

it's about times

September, 1979

abalone
alliance
newsletter



photo by Karen Spangenberg

Your friendly local spies: Richard Lee, San Luis Obispo County Reserve Deputy Sheriff (L.) and C.D. Smith of Santa Barbara County Sheriffs Department (R.), playing the role of occupiers at the 1977 occupation of Diablo Canyon. Pam Metcalf (C.) was unaware the two members of her affinity group were informants.

'77 Charges Dropped

(The Spies Who Stayed Too Long)

Charges have been dropped against 40 Abalone Alliance members who participated in the 1977 occupation of the Diablo Canyon Nuclear Power Plant. Civil rights violations were cited as the reason for dismissal. Two undercover sheriff deputies were part of the occupation. Later, one of them participated in legal strategy planning, a fundamental violation of the 6th Amendment's guarantees of due process of law.

Abalone Alliance attorney Richard Fishman commented that in reviewing the law books he had found no worse violation of the 6th Amendment. It took two years for the issue to finally be resolved.

California Supreme Court Justice Rose Bird wrote in the majority opinion, "The intrusions, through trickery, of the law-enforcement agent in the confidential attorney-client conferences cannot be condoned...The only effective remedy is the dismissal of underlying charges."

Sheriff deputy James Lee had been working with People Generating Energy in San Luis Obispo for only a few weeks prior to the occupation. His identity as an informant was revealed two months after the occupation by the San Luis Obispo *Telegram Tribune*.

Judge Conklin and the District Attorney's office had known about Lee's identity during the arraignments of the 47 arrestees, but chose not to reveal their knowledge, or separate Lee from the rest of the defendants. Sheriffs deputies and the District Attorney's office deny that any purposeful wrong-doing took place. District Attorney Money now claims that he didn't know that Lee sat in on lawyer-client discussions.

(continued to page nine)

Rancho Seco Jury Deadlocks

The ten woman and two man jury in the trial of the Rancho Seco 13 ended their three day deliberation on August 14, acquitting one defendant and declaring itself unable to reach a decision on nine others. One defendant, who was unable to attend the trial, was convicted. Deputy District Attorney Pat Marlette announced the following morning his intention to retry the nine defendants for whom a mistrial had been declared.

The charges for trespassing and resisting arrest stem from a civil disobedience action on March 31, 1979 in which thirteen people climbed a locked gate and sat down on the other side demanding that Rancho Seco be shut down. At the time, Three Mile Island, a twin plant also designed by Babcock and Wilcox, was experiencing a partial meltdown near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

Jurors based their decisions on the defendants' claim that civil disobedience was a "necessity" because of the life threatening dangers posed by the continuing operation of Rancho Seco. To acquit Mike Gillogly of Sacramento, *all jurors agreed that Rancho Seco posed a danger that "was substantial and in the immediate future"* and that "a reasonable person under similar circumstances would have reasonably believed that the actions were necessary to protect life or property." The jury did not believe that the other defendants had exhausted all other means to express their opposition, and thus their violation of the law was not "reasonable." The one defendant found guilty had not testified in his own behalf as he is presently employed on the East Coast.

During the beginning of the seven week trial, prosecution testimony centered on the details of the arrest and conflicting testimony was heard about the number of warnings to disperse that were given.

For the first time in a California trial of anti-nuclear protesters, the "defense of necessity" was allowed by Judge Donald Balding. Testimony on the dangers of nuclear power was heard. In arguing for "necessity" defense attorney Alan Ramo of Oakland made the analogy of rescuing a crying child from a burning house. If the rescuer was charged with trespassing, surely testimony about the fire would be appropriate to the trial.

Dr. Homer Ibsen and Dr. John Gofman were called as expert witnesses for the defendants. Gofman spoke of industry and government disregard for the dangers to health posed by the nuclear fuel cycle, emphasized that there is *no* safe level of radiation exposure and said that the license to operate nuclear power plants is the license to commit "random premeditated murder." Ibsen detailed Rancho Seco's record of malfunctions and shutdowns. Ten defendants described the genocide perpetrated on Native Americans by uranium mining on their land, the part nuclear plants play in providing plutonium for atomic weapons, and the large corporations that profit from nukes. Past accidents and spent fuel storage at Rancho Seco, personal accounts of fights with disease and about relatives dying of cancer, and practical alternatives to nuclear power were also presented.

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Humboldt to Reopen?

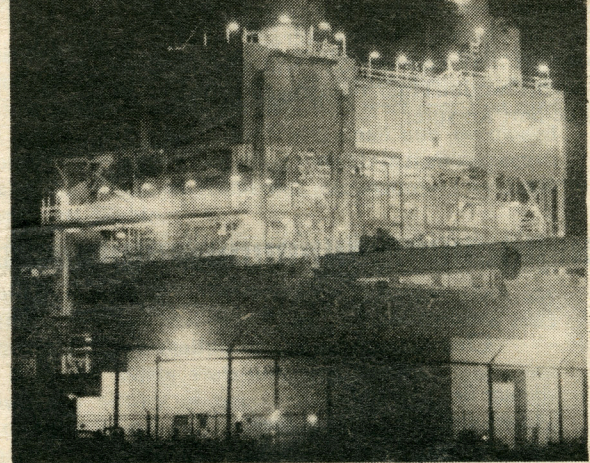


photo by John Armstrong/Friends of the Earth

The Pacific Gas and Electric Company will do everything it can to put the Humboldt Bay nuclear power plant back into operation, claims Ellis B. Langley, PG&E's vice president for operations. The 63 mw reactor, located near Eureka, has long been known as one of the dirtiest reactors in the country.

The NRC had ordered Humboldt shut down in 1977 because of the existence of several earthquake faults. Since then, PG&E has been conducting massive public relations efforts in the county to get support for the plant's reopening. Langley rationalizes that the plant has been "drastically rebuilt" to accommodate all possible safety requirements. For more information on anti-Humboldt activities, see story on page 3.

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LETTERS



— Susan Dembrowski

JAIL IS VIOLENCE

I was glad to see the article by Fawn Usha in August's *It's About Times*, even though it made me terribly sad for two reasons. First, the two Abalones involved must have had a terrifying experience and second, because it illustrates the incredible naivete the Abalone—and other anti-nuke Alliances—have shown towards jail.

As a guard told Fawn, this is not a game. This is a fight for survival and at any point we may lose. The action manual that came out before last year's civil disobedience referred to jail as "a meet-great-people-kind-of-place". Any Alliance or person that would say that is naive. Any person that would believe that is a fool. Any Alliance that does not include jail preparation roleplays and information in nonviolence training is negligent. Any person who goes into civil disobedience without a clear knowledge of jail and that reality is a fool. Doing civil disobedience means probably going to jail. Only a fool would expect to avoid going to jail. The system doesn't work that way.

In his article Fawn (I do not mean to pick on Fawn, I'm just illustrating my point) says that the "Abalone should follow this up with an effort to collect other reports of jail violence and to assess if any serious problems exist." This is ridiculous. Jail is violence. Locking people in cages is violence. Of course a serious problem exists! Active heterosexual males are put in a situation where they will not touch a female for months or years. It is not enough for them to say that they want to "fuck the shit out of" television's Mrs. Brady, as one guy I was in with often said, they want more. The easiest place for them to get what they want is from some dumb, small kid who doesn't know a damn thing about jail and sexual harassment. If that 'kid' is feminine or "faggoty" in any way, it just increases the likelihood of being attacked. This is reality.

The people in jail are treated like caged animals. It is not surprising then that they sometimes act like ones.

If you go to jail and are afraid of possible violence from your fellow inmates you can ask for protective custody. The cops call it P.C. The prisoners call it Punk City. And that's what it is, but it is better than being ripped apart at the seams by three or four sex starved men. I do not believe that sexual harassment is widespread in SLOCO jail but it does happen. So be prepared. (Women are in a much less dangerous position because there are generally very few women prisoners).

This is jail, and it is not pleasant. In this struggle, though, it is a necessity for some of us.

If I have offended anyone I am sorry. I am not sorry for what I have said. I'm sorry the way things are. It is up to us to change them. No one ever said this struggle would be easy, and I hope no one will ever again say that some of us won't get hurt, because some will. One thing is for sure though, if we don't fight this struggle and go to jail, we will all be hurt for sure.

—Steven Belling
Santa Cruz

RALLY REACTIONS

People,

Terrific rally you got together. After such a long time of feeling like lone crusaders, we were indeed gratified to see so many others sharing our feelings and even advocating stronger stands...

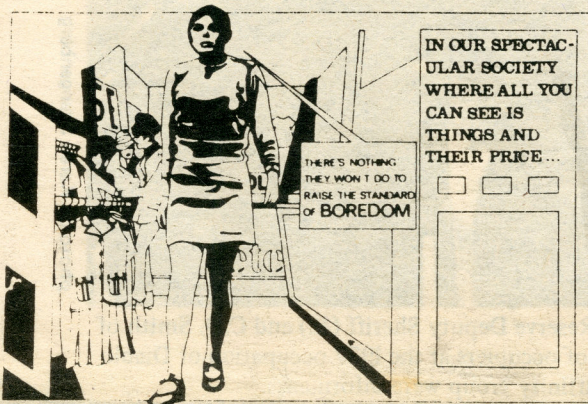
One speaker referred to the concern of the anti-nuke forces about the absence of Black people, Chicanos, and other third-world people. Well I *am* Black and I too am concerned that little if any effort is being made to enlist Blacks and other minorities in the fight against nuclear.

It is my feeling that in many ways Blacks are subject to the dangers from nuclear to an even greater extent than probably imagined. From that vantage point I view the tendency towards an all-white movement as a grave mistake. I think Black people more than any other group are the seasoned veterans of effective non-violent protests and are ever ready to mobilize in support of a just cause. We've done just that for more than 200 years—only to be disregarded by the majority population after achieving or *helping to achieve a specific goal*. The twin evils of racism and nuclear cannot be disassociated. Both are simply means to the same end, and both are symptomatic of an even greater evil: GREED! We all suffer the same oppressor.

At the rally/protest/demonstration we ran into something ugly. One of the people handing out bumper stickers refused to give us one. (They were free.) The stickers read STOP NUCLEAR POWER. We repeatedly attempted to get one but were ignored—while they were enthusiastically given to whites all around us. I contemplated taking one, but felt it would only compound her action, and we didn't drive 250 miles for that. Somewhat ironically the stickers were in black and white.

Otherwise I'm with you because I believe in you and ultimately—we *are* you. ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE! STOP DIABLO CANYON!

—Sylvanus DeVoe
San Mateo



CUT THE SLANG

Dear fellow activists,

It has been brought to my attention that our beloved sign, No Nukes, may not be the best to further our cause. First of all, many people are not aware that "nuke" is our slang for a nuclear power plant, hence it is meaningless to the very people it is most important to reach. Secondly, this slang term somehow embodies a lot of disrespect, which is a part of our contempt for the system. But since at this time we are attempting to change the system from within, we need to show some respect for our opposition if we are to win the respect and support of other Americans. Although it is terribly cumbersome, I wonder if we can cut the slang, and state our position more clearly: Stop Nuclear Power!

Somewhat along the same line, we need to be conscious of the image we project. We need to aim our image so that it will be acceptable and respected by the largest section of society possible. (We need them.) I deplore the raggedy sneakers and patched cutoffs some people wear to our media-attracting activities. This kind of appearance turns off a lot of people who might otherwise be receptive. Our tactics, such as C.D. are questioned by many, so when we do them, we must strive to show that we are thoughtful and concerned individuals.

—Kathy Ryan-Harris



photo by Jessica Collett

ARE WE DOWN ON BROWN?

I believe that the Abalone Alliance's Policy on Jerry Brown is going to have a major impact on the outcome of his campaign for President because of the national media attention focused on the Alliance statements about Brown. Already other groups like Clamshell Alliance in first primary state New Hampshire are taking their lead from Abalone critics of Brown by denying their support to Brown in his campaign. Hey, Brothers and Sisters, what are we doing? The Abalone Alliance appears to be conducting a "Defeat Brown" campaign.

In response to articles criticizing Brown in the August edition of *It's About Times*, I hope that all Abalones will consider another political perspective. The Abalone Alliance exists in a state of 20 million people that often leads our nation of 200 million by introducing new trends.

Our governor is the *only* major candidate for the Presidency in 1980 who is campaigning on an anti-nuclear platform. Carter, Kennedy and the Republicans favor more nukes. By the way, Brown did not suddenly jump on the bandwagon on June 30th to woo the Abalones to vote for him. The governor of the nation's largest state campaigned for reelection in 1978 on an anti-nuclear platform. He opposed Sundesert, appointed an anti-nuclear Energy Commission, and repeatedly requested the NRC to shutdown Rancho Seco, an operating reactor, in 1979. On May 6th, Brown spoke from the Capitol steps in Washington, D.C. to a crowd of 125,000 opposing nuclear power on National TV, in a direct challenge to Carter's pro-nuclear administration. Brown is against licensing Diablo Canyon.

No matter what the Abalone Alliance does, Brown is campaigning for the Presidency on an anti-nuclear platform. And he is the first presidential candidate in history to do that. Now, elections are often decided by the media. This was clear in the defeat of the Anti-nuclear Initiative in 1976, when the media convinced the majority of California voters to be pro-nuclear. Now the national network media is focusing its attention on Jerry Brown, Governor of California, and possibly the future President of the nation.

What does the media focus its attention on? They continually repeat with emphasis that the Abalone Alliance, representing the anti-nuclear grassroots of California, is critical and skeptical of Brown and does not support him in his campaign for President. The media says that Brown is trying to join the anti-nuclear movement but is being rejected by the movement in his own state. Brown says that once the anti-nuclear activists get to know him better, they will change their minds and support his campaign. I hope this is true because we are at a crucial turning point in history on nuclear power, and no matter what else individual Abalones may come up with to criticize Brown (on economics and Prop. 13 and government employee pay increases, etc.) he is never going to be able to please everyone in this state or nation, and the urgent survival issues of the anti-nuclear movement make it important to elect an anti-nuclear President in 1980. And Brown is the only anti-nuclear person in this country who has the slightest chance to win that position in the national elections. If the Abalone Alliance continues to publicly denounce and condemn Brown, we will defeat his chances to win the election.

