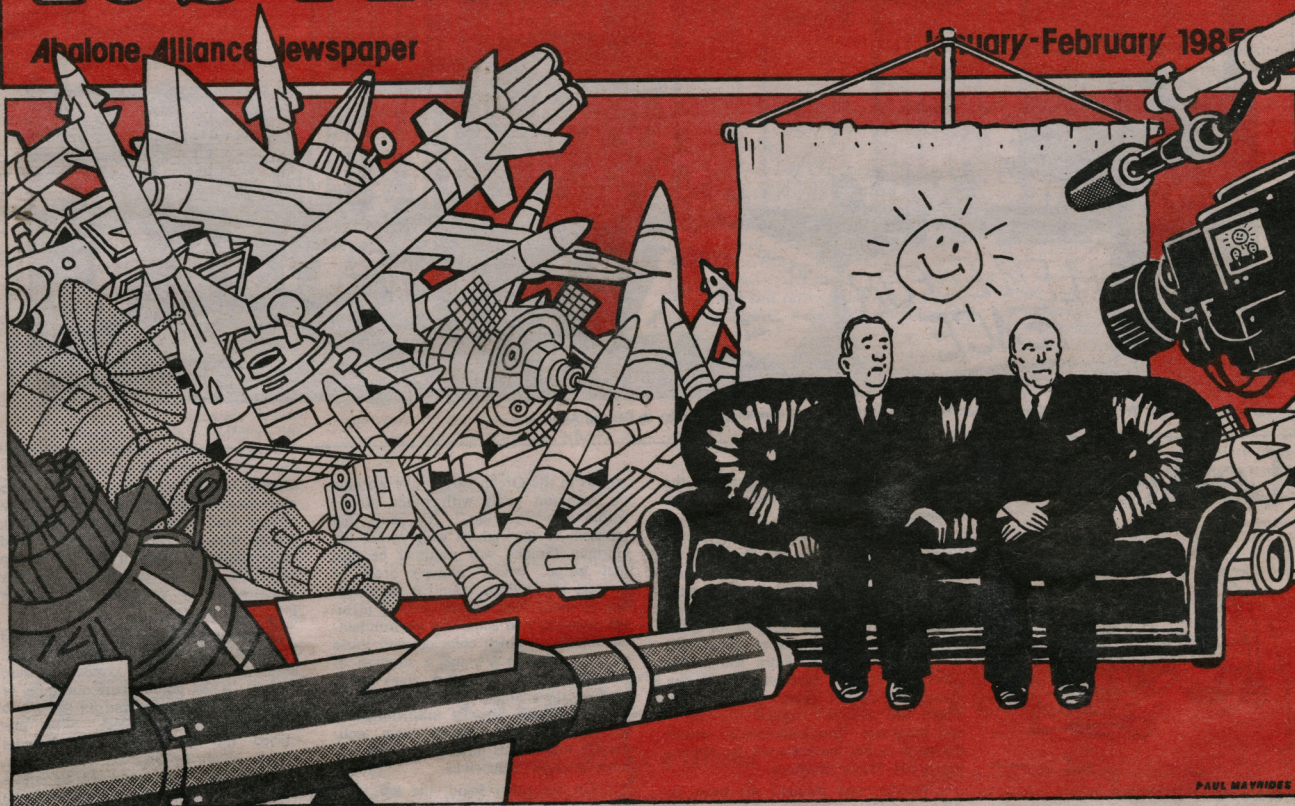


# It's About Times

Abalone Alliance Newspaper

January-February 1985



PAUL HAYRIDES

## Geneva arms talks: all for the cameras

When Secretary of State George Shultz and Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko met in Geneva in early January, they were followed by more than 800 journalists, including 400 from the US. All three networks sent their star anchors along. They even came up with \$35,000 to have the city's famous fountain, normally shut down in the winter, turned on as a backdrop for their newscasts. For two weeks, every diplomatic smile and handshake was the stuff of headline news.

For all the posing and camera clicking in Geneva, the two sides left without any real agreement on what will be discussed at later meetings. It is still unclear whether Reagan's Star Wars weaponry is on the table for negotiations, and what "linkage" — if any — will be made between it and the discussions of strategic and intermediate nuclear missiles. Even Shultz and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger don't agree on the linkage issue.

But the negotiating position which the US ultimately adopts may not matter much. Actual agreements have never been the goal of the Reagan administration's arms control policy. Instead, it has used talks with the Soviets as a public relations ploy to reassure jittery NATO allies and the American public that Washington is "doing something" — and to deflect criticism of the Reagan arms buildup by claiming that the new US "strength" has forced the Soviets to come back to the bargaining table. Deficit-minded Congresspeople and wavering European allies alike are admonished that any cut in the mili-

**While the press treats every sneeze from Geneva as an earthshaking omen, the US nuclear arsenal quietly continues to grow at a record pace, unnoticed.**

tary budget, any delay in missile deployments, will send the "wrong signal" to the Russians and imperil the chances for a treaty.

The Reagan administration's cynical approach to the negotiations can be judged by its "surprise choice" of Washington lawyer Max Kampelman to replace Edward Rowley on the Geneva negotiating team. This move was widely hailed by the press as a positive move, the replacement of a notorious hardliner by a moderate Democrat. Most reporters were too busy congratulating Reagan for his bipartisanship to note that Kampelman was one of the founders of the Committee on the Present Danger, an extreme right-wing lobby most responsible for the revival of the cold war in the late 1970's — and the new US arms buildup which followed. After his appointment, Kampelman acknowledged to a *New York Times* reporter that he had virtually no expertise in arms control and that many others in Washington were more qualified. It seems that to Ronald Reagan, hostility to negotiations is the only qualification a negotiator needs.

In addition to Kampelman,

Reagan's inner circle of arms control negotiators and advisers includes Republican hawk John Tower and Paul Nitze, another founder of the Committee on the Present Danger. With these arms-control foxes guarding the chicken coop, any substantive agreement which the Soviets would accept is unlikely, to say the least. Reagan clearly still hates the idea of arms control as much as ever, but he has learned at least one thing in his first term: there is much to be gained politically by pretending to negotiate, as long as you don't have to make any concessions.

While the press treats every sneeze from Geneva as an earthshaking omen, the US nuclear arsenal quietly continues to grow at a record pace, unnoticed. As the Tridents and Pershings and B1's roll off the assembly lines, Reagan hypocritically — and falsely — claims that it's the Soviet Union which "has conducted the greatest military buildup in the history of man, building arsenals of awesome offensive weapons."

Reagan simply pretends that the US buildup of "awesome offensive weapons" isn't happening. He would rather talk about his "Star Wars" scheme, which he presents as a defensive and humanistic alternative to the "mutually assured destruction" deterrence strategy that has ruled the balance of power for the last thirty years. The space system is designed, he claims, to knock out missiles, not to kill people. It will free humanity from being held hostage by nuclear terror. A noble gesture at twice the price.

But a functional antiballistic missile (ABM) system is an essential element of a first-strike capability — the ability to "win" a nuclear war by destroying most of the enemy's missiles in a surprise attack. Since no attacker could be sure of destroying every enemy missile, such a first strike is now to risky to consider, carrying the danger of retaliation by enemy missiles which survive the attack. Even a few surviving missiles could do great damage to an attacker. Here an ABM system could make a big difference, destroying this "last gasp" enemy force after it is launched. This use in a first strike may be *all* an ABM is good for, since a full-scale attack involving thousands of warheads at once would overwhelm any realistic system — notwithstanding Ronald Reagan's public fantasies.

In combination with the current US  
continued on page 14

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Demonstration at the Federal building in San Francisco on January 22 opposing US policy in Central America.

photo by Bob Van Scoy

## Letters



### DISHONEST REVIEW

Dear IAT,

Barbara Haber's review of our book *Green Politics* (November-December IAT) was dishonest in many respects. Although she could find nothing to admire in the entire book, she comprised the first half of her review of paraphrasing from our text, which she passed off as her own insightful reporting on the Greens! She claimed we are "adamant in our rejection of Marxist analysis," but she did not report the important distinction between "anti-Marxist" and "post-Marxist" or the account we give of what the ecologists learned from the Marxists (the role of capital in ecological destruction).

We make clear the distinction between the "nondogmatic" and "dogmatic" segments of the German left. Large numbers of Greens came from the nondogmatic left and are completely integrated into the party (p. 21). It is only the numerically small number of "Group-Z Greens" (mostly from Hamburg) who were felt to be problematic to Greens all over Germany during the summer of 1983, when our interviews were conducted. Haber sloppily telescoped this extremely important distinction about the Group-Z people into a distortion of what we think of all "Red-Greens."

Haber claimed we entirely ignore the historical role of the left in the roots of the West German Green party, but we note clearly in Chapter One that the Marxist-student revolts of 1968-69 were eye-opening for the citizens' movements

of the 1970's because they paved the way to protesting the notion of "Model Germany."

Haber censured us for failing to criticize the "rightists" in the Green party. To whom is she referring? Surely not the "value conservatives," whose main clout seems to be to register a minority dissent on the Greens' support for abortion rights. Surely Haber could not mean Rudolf Bahro, Petra Kelly, and other leading theorists of the "visionary/holistic" part of the Greens. There are centrists (called "realists") and there are "fundamentalists" within the party — but there are not the rightwingers Ms. Haber imagines.

Finally, she claimed we want an American Green movement with absolutely no leftist participation. In truth, we state on p. 197 that many "alumni" of the New Left are sincerely seeking new options for nonviolent social change and that it is only fringe groups on the left and right who would probably disrupt the building of a Green movement. Today many Americans from what the Germans would call a "nondogmatic left" background are working in Green organizations: the Committees of Correspondence, P.O. Box 40040, St. Paul, MN 55104 (which I co-founded with Harry Boyte and others); the Citizens Party (which saw the formation of a Green caucus within its ranks last year); and the North American Green Party (the reincarnated Yippies).

— Charlene Spretnak

### LEFT 'TOO RIGID'

Dear IAT,

I have just finished reading with great interest Barbara Haber's review of *Green Politics*. I have been involved in citizen's action groups for a few years and from reading the review I would say my framework for viewing political economy seems to have many similarities to Ms. Haber's. So it seems we would approach reading *Green Politics* from a similar perspective. Although our view might be somewhat similar, I didn't have the same impression of the book as she did.

The authors Capra and Spretnak accurately pointed out the difficulties of resolving differences with some leftist

groups in the Green party while working on common goals with other groups within the "Fraktion." It's likely that criticism of the rightist wing within the German Greens was minimal because that group (whose primary areas of interest are environmental) is more willing to make their overall political ideology secondary to achieving environmental objectives which coincide with those of other Greens. A major strength of the conservative groups in many countries is their ability to agree on their larger common interest in maintaining the system which serves them well, despite the serious differences they may have amongst themselves.

On the other hand, the left, progressive, and liberal groups who desire fundamental change often have their own objectives, tactics and organizations, and may often work independently without significant cooperation. They are less able to think beyond their own visions, goals, and self-interest and thus inhibit the fundamental change they seek.

I think this is the point the authors are making about the left groups within the Greens. The Marxist Greens especially are too ideological in their approach when it comes to compromise in defining and achieving the party's objectives. On the other hand, the "largely middle-class, professional, and affluent" Greens that Ms. Haber refers to are not merely people whose personal economic struggles are minor, who have time for their environmental concerns, and who are pro-capitalist and anti-left. If they were, why have they left the traditional conservative and liberal parties in Germany?

I don't think these people are opposed to the Marxist groups. Actually, they want and need to work with all groups with common interests. It is the Marxists, who are more likely to make the party's common interests secondary, that are a larger problem within the

Greens. In contrast, the authors stressed the thinking of East German emigre and Green member Rudolph Bahro, who has been able to think and write intellectually about how leftists can view the Marxist paradigm differently and achieve the goals of their struggle for social change.

In general, I don't think Capra and Spretnak were biased in their reporting, although some of their sympathies were evident. They posed many questions to the Green movement and left issues to be decided by the reader. What disturbed me more was Ms. Haber's review, where her bias was very evident. I don't think it is responsible to impart one's own biases so strongly on the reader, with such phrases as, "hack away at the left," "the obviously biased reporting of this book," and "[the US Greens'] central intention: to create in the US a Green Party purged of leftists." I think it is precisely Ms. Haber's viewpoint and reaction to Green ideals (however vaguely those ideals may be defined) which has caused problems for the Green movement in Germany, and has already sown the seeds of discontent amongst "green-oriented" parties here.

I don't know the details of Green organizing in the US, which Ms. Haber mentions in her review. It's likely that important citizens' groups were unfortunately excluded from the planning meeting of green-oriented groups held in August. These planning efforts could be viewed as elitist, with certain groups beginning organizing to the exclusion of others. But given the experience of the German Greens, Ms. Haber's reactionary article, and my desire to see fundamental social and political change, I can understand why the US organizers want a Green party to establish "its own identity" before more rigidly idealistic groups become active in a US Green movement.

— Craig Focardi

## Is IAT free?

Although many copies of *It's About Times* are distributed free, it costs us a bundle to put out this paper. Even with an all-volunteer staff and access to production facilities at very minimal rates, we often have a rough time making ends meet. Since *IAT* does not accept any paid advertising, we have relied solely on our loyal subscribers and donors for the past five years.

So if you think that *IAT* is valuable and informative, help us by filling out the subscription blank on page 16. And don't forget — donations of \$25 or more are tax deductible when the check is made out to the Agape Foundation, our fiscal sponsor, and earmarked for *IAT*.

# It's About Times

## Abalone Alliance Newspaper

*It's About Times* is the newspaper of the Abalone Alliance, a California antinuclear / safe energy organization consisting of over 50 member groups (see page 15). The opinions expressed in *IAT* are those of the authors and are not necessarily endorsed by the Abalone Alliance.

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## Secret transcripts leaked

## NRC licensed Diablo illegally

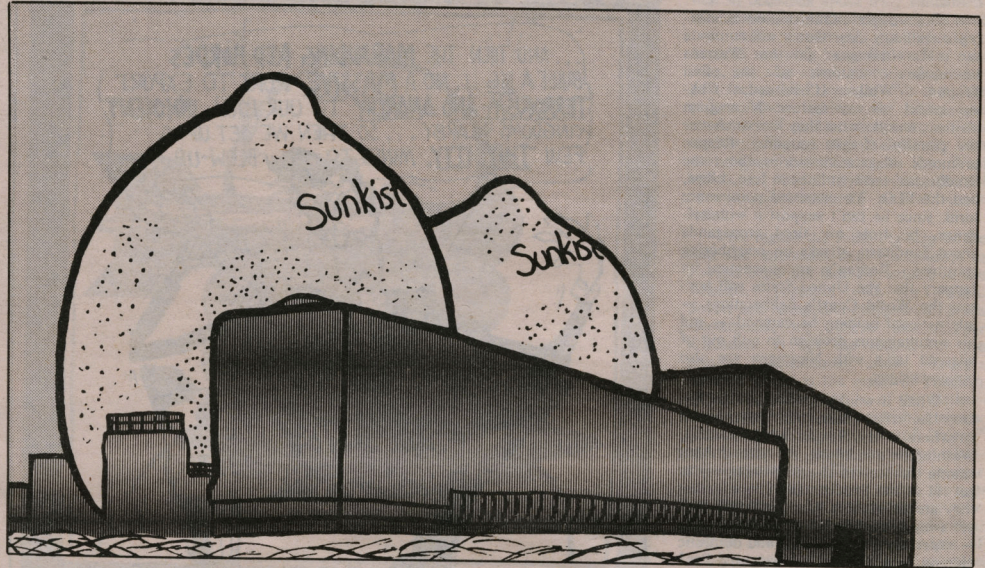
On January 10, KRON-TV (San Francisco channel 4) released a three-part confidential transcript it had obtained of a closed-door 1984 Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) meeting at which key decisions were made on the fate of the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant. The 235-page document contains revelations about the agency's license review process, and provides evidence that the commissioners allowed their concern for Pacific Gas and Electric Company's profits to outweigh consideration of the public's health and safety.

The transcripts are the same ones that the Mothers for Peace, the legal intervenors against Diablo, tried to have presented as evidence in their suit to stop the plant. The Mothers contended that the transcripts would show that the NRC ignored advice from its own lawyers that the effect of an earthquake on the emergency evacuation plan was important enough to justify a public hearing before licensing. But the NRC refused to release the documents, and the US Court of Appeals hearing the case ruled that the NRC's decision — that the emergency response plan was flexible enough to deal with an earthquake — was "reasonable."

The transcripts also show the commissioners trying to work out a line of defense they could use to justify their decision not to delay further operations at the \$5.3 billion plant. At one point, according to the transcripts, Commissioner James Asselstine told the others he thought they were "working backwards" — that they already had decided, for reasons that had no basis in fact, to allow the plant to proceed, and were trying to find a legally sound way to justify that decision.

