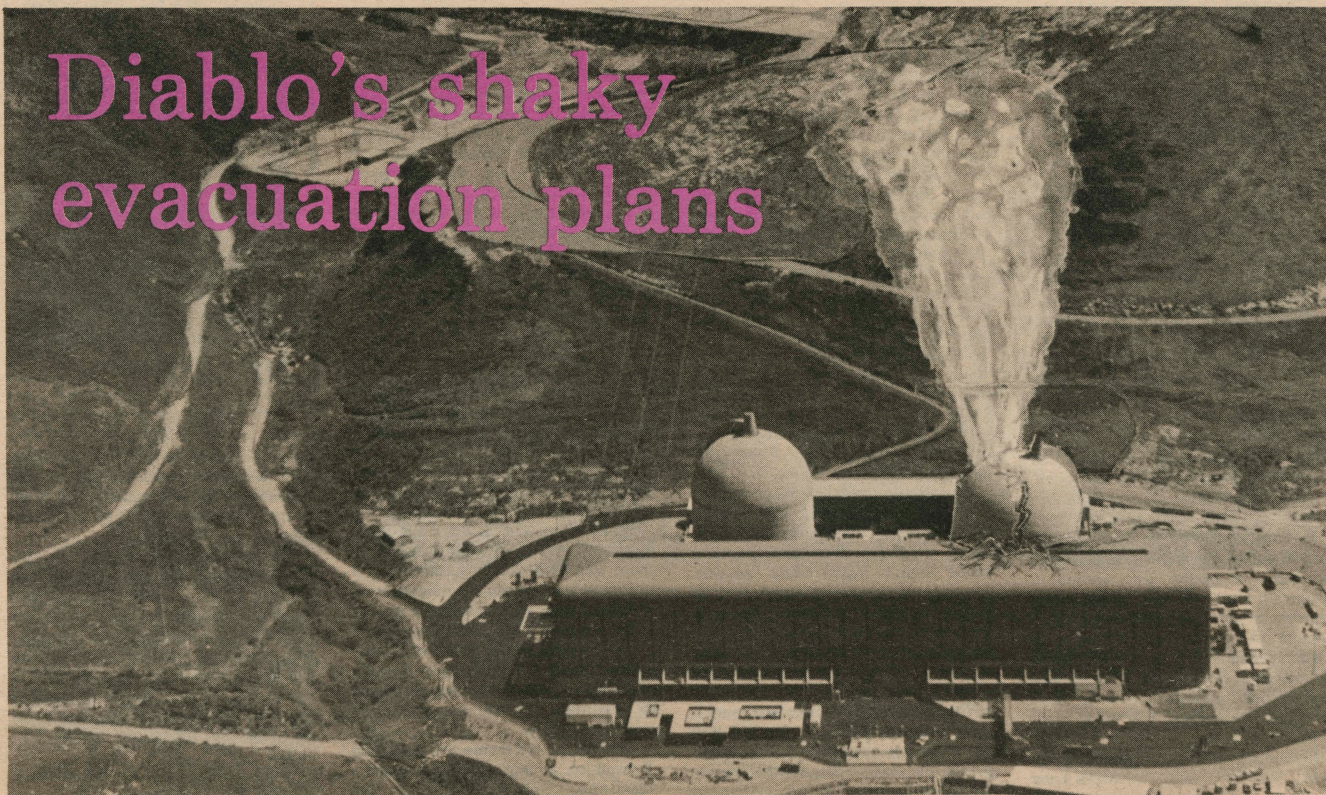


It's About Times

Abalone Alliance Newspaper

September 1981

Diablo's shaky evacuation plans



With the licensing of the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant imminent, emergency response plans were tested by a simulated accident on August 19. But the drill did not test preparations for both an earthquake and the massive release of radiation from Diablo that it might cause. In fact, no response plan for such a situation exists and each of the government agencies involved is trying to pass the responsibility to someone else.

The evaluation of the drill by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) will be used as a recommendation to the NRC, which is considering the question of emergency preparedness in its licensing procedures. The NRC must rule there is an adequate emergency response plan for San Luis Obispo county before a full power operating license for Diablo can be issued. But FEMA has no intention of asking either the State Office of Emergency Services or the county if they can respond to an earthquake. Vern Paule, public relations officer for FEMA, told *It's About Times* that it is up to either the county or the state to raise the issue.

Anita Garcia of the State Office of Emergency Services said the state cannot bring up earthquake prepared-

ness as an issue of contention unless the County Board of Supervisors or the county's Office of Emergency Response determines they are unable to deal with such an emergency situation and ask the state for assistance.

The Supervisors are split three to two in favor of Diablo and are not expected to pursue this matter.

Tim Ness of the San Luis Obispo County Office of Emergency Response said his office cannot raise the earthquake issue with FEMA because the Atomic Safety and Licensing Board (ASLB) reviewing Diablo has not required an emergency response plan for an earthquake and simultaneous massive release of radiation. Ness contends that this allows FEMA to duck the issue. "It's a good way to avoid the issue on their part. Every time something gets sticky, they tell folks like yourself to talk with our office," he said. A different ASLB panel presiding over licensing of San Onofre Units II and III is requiring such a plan.

Ness admitted that there is no plan to deal with the earthquake/radiation release situation. He said the county is preparing such a response plan on its own initiative, but it will not be ready for review until Decem-

ber, long after FEMA will have turned in its recommendations to the NRC.

At a press conference after the drill Dean Kuninero of the NRC defined an adequate evacuation plan as "getting notification to the members of the public that there is an accident at the plant which requires them to take some action, and these actions are supported by government agencies." To concerns about the lack of plans in the event of an earthquake, Kuninero said that an earthquake reduces "the options that are available to public officials who have the responsibility to make recommendations to members of the public as to what they need to do to protect themselves."

Kuninero admitted that in the event of a massive radiation release, "there is no barrier that could be spread to provide members of the public protection. The protection that will be afforded them in a radiological release will be primarily a result of the actions they take. Therefore one of the most important criteria has to do with getting the word out to people that they need to take these actions."

Educational booklets explaining what to do in case of a nuclear accident have not been distributed to county

(continued on p. 5)

Blockade?

The long-awaited license for the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant still has not been granted, although for over a month all parties, from the intervenors against the plant to spokesmen for Pacific Gas and Electric, have been speculating that it would come "any day."

Preparations for the Abalone Alliance blockade at Diablo are complete, and affinity groups from around the state are ready to leave for San Luis Obispo when the alert is given from the Diablo Project Office. There's still time to get involved. See page 5 for more information.

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Letters

Clam confrontations



- Susan Debrausk

Self-sufficiency costs

Dear IAT,

We read in Letters (August issue) a criticism of our "Awakening in the Nuclear Age" workshops. It is a little disturbing to be censured by a letter from individuals who have had no direct contact with us or our organization.

The movement has long lived hand-to-mouth, relying on gifts from foundations and generous individuals. Our organization, Interhelp, is working toward being financially self-sufficient. Workshop fees (assessed on a sliding scale) go toward paying for facilities (not the Hyatt, but a school or church) and other services. Our books are open; anyone who wishes to see them can contact us.

For too long, we have lived with nuclear dangers, including the increasing likelihood of nuclear war, without a forum to confront the despair and numbness we feel. Our workshops attempt to provide such a forum, to enable people to move through these feelings and into concrete work. For further info, contact: Interhelp, Box 40246, San Francisco, CA 94140 (415) 841-6500, ext. 362

- Fran Peavey
Myra Levy
for Interhelp

Errata

There were several proofreader's errors in last month's Bombs Away column. The actual Regents' decision to renew UC's contract with the Livermore and Los Alamos nuclear weapons laboratories was 11-4, rather than the 14-11 figure published. Governor Brown did appear at the meeting, but he failed to use political pressure to get seven other Regents to show. Had these seven been present and had Brown filled the three vacant seats on the Board with contract opponents, the vote could have been a 14-11 victory for the anti-labs forces Brown claimed to support.

Recently *It's About Times* has begun to delve into the controversies surrounding MUSE and the Clamshell Alliance. Having been active in the anti-nuclear movement since April, 1977, I have witnessed the demise of Clamshell and have some ideas about why it fell apart.

I do not contend that the disagreements were just petty personal dislikes or that there were not real political differences. There were. The main problem, however, was common to both sides. The most central organizers in each faction tended to be more committed to resenting each other than to stopping the nuke. They listened primarily to demolish the other side, when establishing commonality could have facilitated a far more fruitful exchange of ideas.

The original controlling group, the Seacoast Clamshell and its allies (Seacoast), convinced the coordinating committee on June 11, 1978 to change the June 24th mass civil disobedience action to a legal rally in violation of accepted consensus process. Seacoast Clam had difficulty getting clear whether all Clams should be equal partners in decision making or whether locals should call the shots.

This decision and the way it was made destroyed Clamshell internally. Most Americans are unwilling to weather trying meetings only to find that their voices didn't really count anyway. Experienced nonviolent activists should expect the state to act when threatened, but Seacoast's judgment was that we did not have the strength and cohesiveness to pull it off in a publicly acceptable manner.

The sad part of the June 24th story is that the extent of Seacoast's mistrust of its critics was exaggerated. Ten weeks before the action, those who were to form the Coalition for Direct Action at Seabrook (CDAS) gave in to Seacoast by agreeing that property destruction (fence cutting) would not be allowed. Blocking of workers could only be done upon consensus of all participants. However, discussions on these issues had consisted of little substance and much process maneuvering. Continuing criticisms of Seacoast by CDAS enraged Seacoast, and their increasing resistance to criticism tended to confirm the accusations of "honchoism". More people were attracted to CDAS by unattractive behavior from Seacoast than by CDAS's vision of taking the state by force.

After the TMI incident, CDAS was formed to try its hand at a Whyl, Germany-style site takeover on October 6,

1979. Seacoast was too heavily involved in planning a 50th anniversary protest at Wall Street to make sure the Seabrook action didn't destroy them publicly. They actively organized against October 6 and, as a result, were harassed out of New England Clam the following winter. CDAS confirmed all fears that it would treat the media with contempt.

Many October 6th participants recognized the impossibility of physically overpowering the police and the sequel action on May 24, 1980 saw CDAS numbers cut in half. Though affinity groups formed relatively cohesive clusters for the first time, CDAS failed to effectively generate the self empowerment it praised so often. Still consumed in bitterness toward Seacoast, CDAS heavies dealt contemptuously with any proposals which tended to move away from explosive anger.

This action put nails in the coffin for mass protest at Seabrook for a long time. Local businesspeople organized to drive the protestors out of town. Locals who oppose the nuke thought the action was stupid. Indeed, most of the New England public now thinks that local people want the nuke, while the fact is that every local vote goes against it, including six in Seabrook itself.

While it is sad that we made these mistakes, there is no value in resenting those who made them. Seacoast had a legitimate concern for a minimum level of cohesiveness and a maximum level of public support. CDAS had a legitimate interest in people taking control of their own lives without relying on professional politicians. They tried hard to maintain action according to principles.