You know it was not an easy position for Brown to adopt, in terms of political realities, to oppose nuclear power. If he was a "sleazy opportunist", as one Abalone Media person tries to picture him, he would have never opposed nukes because that is not the popular position that gets politicians elected in this state or country. After all, Prop. 15 was defeated, and Congress has consistently been pro-nuclear. So Brown is taking a major step to the left by gambling his political career on the anti-nuclear platform. No one else has done that. And I seriously believe it's a mistake to label him a "sleazy opportunist". He does not need our votes, really. We are a minority. The majority may not agree with us or him. Brown needs our support, not our condemnations. If the Abalone Alliance could adopt a policy of supporting Brown's campaign for President as long as he remains anti-nuclear, then other anti-nuclear alliances across the nation will also support him, and in 1980 we may get an anti-nuclear President.

—Glenn Barlow

Clear Beginnings

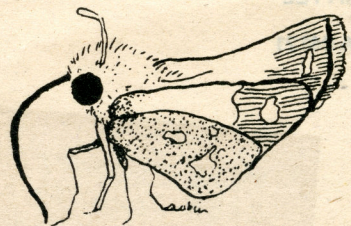
Where lies the core?
Adam and Eve tossed it back
into the soil of their beginnings
then found it
in the light behind their touch
the knowledge receding
to stay hidden in the earth

Where lies the core?
you can't see it or touch it
people smash it and recombine it
but if you gaze lightly—
you can see it
shimmer and change

building, living, growing
in the core
of the core
of the earth
in the sky, in the stars
the air moving with activity we cannot see

in it's infiniteness it doesn't mind being
studied, probed, fussed and fussed
the nuclear core runs us all
runs the hand that gambles with the life
that slips through definitions
evading exploitation
for the core of life will always find
a smaller particle to hide
itself in
and it will hide and survive
that's not what bothers me
it's not just the waste disposal
of battered ideas, smashed hope and curiosity
it's not only the proximity
to the faults of the world
but the willingness to infuse the core,
the core of our lives
into sacrifice
for power, for money, for death
but search lightly
it is hiding in the earth
in all our gardens

—Lea Steinberg



SYNFUELS: Same Old Gas?

Toward a Ruined Economy

President Carter and Congress are about to embark on a crash program for developing synthetic fuels. These fuels require massive capital investment and will produce very expensive, low quality energy. Corporations will control the source, and make enormous sums of money. Citizens will subsidize the development of these fuels through taxes and will pay high prices as consumers for the finished product.

Carter envisions synthetic fuels as the solution for getting away from the "grip of OPEC." However, even the Harvard Business School recognizes that synthetic fuels are impractical. Their recently completed 6 year study entitled *Energy Futures* concludes that conservation is the best short term investment, and solar is the best long term investment. Synthetic fuels will not meet our energy needs.

What Synthetic Fuels Are

The term synthetic fuels refers to gaseous or liquid fuels usually derived from coal or oil shale. The oil derived from these sources is of a low grade. It does not create a lot of energy when burned nor can it be refined for gasoline. The only practical value is use as a boiler fuel. Utilities will purchase the fuel to generate electricity and pass the cost on to the rate payer.

Recovery of crude oil from shale is complex and requires several operations:

- 1) mining and crushing of oil shale
- 2) heating the shale to a 500°C (a process called retorting)
- 3) disposing of spent shale (about 85% of the original mass and 120% of the original volume)
- 4) converting the crude oil into an acceptable fuel.

Only Western shale can be converted to oil. And the West will suffer from the mining operations.

Coal, unlike shale, can be processed into either liquid or gas. Obtaining liquid fuel from coal requires heating hydrogen and coal together to chemically produce liquid hydrocarbons.

A low quality gas can be derived by mixing coal with oxygen and steam under high pressure. Methane is one of the products, but it must first be cleaned, purified, and its methane content improved before it will be a useable fuel.

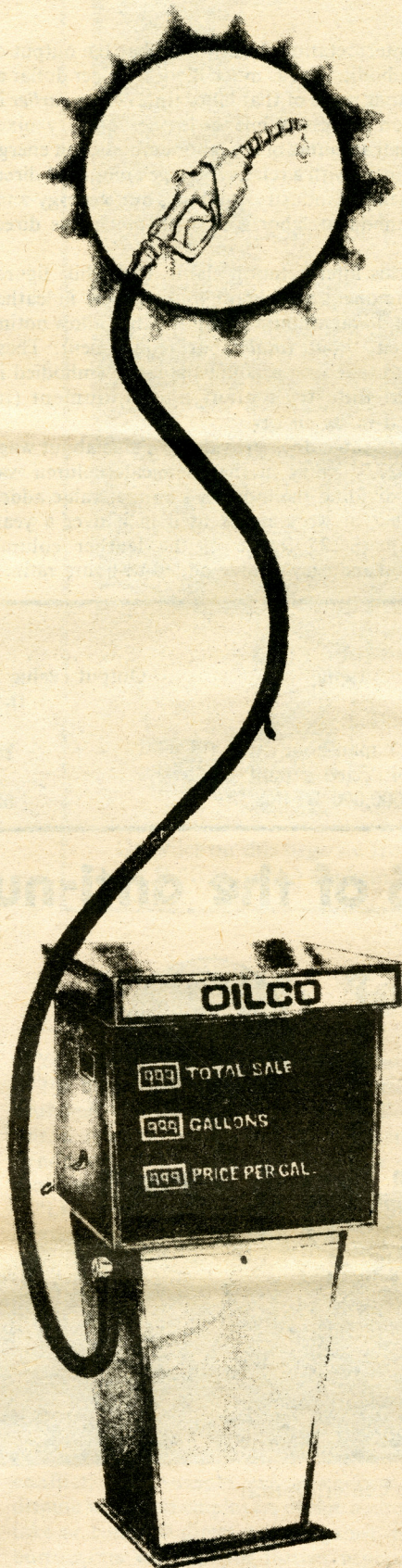
The synthetic fuel program is based on unproven technologies that will take 5-10 years to develop. Carter envisions producing 2½ million barrels of fuel per day by 1990. Existing experimental plants produce only 100-1000 barrels per day. There are no guarantees they can be expanded to meet Carter's projections. To reach 2½ million barrels per day production would require beginning the construction of 50 plants and associated mining facilities within 5 years. Just obtaining the capital to do so would be a major problem.

Environmental Costs

- 270 million tons of coal a year would be processed, increasing coal mining production 33%.
- 4-13 barrels of water are consumed to yield a barrel of coal liquids and 2-5 barrels of water are consumed to yield a barrel of oil from shale.
- Mining would take place on Native American and National Forest lands previously undamaged. The process of mining increases the volume of unusable shale, making it impossible to return it to the mine from which it was dug. 200 million tons of waste would be created a year.

- Spent shale left to sit would create several problems for agriculture. Shale contains large concentrations of alkaline salts and traces of several toxic elements such as arsenic, fluoride, and boron. Rainfall, snowfall, or

groundwater may leach these salts and toxic elements from the shale into the water supply. The toxic water ends up as drinking water or irrigation water.



Ellen Wipperfurth/The Progressive

- The Department of Energy admits there have been problems from existing oil shale projects. Their *Environmental Readiness Document* stated "the introduction of toxic or carcinogenic materials into drinking water aquifers is itself sufficient to preclude large-scale developments."

- Oil shale production would ultimately be limited to 2 million barrels per day if the most water efficient method were used in conversion. Otherwise water would have to be diverted from agricultural use.

Be A Good Capitalist

Meanwhile Carter plans on spending \$88 billion developing synthetic fuels. Professor Robert Stobough, project director of *Energy Futures* testifying before the Senate, suggested \$50 billion be spent on conservation, and questioned if even \$10 billion should be spent on the development of synthetic fuels.

"Conservation is probably the cheapest, easiest, most accessible and largest alternative to imported oil in the decade of the 1980's. Conservation would not mean deprivation, but efficiency."

Co-editor of the report Daniel Yergin added, "As I see it, the real threat to our standard of living is not conservation—but not to conserve. For not to conserve means low economic growth, supply disruptions, higher prices, increased political vulnerability and domestic instability."

Five million barrels of oil a day could be saved through conservation, twice the synthetic fuels goal. More jobs would be created, and money would be put back into the economy instead of taken away.

President Carter does not want to create energy independence. He has admitted that the utilities, employing conservation techniques now available, could save 2.5 million barrels of oil a day. Yet he has inexplicably set a goal of only .5 million barrels a day. The soft path is being avoided. Carter's plan will create a further dependence on the utilities and the controllers of energy sources.

—Mark Evanoff

Prototype for Tragedy

THE HUMBOLDT-HIROSHIMA CONNECTION

On August 6, 1977, twenty-five members and friends of the Redwood Alliance gathered on a fog-shrouded breakwater in the shadow of the Humboldt Bay Nuclear Power Plant to commemorate those who had died 34 years before. There was poetry, songs and speakers. We released 100 helium filled balloons, with attached messages, which floated over the plant and were pushed by the sea breeze into surrounding forests and communities. Two weeks later seven balloons would be found scattered in a 20 mile radius. As the fog cleared we marched quietly and solemnly to the gates of the plant.

Holding hands, we passed the barbed wire fences, "no trespassing" signs and the ever-watchful security guards. Up the driveway. More fences, more signs. At the gate a video camera and bull horn stood sentry. We paused to lay a redwood and wildflower wreath on the fence and to tie a Native American bone-and-flicker-feather image to the gate. A moment of silence. Then, as one of us spoke, the bull horn, operated from the "safety" of the plant informed us that we were blocking the movement of supplies and that we must go back to the place designated for the demonstration. We finished our ceremony and departed the eerie place.

We chose the Humboldt nuke as the site of our memorial, first to bring the plant again into the public eye and second to dramatize the connection between Hiroshima and Humboldt Bay. Both were near-first uses of a new technology. Both are small and outmoded compared to more recent developments in their respective fields; 63 megawatt Humboldt overshadowed by 2,000 megawatt Diablo.

Opened in 1963, Humboldt Bay Nuclear Power Plant soon earned the reputation of being the dirtiest plant in the country, leaking more radioactive waste than any other. The plant was shut down 35 times between 1963 and 1971 due to malfunctions.

Not only safety violations but political oppression mark the history of our local nuke. In 1970 Robert Rowen, a PG&E employee made formal complaints to the Atomic Energy Commission concerning violations at the plant. Rowen was fired and blacklisted in the industry. A police report, at the urging of PG&E branded him a radical and a danger to the community. Investigation confirmed many of Rowen's allegations and he was later commended by the County Grand Jury.

The Humboldt Plant was shut down for refueling in July 1976 and ordered not to reopen until questions could be answered concerning the seismic risk at the plant. PG&E has spent tens of millions of dollars to fight the closure of the plant. The AEC in 1973 and NRC in 1977 recommended that the plant not resume operation.

For now and for at least a year the plant is closed. It's old and dirty and un-needed. We of the Redwood Alliance will do all we can to prevent its opening and ensure its decommissioning. It's probably the best chance anyone, anywhere has of shutting down a nuke for good.

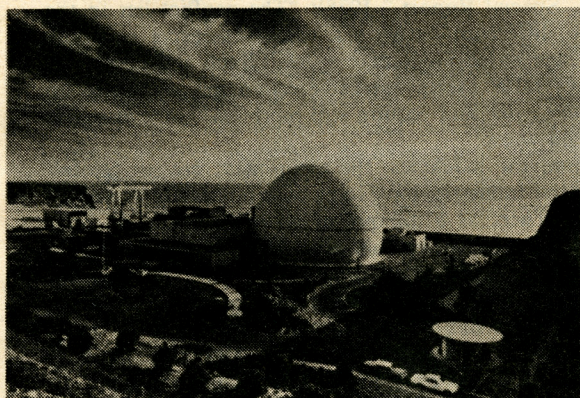
—Roger Dilts
Redwood Alliance
Media Collective

COALITION TO HALT SAN ONOFRE

This summer, the Abalone Alliance's San Diego group, CEAN, has begun The Coalition to Stop San Onofre. The Coalition has been joined by Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace, the Alliance for Survival, CAL PIRG, and other groups. The Coalition has adopted the following goals: (1) to shutdown San Onofre Unit 1, (2) to stop construction and prevent licensing of Units 2 and 3, (3) to help raise up to \$300,000 for the San Onofre Legal Defense Fund, (4) to educate the public about San Onofre, (5) to generate statewide support against San Onofre, (6) to develop a network of resource people to help stop San Onofre, (7) to participate in state and federal (NRC) hearings on the licensing and environmental impacts of San Onofre, and (8) to mobilize citizen actions against San Onofre, including initiatives, rallies, demonstrations, and lobbying public officials and agencies.

The Coalition is tentatively planning two rallies against San Onofre, one in October or November, and the other in the Spring of 1980. These rallies will focus public attention on the NRC hearings on San Onofre which are now scheduled for December, 1979 for the Environmental Impact hearings, and May, 1980 for the Operating License hearings. The legal intervention against the licensing of San Onofre Units 2 and 3 has been led by Friends of the Earth for the past six years.

There are many active earthquake faults surrounding San Onofre, including the Chrisitanitos Fault less than 1000 yards south of the reactors, and the Newport-Inglewood Fault offshore 3 to 4 miles. The offshore fault has caused many quakes including the Long Beach quake of 1933 (6.3 Richter magnitude).



If an earthquake near San Onofre damages the cooling water pipes and causes a meltdown, a cloud of radioactive gases will be released and blown by the winds over Southern California. An area the size of Pennsylvania could become permanently uninhabitable. Most of the people in LA would have to be evacuated before the cloud reached them. Can you imagine the traffic jams and accidents on the freeways? There are no evacuation plans to handle the situation. The only solution is to shut down San Onofre #1 and to prevent the NRC from licensing Units 2 and 3. The Coalition to Stop San Onofre invites the Abalone Alliance to join them in achieving these goals.

— Glenn Barlow

LABORING UNDER DELUSIONS?

(The following excerpts are from an article by Dan Luria and Lee Price, research associates with the United Auto Workers. The article, entitled "Cheapest is Best", appeared in the June, 1979 issue of *Moving On*.)

... Everyone is for increased use of solar energy. What is controversial are the sufficiency, the timetable, and the forms of solar power. This controversy is really about jobs and costs.

Many solar advocates oppose industries with high labor productivity—those that use little labor relative to their output. Others claim that industries built around conventional fuels are capital-intensive and thus do little to provide jobs.

Two distinct points are being made here. First, labor-intensive industries produce more jobs (in those industries) per dollar of output. Second, advocates of labor-intensity are calling for the substitution of labor—seen as being in over-supply—for allegedly scarce energy and capital. Society, they say, should seek to direct investment to industries that have a high ratio of labor costs to total costs.

