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Direct Action, an activist newspaper published by Bay Area-based Livermore Action Group from 1982 to 1986, provided the most comprehensive coverage of North American and European grassroots organizing available in those years.

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The second scene of Luke Hauser's *Direct Action: An Historical Novel* depicts a typical chaotic production session. The novel also dramatizes many of the actions covered in the newspaper. See info at right for free download.

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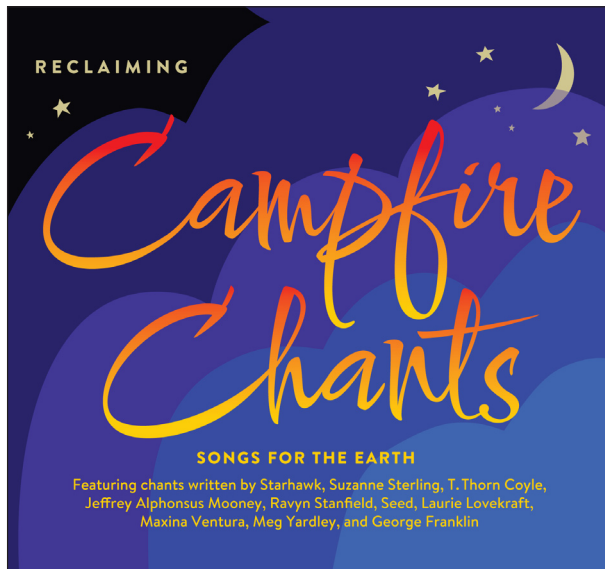
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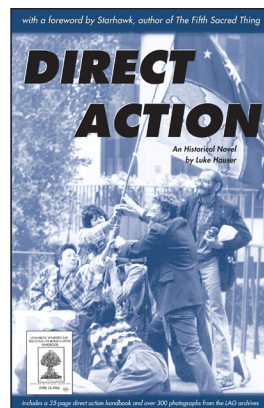
DIRECT ACTION

An Historical Novel

by Luke Hauser

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DIRECT ACTION

Issue # 25



Janet Delaney

Fleet Week Actions

**AFTER
CHERNOBYL**

Pages 8-17

**August Witness '86
Summer at Big Mountain
"Art: Action and Participation"**

Take a Stand Against the Right

The right wing is attacking the gay, Latino, and Asian communities with two initiatives on the California ballot this fall.

The English-Only Initiative (Prop. 63) would declare English to be the "official language" of California, call upon all branches of government to enforce this and prohibit any law which "diminishes" this role. It could abolish or restrict bilingual interpreters at "911", hospitals and in the courts. It might prohibit bilingual election materials, education and social services. It would give individuals standing to sue the government if they felt the government was "diminishing" the role of English. It is sponsored by the California English Campaign which is a part of U.S. English, a national organization with strong ties to groups sponsoring anti-immigrant legislation (like Simpson-Mazzoli) and other conservative groups.

The AIDS Quarantine Initiative (Prop. 64) defines AIDS as an "infectious, contagious and communicable disease"—legal terms which mean that AIDS is casually transmissible—which it is NOT. All evidence is that AIDS is spread through blood and semen—no one has gotten AIDS through casual contact. People with AIDS, or testing positive to the HTLV-3 virus or people who live or associate with them would be barred from any food service jobs, and would probably be barred from attending or working in schools. It would destroy confidentiality around AIDS testing and might lead to mandatory testing for much of the population. The initiative would also authorize health officials or police to quarantine (intern) people with AIDS or ARC, people who test positive, and people who live or associate with any of the above named people.

It is sponsored by PANIC, a LaRouche front group. LaRouche is well known on the left for the behavior of his "LABOR PARTY" which spent much of the 70's violently breaking up leftist meetings and assaulting people.



The sponsors of these two initiatives represent two of the faces U.S. fascism is wearing these days. While LaRouche can be portrayed as a "kook" whose group stands in airports with "Nuke Jane Fonda" signs and is reported to have ties to the Klan and the Liberty Lobby, US English appears almost bland, very establishment with sponsors such as Sen. Hayakawa, Gore Vidal, John Tanton, M.D., etc. The right is also moving in other ways, from the Klan killings in Contra Costa to the campaign to impeach Rose Bird, to the Moral Majority to the attacks on labor.

Part of the reason for this right-wing attack is that "minorities" are no longer a minority in California. Latinos, Asians, Black people, Lesbians and gay men are now close to, if not an actual majority in California. But the power structure has no intention of sharing its wealth or power.

Because the initiatives represent two thrusts of the same right wing forces, it is necessary to fight them together and to point out how

they relate. In July, Lesbians and Gays Against Intervention (LAGAI) initiated a coalition which has since taken the name "Stand Together - Coalition to Defeat the AIDS Quarantine and English Only Initiatives."

Stand Together believes that although both initiatives will have an impact far beyond the target groups, these initiatives represent a blatant racist, anti-gay attack. Whatever the vote in November we have already been attacked and we need to organize and fight back. It is outrageous that people are going to be voting on our basic human rights and we do not recognize these as legitimate uses of the initiative process. Both of these initiatives, if passed, will end up killing people by denying them access to medical care, jobs, and education. NO ONE HAS THE RIGHT TO VOTE YES, just like no one has the right to lynch us or attack us on the street.

Stand Together is fighting back in many ways. We are cooperating with the two anti-64 Coalitions

(SF CAN and CALM-Campaign Against the LaRouche Measure) and Californians United to Defeat 63 to put out information about these initiatives. We have a brochure that will be available in English, Spanish, Chinese and Tagalog which explains our positions. We have put out a poster which we are encouraging people to put in their windows to mobilize their neighbors. Buttons, bumper stickers and hand stickers will be available soon.

October 10 we will be showing "Unfinished Business", a documentary on the Japanese internment. The filmmaker will speak at the event.

QUARANTINE THE FINANCIAL DISTRICT

We believe that direct action is an important part of this work. Our first action was a zap leaflet at the gay games, much of which was written in gibberish to dramatize the impact of Prop 63. We are working on guerrilla theatre pieces.

On October 30, we are planning a day of creative protest on the theme of quarantining downtown. At 3:30 anyone who can will gather at Montgomery and Market. While affinity groups engage in separate actions around downtown, we will transform the financial district into a stage where we will dramatize the impact of these initiatives and our response to them. Affinity groups wishing to plan autonomous actions or plug into small actions with other groups are urged to coordinate. Call the numbers below for meeting schedule.

It is difficult to overstate the consequences if either of these initiatives pass. But our strategy is not focussed on the election—the attack is happening now and will continue no matter what happens at the polls. So our resistance and our struggle must also move forward on the path to liberation.

By combining the fights against these two initiatives we hope to strengthen the alliances in this struggle. Please join us. We have no time to lose. Contact 346-0647 or 821-0987 for more information and to get involved.

--Deeg Gold

Stalking the US Naval Buildup

The Reagan doctrine of "roll-back" (i.e., forcing the revolutionary regimes of the '70s into retreat) is taking perhaps its clearest form in the unfolding of the Lehman/Watkins Doctrine of Maritime Strategy (1981-): maritime superiority and a "600-ship navy." This doctrine arose in the context of the "Second Cold War", which according to Fred Halliday, began in 1979. It is the latest phase in the post-World War II rivalry between the USA and the USSR. Although still superior to the USSR economically and militarily, the USA has lost its longstanding dominance in strategic nuclear weapons, and it has taken alarm at successful challenges to international capitalism in the Third World. It therefore seeks to recover nuclear dominance through moving toward first-strike capability and to pursue a policy of "extended deterrence" in which the threat of nuclear weapons ("atomic diplomacy") is supposed to insure itself a free hand in the Third World and an accelerated arms race functions as a kind of economic warfare against the Eastern Bloc. So far, the "Second Cold War" has seen the following:

- 1) eagerness in the use of counter-revolutionary force (cf. Grenada);
- 2) a vast build-up of US forces for Third World intervention, most flamboyantly in the case of the "Rapid Deployment Force" (now "Central Command");
- 3) support for military adventures by allies in the Third World;
- 4) constant economic, diplomatic, and military pressure on revolutionary states and movements.

The Lehman/Watkins Doctrine, (Lehman is Secretary of the Navy, Watkins an Admiral) and the vast enlargement of the Navy and its field of activities which that doctrine supports, work directly to serve all four of these ends.

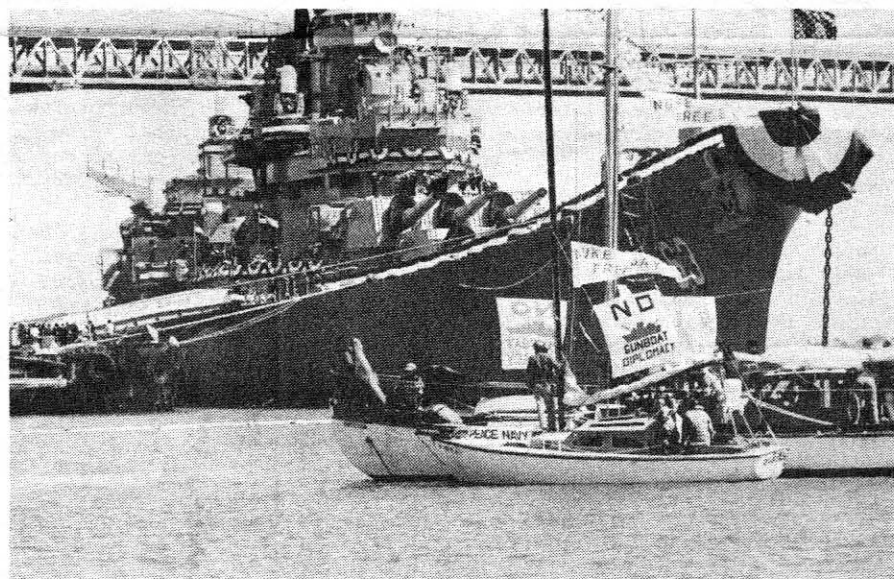
From the days when Athens rose to empire by defeating the Persians at sea (5th c. B.C.) to the heyday of Spain, Portugal, France, Great Britain, and the USA (16th c. to

present), naval forces have been the principal instrument of imperial conquest and expansion.

At the end of the 19th century, US naval strategist Alfred Thayer Mahan stated that command of the seas will lead to national "wealth and greatness" through the combination of maritime commerce, overseas possessions, and access to foreign markets which it makes possible. Specifically, in The Problem of Asia and Its Effect Upon World Politics (1900), Mahan saw the key to world leadership lay in surrounding Eurasia with naval bases. Here one discovers the seeds of geopolitical "containment" militarism being sown long before the advent of USSR/USA rivalry or even the birth of the Soviet Union.

The Nuclear Age that began in 1945 brought hard times to the Navy, however. The Air Force had control of strategic targeting, and the Army presided over NATO and nuclear policy in the European theater. Until recently, the Navy has had to fight its way back from a position of inferiority to the other two branches of the armed services. The oil crisis of the '70s, and increasing US dependence on long-range shipments of imported minerals in general, provided the Navy a basis for self-aggrandizement in the argument that the seelanes must be kept secure. And the deployment of Tomahawk missiles, and of Trident submarines, soon to receive the super-accurate, first-strike D-5 missiles, has enhanced not only the Navy's military importance but also the high-tech glitter the Navy's remarkable anti-submarine warfare capabilities had already begun to produce. Its prestige has never been higher, nor have its funding levels — the Navy was the chief recipient of Pentagon funds during Reagan's first years in office.

Congressional and Naval Institute publications provide the theoretical underpinnings for the lavish expenditures on naval hardware. The Lehman/Watkins Doctrine talks in terms of "crisis control" and "deterrence of war" in an "era



of violent peace". Surveillance and shows of naval force are supposed to keep the lid on dangerous situations and prevent the outbreak of war, in particular with the Soviet Union. At this point, the Navy's "operating tempo" is higher than during the Vietnam war. In other words, US control over Third World markets and resources rests squarely upon gunboat diplomacy — but now many of the gunboats are nuclear armed. Still, as P.X. Kelly, Commanding General of the Rapid Deployment Force in 1980, said at that time,

"We have...ballistic missile submarines which are submerged at sea and no one sees them. We know they're there, but people in the Third World don't see much visible power. There's nothing more impressive than a battleship on the horizon...it's an awesome sight." Nukes aren't everything. By mounting nuclear-capable Tomahawks on battleships, of course, you have it both ways.

Since WWII, the USA has favored the Navy when the need arose for armed force to carry out foreign policy. Naval units have participated in over 80% of the 215 official "incidents" world-wide since 1945. Few of these incidents have involved anything even approaching a direct confrontation with the USSR, i.e., in almost all cases the US has enjoyed a huge military superiority over its adversary. Which is the reason why the "600

ship Navy" report (1986) calls for 15 carrier battle groups, when they are of no strategic use against the Soviet Union whatsoever, and have not been of any use for the last twenty years. Against Libya, or Nicaragua, or any other small nation, they are very useful indeed. For providing US empire-builders with flexible, mobile, and above all usable force, the Navy is unsurpassed.

So, while the nuclear STRATEGIC TRIAD (ICBMs/SLBMs/strategic bombers), supplemented by SDI ("Star Wars") evolves toward US first-strike capability, it is nonetheless likely that the role of US strategic nuclear weapons in "extended deterrence" will keep on declining. Instead, a new CONVENTIONAL DYAD is developing, consisting of 1) low-intensity warfare on land and 2) an expanding variety of carrier and battleship missions by sea. Together, these instruments of violence can combine to fight local wars and to "roll back" or deter social change in the Third World.

by Bruce Schuler.

NOTE: the above is an abridged version of a much longer article entitled "The Cold War Context and the US Naval Buildup" presented to the Fourth Annual North Atlantic Network Conference in August, 1986. Copies of the complete article can be obtained through DIRECT ACTION-/NAP, 3126 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, CA. 94705, tel 644-3031.)

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A Note About Direct Action

DIRECT ACTION is produced by the DA Publications Collective, 3126 Shattuck, Berkeley CA 94705, [415] 644-2028. We welcome articles, letters, ideas, tips on actions, etc, with the understanding that all articles may be edited. Sorry, we cannot return any manuscripts or graphics. We WILL return photos and original artwork if pre-arranged-- please call before mailing photos or art.

DIRECT ACTION needs production help -- writers, proofreaders, typists, and layout help. Experience is helpful but not necessary - most of all we need people with good energy and a willingness to work collectively under less-than-ideal conditions. Please give us a call at 644-2028.

The following people helped with production of issue #24:

Whodunnit?

Kathy Bindels, Joe Blackburn, Melody Ermachild, Martha Fox, George Franklin, Graham Hale, Lynn Hoggatt, Suzanne McMillan, Lee Ann Murphy, Steve Nadel, Talbot Petersen, Kate Raphael, Tori Woodard, Jim Mascolo

From Our Readers

(Below is an excerpt from a letter written home after the demonstrations against homeporting the USS Missouri in San Francisco.)

I spent four days in the San Francisco Jail in late June for blocking access to the battleship USS Missouri to protest the decision to send \$100 million plus to the contras.

Jail is the civilian equivalent of militarism and it is the natural place from which to view a society which is ever more enamored with death. In jail decisions about when, what and how to eat, shower and even shit are controlled by the guards. Jail is the logical endpoint of arguments in favor of hierarchy. And for me it was a challenging place to test the strength of cooperation and solidarity.

Bland colors, incessant fluorescent lights, stained cement, steel bars, slamming gates, smoke-tainted air, cockroaches, steel toilets, starch, sugar and salt were stacked against story telling, political strategizing, massages, jokes, songs, chess, poker, chocolate chip cookies, hugs, tears, handshakes and smiles. The human person became our link to the natural world and the sharing of our spiritual and political journeys the activity of our days.

The deputies, trustees, medics and inmates reacted to us, and we reacted to them. Many were supportive, saying "right on" as they paused at our cells and bummed cigarettes or slipped us messages. Many were indifferent, and proceeded with the jail routine despite the presence of a tank of "fish." Few were overly hostile, most just curious as to why anyone would "want" to be in jail.

But of course we didn't want to be in jail. We wanted to blockade the Missouri.

The jail experience was a strange celebration of hope. In our two cells we had men from ages 25 to 75, engineers, priests, printers, secretaries, hermits, farmers and unemployed activists, but in the pressure cooker of four days of intimacy we formed a human community that offered emotional honesty without false conformity. We tested the tools of consensus building and found them good. We strengthened our commitment to the

struggle for justice by supporting each other on the personal issues that kept us from our full potential. We lived for life and against death. It was exciting.

Ironically, my time in jail offered me a foretaste of what it would be like to live in freedom. It gives me hope to continue the fight. I sincerely recommend civil disobedience to anyone struggling to understand what is to be done.

B. Clark

(Ed's note: This letter was received for the last issue and was inadvertently omitted. Sorry.)

Dear Friends at DA:

In the January/February issue you mention in an article on Left-Wing Homophobia that members of the Freedom Song Network were at Sproul Hall (Stephen Biko Plaza) but not at Campbell Plaza. I think the reason for this is that nobody asked. While singers should go on their own anywhere demonstrations, etc., are in progress, it doesn't often happen. It's hard to keep up, for one thing, and there are lots of requests, for another. I write not as a representative of the FSN, but simply as one member who was called (the day before!) and asked to go to Sproul and couldn't. We try to meet all requests and do pretty well--there are many each month. For no reason would we not try to get singers to a demonstration of Mobilization Against AIDS, but we have to know about it and actually be asked to provide performers. Cordially,

Faith Petric, San Francisco

(Author's note: Even before this letter came in, I heard from someone that the FSN had in fact been at the vigil prior to publication of my article. I apologize for maligning you; no such criticism was actually intended. The illustration, which should have been checked further, was merely to convey a sense that people traditionally found at demonstrations weren't at that one.)

To Our Gracious Readers

The truth is, we can't believe you are finally seeing this issue. We started meeting in late May about producing a special DIRECT ACTION about the aftermath and background of Chernobyl. Our intent was to offer information to people just starting to worry about nuclear power, and political analysis for those who might be led to become involved again.

We later decided to wait and produce a regular issue with the theme of Chernobyl and Nuclear Power. The theme section includes 2 pages of international resistance to nuclear power, a "primer" of commonly used terms and concepts, several articles exploring the U.S. government's manipulation of information and technology, and more.

Also in this issue you will find several people's personal reflections

on their actions and activities this summer, from a sojourn to Big Mountain, to an anarchist community retreat to the actions at Site 300 and Nevada Test Site in August.

This issue is in many ways about finding and redefining ourselves. It centers on the experiences which are changing us individually and on rediscovering the "roots" of our current struggle against militarism in the opposition to nuclear power of the late '70s.

Perhaps that is why it has been so hard for us to produce. Other reasons however, are ones with which we need your help. Several members have taken leaves of absence from our already small collective. If you like what DA has been and is becoming, please JOIN US!

NAP Welcomes War Tax Resistance

NAP [Nonviolent Action Project] is pleased to welcome the Northern California War Tax Resisters to our office space. We look forward to a

long and productive affiliation and to learning more about this fundamental form of resistance to militarism.

Songs, chants, poetry and rituals, written or performed for demonstrations and other peace and social justice occasions, are being collected for possible inclusion in a book about people's participation in the movement. Please send or bring any items to Martha Fox, 3126 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, CA 94705.



"Between the Lines" is a new student-run publication focusing on protest at UC-Berkeley. Copies are available on campus, and also at the Nonviolent Action Project (NAP) office, 3126 Shattuck, Berkeley.

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A journal of political action in the Bay Area

Issue Number 1
Fall 1986

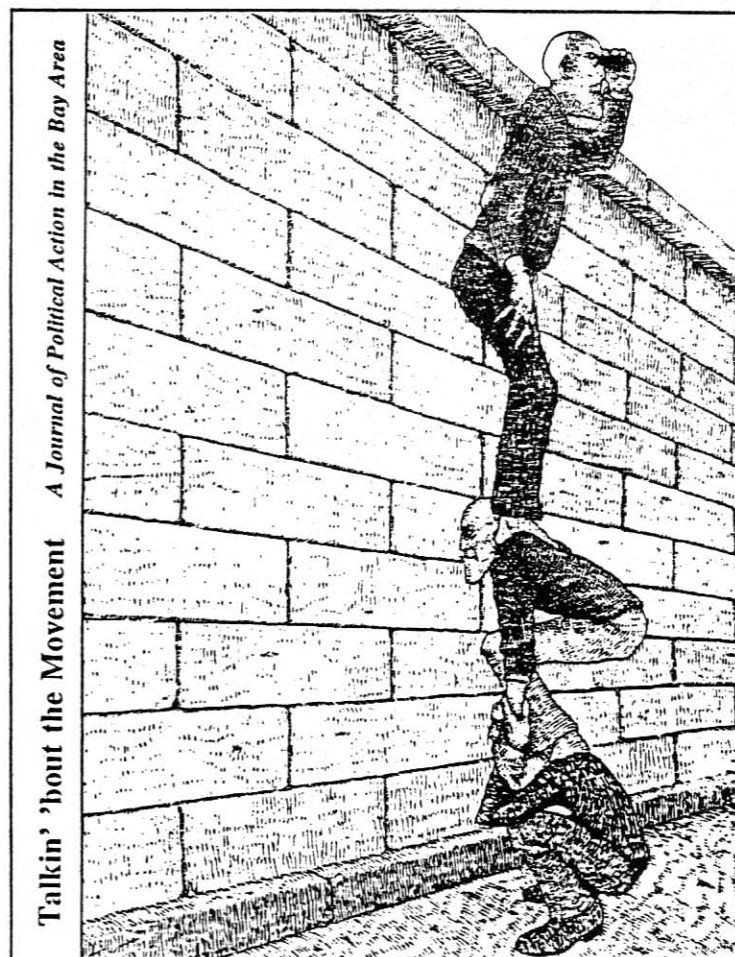
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ABC's 'Amerika': Entertainment to Repression

--by Mary Schacter

"Amerika" is "not about the Russians or what they do in an occupation. It's about what Americans do, about freedom and responsibility, the American character."

Or so claims Brandon Stoddard, president of ABC Entertainment. "Amerika" is a six-part miniseries ABC is planning to air in mid-1987. It depicts the state of affairs in this country 10 years after a Soviet takeover.

It appears that the main point of the series is to help create a climate in which liberal, not to mention radical, viewpoints and ideas are reduced to Soviet propaganda. In other words, if you don't agree with the right wing administration policy, your beliefs are relegated to those of a Communist dupe. There is no other valid viewpoint acknowledged.

Marc Cooper, an L.A. journalist who has read all of the 12,000 pages of script, has said, "The real enemies in the story are not the Soviets who are portrayed as rather skillful, attractive individuals--sort of like the aliens in 'V'--but the liberals who give the country away." They are portrayed as the real threat as well. [May-June *Nuclear Times*]

In "Amerika", "people who favor such things as rent control, abortion and other liberal causes for something called the New Progressive Party, which eagerly collaborates with the Russians....In dramatic classroom scenes, teachers who have been totally compromised by the Soviets denounce the nuclear arms race, sweatshops and the military-industrial complex." (Ibid.)

'Liberal' Extremists

Where does writer-producer-director Donald Wyre propose to find these "liberal extremists?" I'd never have thought to look in beautiful downtown Tecumseh, Nebraska [Milford, Kansas in the film], a town of about 1,900 people, hard hit by the recession, as are large parts of the Midwest under the Reagan administration. Betty Olson, from the organization, Nebraskans for Peace, said, "It is quite ironic that the choice of location for a bleak Communist society is a town that has felt some of the most severe effects from the farm policy of our own government." [Mother Jones, Feb./Mar. 1986] Numerous stores were already boarded up when ABC filmcrews came to town and more were boarded up for the filming. The town economy prospered during the shooting, through providing services to the crew and tourists and from local townspeople being hired as extras for the film.

The economic fluctuations provide a ripe atmosphere in which to exploit rural people's fears of change, differences and the unknown--fears fueled by a depressed economy and the recently accelerated erosion of a way of life. It is an insult to the integrity and intelligence of rural people to exploit their traditional self-reliance and patriotism to promote mistrust and fear. Yet it is in this climate that the Midwest has, in the last few years, been seen as fertile ground for organizing by various neo-Nazi/fascist groups to scapegoat the usual laundry list of right-wing hate groups.

Moscow's U.N.

There is nothing new about the characterization of a weak America being taken advantage of by ruthless nations around the globe. The Reagan administration, however, has found its own way of trying to bring this view into the popular consciousness through its claims that the U.S. is being ganged up on by the United Nations, which is, they claim, just a Commie powerhold and not to be trusted or heeded. This again brings the perception of the threat closer to home [existing here among us, with our own support.] In "Amerika", when the "good" American patriots try to resist the Soviet (and liberal) takeover, "guess who is called in to crush them? Not the Red Army. UNITED NATIONS troops. Old Glory has been torn down and in its place stands--to quote directly from the script--a new and strange flag, frightening because it seems so benign. Against a blue background are crossed Soviet and American flags. Suspended in the crux is the white globe and olive branch, symbol of the United

Nations." [Marc Cooper, *Nuclear Times*]

Alexander Cockburn, in *The Nation* [Nov. 2, 1986], quotes a reader who had written to him regarding "Amerika": "During the Korean War years, I was one of the writers dishing up propaganda programs for the American Forces Radio Service. [AFRS] Among our distortions was a series of half-hour shows titled "Springfield, USA." The time: ten years after the war, or 1960. The Russians had taken over the country by conquest and were engaged in the brutal communization of defenseless America. Each episode detailed the abuse, torture and killing of stalwart but outmuscled Americans. Did the creators of "Amerika" gain access to old AFRS files? Or did one or more of the old crew of hacks sell their "Springfield USA" under a new title?"

