

It's About Times

Abalone Alliance Newspaper

December-January 1983



Peacekeeper on Earth, Good-bye to Men

In only the slightest variation on Orwell's slogan "War is peace," Ronald Reagan has declared that the MX missile—the most lethal ever developed—is to be called "The Peacekeeper."

Now that doublethink and newspeak have become official policy, deadly weapons systems have become prerequisites for arms reductions. And now history is rewritten. Facts are selectively chosen, and statistics not merely massaged, but refolded.

Reagan started off his November 22 MX pronunciamento by declaring that the USSR spends 12 to 14 percent of its gross national product on arms, compared with the American figure of only 4 to 5 percent. What he didn't mention is that the US economy is nearly double that of the USSR, making the military expenditures of the two nations roughly equal.

This kind of convenient lapse was strategically strewn throughout the speech. Reagan backed his claims of the Soviet Union's "decided advantage" in "virtually every measure of military power" with a history of the arms race whose relationship to reality is barely recognizable.

What follows is a short guide to nuclear newspeak, Reagan style.

- "The Soviet Union has deployed a third more land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles than we have. Believe it or not, we froze our number

Now that doublethink and newspeak have become official policy, deadly weapons systems have become prerequisites for arms reductions.

in 1965 and deployed no additional missiles since then."

True, but since 1965, 550 of the US's 1000 Minuteman missiles have been MIRVed—that is, fitted out with three independently targeted warheads. So while the number of missiles has remained the same, more than half of them now carry three bombs each. And these warheads are currently being replaced by versions with double the explosive power. In addition, all the missiles have been equipped with a new guidance system which doubles their accuracy.

- "The Soviet Union put to sea 60 new ballistic missile submarines in the last 15 years. Until last year we hadn't commissioned one in that same time period."

Also true, but Reagan doesn't mention that over those 15 years the missiles on the US subs, like those on the Minutemen, were MIRVed. Nor that in spite of their age the American subs are decidedly superior in overall performance. A dozen are now being fitted out to carry the new Trident I missile.

Reagan also leaves out the fact that the one sub commissioned this year was the first in a series of at least 12 new Trident submarines that are being built to carry the new Trident II missile. This is a MIRVed missile, still in the design stage, that will have the first-strike accuracy of the MX. Once equipped with them, the Trident subs will be the deadliest warships in history.

- "The Soviet Union has built over 200 modern Backfire bombers and is building 30 more a year. For 20 years the United States has deployed no new strategic bombers."

True again, but the B-52s have been constantly improved and are still superior to the Russian Backfire bombers.

- "The Soviet Union now has 600 of the missiles considered most threatening by both sides, the intermediate range missiles based on land. We have none. The United States

withdrew its intermediate range land-based missiles from Europe almost 20 years ago."

The US did withdraw its missiles from Turkey, right on the Russian border, as part of the Cuban missile crisis deal struck with the USSR by John Kennedy. But it's not as if that left the US without a nuclear force in Europe. Reagan neglected to mention that the US has a tremendous European stockpile of shorter-range nuclear weapons, nuclear-armed subs in nearby waters, and hundreds of strategic bombers based in Britain. And the British and French have their own nuclear missile forces.

- "We've tried time and time again to set an example by cutting our own forces in the hopes that the Soviets would do likewise."

Reagan never tells us when these historical cuts were made because they weren't. Over the past decade, the number of US strategic nuclear weapons has more than doubled.

Perhaps more distressing than Reagan's lies is the willingness of most of Congress and the mainstream media to go along with the officially defined basis of the MX debate. Amidst the basing brouhaha, few have had the courage or integrity to point out the most important fact:

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Letters



GANDHI THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS

Dear IAT,

Thanks for your courage in printing Howard Ryan's provocative and interesting perspective on Gandhi, nonviolence and Indian independence.

There is a kind of "Through the Looking Glass" quality to Ryan's article. It seems:

- He who worked for nonviolence ("It is the first article of my faith; it is the final article of my creed.") is to blame for violence.
- He who worked for liberation ("I hate privilege and monopoly. Whatever cannot be shared with the masses is taboo with me.") is to blame for oppression.
- He who worked for a united India ("I am opposed to any division of India now as I always have been." [He disassociated himself from the Congress Party when they agreed to a separate Pakistan]) is to blame for its partitioning.
- He who asked the rich to give up their wealth in trust to the community ("A nonviolent society is clearly impossible so long as the gulf persists between the rich few and the hungry many.") is a tool of business.
- He who urged the peasants to take the land (In his program for the improvement of the peasantry he says: "The peasants would take the land. We would not have to tell them to take it. They would take it." And would the landlords be compensated? he is asked. "No. That would be fiscally impossible.") is a dupe of the landlords.
- He who worked for the rights of women and the untouchables, for religious and ethnic harmony, for self-sufficiency, sanitation, education for all children and adults... well, you see the pattern. Sometimes you just can't win for losing.

Gandhi has not been a favorite among "traditional" revolutionaries. He opposed violence of every variety and slowly came to realize he could not support any war, not even class war. He saw what it did to the victors as well as the vanquished.

I'll close with several observations of Gandhi's that might be helpful to readers who are not so well informed as Mr. Ryan and who may want additional views: "A pacifism which can see the cruelties only of occasional military warfare and is blind to the continual cruelties of our social system is worthless." "A civilization is to be judged by the treatment of its minorities." "Disarmament cannot come unless the nations of the world cease to exploit one another."

I hear there might be a play based on Gandhi's life produced around town somewhere in December.

It would be redundant to say peace and love -- so I won't.

P&L,
-- Moral Quest
San Francisco

INSTANT CRIMINAL

Dear IAT,

My thanks for your coverage of the draft registration resistance movement. It seems odd that none of the major newspapers have shown any interest in the reasons behind the movement, or why the government seems willing to go ahead and create an instant criminal class of anywhere from 500,000 to 900,000 young men (depending on whose figures are reliable).

I am a bit confused by that, since half a million people is a sizable chunk of that particular population group, all men between the ages of 18-22. But it seems to be part of the overall mass media view of the peace movement in general as an aberration of society, which also confuses me.

It seems apparent to me that the world leaders, and sadly ours most of all, are willing to push their animal lust for total all-out planetary destruction to the brink and past. What an incredible power rush it must be for them, to be sure.

Which brings me back to thanking your paper for trying to inform the public about this bizarre attitude in US and world politics. I need that information. As one of the 500,000 to 900,000 new felons, my survival depends on it. I would suggest that everyone's might.

Keep them papers coming.

-- Christopher N.
San Francisco

NO POLITICS, PLEASE

It's About Times,

A copy of your paper was sent to me. Having read the entire issue I have concluded with regret that I cannot subscribe.

I think it is a hindrance to the movement to get caught up in left-right politics. I believe that it is much more productive to discuss the arms race and nuclear energy in terms of the implications for the individual, society and the world.

Everything reported in *It's About Times* regarding the politics of the Cold War and American foreign policy may well be true [but] when we stray from the straightforward facts of nuclear madness and get caught up in politics, about half of the people tune us and our message out. That leaves us to convince 100% of the remainder just to stay close.

The cause of freedom from nuclear madness transcends politics. It crosses all class, race, sex, age, and national lines. Why turn people off when they can be converted with the simple truth?

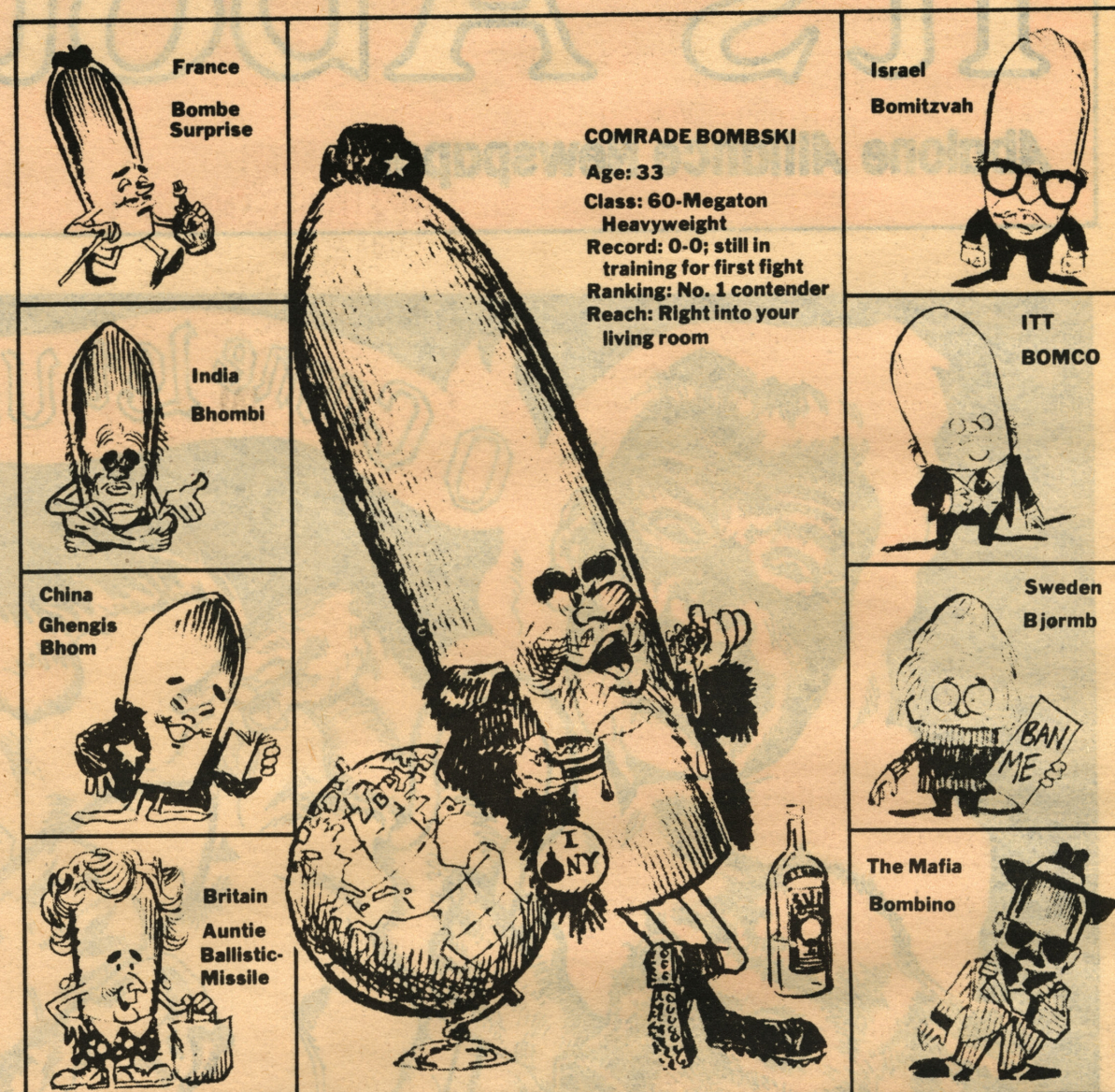
The awful implications of "peaceful" nuclear energy, with its attendant problems of accidents and waste disposal, are scary enough. Add the very real fear of nuclear annihilation and I hope you will agree it is unnecessary to argue the politics of the problem.

Nukes will not be banned because politicians have been convinced of the logic of our cause; they will be banned because the people demand it. For this to succeed it is necessary that the overwhelming majority of the people speak with one voice. If we permit the nuclear debate to be couched in terms of left-right politics, people will remain divided and those who profit from nuclear madness will prosper.

I believe the movement is at a critical stage. If it is to continue to grow, it must be able to touch the soul of every person of every social, political, and economic orientation.

Yours for a nuclear-free future,
J. McCowen

Bombs Of Many Nations



from Meet Mr. Bomb

WORK TO BE DONE

Dear IAT,

It was interesting and informative to see the reactions to this year's action at Bohemian Grove.

Out of all the activities, intrigues and general craziness, the main criticism seems to be that some demonstrators were waving, smiling and shouting, "We love you" to the Bohos as they sped by.

I share IAT readers' reaction to this sort of greeting to the world's top profit-makers and people-destroyers. It is indeed enough to make you puke. Therefore, I would like to make a distinction between the Bohemian Grove Action Network's position and that of individual demonstrators. (Ironically enough, BGAN organizers were criticized the year before this one because the witches' affinity group was unfriendly and hostile. Kind of puts us in a no-win situation, eh?)