To explore these two points, consider the table below, presented by Barry Commoner as evidence that society should discourage substituting plastics for leather. (See Table 1.) Commoner concludes that "leather is much more efficient in converting energy and capital to value added, and less efficient in labor productivity." Where the chemicals industry squanders scarce energy and capital and creates few jobs, the leather industry provides many jobs while conserving energy and capital resources.

NON-NUCLEAR JOBS:

Another interpretation, however is that the output of chemicals embodies just as much labor time per dollar as leather, but that more of that labor time comes *earlier* in the production process. While the leather industry mixes relatively small amounts of the labor embodied in energy and in machinery with a relatively large amount of direct labor, the chemical industry combines more energy-and-machinery-embodied labor time with much less direct labor.

In short, this interpretation claims that while figures such as Commoner's show more jobs per year in leather (for the same dollar amount of capital, they allow noting to be inferred about *total* labor requirement. These would have to take into account the labor embodied in the chemical industry's plant and equipment (its "capital") and in its energy.

Commoner's table does provide us a clue about wage rates. The \$27.75 entry in the chemicals column was obtained by dividing the industry's annual value added by the number of work hours used in it over a year. Similarly, the \$6.25 figure in the leather column represents that industry's value added-to-hours ratio...

This allows us to say something about wages. Since an industry's revenues must pay for labor power, capital goods inputs, and energy inputs—not to mention some that is siphoned off as profit—we know right away that the average wage rate in leather cannot exceed \$6.25 per hour, and hence that hourly labor compensation in the chemicals industry is probably higher than in leather. In leather we start at \$6.25 per hour and then must deduct value paid for capital goods and energy inputs; in chemicals, we start at \$27.75 and thus more is likely to be left to pay out to labor.

In fact, average hourly wages in 1977 were about \$3.60 in leather and \$6.30 in chemicals. Adding fringe benefits brings the figures to about \$4.75 and \$9.50. The call for labor intensity, then, amounts to the statement that society is better off when more workers are in low-wage industries (and when fewer are making machines).

The basis of the solar advocates' claim of an employment bonanza is really a confusion about "capital." *There is no such thing as capital*, what is commonly called "fixed capital"—machines, tools, and

(continued to page eleven)

Table 1.

Input	Output (value added) in Leather Industry	Output (value added) in Chemicals Industry
1 man-hour	\$6.25	\$27.75
\$1 of "fixed capital"	3.64	0.80
1,000,000 BTU's	62.04	4.85

STRANGE VICTORIES of the anti-nuclear movement

One of the characteristics of the ecological and anti-nuclear movement is that the class interests of the people involved in it are never directly expressed in its ideologies. Anti-nuclear militants seem to be classless angels, coming directly from the heaven of a general "responsibility for humankind" and announcing the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah by a core meltdown. The main argument for this classless ideology is, of course, that radioactivity affects all classes, that the radioactive waste will be a problem for capitalists as well as for workers. This is only partially true, for rich people have more possibilities to avoid radioactive areas and can protect themselves better. But even if radioactivity might kill everybody, it does not eliminate the class difference until that moment (and this is obviously the period we try to deal with).

In reality, the "classless" ideology of the anti-nuclear movement is an outflow of the class-situation of its members: as they have no possibility of organization or self-definition on their jobs, they are forced to operate practically and ideologically on the level of the general development of capital. From their point of view, even if capital is seen as the basic relation of society, capital's enemy is taken as "humankind" or "all living creatures".

This is a pure but useful fiction. The abstraction "humankind" is used to not endanger the alliance with local small owners, professionals, etc. At the same time it is the expression of the class ideology of intellectual workers whose function is to plan for the general development of capital—including the working class—and to sell these plans to us all.

The Anti-Planners

Confronted with "bad" nuclear capital, this is transformed into the planning of an alternative development. They don't simply reject capitalist development, but rather present an anti-plan: "that our energy policy be focused on developing and implementing clean and renewable sources of energy in concert with an efficient system of recycling and conservation." ("Declaration of Nuclear Resistance" of the Clamshell Alliance, November 1, 1977.)

Here again, it is not said *who* would develop and implement "our" energy policy. This statement about alternative planning is completely disconnected from problems of power and class and thus reveals its merely ideological function.

The anti-plan ideology is in fact one of the most visible class-ideologies of devaluated intellectual workers. Developing anti-plans means nothing less than finding a new function for such intellectuals in a modified capitalist development. The struggle among the anti-planners of "our" future is the struggle about the qualifications of future intellectual workers, for the ability to find alternative futures is exactly the function of intellectual workers (on a "lower" level called management, on a "higher" level, philosophy).

It is clear from the beginning that less valuable labour-power such as factory workers, clerks, housewives, etc. cannot participate in this type of management of the future. For them the *present* is more difficult because their relationship with capital is more immediate and irreconcilable. The anti-plan ideology at the same time keeps away such less valuable workers from the movement, thus keeping the class-composition of the movement "clean". A worker who is in permanent struggle with management will never try to participate in it, even if it is "alternative management". This becomes



Renaissance Center, Detroit

even more evident when we look at some of these anti-plans:

Ralph Nader proposes a model of "sane" capitalism based on competition of small capitals under the quality-control of the state. This would provide scores of easy jobs for quality controllers like Nader and consorts, but no advantages for workers, only tighter control (as is typical in smaller businesses).

The most frequent anti-planning ideologies are based on the development of solar or other alternative energy sources. Solar energy has been promoted particularly around the job-issue. It is said that the nuclear industry destroys jobs and that solar developments would create lots of new jobs. This argumentation starts usually as Harvey Wasserman puts it in one of his articles ("New Age, Special Report," 1978): "The conflict lies in the basic difference between a capital-intensive economy and one based on human work." Such a statement is simply false: capital intensive economies are based on *human work* and require still *more and more intensive human work*.

First, the machines, the equipment, etc. of capital-intensive industries have to be built ultimately by *human work*. Then, as a glimpse at statistics shows us, non-industrial and service jobs have been expanding rapidly in the last few years "despite" nuclear development. While the rate of unemployment has been stable, overall employment has gone up rapidly. More *human work* than ever is being extracted from workers in the U.S.

It is true: proportionately less people work in manufacture and automated industries in general, especially in the energy sector. But this doesn't mean that capital can or want to do without human work. It is an optical illusion to see only the automated factory and not the sweatshop on the corner. *The fact is, human work, and therefore surplus values (surplus human labour extracted by capital), is extracted in less capital-intensive branches and appears as the profit of highly capital-intensive sectors.*

One of the instruments of this surplus-value transfer is the hike of energy and food prices. In order to pay their bills, the energy companies make us work more and more in small shops, as salesmen, typists, clerks, drivers, etc. The capitalist system forms a unity: exploitation in

one place can result in profits in another place. This would also certainly be the case in the solar industry. The solar workers would do the shit work and the companies (e.g., steel companies which produce sheet steel) would make the profits. Wasserman's cry for a "labour-intensive" development means nothing more than offering capital a new source of human work, a new source of exploitation.

The problem is not lack of jobs. Nobody cares about jobs, because every job means self-repression, loss of life, repression of one's wishes. The real problem is the lack of money, access to power and to the wealth which we have ourselves produced. If jobs are an efficient way to get money, we might accept them as a temporary solution, a tactical compromise with capital. But jobs can never be a solution to the problem of the working class.

Of course, unemployment is also a weapon used by capital against us, because it forces us to choose between misery or accepting the worst jobs at the lowest wages. On the other hand, many people have discovered temporary unemployment as a weapon against capital: you don't get much money, but if you organize with other people (as Harvey Wasserman and his crowd did in New England) you have more time for yourself, can regain some strength and develop your talents. Unemployment is not a question of technology, but a question of power. *As long as we don't have the power, the control over all resources and social wealth, "human work" will always be an attack on us, whether it is planned by Rockefeller or anti-planned by Wasserman.*

The same is true, of course, for socialist and communist models, like the one of the CPUSA, which includes even nuclear energy, but "under democratic control", i.e., managed by the state (whomever that may be). The "state" is only another name for "general capital", especially in the energy sector, and what ultimately we might expect from socialist states can be seen in Russia, China, Vietnam, etc.

At this moment, capital is obviously testing out two possible futures: a risky, capital-intensive nuclear future and a labor-intensive, low-energy version. Neither is very tempting though there will always be, after the priority is set, a combination of both. The choice we are offered is one between cancer and misery.

The "loyal opposition" to capital within the anti-nuclear movement seems to accept such a blackmail and is campaigning for the "misery" version: "solar jobs", conservation and "labor-intensive" production. In this sense, they are "educating the masses, but they face the same problem the dominant capital faces with its cancer-option. *Imposing labor-intensive production on a working class that has been fighting around the refusal of work as hopeless as the search for responsible high capital-intensity workers.* However, if we are not able to reject the choice between cancer and misery, we will surely get both.

Ed. Note:

The excerpt above is taken from a 30-page booklet, "Strange Victories: The Anti-Nuclear Movement in the U.S. and Europe". It is available for \$1.50 from its authors, the Midnight Notes Collective, at 491 Pacific St., Brooklyn, NY, 11217.

This is recommended reading: although some of its arguments are overstated and some are just plain silly, many are very incisive and all are provocative.

Do We Assume Too Much?

page five

We're Workers Too

We of the Labor Task Force feel that all supporters of the anti-nuclear movement should fight for conversion programs. These programs will ensure against energy shortages as well as provide retraining and job placement for workers that would otherwise be unemployed by nuclear power shut downs. Part of our struggle is to refute the distortions the nuclear industry spreads concerning workplace issues. One weapon used against us by the pro-nukers is the idea that the anti-nuclear movement is "elitist." This idea can have a devastating effect by isolating us from workers. We need to emphasize our common ground against nuclear insanity.

It is not only a political necessity to address "work place issues;" of equal importance is our awareness that we too are workers or future workers. Employment conditions and job safety affect us directly. We too need effective unions and worker organization. We need to see clearly the strong links between "us" and the labor movement. When we allow the nuclear industry to pit us against other workers we allow them to pit us against our very selves!

Among our goals is to educate other Abalone members about labor positions and in turn educate labor on the issues of the anti-nuclear movement. As we become more educated about the concerns of labor and vice versa, more contacts and ties can be established.

The Bay Area Typographical Union Local 21 has just recently passed a resolution condemning the use of nuclear power. With our continued efforts perhaps many more such resolutions will be passed. Please join us in our work. No Nukes!

Labor Task Force contacts: Bay Area -- Liv 415-845-8128;
Santa Cruz & Monterey -- Ron Pomerantz 408-423-2293;
Santa Barbara -- Robert 805-962-6835.

FALSE CHOICES

The anti-nuclear movement is increasingly being urged to emphasize and actively work towards the development of safe, renewable and decentralized forms of energy production. There is also a growing realization that to be truly effective, the anti-nuclear movement will have to build coalitions with organized labor. On this point there is still a lack of clarity as to how the vision of a world without nuclear power plants and weapons translates into a specific strategy that includes labor as a natural ally.

Both issues point up the obvious though often obscured fact that anti-nuclear work must be seen as part of the bigger movement for major social, political and economic change. By focussing on the need to develop decentralized forms of safe, alternative energy production we are acknowledging that the corporate stranglehold we all live with must be broken if we are to assume power over our own lives. Recognition of the need to work with organized labor indicates that "shutting them down" is only the first part of our strategy.

In these times more and more of us find it not only expedient but also comforting to work in coalitions. Some of us imagine that by developing coalitions we can begin to build more sophisticated political organizations which are capable of devising coherent, comprehensive programs.

Traditionally coalitions have existed to oppose rather than to develop or create. Yet coalitions based on programs which meet the needs of all constituencies have much greater potential for broad-based appeal. Witness, for example, the diversity of organizational involvement in a group like Citizens/Labor Energy Coalition.

Historically it has been important to stand up and say no. It is now imperative that we expand our vocabularies and begin to articulate specific options.

The struggle against nuclear power has been a dramatic, passionate one. Will it be possible to sustain the passion in working out the details, for example, of a safe energy plan for California, or in developing legislation that would protect workers and communities affected by shutdown of a nuclear facility or a nuclear accident?

Nor can the anti-nuclear movement hope to be able to develop such plans in isolation. What is needed is the broadest-based coalition possible if the strategy is to accurately reflect the needs and concerns of workers.

To understand the need to provide for the economic realities that nuclear plant closures will bring about is to understand the complexity of the anti-nuclear issue. Vaguely advocating the switch from nuclear to solar is not enough. Solar energy is not automatically a panacea. Among other things, the right of people to dignified, safe, productive work must be seen as being basic to the anti-nuclear struggle.

We have too long been held hostage by international corporate interests. We have accepted the convoluted logic that we should expect to pay a price for the luxury of working. That price is and has been the health and safety of workers and the devastation of our natural environment—and the kind of universal, chronic insecurity (psychosis??) such logic breeds.

The choice is not between nuclear power and blackouts. The choice is not acceleration of the arms race or foreign domination. The choice must not be between unsafe work environments or unemployment. If we are to find answers, we must begin by asking the right questions.

-- Susan Mesner and Louise Billotte



Graphics on this page are from *Red-Eye*, a new libertarian communist magazine. It is available for \$1.50 at (some) bookstores or from 2000 Center St., No. 1200, Berkeley, CA 94704.

UNIONS: Self-Defense or Self-Defeat?

Yes, the "anti-nuclear movement must be seen as part of the bigger movement for major, social, political and economic change" (as Mesner and Billotte say). Given this, a strategy that reaches out to labor must confront fundamental issues concerning the existing labor movement.

"Labor" tends to be identified with unions, and thus labor outreach is usually presented as establishing links with unions. This is misleading not only because the great majority of American workers are not in unions, but also because the relationship between the unions and their members is problematic.

The fact is that, despite some variations in degree, unions in general are hierarchical, bureaucratic organizations. This is no controversial point but a sociological banality. It is most strikingly apparent when unions and their more militant members come into open conflict; for example, when workers involved in a dispute with their employers decide among themselves to take or continue direct action against the will of union bureaucrats who opt for further negotiation or try to force acceptance of unpopular contracts. (It is not unknown for union officials to attempt to crush wildcat strikes by use of force. A blatant example was the beating of picketing workers by UAW goons in the 1973 wildcat at Chrysler in Detroit.) But the bureaucratic character of unions is exemplified in their day-to-day operations as well.

In my view, the basic problem with unions is not "bad leadership," as many leftists maintain (i.e., something that can be solved with leftists or "progressive" leadership), but rather the unions' *form of organization*. This in turn derives from their *function*. To put this another way, the *power structure* of unions derives from capitalist *social relations*.

