

It's About Times

Abalone Alliance Newspaper

October - November 1983



Reagan's new arms control flexibility

Like a contortionist in a traveling circus, Ronald Reagan is bending over backwards to offer new arms control deals, doing his best to impress us with his flexibility. He has replaced his aggressive rhetoric of years past with talk of "build-downs" and arms reductions, all aimed at creating a new and peaceful image for his administration.

The "build-down" proposal is the cornerstone of Reagan's new plan. The idea is to dismantle more than one existing missile for every new one deployed, leaving each side with fewer weapons. The Reaganites hope to sell the simplistic idea that all that matters is the *number* of weapons, so that any decrease is a step toward peace.

The real intent of the plan is to allow the current American weapons buildup to proceed at full speed in "return" for the retirement of obsolete weapons -- which would probably be scrapped anyway. If the point were really to reverse the arms race, it would seem logical for both sides to simply dismantle some missiles and not waste money replacing them.

But "build-down" is just a cover to legitimate the modernization of the nuclear arsenal. Old Titan and Minuteman missiles will be replaced by the more powerful and accurate MX, obsolete submarine-launched

Reagan's build-down plan is a cover for modernizing the nuclear arsenal.

missiles by long range, precision guided Trident II's, aging B-52 bombers by B-1's, and so on. Since each new weapons system is deadlier (and often carries more warheads) than the one it replaces, the nuclear arsenal becomes meaner as it gets leaner. Reagan, quoting numbers alone, misleadingly claims this "build-down" would be a step toward peace.

But the Reaganites would prefer not to make even token sacrifices to arms control, so the plan includes features to insure that the Russians will reject it. The rates at which various new weapons can be exchanged for old ones are stacked to the Soviets' disadvantage. Fixed land-based missiles, which make up a majority of the Russian nuclear arsenal (but a much smaller part of US forces) would have to be dismantled at the rate of two missiles for each new one deployed. For submarine-launched missiles -- where the US has a great technological edge and is planning large increases -- the "price" is only three

old missiles for every two new ones.

The official rationale for this difference is that it will reduce the possibility of either side launching a first strike surprise attack on the other. Since fixed missiles present a tempting target for first strike, it is argued, they are destabilizing and should be eliminated. But for *launching* a first strike, the new Trident II missile carried on US submarines will be ideal. A single Trident sub will carry massive firepower -- as many as 408 nuclear warheads -- which can be launched from waters a few minutes from the Soviet Union and precision-guided to their targets by the new Navstar satellite system. Although the Soviets have submarine-launched missiles too, they are presently much cruder and lack the accuracy required for first strike, where the targets are har-

dened military installations, such as missile silos, which must be hit with pinpoint accuracy.

The artificial separation of arms talks into "strategic" and "European theater" also ignores valid Soviet concerns. The US takes the position that a Pershing II missile stationed in West Germany is merely a "theater" weapon because of its limited range and so must be considered separately. But from the Russian standpoint, that same missile, only six minutes flight time from Moscow, is a strategic threat of the highest order -- a Cuban missile crisis in reverse.

Whatever else they might be, the Soviets are not stupid. They are hardly likely to accept a plan which penalizes them for their technological strengths, exploits their weaknesses, and excludes important issues. The Reaganites, of course, intend to wave around the inevitable "nyet" as a token of Russian unwillingness to take steps toward peace -- and as a justification for a continued US arms buildup.

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Letters



RESPONSE TO AN OPEN LETTER

Dear IAT,

I have a few critical observations on "A Letter from the Polish Underground" in your August-September issue. It is my understanding that the Western peace movement has opposed the SS-20's as well as cruise and Pershing II's. So for [the Polish group] KOS to ask us to oppose them is as an indication that they are uninformed, perhaps because of selective reporting by the Polish press. Perhaps an IAT gift subscription is in order.

My reading of the very pro-Soviet East German press leaves me with the understanding that the official Warsaw Pact governmental peace organizations oppose the Pershing and cruise deployment in Western Europe because, among other things, it would likely lead the USSR to put nuclear weapons in Eastern Europe as a response. According to the East German press, the official Communist peace movement has also opposed the SS-20's. It supports either reductions to 162 SS-20's, the number of the British and French missiles of the same type, or total elimination of nuclear weapons from Europe if the British, French and Americans agree to a similar fate for their systems. This stance is in accordance with their support of the Swedish government's proposal that Central Europe be turned into a nuclear free zone -- a proposal opposed by West Germany, but endorsed by East Germany.

On the issue of whether Western peace protests are being presented by the Eastern authorities as "a demand for unilateral disarmament by the West," I can only say that I have not seen any such article in the East German press. The British Labor Party did have an official position for unilateral disarmament for the U.K. during the last election and this position was reported in the East German press. It was not presented as the demand of the Western peace movement nor was it necessarily even endorsed. The official stand is against unilateralism and for mutual force reductions to zero.

I do agree with KOS's statement that the military power of "the Warsaw Pact is built at the cost of increasing poverty" of the people living in the actually existing socialist countries which compose it. I think that one of the chief benefits of the arms race for the rich capitalist democratic states has been to drain and divert their adversaries' wealth away from socially useful production, thereby increasing internal political tensions in the Eastern bloc.

The struggle for civil rights knows no political boundaries. Every honest democrat supports these rights; just as every genuine communist knows that the rights will never be secured for all in a class-divided world or even in a classless world where oppressed and oppressors continue to exist.

Sincerely,
-- Michael T. Ballard



POLITICAL DISCRIMINATION CASE

Dear IAT,

I am a political activist with a strong commitment to social change. For the past two years, I have held "straight" jobs in health administration, the latest as Service Director for the San Mateo office of Upjohn Health Care Services. I've acted as support for those who blockaded at Port Chicago, Livermore, and Vandenberg, but hesitated to blockade myself because I was afraid of recriminations from my employers. This summer I decided I had to be stronger and more demonstrative about my commitment to the nuclear disarmament movement.

I participated in the June 20 blockade (on my own time) and was subsequently fired for being unavailable for work and for what my boss called "gross personal misconduct." Then the unemployment office denied me benefits for being in jail. I was told I had no case because termination for political beliefs is not considered discrimination. Only those issues tested in the courts -- sex, age, race, and religion -- are permitted in the definition of discrimination.

Friends urged me to fight back. I spoke with lawyer after lawyer, ninety per cent of whom told me that in California the wrongful discharge law is so new as to be an unsatisfactory recourse.

Finally I found a group of lawyers who see the issue as I do and who feel the case is a good one. The Fruitvale Law Collective has agreed to take the case on con-

tingency, with \$1500 to cover basic expenses. The goal is to set a precedent for future blockaders who want to oppose nuclear arms and power without fear of losing their source of income.

Although I am down to my last \$300 and have had no income in eight weeks, I feel this issue must be fought. I am certain there are many like me who are afraid to risk their jobs by blockading. Without strong support and networking for those who have lost their jobs, I fear that blockading will be a privilege -- affordable to those who can demonstrate without taking risks. Working people and working parents may have to remain on support teams if they alone have to fight for their daily survival once the event is over.

I urge you to contribute to my defense fund, on behalf of those who have blockaded and those who in the future will blockade. I urge you to make this issue your issue. Any amount you can send will help. Perhaps your group can put on a fundraiser and donate a percentage of the draw. Send your contribution to Judy Koretsky Defense Fund, 2035 Channing Way #201, Berkeley, CA 94704.

-- Judy Koretsky

US WORRIED ABOUT GERMAN DEMOS

The comments that follow are from an American journalist and political activist who has been living in West Germany for many years.

Dear IAT,

The political situation here in West Germany is becoming more contradictory, more interesting,

more fatal, perhaps even catastrophic. There are a good number of peace researchers who believe that the [US] Pershing II's, if stationed in West Germany, will eventually lead to a Soviet first strike.

But the weapons and technical aspects are perhaps only the tip of the iceberg. Even the government estimated recently that as many as three million people are going to be demonstrating during the week of October 15 to 22.

The American armed forces here are shitting in their pants. They really don't know what to expect -- flowers, Moli's, bombs, bullets or symbolic nuclear die-ins, all either in the name of peace, anti-imperialism, God the father, social revolution, non-violence, love of country, a non-nuclear world -- well, you name it. Just don't slip on a banana peel outside a US military installation. You might get taken for a terrorist by an extra nervous guard and shot.

Within the peace movement, anti-imperialism and the conventional arms buildup are receiving increased attention. With good reason, since if the planned "escalation chain" from conventional to tactical nuclear to strategic nuclear threats becomes reality in the next six or eight years, it will mean that every Third World conflict in which the US chooses to intervene will involve Western European countries. This is so because Pershing II and Cruise missiles on European soil will be an essential and destabilizing link in the chain.

The German peace movement may just decide the fate of Europe in the 1980's or perhaps forever more -- if in fact a nuclear war does erupt. mit schonen Gruben,
-- Michael Lucas



"You know I'm not suppose to talk about my work, dear, but why don't you and the kids spend the day in the cellar?"

It's About Times

Abalone Alliance Newspaper

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

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PG&E's quest for power at Diablo

Inefficiency, technical error and perpetual repair have become the passwords in Pacific Gas & Electric's quest for power at the Diablo Canyon nuclear plant.

Nonetheless, PG&E expects the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to re-issue a low-power license for the plant late this year. (The first, granted in 1981, was yanked after a few days when a major construction blunder was discovered.) If the NRC gives the go-ahead, the Abalone Alliance will stage blockades, marches, vigils, and other protests at the plant.

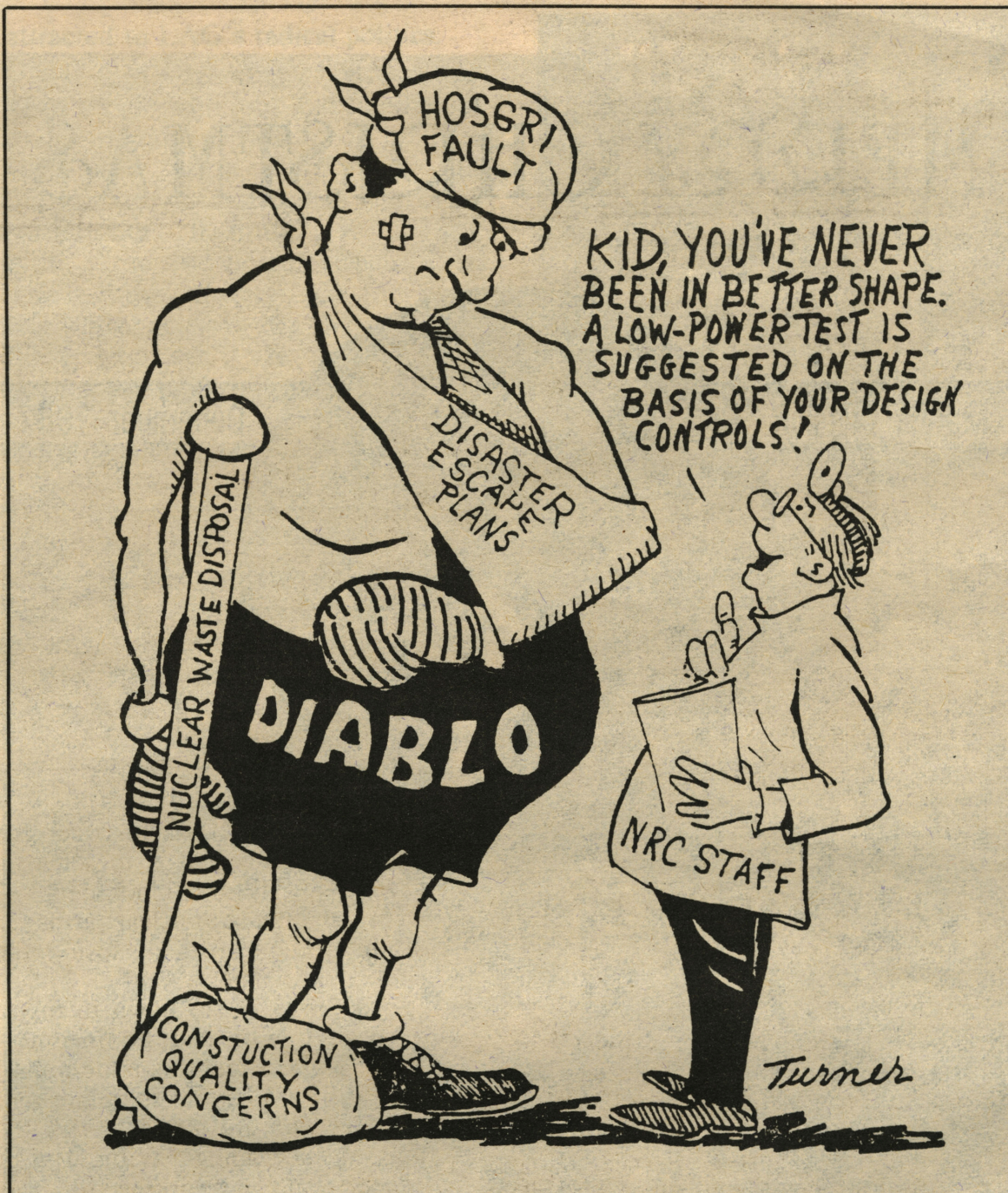
Recently, Mothers for Peace, long-time intervenors in the fight against Diablo, submitted to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission the results of an audit of Pullman Power, one of the two major builders of the plant. The report shows that there was no quality assurance program at Diablo between 1971 and 1974, peak construction years for the plant.

Although PG&E has admitted to problems with other builders, it has praised Pullman profusely, going so far as to rate it a "10 out of 10" on its quality assurance program. However, the audit, commissioned in 1977 by PG&E and performed by Nuclear Services Corporation, directly contradicts that assertion.

According to Nancy Culver of Mothers for Peace, the audit is highly critical of Pullman's quality assurance program and reveals that numerous technical and design flaws had either escaped the attention of or been "overlooked" by Pullman. The information was withheld by PG&E in 1977 when the NRC investigated construction quality assurance. The results came to light only after the report was leaked to Mothers for Peace, who are now using the audit to justify re-opening hearings on Diablo.

Another NRC audit obtained by MfP under the Freedom of Information Act includes some comments on PG&E as well. According to Culver, the report is a "scathing" review of PG&E management, and accuses them of "suffering from technical arrogance" and of "being run by cocky engineers who believe that quality assurance is not important." The Atomic Safety and Licensing Appeals Board has not yet decided whether to re-open quality assurance hearings.

The case against Diablo Canyon gets stronger and stronger. Construction of the Diablo plant began in 1967. Some 16 years and \$3.5 billion later, Diablo still fails to meet



important safety standards. PG&E's history of mismanagement and poor workmanship continues to nip mercilessly at the heels of its executives.

But, say utility officials, not to worry. It's all been taken care of. Diablo Canyon is now "the garden spot of PG&E," according to PG&E Executive Vice-President George Maneatis, who also labeled the plant, which is again (or is it still?) undergoing major repairs, "a showcase operation."

PG&E construction crews are trying to "finish up" work on 100 structural steel connections inside the Unit 1 containment, replace about 75 unworthy bolts, and add reinforcements to a crane that is being used to assemble the reactor.