I have no information about where Donald Wyre first got the idea for the script. The similarity between "Springfield USA" and "Amerika", however, primarily that both take place ten years after a Soviet takeover, seems superficial compared to the differences between the two. First, there is no overt warfare in the script of "Amerika". The country is casually "given away." Secondly, a major theme of "Amerika" is that the threat of subversion from internal dissidents is viewed as much more serious than coercion or force from outside. But origins seem less important than the potential impact of the series.

Response to 'The Day After'

One thing that has been confirmed about the history of "Amerika" is that one of the sources of inspiration for ABC has been pressured from the Right in the aftermath of the last heralded political TV drama, "The Day After." In 1984, many of us watched with hope and fear to see the nightmare that our future could be unfolding in the living rooms of America. In a society that has become expert at living day to day as if all were well, to have people, even for an hour or so seriously pondering the possibility of a nuclear war seemed like a step forward.

But were people actually better able to see the possibility of a nuclear holocaust, or even more importantly, to believe that they can act to avert this future? I think little if any of this was achieved. But this is not to say that there have been no effects at all.



On the contrary, an as yet little-known organization, Accuracy In Media [twin to Accuracy in Academia, which is hounding such ultra-leftist institutions as Stanford], headed by Reed Irving, responded to the non-event of "The Day After" by pressuring the networks and especially ABC, to create, produce and air a right-wing counter-picture and lay out their agenda. The result, "Amerika"

"Amerika", which was originally scheduled for 16 hours of air time at a cost of \$40,000,000 has in the course of filming been cut back to an estimated 12 hours with a revised budget of \$32,000,000. The projected airing date has been pushed back from February 1987, to some time in the spring. The cuts still leave it a far larger project than "The Day



After", which filled one 3-hour slot.

ABC has tried to keep tight wraps on copies of the script and all details regarding "Amerika." When questioned [by people from Nebraskans for Peace, for instance] about the motivation or concept behind any aspect of it, ABC claims that whatever is questioned or objected to was only in an earlier version of the script and has already been edited. Brandon Stoddard and Donald Wyre have claimed that there is "no Russia-bashing" in the film. [Variety: Jan. 15, 29, 1986.] They hope the questions and debate will end there.

Wyre and the network have skillfully cut down legitimate complaints from the Soviets about how both they and the Americans are portrayed and made them seem picayune, unjustified, and inappropriate meddling.

In January, Stoddard told reporters that production had been halted, partly because of finances. However, he added, the Soviets had criticized recent films such as "Rambo: First Blood, Part II," "Rocky IV", and "Red Dawn" and it would be "only responsible that the situation [of Soviet criticism] be factored into the decision" about whether to continue with the series. Reportedly, ABC received a statement from an unnamed Soviet official suggesting that ABC's continuing work on "Amerika" could "diminish" the working relations between them and the Moscow staff with which they have been planning joint broadcasts at the end of February. Apparently, though, many within ABC feel that because Moscow stated its objection to the series

"...the network had little choice but to proceed with the film. If ABC had backed out of the project, insiders said, the network would have looked as if it had bowed to pressure from a foreign government." (Variety, Jan. 15, 29, 1986)

Wyre said in an interview with the New York Times: "It would be preposterous for an American organization to allow itself to be affected by a form of blackmail. Once that step is taken, the next thing you know, they're not going to like the way Peter Jennings ties his tie."

This is an illustration of the way the right attempts to interpret reality to their own ends. In the example above, Wyre strains to tell us what is reasonable and what is not, just as the Moral Majority, LaRouche, US English

and other right-wing groups attempt to define what is reality and what is not (e.g., that AIDS is casually transmitted against all evidence), and what is moral and what is not. The oversimplified dichotomization which "Amerika" portrays, dividing the world into good and bad, is being espoused by the right as a legitimate way of looking at our society and our world. This viewpoint helps create a climate in which all values and beliefs which we are told are not those of the majority are not discussed in any type of public dialogue.

The similarities between this national move to the right and the prevailing climate during the time of Joe McCarthy's House Un-American Activities Committee hearings are too dangerous to be ignored. We cannot

allow ourselves to be picked off, one identity group and interest group after another. We of the Left need to relearn how to set in motion meaningful debate on our own terms.

But It's Just Television

We need to ask if movies such as "Amerika" and "Rambo" can legitimately be seen as "just entertainment" and therefore above any questioning as to their appropriateness as an outlet for creativity and resources. [Just as we need to question if laws which restrict people's liberty, rights and safety, such as the "AIDS Quarantine" and "English Only" Initiatives, are things which people have any right to be voting on at all.]

I believe there comes a time when it is a necessity to do more than ignore or lightly poke fun at this serious trend in "entertainment." For me, the making of "Amerika" marks the arrival of that point. This whole genre of films, of which "Amerika" is only the latest addition, are being taken seriously by millions of viewers. If we who are attacked and discredited do not respond, speaking up in our own defense, how can we expect others to?

Fear Into Resistance

Finally, the question you've been waiting for: what can we really do about this anyway? Mainly, don't expect me to give you an answer to a question like that, although I do have some ideas. The first part of the process is to start discussions that go beyond the assumption that we don't have the power to effect change in this area of society.

We need to keep in mind that we have at least six months before "Amerika" is scheduled to be aired.

What type of actions do we believe will be of most value in this instance? Would decentralized, more autonomous responses or larger coordinated national actions be best?

How do we decide on what is a meaningful response? Do we want to empower individuals or should we set our sights to a mass audience?

What combinations, complementary sets of actions, can we create to bring out a variety of goals and values?

How can we use "Amerika" to our own end and take the offensive against it instead of trying to make up for lost ground and feeling victimized once again by not responding to it until after it has been shown? How can we use it as an opportunity to connect issues, to help people examine the bigoted simplifications of the now not-so-new Right?

Would letters to or actions directed at ABC make sense? What about small discussion groups or a call-in program after the series? Or house meetings like after *The Day After*? One suggestion has been to encourage the wearing of an easily identifiable type of arm band during the whole period of the showing. The idea is that, as during the Nazi invasion of Denmark, when Jews were ordered to wear the Star of David, all types of Danes wore the bands to say, "They are all of us." We would be saying, "We are the people whom you intend to discredit and silence. We will not go away nor be silenced. We care about and know who each other are."

Through this undertaking I hope to help others remember that it is not the Russians or the progressives but the FEAR that divides us that is truly the common enemy of us all.



The broad based coalition including the Nonviolent Action Project, ARC, the Freeze, the San Joaquin Peace and Justice Network began actions at Site 300 with the smell of victory in the air. The Dacey Commission of the Strategic Defense Initiative office made recommendation the week before the action against the expansion of Site 300 for the development of a trillion watt Free Electron Laser (FEL). Rather, they recommended the siting of a half-scale FEL on the existing ten square miles presently occupied by the UC/DOE. Victory? Stinks like the toxic lagoons that presently dot the landscape and leak into the groundwater at Site 300.

At sunrise on Hiroshima Day, August 6, the first wave of blockaders moved into Corral Hollow Road at the main gate of the test site. These people comprised the core group of the jail solidarity cluster, many of whom went limp to not be in complicity with the so-called authorities and to dramatize their resistance to weapons testing and the local effects of open air testing at Site 300.

Energy was high, support was strong, 70 people remained after the arrests were made, and ultimately 40 people were arrested that day at Site 300. Twenty people spent three days in French Camp, the San Joaquin county jail, and were released sentenced to time served. Thirteen others with identification were cited at Site 300 and seven more were cited at the Stockton police station. Six people were arrested at the Livermore Labs in Livermore and were cited out of Santa Rita. The only charges still pending are against a Lab protective service employee who trespassed a fifty foot by fifty foot triangle of land on the Lab side of the road extremely well marked "Private Property, Connolly Ranch, LLL this means you." (More on this later.)

A peace camp was established about a half mile west of the Site 300 main gate and four to ten people maintained a presence at the camp. With the exception of continued harassment from the Labs rented security helicopter, the night of the 6th, all was peaceful. Complaints to the Labs and to the Federal Aviation Administration brought a halt to the low overflights [about 50 ft.] which created dust hazards and searched our camp with extremely bright searchlights several times in the night.

A tradition at many past actions at Livermore, Diablo and Vandenberg has been the drums of Buddhists at the gates through the actions. In commemoration of the atomic bombing of human beings forty-one years ago, Buddhist monk Jinji Shimanuki from Osaka, Japan, dry fasted at the main gate of the test site for four days, chanting and drumming throughout the day, to the astonishment of the lab workers who brought him water. He would rinse his mouth and spit it out despite the 90° windy days sitting in the dirt aside the road with signs behind him saying "STOP ALL NUCLEAR TESTING NOW," "NEVER AGAIN," and "POLITICIANS MAKE WAR; PEOPLE MAKE PEACE."

Despite the rigor and discipline Jinji displayed, his frankness, humor and love of life created an unforgettable experience for those of us at the camp - including several Berkeley activists, the owner of a local pizza parlor, a worker from the Altamont Pass wind farm and visitors from the surrounding ranches.

Lab security told some of the local ranchers that Jinji was the first real protester they had



seen. This could be attributed to typical divisive tactics, but they were very moved by Jinji's presence. After the action, Jinji said, "Everyone goes like this;" (indicating a peace sign) "Nobody goes like this." (giving the finger)

On Thursday morning, the second day of the action, Jinji was at the gate before first light and filling the valley with his melodic chanting and drumming.

When Mark Connolly, the lawyer son of the largest landholder in the area (next to the Labs Robert Connolly), went to work at dawn on Friday, he noticed the billboard he and his father had put up on their land saying "Save our children's future, Stop Nuclear Testing" was gone. Boot prints looked suspiciously like those worn by lab security, but there was no proof. That evening, Mark and Bob came by the camp to introduce themselves to Jinji and the other campers and to request another sign. They put a sign up at night that said "LLL closed by the People, take the day off." The next morning Mark caught the lab security in the act of trespassing their land to steal the sign. As mentioned earlier, the land was clearly posted. Charges have been filed against the worker (although they should have been filed against the Labs). Court dates for People vs. Lopez are Dec. 22 at 1 p.m. and Jan. 22 at 8 a.m. at Tracy Municipal Court. Steve Siino, the Deputy D.A. wants to dismiss the charges. Please write to the D.A.'s office: 222 E. Webster St., Stockton 95202.

Press coverage of the action was excellent, especially in the San Joaquin Valley and Livermore areas. We wonder when X-ray laser architect Peter Hegalstein resigned from the Lab effective Oct. 1 whether we could be having a great impact challenging the morality of the bombmakers trade.

The vigil was an all-American backcountry road extravaganza. Hundreds of Bay Area folks came out with banners and placards demanding the end of testing and making connections between the poverty of millions of Americans and the costs of the arms race economically and behaviorally as the threat of nuclear terror incites a reckless fatalistic image of the future which provokes the rationalization of earth-destructive lifestyles.

The noon rally in Tracy was down-home honest and straightforward. Fewer locals than expected attended, but the multicultural cross-section that stayed after the rally to express themselves said, "This was the best thing that's ever happened in Tracy. Do it again." I retorted that a much better response would come if the locals did it themselves and that we would love to help. The Freedom Song Network, Al Einhorn and Mark Levy made superb music. The cross-section of speakers had broad-based appeal. Robert Connolly, the largest rancher in the Site 300 area, said "I don't know how to thank you for all you've done. Thank you."

Joe Blackburn

Blockade at Site 300: Stop Open Air Testing!

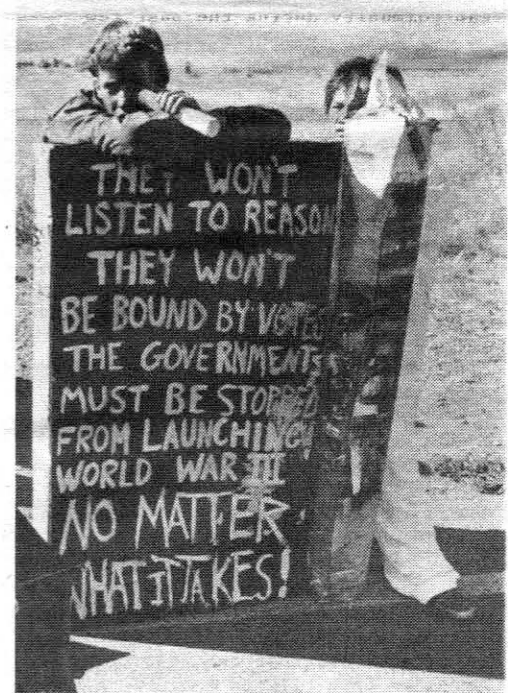


Beating Around the Bush

A flotilla of fifteen black limos pulled in front of Columbus Elementary School in Berkeley on Wednesday the 25th of September at 2:20. George Bush and George Deukmejian answered planted, practiced questions from the children while the School Board is held with a 3 million dollar emergency loan on Gov. Deukmejian's desk. That didn't stop board member and activist Anna DeLeon from unfurling a banner which read "George Bush, you cause the wars that kill the hopes that cause the pain that wants the drugs."

Deukmejian said that students who feel they have drug problems in their homes should seek help including law enforcement. A reporter from inside the auditorium told us at the police barricade of his comment. When I asked a lad walking home with his mother if this was true, he confirmed the report to the astonishment of his mother who went looking for the press to register her outrage.

Meanwhile, the Berkeley police with U.C. police backups held and harassed the people gathered at Bancroft Way and 7th St. They later bragged about how they diverted the crowd's attention so the motorcade could glide in unimpeded. The gestapo tactics included punching a couple of protestors in the face. In the scuffle, Sgt. Nelson got a slight abrasion on his arm (1" by 1", bright red, not bleeding) and charged Michael Donnelly with felony assault on an officer. Michael was put into a police car which was immediately surrounded by the crowd, some sitting in front and some in back of the car. The police then locked the keys in the car. Michael amused himself and the crowd by honking the horn and turning the lights and wipers on and off. When the police finally got a new set of keys from the station (after trying unsuccessfully to pick the lock,) they voraciously attacked those nonviolently resisting by



sitting in the road. Bodies flew end over end as the police pushed and shoved, wielding their clubs. But the tenacity of the people prevailed. A loud cheer emanated from the crowd as the police cruiser motor was shut off. Then someone opened the door to the car and set Michael free. The squad of police chased those circling him and picked Michael up upside down, dislodging his wallet and glasses, dropped him in the street behind the police line, and stood with a foot on his hair, pinning his head to the asphalt. Michael was released on his own recognizance the next day. Another protestor was arrested while allegedly letting the air out of the tire of the abandoned police car, and two others were arrested when they were walking home, one charged with resisting arrest when he asked what he was being arrested for. The squad caucussed and decided he was being arrested for disobeying a police officer. A woman walking from the demonstration was arrested for writing a peace sign in chalk on the Bank of America on July 19.

Now that is justice and exemplary of free speech in Berkeley 1986.

- Joe Blackburn

Fleet Week Actions, San Francisco Bay

On Saturday, October 11th, the largest military parade west of Red Square steamed under the Golden Gate Bridge to open one of the most expensive public relations gambits in the world. The naked ploy which uses contrived patriotism to purchase support for the Navy's expansion in San Francisco Bay was called Fleet Week, Fleet Week '86 to be precise. This festival of societal paranoia lasted four days and included several events. Most notable among the events were the tours of the combat ships during which children had an opportunity to experience handling small arms, and a gala reception sponsored by the Navy League and the City of San Francisco, better known as Diane Feinstein. As the title implies, this is not the first Fleet Week; the Navy has been invading the Bay on an annual basis since 1981.

The term "invasion" used in the last paragraph is not done so lightly. Naval strategy through the next century calls for the creation of a six hundred ship "forward based" Navy. A Navy that would be able to intervene in the political struggles of other nations with impunity and threaten Soviet access to the open Atlantic and Pacific. The strategy for making this project work is to supplement our network of foreign US Navy ports with fleets capable of patrols of longer duration, fleets armed with both nuclear and conventional missiles, that can fight in a number of different environments. This strategy is linked directly in to President

Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative. In fact, the Navy's buildup is in every way another Star Wars-type project. The underpinning of this massive program is Strategic Homeporting, the plan to disperse the fleet to as many different ports as possible. The plan as currently articulated sees great potential

in San Francisco Bay. San Francisco Bay offers the Navy room to grow, an already established infrastructure, and a pleasant environment for the personnel. The homeporting of the USS Missouri is just the tip of the iceberg of military expansion in the Bay. Contingents of the Bay Area

Peace Navy from Berkeley, San Francisco, Sausalito, Richmond and elsewhere converged on San Francisco's waterfront in protest against Fleet Week. As a line of navy ships, including the aircraft carrier Kitty Hawk, steamed through the Golden Gate, the Peace Navy patrolled closer in shore, carrying a different message to the thousands assembled on shore.

About 50 boats took part - 30 large boats and 20 kayaks, zodiacs, rowboats and canoes. The large ones were generously put up for 'adoption' by their owners, who invited many local groups to decorate them with signs and banners on the theme of disarming the seas, keeping the bay safe, and not using it for 3rd world intervention.

A line of death was set up 75 yards out from the reviewing stand at Aquatic Park by a group of 'Apocalypse Now'-type Riverine Warfare Craft - presumably to protect Diane Feinstein and assorted dignitaries from the dangerous slogans and signs of the intrepid kayak squadron which breached the line and pushed it way back.

Two hundred people in all rode on the boats and one hundred celebrated landfall near the Ferry Building where speakers, literature tables and the Rhythm Method Band entertained the crowd. Zodiacs and rowboats ferried people back and forth for tours of the large boats off shore.

by Saul Bloom and Graham Hale

For more information on Peace Navy events, call 398-1201.

Coalition For A Safe Bay, call 397-1452.



Janet Delaney

Community Building: Half the Pesto, Enough Datsuns

What is "community"? Who makes it up? There had been quite a bit of talk about "who we are" and "if we are" within the anarchy-feminist-pagan community during the past few years. Also talk of getting together for the express purpose of discussing and exploring these issues.

In early spring of this year, excited and motivated by the idea, several of us began planning for just such a gathering.

The issue of who our community is (assuming we are one) stared us straight in the face when we talked about whom we would ask to come. Our community is identified by vague boundaries, and we were only a handful of people with particular connections. Limited by camping spaces, we asked those houses and individuals who we came into contact with often through politics, spiritual happenings, fun times. However, if someone heard of the gathering and wanted to go, we would not say no. Despite some criticism, this seemed a fairly satisfactory solution.

During the planning meetings, we came up with 5 objectives that we wanted to concentrate on throughout the weekend. They were: to recognize and explore and celebrate community; to clarify and synthesize our past and present; to deal with despair; to create future vision; and to develop long-term goals.

The gathering was held at Wildcat Camp at Point Reyes, a beautiful 5.5 mile hike in, along streams, past gorgeous lakes and ocean views, greens and browns and wildflower colors. We ended up with about 40-50 people.

We broke the gathering up into 3 main discussion areas: Why we do what we do: Motivations, assumptions of how social change happens and how we live our lives; Looking at ourselves as a community: How do we relate to other communities? What are our own "issues"? Future fantasies and strategies: urban-rural communities, possible specific political campaigns, economic collectives, etc.

The first discussion, on Saturday afternoon, took place in small groups on the beach. We talked about our childhoods and lives up to the present, moments when we grew towards the present political/cultural/spiritual beings we are. Back in the large group, we looked for similarities and insights. But then the sun was too strong to continue without a break. So we played in the waves and with frisbees and in the sand. Longing for a swim, some of us

went off in search of a lake. Alas, the closest lake was nearly impossible to get to through the reeds and poison oak. I don't even know now if anyone actually made it.

We carried the second topic about community on as a large group open discussion. We explored who we were individually and what we each want out of the community. Our different talents, skills, interests. Our common projects. The joys and difficulties of being a community. Gripes about too much internal criticism and gossip, not enough outside contact and influence.

Yet we eagerly acknowledged the feeling of love within the community, knowing that we need each other to be who we are as individuals and to strive towards our spiritual, political and individual goals. Our feeling of community and empowerment were strengthened when we did a ground, hearing all the many skills and varied interests that exist among us.

After a scrumptious spaghetti and pesto dinner (though the raccoons ate half the pesto the day before), we settled down to a campfire on the beach, eating s'mores and enjoying a great talent show. How crazy, fun and talented we are...

It was sometime on Saturday that we heard that some of the cars left at trailhead had been vandalized. One of them had all its wheels and the battery stolen, a couple others had their windows smashed and various things stolen out of them, such as a tape deck and wallet.

So Sunday morning we had some decisions to make. We wanted very much to explore the last area of discussion about the future, yet we were obviously concerned about the state of the cars and making sure they were able to get back on the road. The decision-making was one of the easiest most of us had ever experienced. We decided that each of us would contribute \$10.00 (if we were able) to fix the cars; a small group who knew something about auto mechanics would hike out first and fast (the martyr collective, as it was dubbed) to start repair work; and the rest of us would hike out with the intention of starting the discussion with a few people while hiking. We also took great care to share the weight of baggage to help those who had hurt feet or legs or backs on the way in.

Many of us stopped for that longed-for swim half way through the walk out, adding to our refreshed moods.

By the time most of us reached the trailhead, the auto crew had found enough spare tires on the many Datsuns in the group to replace temporarily those stolen from another Datsun, and had returned from town with a new battery and other parts, as well as beer.

We continued with the last topic sitting in the parking lot, with an open and invigorating discussion of what we want in our future. We talked about direct action, positive alternative institutions, expanding our community, and the differences between outward political actions and inwardly directed positive alternatives.

We then split up into small groups to talk about: Land-based rural collectives; alternative institutions; short-long term direct action; sustaining and nurturing community.

One of the wonderful, empowering things about the weekend were the many concrete things that came out of these discussions. A food buying group has been started since the weekend, including many of the households. There is a once-a-month potluck/unstructured political discussion; a questionnaire about land-buying is nearly ready to circulate; and the search for a space for a collective cafe continues.

We did a short, sweet magic ritual sated and satisfied with the weekend, ourselves, and the fixed cars.

The weekend was sunny, warm, smiley, with struggles and cooperation and creativity. That so many different groups continue to meet or were strengthened from the gathering is a tribute to its (our) success, though I'm not one to measure success in goal-oriented outcomes.

We also had enough datsuns...



NOTE: Here are some contacts and information on the aforementioned projects:

--Food buying coop meets every other week. Also tips on how to form your own. Contact Karen at 282-8397.
--Potluck/Discussions: The next one is Thursday, Nov. 13 at 7:30. Contact Kate at 681-0983 for place/details.
--Vacant Lots Fund is an effort to support and encourage projects which point the way towards the world we collectively envision. Contact Betty or Kristen (SF) at 563-9046 or David (E.Bay) at 658-9198.
--For info about any other projects call Kate 681-0983 or Karen 282-8397.

We really hope that other groups around the Bay Area and the country will plan gatherings like this. If you don't think you have a community try it with your friends. You might be surprised!

--Karen Janowitz



Summer at Big Mountain

It was April when I first considered going to Big Mountain for the July 6 relocation deadline. At the time I was touring the U.S. with a Swedish theatre collective. I planned to leave for Arizona, together with Anne, as soon as the tour finished at the end of June. So I started asking questions of people I met along the way, in Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Providence. Almost all of them said, "Don't go. They don't want people to go to Big Mountain." Anne and I decided to go anyway, at least to Flagstaff. If the vibe from the people in the Legal Defense Office was definitely "don't go," then we wouldn't.

The vibe when we got to Flagstaff was "Okay, go, but read this first." And we were handed a ten-page bulletin about proper behavior on The Land and what to bring to be self-sufficient.

This is an article for people who want to go to Big Mountain. It's about some of the stuff in the ten page bulletin. It's about being a stranger in a totally different culture, a culture threatened by the culture we call home. It's about being white on Dineh land.

Expectations

The main reason for having people come to Big Mountain is to have help with the work. So the main expectation placed on all visitors is that they will work hard. The most rewarding type of work is helping the elders on the land. This entails staying with a family or elder for a minimum of two weeks. (Two months is preferable.) You will herd sheep, water horses, chop wood, repair corals, carry water, cook food, etc. In order to fight the US government for their existence on the land, the Dineh need this basic help.

We arrived at night after a day of buying supplies in Flagstaff. We buried our stash by the road near Tuba City. Drugs are not allowed on the reservation. It was the first day of the sundance. The survival camp was crowded; about 400 people. We were directed to another camp set up for Anglos coming for the sundance and the deadline. Information was served with pancakes the following morning.