Let me explain briefly.

Unions emerged on the basis of the power that workers have to stop or disrupt production through direct action. In some cases, early unions challenged the idea that some people should have to sell their working time to others (the social relation, "wage-labor"). But as time went on, unionism developed a strategy based squarely on acceptance of labor-power as a marketable commodity. The essential strategy of unionism was to

exchange workers' ability to take direct action for agreements on wages and working conditions, eventually formalized in the labor contract. The union would insure uninterrupted production during the life of the contract in exchange for the company's honoring the contract. As John L. Lewis, founder of the CIO put it, "A CIO contract is adequate protection against sit-downs, lie-downs or any other kind of strike." To prevent members from deciding to violate the unions' agreements, the authority to initiate action resides in the officials and bureaucrats, not in the members.

The union thus became a bargaining agent responsible both for negotiating and for enforcing contracts, even against the will of its own members. The contracts also eventually included complex grievance procedure. Consequently, a bureaucracy of full-time officials was needed to negotiate and administer the contracts.

The contract strategy thus ensured the development of a bureaucratic and hierarchical form of organization. Today, most workers feel they have little or no control over "their" unions.

So, given the rejection of hierarchical organization in the anti-nuclear movement, what are some of the implications of its reaching out to labor in the form of coalitions with unions?

First, there is a matter of principle, the danger of a kind of elitism. For people to uphold non-hierarchy as a principle and as a necessary means for maintaining control over *their* movement and at the same time fail to question hierarchy in unions might imply accepting some notion that workers are incapable of creating or don't deserve a movement they really control.

Behind this way of thinking may lie the old bugaboo of "necessity." Characteristically, one goes from accepting the hierarchical character of unions as "necessary" because the contract strategy was "necessary" and ends up accepting wage-labor and all the other fundamental aspects of this society as "necessary" until some constantly receding future millenium. Movements that really challenge the social order go in the opposite direction; for example, starting by challenging the "necessity" of nuclear power and then challenging every "necessity" that props it up.

But what's at issue here is not only a matter of principle or theory. There are tactical and strategic implications also. If the anti-nuclear movement aims beyond ties with unions and seeks to connect with the *actual struggle* of workers, whether or not it stays within the union framework, a much more dynamic outreach to labor might be possible, one based more on mutual support for direct action and civil disobedience in both the anti-nuclear and labor movements. Of course, it must be recognized that this course would raise the possibility of siding with workers against union bureaucrats.

The question of labor outreach is not quite as simple as it may appear at first sight: It raises fundamental questions for the anti-nuclear movement. Let's not let the good intention and practical necessity of allying with labor induce the movement to put aside its commitment to non-hierarchy and direct action. To the contrary, the fight against nukes should be seen as part of a struggle against hierarchical power and bureaucratic organization throughout society.

—Ron Rothbart

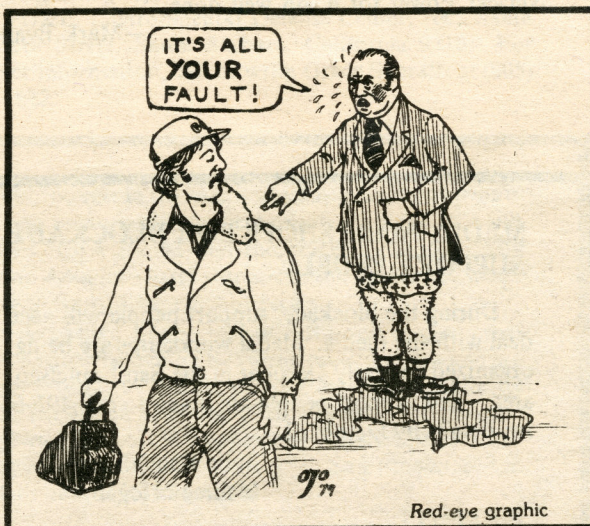




photo by Barbara Bowman

Abalone conference, August 12, Santa Barbara

ABALONE CONFERENCE: Reorganization Begins

Twenty-five member groups of Abalone Alliance each introduced themselves to conference participants by singing their favorite song. The occasion was the eighth Abalone Alliance Conference, held August 11 and 12 in Santa Barbara. People were in high spirits as the discussion on the issue of reorganization began. However, those feelings *did* change as the day progressed. No major proposal was "consented" to, but the process of exchanging views on what a reorganized Abalone Alliance should look like was begun.

People generally favored working in regional groupings, and maintaining a statewide office as an information clearinghouse and communication center. The role of staff and fundraising remained undefined. There was a strong desire to hold more skills-sharing conferences rather than decision making conferences. Unresolved issues centered around defining AA member groups, the process and advisability of making decisions between conferences, building coalitions with non-AA groups, endorsing non-AA events, and broadening the AA focus to more than direct actions. Fundamental political beliefs and long-term strategies were not discussed.

Continual Reorganization

Conference participants realized that consensus could not be reached on any of the proposals submitted because of time constraints. Instead, consensus was reached on encouraging local groups to formulate new reorganization proposals working with groups from their own self-defined region. Santa Cruz will host a statewide spokes meeting September 29 where hopefully it will be an easy matter to make last-minute changes and where an attempt will be made to integrate all proposals. A conference will be held in late October to ratify the proposal drafted at the spokes meeting. The same decision making process that was used at the August conference will be used at the October conference:

- Decisions will be made by local groups.
- Local groups may empower their representatives to block consensus or proposals.
- At least two members from a local group must be present to block consensus.
- A local group must come to consensus to block consensus for the AA.
- If one-third or more of the participating groups stand aside on a proposal, it will be considered a block.
- Proposals must be circulated to local groups before the conference.

The hiring process for office staff will be reopened after the October conference, by which time realistic job descriptions will have been written. An advisory committee was formed to help the San Francisco office through the transition period to the next conference. Chris from Roses Against a Nuclear Environment will coordinate the advisory committee.

A lot of important discussion on the issue of reorganization occurred at the conference which is not retold here. Contact your local group for a complete set of conference minutes. Groups are strongly encouraged to work on a reorganization proposal with other groups in the period before the next conference. Only in this way will a decision become possible.

Three Decisions Made

- The AA will endorse the nation-wide Trident demonstrations scheduled October 29. Local groups are urged to participate in the actions at Lockheed in Sunnyvale, and to contribute money to help finance the action.
- The AA will attempt to raise \$1,000 through contributions from local groups to help cover expenses for the Environmental Defense Center lawsuit against PG&E asking for abatement of the nuisance of Diablo Canyon 1 & 2. AA is one of the plaintiffs in the suit and will collect monetary damages if the suit is won. Santa Barbara PANP will coordinate soliciting funds.
- The AA formally endorsed statewide teach-ins linking nuclear power and nuclear weapons scheduled for November and co-sponsored by the AA and the UC Labs Conversion Project. Local groups participating in the teach-ins are requested to contribute money to help subsidize the coordinator's salary.

Fun Things Happened Too

A lot of good sharing and dialogue occurred. When the issues got heavy it was easy to escape to a nearby river. The meals were excellent, as were the snacks provided. Saturday evening featured films by Ojai, and music performed by a local band. Gary Lapow performed songs from a record made for the anti-nuclear movement. Proceeds from its sale will go to the AA. Logistics flowed easily, and conference participants were well cared for. Thanks to Santa Barbara People Against Nuclear Power for a job well done.

—Mark Evanoff

- 6 Caldicott Slide Show shown to SMUD Board of Directors. Sponsored by People for a Nuclear Free Future and So No More Atomics. 6201 S Street, Sacramento, 7:00. Contact: (707) 526-7220 or 526-7221.
- 7-16 Training Program For Nuclear Weapons Facilities Organizers. Sponsored by the Resource Center for Nonviolence. Cost: \$60-80 including food, room, literature and rental fees for films. Work barter negotiable. Contact RCNV, P.O. Box 2324, Santa Cruz, CA 95063, (408) 423-1626.
- 9 Planning Meeting on Rancho Seco. Hosted by Abalone Alliance of Marin. Cheese Factory along the Pt. Reyes-Petaluma Road 11:00 A.M. Contact: A.A. Marin 415-456-3091.
- 15 *The Energy Will Flow: Anti-Nuclear Music by Women*. KPFA (94 FM in San Francisco) presents healing music by feminist artists working to stop nuclear power and weapons. The program will feature Women With Wings (an activist chorus), Sweet Honey in the Rock, Ede Morris, Holly Near, Lynn Grasberg, Bonnie Lockhart and many others. 10:30 to noon.

Plutonium Players Present
"The Rocky Hieroglyphic Show"
 Performed in Bay Area Parks at 2:00 P.M.

- 3 People's Park, Berkeley
- 8 Golden Gate Park, behind the De Young Museum.
- 16 Golden Gate Park, behind the De Young Museum.
- 22&23 Mission Delores Park, San Francisco.
- 29 Liveoak Park, Berkeley

MEDIA WORKSHOPS FOR BLOCKADE SUPPORT PEOPLE

During the blockade, support people will need to deal with the media. Media workshops are being organized for early October in the San Francisco area — and support people are urged to call 495-6577 for details by October 1.

— Julia Randall
 Maureen Hogan

CALIFORNIA CAMPAIGN TO REPEAL PRICE-ANDERSON ACT FORMING

A national campaign to repeal the Price-Anderson Act is growing out of the anti-nuclear movement. In California we would like to have activists from every congressional district in the state join the campaign. Contact: California Campaign to Repeal Price-Anderson Act, Box 60274, Sunnyvale, CA 94086, or call Fred Cash at (415) 841-6500.

September Calendar

page seven.

- 15 Benefit Concert for So No More Atomics, featuring Sonoma County Bands, Cotati Plaza, 11:30-5:00. Local groups are invited to set up booths for the event. Contact: Mary Moore (707) 874-2248, Barry Donnack 795-2226, or So No More Atomics 526-7220.
- 17 "The Health Effects of Radiation", presented by Dr. Stan Nudelman, member of Citizens for Safe Energy, Peninsula Hospital, Burlingame, 7:30 p.m.
- 19 *Danger: Radioactive Waste*, a documentary made for NBC but never shown on television, will be screened by the East Bay Anti-Nuclear Group at 8 p.m., Berkeley Friends House, Walnut & Vine, Berkeley. \$1 donation requested to cover costs
- 20 Gays Against Nuclear Power present *Paul Jacobs and the Nuclear Gang*, and planning for the October 13 and 14 March on Washington, D.C. Gays Against Nuclear Power contingent. The Women's Building, 3541 18th St., San Francisco, childcare and wheelchair access. 7:30 P.M. Contact PANP 415-781-5342.
- 20 *Danger: Radioactive Waste* will be shown on the UC Berkeley campus by the War Resisters League. Call 626-6976 for details.
- 22-23 First meeting for making tracks against Trident. On March 1, 1980, a group of activists will begin the 1000 mile march from the Lockheed weapons facility in Sunnyvale, CA to the Trident Sub Base in Washington State. The meeting will be held at the Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action, next to the Trident Base. Contact: A Walk for Survival, c/o Jack Chalmers, 206-282-9634.
- 26 *Danger: Radioactive Waste* will be shown by Marina Residents Against Nuclear Power at 7 p.m. in the Marina Branch of the Public Library, Chestnut and Webster. Questions and answers follow.
- 27 Open Educational Meeting for Women, sponsored by Women For A Nuclear Free Future. Women's Building, 3541 18th St., S.F., 7:30-10:00 p.m.
- 29 Reorganizational Spokes meeting. Laurel Center, Santa Cruz. Contact PNFF 408-425-1275.



photo by Barbara Bowman

Some members of Women with Wings, anti-nuke choral group. See September 15.

A.A. vs. PG&E: MEET SUE REVIEW

On August 20, seven members of the Abalone Alliance met with four PG&E executives. It was the second such meeting. Abalones offered coffee, tea, and pastries to the execs, and got down to questions about Diablo Canyon and PG&E's efforts to reopen the Humboldt nuclear plant. PG&E asked to make comments "off the record" and gave extended response to the questions -- but their answers did little to resolve Abalone concerns.

In the discussion, PG&E claimed to be doing much to promote conservation. The officials stated that investments in conservation carried a higher rate of return than those in new power plants. They also said the company doesn't plan to build more nuclear plants at this time, for reasons including California's nuclear safeguards laws.

For their part, PG&E wondered why we thought they opposed conservation and alternative energy sources. They got quite an earful on that one, with almost everyone present participating in the answer.

Nolan Daines, PG&E's vice president for electrical energy supply planning, expressed interest in another meeting to discuss values, philosophies, and motivations. When the meeting ended, informal conversation continued for half an hour. Topics discussed included nuclear proliferation, civil disobedience, and responsibility for conservation.

After the meeting, several sympathetic local reporters were annoyed we hadn't objected to the "off the record" request. Our attempts to assure them that nothing had really happened, anyway, were met with some suspicion. We came to regret our decision.

Many people may doubt the value of these meetings. After all, we are unlikely to convert PG&E to our point of view -- or even get the execs to wear "no nukes" buttons. We share these doubts, but hope that by making human contact with our political adversaries, they will come to realize that our commitment is both reasoned and deep. We hope this realization will enter into their future decisions.

-- Mark Evanoff
Bob Van Scoy

In an attempt to put nuclear power on trial at Diablo Canyon, an organized group of San Luis Obispo County citizens has brought a lawsuit against Pacific Gas and Electric Company, charging that:

placing the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant 2 1/2 miles from an active earthquake fault was and is an act of negligence;

private individuals whose property and business interests are placed in jeopardy are not being compensated and

the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant places them in a constant state of fear and apprehension.

The suit was filed by eight individuals, including a doctor, dentist, restaurant owner, gift shop proprietor, nurse, real estate broker, property owners, and four prominent organizations—including the Abalone Alliance, Concerned Citizens of San Luis Obispo, Concerned Citizens of Shell Beach, and Seaside Survival.

Their attorneys are members of the Environmental Defense Center (EDC), a public interest, non-profit group of environmental educators and lawyers.

EDC attorneys have asked the Superior Court of San Luis Obispo County to prevent operation of the plant should its NRC license be granted late this year as expected. The suit also demands monetary damages for harm to business and property interests, adequate emergency evacuation plans, monitoring of radiological emissions, safe onsite storage of nuclear wastes, as well as medical facilities adequate to deal with radioactive contamination cases in the event of a serious accident.