Our purposes for conducting a two-week vigil each year at Bohemian Grove are quite simple: First, to draw attention to the Bohos, who they are, what they represent and how they annually "cremate care." Second, to bring together diverse segments of the movement and make apparent to us all the common sources of the various issues we

protest. Third, to educate the general public about the existence of a "ruling elite."

There are many people new to the movement who are unfamiliar with these concepts. Some of them were at the gates attempting to "convert" the Bohos. We can't stop people with no political perspective from expressing themselves but we can continue our attempts to educate them and to create a framework through which they can view the total picture.

I hope your readers who wrote in their observations will be around next year to help us in this endeavor.

Mary K. Moore
SONOMore Atomics

STYLISH POLITICS

Dear IAT,

Congratulations on your paper. The reason I'm ordering your back issues is not so much for information, although I'm sure that's there, as for the approach, both politically and stylistically.

Keep it up and take care.

Rich Hutchinson
Disarmament Coordinator
American Friends Service Committee, Chicago

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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Construction at Zimmer nuke halted

On November 12, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission suspended construction of the 810-megawatt Zimmer nuclear power plant, located 28 miles southwest of Cincinnati, Ohio.

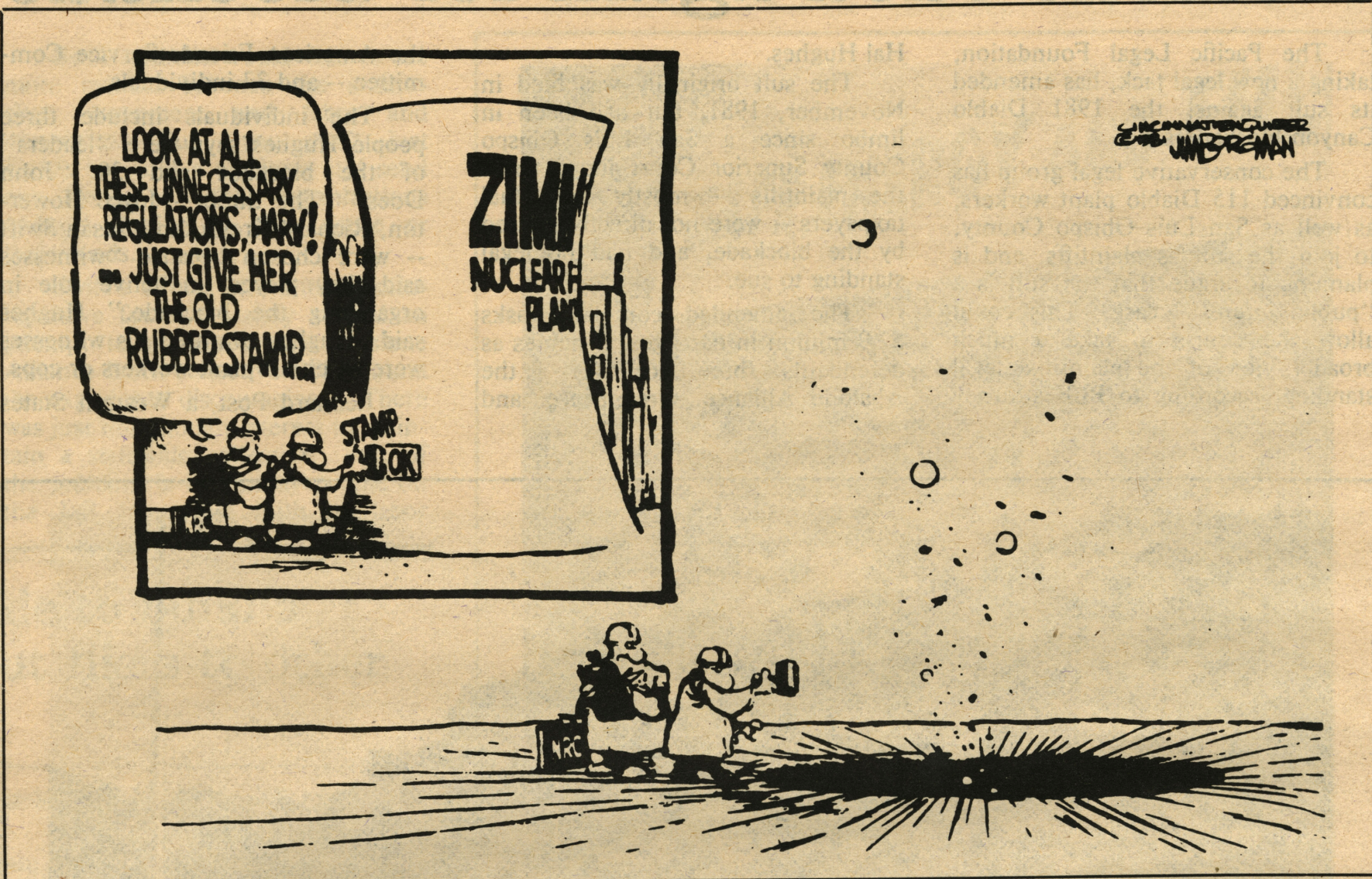
It was a citizens' watchdog group, not the NRC, that initiated the investigation of the plant's problems that led to the halt. After the Atomic Safety and Licensing Board issued a low-power test license for the plant last September, the Government Accountability Project reviewed NRC documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act.

These documents showed 129 instances in which Cincinnati Gas and Electric (CG&E) management deliberately permitted quality assurance violations. Interviews with plant workers amplified the problems, and armed with this evidence the Government Accountability Project petitioned the NRC to suspend construction.

Zimmer's problems include faulty welds on trays supporting cables that control the plant's safety systems; suspect piping; ill-fitting control rods that could jam during accidents; cracked support beams in the plant's pressure suppression pool; and a quality control program that consistently failed to locate and correct deficiencies. Seventy percent of the structural welds are being redone, and the NRC has determined that even these repairs are not adequate.

"The mess at Zimmer," says Tom Devine, legal director of the Government Accountability Project, "is the direct result of deliberate Cincinnati Gas and Electric policies made by top management in the early 1970s with full knowledge of the consequences."

Problems at Zimmer began in 1974, two years after construction began. Kaiser Engineering, the principal contractor for the plant, requested additional personnel from CG&E to meet the NRC's quality assurance regulations for plant construction. CG&E Vice President Earl Borgmann turned down the



request. Kaiser Vice President McMahon responded, "Needless to say we cannot conduct a quality assurance program without necessary manpower."

During construction of the plant, design changes were never properly communicated to plant workers. At one point, Kaiser quality assurance specialist David Jones found personnel working from five different designs, all of them outdated.

Construction often followed informal drawings rather than actual blueprints. Kaiser personnel trained welders improperly, and inspectors raising objections found themselves without jobs. Several quality control inspectors quit out of frustration. Yet the Regional NRC office never found any serious violations.

Finally in 1979, CG&E investigator Tom Applegate complained to the Merit Systems Protection Board, an independent government agency. After listening to Applegate's story, the Board ordered the Regional NRC

to again investigate Zimmer, and ordered the Washington office of the NRC to investigate why the Regional NRC office didn't locate the problems in the first place.

By March 1981, the majority of NRC inspectors were recommending the suspension of construction at Zimmer. Instead, the Regional NRC ordered CG&E to reverify its own quality assurance program. The same company responsible for the lack of quality assurance was made responsible for locating and correcting its own violations, while construction of the plant continued. Tom Devine points out, "The utility had control of nearly all of the evidence that could eventually be used to prosecute it."

In November 1981, James Keppler, director of the Region 3 NRC office responsible for Zimmer, characterized CG&E's quality assurance program as "totally out of control" and levied a \$200,000 fine against the utility for falsifying records, harassing quality assurance inspectors, and failing to document

and implement a quality assurance program at Zimmer.

Later investigations by the Government Accountability Project revealed that only a small portion of the problems had been identified in the report. The draft report, never made public, documented far more serious violations.

One year after the fine was levied, the NRC suspended construction. Bechtel Power Company has been selected to evaluate Zimmer's problems and make recommendations to the NRC for corrective action.

Paradoxically, construction was suspended in December on the Midland, Michigan nuclear power plant because of quality assurance violations. Bechtel built the plant and is missing 15,000 quality assurance reports. Because of improper geologic studies, the reactor is sinking into the sand. Bechtel is attempting to shore up the facility before the plant goes into operation.

-- Mark Evanoff
IAT staff

Diablo may run by summer

NRC caves in to PG&E timetable

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission has agreed to adopt a speeded-up PG&E timetable for bringing the Diablo Canyon nuclear plant to full power as early as next summer.

PG&E's plan will divide the licensing procedure into three parts: fuel-loading and cold-power testing;

criticality and low-power testing; and full-power operation. This is not the first time the NRC's licensing process has "fissioned." In 1980, the all-or-nothing license approval was divided into low-power and full-power steps.

The low-power license was originally conceived as a means to get

reactors running before resolving major safety disputes. Similarly, the new three-part scheme allows for fuel loading and cold-power testing before any license is issued.

Nancy Culver of Mothers for Peace, the legal intervenors against Diablo, attacked the NRC's move. "PG&E is calling the shots and everybody is caving in to their timetable," she told *It's About Times*.

Diablo Canyon was granted a low-power license in September 1981, but the NRC was forced to revoke it just a week later, when an avalanche of design errors was discovered. Since then, investigations (which are continuing) have uncovered hundreds more problems. More than 445 modifications have been made so far.

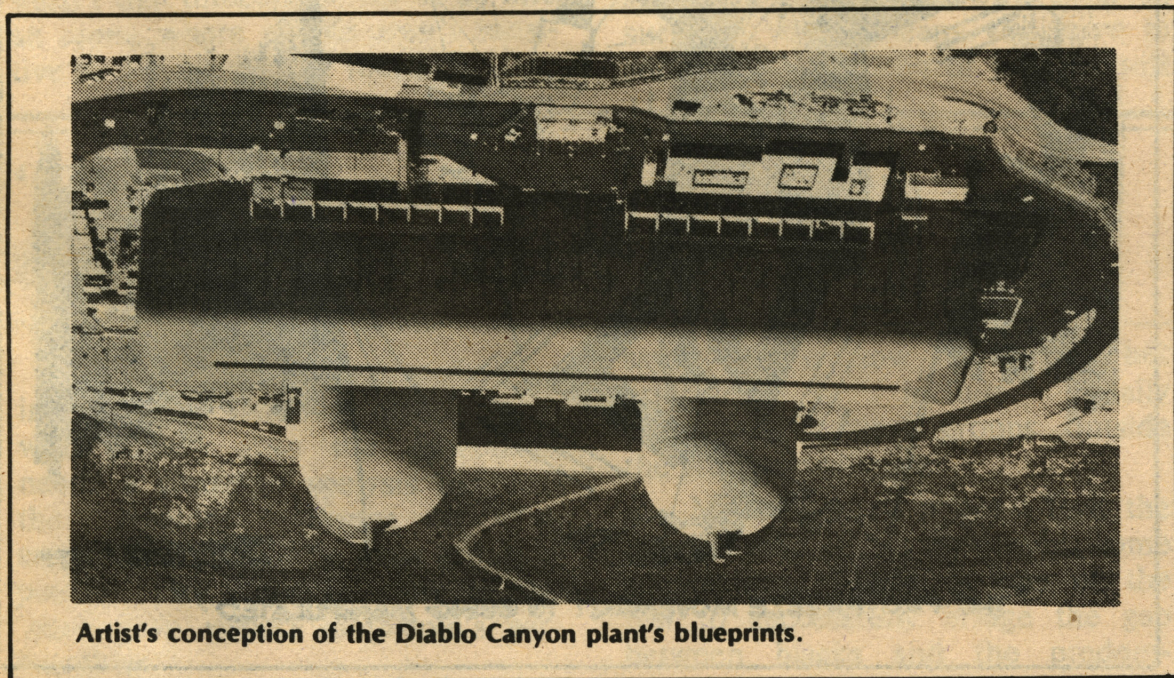
According to the new timetable, PG&E will get the go-ahead for fuel loading and cold-power testing on March 31 -- before final seismic reports are submitted and before an audit of the plant's design records is completed. (The NRC has agreed to this rush despite its promise that it

would not allow PG&E to load fuel until the design audit was completed and reviewed and all the repairs made.)

Then on May 15, a new low-power license will be granted, and the plant could go critical shortly thereafter. Final reports on Diablo's overall construction, quality assurance and seismic safety will be available on June 1. A full-power license would be expected within a few weeks after the commission's licensing director makes a recommendation on June 30. The plant could operate by August, 14 years after construction began.

