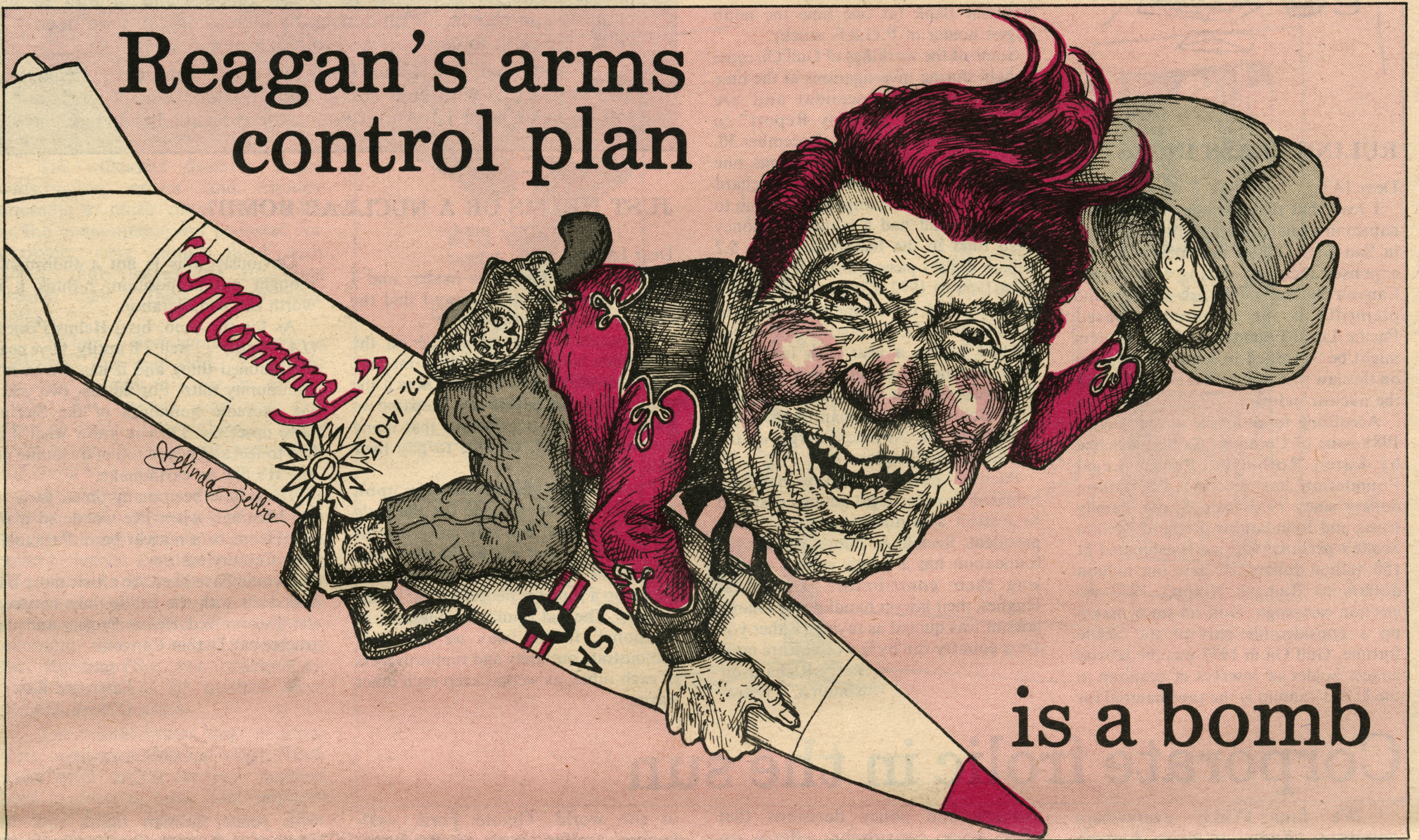


It's About Times

Abalone Alliance Newspaper

May-June 1982

Reagan's arms control plan



is a bomb

As the growing disarmament movement attracts public empathy and television cameras, the White House has set its scriptwriters to stealing back the limelight.

Enter, stage right: Strategic Arms Reduction Talks, alias START. The new plan takes its basic plot from the tried- and-true theater of illusion: propose what you know will be unacceptable to the other side. In anticipation of these charges, Reagan has said that he's willing to listen to any Russian counter-proposals. In fact, he implies, he'll be glad to talk for years. During this negotiation period, the US military buildup would continue.

Still, the START proposal is something more than a rerun. In the face of the developing sophistication of the disarmament movement, Reagan has been forced to admit that a rough strategic parity exists between the US and the USSR, with each having about 7500 land- and sea-based nuclear warheads. The Reagan plan calls for reducing that number to 5000 warheads apiece. Further, the plan specifies that only half of these be based on land.

The new plan does not touch on qualitative reductions or ban any of the new improved weapons systems that have the Pentagon drooling.

Herein, from the Russian vantage, lies the rub. Since the US has only about 2150 land-based warheads, Reagan's proposal would allow an *increase* on the American side. But 5500 of the USSR's warheads are land-based, and these are their most technically advanced weapons. To meet the terms of the proposal, the Russians would have to dismantle 3000 of them.

The START proposal is being touted as a way beyond a freeze to actual cuts in nuclear stockpiles. But the reduced numbers would still

leave each superpower an arsenal that could destroy the other many times over. For years, the real competition in arms has been over improved quality. Numbers are much less important, except of course when a dose of public hysteria is required.

START does not touch on qualitative reductions or ban any of the new improved weapons systems that have the Pentagon drooling. White

House officials told the *Washington Post* that the 850 US missiles allowed under Reagan's plan could be 200 big new MX missiles and 650 new Trident submarine missiles. Similarly the US may choose to build new bombers -- B-1's or Stealths -- and still honor the proposed START ceiling of 350 to 400 bombers.

These new systems, with their precision accuracy and other improvements, represent a bid for US nuclear superiority and leave plenty of room for the arms race to continue. The position of the Reagan administration, as Secretary of State Haig testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is to build these military behemoths now so that they can be used at some later date as bargaining chips with the Soviets.

\$180 billion worth of bargaining chips. Pay your money, take your chances.

Steve Stallone
IAT staff

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Letters



RULING CLASS INCEST

Dear IAT,

I read that the Abalone Alliance was named in a suit for damages filed last year in San Luis Obispo in connection with expenses incurred during the Diablo Canyon Blockade. The law firm for the plaintiffs is the Sacramento based Pacific Legal Foundation. Your readers might be interested in some background on this law firm and how it connects with the nuclear industry.

According to an article in the August 1981 issue of Common Cause magazine by Karen Rothmyer, Pacific Legal Foundation has received 1.9 million dollars since 1973 from Scaife Family trusts and foundations. Richard Mellon Scaife's personal fortune is estimated at 150 million dollars. He gave one million dollars to Richard Nixon's 1972 re-election campaign. Gulf oil stock makes up a considerable part of the Scaife fortune. Gulf Oil in 1977 was the second largest holder of reserves of uranium in the U.S. Uranium is the raw material for

nuclear power plant fuel.

Richard Mellon Scaife is a great grandson of Andrew Mellon. R.M.S.'s mother Sarah was said by Fortune Magazine in 1957 to have one of the eight largest fortunes in America. The Mellon family is cited in William Domhoff's book **Who Rules America?** as the best example of a family financial interest group. Domhoff wrote that in addition to Gulf Oil they controlled Westinghouse Electric (make of the Diablo Canyon reactor hardware) and the Mellon National Bank (at one time the ninth largest holder of P.G.&E. stock).

Some of the workings of Gulf Oil came to light during investigations at the time of the Watergate scandal and are outlined in the "McCloy Report" to Gulf's Board of Directors, December 30, 1975. Gulf had made an illegal one million dollar contribution to Richard Nixon's reelection campaign. It came to light that Gulf had a laundered money slush fund in the Bahamas. About 5.2 million dollars passed through that fund from 1960 to 1972. Claude C. Wild, Jr., Gulf's head of Government Relations in Washington, D.C., distributed about 400,000 dollars a year cash from that fund. Among the congressmen receiving envelopes from a Gulf employee was Chet Holifield, a chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy of the United States Congress.

Pacific Legal Foundation has participated in other legal actions designed to restrict anti-nuclear protest. Their president, Ronald A. Zumbun, says the foundation has a policy against discussing their contributors. Harold J. Hughes, their lawyer handling the Diablo lawsuit was quoted as saying "Either you are a country run by law or you are not."

— Kerry Richardson
Sonoma, CA

IS IT'S ABOUT TIMES FREE?

No. Even though you may not have paid for the paper you're reading, it cost money to produce -- money provided by the subscribers, donors, and Abalone Alliance groups that keep this all-volunteer effort afloat and help us pay the printer and the Post Office.

Unlike many "free" papers, we don't have to worry about offending advertisers or a wealthy publisher. But the price of that independence is that we're rarely far from bankruptcy and periodically have to ask readers and donors to come to the rescue. With constantly increasing costs we need your help both to continue and to reach new readers.

If you read *It's About Times* but don't subscribe, please help support us with your subscription or donation. There's a sub blank on page 12. And if you subscribe already, thanks.

JUST HELMS OR A NUCLEAR BOMB?

Dear IATers,

Hi! I'm an infrequent reader, and I hope to subscribe as soon as I find the capital. I'm relatively poor.

Although I liked the article on the utility rate hikes, I thought the front page was a bit incendiary. I don't know if the majority of ratepayers are prepared to burn their bills. It's obvious that many are not prepared, or able to pay their bills.

Perhaps we should take it upon ourselves to help provide for the truly needy. The local and state governments are turning a deaf ear to the pleas and protests of these people. I propose that we set up a fund for people cut off by the utilities. The aid could be financial or emotional. In this way we can truly demonstrate our unity and supportiveness of each other, as well as keep each other warm.

Obviously, this is not a thoroughly thought out proposition. I think it is worth our consideration.

As for the (boo, hiss) Helms Project (*IAT* April) ... well, I'll testify. I live near the damned thing and it has driven my community nutz! For the last two years the sporadic bombings of the Sierras have upset me. Do you know what it is like to feel and hear a ton of dynamite go off? It's like an earthquake.

There have been many times, early in the blastings, when I've wondered if its just Helms or a nuclear bom. Paranoia? 20th Century realism.

I would have liked the article more if it had dealt with the subtle links between the ill-conceived Helms Project and the reactors at Diablo Canyon.

Yours,
Lawrence Kay
O'Neals, CA

Corporate frolic in the sun

We find PG&E everywhere nowadays. Those of us in Sonoma County need only look to the Russian River area of Monte Rio where eight executives of PG&E will make their annual pilgrimage to the Bohemian Grove summer frolic.

The Bohemian Grove is the 2700-acre campsite where all-white, all-male members of the US ruling elite meet during the last two weeks of July each year. The Bohemians appear to simply be enjoying a retreat from the "cares of authority and responsibility." In reality, the Grove is a location of convenience where these men--in total anonymity and without public scrutiny--make

contacts and policy decisions that often have catastrophic effects on our daily lives.

Grove members include PG&E Chairman of the Board Frederick W. Mielke, as well as PG&E Director Richard Cooley, who also happens to be Chairman of Wells Fargo Bank. Wells Fargo is one of the largest shareholders in 32 of the top 36 nuclear corporations and a financier of the Diablo Canyon plant.

The Bohemians are organized into numerous camps. Mr. Cooley's camp, Mandalay, includes such bright lights as the Stephen D. Bechtels (Sr. and Jr.), heads of the largest nuclear construction company

in the world; Gerald Ford, well-known golfer and ex-president; Henry Kissinger, well-known everything; Edmund Littlefield, a director of General Electric, one of the largest manufacturers of nuclear reactors, military aircraft engines and other war toys; and William French Smith, Reagan's attorney general.

Over in the Isles of Aves camp we find Secretary of War Caspar Weinberger, ex-director of Bechtel Corp.; John Dupont, maker of war toys from napalm to bomb-grade plutonium; and Richard H. Peterson, former Chairman of the Board of PG&E and a current director.

