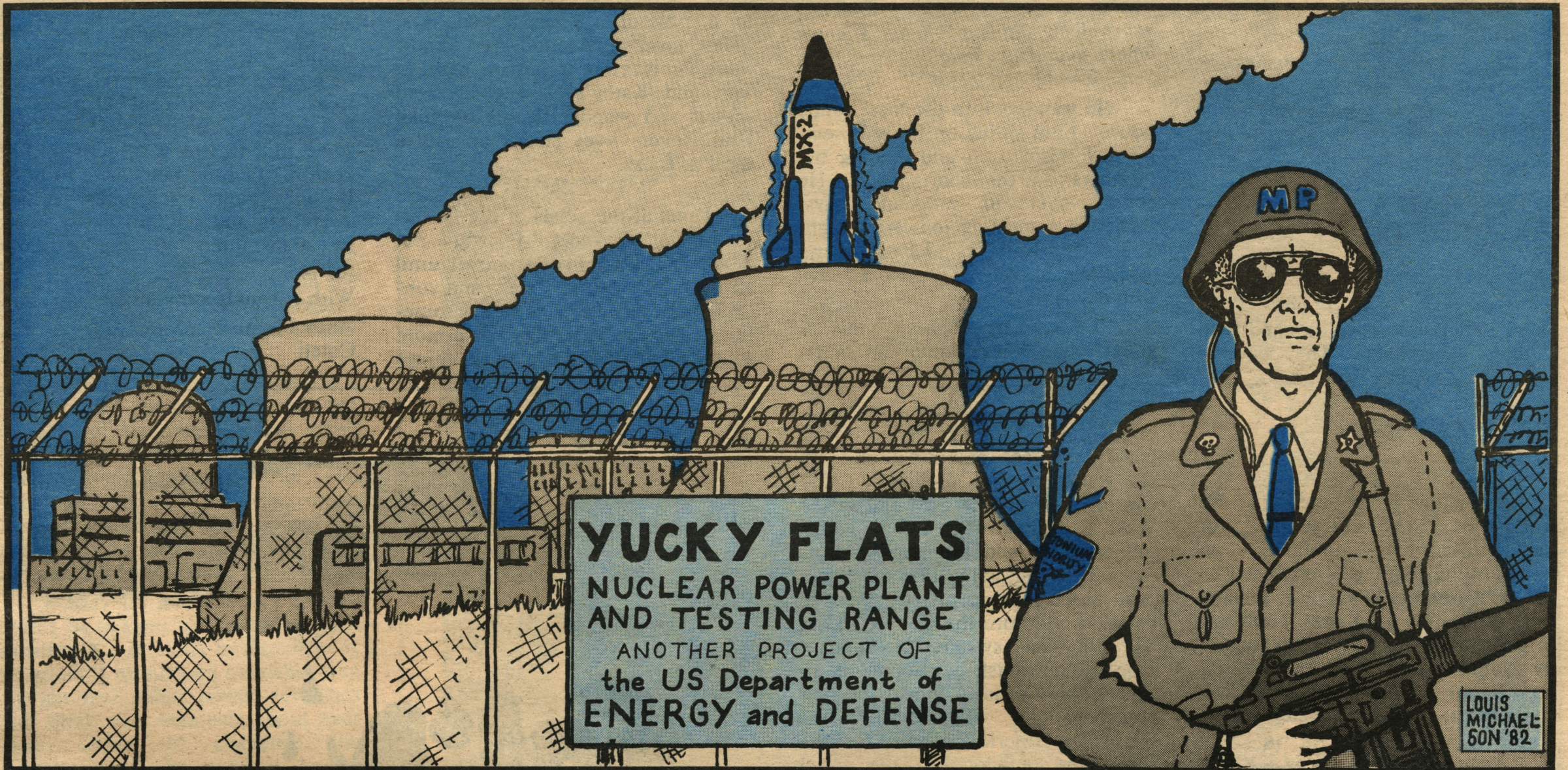


It's About Times

Abalone Alliance Newspaper

November 1982



Atoms for Peace through strength

For decades, the nuclear industry has steadfastly denied any connection between civilian nuclear power and the horrors of nuclear weapons. But this "peaceful atom" propaganda may soon become another sacrifice on the Pentagon's national security altar. The massive nuclear weapons buildup now underway will create an acute plutonium shortage by 1988, and government weaponeers are casting greedy eyes at the plutonium gold mine in the wastes at civilian reactors around the country.

According to a 1981 Los Alamos National Laboratory report obtained by *It's About Times*, the federal government may soon begin arguing that a separation between atoms-for-peace and atoms-for-war never existed. The political ramifications of this revision of reality are being carefully considered.

The Los Alamos report, entitled "Some Political Issues Related to Future Special Nuclear Materials Production," outlines three ways for the Defense Department to get its hands on more plutonium for its weapons needs. The main "political issue" that the report addresses is the growing popular resistance to the nuclear buildup. It recognizes that "the anti-nuclear power, anti-nuclear weapons, anti-big business, anti-military and arms control communities can be expected to form a coalition

The nuclear arms buildup underway has weaponeers casting greedy eyes at the plutonium gold mine in civilian reactor wastes.

[to oppose the efforts]. Confrontations and demonstrations can be expected by activist groups at nuclear weapons installations."

The report outlines the three "nonexclusive" options for gearing up plutonium production:

- Revamping existing military plutonium facilities.
- Building new facilities that would produce commercial nuclear power as well as plutonium, "thus offering hope of preserving the competitive edge of U.S. nuclear reactor manufacturers."
- Reprocessing spent waste from commercial reactors, "thereby saving U.S. commercial nuclear power generation from extinction by breaking the reprocessing impasse."

The report predicts that little or no local opposition will be aroused if existing plutonium facilities are retrofitted. "The prospect of additional economic well-being for these

communities . . . can be expected to more than offset any qualms about radiation exposure risk or other fears. After all, people in these communities have become accustomed to defense production reactors," the document reads.

But if defense production reactor programs were started at new locations, opposition would be expected there. The citizens of Hanford and Savannah River would also object, "albeit for different reasons."

The report warns, however, that opponents may try to use the environmental impacts of the massive revamping program as a way to challenge it in court. It suggests a simple solution: make sure the public has no say. "Nuclear Regulatory Commission licensing of these activities is certainly not needed and should not be condoned."

The second option -- building modern plutonium reactors that also generate power -- promises to rescue

the dying civilian nuclear industry. The report notes that the outlook for reactor orders in the 1990's is "bleak" and that the military job would allow reactor manufacturers "a chance to preserve their design teams and construction capabilities. Even if only one new defense reactor was built, it would at least allow one domestic concern to benefit and perhaps to survive."

Another benefit for the reactor builder would be protection from public scrutiny afforded by the Atomic Energy Act. The document notes that since the reactor would be a military project, it could be built "without having the design publicly dissected and debated before the NRC" and the design could then be transferred to civilian applications. Perhaps sweetest of all, the government would pay "much of the 'front end' development cost that is now so hard [for the nuclear industry] to cover by risk capital."

The report recognizes that such an approach will anger opponents of nuclear proliferation who have long sought to keep military and civilian nuclear technologies separate. However, it calls this argument "specious" and says, "The U.S. is already a nuclear weapons state and there can be, therefore, no valid

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Letters



Keep your letters coming! But please, take the time to type them -- double-spaced -- and to express yourself in 350 words or less. Otherwise, we may have to print excerpts only.

WHAT CAN A POOR BOY DO?

Dear IAT,
Bohos are your friends. Trust them. They drive nice cars and flash million-dollar smiles. They wave at

us.
I am wondering if I am a spectator at a parade. People are singing, eating watermelon, wearing costumes. We are polite, orderly, we wave back to our rich and powerful "brothers." We even applaud some of them for giving the peace salute.

Have I joined the Boy Scouts again, I wonder? Is this the absurdest demonstration I've been to, or what? Is there more we can do, short of blowing up the damned Bohemian Grove? I'm tired of passivism but I can't say I know where to go from here.

He wanders into the local coffee house. I am sitting on the sofa, eating my raisin toast and reading the numbers on the sports page. He comes over to me and says, "There's a meeting tomorrow night at Tim and Kathy's." I look up and say, "Oh, hi, Jeff. Yes, it is a beautiful day isn't it?"

"Look," he replies, "this is going to be a very important meet-

ing. We're going to plan the future of the whole anti-nuke movement."
"That's nice, Jeff," I say, "did you know the Dodgers are now in first place in the National League West?"

"Come on, Andy, we don't have time to concern ourselves with baseball when there are enough nukes to blow up Dodger stadium a thousand times over."

"OK, if I can get a ride, I'll be there," I respond, as Jeff turns away to a tableful of people and says, "Hey, you guys, did you know there's a meeting tomorrow night at Tim and Kathy's?" I chuckle to myself and wonder if this no-nuke Paul Revere ever sleeps or eats a meal or fucks.

I pull at the petals of the flower. "I will blockade, I will not blockade," I say over and over until all I am left with is a stem and continued ambivalence. There's something wrong with this Livermore action other than the obvious things

(the feeling of being transported backward in time, getting arrested as social status rather than as a way to make social change, the absurd expectations, the detailed scenarios that will add up to nothing when the action begins, etc.), but perhaps it's just the two hours of sleep on a concrete floor that's making me so wary, confused and cynical.

I don't know, it doesn't seem right to join the waves of demonstrators when I have so many doubts, but what other choices are there when you're politically aware, not numb yet, too old to join a rock'n'roll band and working for the freeze leaves you cold? I guess I'll just have to send *It's About Times* some money (for a subscription) to keep my favorite newspaper in print. If only your intelligence, critical awareness and political savvy could be transmitted to the no-nuke masses.

With curmudgeonly love,
Andy Plumb
Cotati

SOLIDARNOSC

Dear IAT,
As millions marched in the world-wide demonstrations for nuclear disarmament on June 12, an underground paper was circulated by the steel workers in Cracow, Poland. The clandestine document, published in preparation for a June 13 Solidarity demonstration marking the six-month anniversary of martial law, contained the following statement:

"We are truly on the brink of civil war at home and a Third World War internationally. We protest against martial law. We do not want a civil war or a world war."