If the EDC withstands a challenge to the jurisdiction of the court, expected to be raised by PG&E, the case can be heard in San Luis Obispo County by the very people who have the most at stake, rather than by the NRC in Washington, D.C., an agency which promotes rather than regulates nuclear power. Then, the effects of the \$1.5 billion plant and the continued viability of nuclear energy will truly be placed on trial!

The EDC is currently engaged in a fundraising campaign to raise sufficient funds to prosecute the case, looking for broad-based support throughout the West Coast. Tax-exempt contributions are gratefully accepted to continue the Center's anti-nuclear public education and litigation projects. Please send a check to PERRY VS. PG&E, Environmental Defense Center, 1005 Santa Barbara Street, Santa Barbara, California 93101. For further information, call or write Grace Schrafft at (805) 963-1622.

Public interest in the case is steadily growing as people learn the important significance of the case to Civil Liberties, Civil Rights and the Nuclear Industry. The Abalone Alliance shares interest in the Karen Silkwood Case with many other constituencies.

San Francisco Supporters of Silkwood suggests that others begin organizing a Silkwood coalition now and use this opportunity to build a base of support and solidarity around the Karen Silkwood Case. For more information or materials write: S.F. Supporters of Silkwood, c/o S.F. Ecology Center, 13 Columbus Ave., San Francisco, Ca. 94111 or call; (415) 841-6500.

—Fred Cash

MAY 25 PG&E ACTIONS: TACTICAL DECENTRALIZATION

"Everyone felt good to be involved," "got a piece of the public pulse," "it was really exciting," "our first direct action," "a good feeling to the whole thing, like a seed sprouting starting to grow." These are some of the responses of people asked to describe how they felt about participating in the Abalone Alliance decentralized actions of May 25. On that day anti-nuclear activists were out in front of the PG&E offices in nearly 100 Californian communities. Never before had the Abalone Alliance attempted to coordinate this type of decentralized mass action. At the time the tactic was adopted by Abalone Alliance members no one quite knew what to expect.

Many of the consequences of the action were evident long before May 25. Local Abalone Alliance groups had reached out into neighboring communities in attempts to interest and involve more people in the struggle against nuclear power. PG&E offices are located in almost every community, and interested people were encouraged to take responsibility for the office in their community. New friendships and new anti-nuclear groups were forming over May 25 strategy tables. Groups in Grass Valley, Mendocino, Red Bluff and Half Moon Bay were catalyzed by May 25 action preparation.

ADVANTAGES OF DECENTRALIZATION

Preparation for May 25 had many advantages to preparation for a centralized action. Nearly all of the planning could be done locally. The majority of the Alliance coordination was done by mail and phone. This alleviated the need for the weekend gasoline and time consuming meetings so many of us are familiar with.

The May 25 action did not make the *San Francisco Chronicle* or the NBC evening news. It did, however, make the local newspapers, radio and TV stations, and the names and faces that appeared were familiar. The school teacher, the carpenter, the waitress, the neighbor—these were the folks who made the news.

The finances of the action are worth noting. Approximately \$1400 was spent on the action, compared to tens of thousands of dollars for large rallies. The Abalone Alliance spent \$400 on the action. People for a Nuclear Free Future Santa Cruz donated \$200, and the rest was paid by local groups for materials received.

May 25 was certainly not problem-free. There were suggestions that economics was not the best subject to introduce a community to anti-nuclear arguments. Most of the participants, although knowing they were part of an Alliance action, did not always feel that connection. There were problems getting people to take responsibility for things or enthusiastically supporting the action. There were misjudgements in preparation time, especially with the leaflets which reached groups annoyingly late.

The May 25 action was the Abalone Alliance's first attempt at a different kind of direct action. It was a tactic that took the information and the activism to the people. Now, more than ever, the Abalone Alliance and the anti-nuclear movement need to develop strategies and tactics which fully utilize the resources we have, strategies and tactics that respect and creatively make use of the diversity we find among ourselves. Decentralized action is a viable tactic, one that I believe deserves more thought and attention by the movement.

—Liz Paul

SILKWOOD CASE CONTINUES

On November 13, 1974, Karen Silkwood, a plutonium worker for the Kerr-McGee Nuclear Corporation outside Oklahoma City, was killed in a suspicious car accident. Karen's untimely death has not gone unnoticed. Her parents and supporters are leaving no stones unturned to discover why she died and who was behind it. After investigations in the U.S. House and Senate a lawsuit was filed in Federal Court. The lawsuit has three counts: Negligence, Conspiracy by overt acts to violate civil rights, and Conspiracy through cover up by the F.B.I. The first count received national attention this spring when an Oklahoma jury awarded Karen's dependents \$10.5 million in damages for Kerr-McGee's negligence. The other two counts are still in legal proceedings and will be brought to trial in the future.

SEABROOK: Tactics Stir Debate

The Plan

A new style of occupation is planned for the Seabrook nuclear plant site October 6. Participants plan to permanently occupy the site and build a community. "The goal of this action is not to provoke a fight, nor is it to be arrested. Rather, our vision is to collectively create, in conjunction with local residents and the Penacook Indians, an anti-nuclear community of people building, gardening, and living on the site, in the model of the successful European nuclear site occupations," states the recruitment leaflet.

Organizers intend the action to be "a departure from civil disobedience and other symbolic forms of protest. We may utilize completed work and materials on site to aid our occupation, including clearing land of debris and building shelters. We'll situate our occupation at the location most effective for stopping construction," the leaflet continues.

The event has sparked controversy among member groups of the Clamshell Alliance, due to certain proposed tactics discussed below. Clams were unable to reach consensus on supporting the action, but after debate, a vote was taken to endorse the occupation.

A Clam group from Boston called the "Coalition For Direct Action" is coordinating the event. Organizers have recently traveled to California soliciting Abalone Alliance support for the occupation. Other Clamshell organizers have also traveled West to persuade groups not to endorse the action. The issue is debated below.

—Mark Evanoff



a critique

Dear Abalones,

We are writing from a workshop offered by the Movement for a New Society in Philadelphia called *Organizing Nonviolent Direct Action Campaigns for a Sane Energy Policy*. It has been a great learning experience for us and we feel very empowered with organizing and strategizing skills to share with our local groups (Davis and Sacramento People for a Nuclear Free Future) and with the Alliance as a whole.

We have just heard a presentation from a representative of the Coalition for Direct Action at Seabrook about the occupation of Seabrook on October 6. At first, we felt excited about the proposed occupation. However, after he gave the details of the action, our excitement turned rapidly into fear, anxiety, and discouragement.

The proposed action seems to be beyond the point of being a proposal and is already rigidly in the process of being carried out without any regard for the views of other anti-nuclear groups. It includes the following components: 1) entering the site by cutting the wire fencing and then depositing the wire clippers outside the fence unattended; 2) resisting arrest by forming concentric circles of demonstrators with the outermost occupiers wearing helmets; 3) locking arms and forcefully and physically resisting removal of fellow demonstrators; 4) if dispersed, *running* to a new area and reforming groups with locked arms; 5) assuming that the police will not have surrounded the perimeter of the site to prevent entrance; 6) attempting to strategically pass through



police lines; 7) planning to surround police paddywagons to prevent them from taking the arrested occupiers away—even to the point of removing the screws from the tires; 8) *no monitors* to keep the peace because they see monitors as another authority structure; 9) no ongoing communication with the police. There may be more potential violations of our nonviolent code, but these are the ones that we saw as the most militaristic.

Not only do we see this as likely to create a battle between occupiers and police, but we also view it as a threat to the credibility and reputation of the anti-nuclear movement as a nonviolent movement. We are concerned about the future of our movement if violent or potentially violent actions begin to occur. We feel that anti-nuclear activists must not lose hope and reach the point of frustration where they feel they must approach quasi-violent means as the way of reaching their goals. We see this as a possible first step towards changing the whole nonviolent approach (which we see as very effective) to a violent one, thereby disillusioning the public and the "authorities" (who at this point seem to be beginning to respect us) and completely discrediting the national movement.

As we heard about the plans for this action we realized how fortunate we were to be members of the Abalone since it has adhered so closely to a nonviolent code of discipline. We felt sure that the Abalone would have expressed its disapproval of such an action. In fact, we felt that at the time of the endorsement, perhaps the details were not available and that So No More Atomics had assumed they were endorsing an occupation similar to Seabrook 1977 or Diablo 1978. You should be aware that this is not a Clamshell Alliance action. In fact, some Clamshell local groups and other anti-nuclear groups are withdrawing their endorsements.

Our reason for writing to the Alliance is twofold. First, we request that So No More Atomics carefully study the details of this action and seriously reconsider their endorsement. Second, we request that the Alliance study the details of the action and find out exactly what has been planned. We propose that the Abalone Alliance not only refuse to endorse the action, but take a strong stand in opposition to it.

We hope that the Alliance can reach consensus on this proposal. We see opposition to actions of other anti-nuclear groups as potentially divisive to the movement. However, we feel that rather than risking the loss of credibility of the Abalone (and of other alliances), we must separate ourselves from people who are straying from the philosophy of nonviolence. We honestly feel that this action is a real threat to the movement and that it is important for the Abalone to take a stand on this issue.

We regret having to write such a letter, but we hope you will understand our concern. Thank you very much for listening.

Jayne E. Irwin, PNFF Davis
Ed Lang, PNFF, Sacramento

response

Dear friends in the California anti-nuke movement:

"... We've got to start changing the system
It's there that we have to begin.
The issue is capitalism
And real liberation to win..."

—tacked on verse to the Clamshell Alliance song
"Acres of Clams"

This isn't going to be a long letter. I've been asked by one of the people staffing the S.F. Abalone office to reply to charges that emanate from two Sacramento Abalones that I'm told claim that we in the Direct Action Task Force of Clamshell Alliance are "allowing" some violent tactics at the upcoming October 6th non-violent direct action occupation of the Seabrook nuke.

We in the Task Force are not seeking violence; we are preparing affinity groups to be non-violent. But it is not within our power to "allow" tactics or disallow them. We are organizing a decentralized action, where many of the negative assurances of not running afoul of the brutal power capitalist states frequently use to control people simply won't be there—we are not informing the cops of our intentions, we are not intending to go to jail. This opens up possibilities that the anti-nuke movement has not faced in the past—the possibilities on the one hand for affinity groups, in concentrated numbers, regionally organized and mobile, to use their own creativity and organization to occupy and stay on the site—we hope that everyone will stay cool, and have some mechanisms to ensure this. But not by negative assurances that restrict people.

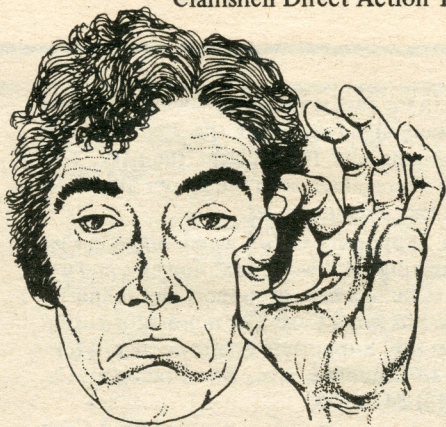
And then there are the possibilities opened up that the cops will be more brutal than normally. We who have been under pressure at Seabrook before and have some rapport with the cops and guardsmen, don't think that this will be true. But the possibility is there. And we who do the direct action must know what the possibilities we may face are—this goes into our preparation sessions, too; we must talk about our fears of provoking a violent response, and each affinity group must know what it will do in such an eventuality. We must be honest and open about our fears so as to organize ourselves, continue our opposition to things like nukes that seek to seize control over our lives and humanity, and make this work. What probably will happen, is what happened at Wyhl, West Germany—when the cops moved in they used fire hoses, gas and dogs. We are preparing to deal with these, as well as physical confrontations.

But all this is being said out of context—the context includes having the anti-nuke movement make a quantum leap in its opposition to nukes. Education alone won't stop nukes. Civil disobedience hasn't done it either. We feel that we have exhausted the effective alternatives, and now need to take Direct Action.

I must say one more thing: in my experience in the anti-nuke movement, criticisms of tactics as being "violent" or "provoking violence" are usually not what they appear to be. I am not saying that this is necessarily the case for the two Abalones who authored this criticism. But I am saying that frequently, tactical criticism alone is a cover for political disagreements, for certain political tendencies in the anti-nuke movement, particularly anti-capitalist ones that seek things like making political economic analyses of where nukes come from, have been red baited many times. I don't trust this criticism. I don't think it is positive. I think it is trying to hold the movement back. I am very queasy of criticism from people whose POLITICAL OPINIONS are shaped by groups like Movement For a New Society—I think those political opinions are what need to be scrutinized, not the tactical possibilities the direct action occupation will take.

I hope to see as many of you as feel the need, for yourselves, to participate in the occupation of the Seabrook nuke there on October 6th. And on October 7th and 8th and 9th and 10th... Together, we are strong... and in sufficient numbers, non-violence can be assured.

for love, life and no nukes,
Fred Friedman
Clamshell Direct Action Task Force



response

Unlike every occupation of a nuclear plant site in the U.S. to date, the October 6th Seabrook occupation will not be symbolic. Its object is not civil disobedience leading to arrest, and the widest goal is not simply to call more public attention to nuclear power. Instead, the goal is to shut down, immediately and forever, all construction of the plant. In a practical sense, this means that the occupation must involve many more people than have occupied before; that they will seek to *avoid* arrest in every non-violent way possible; and that they will resist continued construction of the plant in all non-violent ways possible.

Because the October occupation will be qualitatively different from anything that has yet occurred on the anti-nuclear front in America, it has naturally raised a number of concerns, particularly among people on the West Coast, who are far from the site, the planning, and the people organizing the nitty-gritty of the occupation. These questions have centered particularly around the issue of nonviolence in the action.

Some members of RANE, sharing such concerns, have made an effort to find answers to the more pressing concerns being voiced. Three of our members have visited the East Coast in recent weeks, returning with both answers and enthusiasm, and we have spoken several times with the Boston Clamshell to find out more specifics. Enough of us ended up feeling so positively about the occupation that we have formed

continued to page twelve



Are You Investing In Nuclear Power?

Some of your best friends are supporting the nuclear power industry. State workers, public school teachers, university faculty and employees of many local governments are unwitting accomplices to the nuclear industry through their pension fund paycheck deduction. These investments not only support a socially irresponsible industry, but also threaten the security of the employees' pensions.