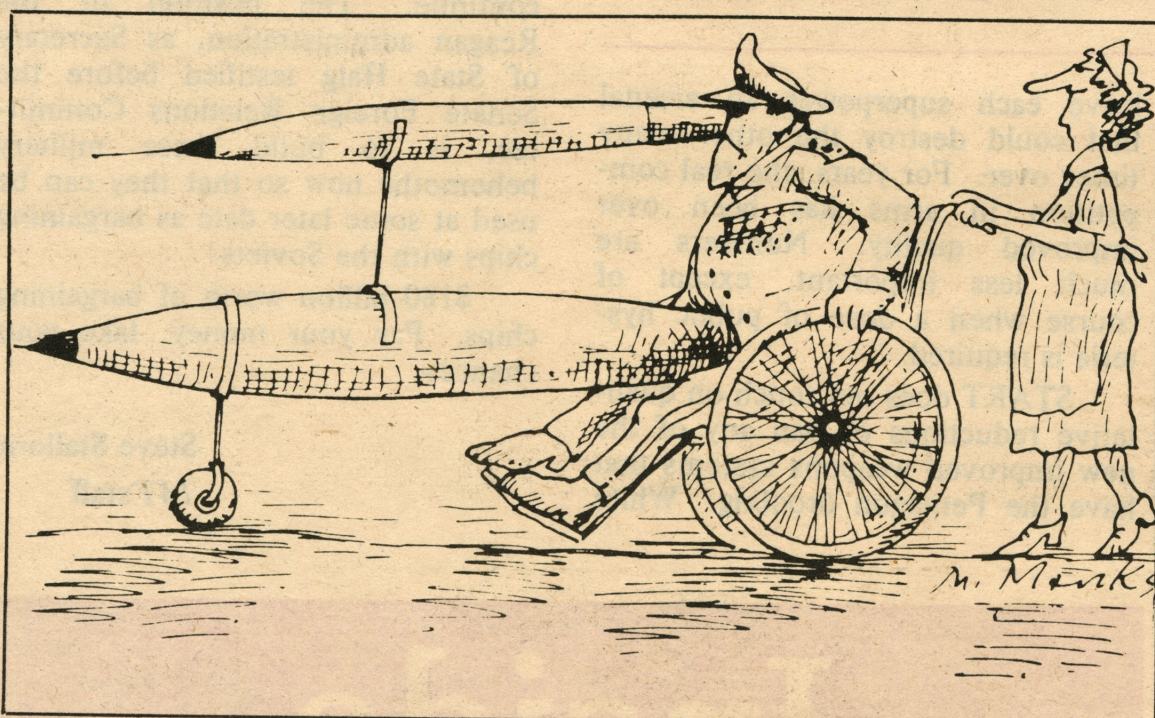
In 1981 SONOMore Atomics, a member group of the Abalone Alliance, began calling attention to this little known ruling class retreat with teach-ins, demonstrations and vigils at the entrance of the Grove. During the past two years we have grown into a network (the Bohemian Grove Action Network) consisting of nearly 50 organizations concerned

with peace, human rights and the nuclear power and weapons menaces.

For the last year we have offered the "Adopt a Boho" plan, in which individuals have taken on special Bohemians to research. The task of finding out who the Bohemians are and identifying their interconnections is a monumental one. The banks, the corporations, the Pentagon and the federal government are so intertwined that it is difficult to put it all down succinctly. Our efforts, which are still in their infancy, use several methods to make the available data more intelligible.

Organizations and individuals are invited to participate in the next Bohemian Grove action. A statewide meeting will be held May 29, 580 Corona Rd., Petaluma, where specific tasks will be outlined. Call (707) 762-5180 for more information.

Bill Christensen
Bohemian Grove Action Network



ERRATUM

In the April, 1982 issue of *IAT* we mistakenly reported that ratepayers were being charged \$35 million for the pre-operational costs of the Diablo Canyon nuclear plant. In fact, PG&E is asking in its application, still pending before the PUC, for authority to charge ratepayers that amount for the electricity Diablo would later generate during low-power testing.

This would essentially represent a no-interest loan to the utility from its ratepayers since it would be payment for electricity yet to be produced. If the plant goes into full-power operation, PG&E wants to charge all the accumulated low-power testing costs to ratepayers. The ratepayers would get their \$35 million back in various indirect ways after Diablo goes on line.

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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"Honeycombed with holes"

Workers claim Illinois nuke is unsafe

Construction workers at the LaSalle nuclear power plant 60 miles southwest of Chicago say the plant's concrete containment dome and pedestal are honeycombed with holes and large voids. Nine of the workers, whose identities have not been disclosed, have submitted sworn affidavits to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission which detail the problems.

The affidavits describe major construction errors and shoddy attempts to repair them. The holes in the containment and pedestal, for example, were simply filled with grout. This leaves the structures weaker than if their concrete were solid.

"When I first went to work at LaSalle," one man said, "I thought we were helping to solve the energy crisis. But [we've] seen how this plant is built. Like others, I don't want to be living in the area when the thing kicks off."

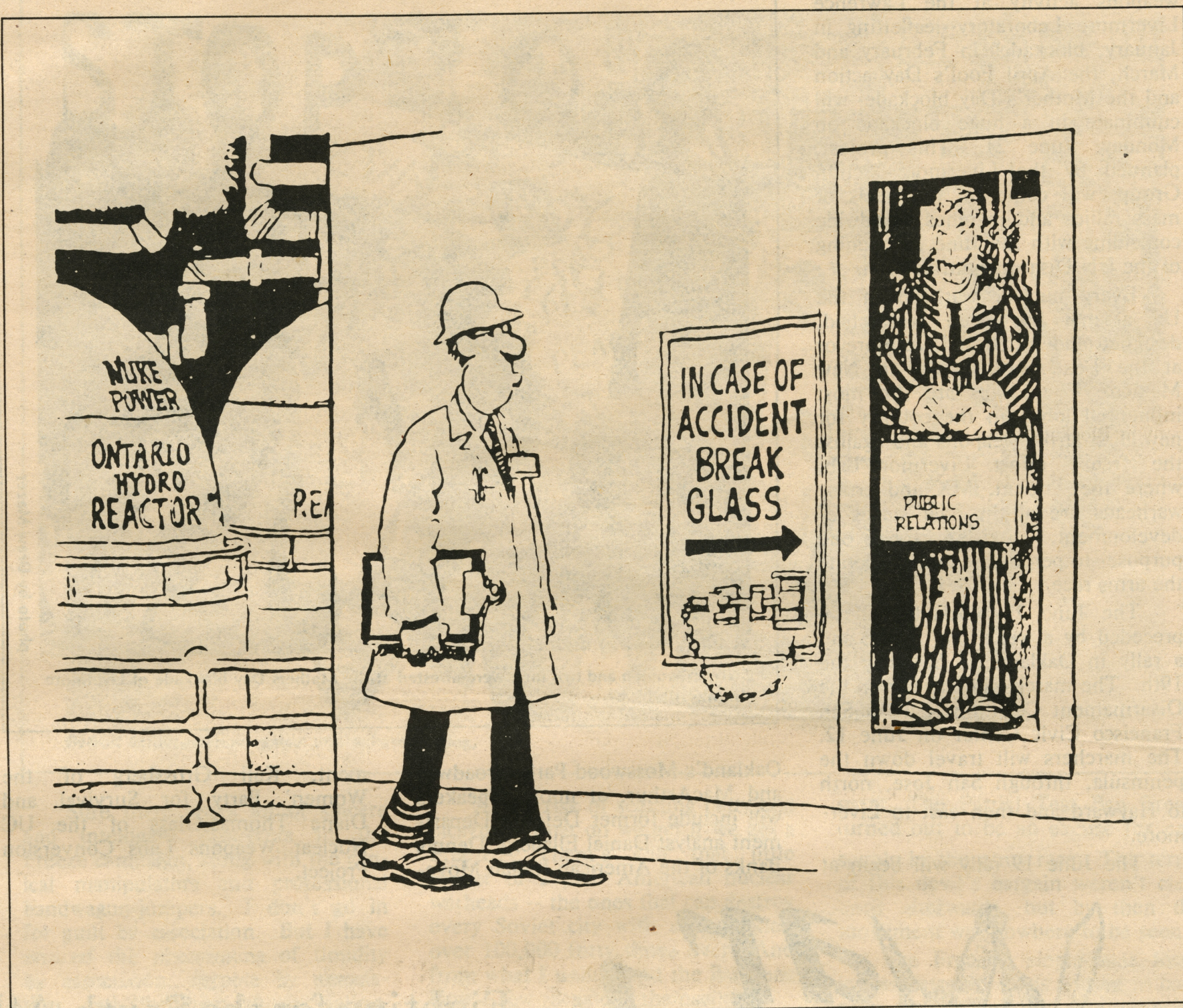
According to the affidavits, corners were cut because of pressure to get the job done quickly. Debris wasn't cleared away before concrete was poured and paper cups, beer cans, a 55-gallon drum, and other trash were cemented into the containment wall. Normal procedures for vibrating the wet concrete in order to remove air bubbles were skipped several times.

The containment and pedestal were weakened further when 1000 holes were drilled for pipe support bolts in order to meet NRC requirements. Steel reinforcement bars inside the concrete that didn't appear on blueprints were often shattered during the drilling. The bars cannot be replaced.

"That scares me," said one worker, "because cutting through the rebars is like taking out your vertebrae. The pedestal is the backbone of the reactor -- it holds the reactor up."

The pipe supports themselves were also incorrectly installed. The supports were color-coded by the quality of the metal, but available supports of the right size were often installed even if they were of the wrong quality. One of the installers said, "They just repainted the color of the hanger."

"It's frustrating not to be allowed to do your job right," one LaSalle worker commented. Complaints to management reportedly resulted only in harassment, and the response of NRC inspectors was to



"laugh and reject our complaints, saying we don't understand the problem." As a result, workers say, "There's 'No Nukes' graffiti scattered throughout the plant."

Six people have died during the plant's construction. A witness to one fatality remembers, "A man fell through a hole and had to be scraped off the floor. It was awful. Management had laborers clean up the mess. Even with the puddle of blood on the floor, the superintendent wanted us to keep working."

On April 17 the NRC issued a permit to Commonwealth Edison for fuel loading and zero power testing at the plant. A request by Illinois Friends of the Earth for a stay on fuel loading while the workers' allegations were investigated was denied by NRC Chair Nunzio Pallidino, who said, "Even if the allegations prove true and require appropriate action,

we wouldn't stop the fuel loading because it wouldn't be necessary."

Bridget Rorem, Illinois FOE president, counters, "If the structural flaws are as serious as they look, it will cost the ratepayers millions of dollars to correct the problems. The NRC continues to brush aside legitimate concerns of those men who have worked at the plant and have the courage to speak up." The full NRC has not yet ruled on the request for a stay.

The LaSalle reactors have so far cost \$2.5 billion, and bad planning has left Commonwealth Edison with excess generating capacity and high debts. According to the company's own environmental impact statement, the reserve margin without the two reactors is 20.9 percent -- already more than adequate. Four more unneeded generating plants are near completion.

According to Ms. Rorem, the company is technically bankrupt. "They owe more money than they have assets," she says. "They cannot pay off their loans without a rate increase."

On May 6, the Illinois Commerce Commission held an emergency meeting and gave the company a 7.8 percent rate increase. Commonwealth Edison intends to seek three more raises in the next four years.

In announcing the Commission's decision, Chairman Michael Hasten said, "Without a substantial amount of interim relief today... the credit rating of this company would crumble." The utility's financial condition was described as "horrible to armageddon."

-- Mark Evanoff
IAT staff

No-fault nuke?

Last-minute challenge fails at San Onofre

Opponents of the San Onofre nuclear power plant in Southern California are continuing their fight to keep the facility from going into operation. On April 25 the Atomic Safety and Licensing Appeals Board refused to grant a stay on low-power testing of Unit 2 while an appeal is heard on the issuance of the permit.

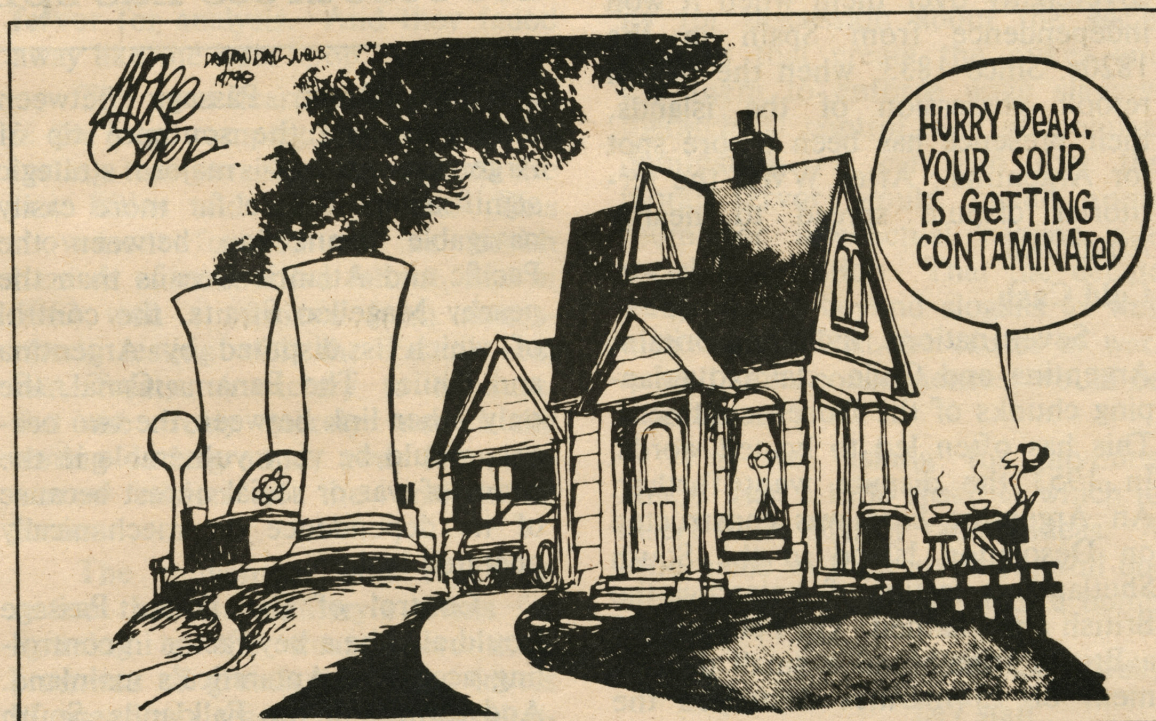
During the hearings the intervenors were not allowed to present witnesses to testify about the seismicity of the Christianitos fault, three miles off-shore. Southern California Edison, co-owners of the plant with San Diego Gas and Electric, however, was allowed to present testimony that the fault was inactive.