The working people of Poland know from bitter first hand experience what it means to challenge armed might -- in their case, that of the Kremlin. To date, the struggle against nuclear arms has been a peripheral concern for Solidarity. But the independent union has warned from its inception of the impending ecological and social disaster if Poland's development remains subordinate to the military-bureaucratic requirements of the Warsaw Pact. It has called loudly and repeatedly for large reductions in the military budget and a restructuring of budgetary priorities around human concerns.

Solidarity's emphasis on full

national and social autonomy indicates the vital link between the movements for emancipation from the hierarchies of domination and control, both in the East and in the West, and the struggle against global militarization and the nuclear arms race. It is distressing that the European peace movement, struggling to detach itself from the Cold War and its attendant system of military blocs, finds Polish developments an unwelcome intrusion into its current preoccupations. The anti-nuclear forces in America remain for the most part oblivious to the social revolutionary character of the Polish movement.

Tom Athanasiou's article in the September *It's About Times* highlights the urgency of broadening the American anti-war movement's international perspectives through a campaign against the new Euro-missiles.

There is much to be learned about these issues from the Polish experience. Solidarity insisted from the start on the broadest participation by its members in each and every decision of importance. It has refused to bow either to bureaucratic pressures or to the lure of advice from so-called "experts." Its program, encapsulated in the slogan of the "self-managing republic," envisions an active, participatory mode of political activity markedly at odds with the passive lobbying and Madison Avenue-type public rela-

rather than the group dynamics.

Upon returning from the meeting, I was told by men that my experience was strange (unique, I suppose) because there was no problem in the blockade planning last year. I doubt it. I know that the larger social, political, and economic situation has regressed in the past year (witness the Reagan administration) but I do not believe the movement has regressed. It has never changed at all.

It is important to remember that the women's movement is inextricably tied to the consensus process (the feminist process). It is a fact of history that has been obscured and forgotten in mixed groups for social change -- not unlike all women's issues and herstory.

I know what it is to be oppressed because I am a woman in this world. I am also aware of the role of oppressors and how easy that role is because I grew up with white, middle-class attitudes and values; there's a lot of oppression inherent in those values which may not always be obvious.

All this knowledge does not

tions campaign toward which the Freeze campaign appears to be heading.

As for internationalism, it should be much more than a lofty sentiment to which we periodically pay ritual obeisance. The antinuclear forces in America will get nowhere fast if we fail to take seriously our international commitments. Political show trials in Poland and the threat of stepped-up repression against the growing antinuclear movement in the Soviet bloc appear equally certain. Active defense of imprisoned democratic, labor and anti-war activists in the East is vital

come without a great deal of pain. There is more pain in the knowledge that most men never get this far. In peace,
Jane Horvath

to the growth of a successful international movement which hopes to banish the specter of nuclear annihilation.

Up-to-date information on current developments in Poland and translations of relevant documentary materials may be obtained from the Solidarity Support Campaign, PO Box 2595, Berkeley, CA 94702. Also available from the Solidarity Support Campaign is *Labor Focus on Eastern Europe*, the only source for documents from the democratic, labor and anti-war opposition throughout Eastern Europe.
-- Peter Rossman

SEXISM REDISCOVERED

Dear IAT:
Working for the Abalone Alliance for these few short months has been quite a pleasant experience for me as a woman. Having recently left an involved role within the anti-military / anti-draft movement, I was quite relieved to be working with women in the feminist-based anti-nuclear movement. So much for short lived fantasies.

I participated in a well-attended statewide meeting of the Diablo Site Collective in early September. Clearly this was a male-dominated meeting. Yet when the issues of male domination and sexist facilitation were addressed, it was assessed that the "women were not speaking up." This is the same old trip of blaming the victim. It is analogous to saying the nation's unemployed should get jobs.

By the end of the meeting, at the evaluation, the women did what I most feared we would do -- we internalized the criticism of not speaking. We blamed ourselves

It's About Times

Abalone Alliance Newspaper

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

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PG&E moves to crush public power

But the well-meaning congresspeople who approved the Raker Act badly underestimated the



Graphic from PG&E's No on Proposition K campaign.

Eight times in the next 16 years, PG&E financed major campaigns to defeat bond issues that would have allowed the city to buy out the company's lines and begin to reap the benefits of its own hydropower. Today, PG&E continues to control much of Hetch Hetchy's power. None of it ever reaches residential

Even top city officials like Mayor Dianne Feinstein and Board of Supervisors President Quentin Kopp are mouthing the utility's line that the city government is incapable of efficiently running its own utility. Never mind that 2,200 cities nationwide manage somehow; eleven cities in Northern California not only

It looks like they know something. And they hope the rest of us never find out.

-- Tim Redmond

Mahatma Gandhi: new look

Mahatma Gandhi, the "great souled one." Liberator of the Indian people, father of nonviolence, originator of mass civil disobedience.

In the years since his campaigns for civil rights in South Africa and Indian independence from the British, Gandhi's political methods and motivations have inspired many social movements, not the least of which is today's antinuclear movement. Does Gandhi really deserve such praise and respect? And even if the answer is yes, do his methods deserve emulation?

A careful look at Gandhi's life and political career might surprise those who blockade, sit in, occupy and agitate in his name. Though Gandhi was indeed a social visionary beloved by millions, he did more to liberate the landlords of India than its poor.

As perhaps no popular leader before or since, Gandhi was a man haunted by contradiction. On the one hand, the whole of his being lay firmly with the suffering masses of India and he devoted himself selflessly to their needs. On the other hand, his elitism and loyalty to the Indian ruling class led him to keep the struggles of the Indian people within sharply limited bounds.

The South Africa years

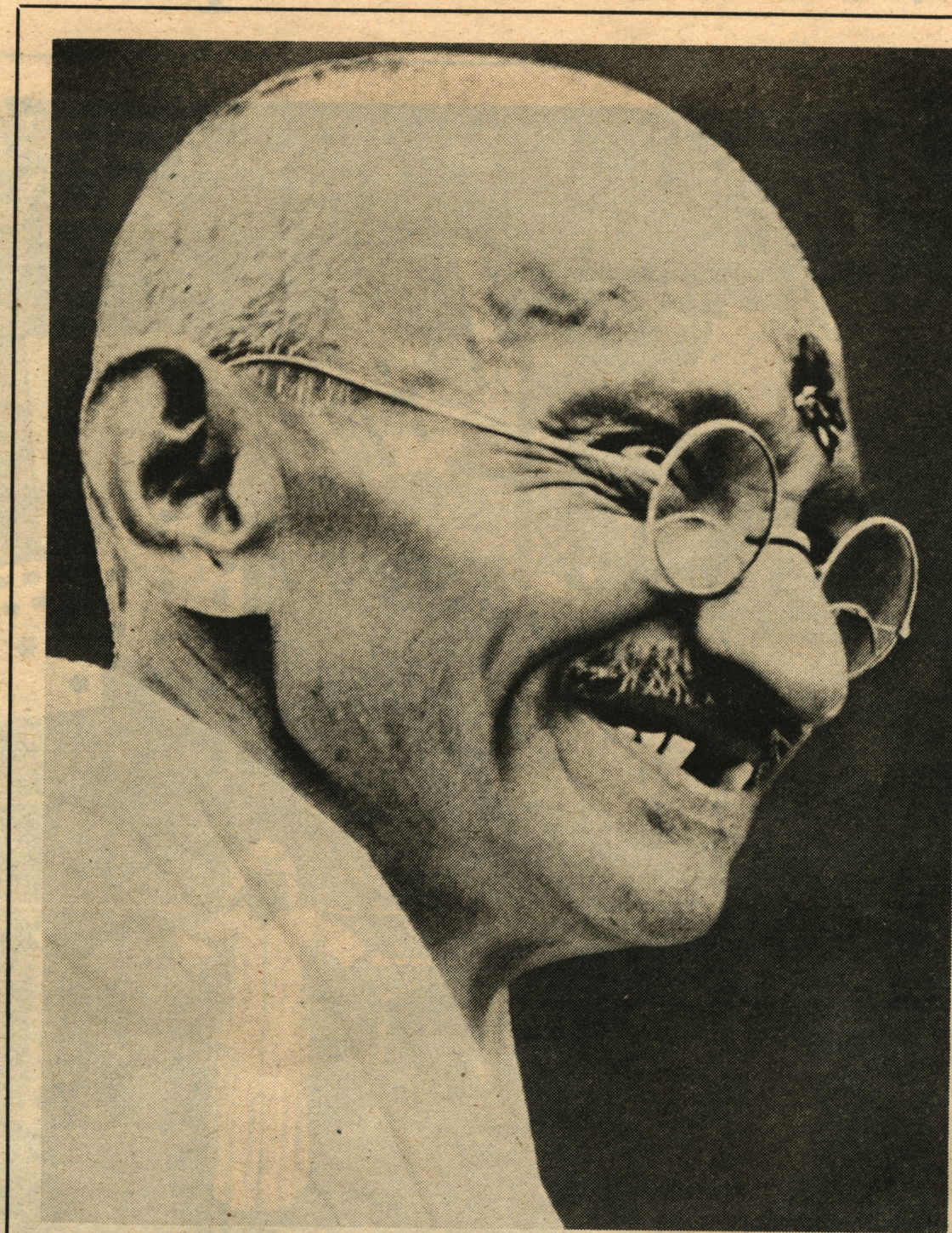
Gandhi was born in 1869 in Porbandar, a prosperous port town in western India where both his grandfather and father served as prime ministers. Like many young Indian men of his background, Gandhi was sent to England for a higher education. In 1893, with a law degree in hand, he went to South Africa.

Gandhi arrived unprepared for the second-class treatment he received as an Indian in South Africa, and refused to tolerate it. Immediately he began organizing to improve the status and protect the civil rights of the Indian community. It was in the course of these efforts that Gandhi developed the tactics of passive resistance, or satyagraha.

The civil rights campaign dragged on for years. Gandhi led large numbers of Indians in demonstrations, marches and mass refusals to register as aliens. Many of them, including Gandhi, spent time in jail.

Finally in 1913, the campaign reached a climax. Tens of thousands of indentured Indian coal miners and other laborers went on strike against a new and tougher Immigration Bill, and several of them were shot.

At the same time, a large strike by European railway employees was underway, a strike so serious that



Gandhi at age 62

The following year, the South African government did agree to some of the reforms the Indians had been demanding. Unfortunately, their overall conditions remained much the same. But Gandhi, feeling his mission in South Africa finished, set sail for India via England.