Another showdown

Meanwhile, the NRC Appeals Board hearings on the adequacy of the plant's design have been postponed until October 31. The hearings will be held in San Luis Obispo County.

The NRC has also scheduled a staff briefing on the reissuance of

Diablo Canyon's low-power test license on October 28 in Washington D.C. According to the *Telegraph Tribune*, "NRC officials indicated . . . it could be December or later" before the agency allows fuel loading at the plant. Although the commissioners could authorize fuel loading at that time, intervenors hope the NRC will postpone its decision until the Appeals Board completes assurance hearings on design.

Nonetheless, blockade preparations are well underway in San Luis Obispo. The People's Emergency Response Plan is busy organizing the protest, which they hope will provide a "vehicle for everyone who is against Diablo to express their opposition." The action will include civil disobedience, marches, and vigils.

Raye Fleming of the Diablo Project Office's site collective told *It's About Times* that the weekend after the NRC votes on the reissuance of the low-power test license, the site collective will meet to set a date for the action. Fleming says the blockade will begin some 30 to 60 days after that meeting.

This action will differ from previous blockades of Diablo in several important ways. Those interested in joining the action should first contact the Travel Agency Collective. This group will act as a contact for affinity groups and individuals by connecting them with other collectives such as housing, support, guides, and medical.

Depending on the status of housing, the Travel Agency Collective will help affinity groups decide on the best time to join the action. By frequently assessing the action and keeping in communication with affinity groups, it hopes to ensure the endurance and success of the protest.

PERP asks affinity groups and support people to make a two-week commitment if possible. It also asks that participants spend time working in San Luis Obispo on collectives, building community, and "helping to alleviate burnout."

People will be housed in homes in the local community, so it is important that individuals and affinity groups who wish to join the action contact the collective as soon as possible.

The license that didn't last

The planned protests and the newly discovered errors and audits are only the latest in a series of problems that have plagued PG&E for the past ten years. Two years ago, PG&E management had reason to believe that operation of the plant was imminent. On September 22, 1981, the NRC issued a Facility Operating License, authorizing fuel loading and low-power testing -- which meant PG&E could test the reactor's efficiency at up to 5% of its rated power.

PG&E officials were glad. They had been waiting for this day since the first shovelful of dirt was scooped out at Diablo Canyon in 1967. The original cost estimate on the plant of \$350 million had been left in the dust, and they were beginning to *look bad* to their customers. Public relations were at an all-time low. But now, finally . . .

Opponents of the plant were sad. They too had invested a lot of time and energy. They too had been waiting -- to see if sanity would prevail over corporate logic. The low-power license seemed to mean the failure of their long and determined fight against a nuclear power plant which stood almost on top of an earthquake fault.

Then something funny happened. **continued on page 14**

PUC's unprecedented guidelines for San Onofre

In a dramatic departure from tradition, the California Public Utilities Commission (PUC) has reached a precedent-shattering decision regarding the costs of the Unit 2 and 3 reactors at the San Onofre nuclear plant. On September 7 in San Francisco, the commissioners voted 3 to 2 to adopt an incentive plan for reactor efficiency. The new plan spreads the risks of operating San Onofre more evenly between ratepayers and utility shareholders, so that ratepayers aren't forced to pay all costs regardless of plant efficiency.

Community Energy Action Network (CEAN), Alliance for Survival, Mothers for Peace, Friends of the Earth and other groups around the state have been lobbying the PUC since June to impose such perfor-

mance standards on utilities. It was an immediate, if limited, success for the groups, one that they feel shows that citizen involvement can really work.

CEAN worked long and diligently to organize a statewide campaign to send cards, letters, and petitions to the five PUC members. Between early June and September 7, the five Commissioners received over 1,800 communications. The day before the September 7 meeting, Commission President Leonard Grimes received nearly 50 phone calls. Petitions bearing over 500 signatures arrived at the PUC the next morning via air express.

At least two reliable sources at the meeting reported that this citizen lobbying made the difference in the

decision. They said that the commissioner who cast the decisive vote would not have stood firm without the lobbying effort.

But the PUC decision was a limited victory. Ratepayers will win more only with continued vigilance and participation in the upcoming decision on including \$4.3 billion in construction and interest costs for Units 2 and 3 in the rate base. A detailed PUC staff and consultant analysis is now underway regarding the "prudence and reasonableness" of such costs. A new phase of hearings will soon begin, and the commission may make a decision on these capital expenses by the first of January.

The next step is to convince the commissioners to spread out the

charges for the reactors' capital costs over their useful lifetime. According to PUC staff analyst Ron Knect, "This would keep today's ratepayers from subsidizing ratepayers in the future."

If the costs to customers are leveled -- as Knect, others on the PUC staff, and the ratepayers' groups are suggesting -- ratepayers will be charged about \$150 to \$200 million per year. This would mean a \$1 to \$3 increase in the average monthly utility bill in Southern California. If the utilities have their way, and the costs are "front-loaded" so that most are paid in the first few years of the plant's operation, electric bills would increase by \$5 to \$7.

-- Jim Jacobson

Fighting the war at home

While disarmament groups demonstrate at Vandenberg and Livermore, several organizations are trying to stop manufacturers from building weapons systems. In California's "Silicon Valley," the concentration of high-technology industry south of San Francisco, nearly \$4 billion in defense contracts were received in fiscal year 1982 -- an increase of 32% from the year before. Hundreds of firms are involved in this military work: per capita, the area is the most defense-dependent in the country. Almost everyone is connected to the industry -- even among the people arrested at Livermore.

Focusing on war spending at home means convincing people who work in the electronics industry to examine their own contribution to the war effort. The problem is tricky -- what does one ask of a person whose livelihood and social life depend on the war industry?

Community Against Nuclear Extinction (CANE), an Abalone Alliance group based in Palo Alto, writes leaflets about specific defense companies and distributes them to workers. Organizer Mary Klein explained, "We're not asking people to quit their jobs, but we are trying to persuade them to talk about the issue among themselves and to organize to get their company out of defense spending."

CANE has received several letters and phone calls from workers, thanking them for leafletting. Several said they hadn't realized their company made weapons components. Embarrassed executives issued memos to workers acknowledging the defense contracts, but defending them.

At Westinghouse, management went to the trouble of installing new "No Trespassing" signs along every fence section. That didn't stop Harry Adams, who works on the propulsion system for the Trident submarine at Westinghouse, from joining CANE in demonstrating against the company. According to Adams, the leafletting does motivate workers to talk about defense employment.

On the other hand, Adams doesn't think CANE's organizing style is particularly inviting. "I didn't feel comfortable standing in a circle, holding hands, and looking up into the sky. And if I didn't feel comfortable, just think how the other workers felt." Adams isn't asking CANE to give up its ideals, but to be aware of how it's perceived by those they're trying to reach. He suggests round table discussions

"Our members make the highest wages in the Santa Clara Valley. Why should we care about conversion?"

between plant workers and disarmament organizers to help the two groups understand each another.

The Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project is attempting a completely different approach. It is working with union leadership and Congress to convert the weapons industry to production of socially useful products. "Conversion is difficult," staff director Joel Yudken explains, "because it challenges the priorities of powerful interests. The weapons builders are the people lobbying Congress to build bigger weapons



systems. Conversion forces them to think in different ways about management, investment, product development, technological innovation, and workplace organization."

"We're looking to convert the entire industry, not just one company," Yudken continues. "Pressure for federally supported conversion has to come throughout the industry, from the rank and file up to management."

The International Machinists Association drafted conversion legislation which was introduced to Congress in 1977, but never reached the floor of Congress. Eighty-five percent of the United Auto Workers unions have endorsed a strong

conversion resolution, and even McDonnell-Douglas executives want their company to receive more civilian contracts.

But neither the unions nor the military contractors have a program to educate the rank and file about conversion. Many union members oppose the concept. Ken Banda, president of the Machinists at Lockheed, told former weapons designer Robert Aldridge, "Our members make the highest wages in the Santa Clara Valley. Why should we care about conversion?"

Harry Adams shares the skepticism about conversion. Workers feel the vision isn't practical: Westinghouse converted from consumer and industrial products to war production

One worker didn't feel comfortable standing in a circle, holding hands, and looking up at the sky.

because there's more money in it. Although Adams is active in the union and opposes defense spending, he never hears about the meetings between union leadership and the Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project. The meetings are good for the leadership, he said, but the information never reaches the shop.

Another defense worker who works on the Trident at Westinghouse also expresses his distrust of the conversion approach. John (not his real name) argues that conversion leaves management intact, that the rank and file are an independent lot who have no reason to trust the unions or management. John prefers to protest war production by working as little as possible and by redoing work so the inspectors don't find the mistakes.

Yudken acknowledges the hostility toward conversion on the shop floor, and believes it shows the need for fundamental education. "Conversion isn't easy. We're trying to change people's patterns of thinking and show them other options are available. Pressure for

conversion has to come from the shop level."

Until that happens, workers who want to leave military work usually must act individually, making a painful decision to quit their jobs and to try to start over with another employer. Some of the workers leafletted by CANE hope to organize a support group for Santa Clara defense workers. But no organization has offered a program to help workers in the defense industry who want out.

UNEXPECTED DOVES

Concern about the implications of military work is spreading even among Silicon Valley's traditionally apolitical technical and management elites. Several groups of professionals, technical workers, and even managers are organizing their own educational programs. High Technology Professionals for Peace, based in Boston, has produced a pamphlet warning about the perils of defense employment -- overspecialization, invasion of privacy, and isolation.

A West Coast group, Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility (CPSR), publishes articles about the absurdities of computer-related defense programs. CPSR attempted to sponsor a booth at the National Computer Conference in Anaheim last summer, but was denied permission because it was not "in keeping with the purposes of the conference." Of course, companies demonstrating war computers were judged to be in keeping with purposes of the conference. CPSR members leafletted outside instead.

Creative Initiative of Palo Alto draws many of its members from middle and upper management of companies in Silicon Valley. Focusing its educational efforts on defense company managers and the business community, CI makes presentations and shows films at workplaces and meetings of management groups.

Rather than focusing on conversion, the group is seeking a "World Beyond War" in which society

recognizes that war is an obsolete method of resolving conflict. Creative Initiative organizers hope to make nuclear war the focus of the 1984 elections.

CANE, meanwhile, is continuing its organizing effort. Tom Linberger, who is active both in CANE and the Santa Clara County Central Labor Council, believes that most people recognize the military buildup is wrong and is hurting the country. "But workers feel there is nothing they can do about it. We're trying to show them they can do something about it."

-- Mark Evanoff
LAT staff

For more information contact: CANE (on AA Member Groups list); Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility, P.O. Box 717, Palo Alto, CA 94301; High Technology Professionals for Peace, 639 Massachusetts Ave. Room 316, Cambridge, MA 02139; Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project, 222 C View Street, Mountain View, CA 94041.

REVIEW

Who's afraid of the Big Bad Bear?

THE THREAT: Inside the Soviet Military Machine

Andrew Cockburn, Random House, 1983, 338 pages, \$16.95

With the revival of the Cold War, the Pentagon has tried to sell the American and West European media a picture of Soviet military power and intentions that is of mythic proportions: The Russians have taken advantage of the erosion of American strength in the post-Vietnam era to build up their armed forces to an overwhelming level. Only the American nuclear arsenal currently prevents such expansionist moves as an invasion of Western Europe or a first strike on the US itself. But here, too, the Russians are moving ahead.

Andrew Cockburn's book is an attempt to prove paranoid fantasies like these dead wrong. Those who evaluate the Soviet "threat" are, as he puts it, "blind to the consequences of a drunken and half-trained conscript army, a high command riven with political intrigue, progressively less useful weapons systems, and a society more vulnerable than most to even a limited nuclear onslaught."

Marshalling a great store of detail, Cockburn refutes the Pentagon's claims of growing Soviet military might all the way down the line. First, American figures on the overall size of the Soviet Union's armed forces are distorted: They include, for example, the nearly one million people in military construction units who have almost no military training. Regardless of the Russian military's actual size, Cockburn claims its morale is abysmally low. This is a consequence of an unjust and traumatic draft system as well as the boring, materially deprived, and completely isolated life conscripts lead after they are drafted.

Organization in general is so poor that attempts to mobilize the army for thrusts into neighboring countries have been disastrous. In 1979, the Russian government relied on Central Asian reserve divisions containing many recent construction unit veterans to put down the rebellion in Afghanistan. These troops looked fearsome enough, but their lack of training resulted in poor performance. Added to this, they consorted with the enemy, with whom they had close ethnic ties. The Soviets soon had to withdraw them and come up with more proficient and reliable Slavs from the regular

army as replacements.

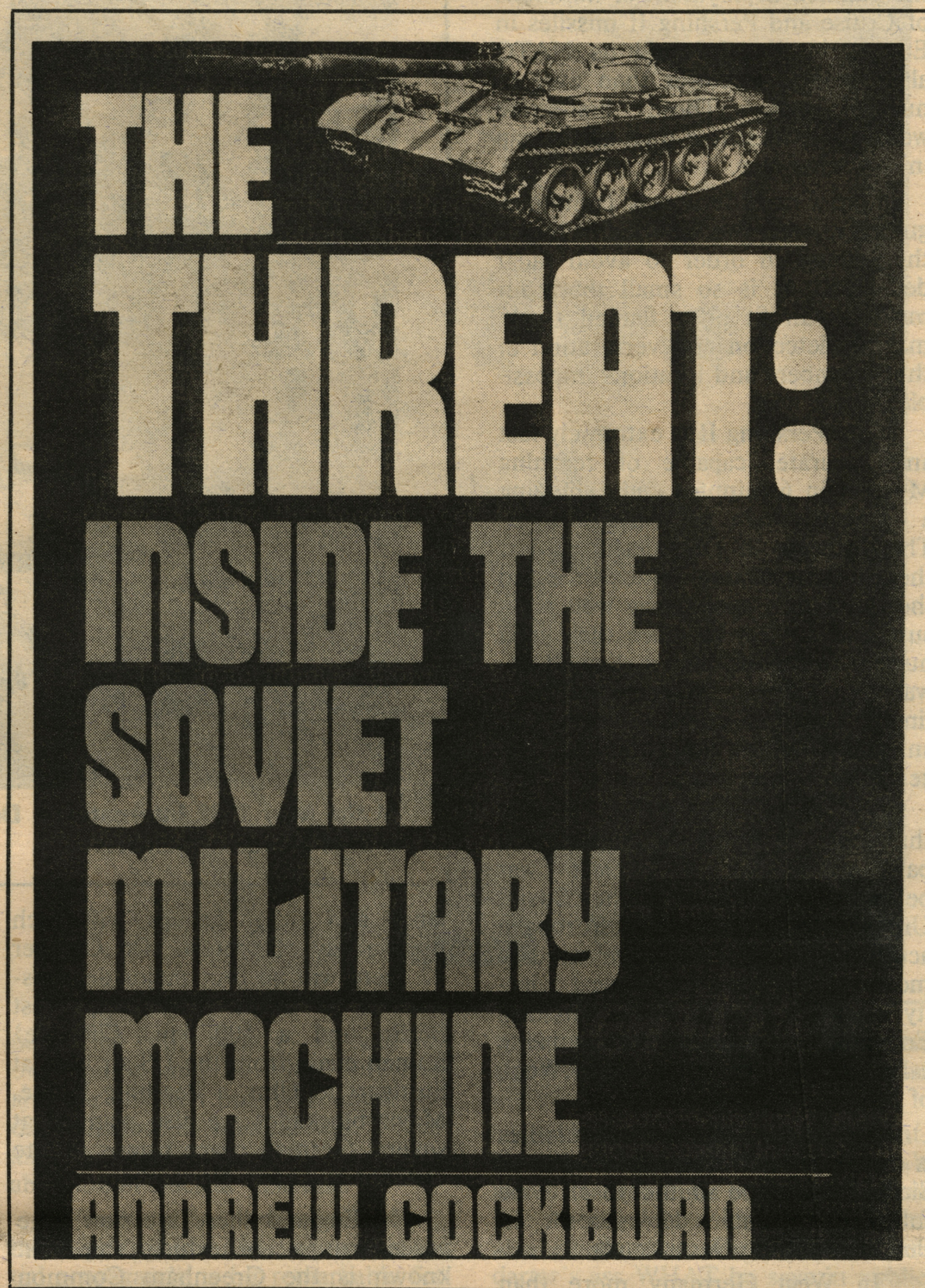
A year later, a planned invasion of Poland was aborted in the face of widespread desertion by reservists called up from along the USSR's western border. Typically, this fiasco resulted not in any basic reforms, but in a purge of Brezhnev's opponents on the general staff.