The Abalone Alliance plans an action at Diablo Canyon before nuclear operation begins and must adapt its plans to fit the new licensing scenario. A statewide group is meeting to plan the action. This planning as well as nonviolence trainings and outreach need assistance. Contact the Diablo Project Office at (805) 543-6614.

-- Ward Young
IAT staff



Artist's conception of the Diablo Canyon plant's blueprints.

Abalone sued again for blockade

The Pacific Legal Foundation, taking a new legal tack, has amended its suit against the 1981 Diablo Canyon blockaders.

The conservative legal group has convinced 115 Diablo plant workers, as well as San Luis Obispo County, to join the suit as plaintiffs, and is planning to argue that the suit is a "public interest" case. This could allow the courts to take a much broader view of the plaintiffs' legal standing, according to PLF attorney

Hal Hughes.

The suit originally was filed in November, 1981, but had been in limbo since a San Luis Obispo County Superior Court judge ruled the plaintiffs -- mostly individual taxpayers -- were not directly injured by the blockade, and had no legal standing to sue.

The amended complaint asks \$2.9 million in damages. It names as defendants three groups -- the Abalone Alliance, Greenpeace, and

the American Friends Service Committee -- and 33 individuals.

The individuals include three people Hughes says were "leaders" of the blockade and 30 "John Does." The three -- Joyce Hower-ton, Richard Krejsa, and Susan Swift -- were chosen because "witnesses said they played an active role in organizing the blockade," Hughes said. Hughes admitted his witnesses were all either plant workers or cops.

Leonard Post, a Western States

Legal Foundation attorney who is helping represent the Abalone Alliance, said the suit is "an absolute case of political harassment."

"The PLF wanted to challenge the First Amendment rights of demonstrators, and they chose the antinuclear movement because it's visible and controversial," he said.

But Hughes denied any political motivation, claiming PLF "doesn't want to terrorize anyone. That's why we went for the leaders," he said, "and not the well-intentioned folks who went into this thing without thinking it through clearly ahead of time."

Post said he doubts that PLF's "public interest" argument will hold water. But he warned that the implications of the suit could be both far-reaching and disastrous. "A lot of PLF's clients and contributors have been the target of demonstrations and strikes, and they'd love to see some tight restrictions placed on the First Amendment rights of demonstrators," he said. If the PLF suit is successful, Post explained, participants in any demonstration -- even a legal picket line -- could be threatened with a suit over the costs of law enforcement at the demonstration site.

The Pacific Legal Foundation has a history of representing the interests of big business and attacking environmental regulations and workers' rights. It is known as a "sister group" of the Mountain States Legal Foundation, which has employed such public servants as Interior Secretary James Watt.

The American Civil Liberties Union and Morrison & Foerster, a San Francisco law firm, will also represent the defendants, Post said.

-- Tim Redmond
IAT staff



Unindicted Co-conspirators: some of the 1868 "well-intentioned folks who went into this thing without thinking it through clearly ahead of time."

photo by Steve Stallone

Jeremiah Denton's hit parade

Are you now, or have you ever been . . .

The Abalone Alliance is one of numerous groups appearing in the September 29 *Congressional Record* as an enemy of the United States. Alabama Senator Jeremiah Denton, who entered the names, considers any organization which supporters disarmament to be acting on behalf of the Soviet Union, whether consciously or not.

Denton attempted to document KGB involvement with the peace movement by submitting articles from the *Readers Digest* and research by an organization called Western Gold. The *Readers Digest* story explained, "The Kremlin through secrecy, forgery, terrorism and fear has played upon mankind's longing for peace to further its strategic objectives." This is accomplished by "aktivnyye meropriyatiya" (active measures), the article said. "The trick is to make people support Soviet policy by convincing them they are supporting something else."

According to the *Readers Digest*, the KGB's program began in 1976 by cultivating opposition to the deployment of the neutron bomb. Today, it claims, the KGB is responsible for getting protesters to disarmament demonstrations throughout Europe.

Western Gold conducted much of the "research" cited by Denton as linking the US peace movement

with the Soviet Union. One of Western Gold's main targets is the Mobilization for Survival, an umbrella organization for a number of disarmament groups. The Abalone Alliance is implicated because it sent delegates to two Mobilization conferences.

Most of the groups listed in the reports were based on the East Coast. But Western Gold director John Rees explained that "The West Coast need not feel slighted. Groups at Rocky Flats, San Luis Obispo, San Francisco and Los Angeles will be studied after we raise the money to do so."

According to Rees, Western Gold's principal research methodology is compiling newspaper clippings and identifying leaders of disarmament groups. However, Rees' reports listed the names of individuals attending conferences, information which did not appear in the newspapers.

The Campaign for Political Rights is working to protect groups from harassment from organizations like Western Gold as well as from government agencies. For information, contact Campaign for Political Rights, 201 Massachusetts Ave NE, Washington, D.C. 20002.

-- Mark Evanoff
IAT staff



"THE PRO-FREEZE MOVEMENT IS BEING MANIPULATED!"

Vandenberg: America's secret spaceport

That hundred thousand acres shown in pink on your road map of central California is Vandenberg Air Force Base, America's secret spaceport.

Since Vandenberg was established in 1958, over 1500 military rockets and satellites have been launched behind its tight security. Vandenberg will be home to the Defense Department's Space Shuttle, scheduled to make its first flight in 1985.

A military spaceport and a military Shuttle are necessary for transforming outer space into a battlefield and staging ground. As the military's invasion of space continues, Vandenberg will become more and more crucial.

Early next year, Vandenberg will host the debut flight of the first-strike MX missile. Like the hundreds of other intercontinental ballistic missiles that have been tested here, the MX will roar across the ocean to a splashdown at the Kwajalein Missile Range in the South Pacific's Marshall Islands. Unlike the other tests, the MX launch will not go unchallenged.

Protests are scheduled at both ends of the MX flight. At the receiving end, Marshall Islanders will be continuing a series of protests against the American military's abuse of their land and lives. At Vandenberg, the Livermore Action Group is planning "massive and sustained nonviolent direct action to obstruct the launchings."

The Vandenberg base is also used to test anti-ballistic missile (ABM) systems, despite a 1972 treaty that limits their development. Between 1977 and 1980, at least 50 ICBMs were fired toward the Kwajalein Missile Range in order to test an ABM system known as Site Defense.

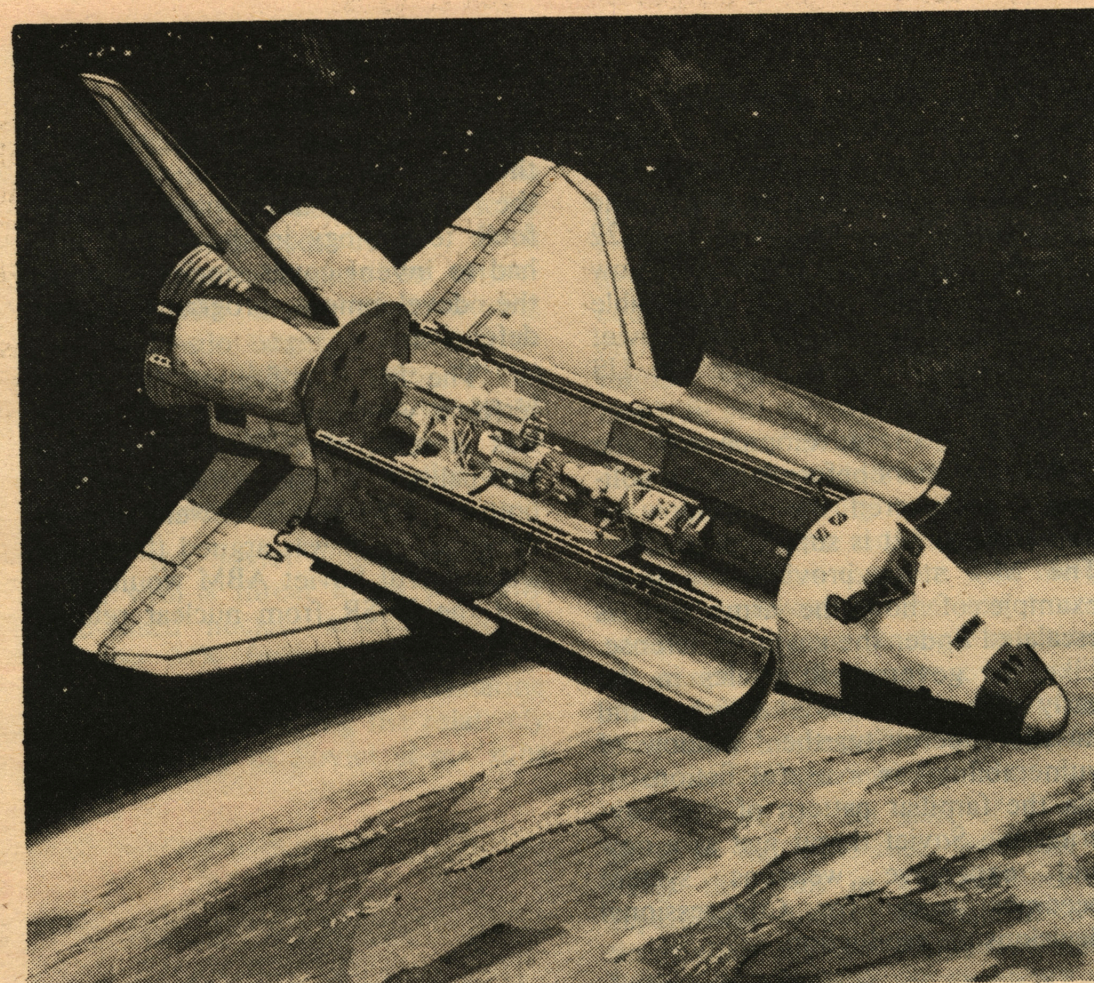
Reagan's 1983 budget has greatly increased ABM funding, and tests of two new ABM systems will begin soon. The Defense Department believes that one or both of them will be required to defend the silos in which MX missiles are now supposed to be based.

More satellites are launched from Vandenberg than from even the Kennedy Space Center, with 436 successful launches through 1981. Almost 300 of these were photographic reconnaissance satellites launched by the Air Force and operated by the Central Intelligence Agency. One of their missions is to monitor Soviet strategic arms, but they are also used to count crowds at large demonstrations and to check up on conventional conflicts. Information gathered by these satellites has been given to the Israelis, as well as to the British during the Falklands war.

The Air Force has also launched six NAVSTAR navigation satellites from Vandenberg. Another twelve NAVSTARs will be orbited by 1987. At a cost of several billion dollars (no one knows the exact amount), this constellation of satellites will provide pinpoint latitudinal and longitudinal information to nuclear-warhead carrying submarines and other earthbound military facilities, including soldiers in the field.

The precision will mean a tremendous advantage for the United States, since it gives submarine-launched missiles the accuracy to destroy Soviet ICBM silos in a first strike. According to ex-Lockheed engineer Robert Aldridge, "NAVSTAR has been described as one of the most important and far-reaching satellite programs ever undertaken by the Department of Defense."

Until now, all these satellites



Vandenberg will be the base for the military's space shuttle.

have been launched from no-return rockets. But beginning in the mid-1980's, expendable rockets will be replaced by the reusable Space Shuttle.

There has been some grumbling in Congress about the cost of building a Shuttle launch pad at Vandenberg. Three billion dollars will have been spent on it by 1987, despite a study by the General Accounting Office which concluded that there was no reason the Air Force couldn't fly all of its missions from the existing Shuttle facilities at Kennedy.

But as usual, the legislators gave in to the Air Force's insistence. Privately, some Congressional staffers explain that the Air Force's desire for its own all-military spa-

ceport lay behind its decision to put the Shuttle at Vandenberg.

A military spaceport and a military Shuttle at Vandenberg will be a boon to the Defense Department's space capabilities. Someday, missions from Vandenberg may include deliveries of chemical fuel to orbiting laser battle stations and the launching of "killer satellite" devices.

Already, visions of space wars are entrancing military planners. Just one example is an article in the April 1981 *Naval War College Review*. "Space itself," it says, "is the battlefield of the future."

John Pike
Progressive Space Forum

From Vandenberg to the South Pacific

The Reagan administration has boosted funding for ballistic missile defense (BMD) to \$7 billion over the next five years. Military studies indicate that BMD systems could be so advanced by 1991 that they could destroy 96 percent of all Soviet warheads launched at American missile silos.