In support of World War I

During Gandhi's first years in India, he led struggles by tenant farmers, peasants and textile workers. These were also the years of World War I, and Gandhi became a "recruiting sergeant" in support of the British war effort, believing this would appeal to the hearts of Britain's rulers and thereby influence them to grant self-rule to India when the war was over.

The contradiction between Gandhi's theory of nonviolence and his recruiting activities was questioned by both his admirers and detractors. Some years later, he answered them: "My opposition to and disbelief in war was as strong

wealthy Indians realized that they were constricted by the yoke of British colonialism. They had sought self-governing powers by making quiet appeals to the British, mainly through the Indian National Congress. Their appeals were ignored. After the war, at Gandhi's urging, the Congress shifted to mass organizing and protest.

Though Gandhi was indeed a social visionary beloved by millions, he did more to liberate the landlords of India than its poor.

In 1919, the British-run Indian government introduced the notorious Rowlatt Bills which outlawed anti-government literature and most forms of dissent. Marches and protests were brutally repressed. In April, government troops fired on a peaceful gathering at Amritsar, killing 379 people and wounding 1200.

The country was furious. A campaign of noncooperation against the British was launched in September 1920 by the Congress, which put full authority for the movement in Gandhi's hands. Under his leadership, the Congress became involved in organizing nonparticipation in government bodies and institutions, withdrawal of children from schools and colleges, boycotts of foreign goods, and hartals (closing of businesses, usually for one day). Violence was expressly forbidden.

The people responded enthusiastically to the call of the Congress, and India was swept with unprecedented resistance. The British again cracked down in late 1921. Movement organizations were declared illegal, political meetings were suppressed, some 30,000 activists and prominent leaders were imprisoned. In spite of the arrests, thousands more volunteered and agitation continued undaunted.

The nationwide resistance of

1919-1922 was by no means limited to opposition to the British. Economic crisis -- inadequate wages and working conditions, rising rents and taxes -- had fueled a wave of strikes and peasant uprisings. Gandhi's charismatic leadership of the non-cooperation movement unintentionally gave further inspiration to the workers and peasant revolts.

As in South Africa, Gandhi did not seek to strengthen and unite these struggles, nor to connect them with the anti-colonial effort of the Congress. Rather he scowled at the growing strike wave and tried to contain it. "Strikes are the order of the day. They are a symptom of the existing unrest," he wrote in *Young India* on February 16, 1921. Labor leaders "consider that strikes may be engineered for political purposes. In my opinion it will be a most serious mistake to make use of labour strikes for such a purpose."

Though at various times in his career Gandhi was willing to support and even lead individual worker or peasant campaigns, a mass movement against the propertied classes was not his style. His identity and ultimate loyalty lay with the Indian bourgeoisie, whose aims were to achieve freedom from British rule while preserving their class rule.

The constructive program

Gandhi led the independence movement with extreme caution. Several times he postponed plans for mass civil disobedience after incidents of violent protest. Finally, he agreed to begin a civil disobedience campaign, a tax strike, in the small district of Bardoli. Here, Gandhi felt, there was sufficient "non-violent discipline" to act under his guidance.

But even this limited battle was called off after police fired on a pro-

cession in Chauri Chaura, a little village near the Himalayas. After exhausting their ammunition, the police retired to their station where they were attacked by the angry crowd. The police station was burned, and the 22 policemen inside were killed.

Learning of the police deaths, Gandhi cancelled the entire program of civil disobedience, substituting a "constructive program" of home spinning, temperance and educational activities. "God has been abundantly kind to me," he wrote. "He has warned me the third time that there is not as yet in India that non-violent and thoughtful atmosphere which alone can justify mass disobedience."

Gandhi's fellow Congress members were shocked and angered by his decision; the country was totally demoralized. "To sound the order of retreat when public enthusiasm was reaching a boiling point," observed Subhas Chandra Bose, a leading figure in the Indian National Congress, "was nothing short of a national calamity."

Gandhi's reaction to Chauri Chaura was another refrain of a theme that sounded consistently throughout his career. Nonviolent resistance was a method of waging conflict while keeping it within

A campaign launched for very limited demands inspired an upheaval far beyond what Gandhi had in mind.

the government had declared martial law. Here was an opportunity for whites and Indians to break through the race barrier and join forces in a common struggle.

But Gandhi wasn't interested. Instead of offering cooperation, he suddenly cancelled a planned march, saying he did not wish to embarrass the government or exploit its predicament. The South African government was delighted. The office of General Smuts, which had already reneged on several agreements with the Indian community, praised Gandhi for his "self-imposed limits of courtesy and chivalry."

then as it is today. But... possession of a body, like every other possession necessitates some violence, be it ever so little. The fact is that the path of duty is not always easy to discern amidst claims seeming to conflict with the other."

That Gandhi recognized the need for flexibility and acknowledged that nonviolent purity is not always possible might be considered admirable. But Gandhi was ever more flexible in taking up arms on behalf of the ruling classes than on behalf of the oppressed.

Even before World War I, many

at the father of nonviolence

"safe" boundaries. This fitted perfectly the needs of Indian business interests who hoped a restricted measure of public protest could pressure Britain into granting independence.

Communal riots

From 1923 onwards, a series of "communal" riots between Hindus and Muslims shook India. The country had long been torn by hatred and fighting between the two communities, much to the advantage of their British exploiters. A hopeful union had been achieved through their common struggle in 1919-22, but the movement's abrupt cancellation cut short this unity.

The connection between suspension of the mass movement by Gandhi because of "nonviolent principle" and the later outbreaks of communal violence is suggested by Gandhi's protege, Jawaharlal Nehru: "It is possible that this sudden bottling up of a great movement contributed to a tragic development in the country . . . The suppressed violence had to find a way out, and in the following years this perhaps aggravated the communal trouble."

The general resistance and Salt Satyagraha of 1930-32 was a repeat of the earlier movement, but on a much broader scale. A campaign launched for very limited demands inspired a wave of upheaval that went far beyond what Gandhi and his colleagues had in mind. Leaders of the Indian National Congress again refused to support the demands of the countless worker and peasant struggles that emerged.

In March 1931, with the country mobilized to near revolutionary proportions, Gandhi called off the movement after negotiating a provisional settlement with the British. The meager concessions gained from the agreement constituted a sorry betrayal of the Indian masses. There was no independence. Beyond modification of the opposed salt laws, there was nothing that would improve the lives of India's poor.

The Second World War

The war years spawned widespread anti-imperialist sentiments, yet Gandhi and other national leaders refused to call for a mass independence struggle. With the country in a militant mood, they rightfully judged that an open fight against the British would turn violent and would likely spark revolts against Indian employers and landlords as well.

Rather than risk that, the Congress pursued negotiations and offered cooperation in the war in

exchange for independence. When Britain didn't yield, the Congress launched civil disobedience protests led by Gandhi in 1941. The protests, however, were restricted and largely symbolic, and were easily crushed by the government.

After the war, as Indian leaders continued attempts to negotiate for independence, the people moved forward on their own. The years 1945-46 saw mass agitation for release of Indian National Army prisoners (who made an aborted attempt to stir a nationwide violent revolt against Britain); a dramatic mutiny by the Royal Indian Navy; a wave of strikes in almost every important industry; and a series of revolts by peasants and agricultural workers, some involving armed resistance.

The country's leaders remained aloof from these events or opposed them outright. Without backing from the national organizations, the protests remained scattered and without a coherent strategy.

Still, this spontaneous militancy had its impact on the British. In addition, communal battles spread across the country in late 1946, touched off by a bloody three-day riot in Calcutta. It was this general state of turmoil that prompted British Prime Minister Attlee's surprise declaration on February 20, 1947 regarding transfer of power to India.

Violence between Hindus and Muslims reached civil war proportions.

Britain's motivation is suggested by Alan Campbell-Johnson: "India in March 1947 was a ship on fire in mid-ocean with ammunition in the hold. By then it was a question of putting out the fire before it reached the ammunition. There was in fact no option before us but to do what we did."

The price of independence

Government power was finally transferred into Indian hands on August 15, 1947. Richard B. Gregg would write, "After twenty-six years of nonviolent struggle under Gandhi's leadership, India won her political freedom from Britain . . .

This was the first time in the history of the world that a great empire had been persuaded by nonviolent resistance to grant freedom to one of its subject countries."

The notion that "nonviolence worked in India" has become a standard reference for advocates of nonviolence. But rarely are the nature of India's "freedom" or the condi-

tions under which it was achieved critically discussed.

When Indian self-rule was granted, it was largely on Britain's terms. The agreement with Congress leaders guaranteed that British businesses and investments would be left untouched. Britain's continuing powerful role in the economy of India would be ensured.

Most crucial of the British terms, however, and most devastating for India, was the obligatory partition of the country and creation of



Millions of refugees perished or were left homeless when India was partitioned in 1947.

Pakistan as a separate Muslim state. Some 40 million Muslims made their homes in predominantly Hindu parts of India, while 20 million Hindus lived in the Muslim majority areas to be established as Pakistan. The partition thus promised to exacerbate the already serious communal problem.

Recognizing that a divided India would continue to be easily exploited, Britain had insisted since 1940 on such a division as a condition of independence. The Congress had bitterly opposed it, arguing that the Muslim community should have a separate state if it wanted one, but that this decision should be made freely by the Indian people and not be a requirement of independence.

But when the carrot of full independence was finally placed before the Congress, there was barely a murmur about the provision for a divided India. Even Gandhi agreed.

The partition gave impetus to communal rage the likes of which India had never seen. In some areas violence between Hindus and Muslims reached civil war proportions. For fear of their lives, millions of Muslim refugees poured into the newly-formed Pakistan, and as many Hindus and Sikhs fled to India. An estimated 500,000 people were killed within the year; untold millions of refugees were left hungry and homeless in the most massive migration in history.

The division of India and the bloodbath that ensued might have been prevented had national leaders sought to pull together the communities in battle against their common oppressors. For example, Hindu and Muslim sailors fought side by side in armed battle against British government forces during a Navy mutiny in 1946. An emerging unity was also visible in the massive demonstrations and strikes in support of the

sailors. Gandhi, however, issued a statement denouncing the strikes and violent protests.

As in the 1920's, the anger of Indian Hindus and Muslims against their common exploiters was turned on each other. Gandhi's dogmatic insistence on nonviolence had wound up contributing to a bloody interreligious war.