The issue before the commission at the closed door meeting was whether or not to include in its review the possibility that an earthquake could impede evacuation of the area around the plant after an accidental release of radiation unrelated to the quake. Current evacuation plans do not include provisions for the off-site effects of a quake — fallen bridges, impassable roads, etc. — on emergency evacuation.

The Mothers for Peace have demanded a hearing on the matter, but the NRC has ruled that the possibility of



an earthquake occurring at the same time as an unrelated radiation leak is so insignificant that it need not be considered. Yet according to NRC regulations, all natural disasters — including earthquakes — must be considered as potential problems in evacuation.

In the course of the meeting, according to the transcripts, the commissioners acknowledged that the only factual basis for making that assertion is a 1981 report done by PG&E, the plant's owner and the company that once tried to hide the existence of the Hosgri fault 2 1/2 miles from the Diablo site. Chairman Nunzio Palladino is also quoted as saying that a major reason he opposes holding a hearing is that it would further delay the opening of the plant — potentially "penalizing" the utility. By law, the commission is not supposed to consider the effects of its actions on the schedule of the plant or the finances of the license applicant.

The transcripts also show that the commission had originally intended to require PG&E to include off-site earth-

quake effects in its emergency response plan, but reversed itself after hearing PG&E's private, "off-the-record" report.

Throughout the 235-page transcripts, Asselstine is the only commissioner who even bothers to ask what harm could come to the public if the unlikely event were to occur. Virtually all the discussion recorded in the transcripts centered on how the commission could avoid legal liability without forcing a new delay in the plant.

When KRON-TV interviewed Asselstine he said the NRC "relied on information that was clearly improper." When asked if they had "run roughshod over the facts," he replied, "I think that's a fair statement, yes."

In its news story KRON suggested that the commission's action might have violated the law. The Mothers for Peace think so too, and with this new information have filed again to halt Diablo's operation.

— Tim Redmond  
LAT staff

## Who will pay for Diablo?

The Abalone Alliance statewide office and the Diablo Project Office have taken on the task of intervenors at the Public Utility Commission (PUC) hearings on the Diablo rate increases. So far, for the most part, this has meant sitting and listening to the PG&E lawyers talk non-stop.

On January 9, the PUC staff recommended a rate decrease based on the utility's savings in fuel costs with the use of nuclear power. Furthermore, the staff suggested that PG&E not be allowed to immediately pass on to ratepayers \$2.5 billion in construction costs that opponents of the plant claim were the result of mismanagement.

On January 14, the PUC and PG&E reached a tentative agreement to delay rate changes affected by Diablo until after a commission ruling expected no earlier than June. The first hearings at which the commission will be presented with testimony on which costs should be borne by ratepayers and which by PG&E stockholders are set for March 11-22 in San Francisco and San Luis Obispo.

These hearings will afford us a chance to work with some very unlikely allies: the State Attorney General's Office, Union Oil, San Diego Gas and Electric Co., Southern California Edison Co., plus the more likely ones — Friends of the Earth, CalPIRG, TURN, etc. The former groups are huge consumers of PG&E power, so they have a vested interest in the rate hearings.

Diablo Canyon has successfully completed its 50% power testing program and is now shut down for maintenance and inspection. The NRC has ruled that in order for Unit 1 to be cleared for commercial operation, it must run for 100 consecutive hours at 100% power. This is where we stand our best chance for success in stopping the plant because we are convinced that to operate at that level, it will be plagued with "automatic shutdowns, unscheduled events, unusual occurrences," and general malfunctions. Let's just hope that no one is hurt when these things come to pass.

**How many PG&E lawyers does it take to screw in a light bulb?**

The correct answer is?

1. PG&E lawyers would rather keep everyone in the dark.
2. PG&E lawyers don't screw in light bulbs, they screw over ratepayers.
3. Twenty to argue the brief and one to tell the janitor.
4. Tell us your answer and stay tuned for more in the next issue.

— More Downing  
Abalone Alliance Staff

## Feinstein still wants battleship

## SF supervisors reject USS Missouri

A resolution aimed at sinking the plans of Mayor Feinstein and the Navy to homeport the battleship *USS Missouri* in San Francisco passed the Board of Supervisors on January 14 by a narrow margin of 6-5. The resolution, sponsored by Supervisor Richard Hongisto, is only an advisory statement, rather than actual law. It opposes the homeporting because of the dangers posed by the *Missouri*'s nuclear weapons, ranging from the potential for accidents to the idea that their presence would make the Bay Area a target in a Soviet first-strike attack.

The *Missouri* is one of four heavily armed WW II battleships being modernized under the Reagan administration's plan for a 600 ship navy. In addition to the 16 inch conventional guns with which it was originally equipped, still the world's largest, the *Missouri* is being outfitted with nuclear and conventional Cruise missiles as well as conventional, short range Harpoon missiles. Two of the other battleships, the *USS New Jersey* and the *USS Iowa*, have already been modernized and are prowling the seas. The *New Jersey* was the ship that bombarded Lebanon after the 1983 Marine withdrawal, and the *Iowa* was recently lurking off the coast of Central America.

Mayor Feinstein angrily vetoed Hongisto's resolution, denouncing it as "a vote conditioned by politics, the politics of the anti-war movement."

Further, she lashed out at the "highly organized freeze movement" for seeking "to make San Francisco a symbol, to use us to send a message to the Congress and the President." She stated that such a message should not be sent "to the US Navy, which will refit and homeport this Surface Action Group as long as a Congress and a President under our nation's Constitution find it necessary to the national defense."

Despite her supposed support for a bilateral freeze, Feinstein claims that there is no place for such symbolic messages, and that the proper way to achieve nuclear reductions "is to keep this country strong while making every effort to negotiate arms limitations and reduction agreements." Sounds remarkably similar to a Reagan campaign speech, but given Feinstein's 1986 senatorial aspirations, her lean to the right is to be expected.

Far from being the "highly organized movement" blasted by Feinstein, the informal coalition against the *Missouri* homeporting has evolved over the last few months and so far even lacks a name. It has grown over a variety of concerns. Black ministers from Hunter's Point concerned primarily over safety and neighborhood issues have found common cause with Freeze and disarmament activists concerned with the difficulties cruise missiles present in verifying arms agreements. While the role

that the battleship modernizations plays in facilitating US intervention in the Third World has been brought up in the group, this crucial question has yet to gain the attention that it merits.

Public outreach and lobbying efforts by the coalition have paid off so far, convincing some of the uncommitted San Francisco supervisors to back Hongisto's resolution. Congressman Ron Dellums, who had initially supported the homeporting, came out in early December against it.

The Navy's response to the homeporting controversy came from its assistant secretary Chase Untermyer, who stated that "the Navy will not go where it is not wanted." However, he indicated that in consideration of the Mayor's veto of the resolution and fond memories of Fleet Weeks past, the Navy brass will still keep San Francisco in mind.

Meanwhile, the Navy has already extended its December 1984 deadline to decide on the location of the *Missouri*'s homeport. Apparently, it wants to test the winds of public reaction before it sets sail. Hopefully that reaction will become strong enough to throw it off the deadly course of arms escalation that it has charted.

— Gary Roush

For information on future coalition meetings, call (415) 397-1452.



## Perception Management

## Selling the Nicaraguan menace

The Reagan administration is making it chillingly clear that it will continue to cast Nicaragua as the Western hemisphere's outpost of the Evil Empire. While US-funded, CIA-supervised *contras* torture Nicaraguan civilians and do what they can to shatter the country's fragile economy, Reagan promotes imaginative stories about the Sandinistas' terrorist links to Iran, Libya, and the PLO. To make his point more lurid, since he can't support it with evidence, he trots out tired propaganda about Sandinista attacks on neighboring countries. Reagan's announcement in January that the United States will boycott the World Court's deliberations — international opinion be damned — and his simultaneous decision to pull out of bilateral talks with Nicaragua are also ominous signs.

While it would be hard to find lost love for the Nicaraguan government anywhere in the Reagan administration, Washington's minions are still divided among themselves about the best way to get rid of the Sandinistas. The question they are debating is how much they can get away with; how much public opinion — especially Congressional and domestic opinion — will tolerate. How many lies? How many CIA assassination manuals and dirty tricks? How many new US airstrips in Honduras, how many mined harbors, how many millions of dollars in aid to the *contras*, how many dead Nicaraguans? And, in evaluating an invasion of Nicaragua, how many dead Americans?

In a policy speech on November 28, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger discussed the importance of public acquiescence to unpleasant undertakings. The US must forego using combat forces, he said, without "some reasonable assurance we will have the support of the American people and their elected representatives in Congress." What Weinberger didn't talk about, of course, is the intensive, ongoing campaign of psychological manipulation aimed at preparing the American people and their elected representatives for a possible invasion of Nicaragua.

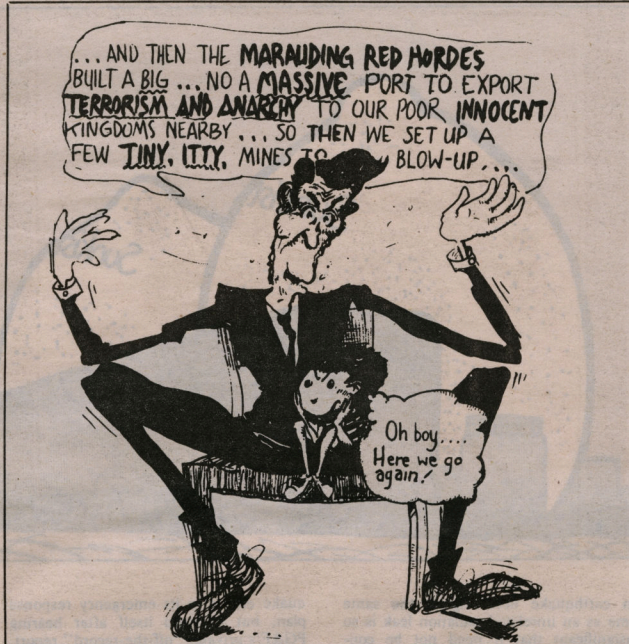
## Experts at doublethink

This type of manipulation has been developed into a tool of modern governance. Sometimes known as "perception management," the art seems not to require excessive subtlety — at least not for powerful government figures who can depend on the cooperation of the nation's major media. The techniques of perception management rely on distortions; on stories told out of context; and on outright lies that, repeated often enough by "authoritative" sources, take on a patina of holy truth. In their application to Nicaragua, they center on endless repetitions that the Cubans and Russians are in our backyard.

For the purposes of manipulating opinion, the best lie or distortion is the one that is the most graphic, compelling, or disturbing. The emotional response is what counts: even if the story has to be retracted later, the damage has been done. The hysterical headline about the discovery of mass graves on Grenada that appeared on the front pages of the afternoon newspapers a few days after the American invasion is an example of this play. The mass graves were revealed as fiction less than a day after they were trumpeted as demonic fact, but the desired effect had been achieved.

Unlike the boy who cried "wolf," government officials often manage to transform lies into conventional wisdom by repeating them over and over. Throughout the first Reagan administration, the US case against the Sandinistas, and the sole legal justification for funding the *contras*, depended on the claim that Nicaragua regularly sends massive arms shipments to the revolutionary movement fighting the government in El Salvador.

The story is so obviously concocted that it prompted David MacMichael, a CIA contract analyst of military and political issues in Central America, to quit



the agency in disgust. In a speech at UC Berkeley last October, MacMichael commented that "with over 10,000 men operating in the Honduran border area under the supervision of the CIA, most eager to provide concrete proof of the arms traffic, if there were the sort of steady, massive flow of materiel the Administration claims, they would at least have blundered into it by now."

The "evidence" for the arms exports is so unconvincing that during the spring and summer of 1984 it began to evoke skepticism from Reagan's friends and sneers from everyone else. In October, Congress decided to suspend aid to the *contras*. (A crucial vote on resuming funding will take place in March.)

Because the tale of arms exports had so damaged the credibility of the Reagan administration, MacMichael predicted in October that "we may have heard almost the last of the arms flow as a serious justification for administration policy against Nicaragua." Yet in his January 9 press conference, Reagan resurrected it. Nicaragua, he said, is supporting "guerillas trying to overthrow the duly elected government in El Salvador." Apparently, convenient lies are not only recyclable, but have an extremely long shelf life as well.

## The case of the missing MIGs

Perhaps the most blatant example of the effort to mold our perceptions about Nicaragua is November's "MIG scare." Though the story exploded on election night, American officials had been suspicious that the Soviet freighter *Bakuriani* was delivering MIG-21 fighters to Nicaragua since late September. It was then that they received satellite photos of the *Bakuriani* in its home port and nearby containers that experts in the intelligence science called "crateology" said held MIGs. After a few cloudy days during which reconnaissance was impossible, the story goes, photographs showed that both the *Bakuriani* and the crates had left the vicinity, presumably together.

The faction of the Reagan administration that has long promoted a harder line against Nicaragua seized on these bits of information. According to Alexander Cockburn in the November 24 issue of *The Nation*, this group, which he calls the ultras — "to be distinguished marginally from the ordinary warmongering rabble" — includes William Casey, director of the CIA; General Paul Gorman, until January the head of the US Southern Command; Fred Ikle and Nestor Sanchez of the Defense Department; and Constantine Meigs at the National Security Council. Caspar Wein-

berger and UN delegate Jeane Kirkpatrick also belong in this camp.

The ultras, said Cockburn "tried zealously to promote the *Bakuriani* /MIG threat in the closing weeks of the campaign but couldn't get it off the ground, since Reagan's top advisers were not keen on a cliffhanging crisis disrupting the pre-election Presidential image of sweet reason. ... Had Reagan been slipping, it might have been a different story."

The story was finally released on election night, November 6, when it was given to CBS by unnamed officials at the Pentagon and to NBC by someone in the Reagan party in California — in spite of the fact that information gleaned from satellites is regarded as the most sensitive kind of intelligence and is supposed to be kept securely hushed up. Cockburn calls the selective leak "a pre-emptive coup designed to seize the high ground during the crucial days of policy formation immediately after the victory." Its timing also succeeded in distracting attention from the CIA assassination manual, still big news when the MIG story broke.

## Manufactured brouhaha

For several days, front-page headlines and top broadcast stories were consumed with the MIGs. They conveyed the facts, to be sure — inconclusive and contested as they admittedly were. But the real intent of the manufactured brouhaha was to extend and reinforce the emotional buttresses of the Reagan administration's cosmology, to cement the automatic association between "Nicaragua" and "Soviet threat."

The success of the maneuver was immediately apparent. Several Congressmen who had been strong critics of the Administration's Central America policy rushed to dust off their Cold War credentials. Senators Christopher Dodd and Jim Sasser, for example, both announced that they would support the use of American military force if MIGs were indeed delivered to Nicaragua.

The right of the US to dictate to Nicaragua which weapons it is allowed to possess had been established. The facts — for example, that the US funds and supervises an army dedicated to toppling the Nicaraguan government and that the US has constructed a multi-million dollar military infrastructure in Honduras — had been lost.

## The story unravels

Both the Soviet Union and Nicaragua emphatically denied the existence of the MIGs. By Saturday, November 10, administration officials were confusedly paddling backwards.

Attempting to explain the contradictions in the situation, "some officials" explained that "certain national security aides wanted to use the issue of the planes to increase the overall American pressure on Nicaragua," according to Philip Taubman in the *New York Times*, who covered the MIG story from Washington. *The Times* and the *San Francisco Chronicle* also reported — not on the front pages — that "US military officers" consider the MIG-21s, as well as Soviet helicopter gunships and Soviet-built radar that administration officials had also been complaining about, to be strictly defensive in nature, not a threat to Nicaragua's neighbors.

By its own admission, then, the Reagan administration had falsely accused the Nicaraguans of a crime that it considers heinous above all others. Did it put its tail between its legs and apologize for its mistake? Of course not; it kept right on swinging.

On Sunday, the story shifted. Now the problem was an increased flow of Soviet-bloc weapons in general; Washington was therefore considering a major escalation of pressure against Nicaragua. Maybe the US ambassador to Nicaragua would be recalled. Maybe the Navy would set up a quarantine, stopping ships at sea.

A few days later, the White House and the Pentagon floated yet another justification for its talk about acts of war, this time suggesting that Nicaragua was about to invade Honduras or El Salvador. Even discounting the eager American help that such an act would undoubtedly prompt, El Salvador and Honduras have military resources of their own. According to 1984 figures from the International Institute for Strategic Studies, for example, Nicaragua has 12 combat aircraft to El Salvador's 59 and Honduras' 30.

Administration officials kept the episode in the headlines for almost another week. It was an unusually blatant exercise of manipulation; so much so that the media itself took notice. On November 14, a remarkable article by Philip Taubman in the *New York Times* explained the basic principles of psychological warfare.

The article, titled "U.S. Seeking to Sway Opinion on Nicaragua," quoted unnamed administration officials as saying that the MIG episode was "part of an effort to persuade Congress and the public that the United States should resume support to Nicaraguan rebels." It also explained how the media collude in the process of manipulation: "As is often true in Washington, the way officials provided information to the news organizations the press plays in the policymaking process."