After the sundance and four days in the camp (where the most useful thing we could do was night security, stopping cars to look for police and other undesirables), we moved up to the hogan of one of the elders. The next ten days were an incredible experience. Blisters, insects, mornings that began at 4:30, and a constant feeling of awe for this land and its people.

It was here that I saw the real tragedy of relocation. Their life would not be possible anywhere else on earth. Because here was the land that shared the same soul with these people.

Proper Behavior and Taboos

The Dineh people have resisted the North American way of life for hundreds of years. Some of the elders have never been to the cities. They don't need a Rainbow Gathering on their land in this time of crisis. I felt pity for the two punks I met, all mohawks, metal and leather, who were hounded out of the survival camp despite good intention. Less pity for the Germans and North Americans who get bitched at for strutting around in shorts or without shirts. Dress is definitely an issue and the rule is modesty: long pants and shirts. Don't try to look like an Indian parading about with feathers, crystals, bear claws or owl wings.

There are other taboos: places where one shouldn't walk, taboos against gathering wood that comes from lightning-struck trees. It is essential to learn and observe these things.

A Note About Direct Action

It seems to be the policy of the Dineh not to discourage actions taken by individuals or groups off the reservation. Possible targets are BIA offices (such as that where Bay Area activists were arrested in Sacramento) or Peabody Coal. No actions should be taken in the name of the Dineh people.

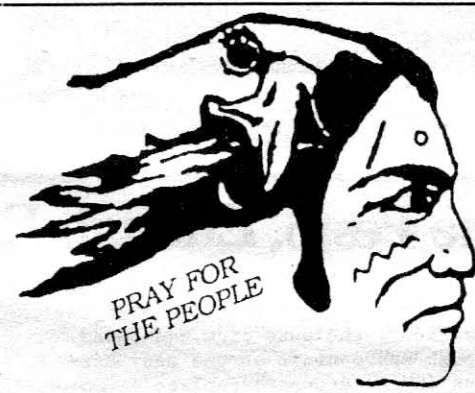
During the time I was there, only

one "action" took place. This was the symbolic cutting down of a fence that divided the newly partitioned land. Though there were enough Dineh present to take down the fence, many of the white supporters jumped in, zealously ripping at the fence posts. Was it an urge to perform for the cameras? I felt that my place in such situations was to stay in the background unless asked to participate in some way. I feel the same about trying to introduce other strategies for action. I find it hard to see a way to do this without seeming pretentious or insulting.

There didn't seem to be a strategy for using support people in case the National Guard moved in and tried to relocate people. None of us were organized in affinity groups or briefed in any way. It is possible that this was intentional, to avoid leaks to the FBI. In any case, I don't know what would have happened if the police had come.

In closing, I want to stress two things. First, people should be self-sufficient: bring enough food and water to last out your stay (and if possible also gifts like tools, nails, tobacco). Second, people going should be prepared to work. On the whole, my experience of Big Mountain was positive. They need people to go there and work. So go. Bring strength, humility, and commitment.

--Buffalo Bromberg



I first heard about Big Mountain as an issue of particular interest to women, and would like to talk about how being there affected me as a woman.

While Buffalo and I stayed at the support camp, I worked on security at night. It was felt necessary to have at least one woman to advise newcomers and to handle difficulties "softly, softly."

One piece of advice to female arrivals was to warn them to avoid the sun dance arbor and the kitchens if menstruating, as the Lakota Sioux observe strict menstrual taboos. This was of course a major adjustment for most women, but one that people accepted easily.

There were some adaptations that caused some resentments, however. Most white people are not very used to feeling like outsiders and not being part of the largest racial group. There were so many new customs and attitudes to be learned, and making a mistake often led to a curt correction with little explanation. Getting used to being considered a potential helper but indeed as some sort of representative of the oppressive culture was difficult and engendered feelings of guilt in some visitors.

The security was a mixture of different groups of mostly Dineh and Sioux males. Many of them were ex-army and wore fatigues. I had some problems being around attitudes that I felt to be both sexist and militaristic, but on Dineh Land such criticism could be seen as cultural imperialism, so I kept an uneasy silence. I could see this becoming a major difficulty for female activists contemplating a long term stay at the survival camp.

Many of these attitudes have been learned from the dominant, white, patriarchal culture and caused me to wonder about the effects of patriarchy over successive generations on men in their matrilinear society. The elder men seemed to have a very different demeanor, more deferential, less aggressive.

At the sundance I had the chance to observe quietly and from the background the most powerful ceremony I have ever witnessed. Initially I had a lot of ambivalence about being there, and found it really strange to see anglos trying to participate by foot-pounding and arm-waving. But soon I too became affected by the atmosphere and the power and strove to send my spiritual energy in a way that I hoped was compatible and not obstructive or distracting.

For most of us it was a key experience in realizing the strength, beauty and dignity of Native American religion and its place in the life of the tribe. I had a strong feeling of loss for how much we have wandered from our roots in nature and our connection to the spirit world. Yet I feel even more cautious about new age "shamanism" and its cultural implications.

Images of a Silent War

During the time I spent at the hogan of one of the elderwomen, I was told of the tiny blue plants that mysteriously appeared in the last few years and their disastrous effect on the central nervous system of sheep who became addicted to them and, losing coordination, tumbled into the canyons. One woman had lost over 30 sheep the previous winter.

I heard about the slow draining of the water table and spent a day dig-



ging out a spring so that the sheep could drink. I began to form a clearer picture of the reality here and of the genocide by more subtle means than relocation. The children being taken away to school in the modern world. The reduction of livestock, the ban on building new houses on disputed lands.

The strength and courage and determination to protect the mother earth and prevent her guts from being ripped out was very evident in the elder Navajo women. I saw much that inspired me in terms of women's connection to the land and the concept of guardianship rather than ownership and the difference that makes. Also the will to resist and the power to do so that comes from the continuance of the ritual and ceremonial life of the tribe.

With so much recent focus on the more ecocentric values inherent in matrilinear cultures, I found myself wondering why this aspect of the Navajo resistance to relocation has received so little attention. It seems a key example to modern feminists in terms of insight, resistance and power from within rather than power over leadership. It also seemed clear that the style of leadership that the elders offered was dying out in the middle aged and the young who had been exposed to patriarchal conditioning and values.

The connection between fighting the destruction of the earth and fighting patriarchy are more evident to me now, as is the central role women must play in the resistance to both. After all, we cannot leave it to other women alone.

--Anne Dowling

Cancel the Countdown

On November 15 at 11 a.m. the Electric Boat Division of General Dynamics will launch the first Trident II (D-5) capable Trident submarine, the USS Tennessee at its Groton, Ct. shipyard. On that day many people from the Northeastern US will demonstrate against this first strike weapons system. They will be there to actively say no to the celebration and preparations for World War 3. The demonstration itself will be legal as the myth of freedom of choice in the US still allows us. Many individuals and groups will nonviolently risk arrest by trying to stop the arms race at one of the main sources. All of the actions that take place on the 15th should be planned in the spirit of nonviolence.

The Trident submarine is a completely undetectable launching platform for submarine launched ICBMs. Equipped with Trident II missiles that have a range of up to 6000 nautical miles, it can reach anywhere into the Soviet Union within 7-15 minutes. Not only is Trident II a fast and long range missile, it is also accurate enough to land within 300 feet of its target. A Trident sub can carry 24 missiles; each missile can carry from 8 to 17 independently targetted warheads containing the destructive power of 20 to 30 Hiroshima atom bombs. This is what makes the Trident system a first

strike weapon: its ability to strike and destroy enemy silos with their missiles still in them.

It is this kind of system that



"State of the art, sir--no matter where it hits, it destroys the entire world."

encourages the Soviet Union to move to a "launch on warning" policy, a policy caused by the realization that if their radar picks up what it thinks are incoming missiles, they must use their missiles or lose them in their silos.

Realizing the growing danger this program is creating a number of groups and individuals have formed the Coalition to Stop Trident. Many of those involved have been actively resisting Trident since its inception in the 70's. The Coalition feels that the increased danger caused by the upgrading of the Trident program calls for massive protest.

We can stop the missiles from getting into the tubes by actively protesting in Groton. The launching is just the beginning of a two year campaign that will stop the D-5.

The Coalition will help provide housing for those coming in the night before, or for other special situations, if advance notice is given. Write for info: Coalition to Stop Trident, P.O. Box 411, New Haven CT 06502.

Actions to resist Trident are also planned for December in Georgia and January at Cape Canaveral in Florida. For information about these actions contact Judy and Jack Cumbee, 517 Moore's Mill, Auburn, AL 36830 (for December action), and Mobilization for Survival (Florida action), 853 Broadway, New York, NY 10003.

UPDATE ON BIG MOUNTAIN

"Since the government started to take our water we have experienced a lot of problems. In my area water comes from the natural springs. This water was put here for us by the Holy People. Our people have dug holes and made prayer offerings to the Holy People so there would be water for the human beings. These places are very sacred to us. Without water and without these places we cannot survive. The government is trying to kill us."

Jack Nelson, Navajo Medicine Man.

"There is a natural spring not far from my home. It is our drinking water and our water for our animals. It is close to my great-grandfather's burial site. The B.I.A. has put a fence through there. These places are on the wrong side of the fence."

Now the planes come to my area. These planes interfere with our ceremonies. I do not know why they are coming after us. It frightens us a lot and also my sheep. It worries me about the young people because they are very angry."

Mae W. Tso, Big Mountain Navajo Elder.

"My father is a medicine person. He and my mother cannot relocate. They speak only the Navajo language and live in the traditional way as my people have always lived."

Lately the government is flying planes over our house all the time. Some of the jets that fly over us fly very low and frighten us. Also, some jets make a sonic boom which broke the windows in our house. Because of the construction freeze the government won't let us fix the windows."

Lenore Hill, Big Mountain Navajo resident.

Big Mountain Update

The July 7th deadline has come and passed at Big Mountain. The Dineh (Navajo) families who live on the wrong side of the partition line remain. Uncertainty and fear surround them.

By its own rules the government cannot relocate them because there is no housing built for them to move into. More than a thousand families have already been moved to modern government-built housing on other parts of the reservation, or in bordering towns, including Flagstaff. Another 1200 families have moved off the land but have yet to receive housing. There remain at least 300 families who refuse to move.

In the 1840s the Department of Interior took over the administration of US-Indian relations from the Department of War. The bureau of Indian Affairs is a branch of the interior department which has this legal function. This is not to say that the army, the cavalry, the police, or the FBI have not been summoned when deadly force is desired.

But it is the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) which has responsibility for the provocative harassments that are being visited on the people of the Joint Use Area which includes Big Mountain. These activities have aimed at disrupting the self-sufficient economic base of the people, thus driving them off the land. The tactics include livestock confiscation, fencing, water diversion, and low overflights of jets and helicopters.

The record of "voluntary" relocations is miserable. More than half have lost their homes to unscrupulous bankers and real estate brokers. Alcoholism and suicide have increased sharply.

Currently the BIA is offering tours of the "New Lands", their term for areas of relocation, to the people who remain on what is now legally "Hopi Partition Land".

In 1979 a uranium mill tailings dam at Churchrock broke, releasing more than one hundred million gallons of highly radioactive water into the Rio Puerco. This is the worst nuclear accident in US history. Little is known about its effects on the aquifer, yet downstream is the first of the new lands to be settled. On other new lands there is no water at all.

And yet the BIA races to implement Public Law 93-531. That's why three times the Berkeley Big Mountain Support Group has travelled to Sacramento to demand that the BIA state publicly and in writing that they will refrain from their provocations. On July 7th and August 12th these visits resulted in the arrest of 10 people on each occasion after their demands brought no response. There have also been demonstrations at other BIA offices around the country, including Washington, D.C.

As well, an administrative complaint has been filed on behalf of some of the traditional elder people facing relocation against the Department of the Interior detailing activities which infringe on the rights and property of Dineh families, and describing violations of numerous Federal laws.

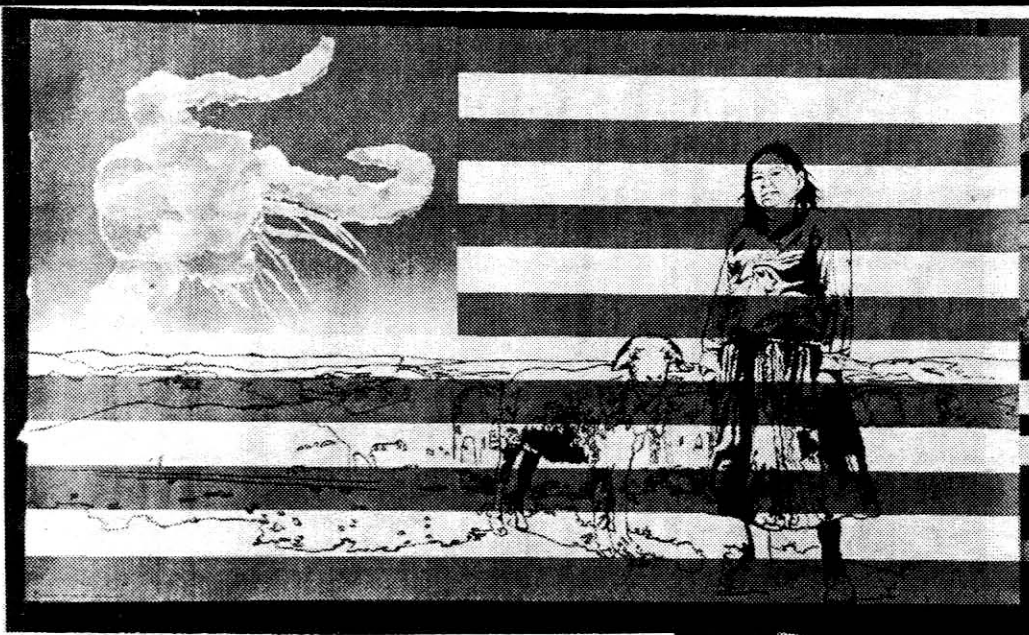
Similarly this summer, in response to an increased FBI presence around Big Mountain, the Berkeley B.M.S.G. visited the FBI office in San Francisco to demand assurances that they would not assault the sovereignty of the Dineh Nation. Four people were arrested after no such assurances were offered and the dialogue was rudely terminated by the federal police.



Another important tactic is letter-writing. Because of the mercurial nature of politics, the specific focus of a letter-writing campaign changes rapidly. At this time it is recommended to write to Congresspeople and Senators and express concern on the points of BIA harassment and water problems on the new lands. We want to get our government off the backs of indigenous people. Ultimately we are calling for an end to relocation, respect for Native American sovereignty, and help for already relocated people who wish to return.

People are urged to stay in touch with their local Big Mountain Support Group or contact the Berkeley group at 3126 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley 94705 (tel. 415-644-2028) for updates on the situation in Congress and on the land, and information about the growing resistance network. Hopefully P.L. 93-531 will be repealed and the shameful treatment of Native Americans by the US government will start to be reversed.

by Paul Bloom.



Nuclear Transport: Blocked—for the Time Being

Coast ports at a later date.

On June 3, the Oakland port commissioners bowed to community pressure and voted unanimously to reject a request by the Department of Energy to unload spent fuel rods from a nuclear reactor in Taiwan at the Port of Oakland. Commissioners also voted to ban the shipment of any spent fuel rods through the port, and to join in a lawsuit filed by a coalition of environmental, medical, and religious groups in the Northwest. The lawsuit seeks to prevent the DOE from shipping spent fuel rods through any West coast port until a site-specific environmental impact report has been done.

Jackson Davis, professor of marine biology at U.C. Santa Cruz, testified that a leak of the contents of the fuel rods into the environment could have catastrophic consequences. Cesium 137 and Strontium 90, two of the many radioactive chemicals created in the fuel rods during the operation of the reactor, remain toxic for hundreds of years. Plutonium, another constituent of the rods, remains toxic for thousands of years. Davis's remarks were underscored by the accident at Chernobyl which had occurred just weeks before in the USSR. He described a possible "worst-case" scenario resulting in a large-scale fire on board a fuel-rod carrying ship in San Francisco Bay. A significant release of the radio-nuclides in the rods would contaminate the air, water, and soil of the Bay and its surrounds for many years. This contamination would result in large economic losses to businesses and industries surrounding the Bay, including the Port itself. Many people would have to be evacuated for long periods of time, and many cases of lung cancer and other adverse health effects of radiation exposure would result. Davis also drew attention to the difficulties of extinguishing such a fire, due to the extraordinary hazards to which firefighters are exposed as a result of the large releases of radioactive material. This problem had occurred at Chernobyl.

In taking a stand against the shipments, the Port of Oakland joined the Ports of Long Beach and Seattle. Jim McJunkin, Port Director at Long Beach said the DOE would bring the fuel rods in there, "over our dead bodies".

In response, the DOE announced in July that it was dropping its plans to bring the first shipment of fuel into the U.S. through a West Coast port. In a Christian Science Monitor article on July 7, it was reported that the DOE would bring the first shipment through Portsmouth, Virginia, even though "shipments to the East Coast would cost 15 times more than to the West Coast, an extra price to be shouldered by taxpayers." The spokesman did not explain why U.S. taxpayers were footing the bill for shipping Taiwanese fuel, nor did he discuss the potential costs of a serious accident.

Jack Vandenberg, a spokesperson for the DOE, said that the DOE has made this decision only in regard to the first of 18 shipments scheduled to leave Taiwan over the next 18 months. He said that routing for the next 17 shipments would be decided on a case-by-case basis, clearly leaving open the possibility of a confrontation with West

On September 12, Judge Jack Tanner of the U.S. District Court at Tacoma, Washington granted the request of the Northwest Inland Waters Coalition that the DOE prepare either an Environmental Assessment or an Environmental Impact Statement for the effects of shipping the spent fuel on the coastal and inland waterways of the West Coast. He also ruled that the Coalition could go forward with a trial on the question of financial responsibility in the event of an accident with the spent fuel. Marine Biologist Jackson Davis pointed out at the Oakland hearings that the DOE would not have actual title to the spent fuel rods. The title would be held by the government of Taiwan and any accident would not be covered by the Price-Anderson act; the Port would have to sue the Taiwan government to collect damages which could run into tens of billions of dollars.

The DOE contended in court that they had filed a generic Environmental Impact Statement based on an NRC regulation known as NUREG-170. The Coalition is dissatisfied with this type of EIS because it only requires the DOE to describe possible releases of radioactive materials under various scenarios. It does not describe effects on people, industry, or the environment in which the accident occurs. The Coalition is seeking a site-specific environmental impact report from the DOE which will describe these effects, and specifically discuss what will happen if an accident occurs on the open ocean, coastal waterways, or an inland waterway. To date, Judge Tanner has asked the Department of Energy and the Northwest Inland Waters Coalition to reach an agreement on the exact nature of the Environmental Impact Statement to be ordered by the Court. He has also legally enjoined the DOE from shipping any spent fuel through West Coast ports until the agreed-upon EIS has been prepared.

The Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty, signed by the nuclear nations, requires that radioactive wastes from power plants be returned to its country of origin to prevent weapons-grade material from being exported and possibly made into bombs. One way to stop the cycle is to stop the export of the fuel rods in the first place. This act would stem the flow of nuclear waste back into the U.S.

The Alameda County Nuclear Free Zone Committee, in testimony before the Oakland Board of Port Commissioners, asked the Board to join with other ports around the country in banning the further export from the U.S. of new fuel rods for nuclear reactors, on the grounds that they would be forced by the Federal Government to take them back, thereby incurring the risk of long-lived catastrophes in their own backyards.

We ask individuals interested in stopping this flow of nuclear waste from overseas reactors to write to their Congresspersons and ask that such legislation be prepared. We are already storing enough of our own waste without becoming a repository for waste from around the world.

by Len Conly

Return of the Great White Fleet: Warships in Sydney Harbor

In August of 1908, when Teddy Roosevelt was Secretary of the Navy, the Great White Fleet sailed into Sydney Harbour, led by the USS Missouri of those days. Thousands watched the arrival of the sixteen white-hulled U.S. battle-ships. Round the world, nations scrambled to build up their navies. 51 years later World War I began.

Now, almost 80 years later, another Great Fleet is due to arrive in Sydney Harbour, including ships from 7 nations. Defense Minister, Kim Beazley, explains that "Australian ships and crews fought alongside ships of most of the visiting navies in two World Wars and in Korea."

But will we be joining them in World War III? With New Zealand's ban on nuclear warship visits, the ANZUS alliance in tatters, and the U.S. administration seeking to stop the spread of the "nuclear allergy," the naval extravaganza in Sydney Harbour takes on new meaning.

The Nuclear Allergy

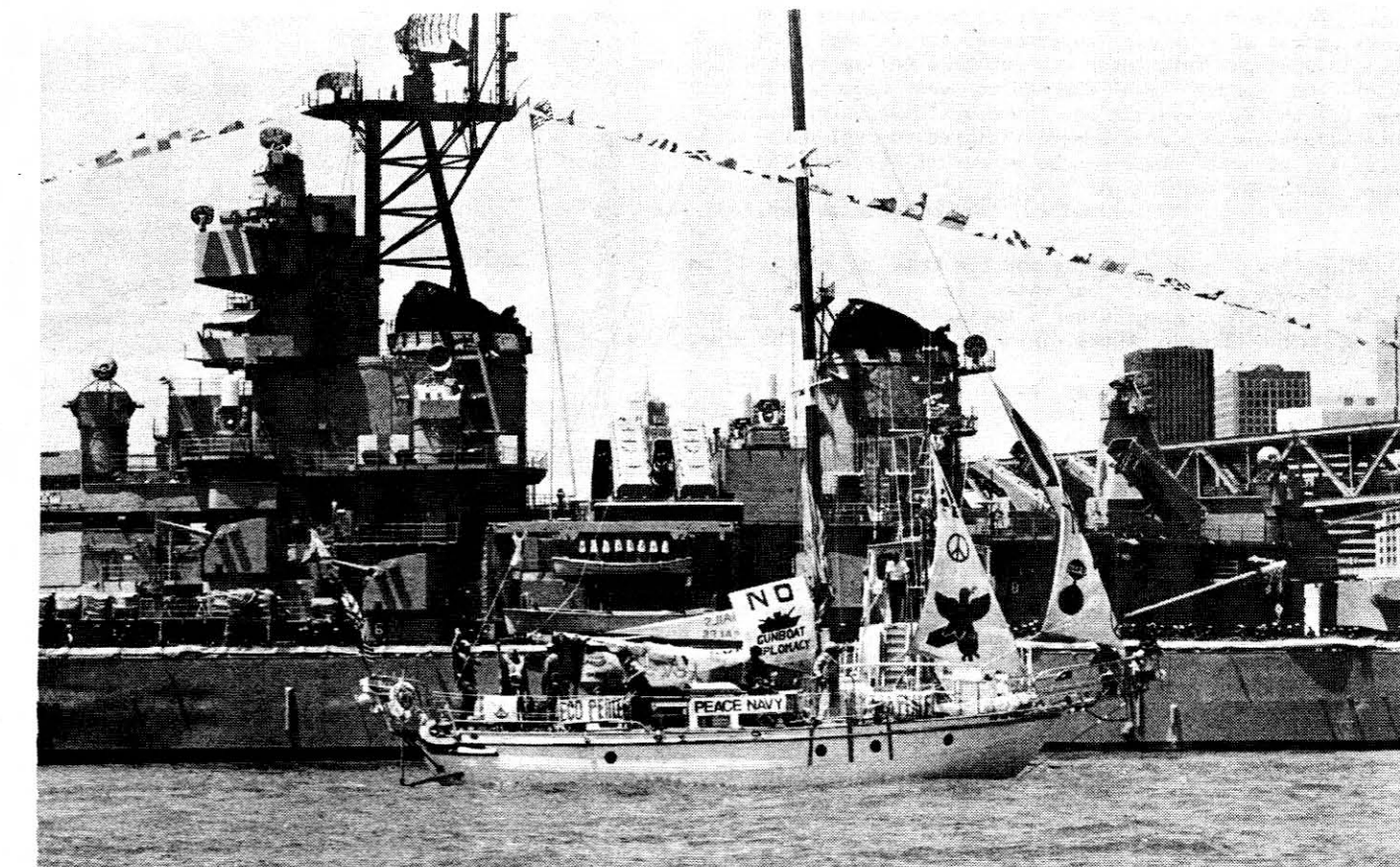
Small Pacific nations--Belau, Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands--as well as New Zealand, have refused nuclear visits. The U.S. government is worried that the "contagion" could spread to more strategically significant nations--Australia, Japan, and the Philippines--or that European allies may take similar steps.

The NATO alliance is moving to cover its flanks in Europe. Major campaigns have been mounted to reverse the pre-election policies of governments in Spain and Greece which called for the removal of U.S. facilities. There is also growing concern over NATO's northern flank: in Norway since 1984, 21 municipalities have taken action to make their ports nuclear-free, Iceland's Foreign Minister has announced that all nuclear warships will be barred from the country's waters, and political leaders and disarmament movements are discussing the creation of a Nordic nuclear free zone.