Soviet weapons don't work very well, either. Cockburn characterizes them as basically simple but unreliable mechanisms onto which are grafted ambitiously complex features that ruin combat effectiveness. This Volkswagen-bus approach to weaponry is particularly striking in Soviet tanks, which are still mainly powered by an inadequate, fragile aluminum engine originally designed for French dirigibles in the 1920's. Newer Soviet tanks also come equipped with an advanced gunnery system that includes a mammoth, fearsome-looking gun with an automatic loader. Unfortunately, the gun itself is wildly inaccurate, and its loader occasionally tries to load the gunner rather than the shells!

Cockburn says that similar problems exist with Soviet military aircraft, where metallurgical and design deficiencies have resulted in planes which are generally slow, heavy, and limited in range and maneuverability. This is still true of the newest, most advanced interceptors. Their swing wings and fancy radars sound impressive, and they look great flying over reviewing stands. However, the pilot's vision continues to be obstructed -- and their engines burn out at full throttle.

As for the USSR's nuclear force, well, the Russians' inability to build a long-range strategic bomber meant that they didn't have a delivery system capable of launching an attack on the US until the mid-sixties. Even today, their missiles are not up to par. A good example is the dubious history of the famous SS-20 now figuring in the debate over missiles in Europe. The SS-20 started out as an experimental ICBM that was to be the first Soviet solid-fuelled long range missile. But the Soviets never could get the third stage to work properly -- so they lopped it off and made the SS-20 into a two-stage, intermediate-range missile instead.

The argument of Russian inferiority needs a full-scale comparison with American military organization and weaponry to be fully persuasive. Where Cockburn



does make such a comparison, it turns out that many of the same problems recur over here. Indeed, the reader is left with the impression that the American and Soviet military establishments increasingly function in the same way and play similar roles in their respective societies.

Specifically, Cockburn contends that the so-called arms race boils down to the irrational growth of American and Soviet military bureaucracy without any relationship to what the "other side" is doing. Each country's military exaggerates the threat posed by its putative opponents solely to justify its continued aggrandizement. This is Cockburn's fundamental point. It is unfortunate that here he doesn't provide enough supporting detail.

Cockburn's position, which is never stated directly, is that such a noxious situation has developed because in both the US and the USSR, military hierarchies function more or less in secret, and especially in the Soviet Union, without much outside criticism. The motivating dynamic within the bureaucracies is career advancement. Projecting an image of competence is primary, and errors are swept under the rug. Meanwhile, the system gradually degenerates under the accumulated weight of its hidden problems.

The consequences of this are especially acute in the area of advanced technology, which becomes fetishized and overused. Cockburn points out that although the United States spends billions spying on the Soviet Union, mostly with electronic devices, he was able to get more reliable and easily interpreted data from public documents and personal interviews.

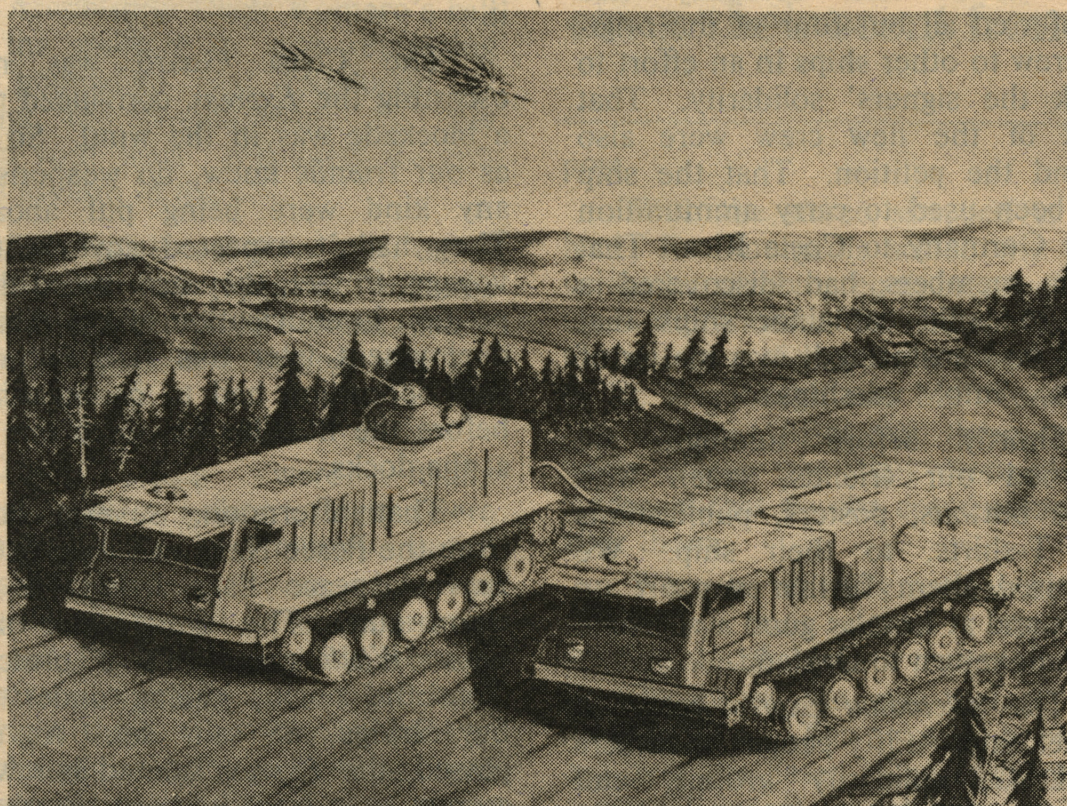
Another, more startling aspect of the military's infatuation with showy technological hardware is that both American and Soviet weapons have been getting worse over the years. As human judgement is replaced by circuitry, weapons systems become expensive to purchase in adequate quantities, break down more often, and are harder to operate effectively.

The generals' ultimate misuse of technology is of course nuclear weapons, which Cockburn takes up in a belated chapter. There he correctly points out that nuclear bombs cannot seriously be considered weapons at all. No one knows how they would function under actual wartime conditions. Even the accuracy of the missiles carrying them is untestable. All we know for sure is that they make a god-awful bang when they explode!

The Threat thus provides a wealth of up-to-date information on how the Soviet, and indeed American, military bureaucracies abuse technology. Unfortunately, Cockburn's use of this raw material is superficial. His narrow view of the Russian military in isolation from the rest of Soviet society makes him incapable of finding basic reasons for that society's unchecked militarist orientation.

The Threat's excessive concentration on Russian military hardware misses the point. Sure, it's entertaining, but it excludes the most vital questions the peace movement has to address concerning Soviet and American societies. Only by examining militarism within its social context can its roots be found and eliminated.

--David Gilden



In 1981, the Pentagon published a booklet called *Soviet Military Power*, filled with scary fantasies such as this artist's conception of a (fictional) Soviet laser weapon.

NATO faces a hot autumn in Europe

We are facing a crisis that can tip the scales between peace and nuclear holocaust. This December the planned deployment of hundreds of Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe by the US and its NATO allies brings us closer than ever to nuclear war. These first-strike weapons represent a qualitative leap in the arms race.

The Cruise is a new computer-guided nuclear missile which "hugs" the ground in order to avoid radar detection. It is so small that four missiles can fit on a flatbed truck, making detection and verification of their numbers and locations impossible.

The Pershing II is extremely fast and accurate, capable of reaching Moscow in 6 minutes and exploding a warhead within yards of its target. This increase in US nuclear power, the resulting strategic imbalance and the Pershing's speed may well pressure the Soviets to place their own nuclear weapons on a launch-on-warning status. With insufficient time to verify a computer report of an attack, launch could then be triggered by a false alarm.

Europeans are feeling terribly threatened by living on the potential battleground of a nuclear war between the US and the Soviet Union. Open letters from European activists beseech the American peace movement to place the highest priority on work against these missiles. Enormous demonstrations are being called during the International Week of Protest, October 15-24.

Installation of the new missiles is due in West Germany, Britain and Sicily by the end of the year, to be followed by later deployments in Belgium and the Netherlands.

In West Germany more than 70% of the population opposes the installation of the scheduled 108 Pershing II missiles and 96 Cruise missiles. People are already calling it the "hot autumn" as protest activities rise to a crescendo.

During October 15-22 a different constituency will protest each day against the Euromissile deployment. Students, teachers, women, medical workers, scientists,



At the May 1982 International Defense Electronic Expo in Hanover, Germany, demonstrators poured animal blood on themselves.

labor and other groups will each have a day of protest. On October 22 there will be four major demonstrations in Bonn, Hamburg, West Berlin and a 100 km. (70-mile) human chain from the US air base at Stuttgart to Ulm, a Pershing II site. Major blockades are also planned at several German peace camps in late October and early November.

In England there are now nine peace camps, of which the best known is the Greenham Common women's camp. Actions are planned there and at the Molesworth Peace Camp on October 22 and Dec 12.

The US House of Representatives recently cut \$34 million from allocations from the Cruise in the Netherlands, although this is apparently not a final decision. 48 Cruise missiles are scheduled for deployment in 1986. On October 29 the streets around the Dutch parlia-

ment and other government buildings in the Hague will be ringed with anti-Cruise demonstrators from over 250 groups.

In Sicily, where 112 Cruise missiles will be deployed starting December 1983, there are two big peace camps. Under the auspices of the Comiso opposition (CUDIP), the women's peace camp "La Rag-natela" and the international peace camp, there have been hunger strikes, symbolic actions and three blockades, the latest at the end of September.

Three hundred Americans have already moved into the town of Comiso, near the base, to begin preparations for the missiles. On October 22, large demonstrations in Rome and Comiso, as well as many local protests, will take place.

The third demonstration in four

years opposing the Cruise and Pershing II will take place October 23 in Brussels, Belgium with broad support from the two main trade unions, several political parties, and church and social organizations.

Demonstrations are being called all over the US during the week of International Protest. In addition, on October 22 there will be at least 15 peace actions throughout Canada. In San Francisco on October 22 there will be a Human Billboard stretching from the foot of Market Street to the Civic Center starting at 10:30 am. People are encouraged to form contingents and be as creative as possible using signs, banners, street theater and creative props. There will be a short rally at noon. For more info, contact the Bay Area Coalition Against the Pershing II and the Cruise, (415) 841-8359.

-- Liz Walker

German sailors urge boycott of Euromissiles

Word came from Germany on September 14. The captain and crew of the *Allemania Express* had signed a petition calling for a boycott by their fellow sailors of "loading, unloading, or transporting the escalatory weapons, Pershing 2 and cruise missiles." In retaliation, the Hapag-Lloyd Line had fired the captain and two members of the union representative council who had added their signatures to the petition.

The *Allemania Express* was due to reach the West Coast in about a week, calling at Long Beach, Oakland, Seattle, and Vancouver, and returning on its way south to Oakland and Long Beach.

LAG members immediately sent messages to disarmament and antiwar groups up and down the West Coast. They also contacted the Longshoremen's Union (ILWU), Greenpeace, and the "Peace Navy," which has twice attempted to blockade arms shipments to Central America from Port Chicago on the San Francisco Bay.

On September 21, as the *Allemania Express* sailed into the bay, our LAG contingent arrived at the Public Container Terminal in the Port of Oakland. From an observation tower near the main gate, we

hung a huge banner emblazoned with the words, "Allemania Express -- Bravo crew -- Atomraketen stop (Stop Nuclear Missiles)."

At the gate, we followed the advice of our friends in the ILWU and sought out a sympathetic ear among the longshoremen who were about to start unloading the ship. One of them agreed to take in a letter we'd written to the crew.

Twenty minutes later, a tall man appeared against the background of cranes and steel containers. Another sailor, shorter and younger, followed just behind. After a short exchange with a ship security officer, they came toward the gate, faces alight.

We all pressed forward, forming a dense semi-circle on our side of the cyclone fence, our German speakers in the middle. Yes, the crew had seen the banner, and had been overjoyed. No, they had had no idea anyone in the US knew of their protest.

Piling into our cars, we drove to La Pena, the Latin American cultural center in Berkeley, where a happy crowd of two dozen spent the evening drinking beer at a long line of tables. We were joined by a member of Local 10 of the Longshoremen's Union. The two

crew members shifted back and forth from English to German, answering our excited questions.

More of the *Allemania Express's* story emerged. The crew members told us that Hapag-Lloyd had promised not to fire anyone for signing the petition, but had reneged on the deal. That the company had transferred all but four of the original crew to other ships in an effort to break the signers' solidarity. That most of the new crew were also behind the petition. That the ship had been used to carry ammunition from Germany to Costa Rica. That union members had discovered a plan to build container ships that could be transformed, in a matter of hours, into warships.

Shortly before midnight we returned our friends, laden with peace buttons, posters, publications and T-shirts, to their ship. We promised them further support up north and at least as good a welcome on their return to Oakland.

The *Allemania Express* returned a week later. Fifty people, members of LAG, solidarity groups, and several unions, turned out to greet the crew at 6:30 in the morning. This time, our friends were on duty and could speak with us only briefly,

but what they told us was very encouraging. Morale among the crew was very high. Support demonstrations had met the ship in Seattle and Vancouver. Support letters decorated the bulletin board. Everyone was talking about the petition again, and some of the crew who had held back before had signed it.

The Coast Guard was now escorting the *Express*, convinced that a blockade was in the wind. So far as our friends knew, no weapons of any kind were being put aboard. They hadn't expected any on this voyage; in fact, they had issued their petition in anticipation of the missile deployment later this fall, knowing that opposition had to be organized before the missiles began to line up at the docks.