Gandhi's last years

After independence, a growing rift developed between Gandhi and his colleagues in Congress, who seemed to lose interest in the common people as soon as they were no longer needed. The Indian bourgeoisie was quick to see that it had no further use for the Mahatma's charisma and influence with the masses.

Gandhi spent the last two years of his life traveling from village to village, often on foot, holding huge prayer meetings and pleading for communal harmony. His sincerity and concern about common people were vivid in this period.

What had Gandhi's personal influence and nonviolent doctrine achieved for the people of India? Gandhi had inspired them to stand up to their foreign exploiters -- and then had sought to contain their militancy for fear of it going too far. He had refused to support violent popular struggle -- an abstention that helped stir a bloody sea of interreligious violence (and added a new twist to the pacifist belief that "violence begets violence").

Gandhi had led the laboring classes of India to independence -- only to replace the British rulers with Indian capitalists. Those who really gained from independence, whose power and autonomy actually increased, were the wealthy elite of India.

Historically, the method of nonviolent resistance -- civil disobedience and voluntary suffering -- was developed to achieve certain social reforms while keeping class power and privilege intact. This doesn't mean that nonviolent Gandhian tactics should be abandoned by the antinuclear movement. But it does suggest a greater skepticism toward nonviolence as a general principle.

-- Howard Ryan

Sources and references for this article are available on request from Howard Ryan, PO Box 961, Berkeley, CA 94701.

A book by Howard Ryan, *Nonviolence and Class Bias: From Mahatma Gandhi to the Anti-Nuclear Movement*, will soon be published by South Asia Publications, Ltd., New Delhi, and Folklore Institute, Cupertino, CA.



The non-violent Mahatma

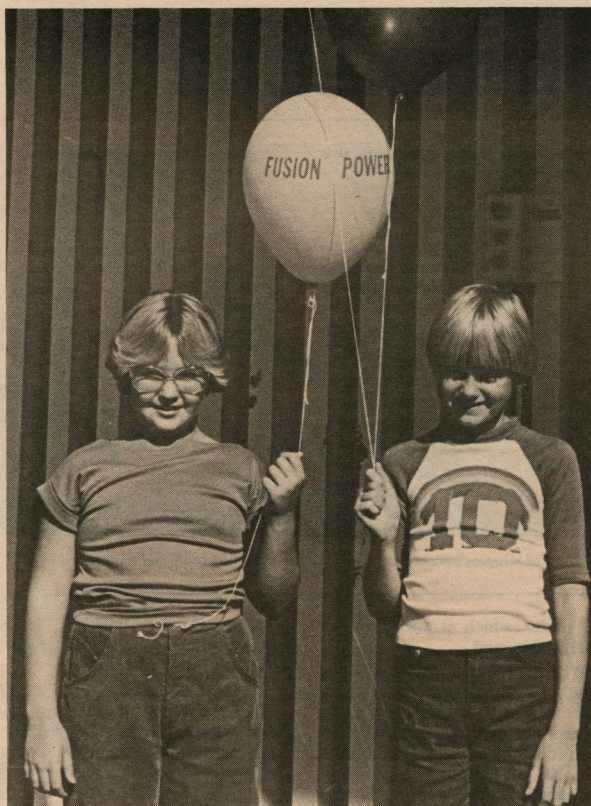


photo by Steve Stallone

Lasers — to your battle stations

Edward Teller, nearly 75 years old, is at it again. The veteran Cold Warrior recently met with President Reagan to push what he calls the "third generation" of nuclear weapons -- X-ray lasers powered by nuclear explosions in outer space.

Teller explains that these weapons are "so different from their fission and fusion cousins that they earn the name 'third generation.'" A Pentagon study has said that they would "alter the world balance of power." With backers like Teller, the X-ray lasers may soon be circling the planet.

In 1950, Teller argued that the development of the hydrogen bomb would be the final answer to war, that a weapon so terrible would make war unthinkable. During his long career as a weapons wizard, Teller has also successfully lobbied for an increase in A-bomb produc-

tion, for the second nuclear weapons lab at Livermore, and for scuttling the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Now he says that lasers in space will provide "an effective nuclear shield" against Soviet missiles.

The laser battle station scheme has been attracting boosters in the Pentagon, Congress, and the aerospace industry for several years. A successful test of the X-ray laser device at the Nevada Test Site in February of 1981 (see *IAT*, March-April 1981) and recent funding increases by the Reagan administration have goaded the visionaries on.

Artists' conceptions of the laser battle stations show numerous independent lasers, each of which could target an incoming enemy missile. When all the laser arms were locked on target, the battle station would self-destruct in a "small"



photo by Bob Van Scoy

Mourners crash Bon

On October 9, a thousand "ghouls" trod four miles to the gates of the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. The funeral wake was held on the day of the official celebration of the nuclear bomb lab's thirtieth anniversary.

From the looks of the ghastly group gathered at Robertson Park the morning of the march, Days of the Dead had come a week early to Livermore. Souls of the lab's victims -- those who were killed by fallout from atmospheric testing -- heeded LAG's invitation to join the living in mocking the lab. Future souls were represented by a coffin bearing the inscription, "You and Yours."

After a brief rally, the march began, with a 15-foot Grim Reaper holding a giant sickle at its head. The procession soon stretched out over half a mile. Formal mourners in black gloves and lace veils were everywhere.

Two arrests unexpectedly took place. One was of an eighteen year-

old onlooker who threw stones at the marchers: the other of a participant who spontaneously sat in the road at a corner of the Lab.

In contrast to the deliberate mood and pace of the mourners, the estimated 12,000 lab employees and family members who took part in the official celebration kept up a frantic pace. Tours of a sanitized lab were the main event of "Family Days," October 9 and 10. You can bet the "appreciation classes" conducted by lab personnel to tout "30 Years of Technical Excellence" ruined the plans of a few younger family members who'd been hoping for a chance to cut out.

Still, there was a lot to see. Our tour guide was particularly proud of the airplane hangar-sized magnetic (mirror) fusion test facility. When it's completed in 1986, he told us, it will test the theories of fusion on a scale not far below that of a reactor. But the direct application of fusion research to nuclear explosives went unmentioned. So did spinoffs from



nuclear explosion that would energize the laser beams. These intense impulses of energy would destroy the missiles -- provided everything functioned correctly.

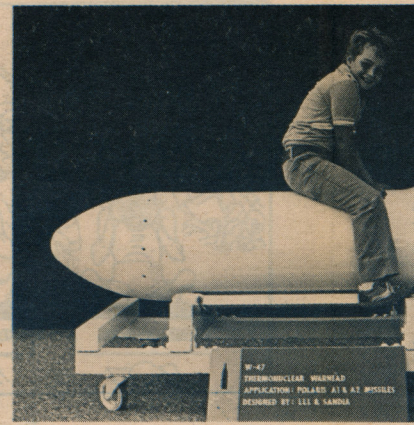
Building this weapons system would violate the Limited Test Ban treaty, the 1967 Outer Space Treaty, and probably most seriously, the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty. ABMs were severely limited in that 1972 agreement on the grounds that superiority in ABMs would upset the balance of "mutually assured destruction" (MAD), which presumes that each side is deterred from attacking by the belief that it would face massive devastation from a counterattack. An effective ABM system that could neutralize any counterattack would remove the incentive to refrain from launching a first strike.

Fortunately, the laser weapon concept also has its detractors, who argue that for a variety of basic technical reasons, the things will never fly. Virtually all the scientists who have studied lasers for the Pentagon or the White House consider the prospects for an all-

encompassing laser defense remote.

Kosta Tsipis of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology calls the development of laser anti-ballistic missile defenses in space "little more than childlike, wishful fantasies of omnipotence."

Harold Brown, the most techni-



mb Lab's party

lier fusion research, like the particle-beam weaponry now under development at the lab.

The biggest building on the 100-acre lab site is the machine shop. All manner of gears and cogs mesh harmoniously in showers of swirling lubricants; these are the basic tools for machining bomb-quality parts.

We saw weapons designers demonstrate video games like the Combat Simulator on the first floor of the administration building. These nifty games allow US military officials to try their hand at waging battle or dropping a neutron bomb -- without the mess to clean up.

One of the most popular exhibits for kids was the open-air display of replicas of warheads past, warheads present and warheads future. The bombs are just so climbable. At the parents are bemused, and child grumbling abounds: "This is the part of the tour I hate." They manage to resign themselves, as if to conclude that the experience is

something like castor oil or religion: a little distasteful but you're better for it.

Toward the tour's end, we walked through a building that housed a laser project. The further we proceeded, the more hazard symbols we encountered -- radiation, deadly chemicals, etc. Our torturer delighted in opening doors with lots of exotic warnings; the last so plastered with symbols that it looked like a college dorm door circa 1969. Imagine what they're not showing us!

This year's official motto for the lab, "30 Years of Technical Excellence," is a real yawner. In years gone by the lab may have crowed about making America strong, but now it would rather be seen as the world's greatest academy. So what if this pretense takes the braggadocio out of the bomb -- these days even Lab spokespeople occasionally find it appropriate to deprecate their nuclear offspring.

-- Ward Young
LAT staff



photo by Drew Mazer

ally informed Defense Secretary in 1965 and a former Director of the Livermore Lab, has written that a system of space-based lasers for missile defense "would probably not be feasible before the next century, if ever," and would cost on the order of \$100 billion.

Aside from the astronomical cost, the main problems facing the space warriors are technical. First of all, anti-satellite weapons and countermeasures against lasers are much simpler and cheaper than laser battle stations. "Killer satellites" -- basically just conventional bombs in orbit -- have long been under development by both superpowers. They could be programmed to home in on a battle station and put it out of action at relatively low cost.

In addition, exploding a nuclear warhead in space or high in the atmosphere could damage a battle station's electronic systems through electromagnetic pulse effects or jam its communications with earthbound controllers. Other techniques might be employed to blind or confuse the station's sensors, rendering it unable to locate its targets. In any case, the laser systems would be useless against intermediate range and tactical nuclear weapons.

Nonetheless, the budget for military lasers has jumped from just above \$200 million in fiscal years 1980 and 1981 to an anticipated \$400 million or more for fiscal 1983. Mil-

itary contractors such as Boeing, Lockheed, TRW, Martin Marietta, and Hughes are actively developing laser weapons to fit in the payload bay of the Space Shuttle.