Admiral Watkins' exposition of the new "Maritime Strategy" (cf. Bruce Schuler's article, "The Naval Build-Up") stresses "coalition warfare and the criticality of allies." For the first time, a non-Pacific nation, NATO member Great Britain, participated in RIMPAC exercises in the Pacific this year. Meanwhile, New Zealand's ban on nuclear warships is seen as threatening the future of the ANZUS (Australia/New Zealand/USA alliance.)

In this context, the gathering at the start of October, 1986, of over 40 warships from Australia, Canada, Great Britain, France, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, and the USA for a Naval Review in honor of the 75th anniversary of the Royal Australian Navy, Prince Philip presiding, takes on much more than a ceremonial significance. (Look at the role "Fleet Week" has played in preparing the way for homeporting of the Missouri in San Francisco, for example.) Most of the visiting British and American ships are known to carry nuclear missiles. Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific is trying to alert the world-wide peace movement to this event. The following is an abridged version of an article by Australian Nic Maclellan, of NFIP.

Beyond Europe, the U.S. Administration is also looking to build global



Janet Delaney

S.F. Bay Area Peace Navy and Greenpeace protest U.S.S. Missouri recommissioning, May 10, 1986.

naval cooperation among its allies. At a NATO naval conference in June, U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger said that the NATO alliance should spread its maritime reach beyond traditional boundaries. Although some European allies will be reluctant to take on that role, Britain's Royal Navy is seeking to re-establish its place in the region.

Maritime Strategy

Admiral James Watkins states in his January, '86 article on the new Maritime Strategy that in the event of war in Europe, "the Navy will seize the initiative as far forward (near the USSR) as possible" and "will wage an aggressive campaign against all Soviet submarines, including ballistic missile submarines."

Forward deployment of U.S. vessels in ports around the Pacific is vital for the strategy described by Admiral Watkins. In the event of a limited U.S./Soviet war in Europe, the U.S. Navy wants the flexibility to open up a new front in the East. By escalating the conflict to a global war at sea, the USSR is robbed of the "luxury" of fighting on a single front. U.S. Navy Secretary Lehman has boasted that Soviet ballistic missile submarines will be destroyed, "in the first five minutes of the war." But as Soviet Delta-class ballistic missile subs are sheltered in the Sea of Okhotsk, U.S. naval forces may have to attack Soviet ports and air bases that provide protection for the Soviet subs.

U.S. naval forces have participated in recent years in a series of provocative naval wargames near the Soviet coastlines, to play out this strategy. Exercises like Fleetex and Team Spirit in the Pacific, and Ocean Safari in the North Atlantic, are part of this process. In May, the Tomahawk-armed battleship USS New Jersey sailed to Japan to hold naval exercises in the Sea of Japan, to demonstrate U.S. naval power near

Vladivostok, homeport of the Soviet Pacific fleet.

In response to the deployment of Tomahawk cruise missiles, and naval wargames at its doorstep, the Soviet Union is boosting its naval war-fighting capability. Last November, the nuclear-powered battlecruiser, *Frunze* and two destroyers, the *Strogii* and the *Osmotritel'nyi*, joined the Soviet Pacific fleet. The *Frunze* bristles with a range of anti-ship, anti-aircraft, and anti-submarine missiles, including nuclear rockets like the SAN-6 and the SSN-19 cruise missile.

This militarization of the northern

In documents released during a 1985 court case in Hawaii, the U.S. Navy admitted to a total of 301 nuclear weapons accidents between 1965 and 1977. Navy officials have since acknowledged another 249 incidents since then--a total of 630 errors over the past 20 years. Although most were minor, they involved all types of naval nuclear weapons, including ASROC and Tomahawk missiles. The danger of a serious accident is increasing as more ships carry nuclear weapons, and port officials admit they couldn't cope with a nuclear accident.

The number of warship visits to

Stop Press! Stop Press! Stop Press!



Mon. Sept. 29--Over 100 "Peace Squadron" pleasure craft protest harbor entry by USS Oldendorf, a "Spruance" Class destroyer equipped with nuclear ASROC missiles?? Former Australian surfboard champ attaches himself to ship bow for 5 minutes.

700 people, including Midnight Oil rock star, Peter Garrett, gather on harbor headland in protest.

Wed. Oct. 1-- Again over 100 "Peace Squadron" boats protest Tomahawk cruise-capable USS Missouri, delaying its entry for 15 to 30 minutes.

A news service interviews USS Missouri Sailor who admits in an unguarded moment, "If I was a civilian, and I was in this city, I'd be with them (the demonstrators)."

Sydney is a Nuclear-Free Zone, prompting City Council Members on one boat to hold a sign reading, "Aldermen of the City of Sydney Against Nuclear Weapons in Our Harbor."

During previous week, waterfront workers go on strike in Newcastle Harbor in protest of presence of USS Paul Foster, "Spruance" class ASROC-capable destroyer.

--Information courtesy of Bruce Cornwall, Sydney, People for Nuclear Disarmament (PND)

Pacific has the potential to escalate into conflict. In spite of the tensions in Europe with the deployment of cruise, Pershing, and ss-20 missiles, some commentators fear that the first use of nuclear weapons could take place at sea. Desmond Ball of the Strategic and Defense Study Center at the Australian National University notes five factors which increase the likelihood of naval nuclear warfare:

- 1) frequent collisions of nuclear platforms at sea;
- 2) the attractiveness of ships as targets for nuclear weapons;
- 3) the unusual autonomy that naval commanders possess in launching nuclear weapons;
- 4) a blurring of distinctions between conventional and nuclear weapons, especially with the deployment of sea-launched cruise missiles;
- 5) provocative U.S. anti-submarine doctrines.

Visits and Accidents

Although many Australians support warship visits to their ports, there is growing concern over questions of nuclear safety. Recent re-evaluations of nuclear-weapons accidents have heightened those concerns.

Australian ports has increased over the last decade; in 1976, U.S. warships made 17 visits to Australian harbours; by 1984, this had increased to 58 visits. Defense Minister Beazley has admitted that government cannot control the frequency of such visits: "Those numbers are determined not by a port visit policy in this country, but by the operational requirements of the U.S. Pacific Fleet" The "operational requirements" of nuclear-armed navies are also causing concern. Over 80% of U.S. vessels such as destroyers and frigates take on a vital role in new American Maritime strategy.

Friends and Allies

Come October, politicians, press, and naval commanders will ask us to celebrate our links with great and powerful friends. Will they remember that the Great White Fleets that won past wars were not armed with sea-launched cruise missiles? Will they remember that the Japanese fleet won at Tsushima (1905), but we all lost at Hiroshima?

Nic Maclellan (NFIP) [Edited by Bruce Schuler and Patrick Diehl].

*see also letter on page 19



From 50th Birthday Issue

Fifty years ago to the day, the first issue of *Peace News* hit the streets. We've been a constant voice opposing war and violence and oppression in all their forms, and proposing constructive alternatives for a peaceful, nonviolent society.

AGAINST ALL WAR: Fifty years of Peace News

1936-1986

by Albert Beale

Happy 50th, 'Peace News'!



'Peace News', the venerable British peace magazine, just turned 50! All of us here at Direct Action [a mere 4 years old], NAP [and LAG], and the International Work Group, wish everyone at Elm Avenue a belated happy one, and many more to come. Here's to our struggle against militarism, oppression of any form, and a future of peace and enlightened cooperation.

From the DDR church group
near Weimar



Note: This is edited out of a letter from our dear friend Friedel Gordon, member of the International Work Group, who is currently on extended travels in Europe - revisiting her roots - and further afield. We miss her!

Christian Peace Conference
German Democratic Republic

7/24 Crossing the border at Friedrichstrasse, S-Bahn station in the middle of Berlin, a steel door separating two worlds. Everyone must exchange and spend DM 25. per day. East Germany needs Western currency-is that why they accept chemical waste for their chemical dump from West Germany? My luggage does not get checked -- I'm relieved because I have lots of LAG slides and "Direct Actions" in my backpack--had been told by Ulli Sonn, the arranger of this trip, that it was O.K. to bring, since my host would be a well-known "peace fighter" with official sanction. We can send anything to him and others from the CFK as long as it is labeled "Work Material".

7/25 Our 'official' meeting with a head of the CDU Christian Party (with the same name as the governing party in the FRG). They must have money--the new party headquarters is fancy, full of marble, indirect lighting. A secretary in a short skirt brings tea, cookies, cigarettes. Why am I sitting here? Listening to stuff about the peace-loving GDR from the mouth of a fat politician who looks exactly like Strauss (the conservative in FRG). Yet--this conservative Christian Democrat talks about socialism, social justice--is against SDI. Peace, peace, peace--you see and hear that word everywhere in the GDR. The newspapers report all peace movement events, East and West. All hypocrisy? First cognitive dissonance. Anke, from our group, mentions the militaristic curriculum in the schools--answer: a total of nine hours on the Volksarmee is all. Later I am told that kindergarteners get pictures of soldiers to color.

Later, I go alone through some main streets, into a museum. It was a mistake. I feel forlorn and exhausted by all these huge buildings around me; From what I've been learning about the history of the wall, the term "Peacewall" no longer sounds entirely grotesque and Orwellian. Hildegard, in West Berlin said, "The wall was built by the East and the West. In 1961, the question was, as now, does the East German State have the right to exist?" Most here say, "No question about it, but your politicians don't want to grant us that right. But, I ask myself, why did so many leave in 1961?"

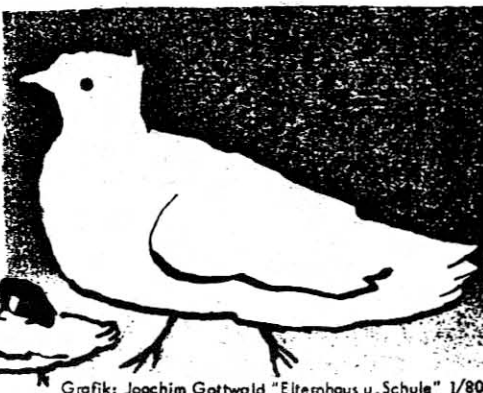
Twenty-five years later, both countries have just 'celebrated' the anniversary of the Wall: Rightists in the West blew a hole in it; officialdom in the East held parades. The left-liberal weekly, "Zeit", sent a team over there, published long, "balanced" articles, which I like, yet find a bit arrogant, still assuming that our Western system is better. No listening to the other side. Is there something we can learn from them?

Today, the GDR is a consolidated society, an economic miracle (their GNP is the highest in the world). They have reconstructed, built industry, settled the collectivization of agriculture (without scores of dead like in Russia). Now they are tackling the challenge of more consumer goods. Big lines for peaches. No scarcity of meat, bread and schnaps; though vegetables scarce.

Today, tens of thousands get out legally, though many are retired people. In West Germany--which considers any East German an automatic citizen--they get a pension and can stay--a weird position, one of the ways in which the West still tries to undermine the Eastern system. On the other hand, since the "Ostpolitik" of Willy Brandt, there is a partial recognition of the GDR by West Germany. Before Brandt's conciliatory steps, there was almost no travel between our two countries. Remember, after WWII, several million people went to the West, leaving their families behind.

Yesterday (8/25) I read in the "Süddeutsche Zeitung" that 107,000 East Germans have traveled and returned to the FRG so far this year! several draft resisters have been let go without any punishment at all.

Still, travel is the biggest desire. Even a trip to Poland or the Soviet Union requires permission, visas, hassles. Someone said: "Do I really have to end my life without ever having seen Venice?" It makes me sad, and I feel determined to work for de-



Grafik: Joachim Gottwald "Elternhaus u. Schule" 1/80

East German peace group graphic

tente. No doubt, greater acceptance by us would bring greater freedom there.

7/26 Weimar--Buchenwald--Kapellendorf-- In Weimar, Wolfgang suggests breakfast at the railway station. Problems: there is only one possible breakfast: coffee, soft egg, toast, and jam. The waiter (who is actually trying to please us) cannot substitute tea for coffee! He has to bring both to those who order tea...the problem has to do with the "planwirtschaft" and the pricing, I guess. Wolfgang: "Here in the GDR we are not used, like you are, to getting our individual wishes fulfilled. We feel insecure, cowed in restaurants, in post offices, on the bus. We take what is available. In this way, in a couple more generations, the individual will be more and more homogenized."

We take the bus to Buchenwald, so near the city which symbolizes German humanism, the classic spirit. It is so beautiful, there on the hill with a wide, soul-broadening

view. Pleasant woods surround the memorial, the empty lot where the barracks once stood! Wolfgang quotes Goethe, who spoke these famous words up here shortly before his death: "On this height, one can feel truly noble and free. Here let us remain!" There are lots of people, lots of Young Pioneer troops, on this grey Sunday. On the wrought-iron gate to the camp the inscription: "Jedem das Seine" To Everyone What He Deserves--that's how the arrivals were greeted, with the poetry of evil. Later, I'm relieved that the memorial stone for Jews is just as big as that for Russian soldiers, but the exhibit on the history of the camp is insufferably anti-"imperialist" (American). Is it true that General Patton's army delayed for days to free the survivors? Because they were largely political, i.e. Communists? (It is true, I know, now, that Buchenwald was primarily a camp for political persons, not Jews.) My disgust with the Communist hypocrisy here, my suspicion of an underlying anti-semitism, is balanced by my memory of my group's visit to Plötzensee in West Berlin. The memorial service at this Nazi prison for resistance fighters, ended with the German anthem--so hypocritical. We see the Buchenwald movie, finally break down, cry, hold each other.

At Wolfgang's home, his wife tells us about a popular teacher who lectures on the language of militarism. He has not published, she explains, because this might get him in trouble. Kapellendorf: We take the bus to this pretty, old village, where we are guests of another parish. I show the LAG slides again--our creativity is admired, but we don't talk about Civil Disobedience. Again the question: how do you do that? What about your job? There is no way, almost, not to work full time in the GDR, but people's jobs are secured to a degree unimaginable for so many play hooky shamelessly.

In Kapellendorf, my family are simple people, but the father is an electrician, so everything works for a change. They have a huge garden, pigs, chickens. They are not 'good socialists'; they complain, they want Western stuff. In this rural setting with the red brick farmhouses, the smell of pigs, the tractors, I notice how much more traditional, genuinely "German", the atmosphere seems here than in West Germany. No discos, neon signs, boutiques on the village square as in a Bavarian village. All is so quiet, even in a big city. I waver between liking this and finding it boring. One thing in the GDR countryside looks very untraditional, reminds me of the States: the fields are huge, straight, not the patchwork of Bavaria. This is the result of collective agriculture.

My family think farm life is much easier the collective way; farmers now have Sundays and vacations.

A house is being built next door. Yes, private houses are common. Cost about 65,000 GDR marks. Interest payments of 2% a year, over 50,60 years.

We eat dinner in the parish garden, lots of salad, home-grown currant desert. Chernobyl? (In the FRG currants are notorious for exceedingly high levels of radiation--No one worries. Even the long-hairs from Jena say: "We trust the government. They protect us. That's all hysteria with you over there." I'm shocked--these are critical people. In West Germany there is a lively anti-atomic energy movement--but no one here is interested.

On our way out, we go back to Berlin, spend a night, have another meeting with people from the parish. The discussion is cautious. Two young men, who look like they may be homosexuals, mention the lack of travel, the presence of Soviet missiles; they are the only ones.

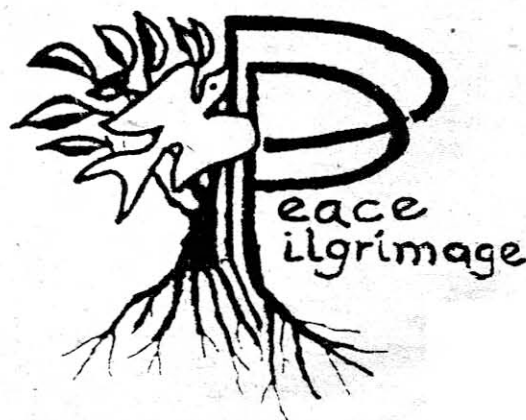
We go to Potsdam for sightseeing. The streetcar driver says he didn't want to go to

college because academic jobs often bring less money, and who wants the responsibility of a manager's job? They tell us about a yearly meeting in the spring, again under the auspices of the church, where, not only peace issues, but also women, handicapped, and homosexuals have a forum.

At 11:00 p.m. we leave after crossing the checkpoint again at Friedrichstrasse. There are groups of bewildered looking, nervous foreigners, women in head-scarves with big suitcases. Asylum seekers! Big news in West Germany is the problem of the continuing stream of refugees from Pakistan, Iran, Sri Lanka, Ghana. I feel sorry for these people: there is no one to give them any assistance in this dismal station.

...

Next day, we exchange information, give radio interviews, get ready for the long trip to Schnackendorf, where a six day peace march will start. Seven people have arrived, surprisingly, directly from the Great American Peace March! An anonymous donor paid their trip!

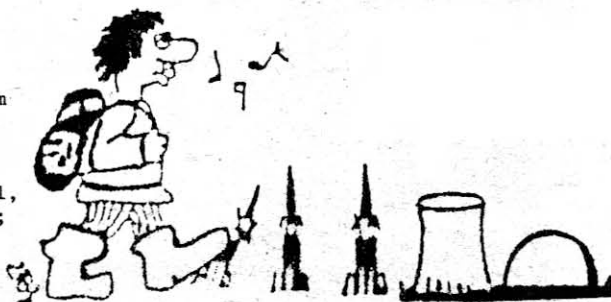


Gorleben--the border is there, and also a nuclear waste dump. One last note: Our peace march walked along the border, not to protest it, but to reflect on it as a symbol of East/West polarization, a sad construct for which both sides are responsible. To the degree we keep up tension, we contribute to its standing.

August 6--Gorleben--Evening of Hiroshima Day-- We end our march with a candle-floating ceremony down the river Elbe. On the other side is a watchtower, of which we have seen so many over the past few days. Again they point their cameras at us. It is quiet on the river; we can hear their voices in the Saxon dialect: "What's written there? Gorleben--Chernobyl--Stopt Atomtod--" Two boats, one from the East, one from the West, watch the ceremony. Kishima, the Japanese monk, beats his drum, bows his head towards the soldiers, chants the chant he has sung almost continuously for the last six days: NAM MU MUY HO GAY KO. Hundreds of candles on wooden boards float slowly down the river--the border, reminding us of the people who tried to relieve their suffering in the river of Hiroshima, reminding us of the people who jumped into the Elbe during the Hamburg Firestorm. Each candle has a paper mantle with a wish for peace written on it. Mine says: Peace with the GDR.

Two storks fly low across the darkening sky; I can't remember whether it was from West to East or East to West...

Friedel



Art: Action and Participation

Art: Action & Participation
by Frank Popper
New York University Press
1975

(300 pages of descriptions
and photos of participatory
artworks and events, 1965-
1975, mostly from Europe,
USA, and South America.)

Introduction

There was a time in the not-so-distant past--as recently as the late Middle Ages in Europe--that art was the common heritage of the community: a time when architecture and painting were collective endeavors, in which annual Easter "Passion Plays" meant the development of the oral tradition of the people.

It is no coincidence that the decline of participatory art in Europe accompanied the rise of capitalism. Like labor, art became more and more a commodity. And like other forms of production, the creation of works of art came more and more under the dominion of individual entrepreneurs, specialists in organizing materials and labor.

We cannot recapture this golden age of art. But in our work to transform society, we need to raise the same issues: participation, the connection of "art" to our wider milieu, and our role as activist-artists.

In this article, I am trying not so much to review Frank's book as to present some of the ideas and questions raised over the past year of doing political organizing, working on several collective art projects, and slowly wading through the book.

The different sections are loosely connected, but not linear. I've tried to cram a lot of ideas into the space, so I'd prefer you read a couple of sections carefully rather than skimming the whole piece.

If the ideas are directly from Frank's book, I've noted it. As for the rest, I blame these ideas on the people I've worked with over the past few years.

What is Radical Culture?

We need to focus on the process of cultural work, not on the content alone. We seek not "art with a political content", but a political way of doing art. A film with a progressive theme may have its value--but it leaves unchallenged the passivity of the spectator/consumer (on which the power of the establishment so largely rests).

participation, and empowerment in a wider cultural context, not simply in our narrowly-defined "political" work.

We need to see culture as a way of living, not as a commodity we consume in our leisure time.

We need to develop our self-perception to include our cultural concerns. Most of us see ourselves as "activists", not as "artists". The point of this piece is to challenge the distinction.

We need to develop our ideas of non-hierarchy, consensus, equal



unknown credit

TOK Group of Zagreb,
Procession with Abstract Forms,
1972, Graz, Austria

Role of the "Artist"

Frank puts forward this thesis:

The role of the "artist", the specialist in art, is changing from that of individual creator of works which the public then consumes to that of an intermediary who helps shape situations in which participants are challenged to create for themselves.

Despite putting out this ideal, however, he shows very few examples in which spectators are actually encouraged to "create". In most cases, they are invited to fill roles which the "artist" has pre-designed.

But think here of the "fence" actions at Greenham Common, on Haight Street, etc.--organizers provide yarn, ribbons, but participants add mementos of their own, and the designs woven into the fence are created by whoever is doing the action. (Although this is a simple form of participation, it breaks through the "leader/follower" dichotomy.)

Frank's analogy with playgrounds is apt: the ideal is to build a space in which kids have props, materials, etc., but in which they create their own games.

What would an adult playground look like? What props and materials would we want? Could these props and materials be brought to actions? What needs would such a playground fill? What do we need to work out?

Total Environments

The basic idea of the "total environment" pervades popular culture: a rock concert with video effects; a "theme party"; an enclosed playground.

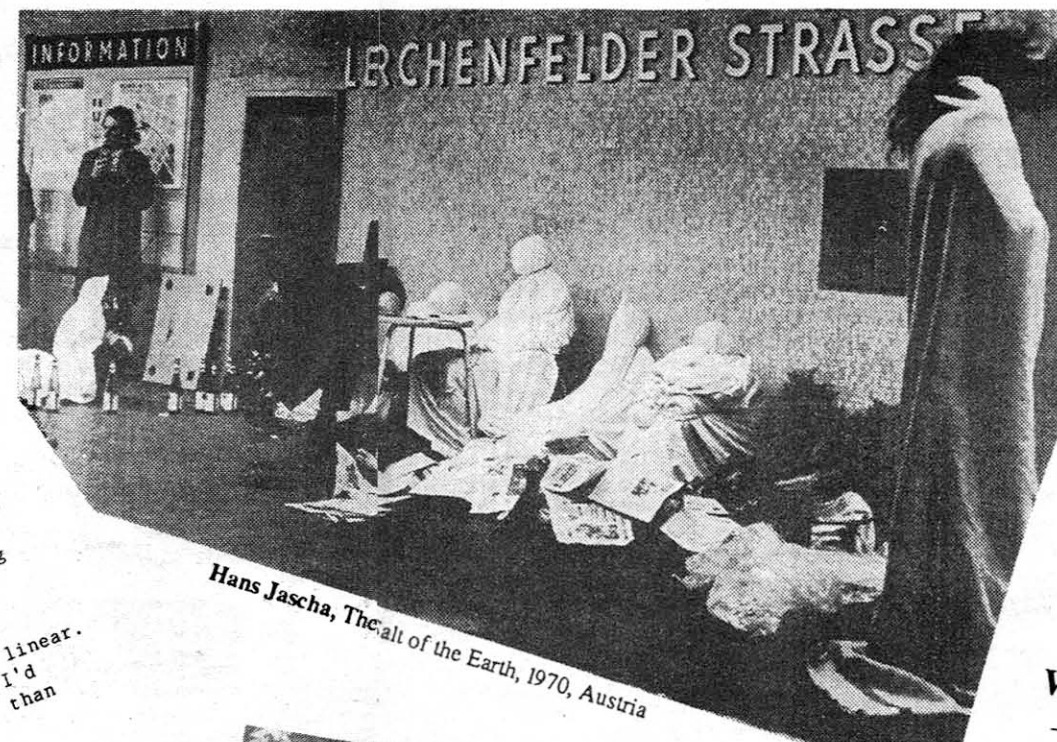
Frank cites at some length the example of Red China in the 1960's as a large-scale experiment with the total environment. The pathetic state of cultural exchange at this time prevents us from assessing that experiment in other than moralistic terms.

Disneyland (not cited by Frank) is an example of corporate America's vision of a total environment--an a-sexual, a-political world in which everything we are allowed to desire is available for purchase.

And LAG at its best often aspired to be a total environment, to address not only political issues, but to create an alternative culture--alternative not only to mainstream America, but also to more traditional "leftist" cultures. The interweaving of the personal and the political that we attempted is a more important contribution than our narrow "anti-nuke" work.

These examples raise the question:

Is it possible to create a democratic, decentralized "total environment"? (This seems like the question of a viable vision of a world in harmony.)