Although BMD development efforts are presently focussed on defending the MX, some defense officials are pushing for a system which could defend the entire nation. The technology, which includes anti-ballistic missiles (ABMs) and supporting radar and optical tracking equipment, is presented to the public as having a purely defensive purpose. But once deployed, it would remove all restraints on aggression and allow the

US to carry out a first-strike attack without fear of reprisal.

Late this year, tests will begin at Kwajalein Missile Range in the South Pacific on the Homing Overlay Experiment (HOE), which can destroy enemy warheads in space. Aided by satellites or high-flying aircraft carrying infrared sensors, the system's non-nuclear missiles will home in on incoming warheads at tremendous speed, blasting out concentric circles of metal pellets to collide with the warhead and destroy it.

Starting this January, MX missile warheads will be fired at Kwajalein from Vandenberg Air Force Base. Later, Trident II warheads will be launched at it from Point Magu, California. These advances in strategic missile technology complement Ballistic Missile

Defense development at Kwajalein.

The new missiles provide targets for testing new BMD innovations at Kwajalein. The latest products of ICBM research thus vie with BMD techniques for shooting them down.

Kwajalein contributes to the development of strategic missiles by much more than just measuring the accuracy of warhead impact. It plots the trajectory of reentry vehicles through the earth's atmosphere, providing the data needed to achieve greater precision. It performs wake analysis of the warheads to determine behavior of materials, erosion characteristics of the heat shield and nose tip, and so on. It tests penetration aids -- strips of metal to hide the reentry vehicle while in space and decoys to confuse identification of the warhead during reentry.

Super-accurate missiles like MX will soon be capable of destroying the 75% of the USSR's strategic warheads which are carried by its land based missiles. They could also knock out up to 85% of Soviet submarine-based missiles, since most of the Soviet sub force is in port at any given time. An effective BMD system would provide the "capper" for a first-strike by destroying the few retaliatory missiles which survived.

Kwajalein has developed ABM's and tested them against missiles launched from Vandenberg. The Homing Overlay Experiment will test the concept of defending wide areas -- like regions of the country. To stop enemy warheads that make it

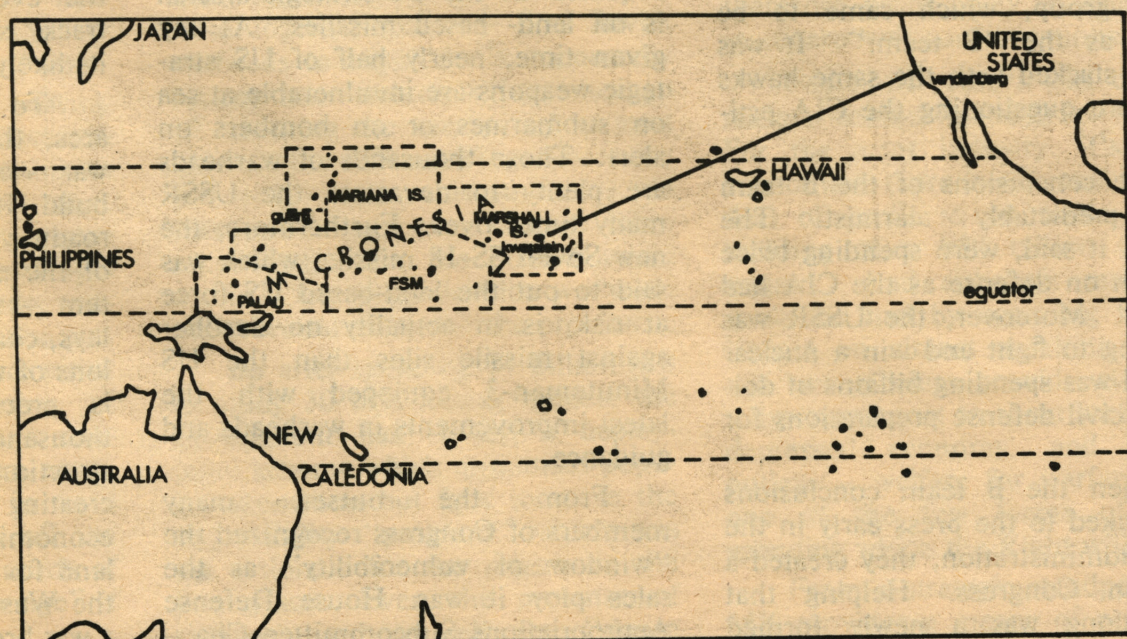
through HOE is the job of the Low Altitude Defense System (LOADS) which will see its first test launch in 1985 at Kwajalein. Initially it will destroy warheads below 60,000 feet altitude with a 2 kiloton nuclear blast. Later non-nuclear homing interceptors are envisioned which would scatter several hundred steel cubes in the warhead's path.

All of the advances in BMD are taking place despite the fact that the ABM Treaty, as modified in 1974, limits the US and USSR to only one ABM site with 100 single-warhead interceptors. During the mid-'70's Congress prohibited spending for testing new ABM "systems" -- but isolated development of new "components" and even some systems continues at Kwajalein Missile Range. BMD fits neatly with an aggressive nuclear-war fighting stance and promises at least to spur a new round of arms spending on both sides.

Kwajalein's role in the development of both accurate missiles and Ballistic Missile Defenses leads former Lockheed engineer Robert Aldridge to conclude that "... if Kwajalein Missile Range should be closed it would be impossible for the US to develop a disarming and unanswerable first strike capability..."

--by Ward Young IAT staff

Source --Robert Aldridge, *Background Paper on Kwajalein Missile Range*



Of admen and madmen:

With a sales fanfare appropriate for a new Detroit gas-guzzler, Ronald Reagan has proclaimed that the MX is "the right missile at the right time." In his November 22 speech, Reagan purported to show that the missile was a reasonable response to a decade-long Soviet arms buildup during which the US was standing still.

In fact, the development of the MX began years before hawkish politicians discovered the "window of vulnerability" it is supposed to close. The MX story provides a classic example of how the arms race is escalated under the cover of defense. Like the government's tales in the early 60's about Soviet bomber and missile superiority, the "window of vulnerability" is a useful fiction. It fits the familiar pattern of rediscovering the Soviet threat just as a new and expensive weapons system becomes ready for Congressional decisions on production.

Beginnings: From ABM to MX

What makes the MX so much more threatening than its predecessors -- and so much more suitable for aggressive use in a "first strike" -- is the extreme accuracy with which each of its 10 to 14 warheads can be directed to an individual target. In its first version, the MX will be capable of delivering each warhead to within typically 300 feet of the target; future improvements may reduce this error to 90 feet.

Such accuracy is useless if the target is a city, since everyone within miles of "ground zero" will be killed anyway. But if the objective is "counterforce" or first-strike capability -- catching an enemy by surprise and destroying its missiles before they can be launched -- then only a nearly direct hit will suffice. The steel and concrete "silos" which house missiles before launch are designed to be extremely rugged, and even a large nuclear warhead isn't likely to "kill" the missile if it misses it by more than a few hundred yards. Accuracy is far more important than warhead size; cutting the miss distance of the warhead in half improves its "lethality" as much as increasing its explosive force by eight times.

But great accuracy offers no advantage in retaliating against an aggressor which has already launched its missiles. There isn't much point

in blowing up empty missile silos. Pinpoint accuracy is only useful to the side that strikes first. So when the US began developing counterforce technology in the late 60's, it had to invent cover stories to make the development programs appear defensive.

The first justification for counterforce weapons -- and one which was at least plausible -- related to anti-ballistic missiles (ABMs), which both the US and USSR were actively developing. It was argued that since a successful Soviet ABM would protect the USSR from nuclear retaliation,

The MX story is a classic example of how the arms race is escalated under the guise of defense.

tion, the Soviets might think they could get away with attacking the US -- and therefore the US had to develop ways to outsmart ABMs.

One idea was to equip each US missile with multiple individually targeted reentry vehicles (MIRVs). The front section of MIRVed missiles, called the "bus," would drop off many "reentry vehicles" (RVs), each containing a hydrogen bomb, as it coasted through space toward the target. The sheer number of RV's coming at the target from many incoming missiles would, the theory went, overwhelm any practical ABM defenses.

The next step in this line of development was the MARV, or maneuvering reentry vehicle, which gave the RV's the ability to change course as they descended through the earth's atmosphere. Lockheed was working on a simple MARV as early as 1978, according to former Lockheed missile designer Robert Aldridge. Aldridge notes that the first MARV's "crude acrobatics were said to be necessary to avoid enemy ABM interceptors, but, as in the case of MIRVs the real purpose was counterforce."

When the ABM treaty with the USSR was signed in 1972, it limited the number of ABM interceptors to a total of 200 for each country -- far less than the number of warheads

already on each side's missiles. There was therefore no justification for MARVs, and the program was supposedly shelved. But development actually continued with funds from the Advanced Ballistic Reentry Systems (ABRES) program of the Air Force.

In March 1975, ABRES contracted for the design of a Precision Guided Reentry Vehicle (PGRV) that would use an onboard computer to compare sensor readings to previously-stored target maps in order to guide an RV to a direct hit. Several prototypes of the PGRV are

being built for flight testing. The Pentagon is still claiming that the purpose of the program is ABM evasion -- in case the treaty is cancelled -- but Aldridge says that the PGRV "is earmarked for use on the Trident-2 and MX."

MIRVs for Moscow

Despite the official policy of Soviet-American detente, marked by the signing of the SALT I and ABM treaties, the US began a massive program to equip its missiles with multiple nuclear warheads. As MARV development continued, the MIRV was moving onto the production line.

Between 1970 and 1976, the US doubled its strategic arsenal by adding over five thousand warheads. The number of missiles, however, remained roughly constant, a fact which Reagan likes to quote, misleadingly, as proof that the US was "not racing" in the arms race during the 1970's.

The Soviets naturally viewed the huge US warhead buildup with alarm. In 1973, they began testing MIRVs of their own, and began deploying them in 1975. Despite rapid Soviet deployment, the US still had at least a 2-to-1 lead in strategic warheads for most of the decade. At present, the US still has a 1500-warhead edge.

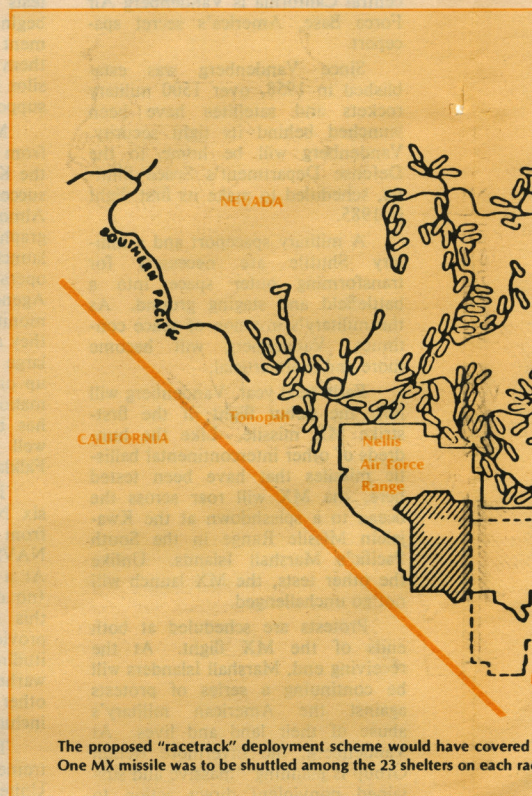
B-team beats CIA

US hawks weren't satisfied with just more warheads. From defense contractors to ideologues, they wanted whole new weapons systems. Largely ignored during the first half of the decade, they saw their chance when President Ford appointed George Bush to head the CIA.

The CIA has long produced what are called National Intelligence Estimates, which contain the agency's best guesses about military expenditures by the Soviet Union. These figures are used as the basis for US military policy. The Right began demanding that these estimates be reviewed by an outside panel. Bush appointed a civilian review group, which came to be known as the "B team." It was heavily stacked with the same hawks who were questioning the CIA estimates.

The conclusions of the B team were predictably alarmist. The Soviets, it said, were spending twice as much on defense as the CIA had thought. Moreover, the USSR was preparing to fight and win a nuclear war and was spending billions of dollars on civil defense preparations for it.

When the B team conclusions were leaked to the press early in the Carter administration, they created a panic in Congress. Helping that panic along was a newly formed



organization called the Committee on the Present Danger, which included many of the B team members -- as well as a presidential candidate named Ronald Reagan.