People who call themselves Appeal to Reason are attempting to regenerate a resistance movement against the Seabrook nuke. The action, which begins with a several day long non-violence preparation retreat on November 15, 1981, differs from most US anti-nuclear power actions in two major respects.

For one, the appeal of the action is for something which the pronuclear forces can really give us, but is still meaningful: we are asking for space in the educational center on the Seabrook site where nearly 100 people per day are fed pronuclear propaganda. Rather than just leaving our literature, we want to sit with the literature and have a chance to speak with people. This won't cost the Public Service Co. of New Hampshire (PSCNH) any money. If they're telling the whole truth they have nothing to be afraid of, and the center is already in the rate base — the public is paying for it. Most important of all is that a victory is needed to rejuvenate the dormant anti-nuclear forces.

The second aspect is that we feel the power of nonviolence has something to do not with just taking a risk, but



photo by Steve Stallone

Neutral observer at Seabrook demonstration, 1979.

actually making a personal sacrifice. Why was nonviolence so much more powerful in the civil rights movement? Wasn't it because of the greater sacrifices the activists made?

We are asking that participants not plead innocent, not seek leniency and not use a lawyer. The company and much of the public feels that protestors like to cause trouble and aren't particularly concerned with any specific issue. The people may be ignorant, but they're not stupid. We need to make it clear to everyone that we are willing to suffer in the hope that others will not need to suffer.

What we'll be doing is leafletting at the PSCNH headquarters in Manchester, NH. Members of Appeal to Reason have done this before without the specific request for space in the educational center. They served 20 days of a 30 day sentence the first time and 2½ months of a nine month sentence the second time. In the first situation the action was repeated once before the sentence was given. Three acts of CD were required to draw the nine month sentence the second time. Sentences for the November action could reach to a year for a misdemeanor, with one third time off for good behavior. The original intention was to burden the system by crowding the jails. Now the focus is on reaching people's hearts while maintaining determined resistance.

- David Slesinger

For information on supporting or participating with Appeal to Reason write: Arthur Harvey and Elizabeth Gravalos, Poor Farm Rd., Weare, NH.

Abalone Alliance Financial Report

The following figures represent the cost of operating the San Francisco Statewide Abalone Alliance Office. Consultation fees are paid to one full time staff person (\$600.00 per month) and to two half-time fundraisers (\$300.00 each for 3 months).

September

Balance of Accounts	\$4004.00
Minimum Monthly Expenses	2000.00

Minimum Monthly Expenses (with fundraiser)

	Salaries	Rent	Phone	Postage	Resources	Expenses Fundraiser	Office Supplies
	\$1200.00	\$150.00	\$175.00	\$150.00	\$75.00	\$200.00	\$50.00

EXPENSES

MONTH	INCOME	OFFICE EXPENSES	D.P.O. SHARE	OTHERS
June	\$ 980.00	\$1360.00	\$600.00	
July	4130.00	1030.00	965.00	\$1000.00 ¹
August	2360.00	1430.00	*	2750.00 ²

* The AA budget specifies that an underwrite fund to support the efforts of a fundraiser for 3 months, be set aside before an income share with the Diablo Project Office is administered.

¹ Legal Defense Fund

² Underwrite for Fundraiser

It's About Times

Abalone Alliance Newspaper

It's About Times is a project of the American Friends Service Committee. IAT is published ten times per year. The annual subscription rate is \$8.00.

It's About Times is the newspaper of the Abalone Alliance, a California antinuclear / safe energy organization consisting of over 50 member groups. (See page 5.) The opinions expressed in IAT are those of the authors and are not necessarily endorsed by the Abalone alliance.

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

Editorial staff: Marcy Darnovsky, Mark Evanoff, David Pingitore, Steve Stallone, Bob Van Scoy and Ward Young.

Typesetting: Cindy Cornell, Al Grueneich, Bill Garrett.

Production friends: Dinsdale, Jon Katz, Louis Michaelson and Gary Rouge.

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Union suspends San Onofre radiation resister

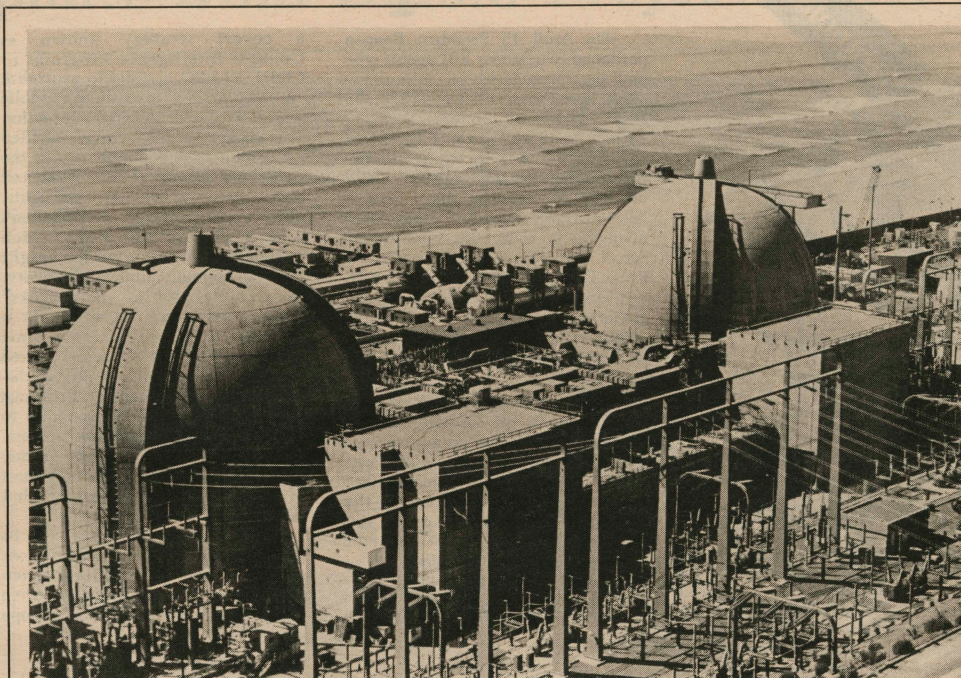
An apprentice electrician who calls himself Tyme was suspended from his union for refusing to accept work at the San Onofre nuclear plant. In November of 1980, only six months away from becoming a journeyman, Tyme told officials of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Engineers Local 569 that he "couldn't accept work that was destructive to the earth and contrary to my lifestyle." Tyme offered to take work elsewhere, but the pronuclear leadership of IBEE, most of whom have worked at San Onofre themselves, insisted on the suspension.

Tyme told *It's About Times* that the union and the Joint Apprenticeship Training Committee (JATC), which is made up of union officials and representatives of electrical contractors, are worried that other apprentices will refuse to work at San Onofre. Although suspensions are supposed to last thirty days, all the cases involving refusal of work at San Onofre have been for more than that. The people suspended have been forced to take legal action to be put back to work.

During his suspension period, Tyme studied volumes of NRC documents on accidents at San Onofre, compiling over 250 pages of material to document his reasons for refusing to work there. His arguments convinced the Unemployment Appeals Board to award him unemployment insurance during his suspension. But his union twice refused to put him back to work. Finally a state board that regulates the rules of apprenticeship set a hearing for July 2.

Tyme and Stephen Best, another suspended apprentice, argued at the hearing that both safety and moral concerns justified their refusal to accept the work at San Onofre. A priest testified in their behalf, and the JATC produced another priest who said that there was nothing about nuclear power in church doctrine.

Tyme was not allowed to present the documentation he had compiled



San Onofre nuclear power plant Units 2 and 3.

on the safety violations at San Onofre because he had learned of them after his refusal to work. The board ruled that he could base his argument only on what he knew at the time.

A decision was expected on August 20. If Tyme wins he'll have grounds to sue for back wages in civil court. If he loses, he'll never be allowed to make journeyman.

Among the violations Tyme discovered in the NRC documents were several involving high levels of radioactive materials. These include:

- o Two hundred gallons of radioactive liquid and sludge escaped while resins were being dewatered in preparation for shipment to a waste storage facility. The only reason the material was not released into the

environment was an accidentally plugged drain.

- o Seven hundred cubic yards of radioactive sand was removed from the public beach next to San Onofre near an old drain spout sealed five years ago. Experts are still trying to figure out how the low-level radiation escaped from the plant.

- o One concrete cubicle near an auxiliary building emitted 550 millirems an hour. A person sitting on its roof for an hour would have received four years' normal background radiation.

- o Radiation levels in a security escort trailer were measured at 1.0 millirems an hour. The Trailer was occupied 24 hours a day and the two occupants thus received their quarterly maximum radiation dose just by

living there. A steam generator grit tank stored near the trailer was found to be emitting 400 millirems an hour, and when it was moved radiation levels in the trailer fell.

- o All power to the San Onofre control room was off for four minutes when a technician accidentally tripped a power breaker.

- o Missing bolts were discovered in the feed water line inside the containment vessel. Calculations by the NRC of the strength of the remaining bolts predicted that the bolts would break before design loads were reached. The NRC wasn't sure what would happen to the feedwater lines.

-- Mark Evanoff
IAT staff

Study confirms cancer from Rocky Flats

The former health director of the Colorado county where the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant is located has found that nearby residents have a higher than normal chance of getting cancer. The results of the recently completed study, conducted by Dr. Carl Johnson, appeared recently in Volume 10, number 4 of the Swedish scientific journal *Ambio*.

The area surrounding Rocky Flats is one of the most heavily plutonium-contaminated in the country. In 1957 an explosion at the plant blew out the filters in the main smokestack, which had not been cleaned of accumulated plutonium for four years. One estimate places the amount of plutonium dispersed from the filters at 250 kilograms, or about 550 pounds.

The fire that followed burned another fourteen to twenty kilograms, effectively dispersing it to the atmosphere in the form of minute particles of plutonium oxide. Contaminated smoke billowed from the plant's stack for an extended period. When the stack monitors went back into operation eight days after the fire, they recorded emissions for that single day that exceeded the total



permitted release for a fifty year period.

A March, 1958 internal report by Rocky Flats scientists describes a secret survey of the populated areas downwind of the plant immediately following the fire. The survey found soil from schoolyards in the area contained between 4200 and 6300 times more radioactivity than soil from uncontaminated areas.

In addition to this accident and another fire in 1969 that released substantial amounts of radioactivity, averaged "routine" emissions of

radioactive material from the smokestacks at Rocky Flats have been as much as 20 times higher than recommended levels. The plutonium concentration in the air around the plant is consistently the highest in the Department of Energy monitoring network.

Streams in the area have also been found to be contaminated with plutonium and tritium. Uranium-contaminated lathe oil has been burned in the open air, and plutonium-contaminated oil has seeped into the environment from corroded drums.

In studying the effects of these releases, Dr. Johnson used data on soil contamination to divide Denver into three areas with descending levels of contamination. He compared the cancer incidence for the "Anglo" population in each area with a fourth reference area with low contamination, using cancer data from the National Cancer Institute's 1969-1971 survey.