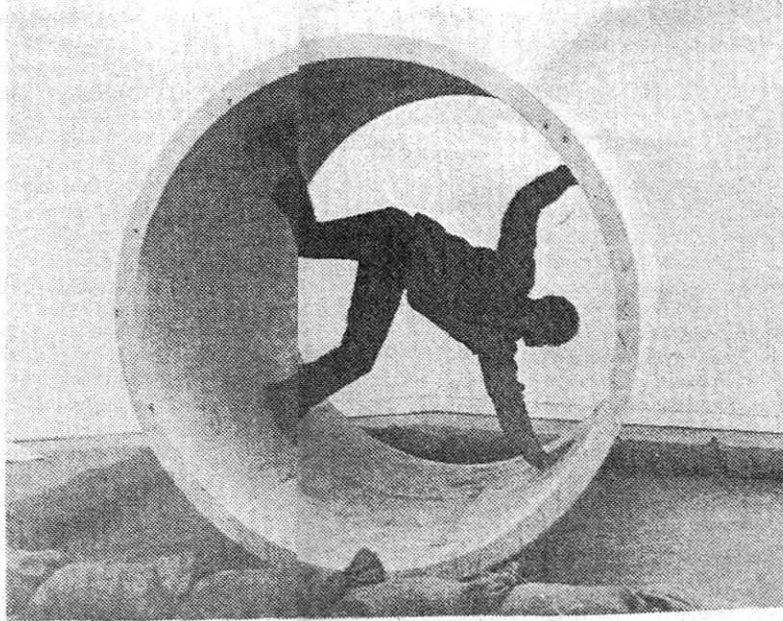


Hans Jascha, The Fall of the Earth, 1970, Austria



Brian Crowley

"Lifers" affinity group, To Jima Revisited (Raising the Earth Flag), April 16, 1984, San Francisco



Susan Horowitz

Robert Morris, Participation Objects in Space, 1971, London



Ted Sahl

Livermore Action Group, Women's action with police participation, September 24, 1984, Sandia Laboratories/Livermore weapons lab, California.

Participatory Art

I'm thinking here of art which provides ways for "spectators" to join in creating the event or action, art which challenges the performer/spectator dichotomy. For instance, breaking down this dichotomy was a major element of the active punk scene.

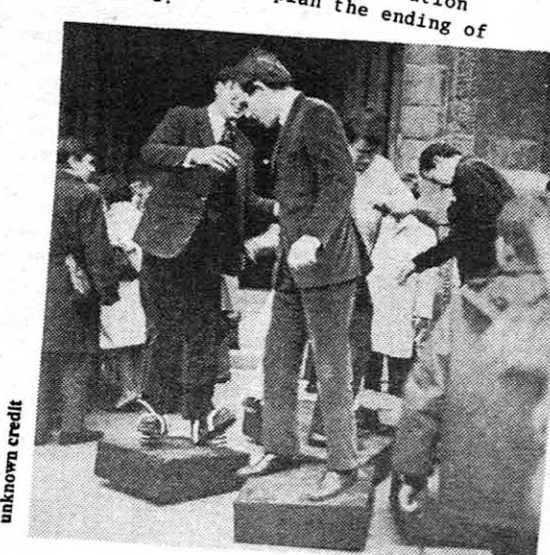
Sing-alongs, collective readings, die-ins, chanting--these are the simplest levels of participation. Their important functions are to relax people, focus attention and build unity and trust, and to challenge the passivity of the spectator. Chants and sing-alongs with clear leaders (PA system, bullhorns, stages) fail to address the leader/follower split, and are useless as far as preparing spectators for creative participation.

Beyond this level, participants can be confronted with choices:

- yes/no choices (to be a soldier or a peasant in a skit)
- multiple choices (to join one or another small group in a decentralized event)
- room for spontaneity (this is tough, because when nothing emerges in the first 30 seconds, our lack of experience at being responsible active participants makes us even more inhibited)

We Need To Ask:

- What effects do participants have on the flow and the outcome of the event? On other participants, on the organizers? Do people engage each other, or just play parts? Does the outcome of the event arise out of the whole group, or is it pre-planned by the organizers?
- Does the event challenge leader/follower hierarchies? How much do organizers have to be in charge for the event to work? (Think here of the virtual invisibility of the core organizers for the anarchist coffeehouses--they lay the groundwork, but the unfolding of the event is left to participants.)
- Are participants challenged and empowered to organize similar events? Are there ways for individuals to connect with the organizing group? Are skills shared?
- How can diverse people be supported in bringing out their skills and experience? (What draws out one person might inhibit another...)
- What do participants think is expected of them? Consider how our expectations differ when we go to a movie, a live concert, or a demonstration.
- How do the beginning, body, and ending of an event or action relate to each other? What if we planned the ending of a demonstration with the same energy we plan the ending of a theatre piece?



unknown credit

Julio Le Parc: Unstable Ground, 1964-66, Paris

Ritual

As far as I noticed, Frank never mentions ritual. For myself, this has also been a blind spot until recently.

Yet in a community ritual such as the "Spiral Dance" (see DA #23), threads of magic, witchcraft and paganism in art, politics, spirituality, and empowerment are intertwined in a manner that seems to escape other cultural forms.

As Starhawk has written in the appendix to her book, "Dreaming the Dark: Magic, Sex and Politics", the suppression of magic, witchcraft and paganism in Europe coincided with the rise of capitalism, a development related to the demise of communal art described above in my introduction. The growth of capitalism required an alienation which ritual and communal art undermined.

Recognizing my limitations in the field of ritual, I'll settle here for calling for further exploration in this paper of ritual, magic, and participatory art.



Bob Tanen

Livermore Action Group, Anti-Cruise & Pershing II Missile demonstration, October 24, 1983, San Francisco

Instigatory Art

Certain art forms--graffiti, street theatre, civil disobedience actions--spur the observer ("spectator") to feel: "I could do that." Instigatory art may not immediately invite participation (do we really want people jumping into our actions unprepared?), but it raises possibilities of future participation. (If it doesn't, why not? What's holding people back? Can we address this in our planning?)

Frank Popper writes about the wealth of city-sponsored "outdoor art" which flourished in NYC 1968-73, then goes on to say:

"After a period in which artists had tried to create individual works on a public scale, and so solve the problem of their own social integration, it emerged that the outstanding creative achievement in this context were the 'graffiti' appearing on subways, buses, walls and monuments throughout New York City."

The several photos of early-seventies NY graffiti shown in the book seem simplistic by current standards, showing the tremendous energy focused on this art form in the past decade. (What social needs does this art form serve? Can we tap this?)

Our series of interviews with local graffiti artists in DIRECT ACTION #23 discusses "crossing over" synthesizing political and art-graffiti. To make our message "art" doesn't just mean adding graphics--it means raising aesthetic questions about the entire message we are putting out.

The purpose of political art (and all art is political, explicitly or implicitly) is not to provide rhetorical answers, but to raise questions, to stimulate and clarify perception, to challenge and empower us to take action on the social environment.

Fun

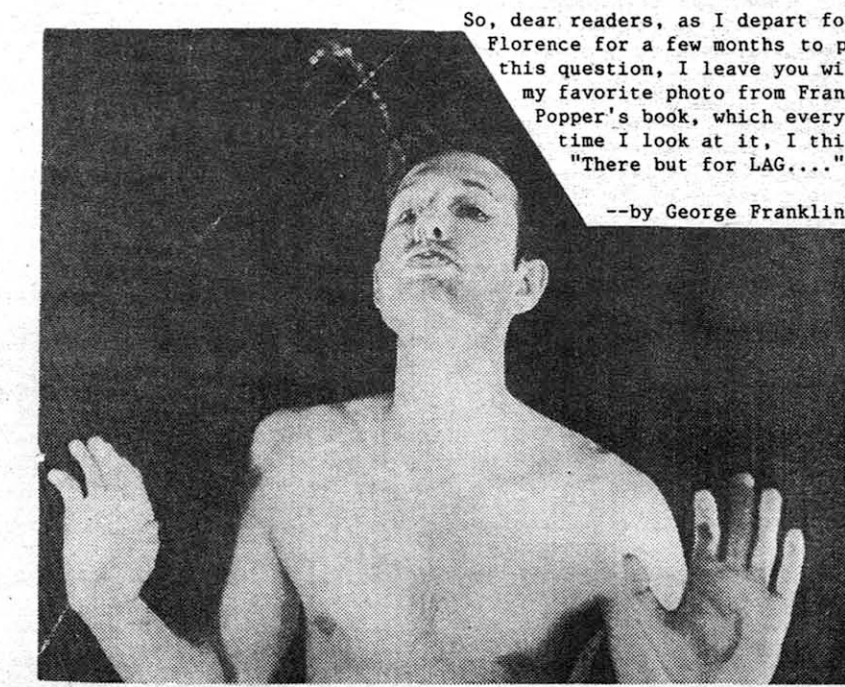
I had fun writing and laying out this article. That doesn't mean it's art, but in general, art which is fun is more accessible.

If spectator involvement is wanted, fun is a good vehicle. If we expect people to make long-term commitments as organizers, having fun is crucial.

When LAG came along in 1982, I was working as a conceptual artist (getting paid in conceptual money). My basic question was, how do you make a work of art out of a human life? LAG changed that, not so much by politicizing it as by collectivizing it--how do we make a work of art out of society, to fulfill those needs which will arise all the more forcefully once we've met people's basic material and social needs?

So, dear readers, as I depart for Florence for a few months to ponder this question, I leave you with my favorite photo from Frank Popper's book, which every time I look at it, I think: "There but for LAG..."

--by George Franklin



Eric Poller

Bruce Nauman, Portrait of the Artist as a Fountain, 1967-70, New York

AFTER CHERNOBYL

INTRODUCTION

I've always been bothered by the way in which the terminology of nuclear power/weapons has been so loosely used, even among activists, so that we are less able to make cogent arguments. We are susceptible to contemptuous dismissal by experts and have to be content to sit and fume. Frankly, even though I'm a physicist, I distrust expertism and believe it's actually quite easy for the layperson to understand nuclear language and possess the tools to assess news articles, documentaries, government pronouncements, etc. Einstein, I think, said no matter how deep and shattering a scientific discovery, it was no discovery at all until you could communicate it in simple, ordinary language. Following is an attempt to redress the balance, in the light [or rather the dark] of Chernobyl.

HOW DOES A REACTOR WORK?

Enriched uranium fuel, consisting mainly of U238, but with a few % of fissionable U235, is made into pellets. These are packed into zirconium alloy cans and fabricated into fuel rods. U235 can be made to fission, that is, break into 2 fragments, if its nucleus is hit by a stray neutron. Some energy and 2 or 3 more neutrons are emitted, at high speed, like little bullets. The trick of sustaining a chain reaction and therefore a steady, controlled output of energy, is to make one of these extra neutrons fission another U235 nucleus.

Trouble is, they are going too fast. Therefore, a moderator is inserted between the fuel rods, which slows down the neutrons without absorbing them.

Control rods are provided to slow down the fissioning by absorbing more or less neutrons. Boron is a typical material--that's why it was dumped on the Chernobyl reactor--no neutrons, no nuclear reaction.

Heat is transferred from the core to the turbines by a primary cooling

Radiation Terminology: A Guide for the Perplexed

system, and the main core is often surrounded by a containment vessel of steel and concrete. Back-up safety systems are matched to the type of reactor--for example, a huge pressure-suppression pool lay under Chernobyl to condense steam from an accident, which in principle would allow for a lower pressure rating for the containment dome.

The used fuel becomes a cess-pit of hundreds of both stable and radioactive fission fragments, produced in widely varying amounts, but more strongly concentrated in elements with mass numbers in the ranges 90-100 and 130-145. Much of the moderator and reactor structure will become radioactive too, by snapping up strong neutrons into their nuclei.

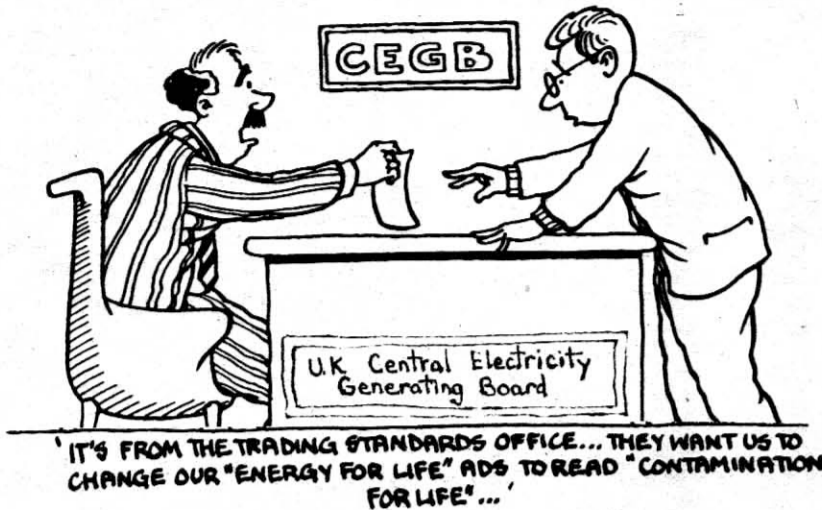
protons are more easily repelled by the positive charge of the nucleus.]

MODERATOR: The moderator works best when its atomic weight is very low--close to the mass of neutrons, which are themselves building blocks of nuclei. Water is good [containing hydrogen, basically the same mass as a neutron] and carbon [graphite] is also commonly used. [Bounce a ping-pong ball off a billiard ball and the latter will barely move, i.e. absorbs no energy, although it will if hit by another billiard ball.]

In a reactor where the primary coolant water also acts as the moderator [as in most U.S. reactors],

up for some time to ignite the reactor. In a meltdown--when the fuel melts while still fissioning--temperatures get so high that liquid fuel could simply melt right through all containment. At Three Mile Island 25% of the core did actually melt down, but a full meltdown was just averted. At Chernobyl, no meltdown took place, though workers had to tunnel under the reactor to drain the pool--if that fuel had hit this water [as also ground-water], then the whole plant would have been blasted to kingdom come in a steam explosion. Chilling to think of the massive effect on Europe of the limited release that did happen.

HALF-LIFE: Nothing confused more than this--one imagines direct radioactivists sitting in at the NRC for full-lives, poor dears! Nature says it will take the same time, the half life, for a given isotope to decay to half its initial radioactivity, no matter how much you started with: 2 grams of strontium 90 becomes 1 gram in 28 years (its 1/2 life), just as 2 kilograms becomes 1 in the same time. Watch out for those misleading statements about radioactive materials becoming 'safe' after a certain amount of time--say 80-90 years for SR 90, which I've read! Now you know that is 3 1/2-lives. In the first half, 8 kilograms becomes 4; in the second half, 4 kilos become 2; and in time, 2 kilos become 1. Sure, 1 kilogram is now safe! Of course, after 10 half-lives there is only one thousandth left--chances are it's diluted and dispersed, but never, for certain, 'safe.'



BASIC DEFINITIONS

MASS NUMBER: the total of the neutrons and protons in a given nucleus --it's the 235 in Uranium [U] 235, or 131 in Iodine 131.

NEUTRON: basic building block of atomic nuclei, together with protons. Same mass, essentially, though proton is positively charged, neutron uncharged. [This latter property enables neutrons to get closer to the nucleus and therefore disrupt it, as in fission, while

loss of the coolant will actually shut off the nuclear reaction. Obviously, water does not burn, though this type of core has a small heat capacity--heats up and cools down fast. In a graphite core, especially at low power, as at Chernobyl, loss of coolant causes the core to overheat and the reaction still carries on. Graphite also burns, though the 1700 tons in the Chernobyl reactor means it has relatively high heat capacity, so the operators really had to screw



CONTINUED ON P. 17

Technology and Social Control

Shortly after the Chernobyl disaster, a full-page ad in the *New York Times*, sponsored by one of the big utility companies, explained why the accident could not have happened at Three Mile Island. Early headlines assured the US public that US reactors are designed differently than Soviet ones; later articles revealed that this is not really true, but by that time the news wasn't so hot. Meanwhile, the government, aided by the media, took the opportunity to congratulate itself on its open relationship to its public, as contrasted with those sinister Soviets scheming behind their citizens' backs.

Using the coverage of the Challenger explosion as illustration, the government assured us it would never lie to us. It's not too surprising that the government and its corporate backers saw fit to use this occasion to emphasize the superiority of American technology and political systems. That, after all, is what superpower competition is about. The Communists say nuclear energy is dangerous only in the hands of capitalists; we say the same about them. Why North Americans seem satisfied with that position is what concerns me here, and I answer: because they don't believe the State exists here. So this article is to prove the existence of the State.

I have agonized long past deadline over how to present all this material in a way that will not seem like fantastic ranting, and I don't know that I have succeeded. I urge you to read this not as a set of facts but as a suggested approach to understanding certain aspects of our society. I ask you to consider it as you look at the world, and to refer to the books I mention or others on the subject for further insight. (One

book I will not be quoting but which is worth seeking out is Daniel Ford's *MELTDOWN*.)

The Nuclear-Industrial State

If you ask most Americans why we need nuclear power, they would say that we need a renewable, reliable

energy source to maintain our industrial lifestyle in the face of dwindling fossil fuel supplies and the potential for unpredictable embargos by the oil-exporting nations.

There are two problems with this analysis. The first is that the government began to push nuclear power around 1950, at which time the depletion of fossil fuels did not appear as a danger. Second, the enthusiasm the government has shown for developing nuclear power has not extended to solar or water technologies, cheaper and safer though they are to produce.

After the first Soviet reactor started producing power in 1954, outraged Congressmen pressured big corporations, (notably Westinghouse and G.E. tors, with little success until a bill was introduced to build a network of state-owned nuclear power plants on the model of the TVA plant already underway. The stick--threat of "socialized" power--was augmented by the carrot of huge government subsidies for corporate projects.

In 1946 Congress had created the Atomic Energy Commission and the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy to facilitate the development of nuclear power. In their book *POISONED POWER*, Dr. John Goffman and Arthur Tamplin point out the "historic error" in assigning duties to these two bodies. The "error" they refer to was in combining the tasks of "zealously and hastily promoting a technology" and at the same time regulating the technology so as to protect public safety. To illustrate the dangers of this approach, the authors recall the experience of the Fermi nuclear plant near Detroit. On June 6, 1946, the Congressional Advisory Committee on Reactor Safeguards reported to the AEC that "there is insufficient information available to give assurance that the [Fermi] reactor can be operated ... without public hazard." The AEC suppressed the information and licensed the plant two weeks later.

I think Goffman and Tamplin are too generous in calling this an "error." I believe the government had decided that certain risks--to

the environment and worker safety, were preferable to the security risk and attendant risk to their own careers of not pursuing technology the Soviets were already developing. After all, a Soviet advantage anywhere in the world would be less easily covered up than toxins in the environment of a small part of the US (compare the impact on the public of Afghanistan with that of Love Canal).

The AEC feared, however, that the people would not quite see that, so they undertook public relations campaigns to play up the positive and--shall we say--minimize the dangerous aspects of the program. Well, we can put it that way, but it the Soviet government were sponsoring ads like the one below, we certainly would acknowledge they were lying.

"Go play in the nuclear power park."

...the nuclear power plant is a safe place to play. In fact, it's safer than a playground. ...the nuclear power plant is a safe place to play. In fact, it's safer than a playground. ...the nuclear power plant is a safe place to play. In fact, it's safer than a playground.

An AEC-sponsored ad from ca. 1960, reproduced from Goffman & Tamplin, *POISONED POWER*.

In order to make nuclear power more attractive to the utility corporations, Congress passed the Price-Anderson Act, which eliminated individual liability in the event of a nuclear accident and set the maximum recoverable at \$560 million per accident (out of an estimated \$7 billion in probable property losses). "In addition," Goffman reports, "all but 60 million dollars of the insurance ... was to be provided by the US taxpayer."

In 1975 the outcry against AEC neglect of its regulatory functions and its result in at least 17 documented accidents of relatively se-

rious proportions (see Charles Barrow *NORMAL ACCIDENTS*, as well as Goffman and Tamplin), led to a restructuring of the energy administration. The AEC was dismantled and the NRC was created as an independent regulatory agency. (Incidentally, my uncle, who helped build the Clinch River Nuclear Plant in Tennessee joined the NRC staff when he left Union Carbide.)

NRC officials have since been accused of altering or concealing data affecting the licensing of nuclear plants, and even, Barrow reports, physically threatening their own inspectors for reporting irregularities in design or production.

Meanwhile, the government in 1972 turned attention to Solar Energy by creating a joint National Science Foundation/NASA panel on Solar Energy. One result was "a trio of million dollar studies...which were conducted by Westinghouse, G.E. and TRW and concluded that solar, by

the year 2000, might contribute between 1.6% and 3.5% of the nation's total energy supply. This confounded solar technologists whose own arithmetic showed a possible solar input of at least 25% and as much as 40% by 2000." (Ray Reese, *THE SUN BETRAYED*, 1979)

Many environmentalists and public interest groups had urged the exploration of solar as a way to break the stranglehold of large corporations on energy production through the capital-intensive oil and nuclear-based plants. To their dismay, in its first year the Solar Division of the Energy



Research and Development Administration gave only 7.1% of its grants, which totalled \$94 million, to small businesses, defining small as one employing up to 1000 people. On the other hand, General Electric and Martin Marietta each received about \$3 million.

The next step in establishing big government's and big business's monopoly over energy production was the creation of the Department of Energy in 1978. Two significant things happened in this process: First, James Schlesinger, former head of the AEC, became the first Energy Secretary, recycling many of his former AEC and ERDA colleagues. Secondly, a number of military programs including the management of Livermore and Los Alamos labs, shifted to the DOE from DOD. DOE has heightened the synergism between military and "peaceful" technology. Edward Teller has proudly cited LLL's laser fusion work as a project which, ostensibly energy-oriented, would enable the continuation of nuclear weapons research in the event of a test ban. (See FIRST THERE WAS THE BOMB, Abalone Alliance, 1979)

The Space Race

With nuclear power now at a standstill, much of the focus of energy/military research has shifted to the development of space technology. One might well ask: Are the new space programs--focused on the shuttle, a smokescreen for Star Wars, or is Star Wars, in fact, an excuse for revitalizing the space industry?

The Cold War origins of the space program were not unlike those of nuclear power. According to H.L. Nieburg, THE CONTRACT STATE, the obsession at high levels of government and the military with supremacy in space began in 1949, with the first Soviet atomic detonation. It accelerated, however, with the success of Sputnik I in 1957. At that point, Nieburg reports, an intense period of infighting began among the various Armed Services and civilian agencies over who would spearhead space research. THE JCAE proposed "the peaceful conquest of space under the jurisdiction of the AEC," but Lyndon Johnson, Majority Leader of the Senate (sensing an agglomeration of power to threaten his own) instead created a new special Committee on Aeronautics & Space to oversee the new NASA.

Mirroring the close connection between military and energy uses of atomic power, "the services...concentrated on blurring the division between peaceful and military uses of space so that they might better resolve such ambiguities in favor of their own independent programs. In this they were successful..." The Air Force has so successfully infiltrated NASA that in January 1986 a New York Times article claimed that NASA is hardly open to civilian participation at all. Corporate aerospace contractors, who had established their preeminence during World War II, "swept over Congress intent on converting both NASA and the Defense Dept's Advance Research Projects Agency into Air Force subsidiaries...Their success was notable.

With the advent of the nuclear Test Ban Treaty in 1963, "the downgrading of the Air Force appeared inevitable. The best hope for the Air Force future lay in the chance that new 'decisive strategic systems might emerge from space exploration to force a renewal of the arms race.'" (Nieburg)

Corporate enthusiasm for the space industry has been erratic. The long-term in which plans for space communication and travel needed to be laid did not appeal to corporations, except when government contracts made it a no-risk proposition.

In 1962 the editors of Fortune published THE SPACE INDUSTRY, containing the following passage: "Nothing is more fecund, industrially and socially, than large mobilizations of scientific knowledge and effort...Too often forgotten, however, is that such pleasant rewards will be bought at a heavy price... It will very likely kill all chances of reducing in our time the government's share of the economy. With

all its emphasis on planning both national and international, it could ultimately do violence to private enterprise itself."

Nieburg suggests that the space industry completely revolutionized the corporate-government relationship, turning some corporations into virtual "quasi-public" agencies. "The Martin Company, for example, does 99% of its business with the government." By 1964 about 6 companies, including North American Aviation, McDonnell Douglas, Martin, and TRW had come to dominate the industry, receiving 70% of R&D (Research and Development) money and an equal share of decision-making power. Following the death of 3 astronauts in Apollo testing in 1967, NASA made it clear that contracts carried an expectation of career insurance for its officials. A shakeup took place among NASA, the Defense Dept., Martin Marietta, Boeing and Polaroid, with control of the project being shifted to those less tainted by the mishap and high-level positions being provided those



displaced by it.

It is ironic that the Challenger disaster was used to show the US government's willingness to air its mistakes in public, because it inevitably brought to mind the 1967 accident. In that instance, reports pro-space Erik Bergaut, in his MURDER ON PAD 34 (1968), James Webb, director of NASA and half a dozen other high officials ignored reports by the director of Apollo, Maj. General Phillips, that the work being done by North American Aviation was shoddy and dangerous. A Congressional investigation, which demanded major reforms in the agency, was never followed up sufficiently.

Recently it has become clear that technicians from both NASA and the companies which built Challenger reported deficiencies in the shuttle which NASA leadership ignored because of pressure from the White House and DOD to get the shuttle launched.