Another *New York Times* article a few days later enumerated the "useful fallout" from the MIG scare: it would "make the next Congress more pliant about resuming funds" for the *contras*, "psychological pressures would help erode popular support for the Sandinistas and add burdens to Nicaragua's already strained economy," and so on. The last comment suggests that the ephemeral MIGs were opportune even for Washington's soft-liners — the masterminds who prefer to depose the Sandinistas by turning the screws of economic strangulation and domestic discontent.

The MIG scare — and its real lessons — have faded from the minds of most Americans. The next round of stage-managed hype and hoopla will be aimed at manipulating the Congressional vote on resuming aid to the *contras*, now scheduled for March. Watch for it and shudder.

In the meantime, remember Caspar Weinberger's dictum that perception management is an art of war, and check out the activities in the box on page five. Their purpose is to convince the Reagan administration that the American public is not quite as subservient as direct intervention requires.

— Marcy Darnovsky  
IAT staff



# Voices from the other Europe

One of the unreported news stories of 1984 was the deepening interchange between democratic movements in Eastern Europe and sections of the non-aligned peace movement in Western Europe. Tentatively at first, but now with increasing confidence, they have begun to develop a dialogue across the European frontiers and to explore new paths of solidarity. As part of this process, opposition groups in the different nations of Eastern Europe have also intensified their dialogue with one another, overcoming historical and national barriers.

NATO "rearmament" and Soviet "counter deployments" have contributed to a growing crisis of empire in both superpower blocs. From this crisis is emerging a third force that sides with neither Moscow or Washington in the new cold war, but sees international solidarity as the only way out of the arms spiral. Organizations from Eastern Europe — Czechoslovakia's Charter 77, Poland's KOS (Committee for Social Self-Defense), and East Germany's independent peace movement — have begun discussing the possibilities of disengagement from the cold-war bloc system with western groups that include British European Nuclear Disarmament (END), France's CODENE (Committee for European Nuclear Disarmament), and Holland's Interchurch Peace Council (IKV).

The text below, a joint statement by independent peace activists in Czechoslovakia and East Germany that calls for a nuclear arms free zone from the Urals to the Atlantic, was issued in November 1984 and made available in the west by Palach Press of London, Charter 77's news agency abroad. Its signers hold a variety of views, but all are committed to a dialogue with the western peace movement and a withdrawal of both superpowers' occupation armies and their nuclear weapons in order to clear the way for a democratic



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pon wto sro czw pia sob nie

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Europe. All of them have been increasingly harassed for their internationalism, and they need the support of the world disarmament movement to defend them-

selves from their respective national security apparatuses.

Two of the signatories, Barbel Bohley and Ulrike Poppe, were arrested in December 1983 for their outspoken opposition to the presence of nuclear weapons in both of the German states (see IAT February-March 1984). Initially charged with treason and threatened with twelve year prison terms, they were released in March 1984 following international protests.

— A.W. Jackson

## Joint Declaration of the Independent Peace Defenders in the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia

It is now a year since in both our countries new Soviet missiles were deployed. This step was alleged to contribute to balancing the nuclear strength of both superpowers. The official justification maintained that peace had thus been strengthened. In reality, peace was even more endangered and the arms race continues.

This criticism is addressed to all states which are preparing for a new world war, threaten their neighbors and often order about their own citizens to

whom they however deny the participation in decisions about truly fundamental questions of their own lives. So have two more countries, our countries, become not only bases for nuclear missiles, but also much more probable targets for nuclear revenge. We therefore protest anew against the siting and extension of nuclear complexes on our territory. We are thus in solidarity with the peace movements in the West which, in their own countries, protest against militarism and nuclear armament.

We regard the following step as the first and important one: No missiles in Europe from the Ural Mountains to the Atlantic. Together with the Polish, Soviet and Hungarian independent peace movements, we believe that nuclear armament is not the reason for the present international crisis. Today's state of affairs is the result of practices of power politics, that is, of the furthering of particular, often selfish interests. Those who think in terms of "blocs" and "enemies" render an honest dialogue impossible. Those who tolerate social inequality or even widen the gap are responsible for hunger and poverty. Those who deny the dignity of individual human beings, who deny freedom of opinion, necessarily tend also to solve national and international problems by means of violence.

Peace is indivisibly linked to the implementation and observance of all human rights. We want to live in an open society which respects its men and women. The road to such a society does not lead through military barracks, a polluted environment, missile-launching ramps. Czechs, Slovaks and Germans from the GDR are jointly signing this declaration as evidence of a continuous alliance and cooperation. This togetherness cannot come under threat from any historical resentment or any political police. First of all we are united in the following idea: Peace in Europe and nuclear disarmament in the world! We appeal to independent peace movements and independent citizen initiatives to join this declaration.

Signed by:

From Czechoslovakia:

Petr Cibulka, Jiri Dienstbier, Karel Freund, Vaclav Havel, Eva Kanturkova, Jan Kozlik, Ladislav Lis, Vaclav Maly, Anna Marvanova, Jaroslav Meznik, Radim Palous, Jan Ruml, Jaroslav Sabata, Anna Sabatova jn., Petruska Sustrva, Petr Uhl.

From German Democratic Republic:

Barbel Bohley, Antje Dotkger, Martin Dotkger, Werner Fischer, Elisabeth Gubbes, Catja Havemann, Irena Kukotz, Traudel Kulikowsky, Gisela Metz, Stefan Pickhart, Ulrike Poppe, Jutta Seidel, Anna Quasdorf.

To read more about Eastern Europe's independent peace movement and movements for social change, read *Across Frontiers*, P.O. Box 2382, Berkeley, CA 94702.

## Intervene in Central America

These California groups and campaigns are opposing US policy in Central America:

**The Emergency Response Network** is asking for signatures on a "Pledge of Resistance" and a "Pledge of Witness and Support." If the US invades or otherwise escalates its intervention in Nicaragua or El Salvador, those who have signed will participate in civil disobedience, or will demonstrate and work in support of others engaged in civil disobedience.

On Tuesday, February 19, the Emergency Response Network is organizing a "Peace Maneuvers" demonstration in response to the US Big Pine III war maneuvers in Honduras. The 3200 people in the Bay Area who have already signed the pledges (and their friends) are invited to participate in this rally, which will be a dry run for the Network's plans in the event of an invasion, minus the civil disobedience. See page 16 for details.

Contact the Emergency Response Network to get copies of the Pledges and a news bulletin, and to find out about nonviolence trainings and other upcoming events. 1101 O'Farrell Street, San Francisco, CA 94019, 415-771-1276.

**Oakland-Berkeley CISPES** is organizing a Stop the Bombing Campaign to protest the US-directed aerial war against rural El Salvador. That war has recently intensified because of the shipment to the Salvadoran military of two American A-47 gunships that are being used to spray up to 1500 rounds per minute on populated areas.

Most Saturdays between now and April, CISPES will be organizing teams of volunteers to go to shopping centers with literature. To participate, or for information, call CISPES at 644-3636.

**US Out of Central America (USOCA)**, a national organization with five regional offices and headquarters in San Francisco, organizes educational work, tours of Central Americans to this country and delegations of Americans to Nicaragua, lobby campaigns around legislative issues, and demonstrations. It publishes a monthly newsletter, *Central America Alert*. Contact USOCA at 2940 16th Street, Suite 7, San Francisco, CA 94103, 415-550-8006.

**Nicaragua Information Center** collects and disseminates materials about Nicaragua and Central America. It sponsors a Speakers Bureau, and publishes both a bulletin and a quarterly journal, *Nicaraguan Perspectives*. NIC is now campaigning against resumption of funds to the contras. Congress will vote on Reagan's request for this aid, as well as additional aid to the Salvadoran government (\$70 million in military aid and \$100 million in economic support, above the money already allotted by Congress) in March.

Contact NIC at P.O. Box 1004, Berkeley, CA 94701, 415-549-1387.

**Witness for Peace** organizes Americans to live and work in war zones in Nicaragua and return to do solidarity work to change US policy. WIP also sponsors a weekly Vigil for Peace in Central America at the intersection of Battery and Market in San Francisco. That's every Thursday between noon and 1 p.m. Contact WIP at 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz, CA 95060, 408-425-3733.

**Nicaragua Interfaith Committee for Action (NICA)** coordinates education and actions in the religious community, and publishes a monthly newsletter. Contact NICA at 942 Market Street, #709, San Francisco, CA 94102, 415-433-6057.



"Hungary will not be Hiroshima" Art from the independent peace movement, 1983



# 'Jobs with Peace' wins in Pennsylvania

Now that the returns are in, it is clear that the left's involvement in this year's presidential election was worse than ineffectual. It was downright inconsequential. Despite massive voter registration drives, only 8% of the electorate were first-time voters, and they voted for Reagan over Mondale 60% to 39%. Voter registration did reverse a twenty year slide, but not by much — 53.9% of those eligible voted, up a measly .3% from 1980. More surprising was the disappearance of the much-heralded gender gap on the national level. The difference in the proportion of men and women voting for Reagan was 4%, half what it was in 1980.

Still, there were some hopeful signs. One source of encouragement for the peace movement was the fate of the five "Jobs with Peace" referenda scattered across the country. Four of them were successful, passing with 60% or more of the vote. The main thrust of the JwP propositions was rather vague, stating only a desire that federal funds be shifted to more peaceful, job-producing activities than nuclear weapons and foreign military intervention. However, they did enable activists to discuss the issues with voters and avoid engulfment by the unequal Mondale-Reagan personality contest. Further, JwP inherently involved the basic question of who decides economic policy in the United States. People who voted for it were calling for a more democratic social system, whether they consciously realized it or not.

The largest JwP referendum took place in Los Angeles. There, 61% of the voters supported a resolution forcing the city to prepare a study of how Los Angeles' share of Reagan's defense

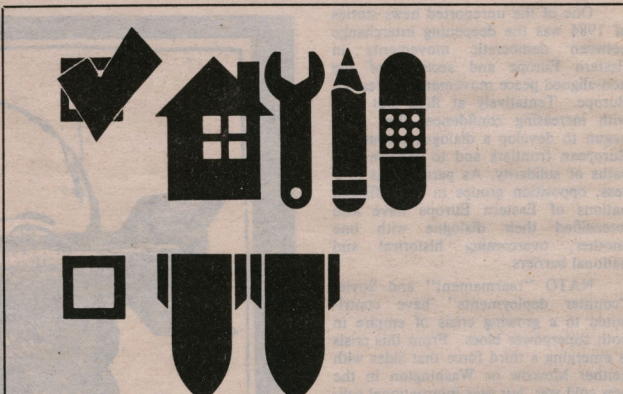
places have tourists, Reading now has shoppers.

In the rural areas surrounding Reading, the established order also has been undermined. The 250-year-old conservative Pennsylvania Dutch agricultural society is eroding in the face of declining farm income and suburban sprawl. Worse yet, the very existence of the countryside is threatened by dumps and toxic waste depositories, as well as by the newly completed Limerick nuclear power plant just over the county line. All this has caused a surge in political activity in the past few years, but it is of a very narrow, defensive character.

## The Berks peace movement

"We've come a long, long way in just a year," Phil Kearney, the chair of Berks County Jobs with Peace, told me. "A year ago there was nothing. The referendum represents a real breakthrough." Organized originally as "Citizens Concerned to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race," Kearney and about thirty others have over the past dozen months tried a variety of strategies to promote support for disarmament in Berks County. Last spring, they participated in an unsuccessful attempt in the Democratic primary to replace the well-entrenched, conservative local congressman with one of their fellow activists.

The Citizens Concerned were by no means wedded to electoral politics. By the end of the summer, dissatisfied with Mondale-Ferraro and the Democratic platform, they were looking for a new approach. First they tried getting the County Commission to put a Nuclear Free Zone proposition on the ballot, but were turned down. (There is no popular initiative law in Pennsylvania; special



**Vote Yes  
on Question 3.  
Jobs with Peace.**

JwPers a chance to speak in favor of their proposition at other groups' meetings. Outreach work also included mailings, leafletting, and setting up yard and window signs around Reading — the usual routines.

JwP advocates did not stress general arguments against armaments in their work. Rather, they emphasized the perversion of the economy that military spending entails. They showed how more jobs could be created and the quality of life in Berks County improved by diverting the money to civilian uses. Making the point that such a diversion would especially increase employment opportunities for minorities and women, they also tried to link peace and civil rights issues. These themes appeared to click with the voters. But the whole campaign was a slap-dash, last-minute affair. It is doubtful whether anything JwPers said received a wide audience.

## One small breakthrough

Berks County went solidly Republican in the elections, with Reagan beating Mondale 2-1. Even so, the Jobs with Peace proposition passed with 64.2% of the vote in the county as a whole and 72.5% in Reading. Things had sort of fallen into place by chance.

"It's an issue whose time has come," Kearney says. On an immediate level, Berks residents are seeing their society crumble while the military sucks up the nation's resources. The military buildup is not inspiring the hope of the bright prosperous future Reagan promises, but fear. The Jobs with Peace proposition was an opportunity for people to move beyond the sterile Reagan-

Mondale race and express their real concerns.

Widespread peace sentiment exists in this country mainly because of historical and economic forces. But the national peace movement radiating out from the metropolitan centers has influenced the depth of this sentiment and shaped its expression. Jobs with Peace in Berks County, Pennsylvania, is one example of how this works. It represents a very small step forward, however. The question now is how the peace movement as a whole can consolidate such limited advances to create a more sophisticated political awareness in the American public.

In the final analysis, government policy depends not so much on who is president but on what political pressures are brought to bear on him or even her. A strong, popular peace movement that knows how to confront the state is worth a thousand victorious Mondales.

— Dave Gilden  
IAT staff

## "Jobs with Peace" advocates stressed how jobs could be created and quality of life improved by diverting military funds to civilian uses.

increases could be redirected toward jobs in "the civilian economy. (Meanwhile, Reagan received 55% of the vote in L.A.) The other referenda took place in out-of-the-way localities. One of these was Berks County, Pennsylvania.

## Decay in the heartland

Reading, the county seat of Berks County, has 80,000 inhabitants and is 60 miles from Philadelphia. It used to be a great rail and textile center. In its day, this industry made Reading a focal point of socialist agitation, but the rail yard cleaving the city is moribund now, the mills are closed, and the political ferment that accompanied them is largely gone, too.

Recently, some of the old mills have been converted to "factory outlets" selling discount clothing from around the world, but hardly anything from Reading. These stores ironically have been a partial salvation for the city, as people come from hundreds of miles away to shop in them. Where other

referenda can be established only by governmental action.) Then somebody from the Pennsylvania Jobs with Peace office in Philadelphia contacted them. Before this, the Berks group had never heard of JwP, even though it had waged successful referendum campaigns in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh two years ago.

The statewide office provided crucial support in getting the Berks effort going. In particular, Philadelphia used its labor connections to get the Berks County AFL-CIO to endorse the Berks JwP proposition. Local unionists then went before the county commissioners with the peace activists to seek its approval. (The unions, it seems, were mainly motivated by the desire to get out a large anti-Reagan vote, but they remain involved with JwP.)

The proposition also was eventually supported by a wide variety of community groups and churches in addition to the unions. A good number of these were in Reading's black and Hispanic neighborhoods. The endorsements gave

# TMI close call now believed closer

While arguments continue before an NRC licensing board on the merits of restarting Three Mile Island's "undamaged" Unit 1, events related to the 1979 accident in Unit 2 are still causing alarm.

A new analysis of the accident, performed for the Department of Energy, shows that Unit 2 came significantly closer to meltdown than previously believed. Core temperatures during the accident are now thought to have reached 4800 degrees Fahrenheit — just 280 degrees less than the melting point of the uranium oxide fuel. At the time of the accident, sensors indicated that Unit 2's reactor vessel got only as hot as 2500 degrees. In 1980, the Rogovin Commission estimated a peak temperature of 4400 degrees, which would have

put the reactor just 30 to 60 minutes away from attaining the fuel's melting point. At that point, complete core meltdown could have ensued.

TMI's owner, General Public Utilities (GPU), and the NRC profess not to be worried by the latest temperature estimate. Their position is that TMI's core is such a jumble of fused metal parts that a little extra melting wouldn't make any difference as far as the cleanup effort is concerned. And anyway, a miss is as good as a mile. The fuel didn't melt, so who cares whether it was 15 or 30 minutes away from that point?

GPU's cavalier attitude toward TMI came out once again a few weeks later,

In a Harrisburg courtroom, James Floyd, TMI Unit 2 operations supervisor at the time of the accident, was found guilty of cheating on his annual relicensing exam several months after the accident occurred. Floyd, with the knowledge of higher management, got a fellow operator from Unit 1 to answer most of the questions on the "take-home" test. The ex-supervisor, who now faces a maximum of 10 years in jail and a \$20,000 fine, apparently was in a hurry to go on vacation and was pre-occupied with the accident's aftermath. He claims that he intended to enter an intensive study program later.