The "window" is born

One of the hawks' chief claims was that the Russians had used the period of detente to gain military advantages over a slumbering United States. They waved photos of frightening new Soviet weapons and paraded scale models before Congress to show that "their" missiles were bigger than "our" missiles and pointed with pride to the size of the proposed MX.

But the hawks could not rely on machismo alone to sell the MX. They needed some way to convince Congress and the American public that this new counterforce missile was actually a defensive weapon. The solution this time was the claim that new Soviet missiles made the US land-based missile force susceptible to a knockout first strike.

The prescription for closing this "window of vulnerability" was to build the MX and base it in a vast system of shelters so the Soviets would never know which ones were occupied. Under the terms of the unratified SALT II treaty, the USSR would not be allowed to build enough warheads to knock out all the shelters. So, MX backers said, the US would have a reliable "deterrent" to Soviet attack.

The "window of vulnerability" concept was clearly absurd. Less than a quarter of the US strategic arsenal is on land-based missiles. At any given time, nearly half of US strategic weapons are invulnerable at sea on submarines or on bombers on alert. Those thousands of warheads are plenty to devastate the USSR many times over. Furthermore, the new Soviet SS-18 missile, which was said to put the land-based US force at risk, is in actuality no deadlier against missile silos than the US Minuteman-3 equipped with the latest improvements in warheads and guidance.

From the outset, many members of Congress recognized the "window of vulnerability" as the sales play it was. House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee Chair-

man Joseph Addabbo recognized that intelligence had suddenly fallen apart and suddenly woke up one morning to a severe threat. But I see 'do business as usual' have here is a program started back in 1971, and excuse to go into production.

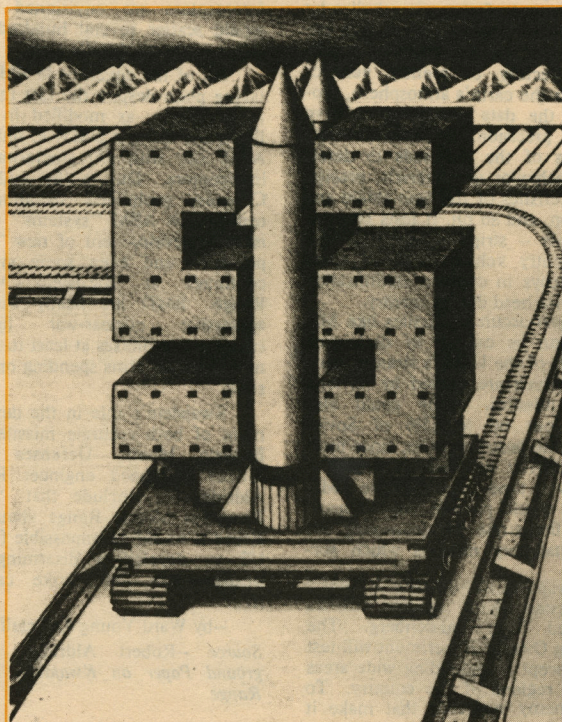
Missile, missile, who's the g

Right, President Carter broke his campaign promise to reduce nuclear weapons the MX, announcing plans for 200 missiles in a "racetrack" scheme which was a expensive and environmentally destructive.

The scheme was not the largest construction project in human history. It proposed a large portion of Nevada with 4600 missile shelters, each missile. Each group of forced shelters was to be around a "race track" road, a special 500-ton transporter carrying the missile from shelter. A 70-ton shield transporter would prevent satellites from telling where transporter had a missile therefore which shelter had been dropped off at.

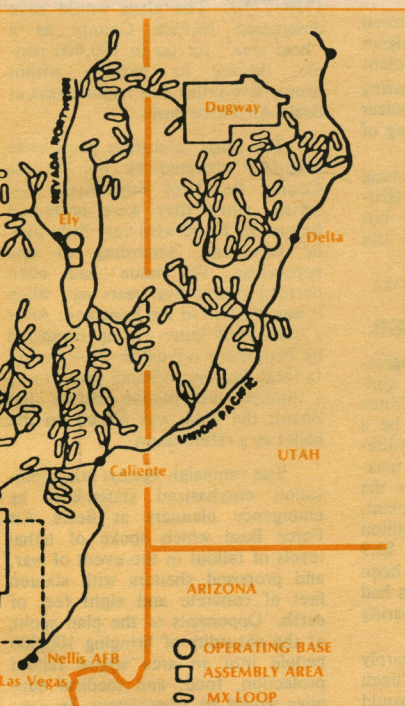
The official price tag posed MX system was \$1.5 billion and unofficial estimates several times that. But staggering cost had less to do with the eventual demise of the "racetrack" scheme than did its likely effects on the environment.

To people in the area, the government had war -- on them. It was to build 10,000 miles of roadways -- equivalent to the entire interstate highway system -- in their peaceful lands, consuming over 100 million gallons of water in a region where water is precious. It would take thousands of workers for construction and then take creating a boom and bust economies. It would feed the West into a "nuclear war broke out.



The Progressive

How the MX was sold



much of Nevada and Utah with 200 "race tracks." The MX Loop in order to keep the Russians guessing.

marked, "I had really... we would... again it is... What we... which was... we need an..."

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pack" scheme may now be abandoned, as indicated by Reagan's comments December 10 that he is willing to accept virtually any basing mode as long as the missile itself is built.

If the "window of vulnerability" had really existed, it would have made sense to propose making existing missiles mobile rather than building a whole new missile. Or the land-based missiles could simply have been phased out completely, since the US already has about 7400 nuclear weapons that are mobile on submarines and bombers.

The MX system, as now proposed, has only one advantage over the existing Minutemen: it can be used in a first strike.

After spending \$1 billion just to study MX basing modes, the government has chosen a deployment scheme that fails to solve the vulnerability "problem."

What's it really for?

It is hard to believe that any sane person would contemplate starting a nuclear war. But official statements during the early months of the Reagan administration, well documented by journalist Robert Scheer in *With Enough Shovels*, indicate that the new policymakers believe that nuclear war is not only survivable but winnable. Especially alarming were statements like those of Deputy Undersecretary of Defense T.K. Jones which imply an administration belief that nuclear war is no big deal, that fallout shelters could be dug on the spot and everyone would make it "if there are enough shovels to go around." No more reassuring were leaks of government plans to fight and "win" a protracted nuclear war.

As the Reaganites noticed that their nuclear saber-rattling was breathing new life into the disarmament movement and creating dangerous splits in the NATO alliance, they became more circumspect in their public pronouncements. But it was already clear that their beliefs combine an appalling ignorance of the effects of modern nuclear weapons with an intense nostalgia for that brief postwar period when America got its way in the world because it had a monopoly on the Bomb.

It is doubtful that many of these new militarists really intend to destroy the Soviet Union in a surprise attack, or are willing to sacrifice the tens of millions of Americans who would be killed, even under the most optimistic assumptions, by the Soviet missiles which would inevitably survive the attack. But they wouldn't mind having the leadership of the USSR always worrying about the possibility of a first strike and therefore more likely to back down in superpower confrontations.

There are other, less dramatic reasons behind the push for the MX. For the arms industry, it's simple economics: there is obviously a great deal of profit to be made on the building of a \$30 billion weapons system. And although more jobs could be had by spending the MX budget on almost anything else, it will nevertheless provide at least a temporary boost to some sectors of a depressed economy, and defense outlays -- welfare for warfare -- are one of the few forms of public spending which the Right will accept.

From a strategic standpoint, the MX provides a means of pressuring

the Soviets. The first 100 MX's, even if they hold to SALT II limits of 10 warheads each, will be able to threaten much of the Soviet arsenal with first-strike destruction. Each MX warhead will have an unprecedented 80% chance of destroying its missile-silo target, a figure three times better than its best Soviet rival. There is also little reason to believe that MX production and deployment will stop after the hundredth missile is produced.

So the Soviet Union would be faced with a threat to its primarily land-based nuclear arsenal from a growing MX force. At the same time, US advances in anti-submarine warfare will be putting the relatively small number of Soviet at-sea subs

Union, forcing it to spend huge sums to counter new US weapons.

The Soviets say they are willing to do just that, announcing in December that if the MX is deployed they will develop an equivalent missile. They have other options as well: increasing the number and accuracy of SS-18 warheads to put the MX more at risk, or adopting a "launch on warning" strategy to fire vulnerable missiles at the mere warning of an attack, before a real first strike could knock them out. What they are least likely to do is throw in the towel and accept an inferior strategic position, or accept the Reaganite concept of "linkage" and agree not to pursue their own interests in exchange for arms control agreements.

We are at the start of a new spiral in the arms race, one that is likely to result in a transition to superpower nuclear arsenals several times their present outrageous size. Each side will have the capability to destroy much of the other's weapons -- but only if it strikes first.

It is a scene from a Hollywood Western: two gunfighters face each other on a dusty street at high noon, hands quivering inches from their holsters. To draw last is to die. A shot rings out in the quiet heat: John Wayne stands victorious, peacekeeper smoking in his grip. But the peacekeepers are nuclear now, and "victory" is just a Dodge City fantasy of aging Cold Warriors.

Peace Or Peacekeepers?

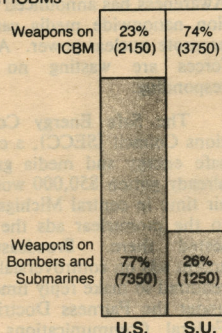
The MX is in trouble. In a historic vote in early December, the House overwhelmingly killed funding for the "dense pack" basing plan -- the first time a President has ever been denied a nuclear weapons system he requested. MX development funds continue to flow, however, and the basing defeat will not necessarily stop -- or even delay -- its deployment.

Nevertheless, the disarmament movement is faced with an unprecedented opportunity. With opposition to new weapons at an all-time high, it may be possible to derail the MX and at least temporarily halt the momentum toward first-strike capabilities. Stopping the MX would buy time -- time to organize the mass movement that will be necessary to get governments to stop preparing for war while talking about peace. We may not get a better chance -- or many more chances at all.

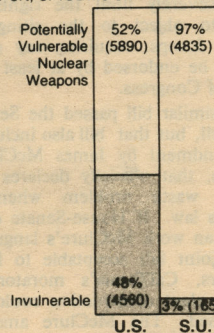
-- Bob Van Scoy
IAT staff

Soviet Strategic Nuclear Weapons More Vulnerable Than Those of U.S.

S.U. Has Larger Proportion of Its Nuclear Weapons on ICBMs



Ninety-seven % of Soviet Nuclear Weapons Are on Non-alert Bombers, Submarines in Port, or ICBMs on Land



A U.S. surprise attack on the S.U. would destroy a far greater proportion of enemy weapons than a Soviet surprise attack on the U.S. Nonetheless, either side would retain enough weapons for a deadly retaliation.

Center for Defense Information

Short Circuits

TRUST US

The government of West Germany surprised European antinuclear activists last month with the announcement that a 350-ton nuclear fuel reprocessing plant is planned for the town of Dragahn, 30 kilometers from Gorleben.

West German officials had previously declared that no plant would be built in the area near Gorleben, the site of massive anti-nuclear protests in the late 1970's. The assurances were repeated as recently as July by Lower Saxony Minister President Ernst Albrecht. German activists called the latest announcement "a confirmation of years of warnings against the Atomic Mafia."

An earlier plan to build a large nuclear complex that would have included a reprocessing plant, a waste storage facility, and a fuel fabrication factory was canceled in 1979 after 80,000 people -- many of them farmers driving tractors -- converged on the Lower Saxony capital of Hanover to demand an end to the complex.

--from Wise

GAMBLING ON NUKES

Engineers at Bechtel Corporation in San Francisco are spending their lunchtimes trying to outbuild each other's nuclear power plants.

They are playing the newly released Nuclear Energy Game, invented by John Caswell, a former human factors engineer with the NUS Corp. of Gaithersburg, Maryland.

Players roll dice and move their pieces (stove bolts) around the monopoly-type board, with spaces named after various nuclear power plants in the United States. Landing on an income or event space can be a blessing or an expense. A plant-site license costs \$1 million, and a core meltdown costs another \$1 million.

A player might collect \$100,000 because she or he is invited to China by a group of visiting Chinese nuclear physicists to view a fire drill. Or someone might have to pay \$50,000 for public relations activities to take care of the antinuclear society which is holding its annual picnic in the power plant's parking lot.

-- The Institute, newspaper of The Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineers, Inc.