In early March, the conservative Heritage Foundation published a study calling for a ten-year, \$50 billion program to develop the military potential of space. About the same time, Congressional testimony about Soviet plans to deploy space lasers by the mid-1980's was "inadvertently" read in open session. Such "leaks" often occur when Congress is debating Defense Department appropriations. In this case, the propaganda worked like a charm, despite findings by the General Accounting Office that the Soviets are five to ten years behind the US in key areas of laser technology and deployment.

One highly promoted civilian "benefit" of laser development programs like the ones at the Lawrence Livermore Lab is the promise of cheap and clean fusion power. Even if laser fusion does work, it is unlikely to be either cheap or clean. But in any case, fusion energy is not the real goal of these programs.

In Lawrence Livermore Laboratory's recently published booklet, "30 Years of Technical Excellence," there is an unusually candid statement of the laser fusion project's goal: to "produce significant, well-diagnosed ther-

monuclear microexplosions in the laboratory and to exploit this capability for military applications (weapons physics studies)." The development of civilian power applications is only a long-term objective.

Similarly, the particle beam research facilities at Livermore -- the Experimental Test Accelerator and the even larger \$50 million Advanced Test Accelerator now being completed -- can be used for laser experiments, tests that simulate the effects of nuclear explosions, and flash radiography, all useful tools for nuclear warhead development.

In the event of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty or a nuclear freeze, this technology would become the very lifeblood of the nuclear weapons design labs. It would allow clandestine development of nuclear weapons to continue without actual weapons tests, circumventing the intent of any nuclear ban.

It's too early to predict whether the star-struck weaponeers will ever succeed in surrounding the earth with laser battle stations. What is almost certain is that the nuclear weapons designers will get their steady flow of funds by hook or crook -- more than enough to carry on their work, Freeze or no Freeze, well into the next decade.

-- by Ken Nightingale
Livermore Action Group



photo by Drew Mazer

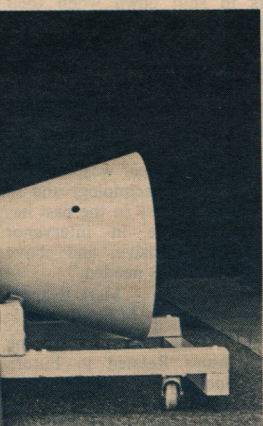


photo by Steve Stallone



photo by Steve Stallone

Los Alamos study: The peaceful atom is passe

It's now clear to everyone that "electricity too cheap to meter" isn't in the cards for nuclear power. But a recently declassified Atomic Energy Commission document reveals that nuclear power promoters knew from the start that the technology would be expensive. They planned to make most of their profits not from electricity sales but from selling plutonium produced by the plants to the government's nuclear weapons program.

According to the AEC report, electric utilities were enticed into the nuclear field in 1950's when the United States government found itself in the throes of a shortage of plutonium for nuclear weapons. Reactors constructed and operated by private utilities were seen as a way to reduce the cost of plutonium fabrication for the government and to help offset the high cost of constructing a nuclear power plant. Electricity produced from the heat the plants generated was almost considered a convenient byproduct.

The suggestion that private utilities get involved in nuclear technology came from Dr. Charles A. Thomas, executive vice-president of the Monsanto Chemical Company. The Atomic Energy Commission advertised for feasibility studies for "dual purpose reactors," and awarded one of the contracts to Bechtel and the Pacific Gas and Electric Company. Their study concluded that the economics of the venture seemed questionable, but the utility wanted to continue research in nuclear power.

Lawrence T. Hafstad, the AEC's director of reactor development, told the American Petroleum Institute in 1951 that it was the multi-purpose reactor "rather than cheap civilian power which lies behind the increased interest on the part of industry in certain phases of the atomic energy business."

In 1954, the Atomic Energy Act was amended to allow utilities to build their own reactors and sell plutonium to the government. The

designated receiving point for the plutonium was Rocky Flats, where to this day triggers for nuclear bombs are made.

However, the public was led to believe that a clear distinction remained between atoms-for-peace and atoms-for-war. In December of 1953, President Dwight D. Eisenhower told the United Nations, "It is not enough to take this weapon out of the hands of the soldiers. It must be put in the hands of those who will know how to strip it of its military casing and adapt it to the arts of peace."

But civilian nuclear development merely provided a "cover" and an excuse for continued weapons

improvements. In many respects, it was a public relations tool for making the country less negative toward all things nuclear.

Three decades of PR efforts have succeeded in firmly implanting the idea of two separate nuclear technologies in the public mind. Even within the antinuclear weapons movement, several organizations, including the Nuclear Freeze and Physicians for Social Responsibility, refuse to take a position on the issue of nuclear power despite the fact that a single "peaceful" power reactor can produce enough plutonium for dozens of nuclear bombs each year.

-- Mark Evanoff
IAT staff

Letters

continued from page 2

my "in" at IAT. But the kind of feminism you're recommending worries me.

You're certainly right to point out that women often blame themselves for socially enforced shortcomings. It's also important to acknowledge that the women's movement has been known to use guilt in ways that are destructive to both sexes, and to generalize unhelpfully about the sins of men.

Not having been at the meeting you mention, I'll take your word that men (all of them? a few?) were obnoxious and dominant. I'd also have to agree with what you were told by "men:" that in general, the Abalone Alliance has not been a particularly sexist place.

Maybe that's faint praise. But to say that the antinuclear movement "has never changed at all" (I assume you mean from the sexist norm of the outside world) and to claim in 1982 that "all women's issues" have been forgotten is just plain wrong.

I hope others will contribute to this discussion.

-- Marcy Darnovsky

EXPRESSIONS OF ANGER

Dear IAT,

It is important for our sanity that we be able to express our anger about the incredibly vicious nuclear technologies currently being developed. Demonstrations are, in a way, an expression of that anger. And the power of our anger helps give us the strength to risk injury and incarceration in the pursuit of our goals.

However, demonstrations should not be equated with counseling sessions where we vent our most intense emotions. Demonstrations are political actions for achieving specific goals, and expressions of anger are appropriate only if they help achieve these goals.

Expressing our anger to Livermore Lab employees, jail guards, etc., may pointedly convey our message and jar them out of their blind allegiance to authority. But it can be counterproductive when it scares or harasses them, making them more likely to retaliate blindly. And it can distract them from the nuclear technologies we are protesting.

We are most effective when we proclaim through our nonviolent direct action that we refuse to consent to the development of nuclear technology (and the exploitative structures upon which it is based), and when we commit ourselves wholeheartedly to cooperative alternatives. The power of the ruling regime depends on the acquiescence of most people, including Lab employees, nuclear engineers and jail guards. People comply, of course, because they fear the possible consequences of refusing (ridicule, loss of job, harassment). Our bold refusal forces these people to actively think about their compliance and encourages them to withhold their consent.

This does not, of course, mean we must kiss the feet of all these people or gush "we love you." Groveling and insincere expressions of love and joy are not useful. Failing to explain why we are there when we finally have an opportunity to confront the nuclear establishment is also silly. But I do think it is possible to address these people openly, non-antagonistically, and with compassionate understanding of their situation while we also decry their destructive actions and obstinately refuse to go along.

Actions that correspond to my perspective are viewed by many activists as too wimpy, soft, or repressed, and therefore, not strong enough to make any substantial change. Some of these activists believe nonviolence includes any behavior which does not physically harm others. They feel it is important to express their heartfelt anger so long as it causes no physical harm.

Still, we have managed to get along pretty well for a long time now and have overcome other difficult problems. Hopefully, we can all recognize and respect the validity of each other's perspectives and can refrain from fruitless sniping at one another. And hopefully, through continued dialogue and greater experience, we can achieve a consensus which adequately addresses all our needs and desires for social change.

--Randy Schutt
Citizens for Alternatives to a Nuclear Environment (CANE)
Palo Alto, CA 94306



Atoms for Peace

continued from page 1

concern about nuclear proliferation. There is no fundamental difference between plutonium produced for nuclear power or for nuclear weapons.

"Any supposed dichotomy between the civilian and military production of plutonium and tritium is institutional at most. One of the myths that was current during these decades [the '50's and '60's] and still persists to some extent, was that plutonium created in power reactors was of no benefit in nuclear weapons." The report notes that the US has successfully tested a weapon using reactor grade plutonium.

"It should be manifest to all that there is no technical demarcation between the military and civilian nuclear reactor technology and that there never was one," the report continues. "What has persisted over the decades is just the misconception that such a linkage does not exist. Thus, although the Option 2... may create an uproar, sensible debate will help show that the nonproliferation worries caused by the supposed lowering of the wall between the civilian and military atom are groundless."

Nonetheless, says the Los Alamos study, choosing this option "can be counted on to raise a storm of protest both within and without Congress." It worries that federal requirements for an Environmental Impact Statement will cause burdensome court delays by such groups as Friends of the Earth and Critical Mass.

The third option is to use plutonium from commercial waste for the weapons program. Opposition to this suggestion, activated by a Department of Energy hint dropped in September of 1981, is already strong. Another barrier to its implementation is its dependence on the perfection of laser isotope separation, under development at Lawrence Livermore Lab. This process would upgrade the plutonium in reactor wastes to the quality normally used in weapons.

The study optimistically asserts that this option would not only fulfill military demand, but "can have a profound beneficial effect on the commercial nuclear industry" by eliminating the waste problem that would otherwise force utility power reactors to shut down when their spent fuel storage pools become full.

The political conclusions of the study are simple: exclude the public. The elimination of licensing hearings before the NRC is termed essential to "preclude the delaying and harassing tactics of opponents to nuclear power, nuclear weapons, big business, modern technology and so forth, whose barratry in the past has been so effective in intervenor action. Firm, decisive, and above all, prompt action is needed."

-- Mark Evanoff
IAT staff

Sources: A.T. Pearlee, Jr., "Some Political Issues Related to Future Nuclear Special Materials Production," Los Alamos National Laboratory, August 1981. LA-8969-MS UC-16.

Edison bumbles San Onofre start-up

San Onofre Nuclear Generating Station Unit 2 operated for only four days before a leaky valve and other technical problems forced a shut-down of the newly licensed plant. Actual electricity entering the grid amounted to 37 megawatts, about 3% of the plant's rated capacity.