In the most heavily contaminated area, closest to the plant and downwind from it, the incidence of all cancers for men was 24% higher than expected. Women in the same area had a 10% higher than normal

cancer rate. As the distance from the plant increased, the incidence of cancer fell.

Dr. Johnson reports that the increased cancer rate near the plant largely involved classes of cancer developing in the most radiation sensitive tissues of the body, similar to the pattern seen in survivors of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki atomic bombings.

--Bob Van Scoy
from press statement Dr. Johnson

Editors' note:

On May 15, Dr. Johnson was ousted from his job as health director of Jefferson County when a newly appointed member of the county board of health voted against him. He was given one day to clean out his desk.

According to *Mother Jones*, Johnson's opponents claimed he was a poor administrator and spent too much time away from his office. "He serves at our will and pleasure," board member Charles De Shazer told the magazine. "If we don't like his tie, he's gone—plain and simple."

But Johnson says the board's action was a "punitive, political maneuver."

The Paranoia Page



The Progressive

Protecting covert action

Suppose you and some friends organize an antinuclear affinity group. Somehow you discover that one of your members is an FBI agent and you confront him with this. The agent instructs you not to expose him because he is investigating Soviet infiltration of the antinuclear movement. Ignoring this you inform the other members of your affinity group of his true identity and he is kicked out. Later you are charged with a felony that carries a \$15,000 fine and a three-year jail term.

Sound far fetched? Well, this month Congress will consider a bill titled, "The Intelligence Identities Protection Act of 1981." According to the Senate version, S. 391, the person in the above scenario could be prosecuted because they "intended to identify and expose covert agents . . . with reason to believe that such activities would impair or impede the foreign intelligence activities of the United States . . ." According to this bill a government employee with access to classified information who exposes an illegal government-hired agent provocateur in the antinuclear movement can be fined up to \$50,000 and imprisoned up to 10 years or both.

In 1947 the US had a law similar to the Intelligence Identities Protection Act, but it was ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. In 1975 the Ford administration introduced legislation similar to S. 391, but in the post-Watergate era there was little chance of it passing. Every year since different versions of the bill have been introduced.

Currently, S. 391 is scheduled for debate by the Senate Judiciary Committee in mid-September. A House version has been approved by committee and a compromise between the two bills could be ready for Congressional approval by late September.

— Marty Stein

The spies have it

On April 15 President Reagan pardoned two former FBI agents who had been convicted of authorizing illegal break-ins in 1972 and 1973. On May 4 Attorney General William French Smith gutted the Freedom of Information Act by dropping the requirement that in order to withhold information, agencies must show a "demonstrably harmful" effect from divulging it. Early this summer the Secret Surveillance Court established by the Foreign Intelligence Act of 1978 to oversee FBI and CIA intelligence gathering ruled that it had no jurisdiction over illegal break-ins, leading to Reagan's dropping the court all together.

Now the Reagan administration is planning to lift virtually all the remaining restrictions on government spying. According to information leaked in March from a Reagan task force on intelligence headed by the CIA, most of the limitations on spy techniques instituted by a Carter executive order in 1978 would be abandoned.

In the 1950's the FBI launched

a covert strategy known as Counter Intelligence Programs or COINTELPRO in order to neutralize "subversives" in secret despite public disgust with such McCarthyite tactics. The experience of decades of Red witch hunts were put to use in the sixties in a crusade to intimidate and divide anti-war, new left, civil rights, third world liberation and women's groups. Unlike the FBI, which paraded as the lone white knight fighting counter cultural depravity, the CIA claimed its "dirty tricks" against dissidents were simply a domestic front in the war against Vietnam. The spy agencies created paramilitary groups to attack dissidents, pressured employers to dismiss targeted workers and universities to get rid of undesirable instructors. They harassed the writers, editors, publishers, printers and distributors of the underground newspapers that flourished in many large cities.

For 21 years the CIA kept its mail-opening program secret from presidents and perhaps even from CIA directors. No one in the executive branch ever knew the complete scope

of the FBI's COINTELPRO actions.

The new executive order would eliminate the requirement that information be collected by "the least intrusive means possible," allow infiltration of domestic groups when deemed "necessary" rather than "essential," and allow the CIA to infiltrate domestic groups, a practice forbidden since 1976. The draft order allows the attorney general to approve by type rather than by case a wide variety of covert spying actions without obtaining a warrant, including wire-tapping, mail-opening, break-ins, infiltration, physical searches, surveillance and collection and dissemination of information on groups and individuals. The attorney general can also delegate that approval authority to the head of any intelligence agency. Meanwhile Congress, not to be outdone, is threatening to resurrect the House and Senate standing internal security committees and may expand the charters of the FBI and CIA.

—Ward Young
IAT staff

Eyes on the antinuclear movement

Nuclear Power and Political Surveillance by Jay Peterzell, January 1981, published by Center for National Security Studies, Report #105, 122 Maryland Avenue NE, Washington, D.C. 20002, 89 pages, \$5.00.

Who's counting? According to this report by the Center for National Security Studies (CNSS), antinuclear activists have been monitored, infiltrated, photographed, fed into files and otherwise kept track of by local police, state police, the FBI, the NRC, utility security forces and freelance intelligence services.

On occasion, the defense of nuclear power has taken this bevy of surveillance agencies beyond mere spying. In fact, says CNSS, "the line between [information] gathering and disruption has been crossed often and vigorously by intelligence agencies at every level." While acknowledging that its information about these activities is obviously far from complete, CNSS has identified four incidents of wiretaps, one break-in and eighteen "operations" against the antinuclear movement, which are defined as "attempts to discredit the target, provoke the target to commit a crime, or improperly propagandize against the target." These range from the Georgia Power Company's efforts at "dirt-gathering" and labeling its critics "communies and queers" to the federal Energy and Research Development

Administration's attempts to defeat the 1976 California referendum on nuclear power by flooding the state with a blatantly pronuclear pamphlet.

The CNSS study found that the different varieties of agencies favor different spying techniques. For example, local police departments concentrate on low-level monitoring and infiltration of antinuclear groups in order to fulfill their mandate to "keep the peace." State police function similarly, but in states with pronuclear policies, like New Hampshire, they tend to view antinuclear groups as "direct antagonists rather than as 'just one more' protest group" and have undertaken disruptive activities.

On the federal level the pronuclear bias is even more pronounced. CNSS speculates that these policy imperatives have led to a certain overzealousness on the part of several federal agencies. The FBI, for example, has tried to discredit groups it was investigating by accusing them of planning terrorist acts at nuclear facilities. In May 1976 the Chicago Field Office of the FBI told the NRC that "motorcycle gangs and Indians" were planning to take over the Zion nuclear plant in Illinois over the Memorial Day weekend. The NRC relayed this information to its licensees on May 13, upgraded the threat from a "possibility" to a "probability" twelve days later, and on May 28 put every nuclear facility in the country on alert. No Indians, with or without motorcycles, ever appeared.

In contrast to the surveillance patterns of the antiwar movement, much of the disruption of the antinuclear movement has been carried out not by government agencies but by private spies -- the utilities themselves or freelance intelligence agencies that they hire. CNSS, which is jointly sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union and the Fund for Peace, considers this "perhaps the most striking development" it found. It is also, CNSS believes, a dangerous change, since private sector spies aren't bound even nominally by government guidelines, aren't subject to disclosure laws, and are difficult to sue for violation of constitutional rights.

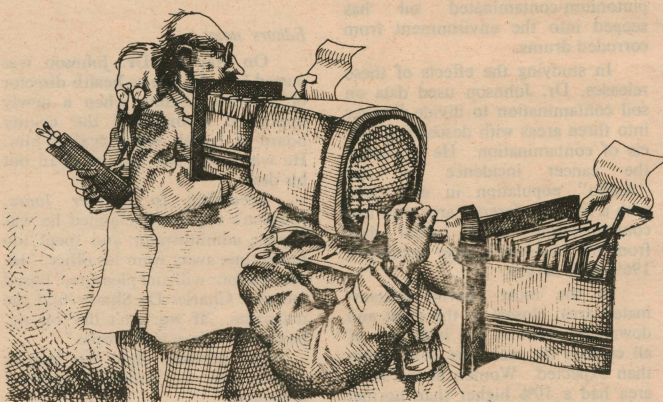
Intelligence activities by nuclear-owning utilities in eleven states are described in this report. The largest surveillance budget is attributed to the Georgia Power Company, which in 1977 had a staff of nine investigators, extensive files on "subversives," a stash of sophisticated surveillance equipment and an annual budget of \$750,000. The Pacific Gas & Electric Company contracts a chunk of its spying -- \$80,000 worth in 1979 -- to a freelance agency near Oakland called Research West.

The most serious incidents in California that have come to light involved local police. In 1977, officers of two county sheriff's departments infiltrated the Abalone Alliance and participated in plans for a civil disobedience demonstration at Diablo Canyon. One of the undercover agents unsuccessfully advocated the use of violence. About 50 people, including the two agents, were arrested. One of them took an active role in defense strategy discussions, which resulted in the case being dismissed when his identity became public.

Los Angeles police have infiltrated local antinuclear groups to the extent that policewoman Cheryl Bell became president of one of them, the Committee on Nuclear Information at California State University in Los Angeles. Antinuclear activists in the Los Angeles area believe that the infiltration continues.

Nuclear Power and Political Surveillance is written in report rather than popular style, since it (unfortunately) isn't meant for wide circulation. It is also organized in a somewhat clumsy manner, with bits and pieces of one incident scattered in different sections. Though by no means complete, it is the best summary of surveillance on the US antinuclear movement available. Its 171 footnotes, all of them to documents in the CNSS library, make it an invaluable starting point for further investigation of the investigators.

-- Marcy Darnovsky
IAT staff



The Progressive

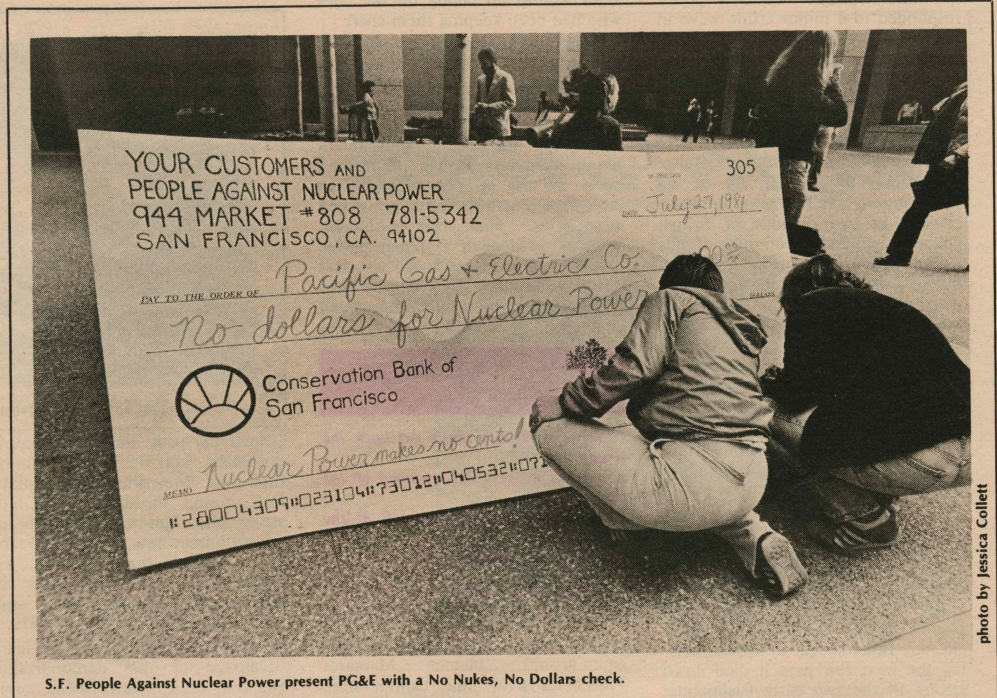
Blockade update from Diablo Project Office

We are still on alert. The low power testing license for Diablo Canyon is not yet in effect. We are still waiting for the Atomic and Safety Licensing Appeals Board to issue the security clearance. Remember, with each day we continue to grow stronger.