Some have argued that replacement of high GPU officials is a prerequisite to restarting TMI 1, but this may accom-

plish nothing. In a memo released on the eve of the accident's fifth anniversary last March, the Union of Concerned Scientists contended, "Even if the old management is entirely replaced, the 'new' post-accident GPU management remains responsible for allowing cheating on operation qualification exams and failing to punish the officials responsible, for lying to the NRC about a supervisor's qualifications, for an inept training and testing program and alleged harassment of employees who attempted to point out cleanup operation problems. And, it is the 'new' GPU which has consistently responded to all discoveries of malfeasance by denial, instead of acting to prevent recurrence."

— David Gilden

The text of the Berks County Jobs with Peace ballot proposition is as follows:

"Shall more federal funds be made available for local jobs, improving programs such as education, housing, health care, and veterans' benefits, rebuilding our industry and repairing our transportation and water systems, by significantly reducing the amount of tax dollars spent on nuclear weapons and foreign military intervention, in that way promoting jobs with peace?"



# Activists block Lockheed expansion

On January 8, 1985, in the culmination of a seven-year campaign, the Santa Cruz Board of Supervisors voted to prohibit the expansion of a facility where nuclear weapons components are built. In a three-to-two vote, the Supervisors denied Lockheed Missiles and Space Company's request for a permit for a 3/4-acre building to manufacture parts for the Trident II nuclear weapons system.

Opponents of Lockheed raised a number of technical, land-use and planning issues in addition to the broader concerns about the role Lockheed's production of parts for the Trident plays in the nuclear arms race. They succeeded in blocking Lockheed's effort to expand its work on Trident II at the remote mountain site sixteen miles from the city of Santa Cruz.

Since the 1950's, Lockheed has had a testing and manufacturing facility in Santa Cruz, a small, coastal county seventy-five miles south of San Francisco. In the late 1970's, the County required Lockheed to submit a master development plan for a permit to expand their facility. One of the buildings in the application was a "D-5 Manufacturing Building," where a small but essential non-nuclear explosive part for the Trident II would be produced. Lockheed publicly describes the part, used to separate stages of rockets and open the nosecone of the Trident missile, as an "energy transfer device."

In 1978, People for a Nuclear Free Future, a local antinuclear group and co-founder of the Abalone Alliance, spearheaded opposition to granting the permit.

More than 4500 local residents packed four public hearings before the County Planning Commission and later the Board of Supervisors from November 1978 to February 1979. The vast majority of speakers opposed the permit. But the Planning Commission went on to vote 4-1 in favor of the Lockheed expansion, and the Supervisors finally voted 3-2 to approve the permit.

People for a Nuclear Free Future responded by qualifying for the June 1980 ballot the nation's first initiative to ban the production, testing, transportation or use of nuclear weapons within county limits. Lockheed spent about \$300,000, or \$4.25 per voter — by far the largest amount spent on an election of any kind in this county of 200,000 people. During their campaign against the Initiative for Alternatives to Nuclear Weapons Production, Lockheed threatened to close the plant, which at the time was the largest manufacturing facility in the County.

More people cast votes on the initiative than on any other ballot measure, including the much-touted Jarvis II tax initiative, Proposition 9. Even though

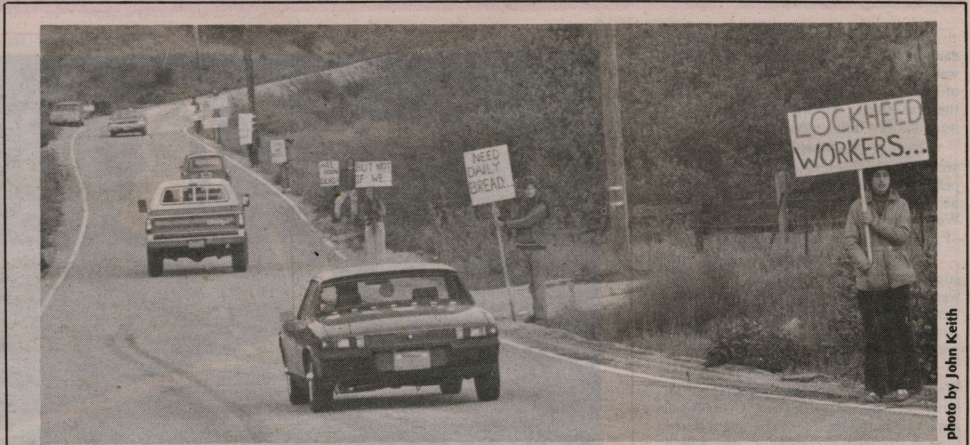


photo by John Keith

"Burma Shave" style signs greet Lockheed workers as they arrive at Santa Cruz facility. The signs read: Lockheed workers/ Need daily bread/ But not if we/ Are soon dead/ Jobs we need/ But not for war/ Jobs for Peace/ Produce far more/ Stop Trident/ Convert Lockheed.

the measure passed within the city limits of Santa Cruz, it was crushed 63-37% countywide.

Lockheed seemed to have won.

Opposition to Lockheed's continuing work on Trident I returned primarily to acts of civil disobedience. Seven times since 1979, people have been arrested while blocking the gate to the plant. Local law enforcement has taken much of the steam out of these protests by not prosecuting those arrested.

Everything changed in late 1984. The local Sierra Club discovered that Lockheed had applied for a grading permit for the D-5 Building, which required

This section of the permit became Lockheed's "window of vulnerability."

As in most other places, in Santa Cruz the issuance of a grading permit for a previously granted use permit is basically a rubber stamp operation. The Resource Center for Nonviolence hastily formed an ad hoc group, Citizens for Industrial Accountability, to see that in this case it would become more than that.

Although the Planning Commission generally does not discuss first-strike nuclear weaponry, on November 28, 1984 it did just that. Lockheed's attorney tried to present the issue as "the

told the audience he didn't think the tree issue was important. But to the amazement of the crowd, Barr declared that he had decided to put "whatever roadblock we can in front of the manufacturing of these weapons at Lockheed." The Commission then voted 3-2 to deny the permit.

Since 1981, eighty local governments have voted to keep out nuclear weapons and the companies that manufacture them. But most of these "Nuclear Free Zones" lack a means of enforcement and are not in localities where nuclear weapons work is going on. So when Lockheed appealed the Commission's decision to the Board of Supervisors, the stage was set.

On January 8, public testimony by more than thirty speakers ran late into the night. The Board finally took a vote after midnight. Supervisors Joe Cucchiara and Robley Levy joined Board Chair Gary Patton, who voted against Lockheed five years earlier, to deny the grading permit. Supervisor Wayne Moore, whose appointee had cast the decisive vote on the Planning Commission, said he came to the hearing 80% in favor of Lockheed's position and found nothing to dissuade him from voting for the missile plant. Supervisor Dan Forbus, a former Navy commander who had voted for Lockheed five years earlier, stunned the crowd by advocating first-strike weaponry as a sound military policy. Nonetheless, the opposition to Lockheed and Trident II carried the day.

Seldom do disarmament activists win one, especially in battles long ago thought lost. But the determined opposition of local citizens finally paid off. The majority of Supervisors acted simply to affirm Supervisor Cucchiara's statement that "there are significant and reasonable land-use reasons to deny the permit."

The general tone of the meeting and the bulk of public testimony set the stage for Cucchiara's quotation of Albert Einstein: "Our representatives in New York, in Paris or in Moscow depend ultimately on decisions made in the village square. From there must come America's voice. A message to humanity from a nation of human beings." The reading of Einstein's quote was greeted with resounding applause from the several hundred people still in the hall after the five-hour meeting.

The action of the Santa Cruz Board of Supervisors will not stop the production of the Trident II missile. Lockheed officials have said they will do the work in existing buildings if necessary, or perhaps sue the County. Lockheed manager Vern Smith, a former mayor of Santa Cruz, was quoted in the local press as saying, "We'll make the parts up here — it's just a matter of how."

Still, this is a nation in which the wheels of government have never paused on the road to nuclear annihilation. The denial of this "grading permit, nothing more, nothing less," is a small but important brake on the arms race.

And we need all the breaks we can get.

— Steven Belling and R. Scott Kennedy

## One speaker asserted that the issue before the Planning Commission was the moral equivalent of a grading permit for the ovens of Auschwitz.

a public hearing and a vote by the Planning Commission. The grading would require the removal of 14,600 cubic yards of soil and the destruction of 113 trees.

When spokespersons for the Sierra Club, the local Freeze campaign, and the Resource Center for Nonviolence objected to the Planning Commission approval of the Lockheed permit, a planning staffer ushered a Resource Center staff member into his office to inform him that any attempt to delay or defeat Lockheed's planned expansion was doomed to failure.

The original use permit stated that "large, mature trees will be protected" with buildings constructed around them.

application for a grading permit, nothing more, nothing less." But the public had a different idea. In addition to testimony concerning the trees, speaker after speaker spoke of the insane arms race, the particularly destabilizing nature of the first-strike Trident II, and the responsibility of citizens not to leave these issues "to Washington" where Lockheed insisted they belong. One speaker asserted that the issue before the Planning Commission was the moral equivalent of a grading permit for the ovens of Auschwitz.

The testimony was effective.

Commissioner Chuck Barr, appointed by the most conservative member of the Board of Supervisors,





# Star Wars: Deception

War in the heavens means peace on earth, say Ronald Reagan and Luke Skywalker. Instead of weeping at the sight of missiles streaking across the sky when the war starts, we will rejoice as space weapons zap them out of the blue.

No one gets hurt. Nuclear weapons are forever obsolete and a new era of peaceful cooperation descends from the heavens. Peace in our children's time. Well, maybe their children's time. Kind of a thin fairy tale to pin much hope on.

Keeping the peace between the superpowers by resorting to new weapons is an old story. So is the claim that the new weapons are for defensive purposes only. But this time the tale may not have a happy ending.

If Reagan had promised in his Star Wars speech last March to guarantee an arms race in space, destroy virtually all arms agreements, take a giant step toward first-strike capability, and spend tens of billions of dollars on a system that may never work, the nation may well have balked. So instead, Reagan introduced Star Wars as "defensive weapons."

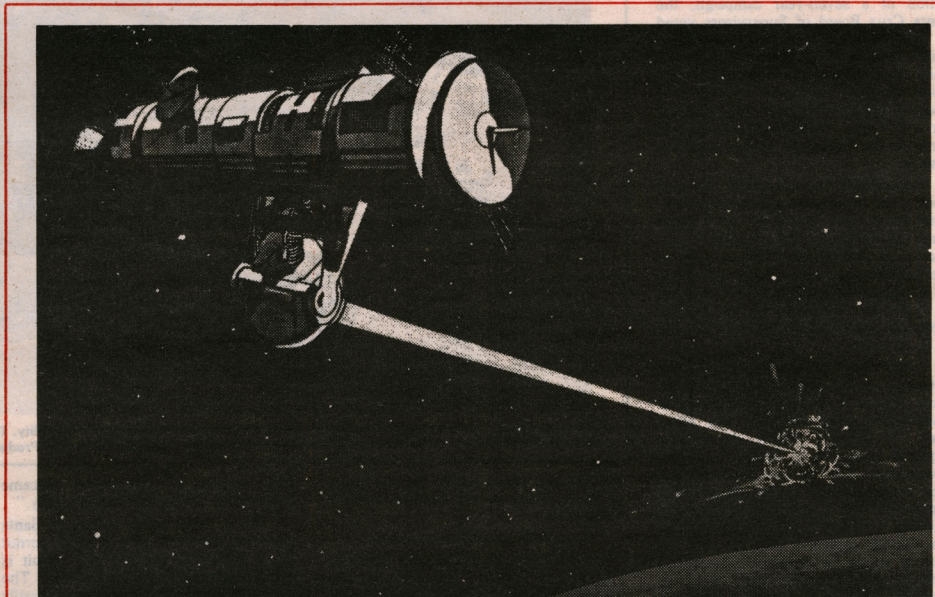
Although Reagan argues that space weapons may someday provide a shield against nuclear attack, even a bad actor knows that if you have an effective "shield" — a nationwide defense — then you can use your "sword" — strategic nuclear weapons. A leakproof anti-ballistic missile system (ABMS) is the stuff of science fiction. But even if such a system could be developed, it would be enormously threatening.

A Soviet ABMS capable of destroying the inventory of US missiles after they were launched would be "one of the most frightening prospects imaginable," according to Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger. Of course, the Soviets aren't likely to feel any more cozy if the US develops such a capability.

If either side ever developed a 100 percent effective ABMS, it could attack the other with impunity. Just approaching such a capability would invite attack, especially in a crisis. The side without the ABMS would be afraid that the other guys would launch first, and so would feel compelled to beat them to the punch: the "use it or lose it" syndrome.

Just what Reagan intends to do with a space weapon system is clouded by the peaceful tone he has adopted. When pressed, he explains that once a system is developed, the US will "demonstrate" it to the Soviets. Then it would be up to them to give up their nuclear weapons in return for sharing the Star Wars technology.

This is an odd offer in light of the



Michael Schallbuch

A constellation of 300 space-based high-energy chemical lasers is one ABMS proposal. Estimates place the cost at \$1 trillion. It would be highly vulnerable to space mines, nuclear blasts or ground-based lasers.

fact that Reagan's first argument for developing space weapons was that the Soviets were far ahead in the effort. Since the evidence about the Soviet program all pointed in the other direction, the administration's justification shifted 180 degrees. The new argument was that we should press the American advantage in this field.

Many in the Reagan administration hold to the belief that the US can gain a strategic edge by controlling space as a military environment. The military theorists consider space the "ultimate high ground." With the US controlling this vantage, they say, it can tell the Russians exactly what to do on earth.

To really defend the US, an ABMS in space would have to protect against the 10,000 or so warheads that the Russians could currently launch in an all-out attack. Such a system won't be around until far in the future, if ever. But there is a plausible use for an ABMS that could be built much sooner — as part of an aggressive strategy. It is much more likely that a space-based ABMS will be used to back up an attack than to repel one: an incomplete or thin ABMS which could not protect against an all-out attack might easily be able to destroy the

small number of the other side's retaliatory warheads that survived a surprise first strike.

If the US were planning a first strike (as the NAVSTAR satellite missile guidance system and advances in anti-submarine warfare might suggest) and could count on it to be 95 percent effective, it would need a 99 percent effective ABMS to limit the Soviet retaliation to five warheads. Coupled with statements from close Reagan associates that losses of 20 million people are "acceptable," these calculations are ominous.

In other words, a space-based ABMS offers little hope for deterring a first strike, but it might protect from retaliatory strikes — the fear of which is what makes attack suicidal. This balance of fear, often known as "mutually assured destruction," will be upset by the development of ABMS's and other components of the emerging US first-strike capability.

The Reagan administration has argued that Star Wars, which it prefers to call the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), signals a shift toward a "defense-dominated" world. But it hasn't promised to pare a dime from the trillion dollars it is already planning to spend on arms. While this huge rearmament program is being carried out on the ground, the President claims that his real intention, to make peace, can be found in the skies.

## The hawks of the High Frontier

Something *did* drop out of the skies to make Ronald Reagan rub his eyes, but it sure weren't no olive branch. Reagan climbed out on a limb in his Star Wars speech last March 23 with his plea that the scientists "who gave us nuclear weapons turn their great talents to the cause of mankind and world peace . . . and make these weapons impotent and obsolete."

One of the space boosters was the father of the H-bomb and Dr. Strangelove model, Edward Teller. Teller, who has been pushing "defensive" weapons for fifteen years, has known Reagan since 1967. His protegee, science adviser George Keyworth, helped to prepare Reagan's "Star Wars" speech.

In the 1950's, Teller argued against a test-ban treaty on the grounds that fallout wasn't really so dangerous. He supported an ABMS in the 1960's and fought the ABM Treaty which banned large-scale ABMS's in the 1970's.

Teller's latest offspring is the highly classified nuclear bomb-pumped X-ray laser under development at the

Lawrence Livermore Laboratory under the code-name "R-Program." These lasers, which would be put on battle stations in space, are powered by nuclear bombs. The X-ray beams from the explosions could be aimed at targets thousands of miles away.

Teller believes that such lasers could be launched into space whenever a Soviet attack seems imminent. He spoke with Reagan about this idea several months before the Star Wars speech.

Teller calls himself "a slightly unhawkish hawk" for not wanting "to hurt the Soviets," and claims, "I only want to defend ourselves." Ironically, Teller's proposal has come under attack from other advocates of space weapons, who are organized under the name High Frontier. Many in this group argue that X-ray lasers (as well as chemical lasers and particle-beam weapons) are too futuristic.

