southern Humboldt County
ACORN ALLIANCE,
P.O. Box 858/95560 • (707) 923-2277

SANTA ROSA:
SO NO More Atomics,
1020 Second Street/95402 • (707) 526-7220

SONOMA ALTERNATIVES FOR ENERGY,
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WALDEN WEST,
c/o Michael Newcomb, 44 Ozone Ave./90291

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RIVERSIDE:
RIVERSIDE ALLIANCE FOR SURVIVAL,
200 E. Blaine St./92507

SAN DIEGO:
COMMUNITY ENERGY ACTION NETWORK,
P.O. Box 33686/92103 • (714) 275-1162

TOPANGA:
LOU SNIT,
P.O. Box 152/90290 • (213) 455-2867, 455-2768

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

GRASS VALLEY:
NEVADA COUNTY PEOPLE FOR A NUCLEAR FREE
FUTURE, P.O. Box 471/95945 • (916) 272-6418

MODESTO:
STANISLAUS SAFE ENERGY COMMITTEE,
P.O. Box 134/93354 • (209) 529-5750

MOUNTAIN RANCH:
FOOTHILL ALLIANCE FOR PEACE,
P.O. Box 66/95246 • (209) 728-2698

PLACERVILLE:
ENERGY FOR PEOPLE,
1459 Lane Drive/95667 • (916) 626-6397

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

VISALIA:
SEQUOIA ALLIANCE,
3017 South Conyer/93277 • (209) 733-9050

WILLITS:
WILLITS NUCLEAR AWARENESS COALITION,
P.O. Box 393/95490 (707) 459-3141

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WOMEN FOR SURVIVAL, Box 415/95410 • (707) 937-0090

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P.O. Box 811/95415 • (707) 895-3048

CALISTOGA:
UPPER NAPA VALLEY ENERGY ALLIANCE,
2200 Diamond Mtn. Rd./94515 • (707) 942-5856

CAMP MEEKER:
NUCLEAR FREE SOCIETY,
P.O. Box 999/95465 • (707) 874-3197

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P.O. Box 326/95427

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POINT ARENA ACTION FOR SAFE ENERGY,
P.O. Box 106/95468



Volinda Sebbes

PAN: Poets Against Nukes

Poetry is a weapon loaded with future. —Gabriel Celaya

PULLING OFF DADDY LONGLEGS by Susu Jeffree

I have heard the name of God invoked
at every professional athletic event
in every presidential report to the people
in court each time the death penalty is pronounced
at the commissioning of each nuclear submarine
from the moon
from the backside of every dollar bill
(speaking louder
until The Word
lost.

I watched God die and get resurrected
by a Korean CIA groupie
who is the Jim Jones
of the white singles experiment.

I have seen the third coming of the Ku Klux Klan
with their Reich-like youth camps
do hand-to-hand combat
with Freedom of Speech
in the invisible empire of the apocalypse.

I saw the survivors of Dachau
fatten up
on the watered desert of the Promised Land
and plow people under tanks armed
with the Ark of the Covenant
like Christian soldiers one meal away
from eating off the grail.

I am told tribes of the Navajo, Sioux
Blackfoot and Northern Cheyenne nations shrink—
sterilization
every full-blooded
woman, coal, oil, uranium, under
lands that would be their children's.

I have touched the scars on the belly
of this land.

I have seen men wasted
and I have seen men cry
and women
who could not cry.

Eskimos have thirteen words for snow:
cold war
limited war
gas war
war on crime
war of attrition
conventional war
holy war
undeclared war

world war
war games
war on inflation
all out war
guerrilla war

the word for war god
the Secretary of Defense.

I have seen people burned
out of their homes
denied admission to Emergency
beaten by cops without badges
grinning and shaking

like gargoyles in an earthquake
I have seen children starved
for affection.

And Atlanta
burned again

and the black man who was The Great White Hope
and the city council debates

ghetto blasters with nine percent—
millions—
unemployed.

The agents of Agent Orange.

I am eye-witness to assassinations

self-immolations

electrocutions

witch-hunts

manhunts

gang rapes and gay-baiting

overdose

and a suicide

I am successful.

I have seen these things
on a twenty-four inch screen
with dinner.

I see light die
light years

I am warming
up by that fire
like a gymnast
loosening up
for free-X.

I am reveling in this death
star energy.

I will come out and tell you
what time of night it is.

It is three minutes to midnight.

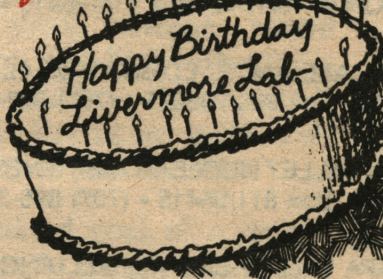
PAN: Poets Against Nukes, P.O. Box 1139, Berkeley, California 94701 USA.

Livermore Action Group

Presents

It's Your Funeral

30 years



of Nothing to
Celebrate

**Saturday, October 9, 1982
Legal Demonstration**

Carpools at 9 A.M. from Provo Park (Berkeley) and Vallincourt Plaza (S.F.)
(Directions) Take I-580 to North Livermore Avenue exit. Go south 1 1/2 miles.
Turn left on East Avenue. Proceed 1 1/4 miles. Park is on left.

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