After the alert goes out, proceed to the Information Center (location will be given at the time of the alert). Please do not go to the Diablo site or the Diablo Project Office. Please come immediately. It is very important that you spend some time at the Camping/Briefing/Training area. You will need to be thoroughly briefed on your blockade route and meet with the other affinity groups who will be going in with you.

All Blockaders must have Abalone Alliance nonviolence training and be in an affinity group. Trainings will be available throughout the action.

Affinity groups and/or individuals should arrive in San Luis Obispo with food or the resources to obtain such for as long as your time commitment. Please be aware that local stores' supplies may be severely strained by the Blockade. All support people also need to bring their own supplies and food. Each AG can have two support people stay at camp with them. If your AG has more than ten blockaders, you can have three support people stay with you. Housing or room at the camping area will not be available for any more. Support people of AGs must be 16 years or older. Camping space will also be available for people on working teams (legal, medical, childcare, sea, media, monitors, transportation, gen-



S.F. People Against Nuclear Power present PG&E with a No Nukes, No Dollars check.

eral support staffing, etc.). If you know of anyone who would like to work on one of these teams please call this office.

Individuals are also responsible for all their own personal equipment.

Please remember to bring a sleeping bag, pack, water containers and other basic camping equipment (see the Handbook). Bring at least a one gallon water container for each person in your AG.

No open fires will be allowed at the camping area or on site. You can bring camp stoves to the camping area.

If you intend to bring children, they must be trained to participate in the action. If your children are not going to participate, please do not bring them to San Luis Obispo. There will be no childcare resources for Blockade participants. We suggest that only mature children who can be somewhat self-reliant participate in the action.

There will be no support rally, so please ask all observers to stay in their own region and do media and outreach for the action.

Please do not come to SLO before the alert. Stay in your area and organize by doing media, outreach, trainings, etc.

We still have some needs: medical people willing to go on site and risk arrest; boats, buses, vans, large trucks, and CB radios.

If you have any questions, please call the Diablo project Office at (805) 543-6614, 543-7518, 544-7791 or 543-8402.

Emergency unpreparedness

(continued from p. 1)

residents, but they are in production.

One reporter asked Kuninero, "People are fearful of the fact they weren't involved in the evacuation drill. What do you tell them? They're afraid."

Kuninero responded, "We find that fear of radiation in nuclear power plants is generic throughout the country... You're asking me how do we deal with fear. I don't know how we deal with fear. The commission's responsibility is to ensure that plans and procedures are in place, that would ensure an appropriate emergency response."

PG&E's only obligation in the emergency preparedness plan is to notify county officials that an unusual event has occurred. Ironically, when PG&E was installing its emergency sirens around the plant meant to alert nearby residents of an accident, emergency phone lines were sliced, cutting off communications with the NRC, the sheriff's office, the State Office of Emergency Services and the corporate headquarters of PG&E.

During the FEMA test drill it took SLO County Office of Emergency Response officials an hour to determine the wind direction. However, PG&E was able to get a press conference set

up within an hour of the drill, even though in a real emergency the utility took sixteen hours to notify health officials that cancer-causing PCBs were spraying San Francisco's financial district after a gas main ruptured on August 27.

No evacuation plan is required during low-power testing. PG&E's Chris Piper said testing will continue during the blockade, even if blockaders are being booked in the parking lot next to the reactor.

—Mark Evanoff
IAT Staff

Pakistan deals with China for bomb test site

Pakistan is involved in negotiations with the People's Republic of China to use a site in the bordering Chinese province of Xinjiang to test its first atomic bomb. This report, in the July 23 issue of the British magazine *New Scientist*, sits uneasily alongside Pakistani government assertions of the peaceful nature of their nuclear research.

The bomb has been built by Pakistani scientists trained largely at Osiris facility in France. Much of the technical equipment for Pakistan's nuclear facility comes from France as well, while some of the more politically sensitive devices were imported from other countries such as Italy and Switzerland. The Pakistani bomb, financed by Saudi Arabia and for a while by Libya, is seen by many as an "Islamic bomb" to counter the unofficial nuclear arsenal of Israel.

President Zia ul-Haq's despotic military regime has adopted the trappings of fundamentalist Islam. Zia himself is a graduate of Britain's Sand-

hurst military academy who is supported by the officer corps of the Pakistani Army and by a narrow segment of the majority Punjabi population. The dominant position of Punjab in the government and military has given rise to chronic expressions regional hostility by minority Baluchistanis in the south. The influx of Afghan refugees and their organizations in the north has created an additional element of local instability for Zia's state.

Zia has outlawed all independent political and class organizations, including the largest opposition party, the People's Action Party of the late President Bhutto, executed by Zia. This shaky edifice, held together by crude force, has been pulled from the brink of disaster by the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, which prompted conservative Western and Islamic powers to send substantial aid largely in the form of loans. But this is only a temporary reprieve. Zia, who is anxious to have his A-bomb, is sitting

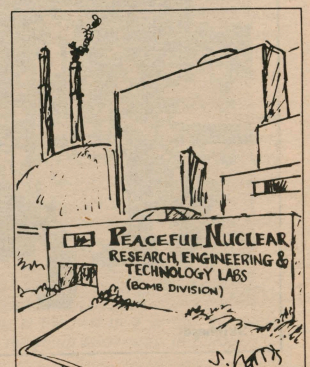
on a time-bomb of social discontent and immiseration which his nuclear program is only making tick faster.

China has cultivated a close relationship with a succession of Pakistani leaders. In 1971, despite the Maoist blather about "people's war," it backed the (West) Pakistani government's bloody and unsuccessful attempt to crush the partly Maoist-inspired movement for Bangladeshi independence. Geopolitical *realpolitik* has guided China's relationship with Pakistan—it is determined to offset Russian influence in Central Asia, and support of Pakistan is a major part of this policy.

But the Chinese government will have to think twice about aiding the Pakistani bomb project. India's reaction to a Pakistani bomb will be immediately hostile no matter where the bomb is tested. If China is involved, the border agreement it is now discussing with India will be indefinitely postponed. India will likely move closer to the Soviet Union, and China

will be left holding the slender reed of President Zia. The specter of a pre-emptive Indian strike against Pakistan is also not to be ignored. The weapon, which Zia seeks as a means to his own security, may prove his undoing.

—Dinsdale



"No future" kids batt

Last April 3 London police responded to a minor crime wave in the Brixton district by virtually occupying it, in an operation aptly dubbed "Swamp 81." Although arrest records had shown a high percentage of white suspects, it was mostly young blacks who were stopped, frisked, insulted and sometimes roughed up.

"Swamp 81" was the latest episode in two decades of British police racism and in centuries of police bullying of poor people generally. But in Brixton, one week more of it was too much. On April 10 a few hundred mainly black youths retaliated violently. Soon joined by others, including a growing proportion of whites, they drove the cops out of the area for almost nine hours.

"Brixton One" was over within two days, and Britain's inner cities remained tensely quiet through May and June. But on the night of July 4 rioting began in Toxteth, a run-down Liverpool neighborhood. Again, the police were the targets. Within a week the impulse had flashed through at least fourteen cities, with repeated and often bloody battles in Liverpool, Manchester, London and Leicester. During the next few days it died down except in the two early flashpoints, Brixton and Toxteth, where smaller clashes between youth and police continued intermittently for weeks.

While the numbers and aggressiveness of the rebels varied from place to place, the riots had key features in common. All erupted out of decaying inner city neighborhoods and working class suburbs with high rates of unemployment and high percentages of Asians, blacks and other non-white residents. The rioters themselves were overwhelmingly young, mostly between 14 and 24 years old. Blacks, whites and Asians collaborated in improvising weapons, looting and burning stores, and attacking the police in what were often very well coordinated actions. In many places, other people, especially women and children, joined in the looting *en masse*. Only in Southall, on July 3, was there an actual "race riot" between white and Asian youth. And here too, both

sides wound up taking on the cops who had been keeping them apart.

The rioters were initially able to drive the police out of their neighborhoods largely because the police were unprepared. They expected neither the intensity nor the scale of the revolt, unheard of in Britain in living memory. British uniformed police do not carry guns except in siege-type situations involving armed adversaries. Their riot equipment was also inadequate -- flimsy plastic shields and the traditional visorless helmet. All that has changed now. They will not be caught unprepared again.

Maggie's farm

"Gimme a Britain that's got back the Great

A race of winners not cramped by the state

And only the helpless get left at the gate.

Gimme gimme gimme gimme gimme."

-- Stiff Little Fingers, "Fly the Flag"

The official British left, from the Labour party to the various Trotskyist groups, blames Margaret Thatcher's hard-line Conservative regime and its monetarist policies for the riots. In fact, the conditions which produced them have been accumulating for at least fifteen years.

Long-term "structural" unemployment has been slowly growing in Britain since the mid-sixties. However, despite every attempt by employers to squeeze more work and more revenue out of them by means of speedup, inflation and layoffs, British workers remained so powerful until recently that joblessness had little social effect. Welfare and unemployment benefits, while far from generous, provided a minimal survival along with subsidized housing and cheap public health care. More important, unemployment was shunted off onto the relatively powerless -- the young, the old, women and ethnic minorities.

During the mid and late seventies, high layoff payments



Police march past a wrecked car during riots in Brixton.

helped persuade most "redundant" unionized workers not to fight for their jobs. Meanwhile, the employed lost ground in strike after bitter strike that got nowhere because union bureaucrats made sure they were waged *one at a time*. Widespread disillusion with the unions and the Labour party carried Mrs. Thatcher into power in 1979.

"Maggie" lost no time in taking advantage of this demoralization. She combined massive social service cuts with a tight money policy that drove interest rates through the ceiling. This was supposed to eliminate uncompetitive business and curb inflation. What it actually did was stop the already pitiful trickle of funds into new investment and start a flood of capital out of the country. By early 1981 the official jobless rate had more than doubled. By other estimates it had almost tripled, standing somewhere around 3.5 million.