That afternoon, several boats from the Peace Navy sailed up to the *Express*, peace flags flying in the warm sun. The Greenpeace ship *Stone Witch* came like a princess from the north, gliding under the Bay Bridge, all sails set. As she passed, the *Express* saluted her with a great blast from its horn, nearly as loud as the jets from Nimitz Airfield that screamed overhead.

-- Patrick Diehl

Krefeld events spur debate in German movement

On June 26 Vice President Bush came to Krefeld to meet with German politicians and to address a crowd gathered for a festival celebrating German and American unity. Astonishingly, Green Party parliament member Petra Kelley accepted an invitation to join the inner circle for the meeting with Bush.

Two demonstrations were planned to protest Bush's visit: an "official" one outside the city which attracted about 25,000 people to sit in the sun and listen to speeches. This action-packed event was sponsored by the Greens, the Moscow-influenced Communist Party, and various peace/antinuke groups associated with churches and the youth wing of the Social Democratic Party.

Meanwhile, a march inside the city by a couple thousand rowdier elements (some punks, older radicals, pissed-off Germans) was stopped by police as it marched toward the place Bush was to speak. Street fighting erupted. Then the crowd broke up into small groups, many of whom made it past German security into the festival site. By making lots of noise, cutting the electricity to the microphone several



Police lines in Krefeld the day of Vice President George Bush's visit, June 26.

times, and creating general havoc, they were able to keep Bush from speaking. Bush was reported to have retreated to his limousine, where he pouted for an hour.

Afterwards, the demonstrators regrouped by the Krefeld train station. Suddenly, they saw the Bush entourage speed by them, trying to

leave the city. Recovering from their astonishment at this idiotic security error, they let loose a hail of rocks, denting the limousines and breaking a window of one vehicle. In the severe street fighting that followed, more than 40 demonstrators were injured. 138 were arrested.

Meanwhile at the peaceful demonstration, former general Gert Bastion, a parliamentarian leader of the Green Party, denounced the violence of the other demonstration, stating that "we have to ask who paid these 2000 provocateurs." Petra Kelley announced that "they were punks, that's all."

Even though these leaders of the peace movement totally condemned this action, other members of the Greens and peace groups responded differently. In letters to *Die Tageszeitung*, the left daily paper and in discussions between the participants in the two demonstrations, there was evidence of a shifting of positions. Some maintained the need to remain absolutely non-violent. But many disgruntled Greens denounced Bastion and Kelley for condemning the Krefeld

action. Some expressed the opinion that though they themselves would not participate in violence, they saw a place in the movement for those who would. Some even felt that carefully carried out sabotage could play a positive role in stopping the missile deployment. The fact that Bush was actually stopped from celebrating German/American unity in war preparations weighed heavily on many of these German activists' minds.

Soon after Krefeld, the Kohl government proposed a new law that will make anyone at a demonstration liable for criminal prosecution if any violence ensues, unless he or she tries to stop the violence. While some strict pacifists felt that the demonstrators at Krefeld were responsible for this latest repressive measure, others in the movement point out that this type of repression is only to be expected, Krefeld or no Krefeld. How the anti-deployment movement in Germany will deal with this new law and the Krefeld events will be crucial to the unfolding drama this fall.

-- Gary Roush



Bush's visit to Krefeld sparked protests.

Warning on provocateurs and 'angries'

Since at least January, it has been apparent that there is an orchestrated NATO strategy of rolling back the peace movements, on both sides of the Atlantic, by the most careful employment of public relations and media management, by the provocation of dissension and, very probably, by the infiltration of agents and provocateurs. . .

Our peace movements are engaged in one of the sharpest confrontations of our national political lives. We must disabuse our supporters if they suppose they are confronting only "the bomb." The peace movements cannot choose whether or not to be more "political." They have challenged the bomb -- and behind it they have found the full power of the state. They must go directly into that political confrontation or they must lie down and give up. If they are to reach the bomb, they must also take on a whole state-manipulated and media-endorsed ideology. And the security services.

I will give one example. On July 26, *The New York Times* carried a major report by John Vinocur, commencing on page 1 and occupying all of page 5, which purported to be about the infiltration of the Western peace movement by KGB agents. . . "According to an Ameri-

can intelligence specialist," Vincocur wrote, "the decisive point for the Soviet effort to block deployment [of Pershing and cruise missiles] will come in the fall, when West European countries expect violent confrontations with demonstrators." Note that this is now a "Soviet effort," not an effort of women at Greenham or of the Dutch Inter-Church Peace Council or the West German Greens. There follow spine-chilling predictions as to the methods KGB agents would employ to provoke this violence: "They could have a demonstrator shot with a stolen US Army .45 or any number of things."

On July 27, I sent a letter to *The Times*, citing my credentials and my astonishment at Vinocur's piece, regretting the failure of *The Times* to report on the nonaligned movements in Europe and asking this question:

How does it happen that John Vinocur, along with other US correspondents, is continually being prompted by "American intelligence specialists" to warn the American public to expect "violent confrontations with demonstrators" in West Europe in the coming fall. We are warned to expect "provocations," arranged by the KGB.

In fact the majority peace movements, like British CND and the German Greens, are engaged in many non-

violent training sessions, in the effort to "self-police" their own demonstrations and to hold in check provocateurs and the angry fringe. These efforts have been marked with much success. One is forced to enquire whether it is the KGB or Western "intelligence specialists" who would benefit most from violent provocations in West Europe this fall?

A bill is now going through the Bundestag which will make illegal continued attendance at any demonstration at which an act of violence has taken place. Hence a dozen "angries" hurling bricks will be able to make illegal a disciplined and peaceful demonstration numbering tens of thousands. Much the same position may arise shortly in Britain. In whose interest will it then be to excite or perhaps to pay and provoke fringe acts of violence? Is it only the KGB which has "catalogues of shouters, marchers, street fighters, bomb throwers and killers," or might there not be other agencies with similar catalogues with addresses nearer to Bonn, Washington, London, or New York?

This elegant but overlong epistle did not commend itself to the editors of *The New York Times*, and it went unpublished. . .

I wish to sound an alert . . . to my American friends and co-workers. . . These acts of theater will be

produced in order to inflame nationalist feelings of resentment in the American public. For the theater to be effective, the public mind must first be alerted and prepared (as Vinocur is industriously doing), and then the episodes must be given the fullest sensationalized treatment in the major media. (As it happens, the most serious episode of violence during the summer occurred at the cruise missile base in Comiso. It commenced on Hiroshima Day with some anarchist youths putting paint on a police car, and it ended in a police riot in which defenseless and nonviolent demonstrators, including many women, deputies in the Italian Parliament and clergy, were so badly beaten that several were hospitalized. There was no mention of the riot in my edition of *The New York Times*: after all, a police riot is poor copy compared with a brick thrown at the car of Vice President Bush.)

I am asking our American friends to watch with the greatest care, in the next few months, every report of "violence" in Europe, and to explain to their fellow citizens the role of provocateurs.

-- E.P. Thompson

These comments were excerpted from *The Nation*, September 24, 1983.

Voices from the other Europe: The independent

At one of the giant rallies that marked the rebirth of the peace movement in West Germany several years ago, a helicopter circled conspicuously overhead, trailing a banner that read "Who's demonstrating in Moscow?" American disarmament activists too are invariably confronted and often stumped by questions like "What about the Russians?" and "What about the other side?"

Now, autonomous voices from the other side are providing a convincing response to these questions and raising the prospect of a truly international movement against war and militarism. The massive peace campaigns in Western Europe and America have evoked a sympathetic echo in the East, as thousands on both sides begin to question the military policies of both sides and organize for independent action.

Over the past three years in East Germany, growing numbers of young people have developed a sustained mobilization for disarmament that shows every sign of spilling over into the factories and other workplaces. In Prague, the first spontaneous political demonstration since the early 70's took place this summer at the World Peace Congress, where a group of young participants in the official march broke away chanting, "We want peace and freedom" and "Disarm the soldiers." Peace fever continues to spread through Hungary's universities, secondary and trade schools. In the Soviet Union, grassroots petitions urging the creation of nuclear-free zones and an end to nuclear testing gather signatures in the face of official harassment and intimidation. People are demonstrating for peace in Moscow, Leningrad and Odessa, and thousands more in East Berlin, Jena, Prague, Budapest, Cracow. . .

Significant differences separate the countries of the Eastern bloc, but in all of them attempts at independent political activity face barriers unknown in the West. Except in East Germany, where radio and television broadcasts from the West are easy to receive, there is little access to information not sanctioned by the government. Any autonomous organized group, with the exception of

the Church, is either illegal or on shaky ground. After years of Soviet domination, a knee-jerk pro-Western attitude is widespread, so suspicion of the Western disarmament movement is not uncommon. Official propaganda reinforces this attitude by suggesting that the Western disarmament movement opposes only NATO missiles -- a portrayal that mirrors the distortions and slander of the Western media.

Independent peace efforts in the Eastern bloc must also cope with the official peace councils that promote the government line on military and foreign policy. While official peace campaigns undoubtedly tap a genuinely popular reservoir of anti-war sentiment, their activities are limited to support of the latest Soviet diplomatic initiatives and arms control proposals. Pacifism and anti-militarism are taboo, and the armed strength of the Warsaw Pact is glorified as the ultimate guarantor of world peace.

EAST GERMANY: SWORDS INTO PLOUGHSHARES

Independent peace campaigns in Eastern Europe first acquired a mass following in East Germany. The January 1982 "Berlin Appeal" and the participation of 5000 young people at the Dresden Peace Forum in February announced the presence of a popular grassroots movement with widespread support.

Unlike many Western peace campaigns, the movement in East Germany springs from a comprehensive anti-militarist sentiment. Opposition to the current escalation of nuclear weapons is one element among many in a critique of the global arms race and the militarization of daily life. The introduction of conscription in 1962 following construction of the Berlin Wall led immediately to demands, pushed by the Protestant Church, for conscientious objector status and alternative military service.

The creation in 1964 of *Bausoldaten* (Building Soldiers) did little to alleviate the pressure, since conscripts in these units are subject to full military discipline and engage in construction work of a purely military character. Since 1975, when the government's program of airstrip construction was nearly completed,



some *Bausoldaten* have been permitted work of a quasi-civilian type, but increasing numbers of East German youth are being jailed for refusing military service, and the demand for a "community peace service" remains a central unifying element in the increasingly popular movement.

Alongside the demand for alternative military service, a groundswell of opposition to the militarization of everyday life has developed. During the '70's, a simmering anti-militarist consciousness was fueled by the introduction of "patriotic toys" into nurseries and kindergartens (despite a formal ban on war toys), by an accelerated program of factory-based civil defense, by a ludicrously militarized official youth movement, and by the relentless military imagery of official propaganda.

Peace Service, an end to civilian militarization, official toleration of an independent peace movement, respect for democratic rights, and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from both Germanies as a preliminary step towards a nuclear-free Europe.

Despite the often repeated and genuine protests of East German activists that they aren't "dissidents," their demands pose an implicit challenge to the prevailing state ideology. The Church hierarchy, anxious to protect its privileged independent status, soon got nervous about the peace campaigns. In February 1982, at the Church-sponsored Dresden Peace Forum, Church representatives condemned the wide-ranging demands of the Berlin Appeal as "inappropriate" to the discussion of peace. Needless to say, the five thousand young

END publications

Neglect and disinformation from the Western media have made it difficult to appreciate the scope of disarmament activities in the Eastern bloc. While the "Free World" press revels in stories about official harassment of Eastern dissidents, it is quite selective about where it turns its spotlight and about revealing the content of the opposition.

For example, when Sergei Batovrin, one of the recently exiled founders of the Moscow Group to Establish Trust Between the USSR and USA, arrived in New York and announced his intention to continue campaigning for peace, his press conference was loudly ignored. That same week, extracts from Andrei Sakharov's *Foreign Affairs* article, a soggy rehash of Cold War clichés justifying MX deployment, made front page headlines.

Western coverage of Charter 77, the leading organization of the democratic opposition in Czechoslovakia, is another example. In June, when members of Charter 77 were denied admission to the Prague World Congress for Peace and Life Against Nuclear War, they addressed an open letter to the Congress affirming their sympathy with the cause of peace and disarmament and claiming a legal right to participate. Copies of their statement, which was ignored in Prague, were sent to the *Times* of London and the *Manchester Guardian*. Both these bastions of democratic expression ignored the statement, choosing instead to print anonymous letters and articles of dubious pedigree insinuating Charter 77's hostility to the West European peace movement.

Now, thanks to the efforts of European Nuclear Disarmament (END), we have available three pamphlets describ-

ing the development of the unofficial movements for peace in East Germany, Hungary, and the Soviet Union. John Sandford's excellent pamphlet *The Sword and the Ploughshares* acquaints us with the East German movement through background materials and a small selection of key programmatic documents.

Two other small publications in the new series of END Special Reports, *The New Hungarian Peace Movement* and *Moscow Independent Peace Group*, are useful introductions to the Russian and Hungarian groups, though they lack the detail of Sandford's study. *The New Hungarian Peace Movement* includes an introduction by E.P. Thompson and the text of a lecture he gave in Budapest in 1982, along with two articles by Ferenc Koszegi, a leading spokesperson of the Group for Dialogue and Peace. The pamphlet on the Moscow group, while shorter than the others, is about the only source of information available.

The END pamphlets are available from European Nuclear Disarmament, 227 Seven Sisters Road, London N4, England. The *END Journal*, which regularly reports on Eastern European as well as Western peace activities, can be ordered from the London address for \$12 a year (six issues).

The single most important source for documentation and analysis of East Europe's movements of opposition remains *Labor Focus on Eastern Europe*, published in England. Single issues are available for \$3.50 from a Berkeley publication, *Solidarity Update*, 2425 Spaulding Street, Berkeley, CA 94703. Single issues of *Solidarity Update*, which contain reprints of important documents from the Eastern movement, are \$1.50 via first class mail.

By the summer of 1982, anti-war gatherings in East Germany were drawing ten thousand people.

In 1978, the government issued its "Decree on Defense Studies," which introduced compulsory military instruction for 14- to 16-year-olds during the final two years of high school. Popular reaction to this measure galvanized the new independent peace movement. Since the Protestant Church is the only East German institution not controlled by the Communist Party, it has provided some "free space" for political discussion, and initially promoted the independent peace campaign.

Beginning in the fall of 1980, in response to grassroots pressure, the Church sponsored a series of "Peace Weeks" during which religious services alternated with increasingly free-wheeling political discussion. By the summer of 1982, anti-war gatherings were drawing as many as ten thousand young people, many with no prior history of church involvement.

The rising tide of anti-militarist sentiment next merged with the growing European concern about the deployment of the Pershing II and cruise missiles and the dangers of superpower confrontation in Central Europe, crystallizing in the Berlin Appeal launched in January of 1982 by Protestant Minister Rainer Eppelmann and dissident Marxist Robert Havemann. In contrast to the more limited West German Krefeld Appeal, which by then had gathered three million signatures, the Berlin Appeal proposed a comprehensive program encompassing the demands for a Community

East Germans who had braved bureaucratic harassment to attend the demonstration were not pleased.