Jim Jacobson of the Abalone

Alliance member group Community Energy Action Network said, "We're saying there is evidence the fault might be active. There is incomplete mapping of the area. How can a decision be made that a fault is 'incapable' when they haven't completed mapping? It's a joke."

On the night of April 26, during preliminary tests, the primary cooling system for Unit 2 leaked 12 gallons of water per minute. The leak was not detected until the following morning. Jim Hanchett of the NRC said, "Even though this is out of the ordinary, it does not constitute a 'real emergency situation.'"

Mark Evanoff
IAT staff



Once more with feeling

Livermore blockade gears up

Five months of antinuclear weapons activity at the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory--leafletting in January, blockades in February and March, the April Fool's Day action and the Mother's Day blockade--will culminate in a huge blockade on Monday, June 21. This protest, planned by the Livermore Action Group, will come on the heels of mass rallies and marches worldwide coinciding with the June 12 opening of the UN Disarmament Session.

Every nuclear warhead in the US arsenal has been researched, designed and tested at Livermore or at the Los Alamos Labs in New Mexico. These labs are the most influential lobby in the country for new, first-strike weapons and against the "freeze" effort. Livermore Lab, where the Trident, MX and cruise warheads are all in final stages of development, exists for one purpose--to perpetuate and accelerate the arms race.

The June 21 blockade will be preceded by a week-long march and a rally in Oakland on Saturday the 19th. The march will leave from the Disarmament Coalition Rally at San Francisco Civic Center on June 12. The marchers will travel down the peninsula, through San Jose, north to Hayward and then east to Livermore.

The June 19 rally will begin at



Sixty-six women and two men were arrested at the Mothers Day blockade of Livermore on May 10.

Oakland's Mosswood Park, Broadway and MacArthur, at noon. Speakers will include former Defense Department analyst Daniel Ellsberg, Dennis Banks of the American Indian Move-

ment, Kali Grossberg of the Women's Party for Survival and Diane Thomas-Glass of the UC Nuclear Weapons Labs Conversion Project.

Bob Cooper
LAG



Fighting for the South Atlantic

The Falklands war

For a long time Argentina and Britain were the best of friends. British investments have financed much of Argentina's development, accounting for some 80% of Argentina's foreign investment around the turn of the century. This money financed the construction of the railroads, opened up the back country and bought most of the beef and wool production.

Even now Britain has some \$400 million worth of investments in Argentina and the banking system has close ties to London. More than 100,000 people of British ancestry live in Argentina, mostly in the plush suburbs of Buenos Aires. Much of Argentina's military equipment was procured from Britain.

But competition is stiff in the world market and even best friends have falling outs. The Falklands (or the Malvinas as the Argentines call them) have long been disputed territory. They changed hands among Britain, France and Spain in the 18th century, and Argentina got sovereignty over them when it won independence from Spain in the 1820s. Since 1833, when the British retook possession of the islands, their presence has been a sore spot for Argentina. After WWII the territorial dispute spread to nearby Antarctica.

Cold Cash

Seven nations, including Britain, Argentina and Chile, claim overlapping chunks of the frozen continent. This has often led to heated words. In 1953 the dispute went further. An Argentine base was constructed on Desolation Island in the South Shetlands, a section of Antarctica the British also claimed. On February 19 a British frigate and a small detachment of 15 marines destroyed the

structures and deported the occupants, sinking Argentine-British relations to a new low.

All this time the US and the USSR refused to recognize any claims in the Antarctic. They called instead for international cooperation, especially in scientific research. In a 1961 treaty all nations involved in the Antarctic agreed not to press their claims for 30 years. But as global prosperity has faltered, competition for resources is beginning to spill onto southern ice.

Antarctica is rich in minerals and fisheries. Due to the inhospitable environment these resources have not been explored fully, let alone exploited. The cost of development has been and remains high. But growing world-wide conflicts over resources make possession of reserves more critical.

As global prosperity falters, competition for resources has spilled onto southern ice.

The Drake Passage between Antarctica and the southern tip of Argentina is of major strategic significance. It is a far more easily navigable connection between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans than the nearby Magellan Straits, the control of which is disputed by Argentina and Chile. The Panama Canal, the only other link between the two oceans, would be very vulnerable in the event of war or social unrest because of its dependence on mechanically operated locks.

Control of the Drake Passage would also be a key factor in controlling access to Antarctica's mainland. And control of the Falklands, South

Georgia Island and the South Sandwich Islands, all occupied on April 2 by Argentina, may determine control of the Passage.

War is the health of the state

Capitalist society does not survive on money alone. All governments must not only attend to their financial needs, but also retain social control of the underclasses. Britain went through a violent summer of discontent last year (see *IAT* Sept. 1981), and with unemployment increasing, the situation was getting worse. Argentina has been experiencing rapid inflation (140%), high unemployment (15%) and massive civil rights violations. A demonstration in Buenos Aires to protest all this was brutally suppressed, with more than 2000

Uncle Sam to the rescue

Initially the US tried to play "neutral mediator," but few had any doubts it would eventually back Britain. The trans-Atlantic Alliance is too fundamental to American foreign policy. But this decision will cost it in Latin America, where it had planned for Argentina to provide a force of several thousand troops for direct intervention into El Salvador, and another force for subverting and overthrowing the Nicaraguan government.

The US has substantial economic interests in Argentina. Trade between the two nations totals around \$4 billion and US corporations such as Goodyear and Ford have some \$2.4 billion in investments there. Argentina owes creditors, mostly banks, some \$36 billion, more than Poland's \$27 billion foreign debt. More than \$19 billion is owed to such US banks as B of A, Morgan Guaranty, Chase Manhattan and Manufacturers Hanover. An Argentine default would threaten the shaky world financial system.

Soviet-Argentine relations had warmed up even before the Falklands clash. No longer is the "fascist junta" denounced by the Soviets, for they eagerly seek Argentine wheat and corn to compensate for a series of bad domestic harvests. And Argentina may become a good market for Soviet weapons.

As the marketplace is increasingly torn apart by competition, the Soviets are looking out for their interests. This includes the Antarctic, in which they have bases. A rush to divide the last unclaimed piece of real estate in the world may not wait until the 1961 treaty expires in 1991.

--Jack Straw

Smile and say "Freeze"

If you can forgive me for dispensing with unnecessary politeness, I'll try not to carp and whine. I'll make my criticisms of the Freeze campaign frankly yet in a comradely manner. I'll maintain a spirit of cooperation and openness -- even though the Freezers refuse to take a stand against nuclear power, after we spent years trying to make the connection. Oops. This might be harder than I think.

Not that I'm completely against the Freeze. It deserves credit for having mobilized public opinion, put nuclear war in the headlines, and given Teddy Kennedy a platform from which to rejuvenate the Democratic Party.

And I'm honored to be part of a movement that embraces ex-CIA directors, ex-members of the National Security Council, and retired rear admirals. Then there's that nice Republican couple I read about in the *Chron* -- the ones with the \$450,000 home in Orange County who were inspired to action when they realized that a nuclear war might not be so good for the property values. Is this what they mean by appealing to the lowest common denominator?

The Freeze really does have something for everybody. It gives liberals the moral capital (and, if the predicted flood of contributions materializes, the real stuff) that wins elections. It gives the bishops a chance to emulate the Polish church. For scientists who have spent their whole lives dreaming up monstrous new weapons systems, and retired



Detroit demonstration against atmospheric testing, 1958.

B. Mehring from Power of the People

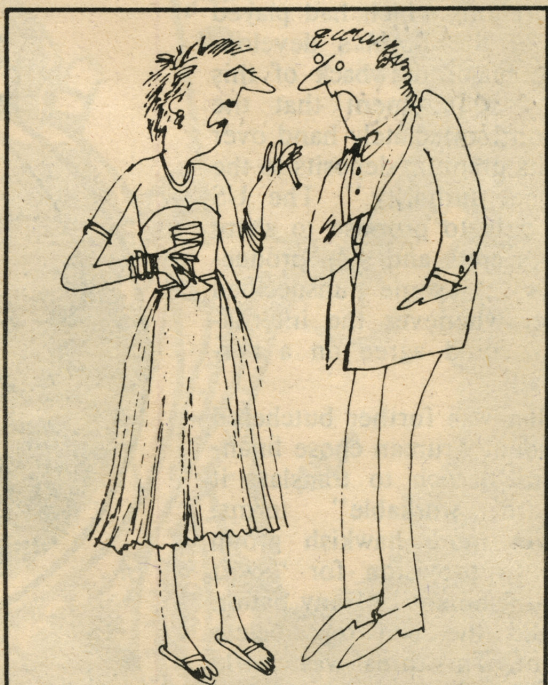
Sure there are a lot of sincere and intelligent disarmers in the Freeze campaign, along with the cynical manipulators and professional bandwagon-jumpers. I don't go in for guilt by association. But I have noticed the phenomena of timidity by association, myopia by association, and liberalism by association. I've seen a lot of worry about

I'm honored to be part of a movement that embraces ex-CIA directors and retired rear admirals.

admirals like Hyman Rickover who spent his whole life building the nuclear Navy, it provides a late-hour salve for troubled consciences and a last-minute claim to be Men of Peace.

Well, at least we know we're not alone. To paraphrase an ex-poet, when Hyman Rickover's scared, I'm scared.

If Teddy Kennedy gets his Freeze -- the one he says will require a substantial buildup of conventional arms and armies -- even the military will get what it wants. With the Falklands fresh in their minds, the Pentagon planners might well warm up to the Freeze. After all, it would give them wars they can actually fight.



"Apparently the Americans have perfected this weapon that realizes people's worst fears while leaving their apathy intact."

Harpur (United Kingdom)

respectability and little cultivation of rebelliousness.

There is a peculiar evangelistic flavor to disarmament respectability. Who would have thought all those hard-nosed, socially responsible professionals would find the faith at a pediatrician's revivals?

Not that the Freezers can be held responsible for Helen Caldicott's Joan-of-Arc complex. Caldicott's anti-political hysteria and her mother-cult tirades are a step beyond the general level of moral frenzy.

Yet the Freeze too is grounding its appeal in horror and fear. Tricky business. True, some people will be frightened into fighting back. Others will freeze (no pun intended) and wait for the danger to go away. And there are those who will come to like the titillation that accompanies the recitations of disaster. After all, one's own death is a drag but mass murder is fascinating. Nuclear apocalypse may not make it as a national pastime, but despair therapy could compete with est.

Sour grapes notwithstanding, I've got to say that the Freeze is very good at getting into the newspapers. Why, it took Three Mile Island for the antinuclear power movement to get a fraction of the attention. But that was a movement with distracting features like grassroots organization and silly ideas like participatory democracy. Well, at least the leaders of the Freeze don't try to push the rank-and-file around. They seem satisfied if you sign the petition and go home til Election Day.

At the risk of seeming petty and picayune, what do we get if we get a Freeze? There's still that little matter of 25,000 American nuclear warheads -- the ones that can destroy every Soviet city with a population over 100,000 forty times over. And from what I understand the Russians have a few megatons themselves.

Then there's those "conventional" weapons -- napalm and other chemical unpleasantness, biological scourges, firestorms. Among this arsenal are the weapons that have actually been used since World War II, to the tune of 25 million deaths.

If we get a Freeze have we thawed the Cold War? Have we challenged the superpowers' ability to use their arsenals to absorb the rest of the world into their market nexus?

Yes, I know. You've got to start somewhere. The Freeze is a first step. Seems to me, though, that if you want people to stick around for the second step, you'd encourage some analysis and insight into the political and social institutions that are supported by the Bomb and that serve it so well.

There have been great upsurges of popular revulsion against nuclear war before this one. They too were apolitical, substituting fear and moral

ment. The Partial Test Ban Treaty turned out to be an excuse for new spirals in the arms race. The terms of this devil's bargain weren't clear until afterwards, but by then the movement was nowhere to be seen.