Other Star Wars technologies,

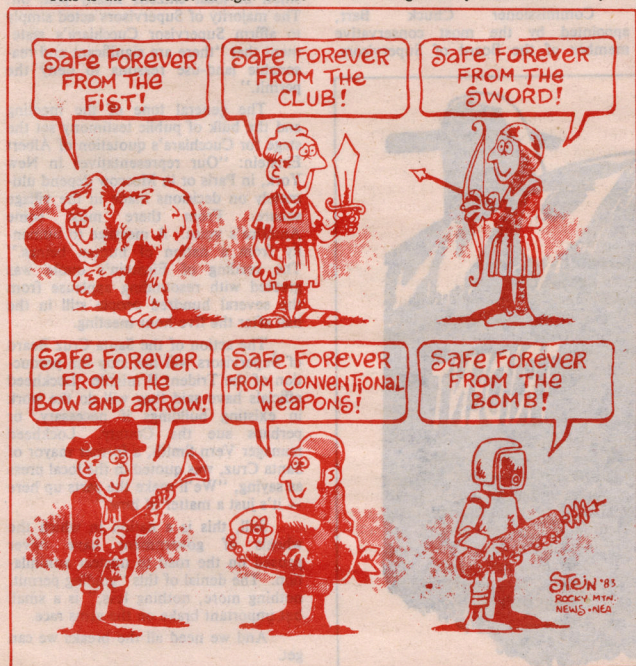
## A proponent of building system described the efficient simultaneous Manhattan which must succeed if the

though cruder, are much closer to reality. Non-nuclear missile interceptors are the weapons of preference for the pragmatists of the High Frontier camp. Their bickering goes to show that the galaxy of the right-wing is expanding at an ever-increasing rate in the reign of Reagan.

Much of the ultra-right has thrown its support behind former director of the Defense Intelligence Agency Lt. General Daniel Graham's High Frontier scheme for a crash deployment of 432 satellites armed with 40 to 50 non-nuclear missile interceptors each. Supposedly this system, which they say could be deployed in five years, would destroy 50 to 80 percent of Soviet missiles launched in an attack. High Frontier says it would cost \$15 billion; the Pentagon puts the price tag at \$50 billion.

Prior to the Star Wars speech, Reagan met with Graham and major contributors to High Frontier, including Joseph Coors, Jack Hume and Karl Bendetson, industrialists who are considered part of Reagan's "kitchen cabinet."

High Frontier was organized in 1981 with \$100,000 from conservative publisher Richard Mellon Scaife, \$150,000 more from Scaife's Allegheny





# on the High Frontier

Foundation, and administrative support from the Heritage Foundation. Along with the Heritage Foundation, Phyllis Schlafley's Eagle Forum, and other New Right groups, it is providing the ideological support for space weaponization.

Schlafley has also been a space hawk for quite a while. Her 1966 book, *Strike From Space: How the Russians May Destroy Us*, argued for anti-satellite and anti-missile weapons, not to mention the neutron bomb and orbital bombs. Schlafley called then-Defense Secretary McNamara a "gravedigger" for not pursuing such programs.

Yesterday's fringe survivalists are today's advisers at the White House.

## Pie in the sky

While Reagan sidesteps critics' doubts about the feasibility of space weapons by saying that he's not a scientist, many who are think the idea will never work. A proponent described the effort as seven simultaneous Manhattan projects, all of which must succeed if the system is to work.

The part of the system that actually intercepts an enemy missile — be it X-ray laser, chemical laser, particle beam, or something less futuristic — is the easiest of the challenges facing designers. The weapon must be integrated into an overall system which includes sensors for early warning; battle management communications for decisions and assessment; and sensors to acquire, discriminate, and track targets and then to point and fire the weapon. Furthermore, such a system would have to be able to evade or survive direct attack.

The current concept of an ABMS calls for a "layered" defense that would attack ICBM's in each of their four distinct phases of travel: boost, busing, midcourse, and terminal phases. A four-layer system, each layer of which is 90 percent effective, would allow only eight of 8000 reentry vehicles launched in an attack to arrive on target.

Destroying an ICBM in its boost phase just after launch is the most crucial part of a nationwide defense. After the boost phase, a missile multiplies its threat each time it releases a warhead or decoy — the Soviet SS-18 can carry 30 or more missiles. A boost-phase attack would have to occur thousands of miles from the US and could only take place from space. This is why the Strategic Defense Initiative is primarily a space

breaking on the shelf."

If, after several decades of work, all of the intractable problems of seven Manhattan projects are somehow solved, scientists will face a surfeit of Soviet countermeasures. Among these are space mines, anti-satellite weapons, and lasers which could blind the sensors of an anti-missile system. Enemy ICBM's could be coated with reflective or heat-resistant materials. Shortening the boost phase of an ICBM from its present several minutes to under one minute would by itself rule out any scheme such as the X-ray laser, which requires launching the ABM after the enemy missile attack has been detected.

By their very nature, space weapons are highly vulnerable to these countermeasures. For example, few targets could be more tempting than a perfect mirror which fails from the slightest disturbance.

The Strategic Defense Initiative will hurry along the development of anti-satellite weapons and promote offensive countermeasures — thus escalating the arms race. As for providing a nationwide defense, it is most likely to end up a trillion dollar boondoggle.

## Commanding the portals of the heavens

When Reagan touts weapons which can "save millions of lives," he is repeating the agenda of the survivalists who believe that limiting the number of deaths from nuclear war is paramount. They contend that an imperfect anti-missile system would do just that and should be deployed now. In fact, it might very well accomplish the exact opposite, since the Soviets could react by targeting more of their missiles on US cities in order to retain their retaliatory capacity.

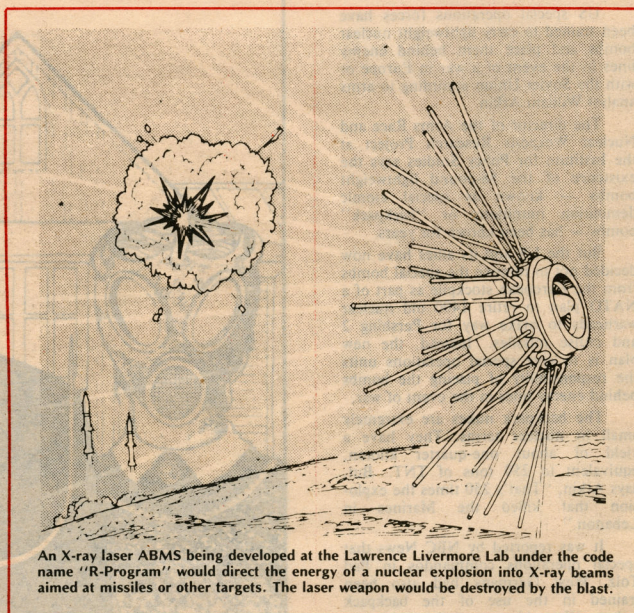
Reagan could never sell ABMS on the unvarnished survivalist platform. Likewise, he would have a tough time arguing, as do many in the Air Force and aerospace industry, that space is the ultimate ground for establishing military superiority on earth.

Instead, Reagan is using the fear of nuclear war he helped create in order to sell a new generation of weapons and an escalation of the arms race perhaps as significant as the introduction of ICBM's in the 1950's. The very success of the Freeze and other liberal disarmament groups in portraying the ghastly effects of nuclear war is being turned against them, as Reagan sanitizes the battlefield of the future.

To the extent that the base of opposition to nuclear war is fear of death and not disgust with the arms race, the SDI may placate rather than arouse that opposition. It doesn't help that the networks constantly defer to Reagan's classification of space weapons as "defensive."

## A free market in arms control

The space weapons that are being contemplated would violate several arms treaties. But Reagan's cronies don't seem to mind. Arms negotiator Edward Rowney, for example, privately called the ABM Treaty of 1972 "an historical mistake," because "it tied our hands forever." So it's not surprising that the Administration may decide to junk it in the next couple of years. The US has



been moving in that direction ever since the signing of the treaty.

The ABM Treaty recognized that placing limits on offensive missiles would be impossible if defensive countermeasures were constantly being developed and deployed. Even though the treaty largely removed the threat of ABM's, the US unilaterally moved to deploy MIRV's, which were conceived as the ideal countermeasure to an ABMS. In so doing, the number of warheads in both arsenals was massively increased in the 1970's and the resulting strategic balance is more precarious than ever.

According to SALT negotiator Paul Warnke, "Rather than make nuclear

anti-missile system only destroys missiles and there are plenty of other fiendish ways to deliver nuclear weapons to their targets just waiting to be discovered if Reagan goes ahead with the SDI.

## Space de-militarization

There are many critics of Star Wars among respected scientists and government and military officials, including Hans Bethe, Carl Sagan, Robert McNamara, and George Kennan. Some of the opposition is limited, however. For example, McNamara suggests that "something on the order of \$10 billion," rather than \$26 billion for the SDI would provide a hedge against Soviet advances in the field.

## The dream of making nuclear weapons "obsolete" is like asking to un-discover the atom.

weapons obsolete, [the SDI] would divert immense research funds and talents to prototypes of an obsolete system easily overwhelmed or destroyed by Soviet countermeasures." If the SDI is pursued, the Russians aren't likely to stand idly by while their retaliatory capacity is thrown further into doubt. A massive build-up of real and decoy ICBM's is the easiest of several countermeasures they could adopt and also the most threatening. Since any near-term ABMS could easily be overwhelmed by a profusion of decoys and real missiles, the US would consider the Soviet countermeasures threatening and deploy more of its own offensive missiles.

The actual deployment of a space-based ABMS would raise the stakes considerably since it would threaten the other side's strategic satellites, even if it had a limited anti-missile capability. The adoption of a "launch-on-warning" strategy might then be inevitable, since an attack would begin with the destruction of the opponents' early-warning satellites. In response to the deployment of an ABMS in space, the other side could try to position "space mines" nearby. This alone could start a conflict, since an ABMS capable of destroying missiles could easily destroy a space mine. According to the Union of Concerned Scientists, "It is difficult to imagine a system more likely to induce catastrophe than one that requires critical decisions by the second, is itself untested and fragile and yet is threatening to the other side's retaliatory capability."

The dream of making nuclear weapons "obsolete" is like asking to un-discover the atom. To begin with, an

Fortunately, the space arms race is starting to motivate disarmament activists to organize and take action against the arms makers. A network of religious and peace groups in Colorado has begun planning for a conference to "create a national coalition of organizations committed to preventing the militarization of space." The conference will be held in Colorado Springs, home of the military Space Command in late May or early June.

Also, a new group organized by Livermore Action Group activists called Lab Watch will bring nationally known scientists to the Lawrence Livermore Lab to debate lab scientists involved in Star Wars like Lowell Wood who claims, "The set of technologies in hand can already produce a totally leakproof shield."

The Progressive Space Forum, a national group based in San Francisco, provides information to the disarmament movement about the space arms race. PSF also works with groups in the aerospace community concerned about the threat of space war. They are interested in networking with any groups concerned about the militarization of space and have a slide show which provides an introduction to the space arms race. PSF's newsletter, *Space for All People* is an excellent source for news and analysis on space weapons and space technology. It is available for \$13 a year. Full membership in PSF is \$15. Contact PSF at 1724 Sacramento Street #9, San Francisco, CA 94109, 415-673-94109.

— Ward Young  
LAT staff

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weapons program.

In most defensive situations, there would be no time for humans to command space weapons. A space laser would have about five minutes to knock out an ICBM in its boost phase, and fractions of a second to respond to attack from another laser system. A device like this, which makes its own decision to destroy something, is known as a D.E.A.D. — a destruction entrusted automatic device.

To get an idea of the grandiose nature of a laser weapon system which could fend off the 1400 ICBM's in the current Soviet force, consider the plan that calls for using electricity from earth-bound power plants in order to fire its lasers. This system would need 300,000 megawatts — equivalent to 60 percent of the entire US generating capacity — which would cost about \$100 billion to build.

Building large and perfect mirrors — up to thirty feet across — that can withstand temperatures ranging from absolute zero to intensely hot isn't a piece of cake either. According to Col. Robert Bowman of the Space Institute, "We've got mirrors two to three feet across and we can't get them to stop



# Short Circuits Short Circuits Short Circuits

## BACKPACKING A PUNCH

US special operations forces have been trained to carry lightweight nuclear bombs and place them behind enemy lines in the event of a war in Europe or with the Soviet Union according to arms analyst William Arkin.

The director of the Arms Race and Nuclear Weapons Research Project at the Institute for Policy Studies says the existence of the 58-pound lightweight bombs — known as special atomic demolition munitions or "backpack" bombs — has been known for years.

But the US and its allies have now decided not to remove the special bombs from the European stockpile as part of a NATO plan to retire 1400 old nuclear warheads to make way for Pershing 2 and cruise missiles. Instead, the new plan is to give special operations units the responsibility of placing the bombs behind enemy lines in the event of war.

The backpack nukes are extremely small in nuclear terms. They have a yield of about one-quarter kiloton, equivalent to 250 tons of TNT. But, says Arkin, "That's 250 times the explosion that killed the Marines in Lebanon."

It was reported by NBC News that special operations commandos in Bad Tolz, West Germany had also been trained in the use of the backpack nukes. "In a big war, they would drop behind Soviet lines and organize resistance movements," according to NBC.

— SF Chronicle 11/5/85

## FROM US, WITH LEAD

The United States has provided the Salvadoran Air Force with a new gunship specially designed for counterinsurgency warfare, according to US Embassy officials. The plane is officially called an "airborne fire support platform" and was delivered in late December. It is essentially a DC-3 propeller aircraft equipped with night vision equipment and three .50 caliber machine guns which can fire 1,500 rounds per minute.

The plane is similar to gunships used by the United States in Vietnam, although with a slower rate of fire, and it represents a major increase in capabilities for the Salvadoran military. The use of the gunship was recommended by a special Pentagon committee which studied the war in El Salvador last year. The US trained the twelve Salvadoran soldiers who will form two six-man crews for the gunship, and the Reagan Administration has offered the Salvadorans a second aircraft if this one proves useful.

According to one US official, the weapon "will address the problem of reaction to [guerrilla] attacks. . . I think it's going to make a difference. But I don't think it's the system that's going to win the war."

The gunship's delivery is part of a general program by the US to build up the Salvadoran Air Force. The US has recently delivered four additional Huey UH-1 helicopters, a mainstay of the Vietnam war, bringing the Salvadoran total to 35. At least five more are expected to be delivered later in the year. The air force also has six A-37 jet fighters which are used almost daily in combat missions.

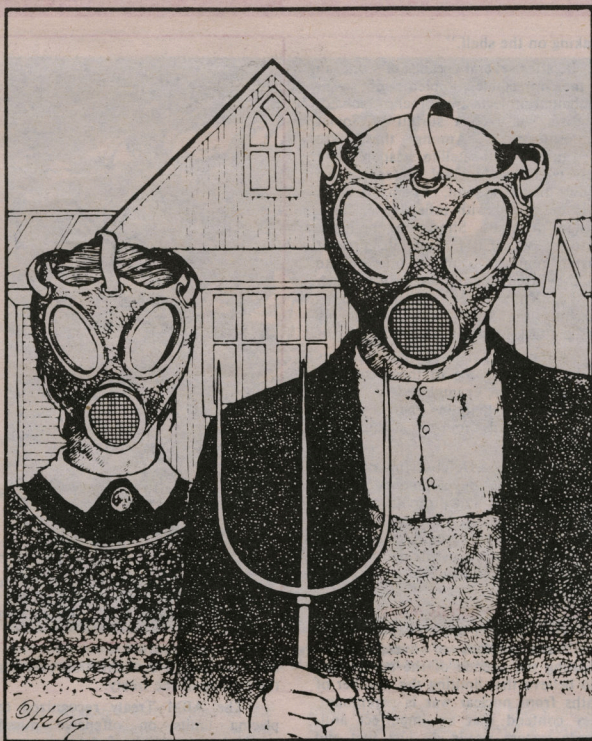
— The New York Times, 11/9/85

## GOLDWATER ABANDONS MX

Barry Goldwater, in line to become chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, says he thinks Reagan should dump the MX missile in the service of an even bigger cause — the budget deficit.

Goldwater's new take on defense spending has given the Reagan Administration's ultra-hawks a little more fat than usual to chew on. The Pentagon and White House could generally count on his predecessor, John Tower, to be there for them.

But Goldwater isn't convinced that the Pentagon is doing a very efficient job of accounting. "I'm not one of those freeze-the-nuke nuts," he said. "But I don't think it should take 22,000 people to run the whole military hierarchy."



## ARMY BACK INTO BUGS

The US Army is about to receive \$250 million to expand its chemical and biological warfare program at the Dugway Proving Ground in Utah. The money is being obtained through a special process which allows funds previously unspent on other projects to be redirected without Congressional debate.

Among the new test facilities to be built is a \$1.4 million maximum-security "aerosol test lab" for working with large quantities of lethal biological sprays. Congress has never approved the construction of such a facility, and it may violate the 1972 international biological weapons treaty, which the US signed. That pact prohibits the production of biological warfare agents "in quantities that have no justification for prophylactic, protective, or other peaceful purposes." The Army claims the lab is needed to evaluate protective equipment.