The technical problems prompted E. Earl Kent, a welder with forty years experience, to go public with his knowledge of thousands of inferior welds. Kent, who worked as a quality control inspector first attempted to report his findings to Bechtel Corporation, the builders of the plant, Southern California Edison, the owners of the plant, and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. All groups discounted his claims.

"The utility and the NRC are working hand in glove with one another," Kent told *It's About Times*.

Kent explained that Bechtel's quality control engineers, despite college credentials, lack practical experience in metallurgy and do not understand the practical requirements of welding. The company does not use the codes of the American Welding Society and instead uses the less stringent American Society of Mechanical Engineers Code.

Kent has actually worked at three Bechtel-built plants. Last February he was fired after complaining about welds at the Midland, Michigan nuclear power plant. Bechtel claims it was because he failed to pass oral examinations on weld testing. However, Kent has worked the last 17 years as a quality control inspector and passed three other similar tests before his firing.

After Kent went public October 13 about problems at San Onofre, with the help of the Southern California Alliance for Survival, the NRC agreed to a site inspection of San Onofre 2. After interviewing Kent for over seven hours, the NRC agreed to allow him to accompany

them on the inspection to point out the defective welds.

Southern California Edison, however, will not allow Kent access to all rooms in the plant. Kent fears he will be allowed only into rooms where Edison has repaired the defective welds. "I can show where lots of problems exist," he pointed out, "but it takes someone with metallurgical experience to understand the problem."

The NRC is expected to issue a report on the welding inspections in mid-November. In the meantime, Community Energy Action Network and the Southern California Alliance for Survival are calling upon the House subcommittee on Oversight and Protection, chaired by Representative Edward Markey, to order the NRC to hire an independent consultant, accountable to Congress, to investigate Kent's charges.

Until the technical problems at San Onofre developed, Southern California Edison had hoped to begin charging ratepayers for the \$2.2 billion cost of the plant. However the Public Utilities Commission said the plant had to operate uninterrupted for at least 200 hours at full capacity before the cost of the plant could enter the ratebase. Southern California Edison does not expect to meet these requirements until April or May.

The Public Utilities Commission will hold two phases of hearings to determine how much to charge ratepayers for the plant. Public hearings will be held on January 13 and 14 in San Diego and Los Angeles, respectively. Formal hearings will begin January 17. The "Phase One" hearings determine how much to charge for San Onofre temporarily, before a final decision is made.

A second phase of hearings will determine if ratepayers should be charged anything for the plant.

-- Mark Evanoff
IAT staff

China syndrome

Local resistance at two candidate sites for a nuclear power station in China's Guangdong Province has been followed by rejection of those sites. In one instance 100 residents carried placards in a demonstration against the plant, forcing the authorities to rely on a third candidate site in a remote wooded area with no access roads.

China has started construction of its first nuclear power station near Shanghai, consisting of two 300-megawatt reactors and scheduled to come on line in 1988. The Chinese claim the first station will be designed and made in Shanghai, but they want Britain's National Nuclear Corporation and Westinghouse to supply the bulk of the second sta-

tion, which would sell some of its power to Hong Kong.

It was disclosed in June that China and the US have been negotiating an agreement to transfer the technology, but the accord is being held up by Washington under the pretext that China is helping Pakistan and perhaps other countries build the bomb. Agreement probably won't be on hold for long, since the Reagan administration, far from worrying about the spread of nuclear weapons technology (it recently allowed such technology to be sold to Argentina from US companies) would like to turn proliferation to its advantage -- and US multinationals' profits.

-- from *WISE International*, 10-14-82

Rocky Flats vote

Colorado peace activists have scrapped efforts to pass a statewide nuclear freeze initiative in favor of a proposal with more direct, and perhaps more significant effect: an initiative to begin planning for the peacetime conversion of Rocky Flats.

Proposition 6 would set up a voluntary state income tax contribution fund to be used to publicize the dangers of plutonium leakage at the federal nuclear weapons triggers facility located 15 miles upwind of

Denver, and to begin planning to convert the plant to peacetime use and provide non-military jobs for all displaced workers.

Campaign workers say the freeze initiative was ruled inappropriate as a state ballot item because it's only a policy statement, and would have no legislative effect. Rather than challenge that ruling, they have concentrated on Proposition 6, which is the first conversion initiative ever on a statewide ballot.

-- Tim Redmond



photo by Rachel Johnson

Before the early morning fog had lifted off the bay, Greenpeace's sailboat the *Stone Witch* had left its San Francisco pier to join the Australian *Pacific peacemaker* at the Alameda Naval Air Station.

For the *Pacific Peacemaker*, this was one of many antinuclear protests this year. Its stop in San Francisco was part of a long voyage from Australia, with stops at Hawaii and other Pacific islands. More recently, the *Pacific Peacemaker* was in Bangor, Washington for the sea blockade of the first trident submarine.

Draft round-up

Almost three years after the beginning of draft registration and resistance to it the government is playing its hand. It is counting on a few prosecutions to stem the rise in non-registrants. A little repressive legislation, like a bill pending in Congress to require that all CETA participants register or lose their jobs, may help too.

Across the country, the Justice Department has indicted thirteen men for refusal to register. Three of them have been convicted. The cases are being handled very differently both by the defendants and the judges trying them; no real precedents have yet been set.

- Enten Eller of Virginia was the first to be convicted. He was sentenced to three years in prison and 250 hours of community service, and ordered to register or reappear in Federal court for a reevaluation of his sentence.

- Ben Sasway of San Diego was convicted in September. The judge ordered that he be held in prison without bail until his October 4 sentencing because he was "a threat" and "would very likely continue to advocate subversion." Sasway was given two years, but is out on bail pending an appeal.

- Mark Schmucker of Ohio was also tried and convicted in early October. He was sentenced to three years probation, two to three years of community service, and a \$4000 fine.

- David Wayte of Los Angeles, currently involved in pre-trial hearings, has won the right to use a selective prosecution defense. He will argue that he was selectively chosen for prosecution because he was a public non-registrant. Judge Terry J. Hatter has ordered the government to submit to him documents the defense contends will prove Wayte has been singled out for prosecution because of his outspoken opposition to the draft. Also, at the request of the defense, the judge has ordered presidential aide Edwin Meese to testify at the trial because of his involvement in policy-making decisions regarding prosecution of registration resisters.

- Rusty Martin of Iowa, also a public resister, is the first and only man to be registered against his will by the govern-

ment.

- Paul Jacobs of Arkansas, indicted October 4, has gone underground.

More prosecutions are planned.

The Internal Revenue Service recently sent out 33,000 warning letters to men suspected of not registering. Of those who do not respond within 15 days, the IRS will randomly choose 200 and turn their names over to the Justice Department for action.

Fortunately, the government's approach may be backfiring. The prosecutions seem to be having a positive effect on the draft resistance movement, which is growing in size and scope. At a civil disobedience demonstration at the Selective Service Headquarters in Washington, DC on October 18, 58 protesters were arrested. Draft resisters' defense funds have sprung up around the country, as have local resistance support groups. There have been civil disobedience actions and vigils at trials, arraignments and prisons.

In many cases, the draft resistance movement has moved away from exclusively religious or civil libertarian orientations. It has made connections between "its issues" and the broader issues of militarism, the economy, foreign intervention, nuclear weapons, and women's and Third World struggles.

The Pentagon has taken notice of the draft movement's growth and development. At an April 12 meeting of the Military Manpower Taskforce, Assistant Secretary of the Navy J.S. Herrington warned that "when we start prosecuting, the antinuclear forces will be out in full."

So far, the Pentagon has not dared to bring indictments in areas where the draft movement is strong, like San Francisco, New York or Chicago. This will undoubtedly change, but probably not until a smooth judicial precedent has been set in areas like San Diego, Arkansas and Iowa.

-- Jane Horvath

For more information, contact: LA Draft Resistance Support Committee, PO Box 4372, Terminal Annex, Los Angeles, CA 90051, (213) 381-6144

San Diego Draft Resisters Defense Fund, PO Box 33544, San Diego, CA 92103.

Berkeley Resistance, 2053 Berkeley Way, Berkeley, CA 94704, (415) 549-1719.

Bombs Away!



BOMBS AWAY! is an 8-page tabloid exploring the political history of the nuclear arms race and the resistance to it. The newspaper discusses topics including First Strike strategies, superpower interventions in the Third World, and the failure of official "arms control."

Simple but not simpleminded, **BOMBS AWAY!** is designed especially for high school audiences but should prove useful for any public information effort. Copies are available at cost for bulk distribution; samples are \$0.50 postpaid from **BOMBS AWAY!**, c/o Village Design, P.O. Box 966, Berkeley, CA 94701.

New Diablo strategy

While PG&E engineers are perplexed with how to make Diablo "safe," the Abalone Alliance is working on two fronts to keep the plant from operating. The Diablo Project Office is coordinating the planning for a site action after the low power test license is reinstated. And in northern California, a collective is organizing groups to demand the California Public Utilities Commission (PUC) revoke Diablo's Certificate of Public Convenience and Necessity.

The PUC issued the Certificate in 1967 allowing PG&E to build the plant. PG&E, however, can no longer meet the conditions specified in the Certificate: the electricity is no longer needed, the plant had an 800% cost overrun, and it will not produce electricity as efficiently as originally expected. If operating Diablo can be shown to be not in the public interest (i.e., if it costs too much) the PUC has the authority to prevent PG&E from charging its costs to ratepayers.

On October 4, representatives of the Abalone Alliance delivered a letter to the Commissioners demanding the revoking of the Certificate. Two weeks earlier, Abalone Alliance members met with the five commissioners to discuss the PUC's responsibilities to the ratepayers. The PUC has until January 7, 1983 to meet the demand before direct action will be taken.

The Abalone Alliance PUC Col-

lective is asking for the help of other AA groups to gather endorsements for revoking the Certificate from other organizations and individuals. Petitions and endorsement forms are available through the state office. Speakers are available to visit your group to discuss the campaign. Anyone interested in organizing the direct action protest at the PUC should contact the San Francisco office.

The PUC campaign is part of the larger stop Diablo strategy. The Diablo Site Collective has been meeting for the past few months planning the next Diablo action. The nature of the action is still being defined.

The NRC is expected to reinstate the low-power test license some time next year. Within two weeks after the license is reissued, a state meeting will set a date for a site action within sixty days. Start-up procedures for a nuclear power plant require more than sixty days from when the operating license is issued before nuclear operation begins.