The Freeze's single-issue focus is less extreme. It is willing to consider the effects of nuclear weapons. But the Freeze campaign makes no attempt to deal with their causes or political underpinnings. It's still disarmament in a vacuum.

Now that I'm getting warmed up, just who's running this Freeze anyway? All I know is what I read in the newspapers -- that the millionaire who funds it says he likes to call the shots. And that he doesn't like people with radical ideas, especially not in his movement. According to one of the pitches that came in the mail, "there is no way that even the most distorted mind can call these [Freeze supporters] 'crackpots' or radicals."

Well, I can take a hint as well as the next crackpot. But I do think the antiwar movement of the sixties and the antinuclear power movement of the seventies (along with Ronald Reagan) can take some credit for the current nuclear concern.

And I was hoping that the new upsurge would provide an opportu-

The Freeze campaign is disarmament in a vacuum.

fervor for analysis. And they faded away like the hula hoop.

The most heartbreaking example is the large campaign against nuclear testing that persisted throughout the late fifties and early sixties. This movement focused on the health hazards of radioactive fallout, and in 1963 won a reprieve from atmospheric testing with the Partial Test Ban Treaty. A victory to be sure. But the treaty merely moved the testing underground, away from the narrow vision of the anti-testing forces.

The movement also failed to notice that the military's terms for agreeing to the treaty were stiff: promises of greatly increased levels of spending, research, and develop-

ity for discussion about the social systems that create the nukes and use them to enforce wage slavery, hierarchical control, and geopolitical domination. I *did* wish that the moral fervor would create some room for intellectual passion and social imagination. That the debate would move beyond slogans as well as statistics. That the causes of war, as well as its consequences, would be considered.

I'm not asking for anything fancy. Just a little space in which to insert some slightly radical ideas. A little niche in the movement will do. Something a bit bigger than a bomb shelter.

Marcy Darnovsky
IAT staff

"Let's fake a deal"



A history of arms control

At long last the public's passions have been aroused and aimed at the horrors of nuclear war. This is immensely encouraging, and not only because if we protest we may survive. The protest and resistance may yet be turned against the social system that foists on us a good deal of unpleasantnesses in addition to nukes.

Still, an aroused populace is not necessarily a discerning one. Groundswells driven by fear and moral fervor can quickly ebb away or be sidetracked by image manipulation from on high.

The growing ranks of disarmers have already forced Reagan to temper his overconfident bellicosity and advance "bold new" arms control proposals. While he is still drawing deeply from the bag of tricks filled with missile gaps, windows of vulnerability and the Russians-are-coming, the president has opened a second sack of illusions. This one, every bit as well-worn as the first, contains heartfelt declarations of shared goals and promises of negotiations for arms limitations. Reagan, too, wants to be a Man of Peace.

The majority of disarmers will see through the crude sleight-of-hand that Reagan is proposing: to proceed with a vast military buildup in order to talk about reductions at some unspecified later date. In fact, they need only read the *San Francisco Chronicle* of May 8, which

reports that "senior administration officials" describe Reagan's proposals as "an effort to turn public attention away from the antinuclear movements in the United States and Western Europe."

Other politicians have come up with "arms control" schemes that are fractionally less obscene than Reagan's. Teddy Kennedy, for example, wants to exchange a nuclear freeze for increases in conventional arms and armies. There will doubtless be many more proposals, and the carefully crafted illusion of arms control will be dusted off and shined up.

The coming arms control extravaganza represents nothing new. Between World War II and 1980, officials of the US and the Soviet Union met over 6000 times to discuss arms control. Yet the superpowers have not been able to agree on eliminating a single existing weapon. The nuclear buildup has survived a Test Ban Treaty, an ABM Treaty, a SALT I and a SALT II. It has weathered storms of public protest almost as easily as it profited from the more common climate of apathy. Instead of reversing the arms race, these 6000 meetings have institutionalized it.

In all these meetings, there have been only a few fleeting episodes in which the superpowers came close to even partially diverting the arms race. These moments of opportunity were found and lost in each side's

shifting perceptions of its military and political advantage. And each side has kept at least one eye focused on its image as a seeker of peace, a focus that sharpens considerably, as it is sharpening today, whenever protest erupts.

A History of Illusion

In the service of the ruling class, history is best obliterated while illusion is made resilient and recyclable. Taking advantage of this modern axiom, Vice President Bush pointedly recalled in a recent speech how a generous American proposal for stopping the arms race before it started was met with "a loud 'nyet'" just after the end of World War II.

It is true that many Americans at the time were anxious to bring the atom under cooperative international control. Even before the 1945 attack on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, some of the scientists who created the Bomb tried to prevent the dizzying nuclear arms race they correctly predicted it would set off.

In June of that year, a group of them submitted a memorandum known as the Franck Report to Secretary of War Stimson, asking that the first public demonstration of an atomic explosion take place on a remote deserted site rather than over a Japanese city. The report also suggested that the US then renounce the use of this weapon if other nations would do the same. These

suggestions were not given serious consideration.

After the Hiroshima and Nagasaki devastation, more scientists, a significant percentage of the public, and even some politicians concluded that the secret of the atom must be shared among all the nations of the world if disaster was to be avoided. Stimson himself, who had supported the bombings, proposed an "atomic partnership" with the Russians.

But other policy makers had quite different ideas. General Leslie Groves, the military overseer of the wartime bomb project, was typical of those who pushed for a hefty military share of the control of the atom. This was the same crew that strongly opposed international cooperation in nuclear development. A debate

Between World War II and US and the USSR met over discuss arms control.

between them and proponents of civilian and international control raged for months in Congress.

One of the lobbying methods of the Groves group was to whip up public hysteria with scare stories about the need to protect the "secret of the atom" from Russian "atom spies." In reality, there was no technical secret at all. The basic principles of atomic explosions were known to scientists from many countries, and American scientists testified that the Russians would have the Bomb within a few years. (What was kept secret was an ambitious and ultimately futile effort directed by Groves to corner the world's supplies of uranium and thorium.)

In 1946, Congress passed the Atomic Energy Act, making it illegal for American scientists to continue to share nuclear information even with England or Canada -- whose scientists and engineers had made large contributions to the wartime effort that produced the Bomb, and who, after all, were America's closest allies. The Act also gave the military much of the control over nuclear development that it wanted.

Still, there continued to be so much high-level sentiment for international control of the atom that the US submitted to the United Nations what now seems a drastically liberal proposal. The first version of what later became known as the Baruch plan declared that the United States was willing to submit to a world authority for the Atomic Era.

The Soviet Union was not impressed. Some historians attribute its wariness solely to Stalin's paranoia. The fact is that the "world authority" would have been constituted through the United Nations, which at that time was effectively controlled by the Americans. Russian suspicions grew -- with growing reason -- as the plan went through several revisions, each considerably less magnanimous than the last.

One of the early but already fatally flawed versions of the plan was drawn up by a group of scientists, military men and executives from corporations which had played key roles in the Bomb's development. The major drawback of this plan was a requirement that the Soviet Union immediately hand over control of its uranium deposits to the "international authority." The US was asked only to promise to share its nuclear secrets and stop producing bombs at some unspecified future date, whenever the international body could agree on a permanent treaty.

The plan was further butchered when President Truman chose financier Bernard Baruch to translate it into "more workable" terms. Baruch's yet more hawkish group insisted on a provision for "swift and sure punishment" of any nation that violated the ban on nuclear development. This threat was clearly aimed at the Russians, who had already begun a frantic scramble for a nuke of their own.

In the words of journalist I.F. Stone, by this time the proposal

"must have seemed a blueprint for a world state in which the its atomic monopoly facade of an international union under US (Acheson, then US State and one of the plan, admitted years Baruch revisions defeat of the treaty

The Soviet offered by its UN Gromyko, called for of all nuclear weapons and the cessation of The American response days before the formation July 1, 1946, the US postwar test explosion Atoll.

Alva Myrdal

diplomat who spent an arms controller a book called *The Gromyko: How the USSR Run the Arms Race*. This period, "The been set: both sides proposals for disarmament, of often warnings, but would be it that these would be conditions which the opposition not accept."

The A-Bomb's B

The next serious arms control came in arms race had gained momentum. The exploded their first 1949. The US detonated hydrogen bomb, more than the fission type Russians matched later.

Arms negotiations stuck for years on inspection of military accused the Russian disarmament while the Russians proposals called for international disarmament.

Then, in the control talks being the Soviet Union announced it would West's plan for international of military figures for ceilings armies. The new Soviet virtually plagiarized

Don't mind



Herblock, 1947

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French proposals, which in turn
closely reflected the American view.

European diplomats were jubi-
lant at the breakthrough. "It's
almost too good to be true," the
French delegate enthused. The
American and British delegates both
issued statements confirming that
the Soviet proposals were in large
measure the same as what theirs.

In Washington, however, the
response was strangely restrained.
President Eisenhower began making
speeches questioning the wisdom of
letting Russians inspect US military
sites. After a recess, the US
delegate returned to the London
negotiations to announce the with-
drawal of every previous American
proposal -- including the ones that
were so close to what the Russians
now said they'd go along with.

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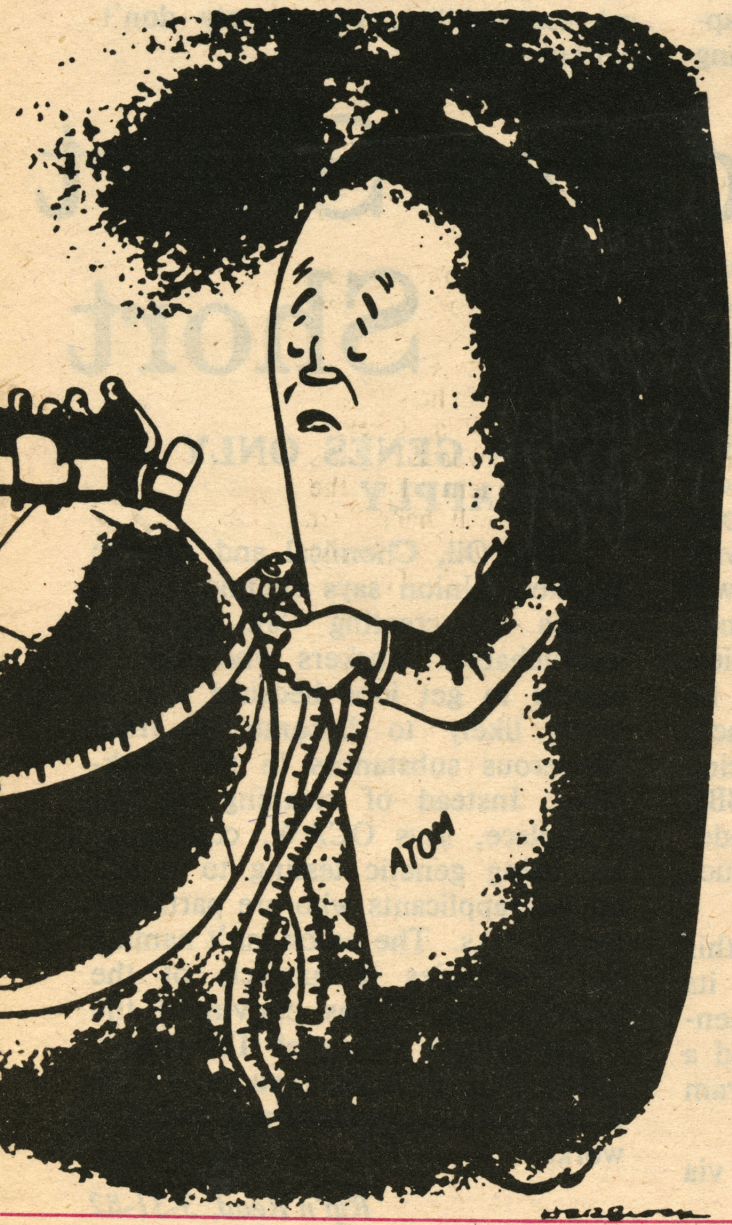
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gets was either too little understood
or too overwhelming to be targeted
by the anti-testing campaign. It was
the cancer predictions and the
strontium-90 in the baby's milk that
evoked a frenzy of fear and
widespread dissent.

The peace movement picked up
the ball and ran. It looked like a
winning strategy: concentrate on the
fallout, downplay the possibility of
nuclear holocaust, and ignore the
politics of the the arms race.

By the late 50's, a campaign to
push for a comprehensive test ban
treaty was well underway. It won the
backing of significant majorities in
the United States, Western and
Eastern Europe, Japan and many
other countries. In Britain, ban-the-
bomb sentiment grew into a move-
ment, with sit-ins, rallies, and huge
demonstrations like the Aldermaston
Easter March in 1960.

A group of "nonaligned" coun-
tries, responding to anti-Bomb senti-
ment in their own backyards, worked
out a detailed plan for a comprehen-
sive test ban treaty. Most of non-
nuclear countries declared them-
selves willing to sign a multilateral
ban, despite the fact that it would
hamper their efforts to develop
nuclear weapons, institutionalizing
the superpowers' monopoly.