When the tidal wave of layoffs began last year, most media attention focused on the newly jobless from the big factories, many of whom were older men. However, this group has so far posed no real challenge to Thatcher & Co. A few go on left-organized "Marches for Jobs" and other polite protests, while most remain passive. But what this wave has told the young, especially the colored young, is crucial. It has confirmed what they already suspected -- that they have *no future*, not even the boring future of secure wage labor.

The cultures of dispossession

*"Big business it don't like you
You got no money you got no power
They think you're useless and so you
are PUUNKK."*

-- The Clash, "Remote Control"

For the last two decades, working class youth in British cities have evolved one inventive subculture after another. These subcultures have grown up in a complicated multiple dialectic -- between American "flash" and British tradition, between revolt and assimilation, between black and white.

Until quite recently, the third of these tensions has been the most important. Most of the British styles that have found their way across the Atlantic largely originated in white youths' reactions to the changing modes of their West Indian counterparts.

During the sixties, second generation black youth adopted a Jamaicanized version of US ghetto "cool" -- shades, stingy-brim hats, mohair suits, the crisp, danceable

beat of Motown as well as ska and blue-beat. The mods copied much of this literally, adding the speedy, angry proto-punk of bands like the early Who and Small Faces.

With the seventies, British black youth styles went into reverse. Instead of looking to America, they turned back to Jamaica and Africa. The music became imported "roots" reggae, with its dense, hypnotic rhythms and prophetic, black power-oriented lyrics. Suits and stingy-brims were traded in for khaki fatigues and "tams" in Ethiopian red, green and gold worn over dreadlocks.

Young blacks' adoption of a largely secularized Rastafarianism expressed their disillusion with life in Britain -- bad housing and schools, unemployment or bottom-level jobs, racism from teachers, cops, merchants and employers as well as neighbors. During the 1976 Notting Hill Carnival, normally a showcase of police-community relations, this new attitude made itself felt. White cops were used to getting their way -- a search-and-seizure here, an exemplary beating there. At the Carnival they threw their weight about as usual and got it thrown right back, along with a hail of bricks, rocks and bottles.

Meanwhile a whole generation of inner city white youth was finding it next to impossible to get steady work. As business after business pulled out and buildings emptied, the inner cities became refuges for young "marginals" and misfits of other kinds -- artists and bohemians, gays and radicals. Squatting in deserted housing created a series of communal micro-cultures which cross-pollinated with the "street societies" of the kids who had grown up there.

This new generation was profoundly impressed by the Notting Hill riot. The most rebellious were already seeking an idiom which would express their own hostility to the existing society. Yet they were excluded by definition from directly imitating the black nationalist rhetoric of the new Rasta-reggae culture.

Punk was the result. The punks highlighted their own dispossession by exaggerating and lampooning it both at once, turning themselves into walking metaphors for their actual condition. They tore old clothes apart and stitched them roughly back together, wore safety pins and paper clips as jewelry and dyed their hair with food coloring in a sardonic celebration of the *cheap*. Their zombie makeup and electroshocked dance styles bitterly parodied the modern state's view of deviants and outcasts. Punk rock was urban white "roots" music -- loud,



Skinheads.

the bobbies in Britain

fast and raw with topical lyrics that spat on rock's traditional romantic themes.

Watching the blacks, the punks longed for a rebellion they were still too few and too indecisive to carry through. The Clash said it all in "White Riot:" "Black man got a lot of problems / But he don't mind throwin' a brick / White people go to school / Where they teach you how to be thick / And everybody's doin' / Just what they're told to / And nobody wants to / Go to jail."

The road to Brixton

Around this time an earlier white subculture, skinhead, was coming back. Skinhead had originated at the end of the sixties as an outgrowth of mod for younger, poorer kids who couldn't afford mod clothes or mod cool. They shaved their heads to a quarter-inch crop and wore suspenders, Levis strap-ons and steel-toed work boots. A chief preoccupation was violence -- against Asians, gays, longhairs and each other.

The skinheads' machismo, racism and obsessively neat "proletarian" dress suggested a nostalgia for the traditional British workingman's lifestyle. Yet they listened exclusively to ska and "rock steady" (the precursor of reggae), pioneered unisex hair and clothing styles, and regularly fought the police.

The "skins'" combination of chauvinism and rebelliousness was not lost on the resurgent fascists of the National Front. The NF was already building a working class base around fear of immigrants and economic anxiety, especially in East London and depressed Midlands cities like Coventry. When skinhead came back in the late seventies, a small but influential core of junior stormtroopers was swiftly created within it. Punks, for their part, responded to the NF by turning up in droves, along with many of their favorite bands, for huge "Rock against Racism" festivals and Anti-Nazi League rallies organized by the left.

During 1978-9, punk died down even as it became chic. The NF, damaged by splits and electoral failures, kept a lower profile. But skinhead persisted, ambiguous as ever. Even racist skins continued to hate the cops, and the new skinhead "oi" bands put over a generally anti-authoritarian message in their crude, angry rock. One such band, the

Criminal Class, played left wing gigs. In 1979 a ska revival grew around mixed-race "two-tone" bands like the Selecter and the Specials. These acted as a counterweight to the fascist wing of the subculture, providing a meeting point for white and black youth in clubs and discos.

Sure enough, it was at the Black and White Cafe in St. Paul's, a run-down district of Bristol, that the dress rehearsal for Brixton began almost a year earlier. Police with dogs raided the club looking for drugs. Soon a full-scale battle raged through the neighborhood, blacks and whites together against the cops, who were driven out for six hours. During this interval the now-familiar communal looting party took place. Rastas were seen politely helping little old white ladies fill their shopping baskets, while others were joined by skinheads and punks in burning a bank and a post office.

A decade of steadily angrier and more politicized youth cultures, led by the blacks, had found their expression in practice. The song lyrics of reggae, punk and two-tone had become a program for action.

From festival to fury

The mood among Brixton residents during the first night of rioting was cheerful, even joyous, especially as store windows were emptied of forbidden goodies. But the next night, the police came back, whooping and pounding their shields with their clubs, to beat anyone in sight. Rastas were singled out for special treatment with blackjacks and lengths of solid rubber hose. Journalists who strayed too close were clubbed and had their cameras smashed. The mood had been set for July and Toxteth.

Here the fighting was brutal from the beginning. Toxteth is part of the Liverpool 8 district, where unemployment for both blacks and whites is over 40% and poverty is a tradition. The first night involved mainly young blacks, but the following evening, Sunday, drew a well-organized group of about three hundred young whites as well. Together they went after the cops with everything they could think of -- Molotovs, chunks of concrete, scaffolding-pipe "lances." Fire-trucks were halted and their hoses turned on the police, a cement mixer and a huge mechanical digger were driven full tilt into the lines. Looting was widespread.

For their part, the police used CS gas for the first time on English



Cover of the Specials' first album, one of Britain's important "two-tone" bands.

soil, in the form of high velocity "ferret" cartridges that easily -- and often -- penetrated flesh. By Tuesday, 255 policemen had been injured and over 200 people arrested, including a 13-year-old girl booked for arson and a 15-year-old girl for hitting a cop on the head with a brick. The youngest person arrested was 8 years old.

Although few of the "copycat" riots that followed equaled Toxteth in scale or savagery, the pattern was generally similar, and the level of organization often at least as high. In Moss Side, a Manchester suburb, youth used cars and trucks with CB radios as mobile lookouts and actually laid siege to the local police station. In Leicester, several hundred blacks, Asians and skinheads also used CB's, this time on bicycles. Yet despite all this, not even the most rabid representative of Order was able to find a conspiracy anywhere.

This spontaneity had its darker side. A few hardcore thugs used the breakdown of state control to do some repulsive things, like looting an old people's hospital in Toxteth. Others, carried away in the release of years of bitterness, attacked ambulance men and burned shops where people were living upstairs. Yet amazingly, no one was killed. The first fatality came weeks later, in Toxteth, when a police truck ran down a youth.

Clampdown

"Repression starts on Tuesday."

-- The Clash, "Remote Control"

The response of the government was predictable. Police were issued new steel riot helmets and CS grenade launchers. Home Secretary William Whitelaw wanted to issue them guns. There was talk of bringing in the military, and old army bases were turned into camps to hold the expected overflow from the prisons. Mrs. Thatcher and her friends on the right variously blamed parents, schools and the general breakdown of "morality," while the racists tried to pretend that all those whites hadn't really joined in.

Everyone else, from moderate

Conservatives to Trotskyists, called for "jobs" as the solution. Yet the young rebels show little sign of wanting jobs. Very few, for instance, have joined the left's protests against unemployment. As smart employers have always known, wage labor is not just a system for getting things done. It is also a form of social control. Wage labor instills passivity and mindless obedience, the arbitrary rule that a "living" must be "earned" by suffering, the hopeless desire to make cars and TV's and stereos compensate for a life of drudgery. Britain's unemployed youth have not had the benefits of this classical education. Above all, they are fighting for *space* and the right to occupy it as they see fit, without interference from the police or other authorities.

The storms of youth

"They make us feel indebted
For saving us from Hell
And then they put us through it
It's time the bastards fell."

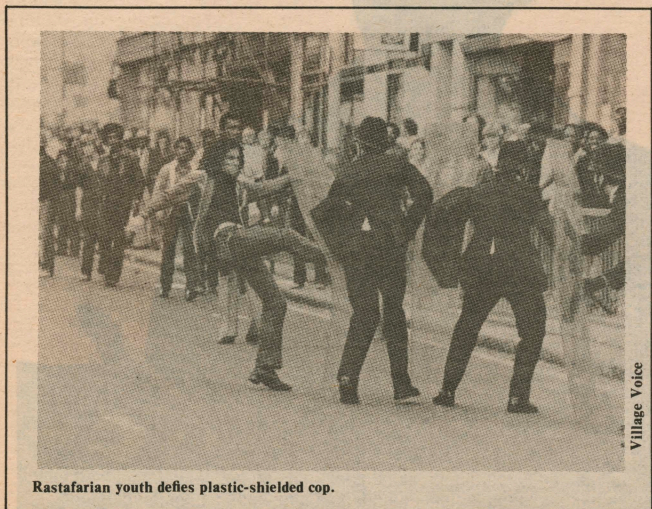
-- Stiff Little Fingers, "Suspect Device"

The ragged richness of the youth subcultures, the extraordinary ingenuity they apply to fighting back against the enforcers of the dispossession, express longings that are almost impossible to articulate otherwise. The deepest cruelty of the wage system is not that it denies some people jobs or money, but that it denies *most* people the possibility of unbossed, creative, cooperative work for the direct satisfaction of their own needs and the needs of the community. At the same time, the system's defenders in politics and the mass media have so polluted words like "freedom," "creativity" and "community" that they stick in honest people's throats.

Nevertheless the realization seems to be dawning among Europe's young that the present order is both brutal and unnecessary. Perhaps the poet Lautreamont, writing over a century ago, was right after all: "The storms of youth precede brilliant days."

-- Louis Michaelson

This is the first in a series of articles on the youth movements in Europe.



Rastafarian youth defies plastic-shielded cop.