Member groups of the Abalone Alliance and non-member groups are invited to participate in both collectives. Contact the Diablo Project Office for more information on the site action, and the San Francisco Office for information about the PUC Campaign.

-- Mark Evanoff
IAT staff

Abalone Conference

The next Abalone Alliance Conference will be held on the weekend of November 19-21 at Tres Condados Council Girl Scout Ranch, near Ojai, sponsored by Stop Uranium Now (SUN).

This will be a camping weekend, therefore please bring sleeping bags, tents, flashlights, etc. We will have an indoor space available to us for meetings and entertainment. Meals will be provided from Friday evening to Sunday lunch. Please bring your own plates, cups and utensils.

The fee for the weekend is \$15 for adults and \$7 for children under 12. There will be free childcare, so please indicate how many kids you expect to bring and their ages so SUN can properly plan.

People planning to attend the conference are asked to pre-register

through the San Francisco AA office and submit the registration fee to provide front money to SUN to buy food and supplies. The registration fee is an estimate and may vary a few dollars depending on the number of registrants.

A summary of the agenda and the proposals to be discussed at the conference follows. Complete proposals have been mailed to the member groups. Please contact the San Francisco Office (2940 16th Street #310, San Francisco, CA 94110, 415-861-0592) if you have any questions, need directions or would like a complete copy of the proposal or agenda.

PROPOSAL SUMMARIES

Structure and process: This proposal is essentially a codifying of existing AA process along with some modifications to make the process

smoother. It grew out of discussion of a draft circulated in early 1982.

Budget: Includes new San Francisco Office Budget, new recommendations for waterfall disbursement, and recommendations for canvass income share money.

Endorsement of Vandenberg action: A nonviolent direct action is being planned for the Vandenberg Air Force Base near Santa Barbara in late January 1983 to protest the first test launching of the MX missile from the base to Kwajalein Island in the Marshall Islands. This proposal requests AA endorsement, in-kind support from the SF AA staff, and a seed fund for informational mailings.

AGENDA SUMMARY

Friday evening: Registration, dinner, agenda review, dance/party, (facilitators' coordinating meeting).

Saturday morning: Breakfast, announcements/warm-up, reports from AA-funded groups (DPO, SFO, Trainers and Preparers, Humboldt decommissioning)

Saturday afternoon: Process and structure proposal, budget proposal. (These two proposals will be discussed by two separate groups simultaneously. Reports will be made to the whole group on the decisions they make.) Evaluations, winding down.

Saturday evening: Dinner, music/dance.

Sunday morning: Breakfast, endorsement of Vandenberg proposal, any other new proposals, strengthening mutual aid between AA groups, looking toward the future of the AA network, evaluations, lunch, clean-up, good-byes.

Stop the Cruise and Pershing II

The purpose of this campaign is to stop NATO's deployment of Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe, scheduled for December, 1983. Our actions will build bridges between the US and European disarmament movements, in order to oppose international forces of militarism. We see this as a step in stopping the arms race and eventually reversing it.

FIRST SUNDAY VIGILS

For the next six months, we will sponsor peace vigils at Palo Alto City Hall on the first Sunday of every month, at 12:30.

The November vigil will feature an anti-nuclear poetry reading, and displays by local bookstores.

PEACE TIME THEATER

CANE'S street theater group, The Peace Time Theater, recently premiered its new production, "The Missile America Pageant," hosted by Burnt Parks and featuring five lovely first-strike weapons. The Peace Time Theater is available for perfor-

mances in the Bay Area.

STOP THE CRUISE AND PERSHING II TEACHIN

The teach-in will begin with presentations by Diane Thomas-Glass, Doug Matthern and others about the historical and political background of Cruise and Pershing II deployment. November 21 at the First Presbyterian Church, 1140 Cowper, Palo Alto from 4 to 8:30 pm (bring a bag supper.)

SILICON VALLEY PEACE CAMP

On Monday, June 20, 1983, "International Day for Nuclear Disarmament," members of the Stop the Cruise & Pershing II Campaign will begin camping in sight of one or more Silicon Valley companies that are involved with the Cruise & Pershing II systems.

The Cruise & Pershing II Campaign depends on donations of time and money. Send your comments and suggestions with a check to CANE, PO Box 377, Palo Alto, CA 94302.



PLAYING THE WAR GAME

What happens at Lawrence Livermore? Why has there been so little discussion of the Lab's work? **Playing the War Game: 30 Years of Livermore**, just published by the University of California Nuclear Weapons Conversions Project, explains how promoting the arms race goes together with a climate of secrecy at Livermore and Los Alamos. Behind

the facade of deterrence and scholarly inquiry, the Labs have been hard at work creating weapons for a first strike attack. Meanwhile, the Labs have been the strongest advocate within the U.S. for gutting nuclear weapons treaties.

The magazine can be bought for \$1.50 from UCNWLCP, 3126 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, CA 94703.

Calendar

November 9: *With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush and Nuclear War.* Discussion with author Robert Scheer. 8 pm., Modern Times Bookstore, 968 Valencia, SF. \$2. 282-9246.

November 10:

Slide show on the Assassination of Karen Silkwood. 7:30 pm. La Pena Cultural Center. 3105 Shattuck, Berkeley. Peace & Freedom Party. 386-4575.

Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility meets 2nd and 4th Wednesdays. 7:30 pm. First Presbyterian Church, Cowper & Lincoln, Palo Alto. 949-4379.

November 11:

Solutions to End the Weapons Crisis Toward a Survivable Future Veteran's Day Convocation at St. Mary's Cathedral, Geary & Gough, SF. 10am-10 pm. Phillip Morrison, MIT; Amory and Hunter Lovins, energy policy analysts; Robert Barker, LLNL; Owen Chamberlin, Nobel Laureate; David Brower, Friends of the Earth. Sponsors: Union of Concerned Scientists, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, United Campuses. 845-8395.

"Let Us Grow Up" new slide show on 30 kids who were arrested at June 21 blockade. 7:30 pm. Unitarian Fel-

lowship, Cedar & Bonita, Berkeley. Donation. 824-3977.

War Tax Resistance Support Group. 7pm. SF., call for location. 849-2360.

November 12: Living in the Nuclear Age nuclear affairs program on KPFA, 94.1 FM Guest is Will Riggan, "Disarmament and the Third World." 7-8pm. alternate Fridays.

November 13: 17th Semi-Annual Mount Diablo Peace Center Celebration, Potluck at 6:30 pm; 8 pm, talk by Bill Perry, former Director of Public Relations, LLNL. 933-7850.

First Spokes Council meeting, noon, November 13th. Call Livermore Action Group (LAG) for place. 644-2028. The first MX test flight at Vandenberg Air Force Base to Kwajalein atoll, a US military installation amidst the Marshall Islands in the South Pacific, is scheduled for January, 1983. A non-violent blockade and legal demonstration at the MX test area at Vandenberg is planned for the launch week of Jan. 21-27. Participate by joining working groups and affinity groups. Non-violence training for civil disobedience participants. Call 644-2028.

Dave Lippman and The Urgent Ensemble, Linda Hirschorn and Tay Holden (on viola), Plutonium Players and Ladies Against Women

plus a slideshow of the blockade. Sat. November 13, 8 pm. Ollie's 4120 Telegraph Ave., Oakland. Wheelchair access, childcare with reservation, call 665-2153. \$3-6 sliding scale.

November 14: Black Repertory Theater in "Run, 'Lil Chillun." 7:30 pm., 1719 Alcatraz, Berkeley. \$10 to benefit Alameda County Freeze. 655-6872.

November 15: Growing Up in the Nuclear Age: How to Talk With Children About the Bomb, with Patty Wipsler, Tim Jackins. 7:30 pm. Friends Meeting House, 957 Colorado, Palo Alto. Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND). 493-4799.

November 16:

Beyond the Freeze: The Press and Nuclear Arms Coverage, panel inclu. Ann Shaw, Freeze Campaign Media Staff, Bill Perry, former Public Relations Dir. LLNL, Marcy Darnovsky, *It's About Times*. 7:30 pm., Fort Mason, Bldg.C, Room 260, SF Media Alliance. 441-2557.

Medical Effects of Radiation on Women and Update on Karen Silkwood by Kitty Tucker. 7:30 pm. Women's Bldg., 18th & Valencia, SF. Women's Party for Survival and Federation for Progress. 981-8909.

Draft Action Network Meeting. 7:30 pm. 1040 37th. St., Sacramento. Sac. Peace Center. 446-0787.

National Lawyers Guild Bay Area Anti-Nuclear Committee meeting to discuss lawsuit against UC Regents contract to manage weapons labs and

other projects. 7:30 pm., 3618 22nd St., Apt. 24, SF. 527-3721.

November 17:

San Francisco City-wide Freeze Conference. 7:30 pm. Call for location. 621-0858.

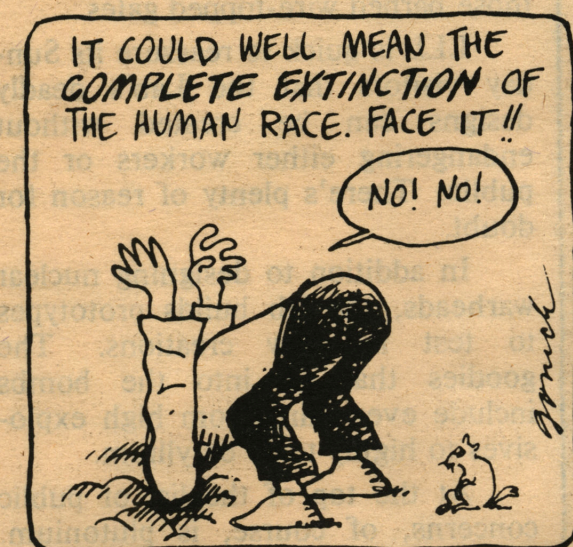
Bay Area World Citizens Education and Action Meeting, open to public. 7:30 pm., Fellowship of Humanity, 411 28th St. Oakland. 237-7838.

November 21:

Stop the Cruise and Pershing 2 Teach-in by Community Action Against Nuclear Extinction (CANE). 4:00-8:30 pm. First Presbyterian Church, 1140 Cowper, Palo Alto. Bring supper. 946-3066, 328-0367.