NO PROBLEM

The US House of Representatives has adopted a bill that sets in motion the machinery for selecting a permanent, underground disposal site for high-level radioactive waste from nuclear power plants. The bill would severely limit the rights of states to object to the siting of nuclear dumps, requiring any state veto to be endorsed by at least one house of Congress.

A similar bill passed the Senate last April, but that bill also included an amendment by James McClure, R-Idaho, that officially declares the nuclear waste problem when it becomes law. If House-Senate conferees can work McClure's language into a joint bill acceptable to both chambers, California's moratorium on new plant construction could be overturned. The McClure amendment was aimed at such state laws, most of which forbid new plant construction until the waste problem is solved.

-- San Francisco Chronicle, 12/3/82

NEW PLUTONIUM ON THE WAY

Nine environmental and civic organizations, along with three South Carolina residents, have filed a federal suit against the US Department of Energy for its plans to renovate and start up a 29-year-old reactor at the Savannah River Plant in Aiken, South Carolina.

The "L-Reactor," which has been shut down for over a decade, was used to produce materials for nuclear weapons until 1968. DOE is proceeding with \$214 million worth of extensive repairs and modifications to the reactor and is scheduling start-up for October 1983.

The groups charge that DOE violated the National Environmental Policy Act with its decision last August not to prepare an environmental impact statement. (Los Alamos Labs had feared this law could effectively slow the reopening of weapons production reactors. See November IAT.) Starting up the L-Reactor will result in the discharge of radioactive cesium into the Savannah River, a source of drinking water for more than 70,000 people downstream.

Critics are also upset because the L-Reactor does not have a containment dome. A full core meltdown could cause radiation injuries and contaminate the environment 100 or more miles from the facility.

For more information, contact the Natural Resources Defense Council, 1725 Eye Street, NW, Washington, DC 20006.

-- from Wise

NO NUKES, TANKS

French police used two tanks and a bulldozer to smash through barricades blocking two bridges on the Meuse River on November 28 and then routed antinuclear demonstrators with barrages of tear-gas grenades.

The police assault "restored order" in this town on the Belgian border after two days of violent demonstrations by groups protesting the planned construction of a nuclear power station here and the closing of a local steel mill.

Numerous store windows along the town's main street were shattered during repeated clashes, but only one injury was reported and police said there were no arrests.

-- San Francisco Chronicle, 11/29/82

SOLD DOWN THE RIVER

A new study by the Congressional Research Service has concluded that the proposed Clinch River Breeder Reactor would be a multi-billion-dollar loser over its lifetime. The study projects a maximum value of \$1.7 billion for the electricity generated by the plant, compared with costs of \$3.7 billion for construction and another \$3.9 billion which would have been earned if the construction funds had been put into an interest-bearing investment instead of the nuke.

The predicted losses are sharply at odds with the claims of Clinch River promoters that the plant would generate \$8 billion or more in net revenue over its 30-year lifetime. The plant's cost has been a major issue in past Congressional battles over whether it should be funded, and the next vote on whether to continue or kill the project is expected to be close.

-- Nucleonics Week, 11/25/82

COUNTY REJECTS WAR PLANNING

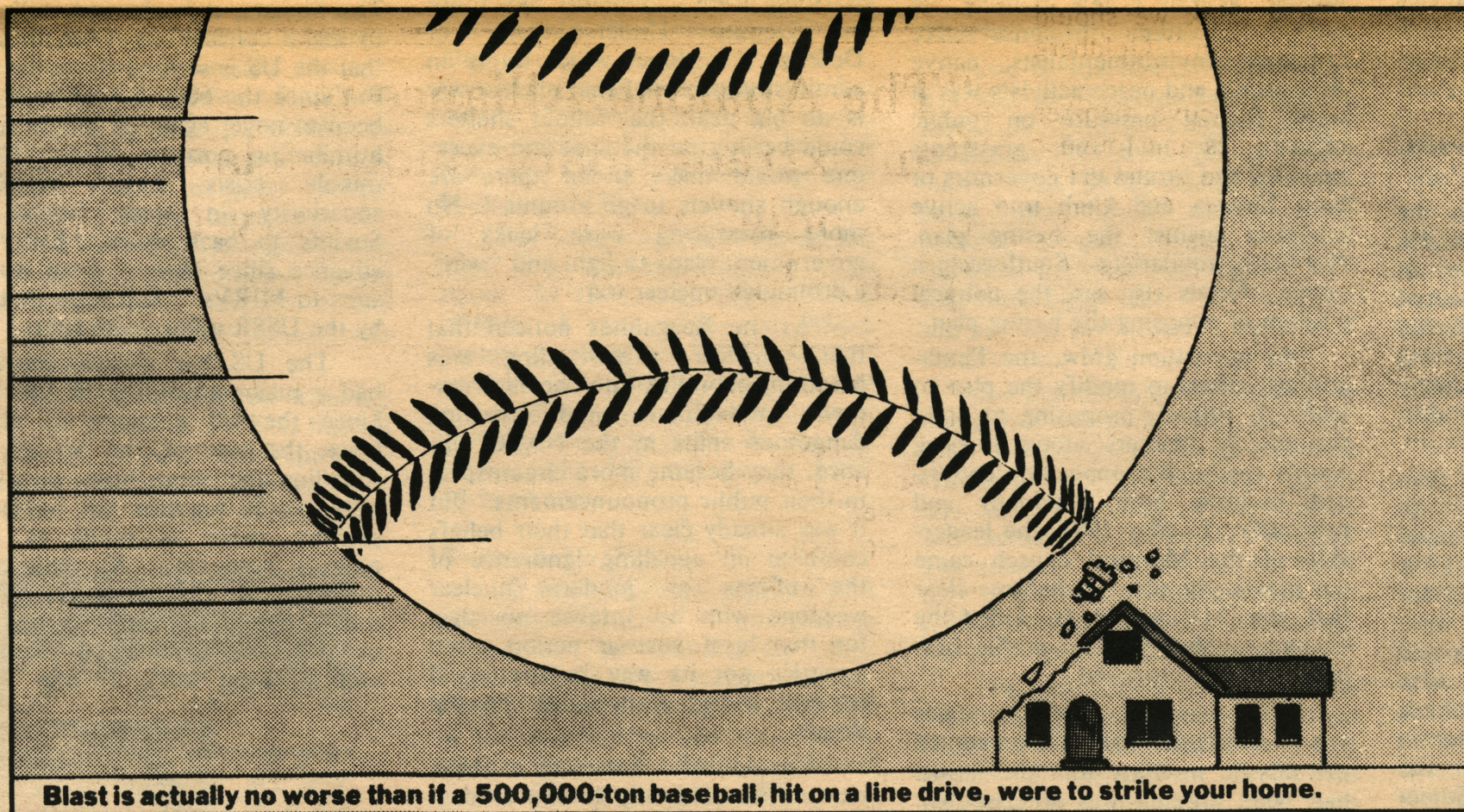
Voters in Nevada County, California, rejected federal crisis relocation planning for nuclear war by close to a three-to-one margin (73%-27%). The plans would have designated Nevada County as a "host area" for up to 100,000 people, despite its location within twenty-five miles of a major target at Beale Air Force Base.

The crisis relocation plans were originally accepted by the Nevada County Board of Supervisors last spring, when they were presented before the Board with very little public comment. According to one supervisor, the issue had been decided twenty-five years ago when it was debated in the Pentagon. After a successful letter-writing campaign by People for a Nuclear Free Future (a local Abalone Alliance group) and a limited presentation before the Board, the issue was placed on the ballot as a referendum.

The campaign against crisis relocation emphasized statements by emergency planners at Beale Air Force Base which spoke of lethal levels of fallout in the event of war, and proposed shelters with sixteen feet of concrete and eight feet of earth. Opponents of the plan spoke of the absurdity of bringing 100,000 people into an area where fallout protection, food, and medical supplies would be nonexistent. In contrast, civil defense received almost no public support.

Although Nevada County voters narrowly rejected the statewide Nuclear Freeze initiative, they have overwhelmingly refused federal plans to make nuclear war acceptable.

--People for a Nuclear Free Future



from Meet Mr. Bomb

NO CHEAP LIES HERE

A nuclear industry organization called the Committee for Energy Awareness has announced a \$40 million nationwide media campaign to promote nuclear power. Antinuclear forces are wasting no time in responding.

The Safe Energy Communications Council (SECC), a coalition of safe energy and media groups, has already gotten \$50,000 worth of free air time in central Michigan to reply to the pronuclear ads the CEA has tested there. Broadcasters who accept ads on controversial topics are required to make reply time available under the Fairness Doctrine of the Federal Communications Commission, and will presumably do so in other areas of the country as the CEA ads are aired there.

-- Nucleonics Week, 11/11/82

DENMARK NIXES NATO

On December 7 the Danish parliament voted to suspend its share of the payments for deploying 72 Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Western Europe late next year.

Denmark's share of the cost is small, and the country will not receive any of the missiles because it bans nuclear weapons, but the parliament vote is likely to have important repercussions in other NATO countries where the missile plan has stirred up antinuclear protests.

The vote means that Denmark will cease paying "until further notice" the remainder of its \$8.8 million contribution to the NATO fund that covers costs of setting up the new missiles.

A similar proposal was narrowly defeated in Norway's parliament last month.

-- Washington Post 12/8/82

GET YOUR DAILY DOSE

Total radiation exposure to US nuclear power plant workers jumped more than 400 percent between 1969 and 1980, a General Accounting Office report shows.

The report says the average collective dose per reactor rose from 178 man-rem in 1969 to 791 man-rem in 1980. The collective dose is the exposure level for all plant workers, not individual workers. The study blames plant age, component failures, and a "generally poor attitude toward safety" among plant workers and management.

The report notes, however, that individual doses -- as opposed to collective doses -- have generally been kept within legal limits because companies have "substantially increased the number of workers exposed to radiation."

-- San Francisco Chronicle, 10/11/82

The Abalone Alliance: Growing, growing, gone?

The Abalone Alliance has historically been a direct action group. But internal rumblings suggest that the Abalone is in transition; that it must let out its seams if it is to avoid obsolescence. In this article, *It's About Times* interviews some longtime Abalone activists who have attempted diverse and sometimes controversial alternatives to direct action.

Digression from the direct action mode comes in a wide variety of packaging. "Coalitioning," says Larry Goldberg of the Redwood Alliance in Humboldt County, "is the name of the game for the eighties."

Swift said she would like to see more contact between the antinuclear movement and labor and minorities. But "you can't just decide to build a coalition and send out flyers to other organizations without sharing in their cause or their needs."

Swift's efforts at coalition building have focused mainly around an attempt to rejuvenate the Abalone Alliance labor collective. She found the experience discouraging. "There was just not enough interest to maintain a statewide collective. Part of the problem is that many people on the left have lost faith in labor

"You just can't decide to build a coalition and send out fliers to other organizations."

The Redwood Alliance, however, is not involved in traditional coalition building with minorities and labor so much as in using the electoral and legal systems for what might be termed "creative lobbying." Recently, the Redwood Alliance succeeded in electing both an antinuclear city council and a representative to the board of supervisors in the city of Arcata. "We passed the first antinuclear initiative in a city election in the state of California," Goldberg emphasizes.

This strategy and style of politics has evoked considerable static from other member groups in the Abalone Alliance. "We've been dumped on by many groups who think it's inappropriate for us to be working within the system. They think we should utilize only direct action," Goldberg complains.

Mary Moore, an active member of SONOMore Atomics and founder of the Bohemian Grove Action Network, disagrees with Goldberg's analysis of the problem but agrees that diverse politics are necessary for any growing movement. "We are a direct action group," Moore says. "That is the premise the Abalone was founded on and we need to use our limited finances for their designated purpose."

Moore believes that what the antinuclear movement needs most is a common political analysis and that the major obstacle to coalition building is "what to focus on once we're all holding hands. That," she says, "is where things begin to break down."

Recently, Moore worked on the committee to elect Tom Bradley governor of California, despite the fact that the governor's race is hardly direct action and that Bradley has shown little interest in the antinuclear cause. She explained that after years of working among antinukers who showed little awareness of racism and sexism, "it wasn't that difficult for me to go into an arena where people aren't sensitive to the antinuclear focus."

"The Abalone is too rooted in revolutionary leftist politics."

Susan Swift, former staffperson in Abalone's statewide office, agrees with Moore that the movement needs a common analysis but sees the Abalone Alliance as "an extraordinarily middle class group of people" that "appeals only to the 'peace-love' aspect in people's personalities."

unions as a progressive force."