The three pension funds that cover most of the state employees have 11% of their combined portfolio in nuclear operating utilities across the nation. This is over \$2 billion. These funds, the Public Employees Retirement System (PERS), State Teachers Retirement System, and the University of California, have \$430 million of this money in Babcock & Wilcox plants alone. Babcock & Wilcox are the same folks who brought you Three Mile Island.

PERS, the largest of these funds, also controls the retirement money from many local governments. Last year, PERS bought \$20 million worth of bonds from Jersey Central Power & Light. Proceeds from these bonds bought a 40% interest in a now-worthless piece of radioactive real estate called Three Mile Island #2.

When money is invested in the nuclear industry, it is most often in the form of first mortgage bonds or electric utility construction bonds. These are bought with an investment return of whatever percent for a long term, usually 30 years. The original capital and the interest are secured by the property of the utility. In other words, if the utility folds, the creditors will inherit the value of the property, whether it's radioactive or not. These bonds are used to finance construction or to pay back construction debts. When the plants go "on line" the bondholders get the real estate.

These California pension funds have become crucial to the continuance of the nuclear industry. Commercial banks are refusing to loan their money because of the growing financial risk. In May, Bank of America called for a suspension of loans saying, "It wouldn't be following the 'prudent man' rule to be making loans for construction of nuclear projects or facilities while this massive review of the industry takes place." One of the nation's largest brokerage firms, Bach, Halsey, Stuart & Shields, recommends, "A portfolio underweighted in electric utilities and we are reluctant to recommend any new money commitments."

Bank of America is the second largest bank in the nation. They have a worldwide commitment of \$220 million in the nuclear industry. The state pension funds have over \$2 billion. PERS has not hinted that public pension fund commitments to nuclear will be cut back.

WHAT YOU CAN DO —

Ask the treasurer of your union/university/local government where their pension funds are invested. Ask them to write to Carl Blechinger (exec. officer of investments) Box 1953, Sacramento 95809 (916) 445-7629 or phone Richard Silberman, Director of Finance (916) 445-3878 to stop PERS, STRS and U.C. funds from being directed toward nuclear industry. Write Campaign for Economic Democracy, 304 South Broadway #501, Los Angeles, Ca. 90013 for more information.

-- Honest Savage

charges dropped

(continued from page one)

Sheriff deputy Arnie Goble commented, "I don't think anybody set out to say 'okay we're going to violate people's rights'... Lee's assignment had been finding out... the amount of people involved and if there were going to be any additional demonstrations. Since then sheriffs officials have developed a good rapport with representatives of the Abalone Alliance... and have learned through experience, information from the Alliance is reliable."

After the *Telegram Tribune* story was printed, Richard Fishman filed a motion for dismissal of charges because of the 6th Amendment violation. Three days of hearings were held in SLO, and sheriffs deputies, Judge Conklin, Lee, and people from the DA's office were all subpoenaed. During the hearings it was learned that all of the parties involved were aware of Lee's identity as an undercover police agent. However the judge ruled against Fishman, and the case was taken to the district Court of Appeals, and later to the State Supreme Court. The Court agreed to hear the case December 12, 1977, actually heard it June 8, 1978, and issued a decision August 10, 1979.

Some of the defendants were informed of the decision the first evening of the conference. Several loud screams followed, and a lot of running around the room. It helped put the conference off to a good start.

Only 40 of the original 47 arrestees were affected. Five had pled "no contest" soon after the occupation, and two were sheriffs deputies. It's not surprising to remember that the two agents attempted to carry a hunting knife and wire cutters onto the site during the occupation. Members of their affinity groups prevented them from doing so.

Of course no agents are participating in the Abalone Alliance today. The Abalone Alliance is fully trusted, and we need never worry about our civil rights being violated. Disappearing mailing lists, lost mail and clicks over the telephone are only funny happenings.

--Mark Evanoff

BLACK HILLS MARCH

9



old adversaries find common ground

"If you remember a few years ago, 1973 at Wounded Knee, you saw some of the same people that are sitting in this audience surrounding us as vigilantes. They are now willing to work to save the Black Hills." These words of Bill Means, Oglala Lakota, to 7,000 people at the Rapid City Civic Center expressed the prevailing feeling of unity at the July 6-8 National Gathering of the People in the Black Hills of western South Dakota.

The action was organized by the Black Hills Alliance to protest massive uranium and coal development plans for the region. The weekend consisted of a symposium on Friday night, strategy planning workshops on Sunday, and a 17-mile Save the Hills Walk on Saturday by 3,000 people.

National Sacrifice

The Black Hills and Northern Plains region have been targeted by the Federal government and multinational energy corporations as a "National Sacrifice Area" for coal and uranium development. 25 mining companies have staked out over 1 million acres for development in the Hills. Besides uranium mining and milling operations, the region has been considered for the siting of up to 25 nuclear reactors, and for nuclear waste disposal.

Massive levels of coal development are also planned for the region: coal strip-mining, the construction of thirteen 1,000 megawatt coal-fired power plants, coal gasification plants, and slurry pipelines. Coal to be mined in the northern portion of the Hills contains small amounts of uranium, and when burned in the power plants will release radium and thorium into the atmosphere.

Besides the threats of radioactive contamination and air pollution from coal development, it is feared that the

massive quantities of water required for energy development projects will deplete the area's supply of water needed for human and livestock consumption and agriculture. The coal industry is only planning to mine for 35 years because there will be no more water after that period.

Power Struggle

The Black Hills are the sacred lands of the Lakota people, guaranteed them by the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty "for as long as the rivers shall run and the grass shall grow."

But Union Carbide, along with the Tennessee Valley Authority and Gulf Oil, plan to begin uranium mining and milling operations in the southern portion of the Hills in early 1980.

AIM activist John Trudell charged that energy development in South Dakota was an "inside job," the work of Governor Janklow in complicity with the corporations. On May 23, 1979, Janklow ordered total silence from State Government employees on all energy development issues.

And the Black Hills are about to become an energy war zone in President Carter's "moral equivalent of war" on the "energy crisis."

If you would like more information about energy development in the Black Hills, or would like to participate in the planning of the 1980 Survival Fair, contact the Coalition Against Uranium Mining, c/o Susie, at 415-549-2755.

-- David Weiss

SHORT CIRCUITS

WHAT IS YOUR ENERGY IQ?

Nuclear industry Public Relations can take many forms. *Science* magazine recently ran a brief article on museums that accept exhibits and donations from the energy industry. One such exhibit, "Electricity and Our Future," was sponsored by Commonwealth Edison and ran in the Chicago Museum of Science and Industry. The exhibit lets people test their "Energy I.Q." To be an "Energy Genius," one has to answer that nuclear power plants are "non-polluting," have caused "no injury to the public," are "more safe than conventional plants," and can "generate energy at a lower cost than coal or oil." One gets further points by answering that wind power is "non-economical" and solar power is "still costly." Other aspects of the exhibit carried similar themes.

--Energy Clearing House

THE LINGUISTICS OF NUCLEAR THEFT

When the Federal Bureau of Investigation arrested David Dale, a 39-year-old itinerant worker at a General Electric plant in Wilmington, North Carolina, for stealing 150 pounds of low-grade uranium and using it to extort \$100,000 from his employers, the Associated Press called it "theft and extortion," UPI called it "a serious security slip," one nuclear industry journal called it "alarming," and the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, after nine weeks of negotiation, called it an "abnormal occurrence." But not without a dissenting vote.

By a 4-1 margin, the Commission reviewed and concurred in a staff subject paper that Dale's theft was properly called an "abnormal occurrence." In a dissenting opinion, Chairman Hendrie commented, in part, "I class this as an appropriate 'Other Event.' (One might ask here what an 'inappropriate Other Event' is.)... Abnormal Occurrences, by statute, are significant from the standpoint of public health and safety. This event, to my mind does not meet that standard. The event does meet one of the subsidiary criteria (theft of Special Nuclear Material) and thus should be included in the Other Events section."

CONNECTICUT GOES NON-NUCLEAR

At the end of June, Governor Ella Grasso signed into law a bill making Connecticut the ninth U.S. State with an effective moratorium on construction of further nuclear power stations.

The act requires the state's Department of Environmental Protection to certify that a firm national waste disposal method exists before more plants are built. Governor Grasso also signed into law a bill prohibiting the burial of nuclear wastes in the state without prior express approval by the state legislature.

--Not Man Apart

Conflict of Interest in TMI Monitoring?

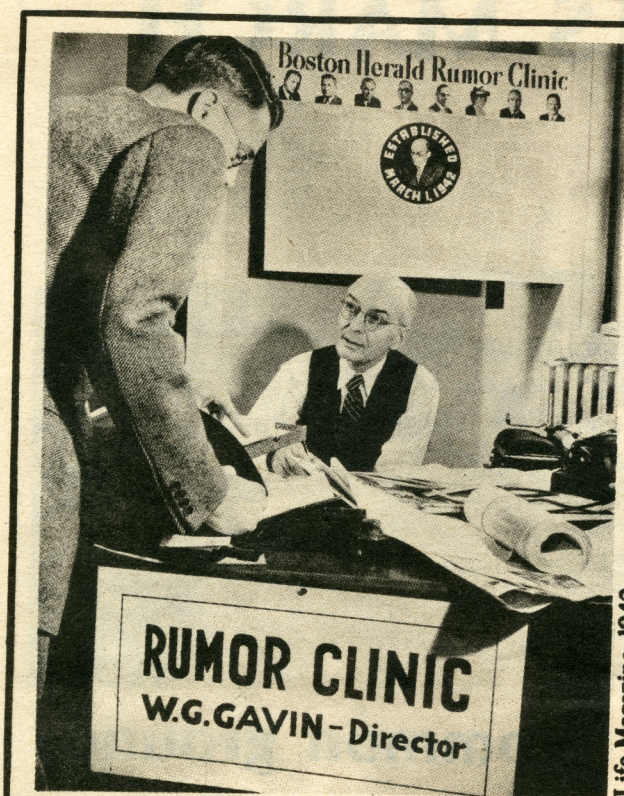
Two days after the Three Mile Island crisis began, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission arranged for radiation monitoring devices to be set up around the damaged plant. Data from these detectors was used to reassure the public. But a disquieting report by Richard Pollack in the June *Critical Mass Journal* reveals the radiation readings were taken by a private company—a company owned by eight nuclear utilities, including the owners of TMI.

The firm, Radiation Management Corporation (RMC) of Philadelphia, PA, was formed in 1969 by General Public Utilities (which owns TMI), Philadelphia Electric, the Atlantic City Electric Co., the Potomac Electric Power Company, the Baltimore Gas and Electric Co., Delmarva Power and Light, and Pennsylvania Power & Light. These utilities have representatives at RMC board meetings, and pay annual contributions to keep the firm going. General Public Utilities, for example, paid \$517,000 to the firm between 1969 and 1974.

According to Pollack, RMC's management pointed out the potential conflict-of-interest problems as early as 1975. Apparently, however, no action was taken. Nor was this the only problem. In 1977, the Department of Energy terminated a one-year contract with RMC after only three months—apparently because of dissatisfaction over services.

The NRC has not explained why it chose RMC for the TMI monitoring job, instead of a university or government laboratory. At best, the incident shows a lack of preparedness on the NRC's part—and adds to persistent doubts about its neutrality and credibility.

--Bob Van Scoy



media help

The public needs more than rumors about the dangers of nuclear power; they need facts. And the Abalone Alliance Media Service needs your help getting the facts out to and through the press.

We need statewide assistance organizing and implementing Blockade media. We need local assistance staffing the San Francisco Media office. Helping out can include tackling different aspects of media production but does not require previous experience or expertise.

Please call. The Blockade and the Media Service need your ideas, time and support to continue communicating our side of the nuclear debate and offsetting corporate rumors.

AAMS: (415) 495-6577; Julia Randall: (415) 549-1274.

Life Magazine, 1942

Rancho Seco

(continued from page one)

The D.A.'s rebuttal expert, Dr. Marvin Gofman, claimed there would be 0.4 deaths from the Three Mile Island accident and stated that low level radiation is perfectly safe. His research has been funded by the AEC, NRC and DOE for 25 years. Rancho Seco chief engineer Dan Whitney stressed that despite both human error and mechanical caused accidents, Rancho Seco has never exceeded NRC emission standards. Whitney claimed the standards are conservative anyway. He discussed three cases of employee overexposure and told us that the plant's liquid wastes are dumped in the Gulf of Mexico.

In closing arguments, D.A. Patrick Marlette, age 26, called the defendants "spiteful children" who were holding their breath demanding that their mother give them a cookie before dinner. Defense attorney Leonard Post angrily described Marlette's "cookies" as basic rights that have been won throughout history by using civil disobedience. Civil disobedience has played a strong role in the struggle for women's suffrage, labor reform, black civil rights, and an end to the Viet Nam War.

The trial elicited a strong right wing response. Nazis handed out anti-semitic newspapers and pro-nuclear—anti-communist literature both in and out of the courtroom. Other pro-nuclear people attended regularly and worked hand in hand with the D.A. One of them, from an Oakland based organization called Radiant Light, claimed to be reporting for the Abalone Alliance and ripped off a defense attorney's briefcase. It was later returned after the contents had been thoroughly gone through. Clearly, when we challenge corporate America and the military economy and advocate democratic decision making by a well informed public, it is very threatening to those in power.

The *San Francisco Chronicle* and *Examiner* virtually blacked out news of the trial, although the Sacramento Bee and local papers covered it daily. Support from the Abalone Alliance was missing because it was not a sanctioned action. The defense team is critical of this A.A. policy and feels that their experience and resources would have been helpful in organizing around the trial, making media contacts, etc.

The Rancho Seco 13 trial was the first time the dangers of the plant were discussed in the community closest to it. Massive grassroots organizing is now needed. Jury forewoman Jane Dohn says she will become active: "From this trial, I found out how dangerous nuclear power is. I feel I have to do something more than sit around with my friends and talk about it."

The defendants have called the retrial "clear political harassment" and "an insult to the jury which deliberated honestly and sincerely for three days." The nine remaining defendants will not plead guilty but will continue the struggle to bring out the real dangers behind Rancho Seco and the entire nuclear fuel cycle. Their second trial will probably begin in late October in Sacramento Municipal Court.

Contributions can be sent to: Rancho Seco 13 Defense Fund, P.O. Box 160991, Sacramento, CA 95816.

—Donna Levitt

Dear Readers,

We will soon be updating our mailing list. Anyone who has never subscribed will be dropped. Please subscribe *now* (or let us know if you can't pay.) People who have subscribed or have donated \$15 or more to the Abalone Alliance will continue to receive *It's About Times*.