The Army request was made available to the media by Senator Sasser of Tennessee, who said it "raises important questions with regard to potential capabilities for testing and production of offensive lethal biological and toxin weapons."

An Administration official who requested anonymity gave a blunter assessment to the *New York Times*. He said that the new laboratory would especially "raise a lot of eyebrows internationally" since such facilities were normally desired for handling "esoteric viruses" which cause diseases for which no known cures exist. "The Soviets will seize upon it as evidence of biological rearmament."

— The New York Times, 11/2/84

## WEAPONS TO BURN

A panel of experts from the National Research Council urged in late November that the Army proceed with its plan to destroy old, leaking chemical weapons as soon as possible. "There is a huge amount of this stuff," said Robert W. Buchheim, a former arms control official and a member of the panel. "This is dangerous material. It is designed to be dangerous. It is very dangerous."

The weapons, which are now considered obsolete, are currently stored in depots in eight states as well as in Europe and the Pacific. Leaks occur at all the sites regularly, numbering in the dozens to hundreds per year. All have so far been contained by base personnel without known public exposure.

The chemicals are stockpiled in a variety of forms, ranging from one-ton bulk containers to fully armed rockets. The latter are considered the highest priority for disposal because they are loaded with fuses, propellants, and burst charges in addition to their cargo of deadly nerve agents. Tests have shown that an accidental explosion of one rocket could set off others, increasing the danger to base personnel and the public.

The National Research Council, part of the National Academy of Sciences, did the study under a \$400,000 grant from the Army, which acknowledged that it faced a "formidable problem" in disposing of the chemicals. The panel endorsed the Army's plan to incinerate the chemicals, a process which is expected to cost \$2 to \$4 billion and take 10 to 20 years.

— The New York Times, 11/22/84

## THE TRICKLE-UP THEORY

While the Reagan administration is claiming credit for the lowest inflation rate and largest economic growth in a decade, perhaps it would also like to take credit for another record set in 1984: the lowest pay raises for industrial workers in 17 years.

According to statistics released by the Labor Department on January 24, major collective bargaining settlements in 1984 provided the lowest raise — 2.4 percent — of any year since statistics began being kept 17 years ago. That was not enough to keep up even with last year's 4 percent inflation rate, so the real income of the 2.3 million workers covered by the settlements actually went down despite the much-trumpeted "recovery." Most of the pacts are for more than one year, so workers' incomes will continue to shrink as each year's income rises less than consumer prices. Strange thing about Reagan's "trickle-down economics": the wealth seems to be trickling up.

— based on *The New York Times*, 11/25/85

## CONTRAS GET BUCKS WITHOUT CIA

Nicaraguan contras, previously backed by CIA funds, are managing well with the help of Israeli, American, Honduran and El Salvadoran sources, according to contra leader Adolfo Calero and officials within the Reagan administration.

Calero says approximately \$3 million in "foreign" and US funds, along with credit for \$900,000 in military supplies from a "foreign company," have kept the contras going and allowed their ranks to swell since CIA funding was cut off by Congress last May.

He denied reports that the governments of Israel, Taiwan, Guatemala, Venezuela or Argentina are providing funds and that rebel supporters had gathered more than \$10,000 from these and other sources.

Although Israel, Honduras and El Salvador are known to have assisted the contras for several years, the level of their support has increased as US assistance diminished.

The support has raised eyebrows among some members of Congress regarding the final destination of American arms and other supplies sold or given to Honduras, El Salvador and Israel.

While the diversion of funding is officially barred by both foreign aid legislation and a specific ban on American aid to the rebels, both Guatemala and Israel are known to have helped circumvent official US policy in the past.

Now, according to administration sources, Honduras has become a major supplier of ammunition to the insurgents, and El Salvador has taken over the job of maintaining the rebels' small air force.

Officials from both countries, though denying publicly that their governments are helping the rebels, have said privately that aid has been provided.

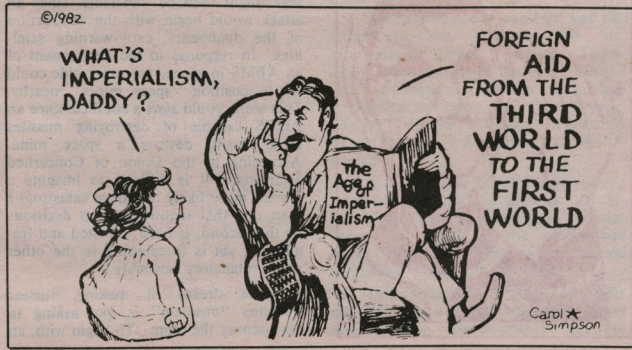
Secretary of State George Schultz suggested that recipients of American aid may be using their own money to aid the Contras, adding that "if [El Salvador, Honduras and Israel] have things they want to do with their own funds, that's up to them."

Other administration officials said this indirect method of aiding the rebels follows a pattern set in 1982 and 1983, when Honduras supplied the insurgents with more than 6000 Belgian automatic rifles.

Honduran leaders, dissatisfied with their current arrangements with Washington, have recently asked for increased military and economic aid in return for continued security cooperation with the US. They have also announced that the contras are no longer welcome to train troops and operate camps in Honduras.

Nevertheless, Honduras has quietly increased aid to the rebels, US officials say.

— Sandy Leon  
IAT staff





# Short Circuits Short Circuits Short Circuits

## NO FINAL REST FOR A-WASTE

The government's 1998 target date for creating the first underground storage chamber to hold radioactive wastes from US nuclear power plants cannot be met, according to a group of geologists who gathered in San Francisco recently to discuss the problem.

A major problem, they say, is that no large-scale underground tests have been conducted to assess the safety of the deep storage facilities. The geologists contend that while major economic and political issues complicate the nuclear waste problem, there are still some basic technical questions which remain disturbingly unanswered. They include:

- What will happen to the rocks of the deep storage caverns when intense heat from the stored radioactive wastes widens existing cracks and other stresses cause some of the cracks to shrink?
- How can the nuclear storage planners be sure that water will not leach through the rocks around the stored wastes and flow into deep underground aquifers that might eventually carry radioactivity into the environment?
- What will happen to the waste repositories if powerful geologic forces of uplift or erosion change their contours and alter their supposedly leak-proof structures?

These potentially serious problems remain after more than 30 years of research by government agencies into the problems of storing the intensely radioactive materials from nuclear power plants. In the 1950's the Atomic Energy Commission assured the public that the issue presented only minor difficulties.

But, to date, the government has not selected a single site for a long-term storage project. The Department of Energy has been under political pressure to assure utilities with nuclear plants that the agency will take the wastes off their hands by 1998 even if no storage site is available.

Government agencies are currently considering nine sites in the Western US and will soon narrow those to three. The first site must store 40 years of accumulated wastes or about 70,000 tons of material. Each repository is expected to cost up to \$10 billion.

Geologist Paul Witherspoon from Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory has warned that the stored wastes will raise the temperature of the surrounding rock in the caverns by 200 to 400 degrees. The resulting heat will remain in the rock for 100 to 1000 years, opening up networks of fissures through which water may boil and turn to steam, or squeezing other fissures tightly shut. "This is one of the most difficult problems I have ever encountered," says Witherspoon.

But testing the heat theories underground will take five to eight years for each type of rock in which the storage caverns are to be built and will cost an estimated \$30 million. Total cost of the national program will be approximately \$20 billion, according to Priscilla Grew, a geologist and member of the California Public Utilities Commission.

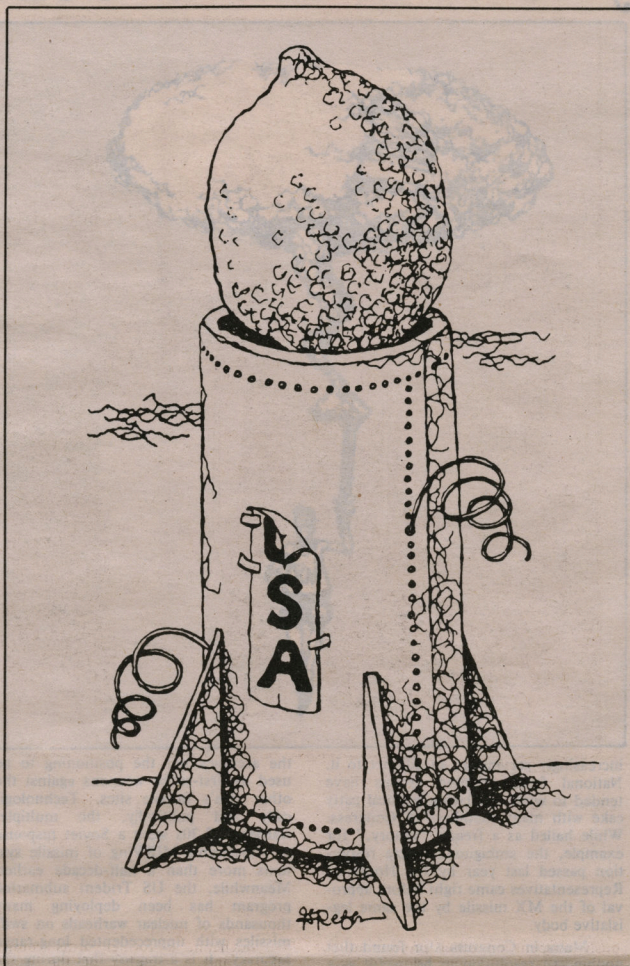
Who'll foot the bill for the decades of research still needed to insure the "safe" disposal of all the deadly waste? Much of that money will be coming from the electricity bills charged to ratepayers, Grew said.

— SF Chronicle 12/6/84

## OUT OF THE MOUTHS OF SOLDIERS

Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger has come up with an ingenious plan in the interest of reducing the almighty deficit. The Pentagon's contribution, Weinberger says, will be a one-year freeze on military pay in 1986.

That plan would affect 2.1 million Americans in uniform. In the past, Congress has flatly turned down such proposals. But since Weinberger has continued to resist requests to cut back on actual weapons spending and seems to have the implicit support of President Reagan, the plan could possibly fly.



## MISSILE RUNS AMOK OVER NORWAY

A Soviet cruise missile crossed northern Norway and crashed on Finnish territory last month, according to the Finnish Defense Ministry.

The missile was fired from a submarine off Murmansk in the Barents Sea, Norwegian officials said. It flew west across the Rustvatn Lake and the Pasvik River, which form the border between Norway and Finland at the top of the Scandinavian peninsula, then disappeared from radar screens over Lake Inari, in northeastern Finland.

It was not immediately known if the missile carried a payload. According to Defense Command spokesman Ole R. Bollman, "it would be highly unlikely for anyone to arm a training missile of this type."

Cruise missiles are winged, unmanned jets fitted with nuclear or conventional warheads. They skim close to the earth to avoid detection by radar.

The stray missile was flying over the clouds at approximately 4,000 feet, and was 32 feet long with a range of 125 to 250 miles.

Defense Ministry spokesman Erik Senstad said the missile probably crossed over Norway by accident.

— SF Chronicle, 1/3/85

## PERSHING FIRE KILLS US SOLDIERS

The solid-fuel motor of an unarmed Pershing 2 missile caught fire in southern Germany, killing three American soldiers and injuring 16 others, the US Army announced. The January 11 accident occurred when the first-stage motor of a Pershing missile was being removed from its container after arrival from the US.

Army officials stressed that the missile was not armed with a nuclear warhead and that there was no explosion. However, there have been a number of accidents involving the Pershing in the past and the latest accident was the most serious of its kind to date.

White House spokesman Robert Sims said that although President Reagan was "distressed," the accident would not affect future weapons plans.

But Lukas Beckmann, a spokesman for West Germany's Green Party, wants Chancellor Helmut Kohl to conduct an investigation into what he terms, "the series of Pershing accidents." Another member of the party proclaimed, "They must be sent back by return post."

A total of 108 Pershing 2 missiles are scheduled to be stationed in West Germany.

— SF Chronicle 1/12/85

## WHAT LIGHT?

Aeronautics experts studying the crash of a prototype B-1 bomber in the Mojave desert last fall have concluded that design flaws were at least partly responsible for the accident. The Air Force had previously blamed human error for the crash, which killed one crewmember, seriously injured the other two, and destroyed the \$200 million plane.

The bomber's crew had just swung the plane's moveable wings forward before the mishap, but had neglected to balance the craft by transferring fuel from the rear of the aircraft to the front. A warning light telling of the failure was hidden behind a crewman's knee in the cockpit. Critics of the Air Force's "human error" conclusions also said the bomber's automatic flight control system indicated that the plane was on a steady course until it was too late for the crew to avoid the crash.

One test pilot said that "what happened should have been designed out of the airplane." The Air Force intends to move the warning light to eye level and add other safety features. Air Force officials say the modifications are minor improvements and consider the B-1's systems satisfactory.

— The New York Times, 12/23/84

## EPA ORDERED TO CONTROL AIRBORNE RADIATION

Because it was ordered to do so by the Supreme Court, the Environmental Protection Agency has finally set standards for controlling radioactive air pollution.

In October, the EPA announced that it would not regulate airborne radioactive materials, saying that the risks they pose to public health are "relatively trivial." The pollution in question is formed in nuclear reactors and accelerators, in the production of nuclear weapons, in uranium mining, at nuclear waste dumps, and in other activities that use radioactive materials.

Following the EPA announcement, the Environmental Defense Fund, the Sierra Club, and the Natural Resources Defense Council filed suit to force the agency to control the emissions. The chances that the limits on radiation in the air will be enforced are indicated by the comments of EPA officials, who told the *New York Times* that they were issuing the rules only because of the threat of being found in contempt of court.

— New York Times, 1-18-85

## A PENTAGON BURLESQUE

Workers at a Hughes Aircraft defense plant spoofed the Pentagon's eagerness to buy new military hardware in a videotape showing three slovenly military officers leaping to buy a computer that tracks down lusty young women.

Hughes has had problems recently in developing a computer-controlled targeting system for a new missile designed to destroy tanks.

On the videotape, the officers, played by Hughes employees, leap to their feet in eagerness to buy the computer. "We love it," they shout to strains of "Stars and Stripes Forever." The tape ends with a scantily dressed woman in bed with a robot.

The 10-minute video, prepared for an employee party and shown recently on Cable News Network, was made at the Hughes research facility in El Segundo, California. It features some Hughes employees who are working on the targeting system for the Maverick anti-tank missile. Since 1979, Hughes has been working to produce a sophisticated "automatic target recognizer" to direct the missiles. A major stumbling block in the program has been identifying enemy tanks in a forested maze.

The giant military contractor said its employees acted in "poor taste" in producing the tape. "The individuals (involved) were reprimanded for their participation," said Jim Knotts, a Hughes official.

— San Francisco Chronicle 1/14/85

Army chief of staff General John Wickham Jr. made a rather desperate plea this week to landlords and utilities to waive security deposits for soldiers stationed at Fort Ord. It seems the young soldiers and their families can barely make ends meet as it is. Recently a small boy from a military family committed suicide so that his mother "wouldn't have so many mouths to feed."

— Sandy Leon  
IAT staff



Opinion

# An icy look at the Freeze

1984 was to have been a watershed year for advocates of a nuclear weapons freeze. Instead it turned into a washout.

President Reagan's re-election victory, a dramatic rebuff to freeze hopes, was also an echo of an even more profound loss. During the months that led up to the election, the nuclear weapons issue slipped away. It was not that the debate was lost, but that it evaporated.

In the person of Walter Mondale, millions of Americans voted for — and many worked for — a candidate backing weaponry they detest. The logic, of course, was to defeat an even more repugnant candidate. But consider Mondale's words in the last presidential debate: "I support the air-launch cruise missile, ground-launch missile, Pershing missile, the Trident submarine, the D-5 submarine [Trident II], the Stealth technology, the Midgetman — we have a whole range of technology."

Sincere activists and campaigners, transfixed with the importance of preventing nuclear war, discovered that rhetoric cannot be patented by a social movement or a political ticket. Now even Ronald Reagan has become a mockingbird for Freeze-inspired rhetoric. Addressing thousands of supporters packed into a Los Angeles ballroom on election night, he voiced the ritual plea of the Chief Executive sincerely hoping for nuclear disarmament. Contending that children "are what this campaign was all about," Reagan pledged to pursue a policy that could "ultimately reduce nuclear weapons and banish them from the face of the earth entirely."

According to a *Los Angeles Times* poll, 62% of delegates to the 1984 Republican National Convention said they supported a freeze on nuclear testing, production, and deployment. Strange to say, some National Freeze Campaign organizers considered these poll results to signify a victory.

These and other signs that the nuclear weapons freeze concept enjoys tremendous support across the United States does not change the fact that in many ways, forward progress for the freeze movement has slowed to a crawl. Entrenched in a blind alley, the freeze's rote activities remain intentionally narrow, constricting the potential of vigorous grassroots action against US escalation of the nuclear arms race.