Swift believes that labor unions are a critical part of the movement, and that local unions are especially open to antinuclear arguments. "There is a great deal of interest in the antinuclear issue, even among workers whose industries are affected. They are aware of the dangers, and they know that capital intensive technologies like those in nuclear weapons production erodes the job market."

Like Goldberg, Swift has become frustrated with the limitations of the Abalone Alliance. But she sees these limitations differently. Goldberg contends that "the problem with the Abalone is their ideologies" and that the antinuclear alli-

"The Abalone Alliance is 'an extraordinary middle class group of people' who appeal 'only to the 'peace-love' aspect in people.'"

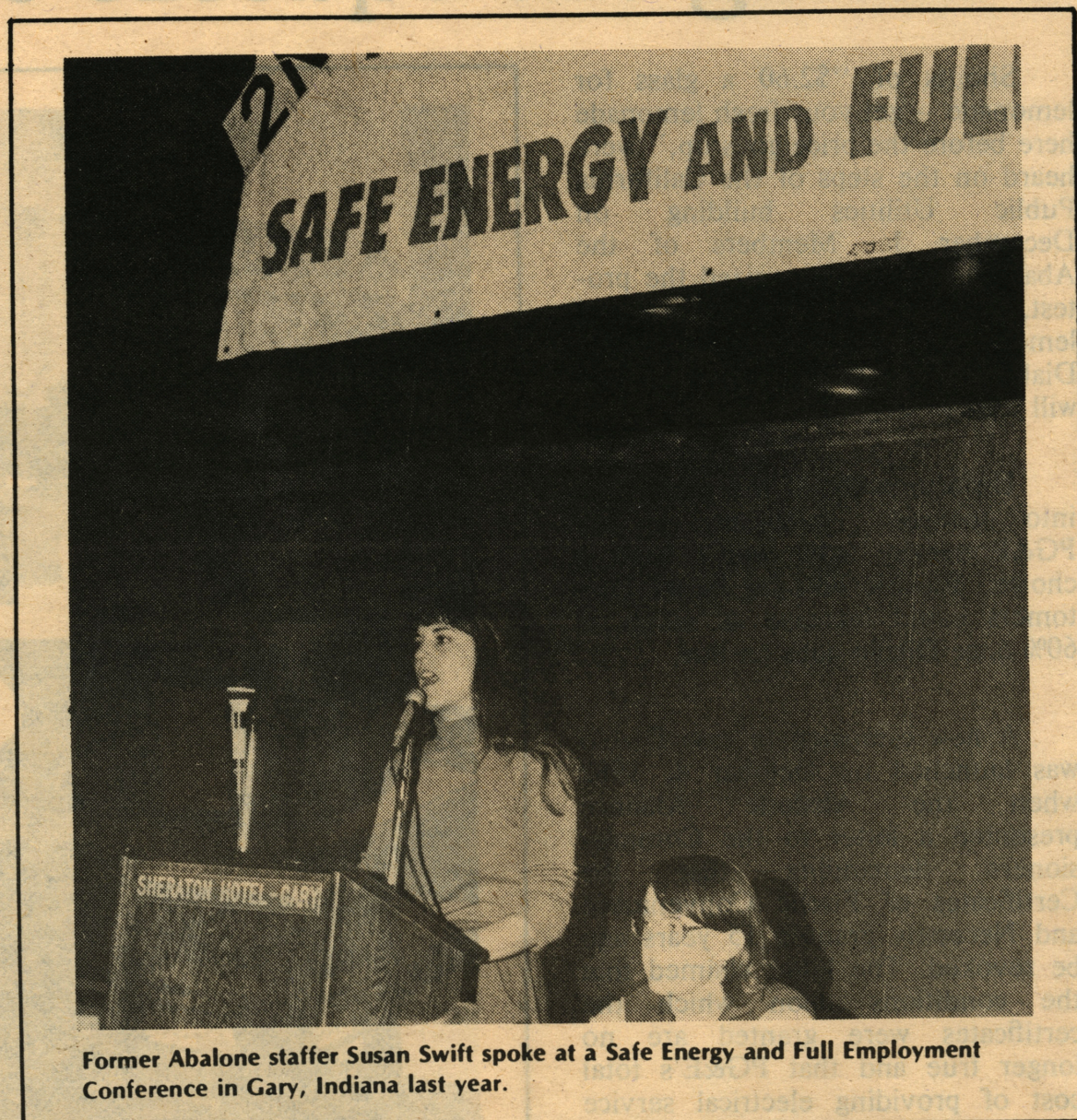
ance is "too rooted in revolutionary leftist politics." Swift, to the contrary, believes that "socialism, without the rhetoric, appeals to most everyone."

Swift feels that people need a means to express their opposition which the Abalone Alliance does not provide. "If we continue appealing only to the people who can afford the time to participate in civil disobedience, the movement will continue to dwindle. We need to stop being a fringe group or there will never be any common understanding of what's going on or why," she says.

"The Abalone Alliance relies too much on the impression that people will change once they are shown the facts. But most people are interested in their own personal survival, which means you have to address the question of jobs," Swift

says. She is now rearranging her priorities to include racially integrated political groups outside the Abalone Alliance.

Moore's work might afford the Susan Swifts of the movement some consolation. Moore is one of the few to successfully bridge the gap between blacks and the predom-



Former Abalone staffer Susan Swift spoke at a Safe Energy and Full Employment Conference in Gary, Indiana last year.

inantly white antinuclear movement. Last year she worked with blacks in Sonoma County around Martin Luther King Day. The coalition eventually broke down over "cultural differences" (the vegetarian Abalones had a real problem with the fried chicken). "But now," says Moore, "we at least have an open line with the black community."

Moore, who claims to like fried chicken, says she still gets together

with people from the MLK coalition every other month. "There's an awareness on both sides of the connectedness," she explained. "And basically that's what coalitioning is all about."

Though "coalitioning" is a consistent theme in discussions about the future of the Abalone Alliance, its implications are far from consistent. While Goldberg finds the "leftist politics" of the Abalone a major source of frustration, Swift

finds it a source of strength. However different their political approaches, Swift, Moore and Goldberg agree on at least one thing: that, as Goldberg puts it, "The only way to accomplish the larger goal [of the antinuclear movement] is to involve labor, minorities, housewives -- the people."

But neither Goldberg's theory of "narrow leftist politics" nor Swift's suggestion that the movement is firmly entrenched in middle class mores seems to address the complexity of the situation. A more comprehensive analysis is warranted or Swift's speculation that "the Abalone may have outlived its purpose" may become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

With the future of the antinuclear movement in mind, it is time to begin looking at some more difficult questions: Just what is the movement's political analysis? Who are "the people?" And how exactly do we go about involving them? Can we assume, for instance, that "workers" are more interested in their jobs than in the quality of their lives? And why must they be forced to choose? Are antinuclear activists, mostly workers themselves, so different from the labor union members sought after for coalition-

The vegetarian Abalones had a real problem with the fried chicken.

and Moore see the problem as one of middle class values and insularity.

Moore finds the Nuclear Freeze Initiative, for example, to be based on a very shallow premise. "It's not that I'm against the Freeze," she emphasizes. "It's the limitations of the Freeze that bother me. The 'Caldicott hysterical approach' has absolutely no political analysis. It's as if weapons came right out of a vacuum." Moore hopes that this is one trap into which the antinuclear movement won't fall.

"The bottom line," Moore adds, "is that all of us who are working in progressive politics have a lot in common. In terms of meaningful survival, there's a handful of white men who are profiting off our

ing? And as long as we're having a collective identity crisis, we might as well try to figure out just who we are and what kind of world we want to create. Continuing to base our politics on "survival" is a pretty narrow vision.

The realization of a broad coalition and the possibility of a future worth looking forward to will require some serious political and priority analysis. In light of its many internal conflicts, the antinuclear movement may need to reevaluate its attitudes and policies. The challenge of the eighties will require the antinuclear movement to start applying its old savvy to new personal and political strategies.

Sandy Leon

Putting the squeeze on Diablo

Shouts of "\$2.60 a glass for lemonade -- get your fresh lemonade here before the price goes up," were heard on the steps of the California Public Utilities building on December 1. Members of the Abalone Alliance organized the protest, claiming that "Diablo is a real lemon" and that the "juice" from Diablo will be so expensive no one will want to buy it.

Unfortunately, if the plant goes into operation, ratepayers in the PG&E service area won't have a choice. Electric bills for PG&E customers could increase as much as 60% once Diablo goes on-line.

A new campaign to stop Diablo was launched on October 4, 1982 when the Abalone Alliance presented a letter to the Commissioners demanding that the Certificates of Public Convenience and Necessity granted 15 years ago be revoked. The letter claimed that the conditions upon which the certificates were granted are no longer true and that PG&E's total cost of providing electrical service will be higher if the plant is allowed to operate.

On October 28, the PUC turned down these demands, citing as its basis decisions made on formal petitions filed in 1980. The PUC has steadfastly refused to review Diablo



photo by Bob Van Scoy

Canyon and other similar projects. It has preferred to make the issue how much of the cost of the project goes into the rate base rather than if the projects themselves and the electricity they produce are needed at all.

The demonstration was organized to bring Diablo Canyon back into the public arena, to raise economic questions concerning the plant, and to pressure the PUC to act on behalf of the public.

For more information on the PUC Campaign, contact the PUC Collective, care of the Abalone Alliance office in San Francisco.

Cynthia Sharpe

Peacekeeper on Earth

Continued from page one

that the MX, unneeded for defense, is in fact an offensive first-strike weapon.

While the media pats Congress on its collective back for rejecting an unproved and unprovable basing mode, the funds for the continued de-

velopment of the MX missile go unchallenged. To stop it will take more than the weak bleating voices of our "representatives" and "experts."

—Steve Stallone
IAT Staff

NO TO NATO DAYS

More than 50 peace groups across the United States are expected to hold local demonstrations protesting the deployment of Eurostrategic weapons during "No to NATO Days," December 8-12, 1982.

The "No to NATO Days" are being timed to coincide with NATO meetings beginning in Brussels on December 8 and with the third anniversary of NATO's decision to deploy cruise and Pershing II nuclear missiles in Europe. Protest actions will be held in various European cities at the same time.

"The Pershing II missiles are first-strike weapons, highly accurate and able to strike within minutes of detection by radar," said Linda Marie, spokesperson for the Stop the Cruise and Pershing II Clearinghouse, which issued the call for the American demonstrations. "This puts the Soviet Union on hair trigger alert, ready to retaliate on warning rather than on verification of attack, which makes nuclear war much more imminent."

"The cruise missiles are small and difficult to detect after deployment. A cruise missile armed with a nuclear warhead is indistinguishable from one that is conventionally armed. Their deployment will undermine a mutually-verifiable weapons Freeze, something so many Americans have voted to support."

For more information, contact the Clearinghouse at: 4722 Baltimore Ave., Phila., PA 19143, (215) 727-1007.