We plan to focus the next *IAT* on nuclear weapons and our approach to the weapons issue. Submissions are welcome, particularly on aspects of the issue we haven't previously covered. The next copy deadline is September 10. Please give us clean, typed, double-spaced copy and be as brief and concise (but colorful) as possible.

This issue was produced by Connie Clark, Marcy Darnovsky, Mark Evanoff, Maureen Hogan, William Meyers, Julia Randall and Bob Van Scoy. Special thanks to Cindy Cornell and Mark Ryan for typesetting the copy.



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415-456-3091

ALLIANCE AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER
c/o Carroll Child
University of California Medical Center
N319-X
San Francisco, CA 94143
415-681-1028 (h) or 666-1435 (UC)

ALLIANCE FOR SURVIVAL
5539 West Pico Blvd.
Los Angeles, CA 90019
213-937-0240

ALLIANCE FOR SURVIVAL
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San Francisco, CA 94102
415-982-6988

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
2160 Lake St.
San Francisco, CA 94121
415-752-7766

BOLINAS AGAINST NUCLEAR DESTRUCTION
c/o Greta Goldeman
Box 361
Bolinas, CA 94924
415-868-1120

CHICO PEOPLE FOR A NUCLEAR FREE FUTURE
708 Cherry St.
Chico, CA 95926
916-345-8070

CITIZENS ALLIANCE FOR SAFE ENERGY
P.O. Box 557
Albion, CA 95410
(707) 937-5560

CITIZENS FOR ALTERNATIVES TO NUCLEAR ENERGY
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Palo Alto, CA 94301
415-325-6049

COALITION AGAINST NUKES
(U.C. Berkeley)
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2420 Dwight No. 9
Berkeley, CA 94704

COASTRIDERS FOR A NUCLEAR FREE FUTURE
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El Granada, CA 94018
415-728-7406

COMMUNITY ENERGY ACTION NETWORK
P.O. Box 33686
San Diego, CA 92103
714-236-1684 or 295-2084

EAST BAY ANTI-NUCLEAR GROUP
585 Alcatraz, Suite A
Oakland, CA 94609
415-655-1715

GROUP OPPOSED TO NUCLEAR ENERGY
300 South 10th St.
San Jose, CA 95112
408-297-2299

LOMPOC SAFE ENERGY COALITION
238 South J St.
Lompoc, CA 93436
805-736-1897

MID-PENINSULA CITIZENS FOR SAFE ENERGY
75 Lodato Ave.
San Mateo, CA 94403
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MOUNTAIN PEOPLE FOR NUCLEAR FREE LIFE
260 Desear Way
Felton, CA 95018

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Pt. Reyes, CA 94937
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PEOPLE AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER, U.C. SANTA BARBARA
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805-968-4238 or 968-2886

PEOPLE AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER
312-1 East Sola St.
Santa Barbara, CA 93010
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PEOPLE AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER
944 Market St., Room 808
San Francisco, CA 94102
415-781-5342

PEOPLE FOR A NUCLEAR FREE FUTURE
433 Russell
Davis, CA 95616
916-758-6810

PEOPLE FOR A NUCLEAR FREE FUTURE
515 Broadway
Santa Cruz, CA 95060
408-425-1275

PEOPLE FOR A NUCLEAR FREE FUTURE
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Sacramento, CA 95816
916-446-1629 (Eves)

PEOPLE GENERATING ENERGY
452 Higuera Street
San Luis Obispo, CA 93401
805-543-8402

PEOPLE FOR SAFE ENERGY
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Fresno, CA 93701
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707-822-7884

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Riverside, CA 92501
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916-241-7081

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Sonoma, CA 95476
707-996-8690

SO NO More Atomics
621 Humboldt St.
Santa Rosa, CA 95402
707-526-7220 or 526-7221

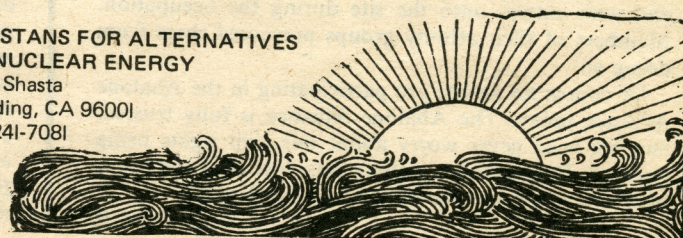
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Ojai, CA 93023
805-646-3832

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408-375-7794

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905 Jackson No. 2
Red Bluff, CA 96080
916-527-8054

VENTURA SAFE ENERGY
1441 Greencock
Ventura, CA 93003
805-643-2317



WHAT'S NUKE IN PRINT

The New Tyranny

The New Tyranny—How Nuclear Power Enslaves Us, by Robert Jungk, Grosset & Dunlap, 1977, \$10.00

The New Tyranny is another book on nuclear power. But this one is not about alpha rays, meltdowns or turbine trips. Instead, Robert Jungk introduces us to scientists who want to play God, ex-Nazis who now direct nuclear research centers and workers who refer to themselves as "radiation fodder." (The industry calls them *liveware* to distinguish them from the computer *hardware* and the *software* programs.)

The New Tyranny is populated by a cast of characters introduced from the European scene and filled with a new grab bag of horror stories. In this recently released and updated translation of a 1977 German bestseller, Jungk chronicles the surveillance of anti-nuclear activists and dissident scientists, the secret proliferation of nuclear weapons by means of nuclear power technology, the investigations and background checks on workers in the nuclear industry, and the drastic security preparations for terrorist attacks. He argues convincingly that nuclear power requires Orwellian measures and a "regimented society that would appear tolerable only in contrast to the dangers it seeks to avoid." If nuclear power does not rob us of our future altogether, it will eat away at the freedoms we still possess.

The shock troops of the nuclear industry are its workers. In every phase of the nuclear fuel cycle, employees take the brunt of exposure to radiation and to the heaviest security fallout. In West Germany, where—as Jungk puts it—"over-enthusiasm when it comes to security is a tradition," applicants to certain jobs are subjected to a rigorous screening procedure. Managers are warned against bachelors (they are "probably unreliable,") women ("not capable of leadership positions; possibility of pregnancy,") foreigners ("probably irresponsible,") and certain majors from the Berlin and Bremen universities ("could be incipient Marxists").

Limitations like these may soon make "liveware" a scarce resource, especially when they are coupled with the growing awareness of nuclear dangers which has scared off many potential applicants. At a Swedish reactor, for example, want ads placed ten years ago brought hundreds of inquiries. Now, only one or two responses come in. And as the current pool of nuclear workers is exposed to the legal doses of radiation, "an ever more frantic search for 'new blood' will develop," Jungk predicts. "Will the day come when every able-bodied citizen will be drafted for a period of time just to keep the lights burning?" he asks. And "what about using mood-altering drugs on nuclear plant employees to blot out both the risks and the perceived dangers from the individual worker's mind?" Jungk hastens to agree that this sounds far-fetched, but he feels compelled to ask it in this obviously well-researched book.

In the meantime, those who do get jobs in the nuclear industry are getting snooped on and pushed around. In a bellwether case right here in California, a man hired as a "Helper" in the General Construction Department of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company was later transferred to another duty at the Humboldt Bay plant (widely known as the dirtiest reactor in the country) and ordered to enter a contaminated area. His refusal got him fired. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers brought the case to arbitration and lost.

(This story was not reported in Jungk's book; it was brought to our attention because the decision of the Board of Arbitration was one of a sheaf of internal PG&E documents that came into the possession of the Abalone Alliance. The report was being circulated to all PG&E division personnel managers, obviously so that it could be waved under the noses of other recalcitrant employees.)

Other defensive actions by unions representing nuclear workers are also being squashed. At the La Hague reprocessing plant in France, a strike was broken in part because workers had to tend the nuclear materials that keep on radiating regardless of the class struggle, and that after several weeks of neglect had reached a nearly critical state.

After seven chapters of chilling tales, *The New Tyranny* ends with a paean to the international anti-nuclear movement. Though I am flattered to be counted among the lovers of truth and beauty, and though I share Jungk's hope that "in the end, water conquers the rock," I would be more optimistic if the anti-nuclear movement and Jungk could see clearly that nuclear power is not the source of our problems but a particularly obnoxious symptom of them. This blind spot leads Jungk, for example, to remark that workers in the nuclear industry are alienated from their activity because high levels of radiation mean that they often can spend only a few minutes in a contaminated area before they receive their maximum allowable doses. Thus "they never see the beginning or end of their efforts and they feel all job satisfaction is denied them." Would we really be happier making solar cells on an assembly line and watching solar-powered soap operas on the weekends?

Nonetheless, *The New Tyranny* is a compelling book, and one that places nuclear power in a social and political context rather than viewing it only as an abomination against nature.

—by Marcy Darnovsky



500 Mile Island

The Philippine Reactor Deal, by Walden Bello, Peter Hayes, and Lyuba Zarsky, Pacific Studies Center 2303 Main St.

Declining domestic demand for nuclear reactors, along with rising operating costs and growing opposition to the plants, have forced the U.S. nuclear industry to search out new dumping grounds in order to survive. Favorable choices have been Third World countries with repressive, centralized governments, such as the Philippines. "500 Mile Island, The Philippine Nuclear Reactor Deal", is an excellent account of the machinations of Westinghouse corporation, the Export-Import Bank, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, and the Philippine government to bail out ailing Westinghouse and provide a source of energy useful only to foreign investors and a Filipino urban elite. The authors—Walden Bello, Peter Hayes, and Lyuba Zarsky—thoroughly examine the events leading to the reactor sale and the detrimental effects it has had on the people of Bataan peninsula. Opponents there have been severely threatened or imprisoned. Some of the people of Morong, a town near the reactor site, have already been relocated, and the fishing industry, a vital contributor to the subsistence of the villagers, has almost been destroyed by reactor construction.

The N.R.C. has yet to grant an export license to Westinghouse, and can't do so until a conflict over the review of the environmental, health and safety aspects of the plant is resolved. As the site is located on a volcano slope in an earthquake zone, opponents here feel they have a strong case against the licensing of the reactor, and they hope that enough public pressure on the N.R.C. will lead to a denial of the license.

The report also discusses the impact of reactors on the Native Americans and the Australian Aborigines. Most of the world supply of uranium, necessary to fuel reactors, is located on Indian or aboriginal land, and governments have traditionally ignored the concerns and rights of these people. The quest for raw materials has greatly aided in the disintegration of their cultures.

Graphics, by Charlie Aquilinas, are particularly well-done. On the cover, Westinghouse is depicted searing its indelible mark on the face of the earth with a branding iron. If you would like a copy of the report, send \$1.50 check or money order to: Pacific Studies Center, 867 West Dana Street, No. 204, Mountain View, California, 94041, or contact Connie Clark at 849-1172.

delusions

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plants—is simply *earlier* labor. The output of the chemicals industry embodies approximately the same amount of total labor per dollar as the output of the leather industry, the auto industry, the shoe industry, etc. It merely embodies less of the *most recently and locally expended* labor than the other industries.

The argument is similar for energy. Consider oil: like labor or plant and equipment (indirect labor), it is an input in the production process. Like labor and "capital," it is of economic importance because it is not free.

And it is not free precisely because in order to convert oil from a worthless underground mass into a useful productive input, "labor" and "capital" must be expended. The petroleum used in the production of goods and services, then, is essentially another form of labor.

What the terms "capital shortage" and "energy shortage" really mean is that there is not enough labor—living workers, existing plants and equipment, and

Energy Futures

Report of the Energy Project at the Harvard Business School. Edited by Robert Stobaugh and Daniel Yergin, 1979 (post Three Mile Island), Random House.

"Would the coming of solar energy bring, as some have suggested, fundamental changes to American society? Technological change always does imply some social change, and that will surely be the case with solar energy. But the 'revolutionary' impact of solar has been exaggerated."

This book is definitely a sign of the times. The boys at Harvard have seen the future, and it is solar. But don't misunderstand—it's not even a return to small companies and labor-intensive production that they have in mind. They know that the local solar retrofit company will more than likely buy its parts from Grumman. These fellas like corporate capitalism, and their measured optimism about low-tech solar and conservation (and, incidentally, their pessimism about nuclear and synfuel) is based upon a "managerial mode (of analysis) that assesses priority and potential, cost and risk, incentive, profit, and the marketplace."

Energy Future is worth looking at for a couple of reasons:

1) It contains an economic analysis of the energy situation in the U.S. that, from its "honest reevaluation" point of view, casts a lot of light on the likely consequences of continued reliance on archaic fossil-fuel and nuclear technology.

2) It clearly reveals the role of the long-term policy-makers in the "planning process, at the same time that it suggests their impotence. The part where they moan about the proliferation of vested interests making it impossible to make a rational energy transition is especially humorous.

—Tom Athanasiou

already-extracted energy—to make more plants and equipment and to extract more energy—without a major reallocation of society's resources...

The focus on labor and capital intensity *per se* is misplaced. Capital intensiveness tends to be associated with other characteristics of projects: more skilled and better paid labor, more machinery, and more debt. Projects should be evaluated on the basis of these characteristics, not on the poor correlate, "capital intensity."

Workers should not favor projects simply because they have a higher labor to output ratio. On the contrary, long-term increases in real wages stem directly from reductions in the amount of labor required for a given level of output.

Nor should the decentralization/centralization debate be confused (as it has been) with the issue of labor-and-capital-intensity. A solar panel on every roof is certainly a decentralized energy concept; but the amount of labor, required to build and install those collectors makes for huge capital expenses.

Squandering Labor

As a *short-term* social policy to relieve severe unemployment, projects that use more labor may be temporarily preferable. However, formulation of *long-term* national energy policy should be concerned with *minimizing* labor requirements. A policy that aims to increase the ratio of total labor to output is tantamount to paying to have holes dug only to be filled up again. Rather than squandering labor by increasing the ratio of labor to output, long-term policies to create jobs should reduce the hours of labor per job and/or increase needed output.

The amount and distribution of required labor hours and output, as well as the distribution of income, must be decided politically not by energy sector "technical fixes." In addition, high living standards have to be understood to include more than high incomes from long work hours; non-working time and the potential for more and more of it over time are of no small importance.

In the final analysis the least labor-wasting energy projects are preferable. Once costs are accurately enumerated, "cheapest is best."

What does this imply? First and foremost it implies that a variety of energy sources and technologies are needed if we are not to consign the use values of existing equipment and structures to premature obsolescence. It would be folly, for example, to throw away the U.S.'s \$51 billion natural gas pipeline system or to junk the country's even more expensive stock of electric machinery.