The Church leadership, which Pastor Eppelmann accuses of having a "disastrously timid mentality," has also



disarmament movement in the Eastern bloc



come out against the Swords into Ploughshares badges which had become enormously popular among East German youth. The badge, modeled after a Soviet sculpture presented to the United Nations in 1961, was cleverly chosen to embarrass attempts at official harassment. The emblem attracted little attention when it first appeared in book form, at Peace Week 1980. But the authorities panicked when it began to appear on hats, jackets, and bags following the Dresden Forum. The state radio shrieked that those who wear the badge are "blind, deaf and hypocritical." An official counter-slogan was proposed -- "Swords and Ploughshares, otherwise they'll slaughter us like animals" -- but it seems not to have caught on.

Those who persisted in displaying the badge were soon being harassed, forced to remove the badges, and even charged under Paragraph 106 of the Penal Code, which forbids "subversive symbols." Some young people have been expelled from school and deprived of their identity papers. Though the Church backed down in the face of this official onslaught, many of the offenders responded by wearing blank badges reminiscent of the plain electric resistors displayed by Polish workers after martial law and the banning of Solidarity's logo.

Most recently, Western attention has been drawn to the city of Jena, where fourteen young activists were

arrested last Christmas Eve after participating in an unofficial demonstration for peace. Several received three-year sentences. When the Protestant Church hierarchy repudiated the action and refused to campaign for their release, a group of East German pacifists smuggled a letter across the border. The cause of the Jena 14 became the focus of an unprecedented public opinion campaign by peace activists in both blocs.

The 14 were released at the end of February, but repression of the movement proceeds apace. Many of the more prominent activists have been forced to emigrate to the West. One of these is Roland Jahn, a young warehouseman who was expelled not for his peace activities (according to the official line, there is no legal repression of the peace movement), but for bicycling around town with a banner calling for solidarity with the Poles. Jahn's unique haircut

Every advance of the disarmament movement on either side weakens the superpower system.

and moustache -- half Hitler, half Stalin -- also seem to have had an unsettling effect on the authorities. Antinuclear and anti-militarist sentiment has begun to spread to the working class, to the extent that factory meetings in Jena's largest enterprises were organized by the security services just before Christmas Eve and workers pointedly warned against engaging in "subversive" activities. Clearly, East Germany's independent peace campaign is not about to go away.

THE HUNGARIAN MOVEMENT

Independent peace activity in Hungary began in September 1981 when students at Budapest University proposed a student peace march opposing both American and Soviet nuclear weapons. As one young activist recently explained, "Independence is important if we want everyone to feel that they can work individually for peace. It can't be done by the [official] Hungarian Peace Council alone because it has lost the trust of the young. The decisions are made high up, and no one believes high up people any more."

The authorities denied permission for the march and scheduled an official rally of the League of Young Communists just a few days before the independent march was planned. The following spring, high school students took up the demand for an independent demonstration and formed the Hungarian Antinuclear Campaign. Their slogan -- Let's melt down the weapons -- suggests a generalized anti-militarism akin to the mood in East Germany.

Spreading rapidly throughout secondary and trade schools, the movement has achieved considerable momentum and spawned numerous smaller initiatives. A group of young artists called "Indigo" was formed to produce leaflets, badges and posters for the peace campaign. The radical Catholic Eucharist movement, which has campaigned for nonviolence and the right to conscientious objection for many years, formed the Committee for Human Dignity. In January 1982, this group issued a statement expressing its support for the goals of the Western peace movement and opposition to nuclear weapons in either bloc. University activism crystallized around the Group for Dialogue and Peace, which according to some observers counted 20,000 active sympathizers. On May 7 of this year, the Group for Dialogue finally succeeded in organizing an independent contingent in an official Hungarian Peace Council demonstration in Budapest around the slogan "All nuclear missiles out of Europe." Since then, the Hungarian security services have launched a campaign of intimidation aimed at both the peace groups and at older political dissidents, harassing and arresting underground samizdat publishing activists. This summer, police squashed a Greenham Common-inspired peace camp and unceremoniously deported fifteen Western supporters.

The recent wave of repression may have rendered moot the desire of some activists in the Group for Dialogue to distance themselves from other critics of the regime. Their repudiation of what Ferenc Koszegi, one of the Group's founders, calls "the so-called opposition," and their insistence on support for the goals of the official Hungarian Peace Council may seem puzzling. The context that fosters these attitudes is explained by E.P. Thompson this way: "Hungary is a remarkably open society, today, in terms of the ideas which circulate widely in discussion groups, in the universities, and in the schools. There is a delicate line between activities which are 'semi-legal' -- that is, ideas and causes which may be canvassed informally, in small groups, but which may not be fully expressed in public meetings or in print; and 'semi-illegal' activities which are regarded by the authorities as

'oppositional,' such as samizdat (unauthorized duplicated publications, circulating usually in a few copies only) or underground university lectures."

Koszegi, a university student, and the younger activists in the secondary and trade schools represent a generation with no prior political involvement awakening to critical consciousness in a near total vacuum of ideas. The leftwing opposition in Hungary was thoroughly decimated in the repression following the defeat of the 1956 insurrection. Most surviving oppositionists have maintained a cautious attitude toward the new peace activity. They are suspicious of residual Stalinist influence in the Western European peace movement and unsure of its commitment to the democratic opposition in the East.

The Group for Dialogue, unable to resolve its opposition to militarism with its desire to stay on the "semi-legal" side of the line, has recently dissolved itself rather than venture onto the path of open opposition to the state. But recent reports from Hungary suggest a growing rapprochement between leftwing elements in the political opposition and youthful peace activists.

MOSCOW INDEPENDENT PEACE GROUP

The world first learned of an independent peace movement in the Soviet Union when eleven people calling themselves the Group for Establishing Trust Between the USSR and USA held a press conference last June in Moscow to issue an appeal to the governments of both countries. They proposed the establishment of nuclear-free zones, an end to nuclear testing, and an expansion of direct exchanges between citizens of the two countries as a means of furthering détente. Tame stuff, perhaps, but government reprisals were immediate. They ranged from petty harassment to attempted assassination to the incarceration of artist Sergei Batovrin in a psychiatric hospital. Early this year, Batovrin was deported.

END SPECIAL REPORT: MOSCOW INDEPENDENT PEACE GROUP

Jean Stead • Danielle Grünberg • Documents



Still, the Moscow group has continued its activities. Similar groups have appeared in Leningrad, Novosibirsk, and most recently Odessa, where there are about 900 adherents. A youth organization calling itself Independent Initiative has also recently formed.

More limited in its social basis and even more cautious in its political approach than the Hungarian movement, the new Soviet peace movement has nevertheless evoked panic in the Kremlin. The vice president of the Soviet Peace Committee recently denounced the Moscow group as a gang of "troublemakers" in conversation with a visiting American peace delegation that included Freeze campaigner Randall Forsberg.

MIRROR GAMES

The rapid growth of autonomous movements for peace in Eastern Europe coincides with the rise and repression of Poland's radical Solidarity movement. The Polish struggle for a democratic, self-managing socialism was never sufficiently appreciated by the American peace movement, and it would be a political tragedy of major proportions if the new movements in the East met with similar neglect. Important groups in the Czech and Polish opposition have recently issued open appeals proposing joint discussion and action with the Western peace movement. (See *IAT*, August-September 1983.)

If, as in the case of Hungary, many oppositionists remain unconvinced about the peace movement in the West, we have, at least in part, ourselves to blame. Up until recently, only a minority in the international peace movement has displayed any interest in or support for the opposition in the East.

Strategies like END's policy of détente from below, which stress the free exchange of information and individuals between the peace communities of the two blocs, prefigure the creation of a global peace community. The evolution of groups like Czechoslovakia's Charter 77 demonstrates that skeptical elements in Eastern Europe can be won over to the international peace movement if we raise our voices clearly for peace and freedom and show a firm commitment to the defense of democratic rights.

If the frenzied military buildup and growing domestic repression on both sides of the superpower system are mirror images that continuously magnify each other, the independent peace movements of the two blocs are also mutually reinforcing. Each serves to delegitimize the ideology of confrontation underpinning the new Cold War. Every advance of the movement on either side weakens the system as a whole.

Support for peace activists in the East bloc will allow the American movement to register its opposition to global militarism while simultaneously emphasizing unilateral initiatives to end the arms race, thus avoiding the cloying bilateralism which continues to afflict the Freeze approach. The other side we support has now taken to the streets of Eastern Europe to demonstrate for peace.

-- Peter Rossman

THE NEW HUNGARIAN PEACE MOVEMENT



Short Circuits

CALLING ALL QUACKS

A man who honked on a duck call during a public hearing every time Air Force officials referred to MX missiles as "Peacekeepers" received a suspended \$100 fine on August 26 for disturbing the peace.

Municipal Judge Gerald Connelley admonished Al Hamburg to make his protest "the way it should be done."

Hamburg admitted blowing the duck call, but said, "The only time I was disruptive was when the Air Force referred to the MX as the 'Peacekeeper.'" He said he considers the MX a "murder weapon."

POLICE VIOLENCE ESCALATES AT COMISO

Three nonviolent blockades of the military base at Comiso in Sicily, where cruise missiles are to be deployed later this year, have faced escalating organized police violence. During the most recent blockade, on September 26-27, water cannons, tanker trucks, and tear gas were used against the demonstrators. Nine people were hospitalized. To prevent blockaders from running when attacked, military police plowed up the soil around the base.

The protest was organized by IMAC, the International Meeting Against the Cruise. Two thousand people turned out to block construction workers and military personnel from entering the old airfield, which is being transformed into a NATO base for 112 cruise missiles. Demands included complete disarmament, East and West, and a recall of Italian "peacekeeping" troops in the multinational force in Lebanon.

IMAC also organized a blockade on August 6-8 which was attended by such disparate groups as the CGIL, Italy's largest trade union; Autonomia, a component of the left which moves "autonomously" from action to action; and Parliament members. Members of CGIL blocked one gate and "La Rag-natela," the women's peace camp, blocked another.

Police used Autonomia's spray-painting of epithets on police vehicles as an excuse to attack the demonstrators. Over 100 were injured, including seven who were hospitalized. Six of a total of fourteen Parliament members who participated, as well as several older people who represented organizations of the Italian resistance to fascism, were also injured.

The first blockade of the summer, which took place on July 20-21, attracted demonstrators from all over Italy, several European countries, and the US. Police kicked and punched demonstrators; despite this the blockade was a partial success since police cleared the roads for military but not civilian personnel.

Although the summer meeting organized by the International Meeting Against the Cruise (IMAC) has concluded, the police provocation won't stop international and women's peace camps from continuing to organize resistance to the cruise missiles. Large demonstrations are planned for October 22 in Rome and Comiso, as well as widespread local actions.

-- Direct Action, September; Disarmament Campaigns, September



NAME THAT BOMB

"Little Boy" was the disarming name of the nuclear bomb that wiped out Hiroshima. "Fat man" nuked Nagasaki. Since the dawn of the nuclear age, the US has announced the testing of 724 nuclear devices, each with a distinctive moniker. Just as meteorologists like to name destructive hurricanes, so do nuclear scientists identify their catastrophic handiwork.

Standard World War II handles like the alphabetical Able, Baker, Charlie and Easy sufficed in the early days when the US was testing nuclear devices at the Nevada Test Site or Bikini Atoll. By 1958, a year that saw a record 62 nuclear tests in the atmosphere, scientists were using the names of trees, mountains, New Mexico counties and planets.

In recent years, scientists at the two national weapons laboratories at Los Alamos and Livermore have gone in for golfing terms ("Backswing," May 14, 1964), mixed drinks ("Daquiri," Sept. 23, 1966), and parts of sailboats ("Rudder," Dec. 28, 1976).

"It's treated as sort of a fun exercise," says Theodore Scolman, deputy associate director for test operations at the Los Alamos National Laboratory. "Just for the fun of it, I'll ask at a meeting if anyone has any favorite nicknames. For a couple of years, we used names of games. The 12-year-old daughter of one scientist put that list together."

The game list yielded "Backarat" and "Backgammon," two 20-kiloton hydrogen bombs detonated underground at the Nevada Test Site in 1979. Recently the Los Alamos scientists have shifted to wines.

"You know, Livermore has been shooting cheeses for at least six years," adds Scolman. "They have an inexhaustible supply of names."

The most recently announced US nuclear test was "Dana Blu" on June 9. Roger Ide, director of the test program at Livermore, remembers the name because he took a sample of the cheese up to the test site.

Terry Egan, a weapons information specialist at the Energy Department, is responsible for approving all the names. "I think the labs get a great deal of pleasure out of dreaming up the names to see how exotic they can be," she says. "I have to make sure they meet certain criteria." The names must be easy to pronounce, they must not have been used before and they cannot be controversial.

"Los Alamos sent in a whole list of names of cities around the world," says Egan. "Well, we don't want to name a test 'Moscow.'"

After she turned down a number of other names, including sacred Indian words, Egan issued a memo to the labs: "Words should not be submitted for approval which connote or imply by their meaning aggressiveness, a relation to war, weapons, explosives, the military, potentially politically sensitive situations or other categories which in some way reflect on weapons programs." Future tests will be given names of types of pasta, Spanish names for birds and -- nostalgically -- the names of New Mexico localities.

Asked whether the Energy Department uses names submitted by the public, Egan says it would be a bad precedent. "I think we'd rather not do that," she says. "Everybody in the world would be writing in. They might think it's a contest."

-- SF Chronicle, 8/21/83

CLEANER, STRONGER, LASTS LONGER

The US Department of Energy plans to build a \$750 million facility for producing weapons-usable plutonium at Richland, Washington.

The Washington facility will be used to separate weapons-grade plutonium 239 from other plutonium isotopes Pu 238, 240, 241 and 242, which degrade but do not destroy Pu 239's usefulness as a nuclear explosive. Only the laser isotope separation process can purify plutonium in this manner. Possible uses for the purified plutonium 239 include very compact high-yield warheads, the neutron bomb, and the electromagnetic pulse bomb.

The facility is expected to be completed by 1991 and will employ 400 workers. A new book from Stockholm International Peace Research Institute recommends that research and development on the laser isotope separation process -- which could be used to separate weapons-grade plutonium from commercial spent fuel stocks -- be stopped.

-- WISE, August 24, 1983

SEABROOK 2 IS SINKING

Owners of the financially troubled Seabrook nuclear power plant have voted to virtually halt work on the second of two reactors planned for the facility, and have raised the possibility it may be canceled.

At a special meeting, the New England utilities involved in the plan voted unanimously to cut work on Seabrook 2 to the "lowest possible level." The first reactor at the site, due to be completed by December 1984, is not affected by the action.

When the plant was first proposed in 1972, its cost was projected at about \$970 million. But recently the state Public Utilities Commission estimated the total cost of the project at up to \$9 billion.

-- SF Chronicle

BOMBS THAT GO BUM

The Army's new chief of staff, General John Wickham Jr., said August 8th that poor performance of arms and equipment in the Army largely results from deficiencies in quality control by American industry.

For instance, he said, all five failures in 16 flight tests of Pershing II missiles were caused by shortcomings in quality control. Martin Marietta is the prime contractor for the Pershing II, which is scheduled for deployment in West Germany in December.