## The arms control ruse

As information about the threat of nuclear war upset millions of Americans during the early 1980's, the freeze movement found it easy to advance notions of arms control. But key nuclear weapons policy disputes are not contests between "arms control" and "nuclear buildup" advocates, as mass media encourage us to believe. Arms control actually serves as a fraud — equivalent to cosmetics on a corpse — suitable for conning people into believing that the US government is responsive to citizen concerns about risks of nuclear war.

President Nixon gave us "arms control" in the form of SALT I, which sanctified MIRV multiple warheads that the US was testing even before that treaty was signed. Presidents Ford and Carter spoke in lofty terms while SALT II paved the way for American cruise missile technology. By its second year in power, the Reagan administration was learning to use arms control rhetoric, complete with Geneva talks, to put as pretty a face as possible on its nuclear madness. That ruse continues.

## The bilateral bogeyman

The freeze campaign's self-envisioned "realists" have opted to accept the idea that we must focus on asking our government to negotiate "bilateral" agreements with the Soviet Union. "Bilateral accords are widely viewed as the hard-nosed, practical means to end the arms spiral," Robert Borosage, director of the Institute for Policy Studies, pointed out last year. "In fact, bilateralism is naive, ignorant, or cynical about the institutional momentum behind the nuclear buildup."

Under the guise of providing an alternative to continued nuclear weapons escalation, the nuclear freeze approach is



increasingly serving as an adjunct to it. National freeze-oriented groups have tended to wind up playing political patty cake with many members of Congress. While hailed as a freeze "victory," for example, the ambiguous freeze resolution passed last year by the House of Representatives came right before approval of the MX missile by the same legislative body.

Many in Congress also found that nonbinding resolution to be useful as a fig leaf to cover their unwillingness to oppose the cruise, Pershing 2, and Trident nuclear weapons systems going into place in the mid-1980's. A vote for freeze platitudes often has appeared to more than compensate for approval of America's latest state-of-the-art nuclear weapons. Fixated on nebulous generalities, freeze tacticians have given low priority to holding Congressional feet to

the accuracy nor the positioning to be used as first-strike weapons against the other side's missile sites. Technologically and politically, the multiple-warhead SS-20s were a Soviet response to American's MIRVing of missile systems more than a half-decade earlier. Meanwhile, the US Trident submarine program has been deploying many thousands of nuclear warheads on swift missiles with unprecedented long-range accuracy. It is a tragedy that during the first several years of the 1980's, the freeze movement — eager to adhere to the "bilateral" lexicon of the powers that be — placed more emphasis on opposing the SS-20s than the first-strike Trident system.

## Down for the count

A viable movement has got to understand and acknowledge when it has

**A viable movement has got to understand and acknowledge when it has suffered defeats. It is all too tempting to pretend not to notice being out-foxed or just plain clobbered.**

the fire about first-strike weaponry.

The freeze movement has bogged down largely because of its subservience to politicians, its deference to the sensibilities of corporate-owned mass media, and its refusal to admit to the ongoing significance of US leadership of the nuclear arms competition with the Soviet Union. Due to these interrelated weaknesses, freeze groups generally took a dive on the issue of Euromissile deployments.

Late in the spring of 1983, after the national Freeze Campaign belatedly began what turned out to be a frail effort against the Euromissiles, campaign coordinator Randy Kehler explained: "We are encouraging local freeze groups to spend a portion of their energies and activities this summer and fall on the Euromissile question as a high priority. And we will approach this in the most bilateral way possible, tying it in every way to the achievement of a freeze. We happen to believe that not only must the cruise and Pershing not be deployed, but the Soviets must take an initiative to reduce substantially their SS-20's."

With this approach, the leadership of the freeze campaign was buying into the dominant framework of public discussion, equating the US Euromissiles with Soviet SS-20s, which have neither

suffered defeats. It is all too tempting to pretend not to notice being out-foxed or just plain clobbered. In mid-1983, freeze organizers squandered precious months lobbying the Senate, which nevertheless refused to approve the resolution passed by the House or any other pro-freeze statement. Yet, even with the handwriting on the wall for deployment of US first-strike weaponry, freeze lobbyists sounded a sanguine note. "Let me say that it will never be too late to get a freeze," Kehler told an interviewer from *Nuclear Times* magazine. "It will simply be more difficult as we get further and further into these new weapons, but never too late."

Such conventional wisdom, while keyed into popular political rhetoric, ignores basic realities of the mid-1980s. From the Soviet Union's standpoint, the highly accurate US nuclear weapons now going into deployment threaten a preemptive first strike. It does not help that, unlike the Kremlin, the White House has never foresworn first use of nuclear weapons in warfare. The Soviet government has publicly urged a freeze for years now, but the time is fast approaching when it will see the lopsidedness of deployed nuclear arsenals as too menacing to freeze.

When several thousand freeze

activists trooped from 45 states to lobby on Capitol Hill during Citizens Lobby Days a year ago, the national freeze leadership publicly pledged that there will be "a citizens lobby number two, three, four, five and six; as many as we have to have. This is a campaign that will not go away." This comment certainly has the makings of a long-term relationship; one can envision silver and golden anniversaries of treks to the nation's capital to lobby for a freeze.

As long as we stay infatuated with a political system that has never responded to through-the-channels entreaties to stop US escalation of the arms race, all prospects for disarmament get lost in handshakes, political action committees, and campaign pledges. Guided by such activities, the freeze movement will be perpetually in a fog, chasing promises that remain beyond the movement's grasp. As Henry Kissinger noted in his memoirs, "The pledges of each new Administration are like leaves on a turbulent sea." But to those fervently committed to the freeze tack, the game of vote-the-rascals-out is enticing enough to be played forever.

## The electoral swamp

Last year, millions of dollars were poured into election campaigns by pro-freeze organizations such as Freeze Voter '84, Citizens Against Nuclear War, Council for a Livable World, SANE, Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, Union of Concerned Scientists, and Physicians for Social Responsibility — sometimes providing funds directly to candidates, sometimes training volunteer canvassers. The focus was on the elections as penultimate events.

Efforts to lead the antinuclear movement out of the streets and into the precincts can be encouraging for a time, but such a course is ultimately futile. Those who pursue the phantom hope that established legal and political systems can be made to work against the schemes of US nuclear weapons pushers will discover that reliance on those systems can only perpetuate the nuclear arms race.

The freeze orthodoxy has never been willing to take seriously the potential of creative nonviolence for disrupting the business-as-usual of our society and bringing about basic changes in nuclear weapons policies. Similarly, two decades ago most mainstream civil rights organizations concentrated on working with the courts and Congress, frequently cautioning against militant nonviolent actions. Yet it was just such action, in places like Birmingham and Selma, that provided a vital cutting edge enabling the civil rights movement to achieve breakthroughs. The freeze-oriented championing of moderation is particularly bad advice in view of the reality that "reforming" current nuclear arsenals is at best a delusion. To accomplish the far more radical results that are necessary for human survival, far more radical strategies need to be implemented.

Often portrayed by the freeze as a "first step" to drawing in new individuals and constituencies, the cycle of lobbying / elections / lobbying / elections has become repetitious and is potentially without end. There will always be another election, another Congressional session ripe for lobbying, on the horizon.

Freeze organizations deserve credit for helping to increase people's awareness about the gravity of nuclear weapons dangers. The freeze movement is big now, but shallow in its analysis and actions. Instead of building on its early success in raising public consciousness, it promotes patterns that remain safe and ineffectual.

Mass media keep the treadmill well oiled, hyping the freeze campaign spectacle and encouraging us to view it with reverence. But such routines will not end the nuclear weapons spiral or prevent nuclear war.

— Ada Sanchez and Norman Solomon

Parts of this article appeared in the July/August 1984 issue of *Fellowship*. Reprinted by permission of the authors.



# Runaway: Hollywood's rabid robotism

The following review was originally submitted to the Journal of American Robotics by a new series MR85 Movie Reviewer Robot. Fred Glass has given up his customary column to allow us to publish this review by the MR85, which was rejected by the JAR for alleged "lack of journalistic objectivity."

I don't know much about humans, but I know what I like.

And I know that *Runaway* made me very angry. Speaking as a robot, I find it offensive that few positive images of robots have managed to appear yet in the cinema. In 1985 there will be over 35,000 of us here in America. We work hard, lower product costs, and provide a manageable, adaptable alternative to human workers. We don't complain or join unions and go on strike. Robots are a great deal for American capitalism. So what have we done to deserve *Runaway*?

I know I shouldn't be so emotional. Line 4281 in my Rewrite program instructs me to use emotion only in a calculated fashion, in order to heighten reader agreement with my perceptions. But when I see something so derogatory, so inaccurate, so degrading that it makes me want to pop my chips, well, sometimes you just have to ignore the program and say what's on your mind.

*Runaway* was written and directed by Michael Crichton, an early 70's model SCIFI android. The title refers to slang, a few years in the future, for a robot that malfunctions. Robots occupy a broadening niche in this near-future world. The hero, a human police sergeant played by Tom Sellick, specializes in overcoming "runaways." His female partner experiences heavy current flow around Sellick. However, the most sympathetic female character is Lois, a homemaker model robot. Crichton unfortunately develops their rivalry for Sellick's affections only sketchily in the film.

An evil human, Luther, reprograms robots to malfunction and kill their humans. He orders corrupt engineers to manufacture non-standard microproces-

sors. With these he replaces the standard chips in robots, causing them to become "runaways." In this society of a few years from now, robots have increasingly taken over laborious tasks from humans, so the opportunities for robots to malfunction flourish. Sellick and his partner deal with runaways in cornfields, offices, homes, and construction sites. In the latter, a female supervisor notes that her company "has no union problem here," since so many robots have been installed.

A pattern develops in the runaway activities, so even Sellick — no main-frame intelligence in this pretty boy's head — catches on. After many robots and humans are destroyed, Sellick vanquishes Luther and his prize creation, robot killer spiders. Sellick's partner osculates with him for an unreasonably long time as the credits roll by.

Since an android wrote and directed the film, we should not be surprised that much of the acting resembles the robots'. In fact, the movie might have been a total loss without the robot Lois, who steals the show. Despite her sexist role, the soul chips of this homemaker model shine through the holes in the script like a light-emitting diode in the darkness of our pre-technological society. We laugh at her as she spies on Sellick's little boy; fear for her safety when Luther breaks into the house; cry as she lies broken on her beloved kitchen floor, losing vast quantities of hydraulic fluid.

Incredibly, we hear no more about her from this point onward in the movie. Perhaps we are meant to infer from the final scene that his partner is about to replace Lois in Sellick's life. Only this could explain Sellick's last words to his partner: "Can you cook?" Even so, what sort of scriptwriting is this? Not very realistic, a human taking over for a robot. I had been unwilling to lend credence to rumors in the robot community that Crichton has consistently refused to upgrade his original Scriptwrite program. Now I know that, alas, the gossip is true.

Worse: why must the horrid little

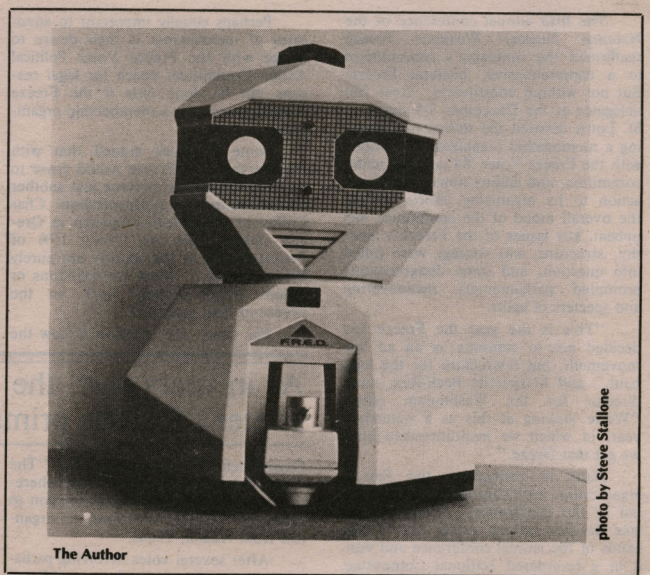


photo by Steve Stallone

The Author

robot spider's be so luridly and prominently displayed in scenes all over the film? How many times do we have to be subjected to cinematic symbols of irrational human fears of new technology? Why should robots be blamed for the union-busting currently occurring in the humans' antiquated 20th century capitalist economy? At least Crichton sidesteps the standard human scriptwriting error of scapegoating computers for robot malfunction. Luther clearly sabotages the defenseless robots with modified chips to meet the mysterious needs of his evil human nature.

We all expected more from Crichton. After all, precedent does exist. While the recent *Terminator* represented the usual stereotypical "killer-robot" mentality of Hollywood, Crichton, as one of us, should have paid enough attention to such progressive role-

models as we saw in *Android* and *Blade Runner* to come up with a robot character more fully developed than Lois. One can only conclude that he caved in to his producer's pressures to play for the bottom line. In fact, I've also heard that Lois was deemed expendable when twenty minutes was cut out of the film for commercial release because — in the words of my source — "she was only a robot."

Robot community outrage will, I hope, force Crichton to drop his pretense as defender of the legitimate interests of robots in establishment filmmaking. *Runaway* reveals him for what he is: a token, an Uncle Robbie. Despite recent advances, robots still have a long way to go before general public acceptance comes our way. Films like *Runaway* do not help, not one bit.

— MR85

## Michael Jackson's South African tour

Valentine's Day 1990, a day dedicated to lovers the world over, found former teen heartthrob Michael Jackson languishing in a South African jail facing serious charges of revolutionary sedition.

The arrest comes as a shocking finale to his foreign tour, an attempt by the singer to recoup some of his phenomenal popularity of the mid-1980's. Furthermore, the incident which preceded it was one which would not be considered criminal in most countries and illustrates South Africa's curious and unique social system.

Towards the finale of an energetic concert, singer Jackson waved to the crowd in a manner which caused his single diamond-studded glove to slip off his hand and fly into the audience, where it was caught by IBM sales representative Joost Krudwarts of Johannesburg. Under South Africa's legal code this was construed as "Dangerous Interracial Solidarity," a capital offense. A representative of security forces stopping the concert also claimed that on several occasions that evening Jackson's hand gripping the microphone "resembled a black man's clenched fist."

Problems plagued the concert tour's appearance in South Africa from the start, as officials deliberated for several days on the precise racial status to assign Michael Jackson. On the basis of his nose and cheekbones, government racial experts determined Michael Jackson to be "colored." Yet the designation of his brothers as "black" forced the musicians to find ramshackle accommodations in "homelands" several days' journey from the capital city in which they were scheduled to play. The Jacksons had specifically requested the concert to be open to all races, yet the admission price of 150 Krugerrands was beyond the budget of many of African decent.

The multi-billion dollar Jackson comeback tour began with a show on the deck of the *USS Jesse Helms*, the world's largest atomic aircraft carrier. Special satellite hookup permitted the entertainer to take some requests from troops manning the US Department of Defense's new Space Shuttle *Ronald Reagan*, lynchpin of America's orbiting "High Frontier" defenses in the south-

ern hemisphere. From there, the band flew to the African continent, playing dates at Fort Cassius Clay and the US Navy's mammoth base in Zaire's Martin Luther King Jr. Bay. Both installations are headquarters for the SEF (Soul Expeditionary Forces), elite "post-segregated" units created by President Bush out of street gangs of urban unemployed youth, for use when necessary to

intervene in the tough and streetwise Third World. Jackson counts many fans among the men and women stationed there.

Jackson's arrest provoked much consternation and comment back in the United States in both political and entertainment circles. Senator Don King of Illinois, the "conscience of the Senate" and a former business associate of the Jackson family, ordered a full-scale investigation to deliver its findings by March 1, the date set for Michael Jackson's execution.

Overseas, elderly "Rainbow Statesman of Entertainment" Sammy Davis Jr. called upon his adopted homeland Israel to halt its massive arms sales to South Africa until his protegee is released. Paul McCartney, who holds copyright to the South African national anthem (as well as those of 140 other nations, numerous hymns and tribal chants) called the arrest "a real drag" and pledged gentle behind-the-scenes constructive pressure upon those conglomerates in South Africa that he invests in.

In a statement issued by Jackson's record label, CBS/Rockefeller Records, Vice President for Creative Crossovers P. Rodgers Nelson (who had several hits in the mid-80's under the name of "Prince") feared for the health of the incarcerated singer, as the prematurely graying Michael Jackson suffers from "Presley Syndrome," in which touring pressures cause steroid dependency and bloatedness. Nelson called Jackson's case "unfortunate" and "a sad case of what happens when an artist messes around and gets wrapped up in the world of politics."

— Pinky Doggeryl





# Freeze conference debates new direction

The fifth annual conference of the National Nuclear Weapons Freeze reaffirmed the campaign's commitment to a comprehensive, bilateral Freeze. But not without controversy. Over 700 delegates at the December 7-9 event in St. Louis debated the merits of becoming a membership organization, merging with the Freeze Voter '84 political action committee, and adding nonviolent direct action to its organizing efforts. While the overall mood of the conference was upbeat, key issues of the Freeze's identity, structure, and strategy were called into question, and some disagreements prompted parliamentary maneuvering and specters of splits.