Electricity is the most practical source of backup energy for solar heating systems. It also provides flexibility in choosing among scarce hydro-carbon fuels. For these reasons, more electric generating capacity is going to be necessary in the future.

Until solar photovoltaic systems can generate base load power cheaply one can't choose solar over the non-renewables without eroding living standards. Nor can one appeal to the vision of a small scale all solar economy; the need to generate, store and distribute electricity in the pre-photovoltaic period does not allow such a utopian evasion of reality. In the real world we must face the task of regulating giant utilities and of eventually socializing large scale modern industry. Only in an illusory dream world is the solution to energy problems only a rooftop collector away.

CORPORATE LIES DEPT.

EDWARD TELLER, WHO LAST CONTRIBUTED TO HUMAN WELFARE BY INVENTING THE H-BOMB, PROVES HE CAN STILL SLING THE OLD NUKE INDUSTRY BULL IN . . .

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, TUESDAY, JULY 31, 1979

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, TUESDAY, JULY 31, 1979

"I was the only victim of Three-Mile Island."

"On May 7, a few weeks after the accident at Three-Mile Island, I was in Washington. I was there to refute some of the propaganda that Ralph Nader, Jane Fonda and their kind are spewing to the news media in their attempt to frighten people away from nuclear power. I am 71 years old, and I was working 20 hours a day. The strain was too much. The next day, I suffered a heart attack. You might say that I was the only one whose health was affected by that reactor near Harrisburg. No, that would be wrong. It was not the reactor. It was Jane Fonda. Reactors are not dangerous.

Now that I am recovering, I feel compelled to use whatever time and strength are left to me to speak out on the energy problem. Nuclear power is part of the answer to that problem, only a part, but a very important part.

I have worked on the hydrogen bomb and on the safety of nuclear reactors. I did both for the same reasons. Both are needed for the survival of a free society. If we are to avoid war, we must be strong and we must help to generate the progress that makes it possible for all nations to grow and prosper.

And what is the greatest present-day threat to the prosperity and even the survival of nations? A lack of energy. Both developed and developing nations are threatened.

The citizens of the United States have just begun to recognize the impact of the world's growing energy shortage. Gasoline lines, electrical brownouts and higher prices are minor irritants. They are nothing compared to what may lie ahead. In a struggle for survival, politics, law, religion and even humanity may be forgotten. When the objective is to stay alive, the end may seem to justify the means. In that event, the world may indeed return to the 'simpler' life of the past, but millions of us will not be alive to discover its disadvantages.

When our existence is at stake, we cannot afford to turn our backs on any source of energy. We need them all.



Dr. Edward Teller was born in Hungary and educated in Germany. He came to the United States in 1935 and worked extensively on nuclear developments during and after World War II. He led the earliest efforts to ensure the safety of nuclear power reactors and to achieve clean power generation. In recent years he has concentrated increasingly on the varied aspects of the coming energy shortage, and has argued for utilization of every feasible form of energy. Active in national programs to explore peaceful uses of nuclear power, Dr. Teller is a Senior Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford, California, and Professor Emeritus at the University of California. Dr. Teller's newest book, *Energy from Heaven and Earth* (W. H. Freeman & Co.), traces the origin and development of energy, from 15-billion years ago to the present day and in the future. Authoritative, amusing and easily understood, it is highly recommended to all who seek a balanced perspective on the energy situation.

Q. Can a nuclear reactor explode like an atomic bomb?
A. No. Energy cannot increase fast enough in the reactor. Therefore, it is absolutely impossible for a nuclear power plant to explode like a bomb. For this to happen, the laws of nature would have to be repealed.

Q. What is the risk of nuclear power compared to other forms of producing electricity?
A. It is far safer than coal or hydroelectric power, but all three are necessary to meet our need for energy. It may sound strange to say it, because coal has been around so long, but we know more about controlling radiation than we do about controlling the pollutive effects of burning coal. And, of course, a dam has no backup system to protect those who live below it. Indeed many of these people have lost their lives and more their homes.

Q. I live within 50 miles of a nuclear power plant. What are my chances of being injured by a nuclear accident?
A. About the same as being hit by a falling meteor.

Q. What about the effect of an earthquake on a nuclear plant?
A. At the first sign of a tremor, the reactor would shut down automatically. Also, reactors are built to withstand enormous structural damage. The only man-made structures I can think of that are more stable are the pyramids of Egypt.

Q. Is it true that we still have no satisfactory way to dispose of nuclear wastes?
A. No. Ways do exist. What we have not had is a decision by our government on which way to go. Waste disposal is a political problem, not a technical problem.

Q. How much radioactive waste materials are produced by nuclear plants?
A. At the moment, about 12 1/4% of our electricity is generated by nuclear power. If all of it were produced this way, the wastes from these plants over the next 20 years would cover a football field to a depth of about 30 feet. To dispose of this waste a mile underground would add less than one percent to the cost of electricity.

When it comes to generating electricity, we especially need nuclear power. Contrary to what Nader and Fonda, and their friends such as Sternglass, Wald and Kendall, would have you believe, nuclear power is the safest, cleanest way to generate large amounts of electrical power. This is not merely my opinion — it is a fact. Due to the lessons learned at Three-Mile Island, the nuclear way of generating electricity will be made even safer.

I have attempted to respond briefly to some of the questions which people ask about nuclear power. The problems that these questions raise are problems because of political indecision or public fear. Technically, they are non-problems, because the dangers they imply either do not exist or else we have the know-how to solve them. I am absolutely convinced of this, after a lifetime of work as a nuclear scientist.

I was once asked how I would like for my grandson, Eric, to think of me and my life's work after I am gone. Eric is nine years old. He is a terrible guy — he beats me at the game of "GO." I am enormously fond of him, but I have not given much thought to what he will someday think of my life's work. I have given a great deal of thought to whether he will be alive in the next century, and whether he will be living in freedom or in slavery. If he is living under communism, he will know I was a failure.

I believe that we have reached a turning point in history. The anti-nuclear propaganda we are hearing puts democracy to a severe test. Unless the political trend toward energy development in this country changes rapidly, there may not be a United States in the twenty-first century.

The President has recognized the danger of the energy shortage. As yet, he has given only some of the answers. I think — I hope — that democracy has enough vitality to evaluate the risks and to recognize the great benefits of nuclear power to human health and well-being, and to the survival of our free society."

Q. How dangerous is the release of low-level radiation from a nuclear power plant?
A. If you sat next to a nuclear power plant for a whole year, you would be exposed to less radiation than you would receive during a round-trip flight in a 747 from New York to Los Angeles.

Let me put it another way: The allowable radiation from a nuclear plant is five mrems* per year. In Dallas, people get about 80 mrems per year from the natural background of buildings, rocks, etc. In Colorado, people get as much as 130 mrems per year from the natural background. Therefore, just by moving from Dallas to Boulder you would receive ten times more radiation per year than the person gets who lives next to a nuclear power plant.

Q. How much radiation were the people around Three-Mile Island exposed to during the accident?
A. Let me put it this way. Your blood contains potassium 40, from which you get an internal dose of some 25 mrems of radiation in one year. Among the people not working on the reactor, a handful may have gotten as much radiation as 25 mrems.

Q. Should "spent" nuclear wastes be reprocessed to save the plutonium and other by-products?
A. Yes. Plutonium, for example, is as valuable as the original uranium fuel, because of its potential use to produce still more energy. In the end, reprocessing is needed to make nuclear energy abundant and lasting.

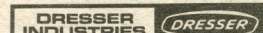
Q. Is there a danger that the plutonium produced by nuclear reactors might be stolen by terrorists and used to construct homemade nuclear explosives?
A. I believe that reactor products can be properly safeguarded from terrorists. This can be much more easily done than the guarding of airplanes. Also, any terrorist who puts his mind to it can come up with ways to terrorize a population that are less dangerous to himself than handling plutonium. The answer is not to get rid of the reactors — let's get rid of the terrorists.

Q. Will the expansion of nuclear power by other countries enable them to produce nuclear weapons?
A. Unfortunately, yes. This is already happening. Two-thirds of the reactors in operation in the free world today are outside the United States. Since we can't stop other nations from building nuclear plants or weapons, what we must do is find better solutions to international problems. An energy-starved nation is much more likely to make and use nuclear weapons as a last resort to survival. The only way to prevent that is to see to it that there is enough energy to go around, and to strengthen cooperation and confidence among the nations.

Q. What have we learned from the accident at Three-Mile Island?
A. Two things. First, that nuclear reactors are even safer than we thought. Despite many human errors and a few mechanical failures at Three-Mile Island, the damage was contained. No one was killed, or even injured. We have also learned that a lot can be done by better educated, better paid and more responsible reactor operators, and by a more efficient display of the state of the reactor by modern instrument panels.

Three-Mile Island has cost \$500-million, but not a single life. We must pay for safety and, even after we have paid for it, nuclear energy is the cheapest source of electrical power. It is most remarkable that in the case of nuclear energy we are paying for our lessons in dollars, not in lives.

Control copies of this manuscript from Dr. Teller are available on request to: Dresser Industries, Inc., One Penn Plaza, Suite 1000, New York, NY 10119.



Dresser Industries is one of the world's leading and most diversified suppliers of technology, products, and services to industries involved in the development of energy and natural resources, including oil, gas, coal and nuclear power. For the fiscal year ended October 31, 1978, consolidated net sales and service revenues amounted to \$1.56 billion, and net earnings were \$253.9 million. To learn more about Dresser, please write for our Annual Report.

. . . and who, you ask, is Dresser Industries, who paid for this magnificent two-page spread in the Wall Street Journal? Well, an August 16 letter to the paper by NRC commissioner Peter Bradford says they made the valve that stuck open at Three Mile Island and started it all.

SUPPORT FOR SEABROOK TACTICS

continued from page eight

a Direct Action Affinity Group to help spread information, organize transportation, and participate on October 6th.

We feel we've found answers to the major points of concern that have been raised, and we'd like to share our information -- hopefully transmitting our enthusiasm as we go along, since we feel now that this action could prove to be one of the most important any of us will participate in.

1) "People are being urged to bring wire-cutters and in other ways to be prepared for some sort of 'violence against property.' This in itself violates the principles of nonviolence that we adhere to."

The only destruction of property planned is the taking down of portions of the fence. Many of us believe that "violence against property" is not violence. The problems generated here are more in terms of the image we project and the possibility that if it appears to be "trashing," it may lead to or provoke real violence. This is important and should be emphasized: destruction of property will be limited to taking down portions of the fence, and this will be done carefully and considerably. No other destruction of property is planned or advocated.

2) "People are planning to resist arrest, and many are planning to bring such things as helmets; both of these allow too much potential for violence."

To avoid arrest in some way is part and parcel of the decision to carry out a nonsymbolic action. The more people removed from the site by arrest, the less effective we will be. The nature of the avoidance will always be nonviolent. It involves large groups of people linking arms and moving away from police, surrounding police buses when full to prevent them from leaving, and so on. As for helmets, when this question was explicitly raised with the staff at the Boston Clam Office, we were told that although it was a suggestion (among many) in their Direct Action Handbook, it was not being emphasized, and people were asked not to wear them, but simply to bring them in a pack if they chose to. This was not considered to be a suggestion of major importance, and the office

felt a very small number of people would actually decide to bring something.

3 & 4) "Tactics such as linking arms to prevent removal of arrestees, and running to new areas, are being advocated. These too easily lead to violence."

As was mentioned above, preventing the removal of arrestees is being considered. This is a nonviolent method of collectively resisting arrest, and we find it entirely acceptable. On the other hand, no one is being urged to scatter and run in order to avoid arrest, and all the dangers of such an event are being recognized. The alternative to running is to stay together solidly in large groups of individuals and collectively move away from the police. The Boston Clam has laid extreme emphasis on making decisions and carrying them out collectively. It is felt that this is the best way to avoid any tendency people may feel to run. Again: running is not being advocated.

5) "There has not been sufficient planning to allow for the possibility of the site being surrounded and cut off by police."

On the contrary, elaborate contingency plans have been made for this situation and for many other possibilities, as well as third-level plans should these contingencies be blocked. The site is well-known, and communication of options for access to it seems to be running at a high level.

6) "Any attempt to 'strategically pass through police lines' will be a violation of the nonviolence code."

In some contingencies we may attempt to circumvent police lines. There are no plans to "pass through" police lines.

7) "Surrounding police vehicles to prevent them from transporting arrestees will lead to violence; there may also be damage to police vehicles in the process, which could of itself instigate violence."

The legitimacy of blocking police vehicles has been pointed out in 3 & 4. As for damaging police vehicles, everyone we've spoken with agrees that this is to be avoided completely. There is no advocacy of such a tactic in the Handbook, and the only reference any Clams at the Boston office remember to such a tactic

was someone's suggestion that air be let out of the tires. Again, collective decision-making is being emphasized, which should eliminate the possibility of such a development.

8) "There are no plans to have monitors for the occupation."

The Boston no-nukes use the term "peace-keepers" (which sounds nicer and more accurate); and at this point there are no plans to train monitors. Instead, the people organizing the occupation are counting on whole affinity groups, who share the concern for peace-keepers, to organize themselves as such, whether explicitly or not -- that is, to be watching and keeping peaceful the mood and all developments. They felt better about the collective process leaving such duties up to whole groups rather than designated individuals. But the question is still open. The need for easily-identifiable people (with armbands or the like) who will tend to have reliable information as opposed to rumors, is being recognized. It's up to us, the participants, to see that such things get organized.

9) "There will be no on-going communication with the police."

Communication with the police will be open and hopefully uninterrupted. What will not exist is a liaison group specifically empowered to negotiate with the police. Instead, decisions will be made collectively by all occupiers, including how to respond to police.

10) "The Clamshell Alliance is not organizing the action, and there has been quite a lot of division within the Clam over support of the action."

The organizers of the occupation are members of the Coalition for Direct Action at Seabrook; some, not all, are also members of the Clamshell Alliance. The planning is being done by a Coalition because the Clamshell operates on consensus, and not all of the locals felt they could support an occupation. However, the endorsement of the action by the Clamshell Alliance has been unequivocal. The letter many of us recently received ostensibly from the Clamshell -- rather icily phrased, and disassociating the Clam from the action -- turns out to have been written by a tiny group of people without the approval of the Clamshell Alliance itself.

LET'S CLOSE THE NUKES OURSELVES.

RANE Direct Action Affinity Group

JOIN THE BLOCKADE -- STOP DIABLO