Village Voice

Corporate
Lies Department

Fear Of Fission

A battle between realism and myth endangers America's energy future. Energy-ethics expert Margaret Maxey urges a decision based on reason.

Both read the Bible day and night,
But thou read'st black where I read white.
—WILLIAM BLAKE

Imagine that we Americans, and hundreds of millions of others on our planet, wake one day soon to find ourselves disastrously short of energy.

Assume that millions, including many of us, perish—for lack of food, shelter, clothing and medicine; for want of the resources to resist anarchy and war.

Suppose energy starvation comes about because citizens and leaders continue to shrink from reasoned debate and decision about energy policy; because Americans continue to reject the major option of nuclear electricity without calmly weighing its costs, benefits and risks against those of every apparent alternative.

Could you say to your children in the resulting calamity, "This isn't my fault?"

(But is this whole line of argument valid? Or is it merely a shabby tactic similar to that used by antinuclear fearmongers?)

Going Nowhere Fast

Many nations have embraced nuclear power's unique promise for reliable energy to supplement and eventually to replace costly, insecure and limited fossil fuel supplies. In the United States, by contrast, a policy of denial by delay now enjoys public favor and moral legitimacy.

A whirlpool created by two pairs of opposing cultural currents—one modern, the other ancient—holds America motionless. It is urgent that we understand these currents and move beyond them—before they drag us under.

But first, look at just three examples of the steadily increasing weight of scientific evidence in favor of the nuclear option.

The Half Life of Slogans

The Levenson-Rahn study of major reactor accidents (at Windscale, Idaho's SL-1, and at Three Mile Island II), together with many controlled experiments, confirms this conclusion: an accident causing widespread and serious damage to health is a vanishing possibility; natural processes limit release and dispersal of large amounts of radioactivity from a reactor.

Likewise, four studies of environmental pathways for release and dispersal of nuclear wastes—studies rigorously reviewed by the scientific community—demonstrate that social catastrophe from escaped radiation is highly unlikely.

Most striking, perhaps, is the growing body of evidence for a thesis long advanced by biochemist T.D. Luckey: low doses of ionizing radiation in excess of normal background radiation are not only essential to life processes, but they also stimulate those processes beneficially. *Subharmful* doses tend, for example, to increase resist-

ance not only to infections but also to harmful doses of radiation received afterward.*

This work hardly suggests that we should all rush to irradiate ourselves. But it plainly gives the lie to hysterical slogans made popular by a small minority of scientists: "There is no safe dose of radiation." "Every dose is an overdose."

Our concern here, however, is not the overwhelming evidence for the nuclear option, because the struggle over energy choices is not really about the merits of available technologies.

The struggle is about politics and social values, about symbols and myths, about free will and destiny—about knowledge itself.

A Conflict of Interests

We are witnessing a power struggle. Within the new political class of scientists, engineers, managers and professionals, two factions now compete to dominate the political agenda during an era of profound social change. Their struggle shifts the focus of energy debate from the merits of technologies to issues of morality and social reform.

On the face of it, concern for public health and safety impels one of these factions. Its members dwell pessimistically on matters of reactor safety, of isolating wastes, and of controlling the spread of weapons. Mounting evidence that society can safely manage nuclear technology cheers them little, and suggests that they are motivated by a deep-seated hostility toward the supposedly low values of a high-technology society.

To this faction, ours is a materialist society of consumer exploitation and moral decadence, in which concentrations of corporate power are becoming unaccountable to the public and its well-being. Nuclear energy is a symbol for these perceived ills. Some believe we are now called to a higher quality of life based on a lower standard of living—with much less energy consumption. To them, nuclear technology is a dangerous and immoral obstacle to restoring wholeness and moral integrity to American life.

The Three-Ring Nuke Show

It is not difficult to debunk self-righteousness or romantic fantasy. It is important to question why some in the community of science give uncritical and powerful support to those who would reform presumed American values and our supposedly wasteful standard of living.

Scientific integrity grows suspect when scientists no longer restrict their minor disputes over esoteric matters to the professional journals. When scientists lack self-discipline and when investigative reporters are eager and credulous, the dramatic lens of the mass media magnifies minor dispute

into momentous combat—whose outcome frightens the unsuspecting citizen.

The vast majority of scientists and engineers knowledgeable in nuclear technology are convinced that present levels of safety are more than adequate. Nevertheless, continuous scientific efforts are being made to widen the safety margins still further.

These efforts, and all other work concerning nuclear power, should proceed in a reputable scientific manner—not in a circus.

A Conflict of Conscience

The bitter quarrel over nuclear technology may seem new and unique in our culture. In fact it is the latest round in an age-old tug of war—between two conflicting and irreconcilable concepts of evil.

Some see nuclear science and technology as an invasion of the domain of a God who will smite us if we overreach the limits of our frail and sinful nature.

Others see nuclear power as a forerunner to a new order of human possibility—a creative and constructive force to be used for the survival of humankind.

One side sees the outcome of technology as Greek myth sees it: Prometheus condemned to eternal agony for stealing fire from the gods for Man.

The other side focuses on Judeo-Christian values and the suffering that must follow on a crowded planet from refusal to act to the fullest human capacity.

Which view is better? Philosophers are not even sure which is Promethean and which is Judeo-Christian. But we must not remain strung out between the two. Better to ask *who* will suffer if the privileged few decide we should abandon future promise for the many by halting economic growth.

Ultimate Power

Symbols and images are not decisive and can be misleading. Also misleading is the fact that nuclear technology was first applied to weapons.

A strategy of overreliance on conservation and overconfidence in other sources of energy will only postpone America's decision on the nuclear option. Crises affecting global energy resources are bound to bring a day of reckoning.

A nation unwilling to believe an energy crisis is real—or that the social risks from a hundred nuclear reactors cannot compare with the social dangers from a cutoff of six million barrels of imported oil a day—is a nation confused at some deep level of its social and political life.

No great renunciation, no massive collective amnesia will make nuclear science and technology go away. The world is going to have a nuclear future.

The real question is whether American citizens are confident enough—both in their social institutions and in the will and imagination of their leaders—to govern the enormous power of the atom and make it serve the pressing needs of humankind.

The ultimate power lies not in the atom but in our resolve to answer that question.

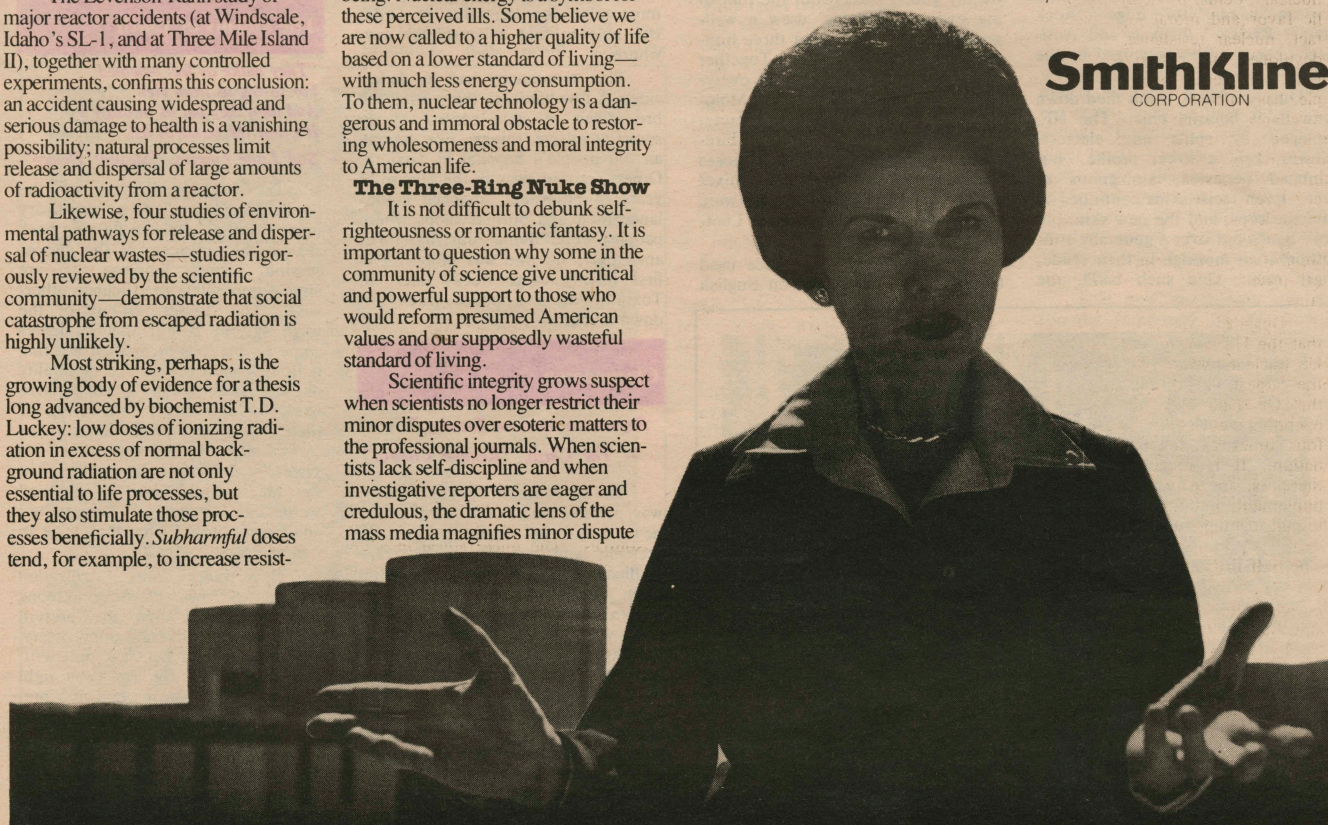
—Margaret N. Maxey

Margaret N. Maxey, Ph.D., is Assistant Director of the South Carolina Energy Research Institute and is widely recognized for her research in the bioethics of risk.

From 1970 to 1979, Dr. Maxey was Associate Professor of Bioethics at the University of Detroit. She has testified on energy and health-related matters before government bodies here and abroad. Recently she delivered an invited paper in Jerusalem at a conference of the International Radiation Protection Association.

Dr. Maxey is a member of the Medical Radiation Advisory Committee, Bureau of Radiological Health. She is an Advisory Council Member of the Electric Power Research Institute and of Americans for Energy Independence.

SmithKline
CORPORATION



Fear Of Facts

an "energy-ethics expert" invents some myths about the antinuclear movement

Corporate
Lies Department

Like the white-coated TV doctors who push headache pills, the SmithKline drug company has generously volunteered to "prescribe" for America's ills. The corporation has put out a series of advertisements it calls the "SmithKline Forum for a healthier American society." As with other big business "forums," the only view presented is that from the corporate boardroom.

This ad, which appeared in the April 16 *Wall Street Journal*, features Margaret Maxey as an "energy-ethics expert" who claims that critics of nuclear power are uninformed hysterics, political opportunists, or both. Maxey's grandiose rhetoric and philosophical posturing look impressive at first glance, but fall apart on closer examination. Some section-by-section examples:

The ad opens with a scenario of death and destruction that sounds like the plot of a bad horror movie. Maxey presents not a single fact to support this fantasy, which is evidently meant to leave the reader with a sense of irrational dread about the awful things that will happen if people continue to resist nuclear power.