The protests and negotiations
lasted for several years. These were
years during which the arms race
passed several important mileposts
of escalation, with unfortunately lit-
tle reaction from the testing-
preoccupied protest movement. The
superpowers first stopped the atmos-
pheric tests, then, led by the Rus-
sians, started them again. The Rus-
sians launched the Sputnik and shot
down an American U-2 plane
secretly spying over its territory;
Eisenhower warned of the military-
industrial complex; Kennedy
invented a fictional "missile gap"
and faced down Krushchev in the
Cuban missile crisis.

The SALT ceilings to which the superpowers agreed were amazingly close to the numbers they had planned to deploy anyway.

The Arms Race Goes Under- ground

Finally, in 1963, the Russians
again backed down on a long-held
negotiating position. This time they
gave up their insistence that an
agreement cover all kinds of testing.
Abandoning the ongoing multilateral
efforts to achieve a comprehensive
test ban, the US and the USSR
began bilateral talks in Moscow.
Within weeks, they had concocted a
partial test ban treaty.

The partial ban merely moved
the tests underground. It was by no
means a barrier to further nuclear
development on either side: the US
was already setting off more test
explosions underground or underwa-
ter than in the atmosphere.

Not only did the partial treaty
fail to contain the arms race, it
wound up clearing the way for its
escalation. Despite the fact that
Krushchev had given in to Kennedy's
terms, rightwing politicians in the
US accused the president of being
soft on the Commies. The support
of the Joint Chiefs of Staff was
finally won by the administration's
argument that forcing the tests
underground, where they are more
difficult and expensive, would
hamper the Russian nuclear advance
far more than the American one.
But the real selling point for the
hawks was Kennedy's pledge of lots
of new, more sophisticated weapons.

As limited as the treaty was and
as sweetened with promises of arms
escalation, it met with resistance in
the Senate. George McGovern finally
exclaimed in exasperation that "the
Administration has been called upon
to give so many assurances of our
continued nuclear efforts . . . that a
casual observer might assume that

HERMAN/by Unger



"Let's hope we never have to use it."

we are approving this treaty so that
we can accelerate the arms race and
beef up the war-making facilities of
our country!"

To most people, this judgment
was not so clear at the time. Alva
Myrdal, who had been instrumental

were reached in 1972: one limiting
the deployment of antiballistic mis-
siles and another limiting the
increase in strategic arms. SALT II,
signed in 1974 by President Ford and
Russian President Brezhnev but
never ratified by the US Senate,
established a ceiling on the number
of MIRVs each side was allowed.

None of the SALT agreements
meant elimination or even reduc-
tions of weapons. On the contrary,
in the words of Myrdal, "there is
only a haggling over marginal
differences in their continued
increase." In fact, the ceilings to
which the superpowers agreed were
amazingly close to the numbers they
had planned to deploy anyway. No
limitations at all were placed on tac-
tical or conventional weapons or on
qualitative improvements of strategic
missiles or warheads.

One difference between SALT
and earlier arms control agreements
is the extent to which commentators
immediately saw it as a charade. In
1969, three years before the first
treaty was signed, I.F. Stone wrote
an article called "Why SALT Spells
Fraud."

Myrdal comments, "By no
stretch of the imagination can
[SALT II] be called arms limitation.
Instead it is a mutually agreed con-
tinuation of the arms race, regulated
and institutionalized."

Robert C. Johansen, president
of the Institute for World Order,
states that SALT II was a "clever
managing device to enable the US
and the Soviet Union" to channel
their resources into the type of
weapons with which they can best
"increase their superiority over the
rest of the world's governments."

Although arms control is little
more than what Stone calls a
"theater of delusion," we can expect
endless curtain calls. Talk about
arms control will keep pace with new
rounds in the arms race.

The arms control ritual allows
each superpower to hail its valiant
efforts for peace, efforts (each one
laments) that have have been tragi-
cally foiled by the other side. The
basic decency of each government is
affirmed and support for its ever-
escalating arms buildup -- and its
other policies -- is assured.

Thus legitimized, the super-
powers are free to continue using the
permanent nuclear showdown as
they always have. Like the Cold
War it complements, "arms control"
is a device by which the superpowers
control the governments of other
countries, their allies, and their own
populations.

Marcy Darnovsky
IAT staff

"Why SALT Spells Fraud"

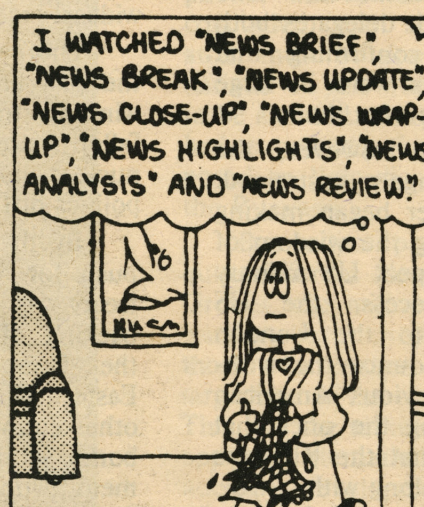
Starting in 1967 and through the
70's, arms control centered on the
Strategic Arms Limitations Talks
(SALT). Two superpower agree-
ments, together known as SALT I,

Corporate Media Lies Department:

It is hardly news that newsmagazines reflect their publisher's viewpoints and interests, which frequently coincide with those of ruling elites. Mass circulation weeklies such as *TIME* not only report events, but use their influence to help mold public reaction to them. This power to define reality is often used to deflect the challenges to authority posed by emerging social movements -- and to minimize their threat to the status quo.

In many respects, *TIME* is an American *Pravda*. Like its Soviet counterpart, it never acknowledges that there is anything wrong with the ruling "system" that can't be fixed by a changed law here, a little tinkering there. *TIME* is happy to gloat over the numerous failures and oppressions of Soviet-style "socialism" and to proclaim that they are the inevitable consequences of experimenting with alternative social systems. But one can scan its pages in vain for any clue that capitalism's problems and injustices are anything more than ephemeral clouds in an otherwise sunny sky.

When faced with a new American movement -- especially one that looks radical -- the magazine's first move is to ignore it. This was *TIME*'s first response to the growing opposition to nuclear power over the last decade. When that movement didn't go away, *TIME* panned it in a classic hatchet-job called "The irrational fight against nuclear power," which appeared in its September 25, 1978 issue. That article portrayed antinuclear activists as anti-technology hysterics just looking for an excuse to complain about something. *TIME* didn't bother with bal-



Cathy Guisewite

anced coverage; the antinukes clearly were enemies of corporate interests and therefore the magazine's enemies as well.

When it comes to the emerging opposition to nuclear weapons, however, *TIME*'s editors are in a quandary. They don't much like unruly "citizen activism," but they are also disturbed by the bellicosity of the Reagan administration and the strains that its militaristic policies put on the international alliances which help to defend American corporations' far-flung interests. So *TIME* couldn't resort to simple defamation like its nuclear power piece. A more sophisticated approach was in order.

Weeding out the troublemakers

Much of *TIME*'s March 29 issue is devoted to covering what the magazine calls "rising fears about nuclear war." The lead story's first paragraph talks about the ubiquity of the nuclear weapons debate -- "from the halls of Congress to Vermont hamlets to the posh living rooms of Beverly Hills" -- but it has already started to weed out those participants not to *TIME*'s political liking.

It tells us that the movement includes "some peacenik activists who led protests against US involvement in Viet Nam a decade ago" -- by implication professional agitators who should be ignored. The magazine hastens to assure us, however, that weapons opponents include "more bishops than Berrigans, doctors and lawyers with impeccable Establishment credentials . . . and such knowledgeable experts as retired Admiral Noel Gayler, former director of the supersecret National Security Agency, and former SALT II negotiator Paul Warnke."

Having thus separated the "respectable" critics from the mere

troublemakers, the magazine informs us that the movement is growing because of "concern that political leaders of both superpowers -- especially since the shelving of the SALT II treaty in 1980 and the failure to resume talks since then -- have moved, with mutual belligerence, toward a direct confrontation that could trigger a nuclear war." Never mind that it was the US which "shelved" that already-negotiated treaty. Or that it wasn't the Russians but the Carter and Reagan administrations that so loudly proclaimed the belief in "limited" and "winnable" nuclear conflicts and the enthusiasm for developing the costly weapons to fight them. Here, as elsewhere, *TIME* refuses to acknowledge that the US could be more than "mutually" responsible for the arms race despite the fact it has deployed each new weapons system first and as recently as 1972 had twice as many strategic warheads as the USSR.

Even quotations of Soviet and American rhetoric are filtered through this bias. Reagan's saber-rattling is minimized as "loose talk" which "unfairly or not...is blamed for fueling the current jitters." Brezhnev gets no such benefit of the doubt. His similar posturing is portrayed as "a vague but ominous warning" and his photo is subcaptioned, "A vague threat that hearkened back to the Cuban missile crisis."

Obviously, the USSR has played its part in the acceleration of the nuclear arms race. But it is a simple fact that the US government started this deadly game, and used its overwhelming early nuclear advantage to force the Soviets to bend to its will in Cuba. The Russians have no intention of allowing that to happen again, and have been scrambling

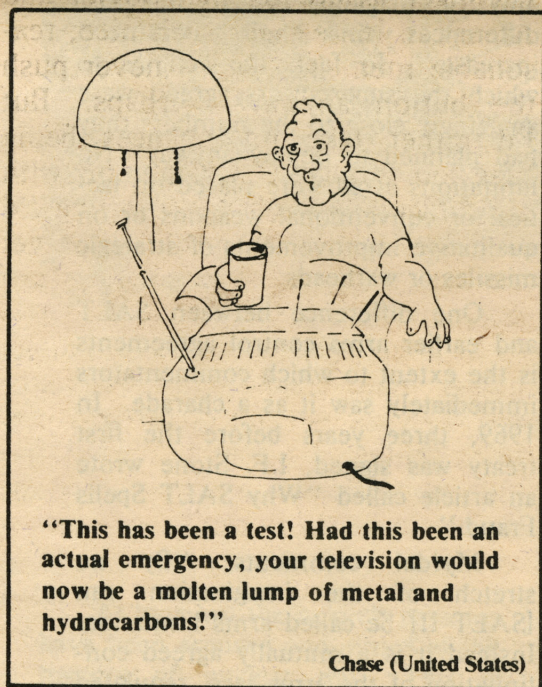
to catch up -- as the US certainly would have if the tables had been turned.

TIME's simplistic "good guys versus bad guys" formulation and its moralizing about Soviet leaders' willingness to use "brute force" in international affairs (when their US counterparts are equally brutal) is more of the same old Cold War hypocrisy that has been always been used to justify the arms race by rulers on both sides.

Praising the loyal reformers

When *TIME* gets around to examining the movement itself, it confines its attentions to apolitical educational groups, such as Physicians for Social Responsibility and Ground Zero, which focus narrowly on the details of nuclear incineration. It quotes the founder of the latter group, ex-nuclear war strategist Roger Molander, who says he seeks a public that will "work with the government in coming up with solutions." To hear *TIME* tell it, the movement is made up of "loyal opposition" types like Molander, preachers of apocalypse like Helen Caldicott, and the usual Catholic and Protestant clerics. What these people "secretly hope for" it says, is to pressure Reagan to negotiate arms control with the Russians. In the case of those like Molander, *TIME* may be right.

The movement is far broader than that and includes "secret hopes" far more daring and scandalous. But those of its participants who point out the political roots and functions of the Bomb -- and would rather eliminate than "control" it -- have disappeared from the face of *TIME*'s earth. If you don't fit within the magazine's boundaries of political acceptability, you simply don't get covered.



Short Circuits Short Circuits Short Short

WHATEVER TURNS YOU ON

The Army is looking for a few good rats . . . to sniff out explosive booby traps and warn their handlers of the impending danger. According to a report in the *Armed Forces Journal International*, wires are implanted in the brains of specially bred male albino mice, and their pleasure centers are stimulated whenever they correctly identify the smell of TNT.

In wartime, the magazine says, the trained rats would be carried in briefcase-like contraptions, with a fan blowing air through their cages.

Whenever an animal detected TNT, its brainwaves would trigger an alarm, warning that a mine or booby trap was near.

Armed Forces Journal International, March 1982, via Rip'n'Read

NO NEWS IS GOOD NEWS

Retired Army General William Westmoreland says the only way the US can win wars in the future is to control the news media. The former US commander in Vietnam says the media -- especially television -- is to blame for creating an atmosphere of public discontent which crippled the military's ability to win. "Vietnam was the first war fought without censorship," he says, "and without censorship things can get terribly confused in the public mind."

Rip'n'Read, 3-29-82

NAZI NUKES

The British Broadcasting Corporation says key scientists from Nazi Germany are helping Argentina build an atomic bomb. Furthermore, the BBC says, the present West German government may have been using Argentina as a base for

its own nuclear weapons experiments, evading a 1954 treaty banning such research on German territory.