The Thingness of Democracy

Before I can explain why I think the government has systematically endangered, lied to, and cheated the public, I must explain why my answer will be so hard to accept.

From earliest education Americans are taught what I call the thingness of democracy. That is: Democracy is good; therefore our country has democracy; therefore we are good. Democracy is a thing we possess. We do not learn that democracy is a word that can be co-opted, that Soviets believe they have the democracy, or that the US might not be the democracy it claims to be. An example of assuming away that possibility is found in a widely used college text by Leslie Lipson, a scholar not uncritical of US government policies. Lipson basically defines democracy as a system in which two or more parties compete for leadership (GREAT ISSUES OF POLITICS).

We don't learn about the system or the state; we learn about the government and that it sometimes has bad people in it. But of course, we have "60 Minutes" to hound those bad individuals and expose them for us.

Therefore, if I say the state intentionally poisoned the environment and lied to the public so as to consolidate technology in the hands of a few, I will immediately be branded an alarmist, imagining conspiracies everywhere to avoid the complexities of the issue (yes some of my friends have already said this). But I'm not talking about conspiracies. Conspiracy is an intentional act of individuals. I'm talking about the state which has very little to do with individuals and their intentions.

I'm also not arguing that Tom Jefferson and Ben Franklin deliberately set us up to be pawns of an all-powerful Big Brother. But the classic liberal conception of government as simply a mediator between private interests died with the rise of the massive corporations in the early 20 century. All of this is pretty well explained in T. Lowi, END OF LIBERALISM and C.W. Mills, THE POWER ELITE. The positive state was born of the New Deal to redress the gaping holes left by the attempt to let corpora-

tions manage society. But the mechanisms created to meet the physical needs of the former middle classes during the Depression and forestall revolution by the former working class, were easily adapted to fit the new reality of WWII and beyond.

The New Deal was an essential move to save corporate capitalism from itself by coopting the sectors presenting the greatest danger. World War II changed a number of things. First, the US became an imperial superpower and took lessons from the European imperial powers. Second, the atomic bomb, which led to the development of nuclear energy and the space race, dramatically altered the interrelation of technology, corporations and the state.

The idea of the positive state quickly became fused with that of the managerial and technocratic state. We can see evidence of this trend in the dramatic burgeoning in the fields of law, public policy, public administration and academia (including scientific researchers working almost exclusively for government purposes.) These groups form a sort of private civil service: people who are "in the name of an autonomous urge toward scientific and technological change, making public policy" [Nieburg] without being accountable to anyone outside of the state bureaucracy. Early in the post-War era, as we have seen from the preceding examples, the state emerged as the aggressive proponent of technologies which would give it control over all sectors of society it deemed appropriate.

What we have seen in the last 40 years is the development of two parallel but interrelated power structures with underlying bureaucracies. The function of one is economic and material control; the function of the other magical and cultural control.

The Profits of the State

Traditional Marxist theory has wormed its way into mainstream American public opinion, making it a commonplace that the rich--the corporate elite--own and direct the government. Thus a very conservative professor

at U.C. Berkeley has his students in American Institutions discuss on their final exam each year the statement, "Who pays the piper calls the tune." That is of course not exactly the same as the Marxist theory of the capitalist state as the instrument of the bourgeoisie, but I do think they both contain a similar fallacy: that the state acts primarily in the interest of one socioeconomic class, rather than as an autonomous actor with its own interest in society.

I think that the Marxist model adequately describes the capitalist states of the 19th & early 20th centuries, but not the contemporary US. As we can see from the cases of nuclear power and the space industry, the state, which connotes the elected government, the appointed government and the military, controls enough of the country's resources to dictate priorities for the largest corporations. According to Nieburg, "Government R&D has become a new tool...for the social and economic management of our national life. For the contractor R&D is...the secret of corporate survival and growth." This gives the state the power to determine what kind of industry will dominate the economy, favoring centralized, capital-intensive (thus unfavorable to union activism), potentially deadly technology easily obscured from public view under the rubric of "security."

Moreover, these actions of the state, as the solar power case and more recently agribusiness demonstrate, serve to consolidate wealth and power in the hands of a very few, rather than a "class" which denotes a much broader social category. The state is the result of collaboration between those whose primary good is social stability and those whose primary good is economic supergrowth, which tends to generate chaos. The bridge between these two is social control, which means more than brute force or the ability to starve everyone out. It means, in fact, that the greatest number of people must be wooed heart and mind and this happens in two ways: the middle class is convinced that its economic lifestyle is being preserved even as its economic base (farms, businesses) is being cut out from under it; and the majority of citizens are increasingly terrorized by the danger to our civilization from without and within, making them more and more docile as their rights are eroded. That's where technology comes in.

For instance, what was expensive high technology in 1948 (cars, TVs) is now cheap and basic even in poor communities in the US, but still the supposed envy of every Third World citizen. The underpinnings of this technology, which is alleged necessary to support the lifestyles to which we are getting accustomed, demand ultra-centralization, secrecy and rely heavily on expertise: nuclear power (to drive our TVs and hair dryers), space travel (which can take us away from the earth when its too polluted, and also protect us from the encroaching USSR).

Whoever controls technology controls society, so the state must have that control. The corporations, as the space contract race shows, are often in a courting position vis-a-vis the state, to persuade the state to share that control with them. This is not very hard, because by putting the spotlight on the corporations, which are supposed to be part of the free market, the government can avoid making centralization of resources look like socialism.

The real purpose of diverting huge amounts of research and development money to the military is to allow the state to control an increasing amount of technology, which in turn controls society, which insures the continuing legitimacy of the every-growing but invisible state.

Before you say, "That's ridiculous conspiracy theory," ask yourself: Why else would the highest government officials, flying in the face of all empirical evidence, insist on the myth of Soviet expansionism and missile superiority? Why do they continue taking massive amounts of money out of the marketplace (i.e. through higher income taxes, lower individual benefits and fewer small grants to small-scale consumer-oriented production) and directing it to the military oriented industry? It can't be to protect the corporations against uprising in the Third World, because sophisticated weaponry isn't necessary to

AFTER CHERNOBYL

Aftermath and Analysis

Trying to understand the story of the Chernobyl nuclear reactor accident is like putting together a jigsaw puzzle. The Chernobyl jigsaw puzzle has many surprises. Many of the pieces of the puzzle are lost forever, buried with the reactor under a mass of concrete. There are also many extra pieces which do not fit anywhere. These "disinformation pieces" make it even more confusing to put the puzzle together. Even so, a clear but disturbing picture emerges.

How much did the Reagan administration know in the early days of the Chernobyl accident? And, why was information withheld from the public and our European allies? It appears that the Reagan administration deliberately withheld information from the press that would have prevented wild speculation and many false impressions.

News of the Chernobyl accident first reached the U.S. public on Monday, April 28, 48 hours after the accident. Even without statistical information directly from the Chernobyl site, previous experience with nuclear accidents and information from experimental meltdowns conducted by the Department of Energy could have answered many questions. However, John Herrington, secretary of the Department of Energy ordered expert nuclear reactor scientists at the federal facilities not to discuss the accident with the press for 48 hours. With little or no information from the Department of Energy and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission the press was left to speculate on its own. This resulted in wild stories about deaths in the thousands, and catastrophic explosions, meltdowns and fires. Information about the Chernobyl-type reactor, the quantity of radioactive materials in the reactor, the kind of isotopes in the fallout, the basic physics of steam and hydrogen explosions and the nature of meltdowns was undoubtedly available to the administration. This basic information could have answered many questions.

Because federal scientists were told not to discuss the accident with the press, the state department was free to conduct an anti-Soviet disinformation campaign. Kenneth Adelman, director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, encouraged false rumors of about numbers of dead by dismissing early Soviet reports of few casualties as "preposterous". A quick survey of literature on nuclear power plant steam and hydrogen explosions, and data from experimental meltdowns reveals exactly the opposite—it is preposterous to speculate that thousands of people would be killed immediately from such an explosion or meltdown unless thousands were deliberately lined up and marched into a burning fire. During the early years of U.S. nuclear power research three reactors were severely damaged by steam explosions without killing thousands of people. And the Department of Energy has conducted a number of meltdown experiments at the Idaho National Engineering Laboratory that has supplied us with abundant information about the nature of nuclear meltdowns. Adelman's science advisors must have known this, yet headlines citing thousands of dead went unchallenged. "MASS GRAVE -- 15,000 Reported Buried in Nuke Disposal Site" was the headline on the front page of New York Post. United Press International reported 2,000 dead.

On May 1, Administration officials were still reporting a raging fire at Chernobyl, 48 hours after they knew it was out. According to Newsweek magazine (May 12) the U.S. military reconnaissance satellite KH-11 was able to take pictures of the Chernobyl disabled reactor on Tuesday April 29, three days after the accident. On May 6, Stansfield Turner, former Director of the CIA, told reporters that information gathered from spy satellites showed that the Chernobyl fire was extinguished on April 29. Turner charged that the Reagan administration had no excuse for withholding the information from our European allies and the press. Turner said that releasing the information would not have damaged U.S. intelligence sources because the Soviets "have the manual on this satellite." On Thursday, May 1, two days after the U.S. government knew the fire was out, they said that the reactor was still afire, and that it might burn for weeks. Then, the next day, after Sweden reported that a French communications satellite photos indicated that the fire might have been extinguished, the U.S. government said the fire may be out.

The administration was also quick to spread disinformation about Soviet nuclear technology. "It's a crude technology," said a senior Administration official, "They haven't changed it in 30 years," referring to the Chernobyl RBMK-1000 power plant design. Department of Energy Officials were quick to say that a similar accident could not happen to U.S. military power plants with designs similar to that of Chernobyl. The nuclear power industry was also quick to respond with advertisements in newspapers and magazines across the country that Soviet design was inferior to U.S. designs and that a similar accident could not happen to U.S. power plants.

The design of the Chernobyl reactor was not a secret. Many details about the RBMK-1000 design were available in Western literature. It is inconceivable that the Administration did not have detailed information about the design of the Chernobyl reactor. Soviet nuclear power plants are targets in U.S. nuclear war plans. Detailed information is gathered through intelligence sources on such targets. Furthermore, the Soviets made no attempt to keep the Chernobyl design a secret. In 1985 the Soviets volunteered the Chernobyl reactor for international inspection and safeguarding under the aegis of the International Atomic Energy Association. Yet, it wasn't until May 19, more than three weeks after the accident that the New York Times reported that the Chernobyl reactor did have many new safety features and did indeed have a steel-reinforced concrete containment structure. The Administration would prefer that the public believe that it took three weeks for them to find the plans and translate them from Russian into English. If this were true it would indicate a very incompetent intelligence staff. Federal officials and the nuclear industry experts communicated widely that the Chernobyl reactor did not have a containment structure and exaggerated the safety of U.S. containment structures. No containment structures are designed to withstand a steam or hydrogen explosion similar to the magnitude of the explosion that destroyed Chernobyl. The danger of such an explosion was not new to Western nuclear experts. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission computed that the 1,000 cubic foot hydrogen bubble that formed during the Three Mile Island partial meltdown was in danger of exploding with a force of three tons of TNT. Even this small explosion could have easily breached the reactor vessel and broken the containment structure. Even with the immanent danger of a hydrogen explosion and the distinct possibility of a full-scale meltdown the NRC lied about the size of the hydrogen bubble and refused to begin evacuation of the residents near Three Mile Island.

The federal government and the nuclear power industry would have us believe that the steel reinforced concrete containment structures on U.S. power plants are a magic wand that protect us from nuclear danger. This too is a lie. The Ralph Nader founded "Public Citizen" organization has recently released memos about General Electric nuclear power plants that tell a different story. G.E.'s containment buildings are reported to be defective. One confidential memo of a top federal nuclear safety advisor says that G.E.'s containment structure may rupture or fall down under the stress of a major accident.

The administration also spread disinformation about the extent and dangers of fallout. While the Administration was quick to depict pictures of total devastation in the Soviet Union they were critical of the fears and precautionary measures of Europeans and many Americans. On April 29, the day after the accident was reported, Dr. Marvin H. Dickerson of the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory said that "contamination is unlikely to be severe beyond a few miles." He and other experts argued that there would be no danger beyond the Soviet Union. This too turned out to be false. Apparently, the force of the explosion shot large quantities of radioactive materials to a much higher altitude than expected. This high plume meant a lower estimate of casualties near the facility and greater dangers downwind. Dangerous quantities of radioactive materials were carried by winds to most of Europe. The Department of Energy has satellite sensors and a computer data base that can trace and predict the paths of radioactive clouds.

The Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory carefully documented the spread of radioactive materials from the Chernobyl accident. U.S. federal laboratories could have warned European countries of the path of fallout and could have suggested precautionary measures that would have limited public exposure to dangerous levels of radioactive fallout. But, federal laboratories have historically hidden and lied about the dangers of fallout (see following article). Nuclear weapons production laboratories and military nuclear reactors routinely release radioactive particles into the environment. And federal scientists continue to belittle the dangers of exposure to small amounts of radioactive materials to protect the government from lawsuits.

The Administration was also quick to criticize the Soviets for not reporting when the fallout crossed its borders. There is no excuse for the Soviet failure to be forthcoming with information. However, the U.S. should not be the one to point the finger. It is guilty of the same crime. In 1970, a leak from an underground nuclear test called Baneberry, created a cloud of 6.7 million curies of radioactive materials. The federal government followed the cloud to the Canadian border and then turned around. The U.S. failed to notify Canada. This is a violation of the 1979 Limited Test Ban Treaty. The Reagan Administration, hiding the fact that the U.S. has violated this treaty, has trumped-up false charges that the Soviets have violated this treaty. These charges are designed to prevent progress toward a comprehensive test ban treaty.

Nuclear experts try to reduce our fears about the danger of a nuclear meltdown to numbers. Core-melt probabilities of Westinghouse's light water reactor and General Electric's boiling water reactor are estimated between 0.000001 to 0.000001 per reactor year. In an article on Chernobyl in the February 1986 issue of Soviet Life, and English language publication, Ukrainian Power Minister Vitali Sklyarov boasted that "the odds of a meltdown are one in 10,000 years." In any case, he added, "the environment is also securely protected." The Nuclear Regulatory commission estimates there is a 45 percent chance of another core meltdown as bad or worse than Three Mile Island in the next 20 years. However, Gordon Thompson, former staff scientist for the Union of Concerned Scientists says that "There is no technical basis for arguing that kind of probability. There is tremendous uncertainty. All reactors have a severe accident potential." Rep. Edward Markey, head of the House subcommittee on energy conservation and power, which oversees the nuclear industry says that "What it shows is a large uncertainty. It shows not whether the plants are safe or unsafe, but that their safety really isn't certain."

One does not need to be an expert in statistics to reflect on the probabilities of serious nuclear accidents. What nuclear experts design on paper does not always correspond to reality. On May 8, just after the Chernobyl accident, Del Bunch, an Energy Department official in charge of nuclear reactors, was asked about the probability of an accident at the Hanford military reactor site.

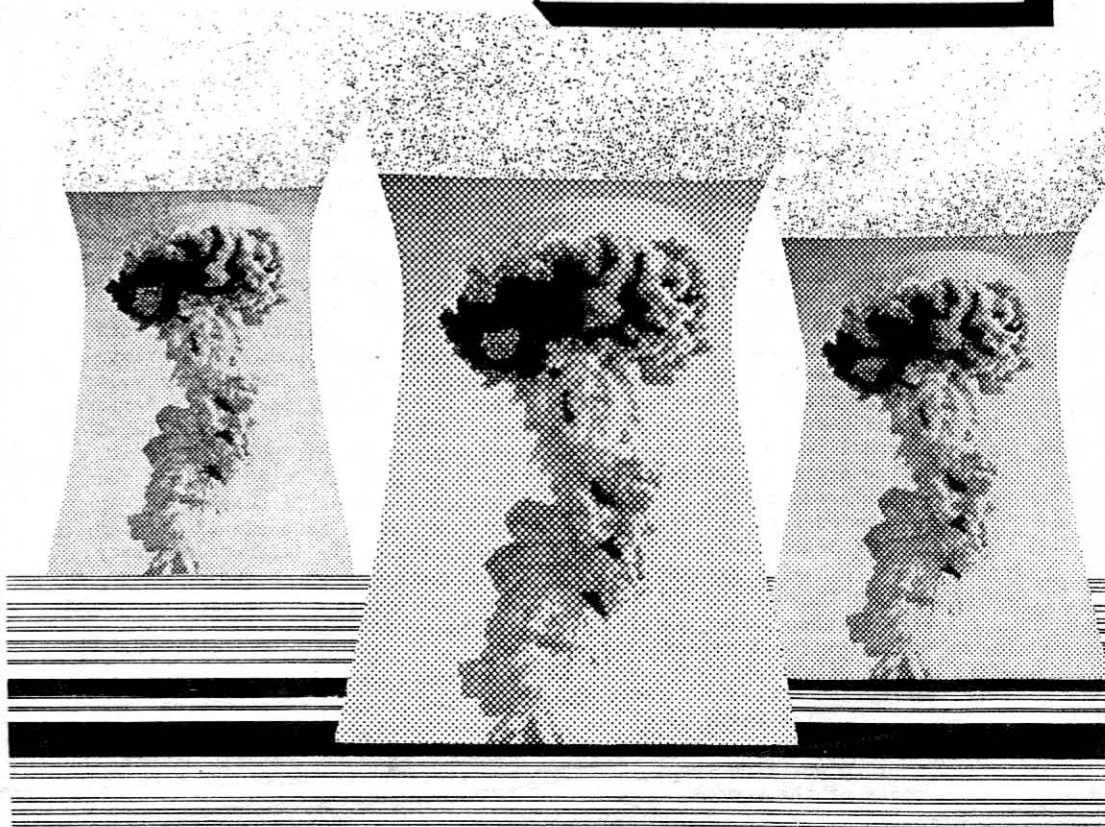
Bunch said "I don't believe it can happen here." Mary L. Walker, Assistant Secretary of Energy for Environment, Safety and Health also testified that "We do not believe it could happen here." However only five months later, on September 29, the Hanford PUREX reactor came so close to a serious accident that the DOE ordered a shutdown of the Hanford plutonium plants. Among the problems cited in the investigation were lax controls on plutonium inventories, design changes that were less than standard and problems with welds on equipment and pipes. Apparently, plutonium was being moved without proper safety precautions. This nearly resulted in an uncontrolled, critical plutonium reaction. "We are talking about mismanagement of materials and safety procedures that could have devastating effects on the health and safety of our citizens and the environment," Gov. Booth Gardner said, "the audits read like a script from a disaster movie."

Dr. John Gofman, University of California Berkeley emeritus professor of medical physics, and a leading expert in the health effects of low-level radiation, estimates that more than a million people exposed to fallout from the Chernobyl nuclear accident will develop cancer as a result, and half of these cancers will be fatal. Gofman also predicted that nearly 20,000 people will develop cesium-caused leukemia, while an unknown number will develop thyroid and other cancers from additional radioactive substances the the fallout.

Conclusion: A nuclear state always behaves like a nuclear state. Lies are an essential element of nuclear power and nuclear weapons programs. If the superpowers were candid to their citizens about the dangers of their nuclear programs they would be forced to shut them down. The history of Chernobyl and Three Mile Island teach us that we cannot trust either U.S. or the Soviets to tell us the truth about the dangers of nuclear power. As long as the federal government is committed to maintaining a nuclear arsenal it will lie about the dangers of radiation to protect itself from a flood of lawsuits and an outraged public. A step by step analysis of the Three Mile Island accident teaches us that we cannot even trust the NRC to evacuate or warn residents when an accident is immanent. The nuclear establishment is playing Russian roulette with the American public and the peoples of the world. The nuclear fallout pistol is pointed at your head. And every day the nuclear power industry, DOE and NRC pull the trigger. A meltdown could happen at any moment. Unless there is a drastic change in the management of nuclear programs, and unless the public is involved in monitoring every aspect, TMI and Chernobyl will be the first examples of a legacy that we leave for our children.

--by Ken Nightingale

Ken Nightingale is director of Lab Watch and Jay Truman is director of Downwinders. Together, Downwinders and Lab Watch monitor nuclear weapons testing and nuclear weapons production activities of the Department of Energy. We have just published an illustrated book on the Department of Energy's nuclear weapons labs. For more information on the book "The Nuclear Weapons Labs" (\$3.50 each) and our newsletter "Testing News & Lab Watch Memo" write to P.O. Box 11635, Oakland CA, 94611.



Underground Nuclear Test LEAK

Twenty-five years ago at the peak of the great Test-ban debate both the general public and the peace movement knew that fallout was dangerous, and that rising worldwide levels were the product of nuclear testing. It was the fallout more than any other factor that drove the test-ban debate forward. Public outcries over fallout forced world leaders to negotiate, the fear of fallout made the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty possible. To the general public it was always their fears of fallout far more than arms control questions that fired their concerns.

For most people, the fear of fallout ended when nuclear testing was forced underground. The result of this was a drastic drop in public interest in the testing issue. And, with little public support, the movement by and large lost interest as well. The serious arms race consequences of testing continued, and escalated, as testing remained the cutting edge of the arms race. Without the global specter of fallout, nuclear testing continued underground, out of sight and out of mind.

Recently there has been a resurgence of interest in nuclear testing, especially since the Soviet moratorium. There is widespread interest in securing a Test-ban. Media coverage of nuclear testing has increased nationwide. The public is captivated by stories of an escalating testing program for Star Wars developments and fearful stories of the opening of a new Pandora's box as nuclear pumped X-ray lasers explode below the Nevada Desert. However, in the West, downwind from the Nevada Test Site, sentiment against testing has grown to much higher levels than elsewhere in the nation, but for different reasons. In the West, interest in testing never died, though many residents did. The residents of the West were never freed from the threat of fallout, and never bought the myth that underground testing was fallout free.

To the rest of the country and to the peace movement in general, testing is a big arms control issue. To the residents of the West, it is a personal issue.

It is critical for those concerned about testing, and those working for its end, to understand both sides of the issue, its arms race implications, as well as its danger to the health and safety of those downwind. A firm grasp of both aspects is essential to building and successful, national grass roots movement capable of exerting the political will necessary to bring about a total test-ban. It also is vital that the general public realize that those who live downwind from the test site will pay the highest price for an increased Star Wars testing program.

The DOE continually assures the public that all tests since the summer of 1962 have been designed for "containment" (all radioactivity and radioactive gases are trapped underground). Containment is attempted by several methods, including deep burial, stemming of drilled holes and the use of containment doors and backfilling of tunnels used for testing. Even with these provisions there have been problems and massive releases of radiation offsite from both types of testing.

To contain tests in drilled shafts the holes are stemmed, or plugged, by filling them with sand and gravel and by placing from one to three coal tar and epoxy plugs at various spacings in the casing of the drilled holes. In all tests there are electrical cables, vacuum lines, fiber optics, and various other experimental and data collection devices running from the nuclear device to the surface. All these devices are possible pathways to the atmosphere for radiation produced by a test explosion, and are equipped with gas plugs, valves, and filters designed to prevent radioactive gases from leaking to the surface.

Tunnel tests are conducted primarily inside a massive underground tunnel complex excavated since 1961 inside the volcanic tuff in the Rainier Mesa at the Nevada Test Site. Tunnel shots are contained by a series of containment doors designed to close at the instant of detonation, and by backfilling the tunnel around the explosion site with rock grout and concrete. In tunnel shots, test equipment is placed in alcoves branching out from the shot tunnel and are protected and sealed by the

containment doors. In addition certain data collection cables and lines run to the surface of the mesa through holes drilled from the surface into the shot point. These too, are equipped with gas plugs, valves, and filters.

Even with all these safety features built into each test, there are many circumstances that can result in the failure of containment measures. Because it is impossible to see accurately underground, there is an element of risk in every test. Faults and fissures in the rock or in the alluvial gravel surrounding the explosion site can, have on several occasions, provided alternate pathways for radiation leakage. Failure of the gas plugs along cable lines can occur and allow the radioactive gases to follow them to the surface. In tunnel shots failure of containment can result from a failure of the containment doors to close properly, leakage along cable and diagnostic lines to the surface, or through improperly sealed cracks and fissures in the tunnel wall, and from new fissures, cracks, or caving caused by the actual test explosion. Containment failures have resulted from all of the examples mentioned above.

Once one gets past the DOE's nit-picking over numbers and semantics, it is frightening just how many accidents there have been since testing moved underground. Unfortunately, in researching the myth of the safety of underground testing, one is forced to deal with the DOE's public information specialists. Contradictions and endless fighting over semantics and exact definitions of key words they have created and refined to maintain the safety myth, makes the task almost impossible.

From the first days of underground testing the AEC, and now its successor the DOE, have never been content to just define leakage, of whatever amount, for just what it is, a leak. Instead they have developed, and continually updated and improvised new terms, to describe and categorize radiation releases from underground tests. The reason for this policy has been to make it easier for test officials to lie and cover-up the extent of problems with underground testing. In trying to ascertain the exact number of such accidents, we have found that this policy has allowed the DOE to keep the total number low.