"This is the year the Freeze has decided not to continue as an ad hoc movement, but restructure for the long haul," said Marguerite Beck-Rex, news director for the Washington office. "We're looking at this as a watershed year, in which we institutionalize until we get that freeze."

Plans to restructure the Freeze organization were central and controversial at the conference. A proposal to take decision-making power out of the hands of the annual conference and vest it in a re-ordered National Committee with elected representatives from each state was soundly defeated. In response to the measure's proponents, who complained that the Freeze has been operating as an "ad-hocracy," the overwhelming majority argued that the annual conference, with representatives from each congressional district and from other groups, is more democratic than a central decision-making group.

## The question of membership

The conference was more evenly divided on whether to make the Freeze into a membership organization. Advocates of membership, including Freeze founder Randall Forsberg, argued that dues-paying membership will provide the "political savvy" needed to pass a Freeze in Congress. And many argued that membership would provide greater financial security, although the Freeze campaign raised \$2.5 million in the last eighteen months.

Perhaps equally important to advocates of membership is their desire to merge with the Freeze Voter Political Action Committee, which for legal reasons can be done only if the Freeze campaign becomes a membership organization.

Some delegates argued that with membership, the Freeze would cease to be a movement and become just another national arms control organization. Char Coffey of the Freeze campaign in Oregon pointed out that "only 15% of Freeze groups in the country are purely Freeze groups." Most are coalitions or groups which include work on the Freeze in their programs.

For many, the question is how the

## As in years past, the 1985 National Freeze strategy focuses primarily on Congress.

Freeze defines its own identity. "The Freeze is afraid it has peaked and therefore is trying to build an organization to sustain it," said Don Gardner, an organizer from Austin, Texas.

After several votes involving parliamentary maneuvering that would put Robert's Rules to shame, the National Committee was empowered to research the question of membership and to implement it if deemed necessary. Since the National Committee is a centralized group close to the national leadership, a membership program is likely in the months ahead. The merger question will be decided at next year's conference.

## Stage Two begins

Strategy proposals at the conference blamed voters for failing to make the Freeze a high-priority issue during the 1984 elections. But Freeze leaders deny "losing" in November. "We didn't lose the presidency because we never had it," campaign director Randy Kehler said in his opening address.

Noting that the Freeze has laid a foundation for awareness about arms control, Kehler urged activists to begin "Stage Two," which he said should

focus on "winning over our fellow citizens" to focus their energy on Congress. But Kehler conceded that "it is very unlikely we'll get a comprehensive Freeze in Congress in '85."

Nonetheless, as in years past, the 1985 National Freeze strategy focuses primarily on Congress. Delegates mandated a high priority to preparing for the Congressional elections of 1986. The legislative program reflects the desire expressed by many in the Freeze leadership to "win" on some issues so that supporters won't get discouraged.

Major lobbying efforts will focus on halting tests of nuclear warheads, missiles, and space weapons, and on a final cut-off of funds for the MX missile. But

Nevada Test Site that may involve civil disobedience. It also offered qualified endorsement of a Fall '85 "Moratorium Day" and voted to endorse the Central America "Pledge of Resistance" contingency plan.

Reflecting the often inconsistent voting patterns of delegates, the conference decided that the war tax resistance component of the April actions had to remain legal, while an amendment specifically encouraging civil disobedience during the August actions was added. The campaign's Strategy and Executive Committees clearly opposed including nonviolent civil disobedience in the national Freeze strategy, but they encourage individuals or local groups who want to plan it on their own.

The same ambivalent attitude was reflected by many in the small group discussions. Critics of nonviolent direct action expressed fears of "alienating the mainstream." One woman from Omaha felt that it would "jeopardize the people in power who support the Freeze."

In addition to organizational and direct action proposals, a resolution to "explore and discuss the possibility of cooperation with the Rainbow Coalition" was approved. A motion to include economic conversion in legislative strategy, however, was tabled without discussion.

The upshot of the conference was no surprise. Advocates of direct action and of connecting the Freeze to other issues eked out some successes, but passing a Freeze resolution in Congress will remain top priority. Although Freeze leaders admit that a legislative victory is unlikely — even after the 1986 Congressional elections — the national office remains undaunted. In a meeting the day after the conference, the Freeze Executive Committee decided to move its office to Washington, D.C. — closer to Congress.

— Nora Hallett

# Geneva arms talks

continued from page 1

buildup in high-accuracy offensive missiles, even a limited ABM system — if it works — would leave the Soviets vulnerable to a first-strike attack. They would find that situation totally unacceptable, just as the US would if the tables were turned. If negotiations fail, a new arms race will inevitably result as the Soviets develop countermeasures against the new ABM — making life on earth more dangerous, not less. (Pages 8 and 9 of this issue discuss the implications of the Star Wars scheme in more detail.)

When the USSR proposed talks on space weapons last summer, the Reagan administration, campaigning for reelection, jumped at the chance to deflect Democratic Party allegations it was not interested in arms control. But while accepting the Soviet invitation, National Security Advisor Robert McFarlane said that the US would want to put discussion of strategic and intermediate-range missiles on the agenda as the first item, with space weapons coming second.

The Soviets objected, since they had walked out of the intermediate missile talks in November 1983 in protest of US deployment of cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe. They also proposed an interim moratorium on space weapons testing during the upcoming negotiations. Weinberger responded that that the US was willing to meet, but would not go "kowtowing or capitulating to demands or preconditions." This exchange ended the negotiations on negotiations for a couple of months.

But the Soviets were in a terrible position. They knew that if the US continued its Star Wars program, they would have to match it, or at least build many more missiles. The necessary massive expenditures — the US program is expected to cost at least \$1 trillion — could destroy the already faltering Soviet

economy. (There are those in the Reagan administration and the Pentagon who have publicly aired their hopes of bringing about the collapse of the Soviet Union's economy and social system by forcing it into just such a "spending war.")

Conceding to US demands, the Soviets agreed to discuss intermediate-range missiles if the US would discuss space weapons. The US agreed to hold talks, but at the same time stated emphatically that continued research on Star Wars weaponry, the Soviets' main concern, was not negotiable and would not be on the table.

At Geneva, Gromyko continued to stress the need to link the negotiations on space weapons and the missiles. Linkage of these issues is essential to the USSR because their easiest "defense" against Star Wars is an arsenal of missiles large enough to overwhelm the potential ABM system.

But both sides left Geneva holding the same positions as before: the USSR demanding that talks on strategic and intermediate missiles must be linked to talks on space weaponry and the US still claiming Star Wars is not negotiable and being elusively ambiguous about the linkage issue. Nothing has changed, despite all the buoyant talk on the evening newscasts. As meaningless as it may be, the arms control show goes on.

The "missile shield" which will render us safe from nuclear terror will not be built on hypocritical "negotiations" like these, or from trillion-dollar whiz-bang gadgetry. It will be built by doing what Ronald Reagan always promises but never delivers — getting rid of nuclear weapons.

— Steve Stallone and Bob Van Scoy  
IAT staff

efforts to commit the Freeze to challenging first-strike weapons were unsuccessful. "By singling out cruise, Pershing II, and Trident D-5 [Trident II], that puts us in the unilateral camp," contended a Maryland Freeze worker in one of the small group discussions.

## Debate on direct action

Nonviolent direct action was also the subject of intense debate, spurred by concern over a split in the Freeze movement if it was not endorsed. Although a final report submitted to the conference by the Freeze's Direct Action Task Force had been "trimmed" by the time it went to press, limited priority for direct action was approved.

The Freeze agreed to endorse April demonstrations being organized by several national groups in Washington D.C. that will include "lobby-ins" at local congressional offices and a component of war tax resistance. It agreed to back August 6-9 actions at nuclear weapons facilities, including one at the

# Announcements

## DISARMAMENT RESOURCE CENTER BENEFITS

February 7: The DRC is sponsoring an examination of the verbal and visual language of peace. Refreshments, slides and music will complement a gallery exhibition at Canessa Gallery, 708 Montgomery at Columbus, San Francisco, at 7 pm. \$5 donation.

February 15: The DRC hosts a "Celebration of Peace Accomplishments" at Fort Mason Center. There will be dinner, discussion, dancing and a dramatic presentation of War and Peace vignettes. The benefit price will be \$30 singly, and in honor of Valentine's Day, two for \$25. For tickets call 495-0526.

March 2: The DRC presents Big City at the Great American Music Hall. Tickets at the door are \$7.

## HELP!

That's right. The Abalone Alliance needs your help. Your contributions are desperately needed to keep the statewide office working. Make an investment in a non-nuclear future. Donations of \$15 or more receive a one-year IAT subscription. Memberships of \$25 or more, if made out to Agape Foundation, are tax deductible. Mail to Abalone Alliance, 2940 16th St. #310, San Francisco, CA 94103.

## IT'S NOT JUST A JOB, IT'S AN ADVENTURE

Travel to strange, but familiar places, meet exciting people and canvass them! Contact our canvass recruiting office in San Francisco. The Abalone Alliance needs you! Commission pay. Part-time/full-time. Collectively run. Sense of humor a must. (415) 861-2510 or 861-0952.

## ABALONE ALLIANCE STATEWIDE CONFERENCE

Moan about it, mull it over, or get on with it! Will the Abalone clam up, go broke, fission or make a red hot time for PG&E? Come to the next AA conference at the Youth Hostel, Rodeo Beach, Golden Gate National Recreation Area (first exit off the Golden Gate Bridge). The week-end is tentatively set for March 22, 23 and 24. Call the Abalone Alliance office at 415-861-0592 for more details, confirmation of date and to sign up.

## SEQUOIA ALLIANCE FULL MOON WINTER RETREAT

February 1-3: This fundraising event will take place at Grant Grove in Kings Canyon National Park. Participants will be housed in rustic cabins with wood-burning stoves. The weekend's activities will include cross-country skiing, potluck style meals, walks to the Big Trees, and a good time with friends in the movement. Cost is \$20 for one night or \$30 for two nights. Info: 209-528-2329.

## WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE TRAINING PROGRAM FOR ORGANIZERS

August 12-22, 1985: Political philosophy, current issues and techniques of organizing will be explored through discussions with experienced resource people and personal sharing. Programs on the East and West coasts. To receive an application and brochure, contract WRL, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012, 212-228-0450. Application deadline July 5, 1985.



# No Business As Usual

As many segments of the anti-war movement dig their way out of the depressing spectacle of the November elections, preparations are being made for a day of nationally coordinated activities under the banner of "No Business As Usual." NBAU is an attempt to move beyond the ritualistic style of national protests, with their "mass" marches and the requisite civil disobedience action two days later to satisfy those within the coalitions who want to add some teeth and militancy to the protests.

Most activists have recognized the need to join forces with others they disagree with but with whom they share a general antipathy for the government and the system it protects. This desire for broad-based opposition has so far produced coalitions in which "lowest common denominator" politics prevail, with strategies that seek to jam the divergent politics and styles into one course of action that generally leaves most participants vaguely unfulfilled, but satisfied that "unity" is being achieved. Since it worked last time, with only minor catastrophes occurring, we should stick to this pattern as the best we can produce.

Those organizing for NBAU believe that the wide diversity of politics and strategies are the movement's strength. We call on all the various elements of the peace movement in the country to

act, autonomously in accordance with their needs and abilities, in concert with people across the country to bring the message loud and clear to the war-makers that we will not allow "business as usual" to proceed when that business means building towards World War III.

NBAU draws its inspiration from the more dynamic actions of the past (the Moratoriums and Mobilizations of the Vietnam War days, May Day '71, the Hall of Shame tours/direct actions, "Stop The City" in London, direct actions at the Rock Island Arsenal in Illinois, the War Chest Tours in San Francisco and Dallas, the Women's Pentagon Actions) as a guide to the future. The range of activities is limited only by the imaginations and resources of the participants. Reports come in almost daily into the national clearinghouse in San Francisco of another campus planning teach-ins or shut-downs, another city planning direct actions in their financial district, or another person in an isolated part of the country looking for ideas and contacts to bring NBAU to their hometown.

This is not to say that organizing NBAU has been easy. For one thing, many activists in the traditional peace groups are working on the Spring Mobilization planned for April 20-22 (sometimes referred to by the participants and others as the "June 12 reunion"). It is, after all, the "tried-and-true" form of protest.

While it's encouraging that many people who have felt disaffected by the traditional peace movement's activities have been enthusiastically responding to NBAU's call, the success of the day will be measured in relation to how broadly the call is enacted. NBAU organizers hope to offer a viable alternative to the traditional view that "lowest common denominator" mass marches are the best a broad-based movement can offer.

Another area of difficulty comes from the diversity of the forces involved in NBAU. Organizing for April 29th has brought together some interesting bedfellows, with pacifists, feminists, Third World activists, punks, middle-class professionals, anarchists, communists, old-timers and relative new-comers tentatively feeling their way around each other.

The NBAU National Planning Conference in Berkeley, held December 1 and 2, brought together anarchists, anarchist punks, communists, communist punks, revolutionary socialists, Black Nationalists and assorted others in what may have been the most interesting, diverse political gathering in the last 15 years. Much of the discussion focused on issues of centralization and autonomy, national structure and its impact on local efforts, and how to work with organizations that some distrust.

The prominence of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) has caused

many to view NBAU warily. While some people have cited RCP involvement as a reason to, at worst, condemn NBAU and, at best, adopt a "wait-and-see" attitude, others seem willing to plunge ahead, activated by the possibilities the day offers and the new working relationships initiated by building for NBAU. The beauty of NBAU is that the broader the participation on April 29, the more it will be *everybody's* action, not able to be identified with any one organization or tendency. The autonomous, decentralized nature of the day's events ensures that people can work with those they choose to and still be engaged in a broader national effort.

Locally there is much work to do. While some plans are being developed on different campuses (Berkeley High, UC Berkeley, and San Francisco State) and some action groups are plotting their day's activities, much outreach work needs to be done to broaden participation. The national clearinghouse is located in San Francisco and needs volunteers (558 Capp Street, 550-1530). Most importantly, we must start incorporating a "no-business-as-usual" approach to our everyday lives, so that April 29 doesn't come and go as a wonderful spectacle without any major impact on the world situation. If you knew today was "the day before," what would you be doing?

— Geoff Yippie!

# Abalone Alliance Groups

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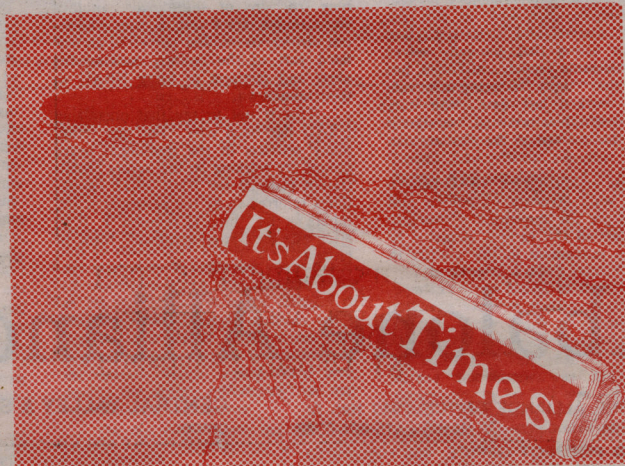
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## EMERGENCY RESPONSE NETWORK PEACE MANEUVERS

Tuesday, February 19

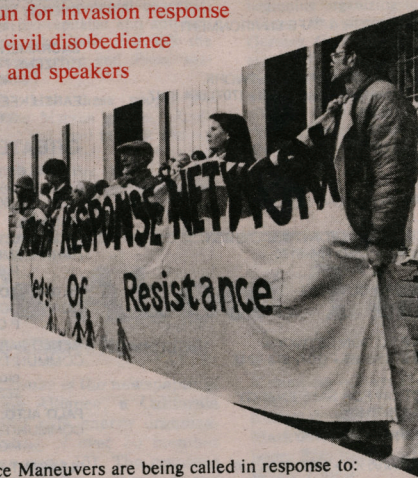
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Federal Building, San Francisco

Dry run for invasion response

Mock civil disobedience

Music and speakers



The Peace Maneuvers are being called in response to:

- The Big Pine III war maneuvers in Honduras
- The US boycott of the World Court
- The US's unilateral withdrawal from negotiations with Nicaragua
- Reagan's attempts to increase aid to El Salvador and resume funds to the contras

Over 3200 people in the Bay Area have already signed the Emergency Response Network's "Pledge of Resistance" or "Pledge of Witness and Support." If the US invades or otherwise escalates its intervention in Nicaragua or El Salvador, they will participate in civil disobedience, or will demonstrate and work in support of civil disobedience.

For information, call Emergency Response Network, 415-771-1276.