The architect of the Argentine nuclear program is said to be Dr. Walter Schnurr, a leading Nazi scientist who calls Argentina "my second fatherland." In an interview with the BBC, he revealed that he was invited back to Germany to study nuclear power in the late fifties. When he returned to Argentina, he used what he had learned to help build a plant capable of producing high-grade plutonium. The BBC says the plant, which is still under construction, will be able to produce ten nuclear bombs a year.

[The BBC's timing on this report was probably better than its thoroughness. We doubt it mentioned that England has long had a nuclear power and weapons program of its own -- IAT.]

The Guardian, London, 4-17 via Rip'n'Read

CLEAN GENES ONLY NEED APPLY

The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union says chemical companies are creating "an army of untouchable" workers who will be unable to get jobs because they're more likely to become ill from dangerous substances in the workplace. Instead of cleaning up the workplace, says OCAW, companies are using genetic testing to screen out job applicants who are particular health risks. The union isn't naming the companies it suspects of the practice, but it has convinced the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment to begin a survey to see if the testing is widespread and if it works.

Rip'n'Read, 3-31-82

TIME is not on our side

Placing limits on discussion

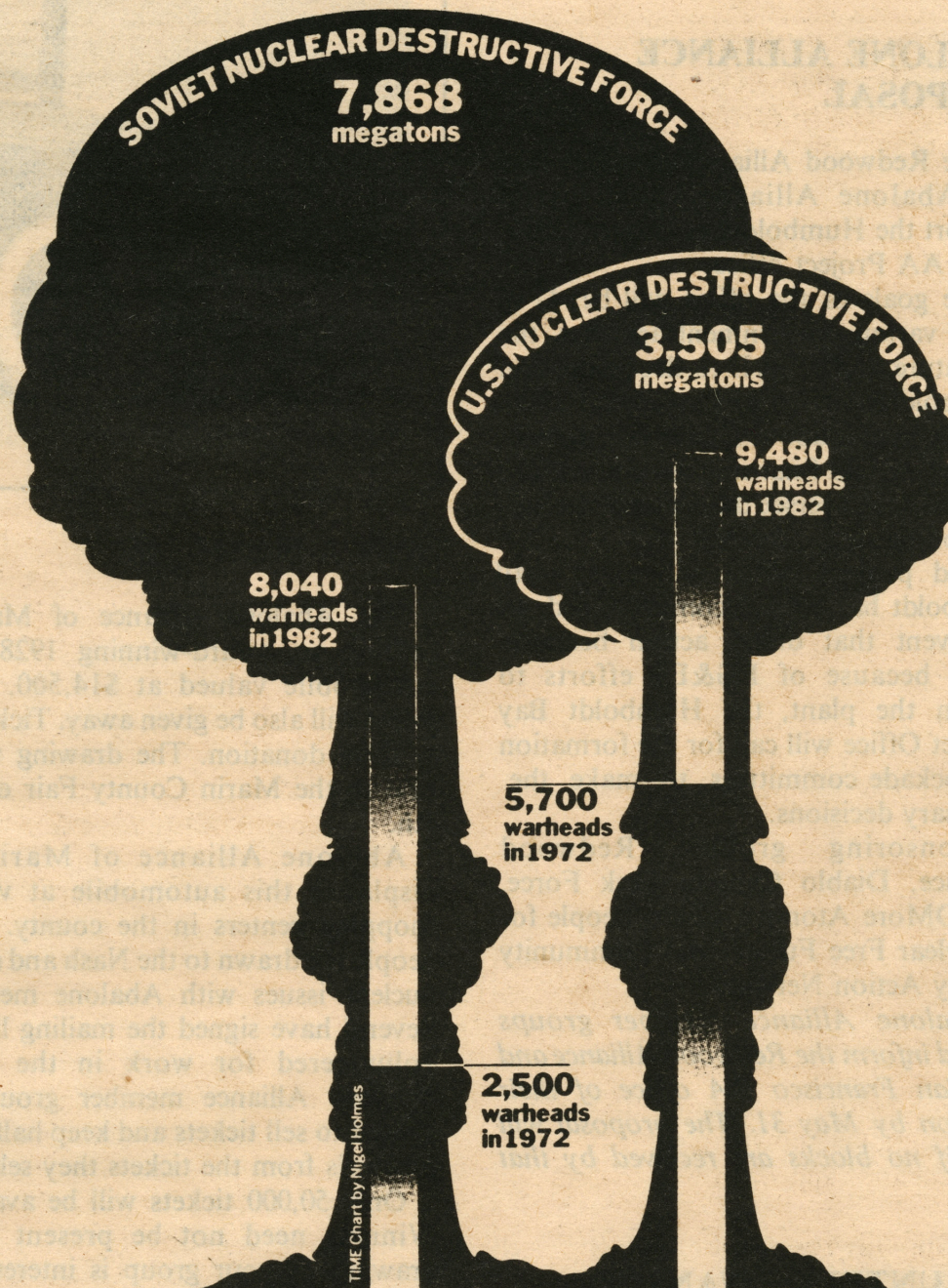
The next article purports to be a sampling of "Voices from a citizen's chorus" on the Freeze. The chosen nine citizens are all white, male, at least middle-aged -- and members of the US ruling elite. They consist of four scientists (including H-bomb creator Edward Teller), three present or former government officials, an Archbishop, and a right-wing philosopher. The most daring of this crew call for arms negotiations and freezes, and ask the governments of the superpowers to provide "leadership" to end the "madness." None of them seem to notice that pleas like theirs have always been ignored in the past, or that the "madness" was created as a deliberate matter of policy by the very governments to which they appeal.

TIME's deferential treatment of these "influential citizens deeply engaged in the nuclear debate" clearly says that *they* are the experts whose opinions limit the boundaries of reasonable discussion. And *they*, liberal and conservative alike, all agree that however much you might want disarmament, it just isn't practical. So you'd better learn to stop worrying, trust in "arms control" to keep the stockpiles of megadeath on an even keel, and start loving the Bomb.

Domesticated destruction

TIME realizes that it's a bit hard to get comfortable on a mattress of 20 tons of TNT -- your share of the looming Big Bang -- so it provides a reassuring final article appropriately titled "Living with Mega-Death." To be sure, the article does devote half a page to a "Scenario of Destruction" about the effects of a one-megaton blast over Detroit. But it is a strangely sanitized scenario, without melted eyeballs, agonizing radiation deaths, devastating firestorms, or explicit discussion of any other unpleasant realities of nuclear war. In fact, things are so nearly normal nine miles from ground zero that "In front yards, suburbanites watch tree trunks smolder." Entertaining, no doubt, and a lot less frightening than the idea of watching your family and friends smolder.

But in case even this domesticated destruction -- or the figure of a half-million dead -- might turn readers into dangerous disarmers, *TIME* fills the facing half-page with a



The clear message of this *TIME* graphic is "the Russians are way ahead of us." But if the numbers of warheads had been used to determine the size of the clouds, the US would appear to be ahead.

More fundamentally, however, this kind of bomb counting is ridiculous because a tenth of either arsenal is enough to destroy the other country. Who cares who can make the rubble bounce the most times?

misleading graphic (reprinted here) which implies that the Russians are far ahead of us in the ability to wreak such havoc. Again the message: the arms race is the Russians' fault; we have no choice but to stick with "deterrence" to keep them at bay.

It takes a little twisting to make the facts fit this framework. The US refusal to renounce the first use of nuclear weapons is introduced with a disclaimer which makes it seem defensive: "other factors have driven the US toward reiterating over the years its willingness not only to use nuclear weapons but to use them first..." But the Soviet disavowal of this particular aggressive posture is dismissed with,

"there is little doubt that their righteous-sounding doctrine would count for little in a crisis."

Arms control to the rescue

Since it's all the Russians' fault, according to *TIME*, it follows that Americans can't do anything to stop the problem but to get the US government into yet another round of arms control talks. Above all, the magazine implies, US nuclear opponents should *not* imitate the demonstrations and militance of the European disarmament movement, which supposedly has "greatly assisted the Soviet Union's propaganda offensive" and "encouraged the Soviets to conclude that perhaps they need not make any conces-

sions."

Having repeated ad nauseum that the experts know best, *TIME's* next task is to assure us that we're really not in so much peril after all. It talks soothingly and at length about all the safeguards that supposedly keep accidents or crazies from launching a nuclear war. It informs us that despite public statements, even the most hawkish US planners don't *really* think nuclear war is acceptable. It's all just a front, you see, to fool the Soviets into thinking that we're ready to sacrifice millions of Americans in a limited nuclear war (which of *course* we have no intention of *really* doing) because they might attack us if they thought we weren't as tough about these things as they are. While this official lunacy is reported respectfully and without comment, the magazine dismisses a proposal for universal disarmament with the three-word critique, "far too utopian."

TIME, which prides itself on its hard-headed realism, gets a little murky when it comes down to preventing armageddon: "Avoiding nuclear war depends on keeping a balance between the imperatives of American policy and various factors of international relations, particularly the US-Soviet rivalry." Oh. But it does suggest helpfully that the best way to avoid war is to gear up for it. "Reinstituting the draft would do more to strengthen American defense posture -- and hence to diminish the danger of war -- than the MX supermissile and the B-1 bomber programs combined."

The article concludes with a sidebar in which the likes of Henry Kissinger assure us that Soviet and American leaders are such nice, reasonable men that they'd never push the button anyway. Perhaps. But I'd rather take my chances being "far too utopian," and get on with the difficult task of *really* getting rid of nukes instead of settling for yet another "arms control" sham designed to make us feel better about being nuclear hostages. Better utopian than dead -- and we might well discover we can do without the ruling elites, East and West, who find wars, Bombs and the draft so useful that they can't imagine a "realistic" way of giving them up.

--Bob Van Scoy
IAT staff

Circuits Short Circuits Short Circuits

Circuits

REDDING REJECTS NUCLEAR DEAL

Voters in Redding have soundly rejected a city plan to buy a piece of the huge Palo Verde nuclear plant in Arizona. The rejection, by a margin of nearly 2 to 1, came in a referendum vote April 13 which overturned an earlier decision by the city council. Redding had planned to join Modesto and Santa Clara, which also have public power systems, in buying a share of the nuke. At this point only Modesto is still interested, and nuclear opponents there are encouraged by Redding's withdrawal and hope Modesto will do the same when its participation comes up for a vote in June.

-- SF Chronicle, 4/15/82

TAX AND SPEND DEPT.

President Reagan's calls for cutbacks in government spending apparently don't apply to the nation's nuclear weapons factories. On March 29, he asked Congress for an additional \$400 million for nuclear warhead production through the end of next year, on top of the \$1.8 billion boost he requested earlier. Reagan also wants still another \$1 billion increase for the 1983-1987 period.

The Reagan request came while members of Congress were considering resolutions to freeze or reverse the nuclear arms race. An administration official said the timing was "just coincidental" and commented on how little attention the spending boosts had received. A Congressional source, however, implied that the administration was trying to get the program approved before it was threatened by pressure on Congress from the growing antinuclear

weapons movement.

Some of the increases will be used to produce the neutron bomb, which is designed to maximize deadly radiation while minimizing damage to property. Former President Carter postponed its production in 1978, following an outcry in European countries where it was to be deployed. Reagan reversed that decision last August.

-- SF Chronicle, 4/15/82

WHAT'S ANOTHER TRILLION?

The Defense Department is trying to fire a civilian Pentagon employee for leaking the news that the Reagan Administration's massive defense buildup could cost \$750 billion more than the already staggering official estimate of \$1.5 trillion.

The employee, John C.F. Tillson, is the first known victim of the Administration's attempts to squelch unfavorable news leaks. He is

accused of giving Congressional aides details of a secret January 7 meeting of the Defense Resources Board, where the \$750 billion figure was discussed. The same information appeared the next day in the *Washington Post*.

Tillson and the reporter who wrote the story deny he was the source of the information, but military investigators claim he has flunked lie-detector tests related to the incident. Secretary of Defense Weinberger defended the extensive effort to find the leaker because the *Washington Post* story supposedly gave "aid and comfort to the enemy."

It's unlikely to give much comfort to US taxpayers, who will be expected to foot a huge five-year arms bill totaling \$2.25 trillion -- which averages out to over \$1 billion per day for every day of the next five years.