Instead of receiving the total numbers of leaks, questions are answered with a number of a specific category of release as defined by the DOE. The terms defining leaks range from; massive dynamic venting (Baneberry), to simple venting, to routine release (Mighty Oak), to seeps (Riola 1980), and several others. Unless answers for total amount are demanded for each category concerned citizens and media reporters, and even congressional inquiries are given only information and totals for the specific term, used in their questions. Therefore one reporter or citizen may ask DOE for the total number of ventings, meaning total releases, and be given a small number, that doesn't include all other radiation releases defined by other terms, such as seeps or gas releases.

The Department of Energy Nevada Public Information office lists 31 total "accidental releases of radiation measured offsite" from all underground testing. This figure does not include all underground tests conducted from September, 1961 until the end of July, 1963, when most tests leaked, vented, seeped, or whatever. This list does not include some small releases of radioactive gases termed "seeps" which also exposed downwind residents. It also fails to include offsite radiation exposures that resulted from radioactive gases released during backdrilling procedures that follow most tests. And, it fails to include exposures that result from the continual seepage of what DOE terms "small undetermined amounts" of radioactive gases and Tritium that reach the surface from the sites of past testing.

Information about release of radiation is usually not voluntarily offered. It is only admitted after pressure is brought to bear from the media or officials from surrounding states. The last three significant releases, Riola 1980, Misty Rain 1985, and Mighty Oak 1986 all become public knowledge after the fact, as a result of media and activist pressure and not by DOE's proper informing of the downwind public.

In a major investigative, three day report in the Fall of 1981 by the Tucson Daily Star reporter Jane Kaye put the total number of "admitted" leaks at 44. This figure was the result of an intensive investigation. It includes all offsite fallout exposures from all underground tests since from the beginning in September, 1961 and most other small releases, or seeps. Counting backdrilling releases and all other testing related releases, Los Angeles Times reporter, Ron Sobie, in an exclusive report on the Nevada Test Site in November, 1984 put the total number at 62 offsite releases. It is uncertain whether this figure includes releases that reached across several states from nuclear rocket engine tests of the early, mid and late 1960's, and the fallout from a nuclear rocket engine reactor that was deliberately allowed to go super critical and explode in 1965. Congressional testimony on the subject in 1979 arrived at the figure 42 after arguing with DOE witnesses and after hashing and rehashing several different lists submitted at the time. This author thinks the figure of 45-47 is the best estimate, though many will say it is on the conservative side.

Downwind residents and the public at large have not been informed of the significance of the amounts of radiation released. The amounts of radiation released by leaks have varied from a low of 200 curies to a high of 6.7 million curies from the December 18, 1970 Baneberry accident. The lower figure probably would not be detectable off the test site. The higher figure from Baneberry is equivalent to the amount of fallout produced offsite from several of the small atmospheric tests. Fallout from the notorious Baneberry test remained detectable in air, water, and milk all across the west to western Canada. This was a violation of the Limited Test Ban.

The radioactive fallout released by underground tests is different in several ways from fallout produced by above ground tests. Material leaking out from a test contains a somewhat higher degree of longer lived fission products, especially if the leakage takes place over several hours, or days. Leakages also normally seep out slowly near ground surface, unlike the radioactive gases from an atmospheric test which quickly rise into the upper atmosphere, or in the case of megaton range explosion, into the stratosphere. As a result atmospheric tests produced worldwide fallout while leakages from underground tests may pose a more serious local fallout hazard because of the more localized fallout concentration. The fallout from an underground test being concentrated more closely to the ground may reach downwind residents sooner and in a more concentrated form than would exposures from global fallout.

Neither the public nor the media have been made aware of the extent of the fallout spread from past underground leaks. Measurable levels of fallout have extended far beyond the immediate areas downwind of the Nevada Test Site. A December, 1968 underground test code named Schooner left fallout readings of

160 millirems per hour at Kanosh, Utah some 400 miles downwind. The residents of Scandinavia received a high of 1 to 2 millirems per hour from Chernobyl. The cloud from Schooner was tracked to the Canadian border, at which time U.S. monitoring craft returned to Nevada, and no warnings were given to the Canadians even when days later fresh fission products were found in milk.

A 1962 underground test "Des Moines", a tunnel shot, caused iodine-131 contamination of milk in a large area. Higher levels were found in Spokane, Washington than in Nevada. Iodine-131 was found in milk samples in southern Arizona and California following a 1964 release of 130,000 curies. A release of 1,000,000 curies from a 1966 test was tracked from the test site in Nevada to central Iowa. And, a release of 350,000 curies six weeks later was followed to eastern Kansas and Nebraska. The fallout from the 1970 Baneberry venting was found in Bakersfield, California, Jerome, Idaho, Powell, and Laramie, Wyoming, as well as across the most heavily populated areas of Utah. The last reported "leak" (meaning it leaked from the shot itself and not from being deliberately vented in a controlled release) was in September, 1980. It spread low levels of radioactive gases through western Nevada and into California. It took the DOE twelve and a half hours to order offsite monitoring. The Mighty Oak accident in April of this year forced the DOE to vent radioactive gases into populated downwind areas northeast of the Nevada Test Site from April 15 to April 30, giving the residents there exposures hundreds of times higher than any Americans received from Chernobyl. The DOE proceeded to lie about it for three weeks.

The main danger from leaks with underground tests is to the people who are closest--the Test Site Workers and the downwinders. These are the same people who were exposed to the much higher levels of radioactivity in the fallout from atmospheric testing, and who bare the highest radiation body burden of any American citizen. The continual exposure of these people only increases the total accumulated dose, increasing their risks of cancer and other illnesses. This fact should not be overlooked or down played by either the media or the movement in discussing the testing issue. As one lifelong downwind resident told the author several weeks ago, "There are too many dead people and sheep crying out for justice downwind already. Star Wars only means there'll be more."

Based on the record, 10% of the 450 some odd underground tests conducted since testing was moved underground in the early 1960's, have leaked. Federal scientists have said that as many as one thousand tests might be necessary to develop Star Wars weapons. This means 100 or more leaks, vents, seeps, or whatever DOE wants to call them. And since the DOE waits until the winds are blowing toward eastern Nevada, Utah, or northern Arizona, for those downwind "the bombing" will continue, and with it our heritage of illness and death.

We must not forget the human side of nuclear testing. Arms control concerns aside, nuclear testing is still a human issue. If fallout from testing doesn't get you, the arms race it spawns and drives on will. Without an end to testing there is no real security.

--by Jay Truman

Fallout

One of the best overall comparisons between nuclear testing and Chernobyl is the comparison between total exposures from testing and Chernobyl. In the book "Blowing On The Wind", Robert A. Devine, (Oxford Press, 1978) a total exposure to the average resident of the northern hemisphere from nuclear test fallout up to 1960 is 700 millirems to the bone marrow. By comparison the total dose to the average resident from the Soviet Accident would not exceed 1 millirem. Devine also points out that until only 1960 that testing had released into the atmosphere in excess of 140 pounds of strontium 90. Chernobyl release was far less than one pound based on review of worldwide fallout monitoring data from Chernobyl.

A report from the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory put the release of radiation from the two most deadly components Iodine 131 and Cesium 137 at 43 million curies. By comparison, Col. Raymond Brimm, in charge of fallout monitoring for the Air Force during the 1960's and 1970's, in testimony before the House Subcommittee on interstate commerce in 1979, gave a figure of 62 million curies of radiation released from underground test leaks up to 1979. The Baneberry leak from an underground nuclear test in 1970 leaked 6.7 million curies, or one sixth the size of Chernobyl. Underground tests have released one and one half times as much radiation as the Chernobyl accident.

A fallout cloud from the aboveground Simon test, April 27, 1953, merged with a violent thunderstorm over Troy and Albany, New York some 2,500 miles downwind and rained out over those cities. Losses were received by the population of up to 2 rads. No counter measures were taken to protect the public health, in fact they weren't told.

Fallout from the Dirty Harry aboveground test on May 19, 1953, in inhabited areas reached external gamma levels that give calculated infinite doses of 5.2 r at Hurricane, 5.2 r at St. George, 4.0 r at Springdale, 3.5 r at Veyo, 3.0 r at Kanab, 3.0 r at Orderville, and 3.0 r at Rockville. The area in which fall-out occurred was inhabited by about 16,200 people.

In comparison, residents outside the USSR received doses at only 1,250 miles that were between 1 to 2 mr/hr while the residents in Upsate New York were receiving doses from the Simon shot twice as far away of over 100 times. Doses in Scandinavia from Chernobyl never got above 1 to 2 mr/hr. In St. George, Utah, following Dirty Harry for several hours the radiation dose was pegged at the top of the scale of 350 mr/hr on survey meters used. Following Dirty Harry the Atomic Energy Commission decided not to test levels in milk so as not to start "wild rumors". Fortunately, milk was tested in many parts of the Soviet Union and Europe.

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Actually it is a pity that the Chernobyl disaster has not affected the United States much. That sounds pretty unfriendly, but it is not meant to be. Most people in the U.S. do not realize that there is a very useful aspect about that nuclear accident in Russia. In all the parts of Europe that were hit by the nuclear cloud and its radioactive fallout, most people's lives have radically changed. Before April 26 most people in Germany were not very conscious about the hazards of nuclear power plants. To them the plants were just necessary to maintain the standard of living, and they believed that the plants were as safe as the government claimed. The very few people aware of the problems of

up to 1600 becquerel to a liter of milk. Otherwise they could not have sold it any more and would have had to stop the production of their world famous chocolate. During the next weeks the German government and other governments and other countries tried to confuse people completely, giving fallout measurements one day in becquerel, the next day in rems or millirems, and the day after that just talking of "certain amounts of strontium 90, cesium 137 and iodine 131."

Even though the German government assured the people that the situation was not too serious and completely under control, thousands of farmers had to destroy their freshly grown vegetables after being

they urged worried parents to use powdered milk that had been produced before Chernobyl in order to keep their children free of radiation. Then a test showed that the powder had actually been made after Chernobyl, was completely contaminated and even more dangerous than fresh milk! Other countries did the same and still do. Being afraid of losing tourists, Italy never stopped maintaining that their country was not affected by Chernobyl at all. Meanwhile they forbid the sale of lettuce for more than two weeks. Then, instead of destroying the radioactive produce, they sold it to Germany and other countries in the Common Market. Before summer vacations started, holiday-country

and made Walter Wallman the first German Minister of the Environment. Wallmann, former Chief-Mayor of Frankfurt, is known as strongly pro-nuke. Nobody expected him to make any effort to get out of nuclear power. He didn't disappoint his supporters, but he surprised his opponents by announcing that he will spend hundreds of millions of marks to increase safety in all German nuclear power plants. He didn't explain why that was necessary in light of Chancellor Helmut Kohl's statement just a few days before that they were as safe as could be.

Chernobyl also gave Germany a new place of "pilgrimage." It is called Wackersdorf and is situated in Bavaria. Every weekend thousands of anti-nuke demonstrators from all over the country go there to protest against the construction of a plant for nuclear waste. Up to 15,000 policemen have been fighting the demonstrators with CS-gas and rubber bullets. Hundreds of the mostly peaceful demonstrators have been injured (one fatally), and many have been arrested. For millions of marks, a fence like the Berlin wall has been built around the construction site. Bavaria's President Franz Josef Strauss didn't even shrink from causing an international crisis by closing the German-Austria border to demonstrators--many thousands, including the Austrian Vice President! - who went to protest in Wackersdorf.

If people in Germany were able to vote in favor of a nuclear free Germany, it is certain that they would do so at this time. But there is no way for that to happen. The only chance to live in a nuclear-free country will be a defeat of the government during the January national elections. The opposition parties (Social Democrats and Greens) have announced that they will get out of nuclear energy as soon as possible if they win the elections. While the Greens were always strictly against every kind of nuclear plants, the SPD learned from the Chernobyl disaster. At their election meeting in Nuremberg in August the SPD decided to call for closing down all nuclear power plants in Germany by 1996 and to stop Wackersdorf, if they get into power. The Greens pleaded for closing down all plants immediately, which seems a bit unrealistic.

People and parties that want to go on with nuclear power plants should realize that the point is not to make them safer. There will never be one that is completely safe and free from danger. The problem and the weak link in the safety chain are the people running the plants. They are not perfect, as Chernobyl and many other incidents all over the world have shown. The question is not "Is nuclear power good for people?" but "Are people good for nuclear power?"

(This article was written by Cornel Faltin, a journalist from Munich, West Germany, especially for the International Work Group, a NAP affiliate, while on a recent visit to the States. For more information, or to contact Mr. Faltin, call Hal or Turi Reynolds at (415)843-9310, or write to them at 2431 McGee, Berkeley, CA 94703. For explanation of technical terms, see p. 12.)

Political Fallout From Chernobyl in Germany



Secured like a fortress is the 110 hectare area of the Nuclear Fuel Reprocessing Plant in Wackersdorf [in the state of Bavaria, in the south of West Germany], where demonstrators protested on Easter Monday against construction.

nuclear power plants protested and demonstrated without really knowing what exactly happens if one blows up.

Now everybody knows what it means to be hit by radioactive fallout. When the Chernobyl cloud reached Germany on May 1, radioactivity went up to 50 times above normal and rocketed to 100 times higher two days later after the first rain. The people did not learn about the danger from the government but from the Green Party, the Social Democrats and different anti-nuclear groups. Even though one could not see or feel the contamination, it became part of everyday life. The government finally had to admit that there was danger and published radioactivity limits for food. So a liter of milk could not be sold if its radioactivity measured more than 250 becquerels. But not all German states accepted these national limits and replaced them with lower ones. Other countries like Switzerland allowed

measured at up to 12,000 becquerel a kilo (in the Saarbrücken area). Up to now around 30 million marks compensation have been paid to these farmers by the government. Even though the government claimed that there was "no danger at all" and that "the Greens and the Social Democrats are only taking advantage of the disaster for political reasons," all children's playgrounds were closed and the sand changed, soccer matches were cancelled due to irradiated stadiums and fields, and the government recommended not eating any fruit or vegetables grown in the open. People lived out of tin cans and deep freezers. Iodine tablets and Geiger counters were completely sold out throughout Germany.

Now, six months after disaster, it is known that the government faked fallout measurements to calm people down. More and more cases are turning up where the politicians lied to the people. In one case

Austria boasted that it had not been touched by the Chernobyl cloud. Hard to believe, considering that Austria has a border with two eastern countries (Hungary and Czechoslovakia) and is situated right in the middle between Italy and Germany. People were swindled everywhere!

Speaking of Germany, the Chernobyl accident has raised public consciousness about the hazards of nuclear power. Many former pro-nuke people, scientists, politicians, and organizations learned of the disaster and are now pleading for a nuclear free Germany. Not so the governmental parties - CDU (Christian Democratic Union), CSU (Christian Social Union), and FDP (Free Democratic Party). They have not stopped claiming that our nuclear plants are the safest in the world and that anything like Chernobyl could never ever happen in Germany. To calm the public down the government created a new department of environment and nuclear security

Extinction of the Lapps

Yes, Virginia, there are no more reindeer.

One of the starkest tragedies of Chernobyl is the fate of the Lapp people, who are threatened with destruction of their reindeer-based culture due to contamination of their animals.

The term "Lapp" is a Scandinavian name for the people who call themselves the Sami, and whose lands span the Northern wooded areas of Norway, Sweden, Finland and the Kola Peninsula of the USSR. Ironically, the Sami have constantly opposed nuclear and hydroelectric power in their hunting and reindeer droving areas. But they were powerless against the cloud of Cesium 137 from Chernobyl that swept over their lands and lakes. The reindeer feed on lichens which absorb and store

radioactivity. Tests have revealed dangerous levels of Cesium in the reindeer meat: up to 40,000 becquerels a kilo, according to the Norwegian veterinary service. Norway's safety-level for radiation contamination in meat is 600 becquerels a kilo. Swedish health authorities have also declared the meat unusable. The reindeer are normally slaughtered for sale in the autumn, but this year 18,000 animals are to be destroyed and buried in deep trenches in Norway, 40,000 more in Sweden. Over the next 5 years, 180,000 reindeer, the entire stock of the Central Lapps, will have to be put down and buried 10 feet underground.

The disaster is compounded by the contamination of fish from the lakes, which have been banned as over-radioactive, and of berries--the two other

main subsistence bases for the Samis. Sale of the berries to the Swedish confectionary industry has been stopped.

Scandinavian authorities are at a loss as to how to help, according to Odd Arnesen of the Swedish Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. Even if heavy compensation were provided it could not prevent cultural damage, since no one can provide the Samis with the one thing they need: reindeer. Although only 2,000 of the 55,000 Samis are directly involved in reindeer husbandry, they are the basis of Sami culture. For example, a quarter of their language is reindeer-related. The Samis are the last nomadic tribe of Europe.



--by Melody Ermachild
excerpted from the London Daily
Telegraph, 7/31/86, dateline Oslo)

Britain Gets Double Dose

As reported in Nature magazine and the London Times, Britain was hit twice by the radioactive cloud wandering around Europe after Chernobyl. Due to the juxtaposition of the cloud and unusually heavy rainfall, parts of N.W. England (Cumbria) and W. Scotland were blanketed with fallout in high concentrations (see figures). As late as mid-August, farmers in upland areas were still banned from slaughtering and selling their lambs, which were showing cesium levels of 3000 becquerels per kilo. Iodine 131 was also found in high concentrations in rainwater and milk. Though these were close to "danger" levels established by the ICRP (not necessarily a good guide to real effects), government ministers Kenneth Baker and Michael Joplin were reassuring the population that no harm would result below these already arbitrary levels. This is a lie of the first order, ignoring the mass of scientific evidence to the contrary of the last 30 years. None of the self-styled standard setting bodies - the ICRP, the NRPB, UNSCEAR, BEIR * etc - ever claim any dose is safe. It is now clear to everyone that, since responsible government warnings against drinking milk were not given, many excess cancer deaths will result. Such warnings were indeed given in Holland, for a much lower contamination.

A detailed study based on nationwide ground cover samples collected 10 days after the cloud first passed over Britain produced a contour map of cesium 137 contamination, measured in becquerels per square metre of vegetation. Ironically, the highest single figure of around 6,000 becquerels per square metre (about 1000 times normal) was

found at Barrow-in-Furness, Cumbria, a town famous for its Vicker shipyard and currently gearing up to build Britain's Trident submarine (which will practically bankrupt the rest of the Royal Navy and the country). Many other areas were found poisoned above the level of 1000 becquerels per square metre. Because of cesium 137's 30 year half-life, serious questions remain as to its ultimate effects - washing into the soil, taken up into plants, polluting groundwater and rivers.

Except for the British government, all of the nuclear agencies agree that many cancers, leukemia, and genetic defects will result, even below the "danger" levels, from this massive contamination. The only question is, what will be the magnitude of the response to the population dose - and there they disagree. We can compare predictions for the U.K. based upon the British watchdog NRPB estimate (made by May 15!) of

A: Individual dose: 40 MilliRems	Population dose: A times B
B: Northern U.K.: 10 million persons	Result: 400,000 person-Rems
EXPECTED EXCESS CANCER DEATHS	
NRPB: 5-10	National Radiological Protection Board-Britain's equivalent to the NRC. Consistently lower figures.
ICRP: 50	International Commission for Radiological Protection- Investigates and recommends radiation limits.
UNSCEAR: 80-160	United Nations Scientific Commission on the Effects of Atomic Radiation-Established in 1955. Two major reports of 1977 & 1982 are the basis for many predictions.
BEIR: 500	Biological Effects of Ionising Radiation-A committee of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences.
Gofman: 800 Plus	Dr. John Gofman - Founder of the Biomedical Research Division at Livermore National Weapons Laboratory. Author, 'Radiation and Human Health', 1981

40 millirems over the next 5 years. for the 10 million population of harder hit northern U.K..

I can say, however, that Chernobyl has had some good effects, hard as it may seem. In Britain, as elsewhere, it has put the spotlight on the nuclear industry, on plutonium reprocessing plants (Savannah River in the U.S., Sellafield in the U.K., the projected Wackersdorf in W. Germany), and the whole dirty history of "safe" accidents and government deception.

The Russians had to seek help from the British, who had the only previous experience of a (military) graphite core fire in 1957 at Sellafield (then Windscale - the name has been changed to protect the guilty). That fire produced similar contamination, and a recent study showed that in another accident in the early 50's, 20 kg (not 400 grams) of uranium were released. The government has now pledged to at least report any incident, nuclear or not, at reactors. It will have its work cut out, judging by the myriad scandals and leaks especially in the last year - like a mere 1/2 ton of uranium into the Irish Sea!

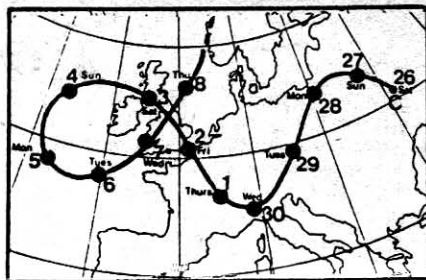


Fig.1 Estimated path of the Chernobyl radioactive cloud which ultimately crossed the British Isles (26 April to 8 May 1986)

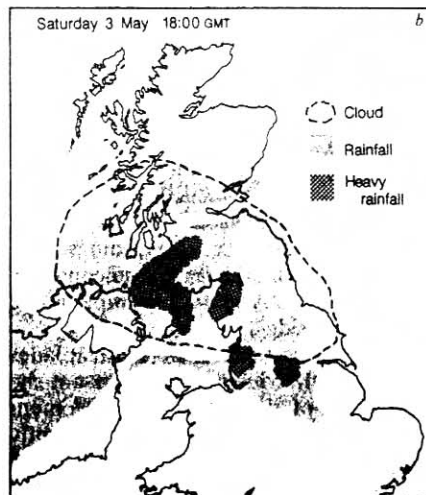


Fig 2 Chernobyl cloud and associated rainfall on 3 May 1986.

Recently, the TUC (Trades Union Congress), Britain's AFL-CIO, voted for a moratorium on the nuclear industry, pending a critical review, and the Labor Party, gearing up for the next election, is taking an even stronger official position, though the Party Conference expects to pass an anti-nuclear resolution surpassing even the official plank. Let's hope that when and if they are elected, the Labor Party don't stonewall and lie in the normal manner of most governments, East and West, but answer openly to the people.

by Graham Hale

A Polish Awakening to Nuclear Dangers

In Warsaw, on June 23, I held the following interview with a Polish intellectual, who requested that I not divulge his name.

"Two or three days after the accident, I awoke feeling sick. I did not have a cold or flu. I had not been drinking the night before. At breakfast, I was unable to eat or drink anything. That night, the first news of the accident was broadcast by the government. I believe I suffered from radiation poisoning though I can't prove it. I can think of no other cause for the way I felt. I don't know whether others felt ill before learning about it. It was not discussed.

"We were given no government information about what to do. Rumors circulated, and we talked about our neighbors. Some said we should wash our hair and bodies frequently. Some said the water was radioactive. Doctors gave people information, but not through official channels.

"I will say this for government: within five days they had organized to give children a protective mixture to help save them from thyroid cancer. Over a two day period, millions of children were given this."

"What was it?" "I don't know. Maybe it was iodine and something else. I'm not sure. Later, they told us, officially, not to eat salad or drink milk. About one month after the accident, they announced on T.V. that the danger had passed. We were

given no information which would allow us to determine how bad it was. They would say, 'It is ten times above normal' or '100 times above normal', but they never said what 'normal' was."

"How do Poles feel about the situation now?" "I can say how I feel. Before, for me, Hiroshima, the concerns of groups like C.N.D. (the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Britain) were all theoretical issues which did not touch me. Now I have realized that one small accident, far from Warsaw, can affect me and my family. Now I know what it means."

by Lynn Hoggatt



Radiation

Continued from Page 12

RADIOACTIVITY: The phenomenon of some atomic nuclei being inherently unstable, and decaying spontaneously to a more stable state by sending out some form of radiation. They also, by the way, become different chemical elements - nature's alchemy. The word also is loosely used to mean the radioactive materials themselves, as in

'a harmless amount of radioactivity was released today from Rancho Seco, officials say' - they often mean the gaseous products of fission. Do not confuse with 'radiation' [below].

CURIES and BECQUERELS: Two common units in which radioactivity is measured. The curie [Ci], named after Madame, means 37 billion disintegrations per second - a huge unit used most in the U.S. though most often as *pico* curie, [one trillionth Ci] or *micro* curie [one millionth]. The becquerel [Bq] [Bq], used most in Europe, is one disintegration per second. Contamination is often expressed as Bq per square meter of ground cover, or per kilo of meat, for example.

RADIATION: what comes out of the nucleus when it decays [disintegrates]. Comes in three flavors, alpha, beta and gamma.

Europe and America: Private and Public Reaction

The pregnant woman at the pharmacy in London, in response to my request for iodine tablets: "Oh, no, we don't do that!" The man at the teashop nearby who got angry when I refused the tea he handed me over the counter, already diluted with milk. "How do you expect me to make a profit!" (Milk supplies were reportedly dumped because the public stopped buying.)

The chemist on the island of Hydra in the Greek Cyclades; "When the cloud passed over, about 40 percent of the people from one town here came in complaining of nausea and other stomach problems, in the space of a few days. [Horried] Are you sure nausea is a sign of radiation poisoning?"