Pacific Island slide show and discussion about Vandenberg Action. 7 pm., 1024 Masonic, SF. Livermore Action Group. 644-3031.

November 26: Michael Klare on "How Can Nuclear Wars Start?" Living in the Nuclear Age. KPFA, 94.1 FM. 482-2885, 531-8050.



AA Safe Energy Groups

ABALONE ALLIANCE OFFICE: 2940 16th St., #310, San Francisco, CA 94103 • 415-861-0592
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 WOMEN FOR SURVIVAL,
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ARCATA:
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 P.O. Box 293/95521 • (707) 822-7884

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 ANDERSON VALLEY NUCLEAR AWARENESS COMMITTEE,
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 1472 St. Helena Hwy./94574 • (707) 963-4728

CENTRAL VALLEY & SIERRA

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 CHICO PEOPLE FOR A NUCLEAR FREE FUTURE,
 708 Cherry St./95926 • (916) 891-6424

DAVIS:
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 411 5th St./95616 • (916) 753-1630 M-F 12-6 P.M.

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

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WILLITS:
 ARTISTS FOR RESPONSIBLE ENERGY,
 27900 Skyview/95490

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

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 HARRASSMENT IN SOCIETY,
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WALDEN WEST,
 c/o Michael Newcomb, 44 Ozone Ave./90291

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

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

Lies Department

Every couple of years, the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory holds a "Family Day" -- a sort of scientific show and tell that lets lab employees display a sanitized version of their work to their family and friends. Beyond the entertainment value of all the "gee wizardry" is the real message of the event: that the lab is a benign temple of technology where gifted and dedicated people work to improve life for us all.

But even the lab's boosters would have to admit that LLL's "product" is -- er -- unusual. The main business here, after all, is the development of devices with which to threaten mass murder -- or to "insure deterrence," as the Public Affairs folks would say. So it's little wonder that outsiders are a bit nervous about what's brewing behind those barbed wire-topped gates.

LLL is quick to reassure its Sunday visitors that the Lab's deadly designs can be created without endangering either workers or the public. There's plenty of reason for doubt.

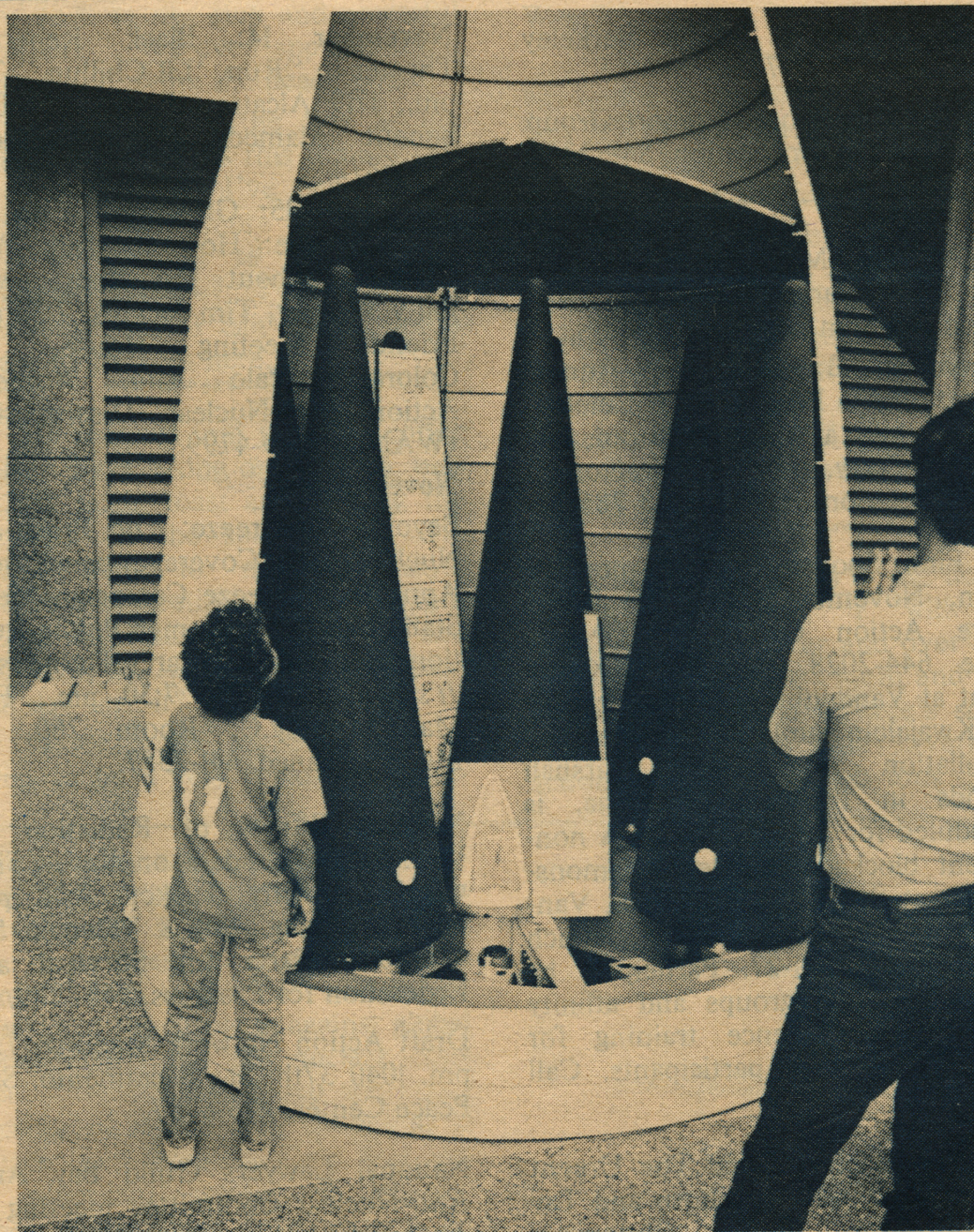
In addition to designing nuclear warheads, the lab builds prototypes to test its new creations. The goodies that go into the bombs include everything from high explosives to highly toxic beryllium.

At the top of the list of public concerns, of course, is plutonium. The Lab handles a lot of it, since this is the material from which the atomic "triggers" of nuclear weapons are made. It is also, in the words of one authority, "fiendishly toxic," causing lung cancer in test animals when inhaled in amounts of under a millionth of an ounce.

But the folks at Livermore saw no reason to spoil the Family Day festivities with such details. Visitors to the plutonium building were invited to play with a (presumably uncontaminated) glovebox and given a handout explaining that plutonium suffers from a "bad press." Actually, the lab says, plutonium is less toxic than "many household and industrial chemicals."

Here is the list the leaflet provides to show that plutonium is so ordinary:

ethyl alcohol	300,000 milligrams
plutonium (swallowed as a soluble salt, an estimate)	500 milligrams
arsenic oxide	250 "
strychnine	110 "
hydrogen cyanide (solution)	75 "
nicotine	40 "
• plutonium (in the lungs, an estimate)	5 "
sarin (a military poison gas)	1 "
dioxin (pesticide impurity)	0.1 "
botulinus toxin	0.001 "



Boy meets MX: Family Day at Livermore

We don't know what they use in Livermore to unstop clogged drains, but it's doubtful that the average household has nerve gas, botulinus toxin, or even a handy little bottle of cyanide under the sink. But even the handout's reassurances that plutonium is "only" fifteen times as deadly as cyanide (what a relief!) are fundamentally and intentionally misleading.

It's true enough that 5 milligrams of plutonium in your lungs would kill you within a few weeks. But plutonium's greatest hazard comes from the fact that it is an extremely potent carcinogen at much lower doses.

According to Dr. John Gofman, a former assistant director of the

Livermore Lab and the founder of its Biomedical Division, inhaling as little as 45 micrograms (.045 milligrams) of plutonium will virtually guarantee the development of lung cancer in a male nonsmoker. For male cigarette smokers, whose lungs take longer to clear out foreign particles, the estimated cancer dose is only .003 milligrams. (The cancer doses for women would be about three times higher since women are less susceptible to lung cancer than men.) Other scientists have arrived at similar estimates of plutonium toxicity.

So plutonium may not quite beat botulinus toxin in the great Poison Sweepstakes -- but nobody except the craziest advocates of biowar have ever suggested producing tons of botulinus toxin the way plutonium has been produced, or dispersing it in the atmosphere as nuclear testing has done with plutonium. For that matter, nobody has ever suggested running an energy economy of breeder reactors on botulinus toxin either.

The leaflet closes with the greatest deception of all. It is a variation of the nuclear industry's favorite claim: that nobody has ever died from plutonium poisoning. The leaflet even claims that plutonium-exposed workers have suffered no ill effects "other than having to put up

with repeated medical exams."

That depends on how hard -- and how long -- you look. Cancer takes a long time, often decades, to develop. By the time the disease is diagnosed a plutonium worker may well have changed jobs, moved, or retired. Plutonium-induced lung cancer doesn't carry any special flag distinguishing it from lung cancer from other causes. But the tragic examples of uranium miners and nuclear test victims, dying of cancer many years after exposure to "safe" radiation levels, shows that there is little grounds for premature rejoicing about the good health of workers exposed only ten or twenty years ago.

Dr. Gofman illustrates the point in his encyclopedic work *Radiation and Human Health* by providing detailed calculations of how many people have died and will die from the plutonium fallout from atmospheric testing in the 1950's and 1960's. His estimate is that about 950,000 people will be killed by that plutonium -- but that less than 1% of them have died so far. A summary of his results (from page 507 of the book) appears below:

Calculated deaths from plutonium fallout from past nuclear testing. Each row shows how many deaths will have occurred by the date in the left column. From *Radiation and Human Health*, p. 507.

1965	0
1970	0
1975	423
1980	3,748
1985	17,490
1990	63,263
1995	177,044
2000	353,875
2005	566,295
2010	765,320
2015	890,055
2020	938,315
2025	949,240

950,000 lung-cancer deaths in toto.

Even the cheeriest PR flack would have a bit of a problem writing off all those deaths from the past activities of the Livermore and Los Alamos labs -- even if most of the victims won't die for another few decades.

It's interesting to note that the Livermore leaflet is anonymously written and doesn't even bear the Lab's insignia. Perhaps the authors of this "scientific" propaganda aren't so eager to be held responsible when the bill for the lab's deadly mischief comes due.

-- Bob Van Scoy
IAT Staff

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