Having sunk to this level of emotional manipulation, Maxey attempts to extricate herself by blaming the "antinuclear fear-mongers" who supposedly use similar techniques. She pretends to abandon this disreputable style of argument in favor of reasoned discussion. But a few paragraphs later, Maxey returns to the fears created in the introduction by referring to a whirlpool of conflict over nuclear power that threatens to "drag us under." She's right. It is a shabby tactic.

Going nowhere fast

The United States is not the only country where a policy of nuclear "denial by delay enjoys public favor and moral legitimacy." In fact, nuclear resistance is far more developed and effective in Europe than it is here. Austria, for example, has voted to ban nuclear power. Sweden is phasing it out, and several German plans for nuclear installations have been cancelled after massive public protests. The ambitious European nuclear plans of the early 70's, like their American counterparts, have collapsed under the weight of public displeasure, technical problems, and huge cost overruns.

Despite Maxey's implication that the US is a nuclear laggard, the US nuclear power program is by far the largest in the world. In 1980, the US had 41% of the world's operating nuclear capacity, about four times as much as any other nation. It is remarkable not that there is an American antinuclear movement, but that it took so long to pull together.

The half-life of slogans

As "scientific evidence" of nuclear safety, Maxey cites Levinson and Rahn's study of major reactor accidents. According to the November 27, 1980 issue of *Nucleonics Week*, these two gentlemen are staff members of the Electric Power Research Institute, an organization set up and funded by the electric utility industry. Following the Three Mile Island accident, they came up with a paper claiming

that "the natural laws of physics and chemistry" limit the spread of radioactivity from any nuclear accident, "no matter how severe." They speculated that evacuation of nearby residents would be more of a risk than the accident itself.

Maxey asserts that this convenient piece of corporate science, along with unspecified "controlled experiments," prove that a damaging nuclear accident is a vanishing possibility. Her claim ignores several extremely thorough government studies of reactor risks, such as the 1965 WASH-740 update which predicted 45,000 deaths and 70,000 injuries from a severe reactor accident. Even the 1975 WASH-1400 study, which was widely criticized for its pro-nuclear bias, came up with similar estimates.

If the nuclear industry has so much faith in the Levinson and Rahn study, it should lobby for the repeal of the Price-Anderson Act which now protects it from lawsuits in the event of a major accident. But don't hold your breath waiting for that to happen. The nuclear promoters evidently produce such "science" only for public consumption.

Maxey moves on to other studies - again unnamed - which supposedly show that escaped nuclear waste is nothing to worry about. But radioactive materials have already escaped to the environment in dozens of incidents, including a 1957 waste storage accident in the USSR which contaminated a large area, killed several thousand people, and made a half-dozen towns permanently uninhabitable.

As her next "authority," Maxey quotes someone who believes that radiation in excess of natural doses is "essential to life processes." Would she care to explain how humanity managed to survive for all those centuries before nuclear power?

Far from being a "hysterical slogan," the principle that there is no safe dose of radiation is accepted by all the scientific organizations that set radiation protection standards. Such standards presume that the biological damage done by radiation is proportional to the radiation dose, and even natural background levels of radiation are widely held to take a toll in cancer and genetic defects.

New studies of data from Hiroshima and Nagasaki indicate that

the effects of low-level radiation are worse than previously thought. (See *Science* 22 May 1981.) Studies of nuclear workers, uranium miners, and medical X-ray patients have all demonstrated the relationship between radiation dose and cancer risk. Either Maxey is completely ignorant of this subject or assumes that her audience is.

A conflict of interests

In this section Maxey attempts to impugn the motives of nuclear critics by claiming that their concerns about nuclear safety are really just a cover for their political objectives. "Mounting evidence that society can safely manage nuclear wastes," she says, "cheers them little." What mounting evidence? Three Mile Island? Leaking waste dumps? Cancer downwind of Rocky Flats? There's not all that much to celebrate.

Many nuclear opponents are indeed delighted that "concentrations of corporate power are becoming unacceptable to the public and its well-being." This would be a radical idea only in the *Wall Street Journal*.

As for all that talk about moral decadence, restoring wholesomeness, etc., Maxey must have found the only existing antinuclear chapter of the Moral Majority. Many who oppose nuclear power do see it as a symbol of society's ills. But few would argue that nuclear technology is the cause of these problems or that getting rid of it would cure them.

Maxey rehearses the favorite nuclear industry claim that antinuclear activists want to impose a lower standard of living on everyone else. But ever since its beginning, the safe energy movement has argued that people can stay comfortable without nuclear power - and save money to boot - by making more efficient use of the energy they already consume and turning to renewable energy sources. The once radical idea that conservation is the best energy source has now been adopted by such establishment think-tanks as the Ford Foundation and the Harvard business school.

The three-ring nuke show

In a stunning display of hypocrisy, Maxey attacks antinuclear scientists who dare to talk publicly about their work. From the pages of one of the largest newspapers in the US, she blasts them for no longer

restricting their "minor disputes over esoteric matters" to the scientific journals.

Maxey's comments betray a preference for restricting scientific knowledge and decisionmaking to a small elite. She seems contemptuous of the "unsuspecting citizen" who is so easily frightened by the dramatic distortions of the media. But the solution she advocates is not to better inform the public, but to cut off its access to information about technical disputes. This arrogant cover-it-up mentality is reflected further in the next paragraph, which translates to "trust the experts" - the very nuclear technocrats who created the problem in the first place and are, as always, telling us there is nothing to worry about.

A conflict of conscience

Here Maxey shows that she really has been spending too much time with the Moral Majority. God smiting us for nuclear power? Overreaching our frail and sinful natures? Perhaps Maxey is attempting to discredit nuclear opponents by portraying them as a religious cult, but she could at least invent a plausible set of beliefs to attack them for. Where did she get this stuff?

Maxey stands reality on its head with the claim that the privileged few (antinuclear activists?) would abandon future promise for the many by forcing a rejection of nuclear power. There is no evidence that poor or working people are any better off with nuclear power. On the contrary, it has pushed up utility bills and gobbled up billions of tax dollars. The true "privileged few" are those who control the resources of society - and have squandered them on nukes rather than safer and more productive energy investments.

Ultimate power

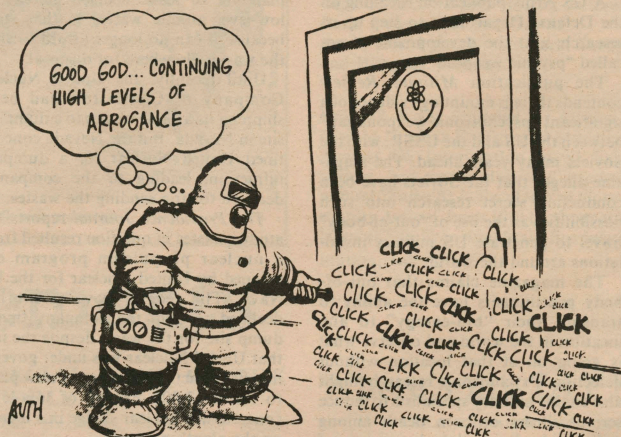
In conclusion, Maxey compares the risks from a hundred nuclear plants with the supposedly much greater dangers from the cutoff of six million barrels of imported oil a day. In reality, 100 nuclear plants would produce the energy equivalent of less than a seventh of that oil and would have a negligible effect on oil imports. A nation willing to take nuclear risks for that small an amount of expensive energy would indeed be "confused at some deep level of its social and political life."

For all her talk of rationality, Maxey apparently believes in nuclear power as religiously as some believe in a Second Coming. She states flatly that "the world is going to have a nuclear future" as if that decision was beyond human control. She calls for confidence in institutions and leaders to "govern" the power of the atom.

The institutions that Maxey would have us trust are not the solution to the nuclear problem but its cause. For decades they have ruthlessly promoted nuclear power and weapons development, with no respect for life, the truth, or billions of tax dollars. They have created a system of armaments that threatens our annihilation. They have saddled future generations with a deadly legacy of atomic wastes.

No, we are not confident in such institutions and leaders. It is time to think - and act - for ourselves.

--Bob Van Scoy
IAT staff



The Progressive

Short Circuits

NO PEEKING DURING MELTDOWNS

Two shift supervisors at the Three Mile Island nuclear plant have admitted that they cheated during operator licensing tests last April. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission says that one of the operators has been fired and action against the other is yet to be determined.

The NRC and General Public Utilities, Inc., which owns TMI, refused to identify the two operators except to say they were "long-term" employees. Both were on duty at various times during the March, 1979 accident at TMI according to NRC official Dudley Thompson.

—from *Oakland Tribune*, 8/7/81

WAR MACHINE A BIT RUSTY

Tank and bomber crews from what were regarded as America's most combat ready units apparently performed miserably in recent NATO military competitions.

The *Washington Star* reports the poor US showings come at a time when the Reagan administration is spending most of its defense money to develop complex weapons systems and little to improve basic training skills. The most dismal results occurred in the competition involving strategic bombing. A squadron of four US B-52 bombers reportedly finished last among competing squadrons from other NATO countries.

The US crews finished 13th, 15th, 19th and 22nd among the 22 crews in the contest in spite of the fact that the B-52s are regarded as being superior in capability to the bombers used by the others. In tank competition US crews finished a distant third in shooting accuracy and maneuvering.

—from *Zodiac News Service*

HEY, MAN, PASS ME THAT NUKE

Pentagon leaders report that more than 3000 military personnel have been removed from nuclear weapons duty in the past five years because of drug and alcohol use.

General William Louisell, the assistant secretary of Defense for Drug and Alcohol Abuse, said that many of those relieved of duty were apprehended as a result of surprise drug busts at US military installations. The Strategic Air Command said that those found using illicit drugs are transferred to positions of lower responsibility, such as the motor pool or food service. The Pentagon reports it plans to step up its drug search program of all service related personnel beginning this October.

—from *Zodiac News Service*

NUNN FOR THE DRAFT

Georgia Senator Sam Nunn is planning a legislative drive this fall to abandon the all-volunteer army and replace it with a draft.

Nunn's proposal would require, for the first time in US history, a legally mandated period of "national service" for all of the roughly 4 million men and women who reach the age of eighteen each year. A small minority of this number, perhaps 150,000 men, would be drafted into the armed services. Those not drafted, including all the women, would be required to serve a short time, perhaps two weeks each year for several years, in civil defense or charitable work.

—from *Zodiac News Service*

PSYCHOTRONIC WEAPONS GAP?

A US Army publication is calling on the Defense Department to step up its research into the development of so-called "psychic weapons."

The publication *Military Review* contends there is mounting evidence of a significant "psychotronic weapons gap" between the US and the USSR, with the Soviets many years ahead. The magazine alleges that the Soviets have been conducting secret research into such possibilities as the use of "out-of-body" travel to penetrate US military installations around the world.