CANVASSERS WANTED:

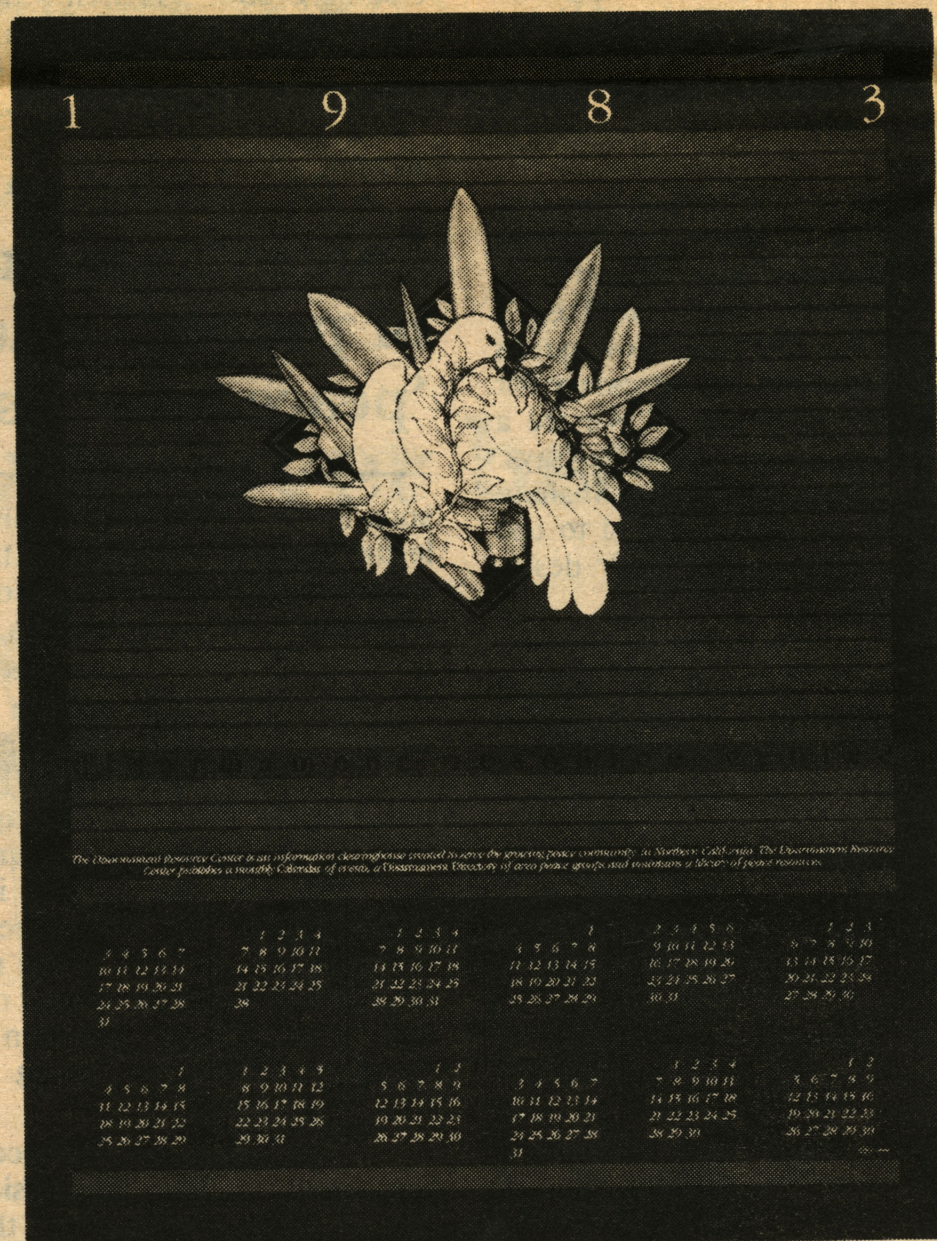
Travel to exotic places... (San Francisco, Berkeley, El Cerrito...), meet exciting, unusual people... (of all political perspectives...) and CANVASS them! Contact your local canvass recruiting office. The Abalone Alliance needs YOU! (Canvassers will be paid by commission. Call the Abalone statewide office, 415-861-0592 or 861-2510.)

LEGAL VOLUNTEERS NEEDED

The LAG legal collective needs volunteers for the Vandenberg action and beyond. We are looking for lawyers who wish to use their skills to oppose nuclear madness, as well as non-lawyers who wish to do important support work and/or learn about the legal system from the inside. If this sounds like you, call Leonard Post at 832-6900 or Lois Wise at 527-3721.

"GANDHI OF SICILY" LEADS WORKSHOP

Danilo Dolci, author, poet, community organizer and educator, has been called "the Gandhi of Sicily." He will lead a six-day workshop at the resource center for Nonviolence, January 10-15, in Santa Cruz. Pre-registration is required and enrollment is limited. For more information, contact the Resource Center for Nonviolence, Post Office Box 2324, Santa Cruz 95063 or call 408-423-1626.



POSTER AVAILABLE

This vibrant, three-color poster, 19" by 25", is also a 1983 wall calendar! The peace dove "reining in" the missiles with its olive branch stand out against a red diamond frame. The grey bars are set on a field of deep blue. Below are the twelve months of 1983 in red and white numerals. This very striking poster was designed by Jonathon Nix to support the work of the Disarmament Resource Center, an information clearinghouse serving the growing peace community in Northern California.

Prices: 1-9 posters, \$3 each plus 20% postage.

10-24 posters, \$2.40 each plus 20% postage.

25 or more posters, \$2 each plus 20% postage.

Please include payment with order.

Order from: Disarmament Resource Center
942 Market Street, Room 708
San Francisco, CA 94102
(415) 495-0526

FIRST THERE WAS THE BOMB

First There Was the Bomb . . . Then Came Atoms for Peace is a 104-page anthology of reprints exploring the political, economic and technological links between nuclear weapons and nuclear power. Featuring articles by Richard Barnet, Amory Lovins, Helen Caldicott, Sidney Lens and Anna Gyorgy, it was published in 1980 by the Abalone Alliance and the UC Nuclear Weapons Labs Conversion Project to promote understanding of the two faces of nuclear technology.

The price per copy is: 1-3, \$2.00; 4-9, \$1.40; 10-19, \$1.10; 20-99, \$1.00; 100 or more, \$.85.

Please mail orders prepaid to: *First There Was the Bomb*, 2940 16th St., Room 310, San Francisco, CA 94103.

The price per copy is:	
1-3	\$2.00
4-9	\$1.40
10-19	\$1.10
20-99	\$1.00
100+	\$.85

Calendar

December 18: "Be Disarming: Challenge the Nuclear Mentality" Holly Near in Concert. Finale of five-country European and 45-city tour. Berkeley Community Theater, Grove and Allston in Berkeley, 8 p.m. \$9.50 and \$8.00 from Great American Music Hall, BASS, A Women's Place, Old Wives' Tales, Modern Times. Limited number of tickets from Disarmament Resource Center. Call 415-495-0526.

December 19: *Circle of Concern Vigil* 1:30-2:30 pm. Oxford and University, Berkeley. 415-841-0881.

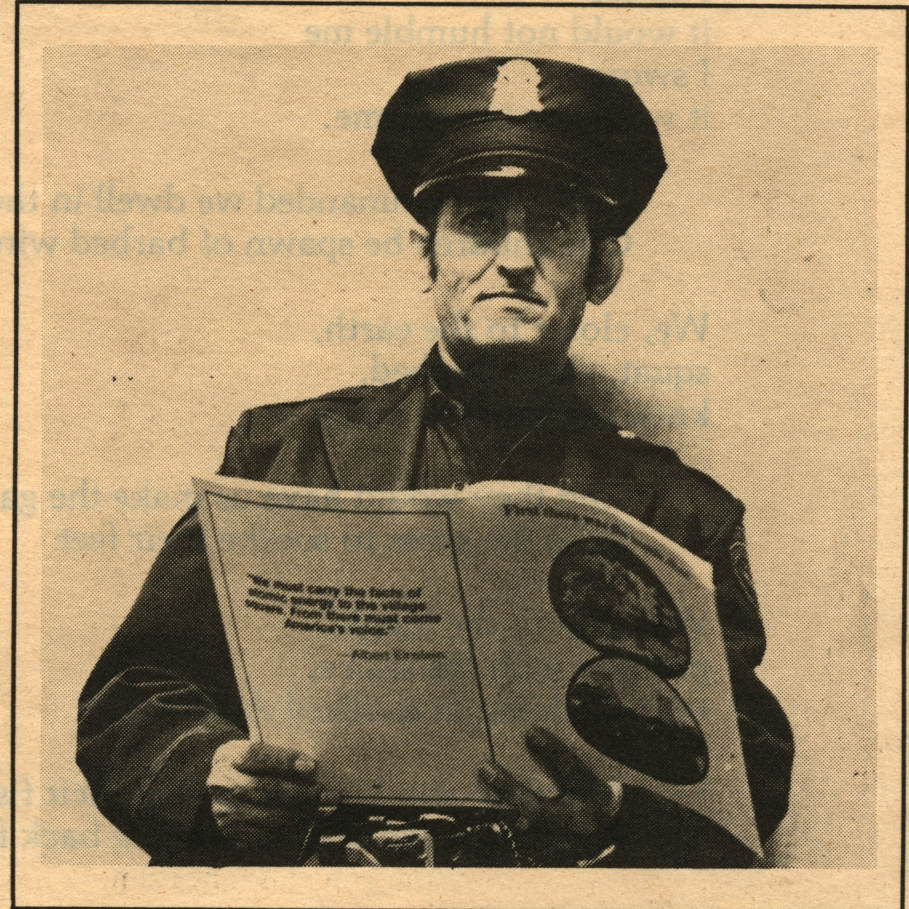
December 22: *Christmas Concert for Peace and Celebration*. 7-9 pm. Our Lady of Good Counsel Catholic Church, Fort Bragg, Mendocino County. \$4 donation to People for a Nuclear-Free Future and P.E.A.C.E., Inc. Call 707-964-7113.

December 22: *El Salvador Film Festival at La Pena*. 6 pm, Revolution or Death; 7:10, Philippe Bourgois video; 7:55, Americas in Transition; 8:30, El Salvador, Another Vietnam; 9:35, The People Will Win. \$3.00 at

La Pena, 3105 Shattuck Ave, Berkeley. Sponsored by CISPES. For more info, 415-644-3636.

January 19: *A Change of Heart*, the story of an affinity group blockade at Livermore Nuclear Weapons Lab. Televised on KQED Channel 9 at 8:00 pm. A panel discussion with live call-in on the use of non-violence in stopping the arms race will follow the film. Volunteers are needed to help raise funds for the film by sponsoring house parties. Write 2051 3rd St., SF 94107.

January 21-28: A coalition of California groups including the Livermore Action Group, Alliance for Survival and the southwest chapter of Greenpeace are organizing both civil disobedience and legal demonstrations to interfere with the first test flight and prevent the deployment of the MX missile. The MX will be launched from the Vandenberg Air Force Base in Santa Barbara County to Kwajalein Atoll, a United States military installation located in the Marshall Islands in the Pacific. For more information, contact the Livermore Action Group, 3126 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, CA 94605, 415-644-3031.



AA Safe Energy Groups

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

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

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WOMEN FOR SURVIVAL,
Box 72/95410 • (707) 937-0462

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NUCLEAR FREE SOCIETY,
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COMPTHE CITIZENS FOR A SAFE ENVIRONMENT,
P.O. Box 326/95427

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LAYTONVILLE:
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MENDOCINO:
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27900 Skyview/95490

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

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P.O. Box 249/94924 • (415) 868-0245

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

SAN ANSELMO:
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SAN JOSE:
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SAN FRANCISCO:
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UC Med Center, c/o Michael Kosnett, MU 249/
94143 • (415) 666-2010

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



PAN: Poets Against Nukes

Poetry is a weapon loaded with future. —Gabriel Celaya

WE, THE DANGEROUS by Janice Mirikitani

I swore
it would not devour me
I swore
it would not humble me
I swore
it would not break me.

And they commanded we dwell in the desert
Our children be spawn of barbed wire and barracks

We, closer to the earth,
squat, short thighed,
knowing the dust better.

And they would have us make the garden
Rake the grass to soothe their feet

We, akin to the jungle,
plotting with the snake,
tails shedding in civilized America.

And they would have us skin their fish
deft hands like blades / sliding back flesh / bloodless

We, who awake in the river
Ocean's child
Whale eater.

And they would have us strange scented women,
Round shouldered / strong and yellow / like the moon
to pull the thread to the cloth
to loosen their backs massaged in myth

We, who fill the secret bed,
the sweat shops
the laundries.

And they would dress us in napalm,
Skin shred to clothe the earth,
Bodies filling pock marked fields.
Dead fish bloating our harbors.

We, the dangerous,
Dwelling in the ocean.
Akin to the jungle.
Close to the earth.

Hiroshima
Vietnam
Tule Lake

And yet we were not devoured.
And yet we were not humbled
And yet we are not broken.

Reprinted from *Awake in the River* by Janice Mirikitani
(San Francisco: Isthmus Press, 1978).

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

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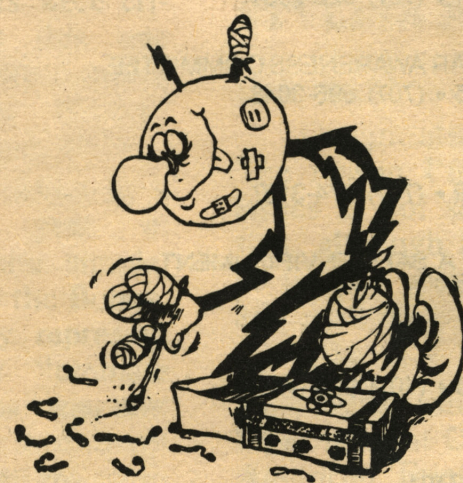


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