SF Chronicle, 4/26/82

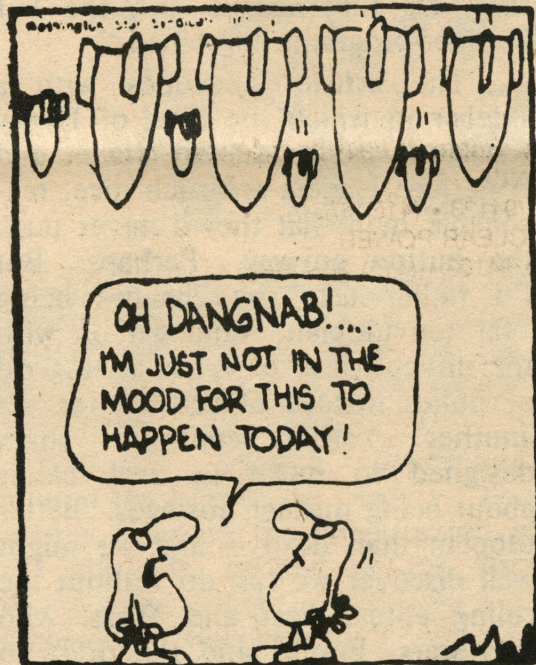
Announcements

1978 BLOCKADERS FACE THE BENCH

The 219 people attached to the appeal of the "Diablo 20" trial were sentenced on April 19 in San Luis Obispo. The final sentence was a \$300 fine; if it is not paid when scheduled the court will issue a bench warrant for the person's arrest (probably but not necessarily fairly soon) and they will serve 10 days in SLO County Jail. Anyone not present or represented on April 19 had a bench warrant issued for them and is subject to arrest when stopped for traffic violations, etc. They should contact the appeal committee to find out their options. Some people who don't intend to pay the fine are working out arrangements to be in jail together. For more info contact Barbara Levy, Diablo Appeal Committee, 1824 Lake, SF, 94121, (415) 752-8433.

TO ALL 1978 DIABLO DEFENDANTS:

If you are choosing to pay the fine and are hard-pressed for payment, please contact Marnie Dilling, 2259 Vallejo Street, SF, 94123. Some others with a "vow of poverty" (a misnomer for simply a desire to share goods) are contributing to a small fund to help out. They share your love of the earth, its children, your love of each other, of energy, and, by many names, the source of energy.



WRITERS AND DISARMAMENT

I am compiling an anthology of poetry concerning the history, present state, and future dismantling of the global nuclear arsenal. A variety of approaches, forms, and investigative techniques is most welcome; scope of the anthology will be limited only by the imagination of its contributors and my personal taste as editor. No revision or omission will be done without previous consent. Payment to contributors negotiated upon publication.

Please send copies only, and enclose a brief biographical statement and self-addressed stamped envelope. Thank you. Contact: Stephen Silberman, 1429 Page St., Apt. D, San Francisco, CA 94117.

ABALONE ALLIANCE PROPOSAL

The Redwood Alliance proposes that the Abalone Alliance sponsor and support the Humboldt Bay Project Office as an AA Project office.

The goals of the office will be: 1) to lobby various government agencies, the legislature and PG&E to decommission Humboldt Bay Nuclear Power plant; 2) to educate people about Humboldt, decommissioning and financing decommissioning; and 3) to oversee the eventual decommissioning of the reactor.

Said project office will exist until Humboldt has been decommissioned. In the event that direct action becomes likely because of PG&E's efforts to reopen the plant, the Humboldt Bay Project Office will call for the formation of blockade committees to make the necessary decisions.

Sponsoring groups: Redwood Alliance, Diablo Canyon Task Force, SONOMore Atomics, Chico People for a Nuclear Free Future, and Community Energy Action Network.

Abalone Alliance member groups should inform the Redwood Alliance and the San Francisco AA office of their decision by May 31. The proposal will pass if no blocks are received by that date.

VOLUNTEERS WANTED

Archivist — To prepare collected articles for xeroxing and filing. Help document the movement, weekdays between 10 AM and 5 PM at your convenience. Call the Abalone Alliance Statewide Office: 861-0592.

Typists — Take home work for evenings and weekends. Help us update our organizations mailing list. Contact the Abalone Alliance Statewide Office in San Francisco.

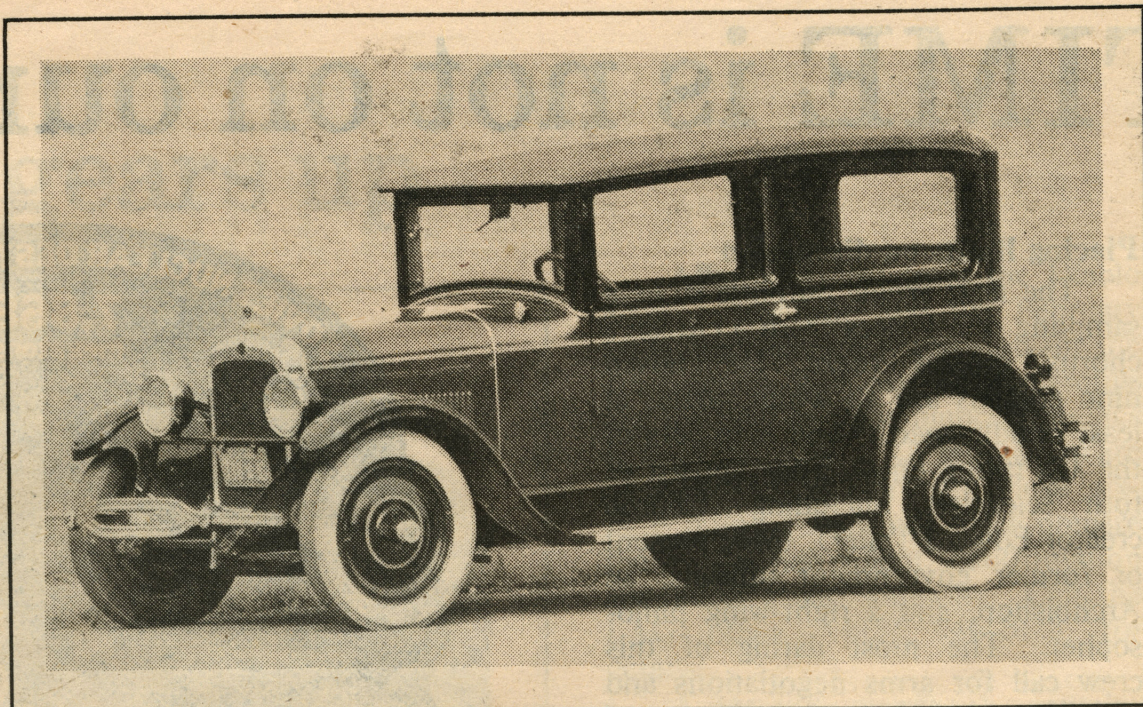
LAWRENCE LIVERMORE LABS BLOCKADE

Livermore Weapons Labs Blockade/Demonstration Handbooks for June 21st, 1982 are now available for \$1.00 plus postage. Write: Livermore Action Group Handbook Collective, 2847 Fulton, Berkeley 94702; or 67 Oakwood, San Francisco 94110. (415) 841-6500 ext. 164. (Handbooks are 50¢ each for orders of 20 or more.)

PEACEQUAKE '82

We cordially invite you to participate in Peacequake '82 — a music festival, teach-in, peace and technology fair to affirm life and focus attention on the UN Special Session on Disarmament. Peacequake will occur at San Francisco Civic Center Plaza May 30 and 31. Confirmed musicians include Mimi Farina, Holly Near, Alive, Stevie Wonder, Guinnevere Nash, the Wolfpack, Lawrence Juber, and the Batucage Dancers. Speakers will include Bay Area and National organizers.

Grassroots organizations wishing to set up tables or present workshops can contact Unity Foundation, 1923 Page Street, San Francisco, CA 94117. (415) 387-3729.



WIN A NASH

The Abalone Alliance of Marin is raffling an award-winning 1928 Nash automobile valued at \$14,500. Other prizes will also be given away. Tickets are a \$2.00 donation. The drawing will be held at the Marin County Fair on July 4th.

Abalone Alliance of Marin has displayed this automobile at various shopping centers in the county. Many people are drawn to the Nash and discuss nuclear issues with Abalone members. Several have signed the mailing list and volunteered for work in the office. Abalone Alliance member groups are invited to sell tickets and keep half of the proceeds from the tickets they sell.

Only 50,000 tickets will be available. Winners need not be present at the drawing. If your group is interested in selling tickets, or if you wish to purchase one, contact Tom De Felice, (415) 457-4377, or write Abalone Alliance of Marin, 1024 Sir Francis Drake Blvd., San Anselmo, CA 94960.

POST BLOCKADE MOVERS

If you have moved since the Blockade, please send your old and new address to the Diablo Project Office so that the mailing list can be updated. The DPO is preparing a Diablo Update and wants to be sure that you get it. Diablo Project Office, 452 Higuera St., San Luis Obispo, CA 93401.

SMILING SUN RESOURCES

San Francisco People Against Nuclear Power is now the west coast distributor of Smiling Sun Resources (Nuclear Power? - No Thanks). This saying appears on bumper stickers, buttons, labels and 5 inch vinyl stickers. For a price list and more information, contact San Francisco PANP, 1021 Sanchez St., San Francisco, CA 94103 (415) 285-2262.

DISARMAMENT VIDEO SURVEY

A group of independent video producers in New York City is producing a Disarmament Video Survey -- a public opinion poll of citizens expressing their attitudes toward disarmament and the arms race. They invite producers around the world to participate.

For a style sheet, contact Sandy Tolan, 43 West 16th Street, Apt. 11E, New York, NY 10011, (212) 675-3158 or 490-0010.

NONVIOLENCE PREPARATIONS FOR LIVERMORE BLOCKADE

Nonviolence preparation is essential to participate in civil disobedience at Livermore weapons lab on June 21. Non-blockaders encouraged to come. Signups: SF, (415) 285-2262; East Bay, (415) 644-3031.

ART POSITIVE

ART POSITIVE is a group of artists dedicated to the prevention of nuclear war. In response to this threat, it is producing a 50-minute slide-tape show of artworks entitled **Nuclear Vision**.

Send 35 mm. slide transparencies of your painting, prints, photography, sculpture, dance, performance and audio cassettes of your music, poetry, dramatic readings, sound effects, and your personal comments. A \$3.00 entry fee is requested. ART POSITIVE, c/o Survival Graphics, 853 Williamson St., Madison, WI 53703, (608) 251-2440.

CONFERENCE LOST & FOUND

An half inch videotape on Diablo was misplaced at the Conference in Cazadero. If you have any information leading to its whereabouts, please contact the Diablo Project Office. (805) 543-6614. Thanks.



SPACE ARMS RACE

The Progressive Space Forum (PSF), a national citizens' group, is now actively recruiting new members to more effectively oppose the increasingly-significant arms race in space. PSF is the **only** national organization concentrating on the risks of the space arms race, and working to reorient the space program toward peaceful projects and international cooperation.

PSF invites interested people to join. Members receive **Space For All People** and the **PSF Member's Bulletin** six times a year, along with the opportunity to participate in PSF's campaigns against space weapons and in favor of peaceful uses of space technology. Membership is \$10 per year in the U.S. and Canada, and \$15 per year in other countries. Write to: Progressive Space Forum, 1476 California St., #9, San Francisco, CA 94109. Representatives are available for interviews and speaking engagements.



Calendar

May 22: Nonviolence Theory in the Antinuclear Movement: a Debate. Is nonviolence a method for peaceful conflict resolution and social change? Or is it a middle class morality designed to restrain mass militancy? Presentations by Tom Garrison, People For a Nuclear Free Future-Santa Barbara, and Howard Ryan, East Bay Antinuclear Group. Also live comedy and party afterwards. Bring snacks and musical instruments. EBANG monthly gathering, North Berkeley Friends House, 2151 Vine St. at Walnut, 8 p.m. Free.

May 22: Rally in Sacramento to protest PG&E rates and policies. 12-4 p.m. at the Capitol Building. Ralph Nader will speak.

May 25: Picket at Lawrence Livermore Laboratory to protest secret conference being held there May 25 and 26 on increasing the lethality of conventional weapons. Info: Livermore Action Group, 644-2028.

May 26: San Franciscans for Public Power is having a meeting for people interested in municipalizing PG&E. Everett School Auditorium, 17th and Church, 7:30 p.m. For more information contact (415) 864-3742.

May 27, 28 and 29: The Plutonium Players present *An Evening of Consciousness Lowering* with Ladies

Agains Women (L.A.W.). Participants include Mrs. Edith Banks of the National Association for the Advancement of Rich People; Virginia Cholesterol, Lady spokesman for the rights of unconceived citizens; Phyllis Shaft-Lee on her proposal for H.U.L.A. (the House committee on UnLadylike Activities); special male guests Alexander Hog, Dr. Mel Practice, Reverend Jerry Fallout, and more. Plus Carol Roberts, notorious food-sexual comic, with her sidesplitting and savory menu of belly laughs.

Remember, "An open mind is the Devil's workshop." Wear uncomfortable clothes.

All nights at 8:30 p.m., Julia Morgan Theatre, 2640 College Ave., Berkeley. Ticket reservations, 548-7234. Wheelchair accessible.

May 28 - 31: Every year organizers, students, workers and teachers come to 'come camp' to discuss critical issues and enjoy the outdoors. This year's theme is "Crisis, Hard Times and Resistance."

The Conference is open to socialists of all shades and does not reflect any particular party line. For information write: WSC-OC, Box 5358, Berkeley, CA 94705.