The magazine claims that out-of-body practitioners have the ability to transmit their "bio-energy" to any location in the world and observe what is going on at that location without detection. Psychotronic research might also enable military specialists to induce serious illness or even death among military leaders solely by means of mental concentration.

The magazine adds that there is also evidence that persons at great distances away could be hypnotized, or their thoughts psychically altered without their being aware of any outside influence. It concludes by saying that, at the very least, the Pentagon should begin work on countermeasures against psychic weapons, suggesting that the first step might be to perfect a "bio-energy detector" — a device that would sound an alarm whenever an area has been psychically penetrated by an outsider.

—from *Zodiac News Service*

REAGAN CANS SOLAR STAFF

Under orders from the Reagan Administration, the federal Solar Energy Research Institute in Golden, Colorado is firing 77 more permanent workers and will fire 192 temporary employees by the end of September. The layoffs will reduce the Institute staff to 615 from 960 before the cuts began in July.

Most of the fired staffers were working on projects aimed at commercial, near-term solar development. Reagan has directed the Institute to concentrate on long-term solar development. Reagan has directed the Institute to concentrate on long-term laboratory research.

—from *San Francisco Chronicle*, 8/19/81

NOT HERE, YOU DON'T

A Rhode Island nuclear company is planning to leave 660,000 gallons of low-level atomic wastes in that state because it can no longer afford to ship the wastes elsewhere for disposal.

Until recently, the United Nuclear Company of Charleston had been shipping its atomic wastes to a dumping site in Nevada. But the Nevada concern fined United Nuclear for a dumping infraction, leading to the company's decision to stop sending the wastes.

The *Providence Journal* reports the atomic wastes in question resulted from a nuclear propulsion program developed by United Nuclear for the US Navy. The federal government has declined to help the company find a dump site for the waste despite the fact that United Nuclear was under government contract. The company now plans to leave 12,000 barrels of low-level concrete-like nuclear sludge in a lagoon on the plant's property.

In the meantime, the governor of Rhode Island, J. Joseph Garrahy, has indicated that he may file suit to prevent the storage of the wastes in his state.

—from *Zodiac News Service*

PLOP, PLOP, FIZZ, FIZZ

A Chicago scientist says that acid rains are destroying many of America's historical landmarks, much like an Alka Seltzer dissolves.

According to Kenneth Eisenberg, the president of the Preservation Technology Group, when the rain hits certain marble facades "you can almost hear them fizz as they dissolve."

Eisenberg says that one acid-rain casualty is in the Field Museum of History in Chicago, where as much as an inch of the original marble on statues and building exteriors has fizzed away. "The condition of some of the marble statues is as bad as that on 2000-year-old structures in Athens."

The problem is not limited to Chicago. Most of the marble markers in the Arlington National Cemetery have begun to dissolve. "In not too many years the inscriptions will be unreadable," Eisenberg said. Other Washington, DC monuments said to be showing the signs of acid rain corrosion include the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, The Lincoln Memorial and the National Geographic Building.

—from *Zodiac News Service*

IS SURVIVAL IN THE BUDGET?

The Center for Defense Information (CDI), a non-profit research group in Washington, DC that often calls for cuts in the US defense budget, is now encouraging the Pentagon to spend an extra \$5 billion to help prevent an accidental nuclear war from breaking out.

Retired Admiral Gene Larocque, the head of CDI, said, "We've been lucky" not to have had a nuclear accident lead to a full-scale war at some point during the past three decades. Larocque quotes from official Pentagon studies indicating that in the last thirty years there have been at least 32 major accidents involving US nuclear weapons and that any one of these could have resulted in an atomic explosion, perhaps leading to a miscalculation and an attack by one of the superpowers.

CDI calculates that, given the Reagan plan to spend \$1.5 trillion on defense over the next five years, the US will have about 17,000 nuclear warheads to keep track of by 1986. So CDI is recommending that the Reagan administration build a fail-safe nuclear weapons system that CDI estimates would cost about \$5 billion.

—from *Zodiac News Service*

GE VP SAYS INDUSTRY DYING

A. Philip Bray, the vice president and general manager of General Electric's Nuclear Power Systems Division, said recently that the US nuclear power plant manufacturing industry may be in its death throes.

According to *Business Week* magazine, General Electric, one of the biggest builders of nuclear power plants in the world, has not signed a single contract to construct a new nuclear power plant for the past five years. The collapse of the nuclear construction market has hit all four of the US based firms that specialize in building nuclear plants. Irving Bupp of the Harvard Graduate School of Business is predicting that "There are not going to be any more nuclear (power plant) orders in the US this century."

Business Week reports that some electrical utility officials still expect the nuclear power plant industry to get strong again, but the magazine adds that "others think this (view) is so much opium-puffing."

—from *Zodiac News Service*



'Hello, this is the FBI, defenders of truth, justice, and the American way—may I help youse?'

Calendar

The Plutonium Players present a free topical comedy show in local parks. *To Sell the Truth* is a satirical review of the state of the planet and the news media that bring us the facts.

Sept. 13: 2 pm, Precita Park, Precita and Folsom, SF.

Sept. 19 & 20: 2 pm, Golden Gate Park, near Garfield Statue and Conservatory, JFK Drive, SF.

Sept. 26 & 27: 2 pm, Mission Dolores Park, Dolores and 19th St., SF.

Oct. 3 & 4: 2 pm, Willard Park, Derby and Hillegass, Berkeley.

Sept. 22 & 23: Students for Alternatives to Nuclear Energy and Students Against US Intervention in El Salvador are sponsoring the second annual "Faire '81—Two Days of Community Action" from 10-3 on the main lawn at San Francisco State. For information, call 387-8378.

Sept. 25: Poets Alan Ginsberg, Alta and Ishmael Reed, singer/song writer Gary Lapow and yoga healer Vicki Noble will give a program for the War Resisters League West, 7:30 pm at Veterans Memorial Hall, 1931 Center St., Berkeley. Tickets in advance are \$4.50 at City Lights, Modern Times, Cody's, Old Mole, A Woman's Place and Keplers. At the door, \$6.00. To reserve child care or for more information call (415) 731-1220. Sign interpretation for the hearing impaired. Wheelchair access.

Oct. 1: Film benefit for People Against Nuclear Power, San Francisco at the Red Victorian Theatre, 1659 Haight St., SF, at 7:15 p.m. and 9:30 p.m. "Paul Jacobs and the Nuclear Gang" and "Lovejoy's Nuclear War." \$3.00.

Early Oct.: Comedy benefit for People Against Nuclear Power, San Francisco featuring the Screaming Memes, Darryl Henriques and Fran and Charlie. For details, call PANP at 781-5342.



Bohemians venture from their encampment to talk with protesters.

photo by Jackie Knapp

Announcements

NUCLEAR FILM FORUM

The *Nuclear Film Forum*, a first-of-its-kind symposium on nuclear issues, is scheduled for October 26 to November 19 at the First Unitarian Church in San Francisco. In ten evening sessions, top-rated films and slide shows will explore all sides of the urgent questions surrounding nuclear power, nuclear weapons and nuclear war. Panel discussions or debates featuring leaders of the nuclear industry and nationally recognized nuclear critics will follow the films each evening.

Contact: (415) 563-1519.

SPECIAL ISSUE ON THE MIDDLE EAST

The Resource Center for Non-violence is pleased to announce the publication of our Spring 1981 newsletter, a special issue on the Middle East.

In this issue of the newsletter we attempt to address, at least in an exploratory way, several of the 'myths' of the Mid East conflict.

The Resource Center Newsletter is available free of charge by sending a self-addressed, stamped envelope to the Resource Center for Nonviolence, P.O. Box 2324, Santa Cruz, CA 95063. Subscription information is available on request.

Where's my IAT?

If you're a subscriber and have missed the one or two issues of *IAT*, please contact us and we will check to see if you are still on our mailing list or if the problem rests with the Post Office.

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Clip for IAT

We need volunteers to clip nuclear and energy related items from newspapers or journals that they have access to, and send them to us. Items that are unusual or amusing are especially appreciated. Please note the source and date of each item carefully.

We also need people who are willing to regularly clip particular newspapers for us. If you read a paper every day and can do this, please drop us a note at the address on the subscription blank.

AA Safe Energy Groups

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

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Under the Shadow Of the Reactor

inhale

the smell of eucalyptus

inhale

a stand of cane beside the house

inhale

a child's voice from above

inhale

a thousand streams coursing

inhale

the sound of breath reflecting

inhale

the fire in the sky speaking

inhale

all the hearts in the world crying out

all crying out together for light

inhale

the excitement of cities
the peace of mountains

Three Mile Meltdown Haiku (for Lew)

Not yet spring
—the plum-blossoms
Have already fallen

Mayday
Has come & gone
But I'm still in revolt.

Worker,
Put your shoulder
To the sky

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WILLIAM GARRETT lives and works in Berkeley, California. He is the author of *Jazz Piano On A Red Mountaintop* (San Francisco, Poetry For The People, 1981), *Nuclear Blues and Haikus*, *Three Mile Meltdown Haiku & Other Poems*, and *Jack Kerouac: A Biography in Haiku*.

ABALONE CONFERENCE

The Abalone Alliance will hold a state-wide conference October 9-11 in Santa Barbara. It will be after the blockade and a good time to access future directions, revitalize working collectives, consider changes in the decision making process, and approve the budget for the next six months.

The conference will be at a campground. Five vegetarian meals will be provided. Cost of the weekend will be approximately \$15. Contact People for a Nuclear Free Future if you have special housing needs. Moderate temperatures are expected, suitable for swimming during the day and jackets at night. Pets should stay at home. Conference forms are available from your local group.

Decision making at the conference will be by member groups. Affinity groups participate in decisions through their local group. If groups need copies of the structure and decision making process, send \$.50 to the San Francisco Abalone Alliance office (944 Market Street, Room 307, San Francisco, CA 94102) to cover the cost of mailing.

The proposed agenda attempts to guide the Abalone Alliance through potentially difficult discussions. It has been designed to develop strategy and define priorities while building unity. The format is open in many places, in anticipation that proposals and projects will be provisionally developed in local areas before the conference.

Since no written proposals were circulated five weeks before the conference, no decisions may be made. However, proposals may be formulated at the conference to be referred to a spokes meeting or the consensus by mail process after the conference for ratification.

A lack of participation by ALL member groups left many hours of work to three people. Please consider your agenda suggestions before going to Santa Barbara. Any major alterations in the agenda will be considered at the final agenda meeting Friday, October 9, in Santa Barbara.

Saturday

Brainstorming Strategy by Themes (including waste transport and storage, decommissioning, occupational health and safety, etc.) in small groups. Updates on ongoing projects such as: Nuclear Weapons-Freeze Campaign, Rate Protest, a Responsible Utility Initiative, etc. The afternoon session will concentrate on the budget, strategy caucuses and Structure and Process of AA.

Sunday

Labor Task Force Outreach Workshop, Revised Budget Report, Diablo Blockade Evaluations, Task Force Revitalization and a Closing Ritual.

For a copy of the complete agenda, contact your local member group.

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