Wickham said that essential shims, or spacers, were missing from the last Pershing II that failed in testing.

In another Pershing test, the officials said, a motor exploded because a casing joint failed. In a third, a hydraulic pump quit because a wire rubbed against a hot pipe, burning off the insulation and causing a short circuit. Another short circuit knocked out a guidance computer in the fourth test missile.

Wickham also said that inadequate quality control had caused problems ranging from delays in producing Patriot and Copperhead missiles to new battlefield uniforms that shrink when washed.

-- SF Chronicle, 8/19/83

Alan Cranston: The Hawkish dove

"If the consequences of nuclear war are total -- and they are -- then our commitment to preventing it must be total as well."

-- Alan Cranston, in a campaign letter to California liberals

"I support the theory of deterrence, even though it would not work forever."

-- Cranston, in an interview with *Rolling Stone*

Ever since Kennedy pulled out of the 1984 presidential contest, Senator Alan Cranston (D-Cal) has promoted himself as the Great Liberal Hero and heir apparent to the 11 million-vote wealth of the Nuclear Freeze.

Cranston's campaign has been built around his jumping on the Freeze bandwagon, and in time-honored fashion, some Freezers have returned the favor. This is particularly odious and myopic because on four separate occasions since 1975 Cranston has voted for the B-1 strategic bomber. The last time was this summer, shortly after he "championed" the Freeze cause in the Senate.

Cranston has also voted against deleting funds for development and production of the F-18 fighter plane (1978) and for continued development of the MX (1981).

In 1978 Cranston led the fight to abolish the federal Renegotiation Board, an agency whose function was to scrutinize Pentagon procurement contracts for excessive profiteering.

In 1972, Lockheed Aircraft, the third largest military contractor in the country, was in serious financial trouble and facing bankruptcy. Cranston came to the rescue again,

ushering a \$250 million bail-out bill through the Senate.

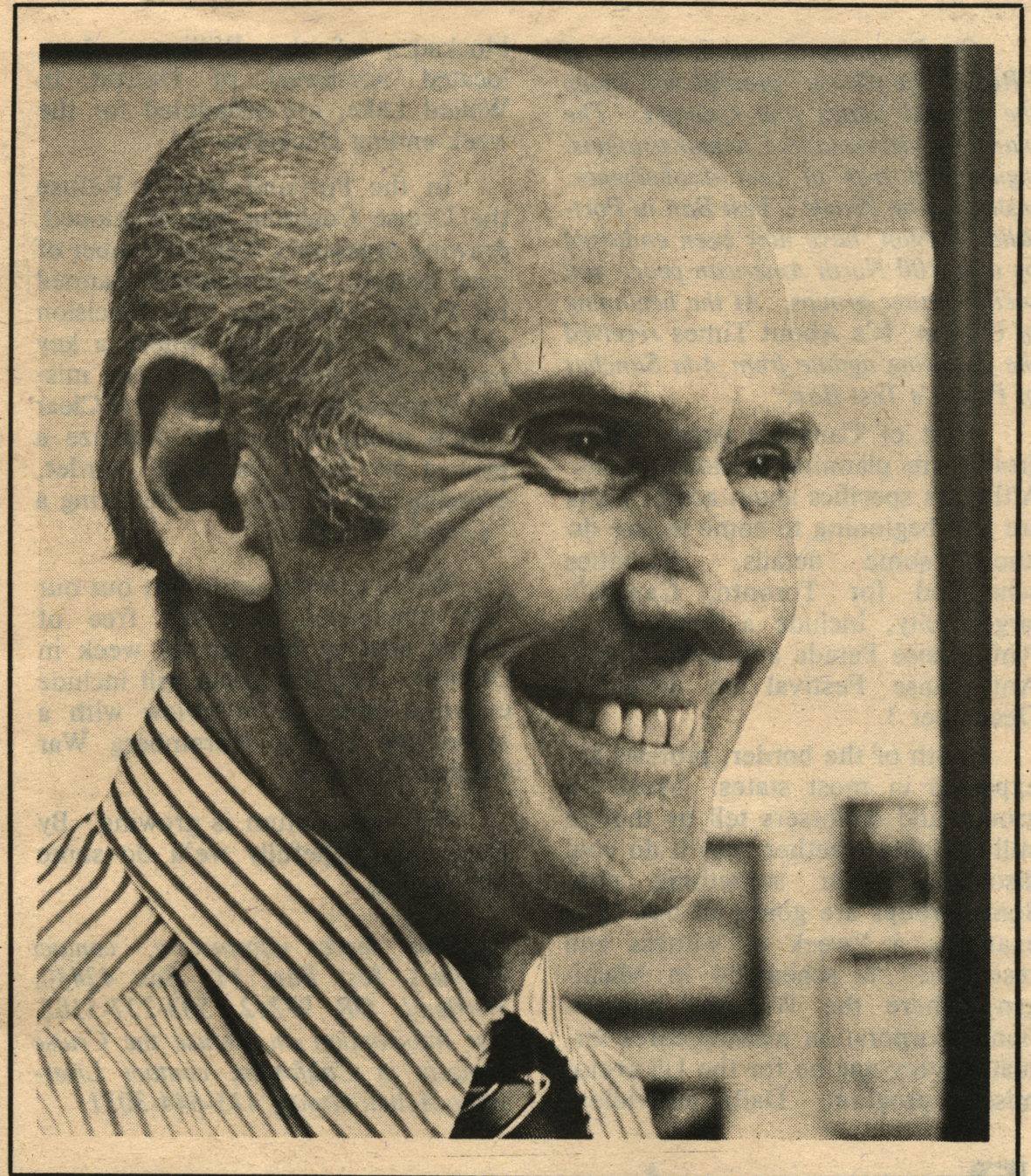
Cranston's attempts to justify his support for the B-1 bomber are a remarkable example of convoluted reasoning -- so convoluted, in fact, that even the national press corps, which has been known to accept some truly astounding excuses from major politicians, seems to find it hard to swallow.

Here's the essence of the rap, in its latest version: Nuclear war is unthinkable, and would be the end of the human race. The Republicans have brought us perilously close to the unthinkable, and we get closer every day. Above all, that danger comes from "the failure of our leaders" who have "ignored the cries of the people."

Now watch closely: As long as we don't have those leaders, Cranston contends, we have no choice but to endorse "deterrence." Deterrence, of course, requires state-of-the-art equipment. The old B-52 bomber fleet is "becoming antiquated," so we have to replace it. And the B-1 seems to be the plane for the job.

Since his first major defeat -- in a 1964 race for the Democratic nomination for the Senate -- Cranston has worked hard never to alienate a major block of potential supporters. He has earned a widespread reputation as the Great Compromiser, a liberal who can sit down and Talk Turkey. If there is one thing Alan Cranston is not, it's a Crusader.

Yet some of the rhetoric he has been spouting to show his die-hard support for the Freeze is nothing short of Quixotic. "Our generation has a duel with destiny," a recent campaign flyer proclaims. "The finish line is not Election Day, 1984," it goes on to say. "That will be only the starting line of the cam-



paign that really counts -- to heal our own nation and to bring ourselves and our children out from under the dark shadow of nuclear war." Our aim, he says, "must be the total abolition of nuclear weapons."

Heady stuff. . . and, even among the high-flying bullshit of presidential propaganda, a bit remarkable for a man who has built an entire career around keeping the support of his home state's biggest Pentagon con-

tractors -- people who would be put right out of business by "the total abolition of nuclear weapons."

Which is exactly the point. Cranston knows damn well he can't afford to drop such powerful backers like so many lead balloons. But he also knows they don't give a snail-darter's ass WHAT he says in public about the arms race. They care about how he votes, and what he does for them behind Capitol Hill doors.

Infiltrating US Salvadorean training camp

On July 30, two priests and an Army Reserve warrant officer began a daring series of disruptions at Fort Benning, Georgia. Disguised as US Army officers, the three entered the Army base and headed for the restricted area where 487 Salvadoreans have been receiving officer training since late May.

Army Reserve Warrant officer Linda Ventimiglia and Fathers Roy Bourgeois and Larry Rosebaugh were loaded with leaflets addressed, in Spanish, to "the Soldiers of El Salvador." The leaflets reviewed the Salvadorean situation, quoted the late Archbishop Oscar Romero's call for the military to stop repressing the population and concluded by urging the Salvadoreans to "lay down your arms" and apply for political asylum in the US.

Successfully reaching their destination, the three spent 25 minutes going from barrack to barrack, distributing leaflets and urging the soldiers to desert.

Once they were finally apprehended, police dogs were brought out and military police searched the entire base while the activists underwent an arrest process that left Fr. Bourgeois with a bruise the size of a saucer on the inside of his right thigh. After being booked on charges of criminal trespass and impersonating officers, the three were released, and the case was turned over to the FBI and federal marshals for prosecution.

The most dramatic incident, however, occurred when the group returned to the fort a third time on August 9, again disguised as officers and armed with climbing gear, a rope ladder and a high-powered portable cassette tape player. Their destination was a tall pine tree near the training grounds used by the Salvadoreans and not more than 40 meters from the base's main guard

post. your conscience rather than a sinful command. . . In the name of God and in the name of our tormented people who have suffered so much and whose laments cry out to heaven, I beseech you, I beg you, I order you in the name of God, *stop the repression!*"

Emergency lights went on and military police came running from all directions. But the activists had

The activists had taken the precaution of spreading pepper around the base of the tree to cover their scent from police dogs.

post.

With the stereo strapped to his back, Fr. Bourgeois scaled the tree using the climbing equipment. Once up in the branches he tied the stereo to the tree and dropped a rope ladder to Fr. Rosebaugh and Ms. Ventimiglia below. After all three were safely up the tree, they dropped the ladder so that no one could come up after them.

With the stereo's volume set on full, they then played a tape of Archbishop Romero's legendary last homily given the day before his assassination. The words boomed out over the base: "I want to make a special appeal to soldiers. . . The campesinos you kill are your own brothers and sisters. . . It is time that you come to your senses and obey

taken the precaution of spreading pepper around the base of the tree to cover their scent from police dogs and had carefully concealed themselves in a tree in the midst of the grove. Thirty minutes elapsed before the guards finally located the tree in which the trio was hiding. Meanwhile, the Archbishop's homily was followed by a recording of Fr. Bourgeois again calling on the soldiers to apply for political asylum.

Having arrived at the base of the tree, the soldiers called out that they would open fire if the three did not come down. The activists then descended of their own accord. The two priests were strip searched and the trio was released after more charges had been turned over to the FBI.

The following day, while Ms. Ventimiglia, Fr. Rosebaugh and Fr. Bourgeois were being interviewed by a local newspaper, FBI agents, federal marshals and representatives from the local sheriff's department descended on the house in which they were staying. The three were seized, taken before a federal magistrate, and arraigned for repeatedly violating the injunctions they had received against re-entering the base following each arrest.

One of the most significant aspects of the week's events was the response to the intruders from the Salvadorean trainees. A CCLA spokesperson with close knowledge of the events described the scene. "There was a lot of confusion. They had been learning how to kill and destroy and here's Roy saying, 'You're from El Salvador, you know the poverty and repression. You know your children are starving.' And the Salvadoreans responded saying 'Si, si.' Those that agreed outnumbered those that were angry."

The activists were tried in September and received severe sentences: 18 months for Fr. Bourgeois and 15 months for the other two people. A few days after the trial, the 487 Salvadoreans completed their training and returned to El Salvador.

-- Bob Ostertag

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Abuse the Cruise

On December 2 and 3, dozens of "Refuse the Cruise" protests will sweep the United States and Canada. The plans for decentralized demonstrations, vigils, and acts of civil disobedience, instigated by People's Test Ban in Portland, Oregon, have now been endorsed by over 100 North American peace and social change groups. At the beginning of October, It's About Times received the following update from Ada Sanchez of People's Test Ban.

Most of Canada's largest peace groups are planning demonstrations. Although specifics about action plans are just beginning to come in, we do know some details. Activities scheduled for Toronto, Canada's largest city, include a Santa Claus Anti-Cruise Parade and a Children's Anti-Cruise Festival on Saturday, December 3.

South of the border, protests are expected in most states. Most US groups and endorsers tell us they're still deciding whether they'll do civil disobedience or something else. Some groups are going all out. For example, a "week of witness and resistance" is scheduled in Michigan, where the Williams International Corporation manufactures virtually every engine for the US cruise missile program. Daily nonviolent

blockades of the Williams plant, located northwest of Detroit in Walled Lake, are scheduled for the week ending December 3.

In the Portland area, a Refuse the Cruise Coalition has developed, drawing organizers from a number of local groups. A blockade is planned for Friday, December 2 at Precision Castparts Corporation, where a key part for the air-launched cruise missile is manufactured. The New Clear Vision group intends to organize a protest at the Canada-US border, crossing into Canada and declaring a "Cruise Free Zone."

We're gearing up to put out our first newspaper, available free of charge starting the second week in October. The first issue will include excerpts from an interview with a prosecutor at the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal.

The momentum is growing. By December hopefully we'll do some hell-raising.

For more information, contact People's Test Ban, PO Box 42430, Portland, OR 97242, 503-227-5102. For information on Refuse the Cruise protests in California, contact Livermore Action Group, 415-644-3031.