June 4: "US Weapons out of

Europe" demonstration to coincide with disarmament demonstrations greeting Reagan in London as he visits Thatcher, and other demonstrations elsewhere in Europe. Federal Building, SF, noon to 1. Info: US Weapons out of Europe, AFSC, (415) 752-7766

June 12: Rally in support of the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament. InterFaith Witness for Peace, Dolores Park, San Francisco, 9:45; march to Civic Center, rally at noon. Speakers include Ronald Dellums, Michio Kaku, and Phil Weaton. Contact: June 12 Coalition, (415) 441-5014.

June 14: A nonviolent civil disobedi-

ence action will be held during the U.N. Special Session on Disarmament in New York City. The action will blockade the U.N. Missions of five major nuclear powers. Nonviolence training is required. For further info contact: June 14 C.D. Campaign, 339 Lafayette St., NYC 10012, (212) 777-4737.

June 15: Three episodes and discussion: Women's Pentagon Action (film); Livermore Weapons Lab Blockade (slides); Diablo Action (film). An educational program for the community on what you can do to help provide a nuclear-free future for Earth and all its wonderful living beings. 6:00 p.m., at Richmond Branch Library, 351 9th Avenue, San Francisco. For further information call Helen Desai 386-3491 or Deetje Boler 752-4688.



"Gee, I wonder if that was a preemptive strike or a measured response?"

Rosen (Canada)

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

ALBION:
PACIFIC TIDEPOOL ALLIANCE,
P.O. Box 462/95410 • (707) 964-7468
WOMEN FOR SURVIVAL, Box 415/95410 • (707) 937-0090

ARCATA:
REDWOOD ALLIANCE
P.O. Box 293/95221 • (707) 822-7884

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

CALISTOGA:
UPPER NAPA VALLEY ENERGY ALLIANCE,
2200 Diamond Mtn. Rd./94515 • (707) 942-5856

COMPTCHE:
MENDOCINO TRAVELING ALL STARS,
P.O. Box 326/95427

LAYTONVILLE:
CAHTO ALLIANCE FOR RESPONSIBLE ENERGY,
P.O. Box 902 • (707) 984-6170

MENDOCINO:
ALL US MOLLUSKS,
P.O. Box 1385/95460 • (707) 937-4068

OCCIDENTAL:
BOHEMIAN GROVE ACTION NETWORK
P.O. Box 216/95465 • (707) 874-2248
FAMILIES FOR A NUCLEAR FREE SOCIETY,
P.O. Box 362/95465 • (707) 874-3197

POINT ARENA:
POINT ARENA ACTION FOR SAFE ENERGY,
P.O. Box 106/95468

PORTLAND, OREGON:
SOLARITY,
3210 SW Arnold/97201 • (503) 245-6273

REDWAY:
ACORN ALLIANCE,
P.O. Box 773/95560 • (707) 923-2258

SANTA ROSA:
SO NO MORE ATOMICS,
1030 Second Street/95402 • (707) 874-2702

SONOMA:
NO NUKE OF THE NORTH,
429 Bettencourt St./95476 • (707) 938-0622
SONOMA ALTERNATIVES FOR ENERGY,
P.O. Box 452/95476 • (707) 996-5123

CENTRAL VALLEY & SIERRA

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

DAVIS:
PEOPLE FOR A NUCLEAR FREE FUTURE,
411 5th St./95616 • (916) 753-1630 M-F 12-6 P.M.

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

GRASS VALLEY:
NEVADA COUNTY PEOPLE FOR A NUCLEAR FREE
FUTURE, P.O. Box 471/95945 • (916) 272-6418

MODESTO:
STANISLAUS SAFE ENERGY COMMITTEE,
P.O. Box 134/93354 • (209) 529-5750

MOUNTAIN RANCH:
FOOTHILL ALLIANCE FOR PEACE,
P.O. Box 66/95246 • (209) 728-2698

PLACERVILLE:
ENERGY FOR PEOPLE,
1459 Lane Drive/95667 • (916) 626-6397

SACRAMENTO:
CITIZENS FOR SAFE ENERGY,
312 20th St./95814 • (916) 442-3635

VISALIA:
SEQUOIA ALLIANCE,
3017 South Conyer/93277 • (209) 733-9050

WILLITS:
WILLITS NUCLEAR AWARENESS COALITION,
P.O. Box 393/95490 (707) 459-3141

GREATER BAY AREA

BERKELEY/OAKLAND:
EAST BAY ANTI-NUCLEAR GROUP,
585 Alcatraz, Suite A/94609 • (415) 655-1715

BOLINAS:
LEGAL ACTION FOR UNDERMINING GOVERNMENT
HARRASSMENT IN SOCIETY,
P.O. Box 249/94924 • (415) 868-0245

EL GRANADA:
COASTSIDERS FOR A NUCLEAR FREE FUTURE,
P.O. Box 951/94018 • (415) 728-3119

PALO ALTO:
CITIZENS FOR ALTERNATIVES TO NUCLEAR ENERGY
P.O. Box 377/94302 • (415) 328-0367, 857-9251

PLEASANT HILL:
CONTRA COSTANS FOR A NUCLEAR FREE FUTURE,
P.O. Box 23103/94523 • (415) 934-5249

PT. REYES:
PELICAN ALLIANCE,
P.O. Box 596/94956 • (415) 663-8483

SAN ANSELMO:
ABALONE ALLIANCE OF MARIN,
1024 Sir Francis Drake Blvd./94960 • (415) 457-4377

SAN JOSE:
GROUP OPPOSING NUCLEAR ENERGY,
520 So. 10th St./95112 • (408) 297-2299

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

ENVIRONMENTAL ACTION MINISTRY,
942 Market St., Room 310/94102 • (415) 391-7112

GOLDEN GATE ALLIANCE,
2735 Franklin/94123 • (415) 673-7422
PEOPLE AGAINST NUCLEAR POWER,
1021 Sanchez/94103 • (415) 285-2262

CENTRAL COAST

LOMPOC:
LOMPOC SAFE ENERGY COALITION,
P.O. Box 158/93438 • (805) 736-1897

SAN LUIS OBISPO:
PEOPLE GENERATING ENERGY,
452 Higuera/93401 • (805) 543-8402

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

SANTA CRUZ:
ACTION COMMUNITY ON DIABLO CANYON,
P.O. Box 693/95060
NORTHERN CALIFORNIA NON VIOLENCE TRAINERS/
PREPARERS COLLECTIVE, P.O. Box 693/95060
• (408) 476-8215
PEOPLE FOR A NUCLEAR FREE FUTURE,
P.O. Box 1236/95060 • (408) 425-1275

SANTA MARIA:
UNIVERSAL LIFE CHURCH,
510 S. Thornburg #F/93454 • (805) 922-3079,
922-1309

SANTA MARGARITA:
PLEXURE,
Star Route 313/93453 • (805) 438-5235

SOUTH

LOS ANGELES:
ALLIANCE FOR SURVIVAL,
1503 N. Hobart/90027 • (213) 462-6243
DIABLO CANYON TASK FORCE,
1503 N. Hobart/90027 • (213) 462-6243
WALDEN WEST,
c/o Michael Newcomb, 44 Ozone Ave./90291

OJAI:
STOP URANIUM NOW,
P.O. Box 772/93023 • (805) 646-3832

RIVERSIDE:
RIVERSIDE ALLIANCE FOR SURVIVAL,
200 E. Blaine St./92507

SAN DIEGO:
COMMUNITY ENERGY ACTION NETWORK,
P.O. Box 33686/92103 • (714) 275-1162

TOPANGA:
LOU SNIT,
P.O. Box 152/90290 • (213) 455-2867, 455-2768

OXNARD:
VENTURA PEOPLE FOR A NUCLEAR FREE FUTURE,
c/o Duain Wood, 1831 Adelaide Ct./93030



PAN: Poets Against Nukes

Poetry is a weapon loaded with future. —Gabriel Celaya

QUESTION by Jim Normington

when radioactive
knives come falling
disguised as frozen drops of rain
in dreams only the nuclear
man could ever understand
of what use will sleep be
except to expose behind each eye
radioactive citizens
who shall sharpen with their startled bodies
every blade of all that steel?

LEAK IN THE BUCKET OF CONSCIOUSNESS by R.V. Cottam

A woman
living one mile from Three Mile Island
who had three children
so knew the process of gestation
and thought she loved them
who knew all about rotten fruit
which looked good on the surface
who knew about beautiful homes
infected with invisible termites
who knew about outcropping of cancer
unsuspected for many years
when interviewed on television for her reaction
one day after the warning disaster of seventy-nine
smilingly said to mike and camera:
I don't know what all the fuss is about
I feel perfectly fine

PAN: Poets Against Nukes, P.O. Box 1139, Berkeley, California 94701 USA.

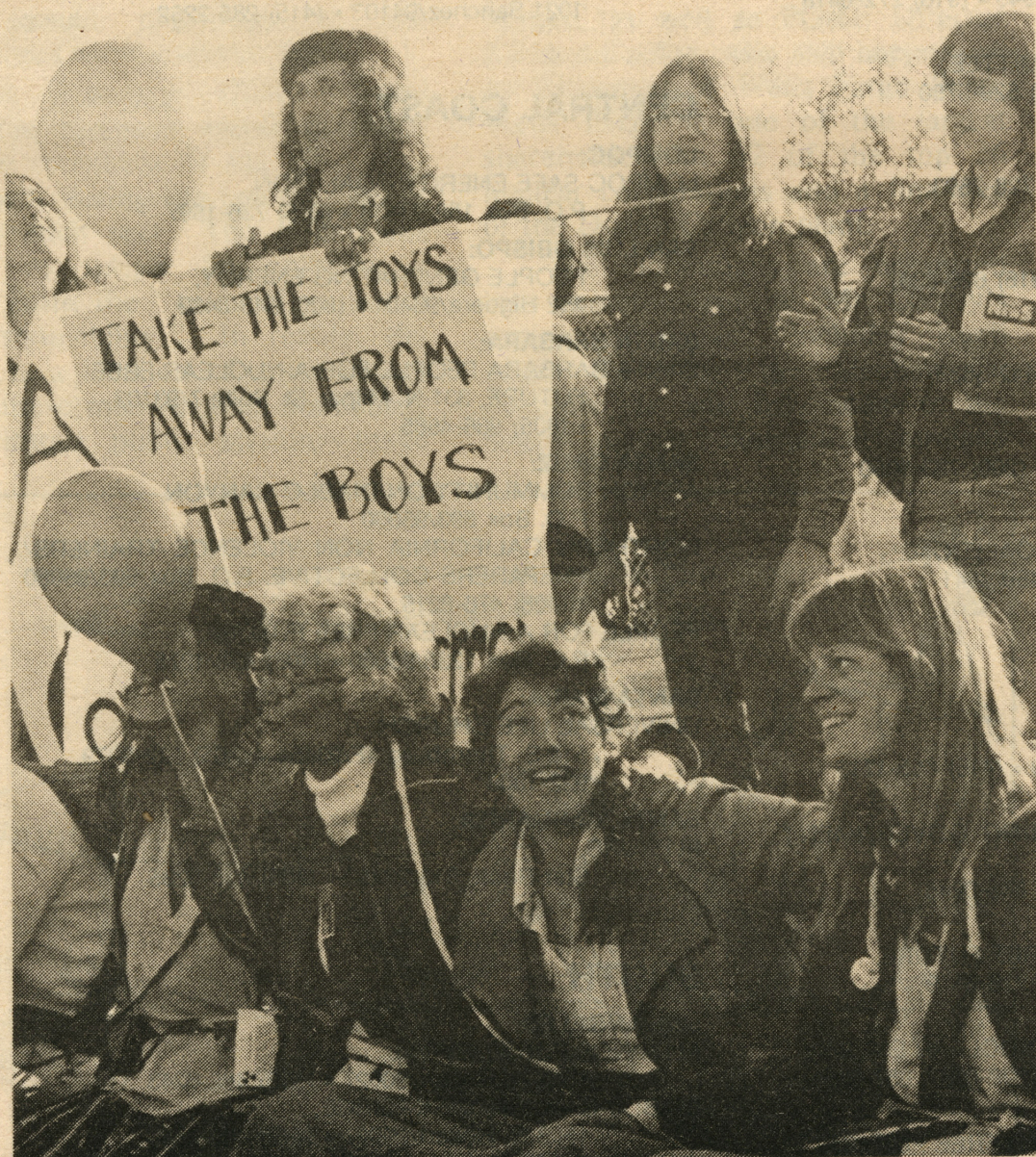


photo by Drew Mazer

Rally at Livermore June 19
Blockade June 21
See page 4

The Lawrence Livermore Laboratory and its companion lab in New Mexico are the birthplace of every new weapon in the US arsenal. Help stop the arms race where it starts by joining or supporting the blockade on

June 21 and the rally on June 19. See page 4 for more details.

Nonviolence preparation is essential for those planning to participate in civil disobedience on June 21. See announcement on page 11.

It's About Times

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