The poet in Athens who showed me here store of canned and powdered goods, which she said was not contaminated. (Panic buying caused stores in Athens to sell out of 'safe' goods over a two or three day period, after the danger was announced.)

The French waiter who contended it was his government's job to keep people calm, and so defended censorship for this purpose. The school teacher in Alameda, California, whose student tried to save her by spiriting her away to a 'clean' place in the Sierras.

How did governments respond, and how was this reported in the media? The British government was cool, soothing, reticent. People were assured the milk was safe and told

not to give their children iodine, even when local papers reported that alarms were being triggered at nuclear power plants there; even when, a week later, Scottish papers reported high levels of fallout up to the French border, but focussed on the danger of contamination entering from East Germany. In France, perhaps due to their more extensive investment in nuclear power, the public was given less information and told the danger was slight.

In Spain, where levels are now confirmed to be the lowest in Western Europe, *El Pais* ran an editorial which spotlighted the problem of government misinformation, pointing out that it is in the interest of all governments to maintain the status quo, and that our increased reliance on highly complex volatile technology will mean increased government interference in our lives (witness the drug-testing program now approved for state employees in 'sensitive' jobs here) and also, that we must anticipate increased government censorship of accidents like the one at Chernobyl. It is up to us to remain vigilant, to keep informed, and to resist dangerous government controls. An ignorant public is likely to remain calm under a nuclear cloud; however, the longterm effect must prove disastrous not only to health, but also to the survival of free societies.

by Lynn Hoggatt

RADIATION DOSE: the amount of exposure someone suffered, due to possibly combined effects of gamma, beta, and alpha [and sometimes neutrons and X-rays]. Often, difficult to estimate--might be to part of body or 'whole body', could occur in long or short time, etc.

REM, MILLIREM: This is the unit that measures radiation dose [not radioactivity]. You also hear of 'rad' which is about equivalent to 'rem', but measured in a different

CONTINUED ON P.19

WHAT ARE SOME TYPICAL RADIATION DOSES?

10 millirem	-- Chest X-ray
90-100 millirem	-- average natural background radiation
170 millirem	-- what the nuclear industry is allowed [on average] to expose us to without our permission.
500 millirems	-- 1/2 rem: maximum permissible dose to anyone
5 rems	-- maximum permissible dose to nuclear workers
100 rems	-- at this dose most children die of cancer or leukemia
450 rems	-- at this dose [very high, as at Hiroshima/Nagasaki or workers in Chernobyl] 50% of adults die.

The Russians Stopped Testing, Why Don't We?

The American Peace Test nonviolent civil disobedience action at the Nevada Test Site was organized to pressure the U.S. government to respond favorably to the Soviet testing moratorium.

When the moratorium was extended by Gorbachev at the end of March, the International Working Group for Peace and Disarmament, a work and affinity group, decided that we must urgently respond by pressing our government to stop testing now. We correspond with 150 peace groups in Europe and Asia--world-wide the call is the same; people hope that Reagan will stop testing and engage in serious discussions on disarmament.

It is hard to reconstruct what goes into a decision to act. Were it not for the Chernobyl disaster, we might have stayed at home. We are all busy people: a University administrator, a psychology graduate student, a health scientist, a shipping clerk; a baker, a nurse, owner of a children's clothing store, an attorney. But a surge of grief for Chernobyl, as well as a spark of hope provided by Gorbachev's extension of the moratorium started a momentum in us.

It seemed to us that our main goal now should be that the U.S. simply stop testing the weapons. By traveling to the Test Site we felt we could express this in the strongest way. As Carl Sagan said at the Test Site, if Reagan thinks the Soviets are bluffing, why not call their bluff by stopping testing? We could always resume testing again if they do. We believe we have only a few months in which to act before Gorbachev, who must be under tremendous pressure from hawks in his own government, resumes testing. This seems like a brief and slender chance to turn back from an all-out arms race.

We drove for 15 hours to reach the Test Site. In Death Valley we saw evidence of the wonderful life of the desert: the tracks of snakes, lizards and birds. We thought of the damage to desert life within the huge area of the Test Site, used since 1951 for over 650 atomic blasts, both above and below ground. In the distance we could see the beauty of the mountains within the Site, which is larger than Rhode Island, or about the size of two Luxembourgs.

When we arrived we were excited to see about 1,000 people gathered near the Site gate. There were banners and parachutes to shade us from the burning sun. A huge balloon in the shape of a black mushroom cloud, a symbol of nuclear destruction, was inflated there. We found that 1,200 people had registered for the Peace Camp that formed at the gate for 3 days. The Associated Press later spread to newspapers all over the country that "over 200" demonstrators came! They might as well report that "over 2" came.

We heard Daniel Ellsberg and Carl Sagan speak of the long history of



struggle against the Site, beginning with the movement in the 50s and 60s which finally ended atmospheric tests.

Testing at the Site in 1986 began in March, when protestors came and 7 were arrested. The most significant recent test was scheduled for April 8, and code-named "Mighty Oak." This was the first blast after Gorbachev prolonged his moratorium past March 31, promising not to test if the US did not. Reagan's answer was Mighty Oak. On April 8, hundreds of demonstrators came to the Site. A Greenpeace-led team sneaked into the site and hiked towards Ground Zero--the blast center. After 2 days inside they were captured by soldiers armed with M-16s.

Mighty Oak was delayed for 2 days. The Department of Energy predictably announced that wind had delayed the test, but demonstrators believe that the presence of their bodies at ground zero forced the delay.

On April 10, the blast occurred and a serious accident happened. The blast misfired, destroying \$20 million worth of equipment and contaminating the test tunnels. Two workers were irradiated, fortunately not fatally. There were so many parallels with Chernobyl: no announcement of the accident was made at first, a move which angered even the right wing, pro-testing Nevada Congresspeople. The Site later admitted it has been venting radiation into the atmosphere to try to clear the tunnels. They say there is no health risk, as they have said for 30 years about all tests.

At our Peace Camp across the road from the main gate were dozens of small tents and cars with licenses from all over America. We ate, sang and compared peace activities with people from New York, Ohio, Utah. Regional accents mingled in the voices around campfires.

All the time the dust in the hot wind blew onto us, coating our hair and skin. We wondered what contamination it contained, but no one had any real information on that. We were told that no woman who intends to have children is allowed to work at the Test Site, and no small children live in Mercury, the town within

the Site. Test Site guards told a young couple who brought a toddler to the demonstration to take him away! We had brought posters painted by schoolchildren and we were glad that in this way their voices could be heard there.

We stood together at night looking out over the lights of the closed town of Mercury, where the scientists live. In the morning, we saw their planes landing at the airstrip to which they shuttle from Livermore and Los Alamos Labs.

The members of our group are all former members of Livermore Action Group, which educated people for years about the Livermore Weapons Lab. We have picketed, vigiled, climbed the fence, infiltrated the California test site at Site 300. Now in Nevada we see a little more of what they are up to. This place, desolate, contaminated, forbidden, secret, seems wholly evil.

Father Louis Vitale, who has been active for years in opposing tests, talked about how the Site is always veiled in a shroud of secrecy. He pointed out that within a month after Reagan's 1983 announcement of Star Wars, site personnel disclosed that they had tested a nuclear pumped laser, a key component of one Star Wars scheme. This must mean that they had worked on this weapon for a long time, perhaps a decade before Reagan's announcement. We ask, "What are they working on now?"

What is there to test? We all know the U.S. has over 20,000 nuclear weapons. Carl Sagan told us there are only 2300 major cities in the world. Two bombs could be used on each city and we would still have 15,000 left. One Trident submarine is all we need to destroy every Soviet city. Every new weapon must be tested. A test ban would slow the arms race.

The scientists pass our picket line and give us the "thumbs down" sign. But other drivers, delivering supplies to the Site, smile and show us "peace" signs.

On Monday morning, a day or work for the Site, we gathered at the gate for a rally planned to have spiritual meaning for us. We heard from a Kibakusha (survivor of Hiroshima, who read a statement asking Reagan

to stop testing and to meet with Gorbachev in Hiroshima in August. Shoshone Indians, whose land this Test Site was, demanded an end to the testing.

Then came a sorrowful moment. It was announced that two young people driving on the way to join us had been in a terrible car crash; the young man was dead; the woman was critically injured. Suddenly we faltered. Suddenly it seemed not worth it all. In tears we silently asked ourselves if we should have tried to do this at all; if only we had not...

Father Vitale reminded us that every kind of struggle for change, for a better world, pays a price. He talked about the Salvadoran refugees he helps in a sanctuary, about their courage in the face of death. He reminded us of the death force the Site represents, and the faith we must have that life will overcome it.

We then marched singing to the gate, each affinity group lined up abreast. Very quickly, it seemed, our comrades were inside the white line, then apprehended, handcuffed and driven away in buses, the others waving, and cheering, grateful to them. Altogether 149 entered the Site, the largest number ever to commit civil disobedience there.

Protestors have been trying to raise the issues of International law in the Nevada Courts, especially the Nuremberg Principles which require citizens to act to prevent preparation for genocide. So far no one has succeeded in having such a trial. The magistrate will not hear those arguments, and treats the arrest as a simple trespass, sentencing the defendants to 6 days in jail or a fine. Some have spent as long as a month in jail for 4th arrests at the Site.

On June 6, just after our return home, the Site announced it had done another test, code-named Tajo. This was the 651st bomb test there and the 12th since the Soviet ban.

In July, a blast was exploded with 5 protestors inside the Site near Ground Zero and the authorities aware of their presence. They experienced an earthquake and landslide, but were unhurt. The Site has announced that it will no longer search for protestors inside the Site, but will test whether they are there or not.

What have we accomplished? We hope we have inspired others to see the nuclear testing issue as critical at this time. A cutoff of funds for further US testing is pending in Congress and we believe we have influenced that. Our own commitment is greater and we have become closer friends as a group. The two young people, aged 11 and 15, who came with us seem to have been empowered by the experience. We all have more hope.

After all, we are not asking for disarmament. We are only asking: Stop testing now.

--Melody Ermachild
for the International Work Group

THE NICARAGUA MATERNAL-CHILD HEALTH PROJECT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR HEALTH RIGHTS IN CENTRAL AMERICA (CHRIC) AND THE CITY OF BERKELEY ANNOUNCE THEIR PUMPKIN CARNIVAL, A CHILDREN'S EVENT, SUNDAY, OCT. 19, 10A.M. TO 5P.M., GROVE COMMUNITY CENTER, 1730 OREGON, BERKELEY. ADMISSION \$1 TO BENEFIT THE MCH PROJECT. FOOD GAMES AND FUN!

Updated Site 300

Disarmament

Slide Show

The International Working Group for Peace has an excellent, moving, 25-minute slide show on the history and effects of nuclear testing and opposition to it. Nevada Test Site and Site 300 are featured. FREE. Show it to your church group, your class or your friends. Call 655-1989 for info.

Stop Nuclear Testing!

Nevada Desert Experience

August 6, 1986 marks the 41st year of the memory of that tragic bombing of Hiroshima and the first anniversary of the Soviet self-imposed moratorium on the testing of nuclear weapons. As of this writing, the Soviet Union has extended this moratorium to Jan. 1, again inviting the U.S. to do the same. As we go to press, President Reagan is in Iceland, flaunting "Star Wars" as a sane bargaining chip for 'disarmament' and concocting human rights violations to justify it.

Nationwide, there are some 2½ to 3 million homeless, 2 out of 3 are women, and 1 out of 4 children go to bed without adequate nutrition of medical care. It is for this reason that we must address the problem, for these are the victims of the arms race in the immediacy of the moment; we need not wait for the missiles to fly.

As one religious leader has said, "The arms race kills the poor." It has been stated, time after time, that while trillions of dollars are being wasted in the insane drive for power, millions are suffering from homelessness and poverty.

As a homeless advocate and peace activist, it was important for me to be in Nevada, challenging the morality of nuclear testing. There are those who question the value of such direct action and even the



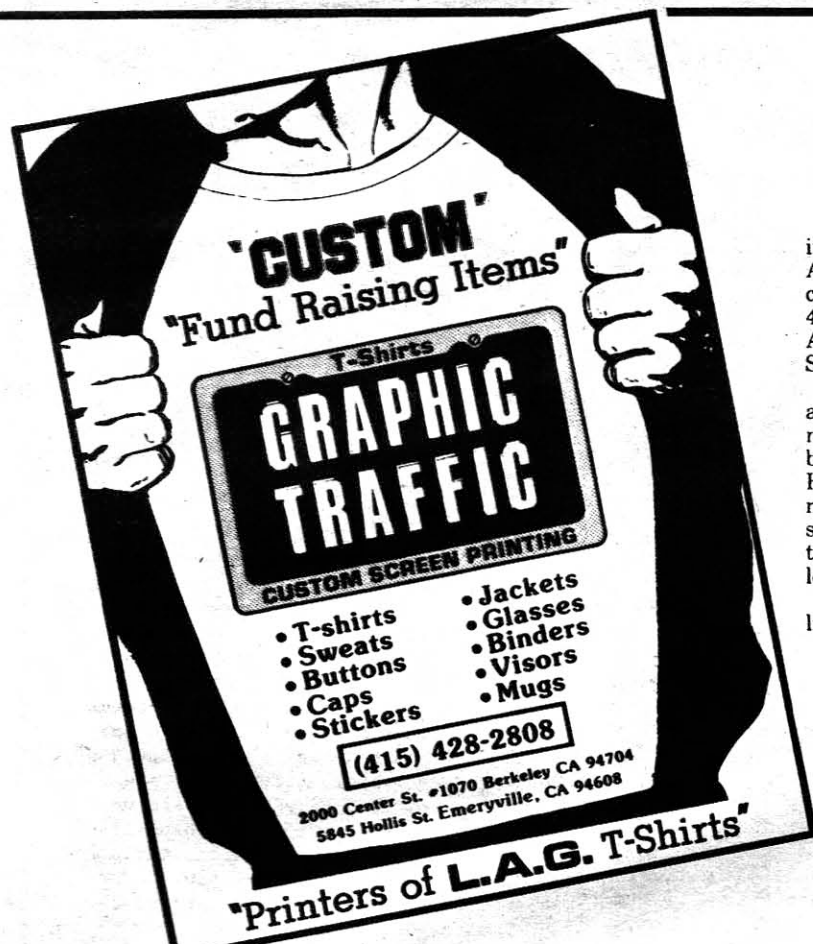
link I make in regard to the issue of poverty, but the argument must be considered.

In this action two practical and positive results have occurred. During the past year there has been an increase in the numbers of those who have been arrested, which has affected dramatically the economy of Nye County, which has prodded them to seek additional money from the U.S. government to handle arrests, booking and jailing of protestors, or as the press reported, "Nuclear Resisters." So at the county level an impression has been made. We now need to fill the jails until it is no longer feasible

or practical to jail the resisters.

A successful aspect of the action involved the participation of the Shoshone Elders. The Test site is on Shoshone land and the U.S. government was never given permission to test; in return, the Elders gave us permission to go on the land, never giving the government authorization to arrest protestors. The legality of the arrests must then be called into serious questioning, and the destruction of Indian lands again becomes a public issue.

--Bob Mills



LONG HALL OCTOBER
3124 SHATTUCK AVE. BERKELEY, 94705 / 84-UNION

October 27: French-American Potluck
October 28: FUNDI: ELLA BAKER
October 31: Halloween Party
Bring a Vegetable
November 4: SACCO AND VANZETTI DRAMA

Another Strike for Peace

The Peace movement scored another strike when the Madonna Inn Fan Club [Save the Madonna Inn from Diablo Canyon] challenged the Ladies Against Women, GringoAssholes [recently returned from El Salvador], the Holy Bowlers, and the Women Resisting Ladies at the second annual Bowl-a-Thon for Peace.

The Black and White Tacky Bowl-A-Thon - "We intend to offend!" - took place June 22 at the Japantown Bowl in San Francisco and featured the four basic food groups: fat, sugar, salt and caffeine. Special guest host-ess Sister Boom Boom officiated at the tasteful festivities, which raised over \$800 for LAG and the Western States Legal Foundation.

--Jackie Madonna



I went;

I bowled;

I scored!



Continued from Page 17

way. The rem and millirem [one-1000th rem] is designed to take account of some of the different ways radiation dose is received and how different parts of the body respond, so a more realistic and useful measure is obtained.

ISOTOPES AND NUCLIDES: Actually, all elements can be called nuclides and isotopes--add 'radio-' if they're unstable. Isotopes ['same type'] are the same chemical element with different nuclear structure, e.g. carbon 12 [stable] and Carbon 14 [radioactive]--the body will use both. That is, you can't filter out radioisotopes by chemistry--very unfortunate for you.

ALPHA [α] RADIATION: high speed heavy particles of very short range [easily stopped by paper] but incredibly destructive to tissue. Basically you have to breathe or ingest alpha emitters [like plutonium 239] in order to be harmed - but, they're harder to detect unless you're right on top of them.

BETA [β] RADIATION: high speed electrons [8,000 times lighter than alphas, longer range]. Much of the exposure from Chernobyl over the years will come from betas - through food chain contamination by strontium 90 and cesium 137, among others.

GAMMA [γ] RADIATION: very penetrating, long range. Another form of electromagnetic radiation; like ordinary light or X-rays, but much more damaging. The so-called "gamma cloud" which moved around Europe after Chernobyl actually consisted of the radioactive materials before fallout, able to hurt you only through X-rays. Radiation is still there after fallout, as you walk over your favorite moorland, and more intense because close to you.

PERSON-REM: A combined dose measure for a large population. Though individual doses might be small, as they are with Chernobyl, when millions of people get it, one can predict fairly accurately the ill-effects. You can't get 1/millionth of a cancer, but you might be the one in a million who gets it. To find the total dose to the population, you simply multiply the individual dose by the number exposed.

DOSE/RESPONSE CURVE: It was particularly difficult to estimate doses to

Dangers in nuclear ships

Royal Navy ships have been invited to join in this week's Royal Australian Navy's 75th birthday celebrations. They will be among 42 warships, including French and American warships, assembling in Sydney harbour for this occasion.

Some of these warships, probably six, will be armed with nuclear weapons, a fact conceded by Rear Admiral David Martin, Flag Officer, Naval Support Command, who in a recent broadcast stated that "inevitably some of these ships will be carrying nuclear weapons".

HMS Illustrious is a British light aircraft carrier which prob-

ably carries nuclear weapons. During its visit to Brisbane recently, before coming to Sydney, a protestor was brave enough to ride his surfboard to the prow of the Illustrious and to hang on to the prow for five minutes as it sailed into the harbour. Only by bashing his fingers with a pole and ramming his board could the Water Police dislodge him.

His protest is supported by many people here who believe that bringing warships with nuclear weapons into the heart of our harbour threatens the security of the millions of people whose homes surround it. They are targets for

nations unfriendly to Britain, the US and France.

The bombing of Greenpeace in New Zealand's Wellington Harbour, however small scale, is an indication that a country might go to these lengths.

People in Britain should recognise that visits by their nuclear armed warships are not welcome in Australian ports and we do not believe these visits are an expression of goodwill.

Janet Fischer,
Assistant Secretary,
Eastern Suburbs Nuclear
Disarmament Group,
Sydney.

Technology and Social Control

keep those countries in line: they don't have nuclear weapons.

I will offer a simple test (but like a good social scientist, one which can't be carried out right away): compare the technologies discussed here with high-tech electronics and computer industries. Originally high-risk and expensive, microelectronics and personal computers are now relatively cheap and decentralized--small computer firms proliferate, millions of middle class people have home p.c.s and "Walkman"-type cassette decks. If you include hackers, anyone can tap into the market. This has not been good news for the security systems of NASA and the Pentagon, as the media have let us know. If the government comes to the rescue when Apple goes bankrupt, you'll know I was wrong.

EPILOGUE

This is all a major cause for concern, because when the state is dictating to corporations what to produce, recycling large amounts of resources from the government to the corporations and back to the government via the war industries,

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when the branches of the military and the Departments of the Executive are fighting heavily among themselves for control over projects, when bureaucracies deepen and duplicate work, pervading every aspect of social life--these are the tell-tale signs of Fascism. And control over and insidious deployment of technology was one of the striking characteristics of Fascist regimes in Europe, as it is now of South African and Israeli apartheid.

I believe we cannot be contemporary Luddites, smashing computers and learning to use handplows. We must find a way to use the technology we have wisely and for the good of communities. What I have tried to show, however, is that that cannot be done by attempts to reform the present technocracy by increased state regulation or corporate responsibility. In identifying and explaining the state's role in selecting and perpetuating destructive technology, I have hoped to convince you that to stop the nukes, we must first smash the state.

--by Kate Raphael

Resistance to Nuclear Testing

NEVADA TEST SITE ARRESTS

On Sept. 30, 1986 the U.S. government exploded another nuclear weapon at the Nevada Test Site at the same time 550 healthcare professionals participated in a non-violent demonstration 20 miles from the test site. Approximately 130 of the demonstrators were arrested by the Nye County Sheriff's Department. Most of these demonstrators belonged to the American Public Health Association (APHA)

Many came from the Bay Area.

Presently efforts are being made to organize a group trial. The APHA has started a legal defense fund to help support the cost of the trial. All contributions will be tax deductible and greatly appreciated. Checks may be made out to Michael R. Gray, M.D., for Nevada Legal Defense, 6861 North Skyway Drive, Tucson, Arizona, 85718.

victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, for example, since no one was warned to be ready with instruments! Particularly true of Hiroshima, for example, and though this would not be typical of the way larger populations get exposed, classic studies of America's first and second strikes are used even now as standards, when much better controlled studies are unfortunately available--like the study of forced radiation of workers at the Hanford nuclear reactor facility, where Plutonium-239 is produced for bombs.

Most regulatory bodies subscribe to the 'linear hypothesis.' All this means is that you assume that the ill effects of radiation continue all the way down through very small doses--there is no magic threshold below which no response is seen. From known accidents or studies, you build up a dose/response curve which you can extrapolate to low level radiation, and therefore predict the number of cancers, leukemias, etc. for a given population.

In fact, it is now thought that the doses in Japan were substantially overestimated, so using the original study would always give underestimates of the response to a given dose.

WHERE DO ALL THOSE OFTEN CONTRADICTORY PREDICTIONS OF CANCER DEATHS IN THE MEDIA COME FROM?

They come from experts using the studies done by scientific commis-

sions, or by individuals.* Some studies are 'official' government efforts, some independent, and the contradictions arise because of government attempts to suppress unwanted information [as it did with John Goffman's and Thomas Mancuso's] and also because of the very nature of nuclear epidemiology.

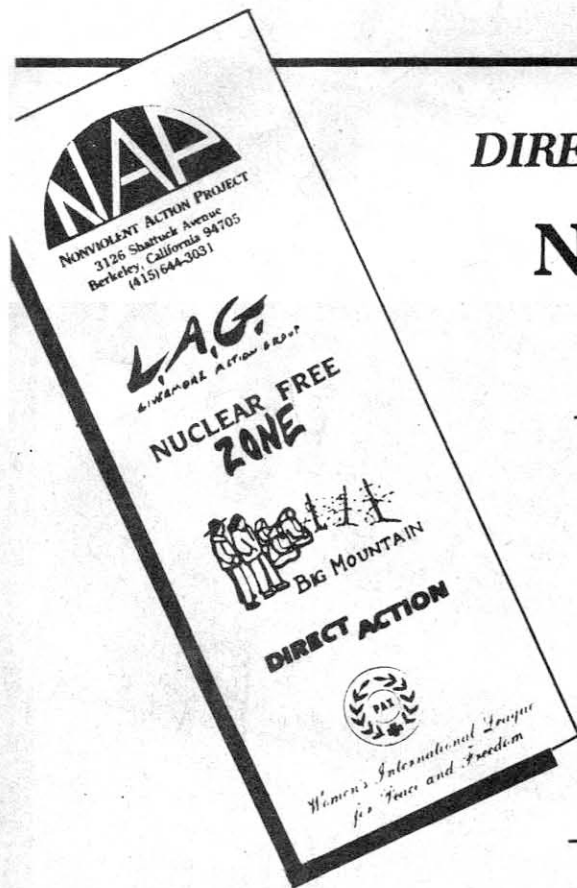
WHY DO I HEAR SO MUCH ABOUT IODINE 131, STRONTIUM 90 AND CESIUM 137?

These isotopes are most dangerous for several reasons. Firstly they are preferred mass numbers--3% of fissions give I 131, about 6% each Sr 90 and Cs 137. Secondly, all mimic major body nutrients - I 127, calcium, potassium. Iodine, for example, is volatile and easily released in a fire; it forms gaseous compounds [missed by many measuring instruments]; it moves easily through the food chain [milk products]; it also concentrates in the thyroid, and does so about 100 times better than other isotopes elsewhere. Sr 90 and Cs 137 have parallel stories and about 30 year half-lives. However, I 131's 8-day half-life means that it irradiates you faster.

Can't win for losing with radiation!

by Graham Hale

*A listing and explanation of these is given on p.17 in the British article, with a detailed example.



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