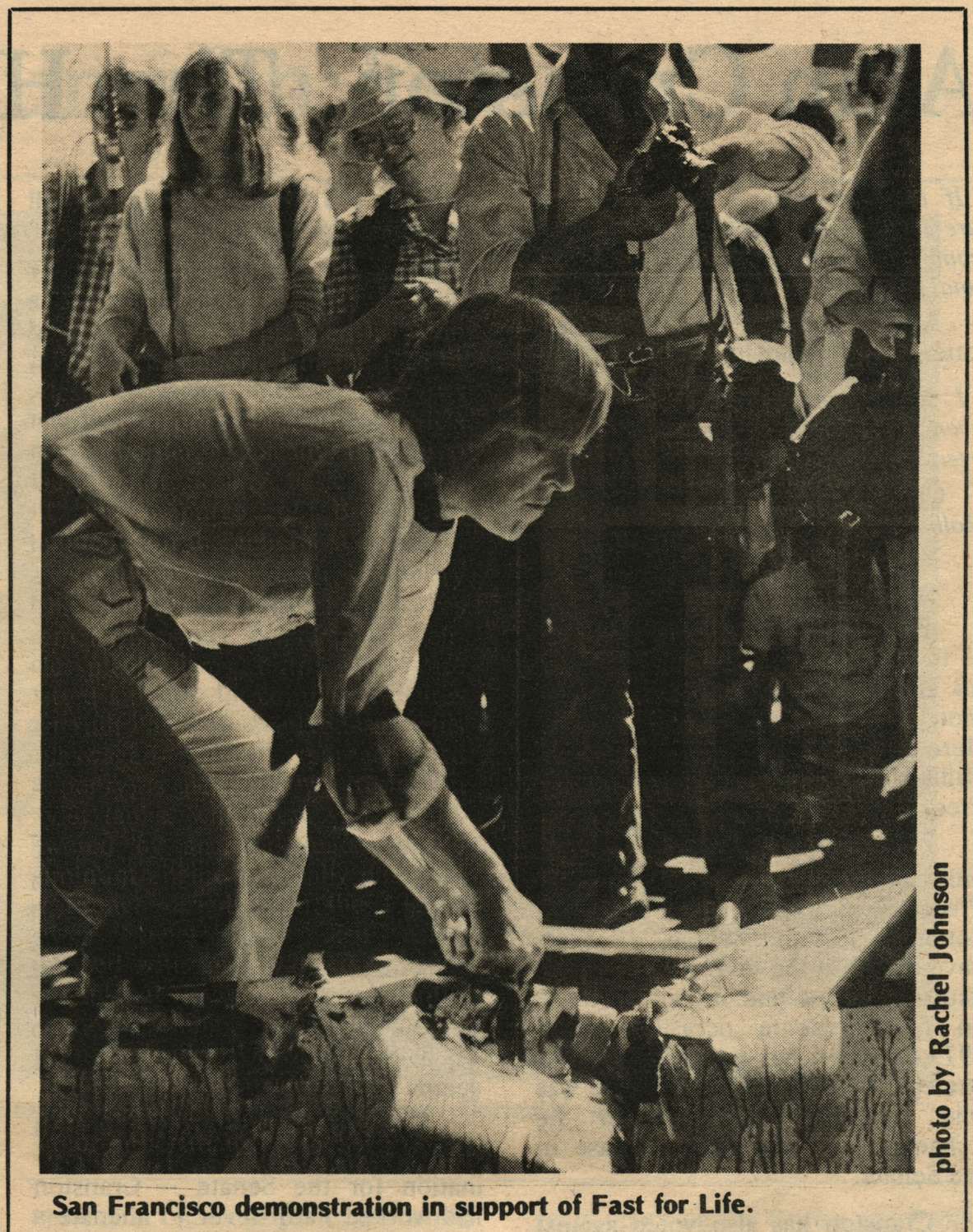


photo by Rachel Johnson

San Francisco demonstration in support of Fast for Life.

Reagan's new arms control flexibility

continued from page 1

Indeed, the October 5 *New York Times* opened its article on the latest proposal by observing that it was aimed as much at Reagan's critics in Congress as at the Russians. In fact, "build-down" was originally a Democratic suggestion which Reagan adopted despite objections from right-wingers who distrust anything that smacks of arms control. To appease the Democrats further, the Reagan proposal establishes a "special working group" headed by former Carter administration nuclear specialist R. James Woolsey and separate from the formal US negotiators at Geneva. The actual power or function of this group is unclear. But having assembled a properly bipartisan PR team, Reagan and Company are busily promoting the "build-down" as "better than the Freeze."

And Congressional liberals are eating it up. Les Aspin of Wisconsin (who managed to support both the Freeze and the MX) and other Democrats have expressed support for the Reagan proposal. Much of Congress and the press are uncritically applauding Reagan for his "flexibility," no doubt strengthening his hand in upcoming votes for MX production and against delaying US missile deployments in Europe.

The latest flurry of official proposals also represents another salvo in the propaganda war to disarm the disarmament movement. By portraying Reagan as reasonable and willing to make concessions, administration strategists hope to convince the public that nuclear negotiations are in good hands. By adding ever more complexities and contingencies to the US position, they hope both to hide the unfairness of their proposals and to convince the public that disarmament is just too complicated a matter for ordinary people to understand and discuss.

The Reaganites hope that as people become confused and lose interest, they will look to the

"experts" to lead the way. Those experts will be bipartisan, and they will say all the right things to calm nuclear nerves. They will negotiate sincerely at Geneva (always on the edge of a major breakthrough, of course) and eventually they will sign a treaty with the Russians. It is reasonable to expect that the next treaty, like all those so far, will not eliminate or even freeze the superpower arsenals but merely regulate their growth.

This strategy is being vigorously promoted by a flood of articles and

less convincing after the October 7 announcement that US intelligence has concluded the Soviets believed they were shooting down a US electronic warfare plane that had been in the area earlier. The response of the Reagan administration to the new finding -- after weeks of denouncing the Soviets as barbarians -- was a lofty "we don't comment on intelligence matters."

In Europe, the response to the jet incident appears mixed. Many in the European peace movement are

that if the 162 British and French missiles are counted in each side's totals, the forces are nearly equal already. They have offered to reduce their SS-20 missile force to the same number -- 162 -- if the American missiles are not deployed.

The US has consistently refused to consider the French and British missiles in the negotiations, since they are supposedly available only for defense of those countries. But a report by the Congressional Research Service in August points out that the British missiles "are placed under the command of SACEUR (the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe) in time of emergency" and "are targeted in coordination with US Strategic Air Command targeting plans." The French forces are more clearly under national control, but both Britain and France have signed the 12-nation NATO charter of 1949 committing them "to come to the defense of the other signatories in a manner appropriate to the attack."

Europeans, of course, need no Congressional report to inform them of these facts. They also have no desire to be the battlefield of a superpower war. Their focus on the American missiles comes not from being conned by the Russians, as Reagan condescendingly implies, but from a realistic awareness that it is American aggressiveness, despite all the new talk of peace, which is the greatest force now pushing them toward war. It is actions -- the missile deployments -- that count, not words.

The current US drive for nuclear superiority hardly absolves the Russians of blame for their part in the continuation of the arms race. The sideshows from both sides are old and hypocritical, and it is time they were booted off the stage. Hopefully, the demonstrations upcoming in Europe and around the world will help build a movement with the power to do just that.

-- Steve Stallone Bob Van Scoy
IAT staff



"AND FOR BEST IMPERSONATION OF AN ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATOR..."

columns denouncing the Freeze as simplistic and attempting to whip up emotions against the Russians over their downing of a Korean jetliner in Soviet airspace. Since the dastardly Russians will deliberately kill innocent airline passengers, the argument goes, they will do anything, and therefore we'd better forget all this disarmament foolishness and get back to hardnosed negotiation "from a position of strength."

This particular argument is even

pointing out that it is the current state of superpower tensions, not just the trigger-happy Russians, that cost the passengers their lives. In any case, anti-deployment demonstrations in mid-October are sure to be huge, and the administration has come up with other proposals in an attempt to deflate them.

One US offer is to deploy only a part of the planned Pershing and Cruise Euromissile force if the Soviets agree to reduce their missile forces. The Soviets refuse, claiming

LAG adopts new strategy

Three months, one Congress, and one Regional Council after its June blockade, the Livermore Action Group has adopted a proposal that may significantly change the way it operates. First introduced in August at LAG's annual Congress, the so-called Campaign Proposal calls for major shifts in LAG's activities and decision-making process. The proposal proved so controversial that after a full day of debate, it was tabled until the Regional Council meeting a month later. There, it was finally adopted with modifications at the end of another long day of discussion.

What is this political hot potato that has provoked so much debate? The Campaign Proposal calls for a shift from an "action-to-action" approach to one in which a short-range goal (several months to a year) is strategically adopted, and a variety of activities and actions are

attracted to LAG's radical politics.

If LAG is going to attract and keep people with jobs and families, it must provide a variety of political tasks that bring with them full membership and status in the LAG community. It must give up any hint of a two-tiered structure in which those who can do the most civil disobedience are heroes, and those who can't are seen as less committed. The diversification of activities suggested in the Campaign Proposal addresses the structural root of LAG's narrow social base and offers a concrete program for change.

A second political weakness in LAG is the failure to develop political and organizational skills among participants in its actions. While committing civil disobedience can be profoundly radicalizing, it doesn't provide enough political skill and experience enough to build a long-

While still focused on civil disobedience, the Livermore Action Group will do more organizing and education.

undertaken to fulfill that goal. It calls for a more integrated and diversified approach to planning, in which civil disobedience is supplemented by legal demonstrations, community organizing, outreach and education, undertaken where appropriate in coalition with other groups.

This shift toward strategic planning and diversified tactics implies several changes within LAG. First, it requires political discussion about the merits of various action proposals. Second, it modifies LAG's self-definition: while still focused on civil disobedience, LAG will allocate more of its resources to organizing and education. Affinity groups are asked to take on increased organizing tasks, including those not directly tied to civil disobedience. Work groups are asked to aid affinity groups by providing internal education, skills workshops, and organizing materials.

LAG has accomplished a great deal in its two and a half years. It has choreographed massive acts of civil disobedience, created a network of over 2000 activists and 200 affinity groups, maintained a uniquely decentralized structure and consensus process, and provided a common political identity for politically diverse people.

Those of us who drafted the Campaign Proposal were motivated by frustration with what we saw as self-defeating limitations LAG had placed on itself, and by a sense of greater opportunity growing out of increased public receptivity to LAG.

But there have been shortcomings too. First, LAG has not been able to broaden its social base. Its members remain predominantly white, a coalition of (a few) functionally upper middle class people, (many) middle class and (fewer) working class dropouts. Nor has LAG increased in actual size. There were 20% fewer participants in the June Blockade at Livermore than there had been the year before. And the number of people doing most of the organizing for LAG actions has remained small.

A growing number of people see this stagnation as an inevitable outcome of LAG's total emphasis on civil disobedience. As a sole focus, civil disobedience excludes many people who might otherwise be

term, functioning political organization, capable of enduring over the long haul. While it is true that many affinity groups do political organizing on their own, many do not, and few take responsibility for bringing into being the major LAG actions to which they consense.

As a result, thirty or forty people wind up as an elite that does much of the organizational work, creating resentment between work groups and affinity groups. While some in LAG see the problem as too much power vested in the work groups, the drafters of the Campaign Proposal see the problem as one of too little participation in organizing by the vast network of affinity groups. By bringing affinity groups into LAG's political and organizational processes, we hope to create an organization that is both more democratic and more productive.

Personal empowerment as well as organizational productivity need strengthening in LAG. Without day-to-day experience in political debate and organizational process, affinity group members remain mystified by the inner workings of

The adopted proposal addresses the structural root of LAG's narrow social base and offers a concrete program for change.

the organization. In addition, the focus on participating by putting our bodies on the line inadvertently replicates certain limitations that have long been imposed on women. The drafters of the proposal want LAG to provide a training ground where people, especially women, can overcome socially enforced and psychologically internalized inhibitions about speaking, arguing, writing, and deciding.

A third political weakness in LAG has been its failure to utilize fully its radical political analysis. Although LAG handbooks spell out a political perspective distinct from that of other peace groups, and although most active LAG members share a sophisticated, anti-imperialist understanding of the roots of the arms race, LAG does not give priority to articulating its politics publicly, or to political discussion within LAG.

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Many of us value LAG not only because it organizes civil disobedience, but for its radical analysis of the arms race and militarism, one that includes both Marxist and feminist insights without indulging in ideological dogma and glib formulas for social change. Yet some of us see the combination of political radicalism and militant activism as what is most potentially powerful in LAG, and most essential in building the kind of peace movement that could make a difference.

The single-issue, legislative focus of the Freeze has led the peace movement toward a dead end. Now, with the 1984 elections approaching, many peace, left and progressive groups are climbing aboard the Democratic Party bandwagon. While there are differences within LAG about the Freeze and electoral politics, it has always recognized the lim-

efforts.

Perhaps the deepest fear aroused by the Campaign Proposal is the fear of loss of community. LAG has brought together a miraculously diverse group of people and has managed to create a political and social space in which it is possible to feel whole and human while working for social change. LAG's focus on shared physical opposition to the state, and on developing a process that takes feelings into account has solidified our sense of commonality.

Although we have avoided the specter of factionalism, we have done so at the expense of substantive debate over politics and strategy. The danger of political splits is real, though the common will to keep the community together is a strong force against excessive divisiveness. But there is danger to the LAG community from another direction, one less frequently articulated: that those who seek change within the organization will be weeded out or marginalized. In its understandable desire not to rock its communal boat, LAG runs the risk of losing its dynamic tensions, of becoming a community held together by warmth and moral righteousness but lacking in political texture, in which group experience itself becomes the end to which all other ends are subordinated. This too has been a traditional fate of political groups.

The Campaign Proposal is a conscious act of rocking the boat. We've chosen to risk the dissonance of political encounter rather than the slow erosion that takes place when political encounter is evaded. We've chosen to struggle rather than join the ranks of the disappeared that LAG has already accumulated. Our belief is that the communal boat is solid enough to hold together. By honoring our commonalities without denying our differences we hope to participate in forging an organization and a movement that is both tough and loving.

-- Barbara Haber

Barbara Haber is one of the drafters of the Campaign Proposal.

PG&E's quest for power

continued from page 3

pened. Just days after the license was issued, a junior engineer at PG&E discovered that the blueprints used for a section of the reactor housing had been reversed. An arrangement drawing for the Unit 2 reactor -- which was a mirror image in design of Unit 1 -- had been used in the seismic analysis of equipment, piping and supports in the containment annulus structure of Unit 1.

Things began to look bad again for PG&E. The discovery of hundreds more errors followed. The results of years of mishandling, miscalculation and mismanagement were being uncovered layer by layer. On November 19, 1981, the NRC suspended PG&E's license.

The myth of objectivity

PG&E officials were embarrassed in earnest as the NRC ordered the company to hire a consultant to "independently review" the plant's design in what was to become known as the IDVP or Independent Design Verification Program. Teledyne Engineering Services was chosen by the utility to direct the IDVP review.

According to Teledyne's William Cooper, only two of the 329 major errors now remain unresolved. Cooper told the San Luis Obispo *Telegraph Tribune* that most of the problems were associated with a redesign to upgrade Diablo Canyon's ability to withstand a major earthquake on the Hosgri fault -- the one that is located two and a half miles offshore of the plant.

So now it seems as if an awful lot is going to depend on the integrity, intelligence, and objectivity of those conducting the "independent review." Which brings up another rather disturbing aspect of the Diablo saga.

There is some question as to the objectivity of Teledyne Engineering Services. In fact, there are those

who believe there is nothing objective at all about the audit. This is unfortunate because a lot depends on it. The audit is the final hurdle in PG&E's long and beleaguered quest for power.

The NRC feels satisfied that Teledyne is "independent of direction and influence by PG&E," despite the fact that Teledyne had a \$1 million contract at Diablo Canyon in 1979 and presently owns stock in the company.

Now this poses an interesting problem. By the NRC's own definition and according to a letter written by Commission Chairman Nunzio Palladino to Congressmen J.D. Dingell and R. Ottinger on February 1, 1982, "Independence means that the individuals or companies selected must be able to provide an objective, dispassionate technical judgment, provided solely on the basis of technical merit."

At the risk of sounding naive, just how *does* Teledyne Engineering manage to be so *objective* and *dispassionate*? Surely it does not take profound political sophistication to understand the implications for PG&E's stockholders if the Diablo Canyon license is denied.

And while we're at it, just how is it that PG&E is entrusted by the same regulatory agency that shut it down for incompetence to select their own quality assurance auditors? While these and other questions remain unanswered, with a history like PG&E's, the ghosts of its negligence may yet come back to haunt it.

-- Sandy Leon
IAT staff

All those interested in doing civil disobedience are reminded to attend a one-day non-violence training and a four- to six-hour briefing when they arrive in San Luis. For further information contact the Abalone Alliance Diablo Project Office at (805) 543-6614.

DIABLO BLOCKADE



1981 DIABLO CANYON BLOCKADE
AN ILLUSTRATED ANTHOLOGY OF ARTICLES
ESSAYS, POEMS & PERSONAL EXPERIENCES
EDITED BY: DIABLO WRITING PROJECT

In September 1981, more than 2000 people participated in a non-violent blockade of the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant in San Luis Obispo, California. For most people, this was a very powerful experience. A few of us felt it important to document the beauty and magic of the action.

We have now completed *Diablo Blockade*, an anthology of prose,

poetry, drawings and photographs. The spirit of the blockade is captured in chapters on people's camp, arrest, and jail experiences. There is also background information on Diablo and the resistance to it.

Diablo Blockade is available for \$6.95, including shipping, from the Diablo Writing Collective, P.O. Box 2394, Santa Cruz, CA 95063.

Announcements

CANVASSING JOBS AVAILABLE

Abalone Alliance is paying committed, energetic people to help with community outreach and grassroots fundraising. If you want to fight nuclear nightmares for a living (more or less) call Steve or More at (415) 861-0592.

NEVADA TEST SITE MEETING

The Nevada Test Site lies in the desert 65 miles north of Las Vegas. Behind its gates the United States and Great Britain test their nuclear weapons. From April 1-30, 1984, people of faith and goodwill shall gather daily at these gates for Lenten Desert Experience 1984. This spring vigil is characterized by prayer, fasting, silent meditation and non-violent direct action, underlined by reverence for all creation.

The Lenten Desert Experience Coalition will be holding its second coordinating meeting in the Bay Area. All people of conscience are invited to attend. The planning meeting will take place at 10:00 a.m. on Saturday, November 19 at 1500-34th Avenue in Oakland. Nevada and Utah disarmament groups will be represented in this West Coast effort to end the ongoing suffering and potential horrors created by nuclear weapons testing. Participants are asked to bring a bag lunch for information call (415) 387-7514 or (415) 536-3772.

TMI ALERT

A Three Mile Island Action Alert Network is being coordinated by a coalition of groups in Harrisburg, PA. Civil disobedience is being planned as activists await the start-up of the undamaged Unit One reactor at Three Mile Island, which has been shut down since the 1979 near-meltdown of the plant's other reactor. Start-up of unit one could come at any time, possibly as soon as October.

The coalition is also interested in hearing about some of the Abalone Alliance's strategies. For more information write Randy King, c/o TMI Public Interest Resource Center, 1037 Maclay St., Harrisburg, PA 17103.

THE FOUR CORNERS T.V. PREMIERE

The Four Corners: A National Sacrifice Area, an award-winning new film on the cultural and ecological impacts of energy development in the American Southwest, will be broadcast nationally on PBS Tuesday, November 15, at 10 p.m.

The film documents the "hidden costs" of uranium mining and milling, coal stripmining, and synthetic fuels development on the mineral-rich Colorado Plateau, which spans the Four Corners states of Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona. The Four Corners area is home to Hopi, Navajo and other Indian Tribes, as well as Mormon ranching communities. For more information call (415) 747-0685.

THIS IS NOT A TEST.

NUCLEAR MISSILES FOR EUROPE MEAN NUCLEAR WAR FOR AMERICA

The U.S. Pershing II's can reach Russia in only six minutes. And our Cruise missiles fly so far below radar they can't be detected. If these new missiles go to Europe in December, the Soviets will be forced to depend on their computer systems to warn them of a nuclear attack. With just six minutes, they won't have time to see if it's a false alarm. At the slightest sign of an attack, they'll push the button. Nuclear missiles in Europe mean the constant threat of nuclear war—for us all. **STOP THE EUROMISSILES** on the International Day of Disarmament.

Parade for Peace
OCT 22 83 EL SEGUNDO
SATURDAY, OCT. 22
MARCH & RALLY 11-4pm



MAJOR SPEAKERS & PERFORMERS

El Segundo (Corner of El Segundo Blvd. and La Cienega, just south of the L.A. Airport). Ample Free Parking. For more information call: (213) 388-1824 or (714) 997-9922



Sponsored by: Southern California Alliance for Survival, Southern California Freeze, Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race, and So. Christian Leadership Conference.

Calendar

October 15: Films: *Bombs Will Make the Rainbow Break* and *One Million Hiroshimas*, with discussion. 7:30 pm, Congregation Rodef Shalom, 170 San Pedro Rd, San Rafael. \$3 adults; \$1.75 students; children free. Sponsored by Marin Freeze, 459-1530.

October 15: *Educators for Peace: A World Beyond War*, an all-day conference for teachers. Mayer Theatre, University of Santa Clara. Contact Kate Brophy, Educators for Social Responsibility/Santa Clara. (408)269-1092.

October 15: Ana Vio of the Italian Peace Movement will speak on the Italian missile deployment and the Seneca, NY Peace Camp. 2 pm, International Bldg., 50 Oak St., SF. Sponsored by Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Free. 863-7146.

October 16: Stop US intervention in El Salvador Protest. Assemble at 11 am at SF Federal Bldg., 450 Golden Gate. 2 pm rally at Dolores Park, SF. 10:30 am ecumenical service, St. Boniface Church, 133 Golden Gate, SF. Sponsored by the Coalition to End US Intervention in El Salvador, 641-7552.

October 19: *Euromissiles: Preventing War or Threatening War*, a forum on Pershing II / cruise missile deployments with both European and American viewpoints. 7:30 pm,

Kresge Aud., Stanford Univ. Sponsored by Stanford Arms Control and Disarmament Forum. Also on Oct. 20; free. 493-7897.

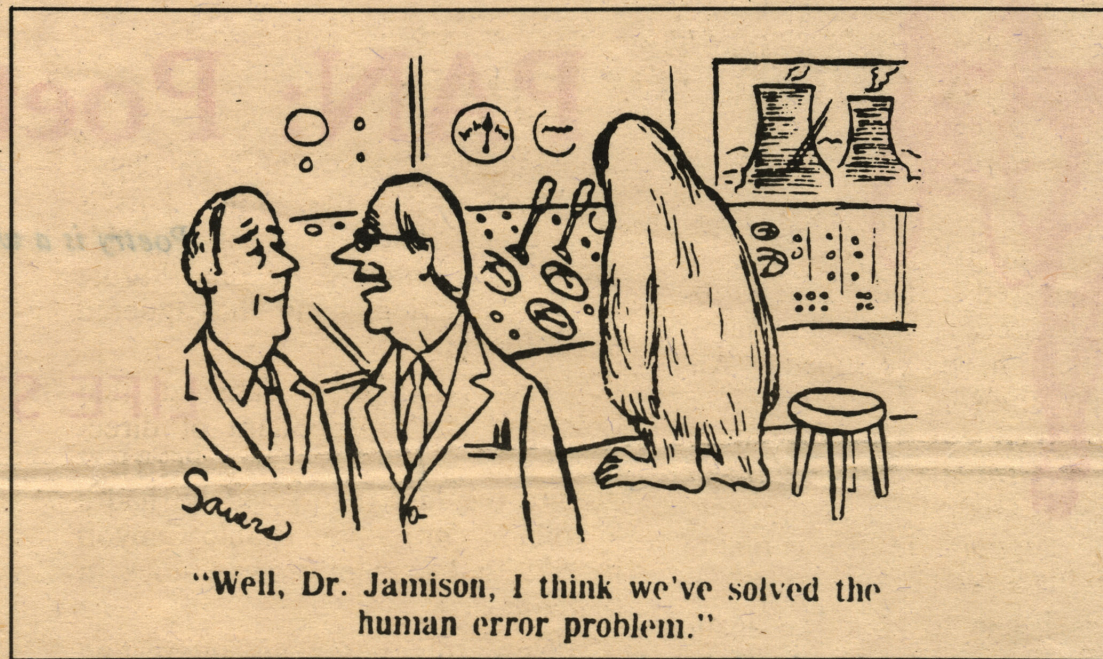
October 20: Nuclear-Free Italy Night, with slides and information on missile deployment in Comiso, Italy. At Perchen Gelato, 348 Columbus Ave, SF. Co-sponsors: War Resisters League and Anti-Militarism Committee of Democratic Socialists of America. Call WRL, 731-1220.

October 21: Films and discussion: *If You Love This Planet* and *Atomic Artist*. 7:30 pm at the Community Congregational Church of Tiburon, 145 Rockhill Dr., Tiburon. \$3 adults, \$1.75 students, children free. Marin Freeze. 459-1530.

October 21: *In Our Defense*, a look at nuclear weapons, military spending, and national security, with special guest Mike Farrell. 10 pm, Chico TV, channel 10.

October 21: "What about the Russians?" Two viewpoints on the USSR and the American peace movement. Norman Solomon and Michael Kazin debate at 8 pm, Modern Times Bookstore, 968 Valencia, SF.

October 22: "Time Is Running Out," a day of activity to stop the Pershing and Cruise. 9:30 am, Interfaith Witness for Peace, St. Mark's Lutheran Church, 1111 O'Farrell,



SF. 10:30 am, assemble for Human Billboard at Market and Drumm Sts, SF. Bring banners, signs, costumes, instruments. Noon-3 pm. Rally at San Francisco Civic Center. Sponsored by Coalition Against Pershing and Cruise. 841-8539.

October 23: Disarmament Rally to Stop Cruise and Pershing Missiles in Sacramento. Capitol Bldg. steps, 1-4 pm. Speakers and music. (916) 456-2616.

October 24: Civil Disobedience Against the Euromissiles. Call Livermore Action Group for info, 644-3031.

October 26: Involvement Night For the Disarmament Resource Center. If you are interested in becoming active with the Center, here's the opportunity. Main areas of involvement are the Calendar, Fundraising and Outreach, PeaceNet, Information Referral Service. For location, 495-0526.

October 30: "Patterns of the Cold War," talk by Irene Eckert of West German Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. 3-5 pm, Jackson St. SF. \$5 donation. SF WILPF, SF Women for Peace, SF Freeze. 863-7146.

November 3: Symposium on "Crisis in Central America and the Cold War," 1-5 pm in Wheeler Auditorium, UC Berkeley. Sponsored by Project on Alternatives to the Cold War. For info call Joan Cardolino at 848-9677.

Evening with Donna Warnock -- just back from Seneca Falls and visit with Barbara Deming. 7 pm at West Berkeley Library. Potluck at 6:30. \$1 donation.

December 2-3: Refuse the Cruise Days. Dozens of protests across Canada and the US. See story in this issue. For information, contact Livermore Action Group, 415-644-3031.

AA Safe Energy Groups

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

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

NORTH

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P.O. Box 462/95410 • (707) 964-7468
WOMEN FOR SURVIVAL,
Box 72/95410 • (707) 937-0462

ARCATA:
REDWOOD ALLIANCE,
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BOONVILLE:
ANDERSON VALLEY NUCLEAR AWARENESS COMMITTEE,
P.O. Box 811/95415 • (707) 895-3048

CAMP MEEKER:
NUCLEAR FREE SOCIETY,
P.O. Box 433/95419 • (707) 874-3197

COMPTCHE:
COMPTCHE CITIZENS FOR A SAFE ENVIRONMENT,
P.O. Box 326/95427

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LAYTONVILLE:
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ALL US MOLLUSKS,
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OCCIDENTAL:
BOHEMIAN GROVE ACTION NETWORK
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POINT ARENA ACTION FOR SAFE ENERGY,
P.O. Box 106/95468

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SONOMA ALTERNATIVES FOR ENERGY,
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SAINT HELENA:
UPPER NAPA VALLEY ALLIANCE FOR
DISARMAMENT,
1472 St. Helena Hwy./94574 • (707) 963-4728

UKIAH:
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312 20th St./95814 • (916) 442-3635

EARTH KEEPING MINISTRY,
3860 4th Ave./95817

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ARTISTS FOR RESPONSIBLE ENERGY,
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WILLITS NUCLEAR AWARENESS COALITION,
P.O. Box 393/95490 (707) 459-4852

GREATER BAY AREA

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1600 Woolsey St./94703 • (415) 841-6500, 665-1715

BOLINAS:
LEGAL ACTION FOR UNDERMINING GOVERNMENT
HARRASSMENT IN SOCIETY,
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EL GRANADA:
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PALO ALTO:
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SAN FRANCISCO:
ALLIANCE AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER,
UC Med Center, c/o Michael Kosnett, MU 249/
94143 • (415) 666-2010
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE,
Liz Walker, David Hartsough, 2160 Lake St./94121
• (415) 752-7766

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SANTA BARBARA PEOPLE FOR A NUCLEAR FREE
FUTURE, 331 N. Milpas St. Suite 7/93103
• (805) 966-4565

SANTA CRUZ:
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NORTHERN CALIFORNIA NON VIOLENCE TRAINERS/
PREPARERS COLLECTIVE, P.O. Box 693/95060
• (408) 476-8215

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NUCLEAR RESISTANCE COALITION

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TOPANGA:
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P.O. Box 1252/90290 • (213) 455-2867, 455-2768

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



PAN: Poets Against Nukes

Poetry is a weapon loaded with future. —Gabriel Celaya

LIFE STUDY

Lillian S. Robinson

Two mortuaries and a burial ground
on the short main street of Livermore.
I have been at this demonstration all my life.
In my hometown, we have the garment,
the fur, the shoe and theater districts;
here, the principal industry is death,
and there's no restrictive zoning. The man
marching behind me is draped in thick branches
of California pine. The pregnant woman
in the wheelchair has helped to weave a web
of yarn and balloons across the highway;
when his motorcycle gets entangled,
the cops starts clubbing everything in his path.
The whole world is watching we chant (but what
if it gives him a hard-on to picture
himself on international TV
knocking down a hippie with shining hair?
The viewers won't know about those balloons he smashed.)
Someone starts a song. (After the massacre
at the Archbishop's funeral, the state
flushed out the Cathedral by playing the *Ode*
to Joy through loudspeakers around the Plaza.
Alle menschen werden bruder sings
the junta to the random survivors
filing out hands up behind their heads.)
I have been at this demonstration all

my life. These must be Stone Age implements
we're using to chop away at the highest
technology in the universe — rather
as the fat little weapons in the hands
of the Sheriff's men could break your limb or head
protecting those other weapons that threaten
to incinerate the planet. Researchers
keep fit by jogging on their lunch break:
strength though joy as the Lab gets joy through strength;
can they hear us as we surround police
methodically dragging off our sisters?
Our hymn is bare of all Teutonic grandeur:
we are gentle, angry people and we
are singing, singing for our lives. For the life
I am spending at this demonstration?
Before the Choral Symphony squawks through
the p.a. system, I make my public
address: the death squads here are the death squads
there dressed up in science-fiction.
Our pantomimes of powerlessness
are not disarming; weakness does not become
strength simply because we say so. Here
in the metropolis, we get a longer
rope, is all. They can afford to let us choose
the music to which we sing our own way down.

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1111 O'FARRELL

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ASSEMBLE FOOT OF MARKET
(AT DRUMM)
BRING SIGNS, BANNERS, COSTUMES, MUSIC

NOON
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