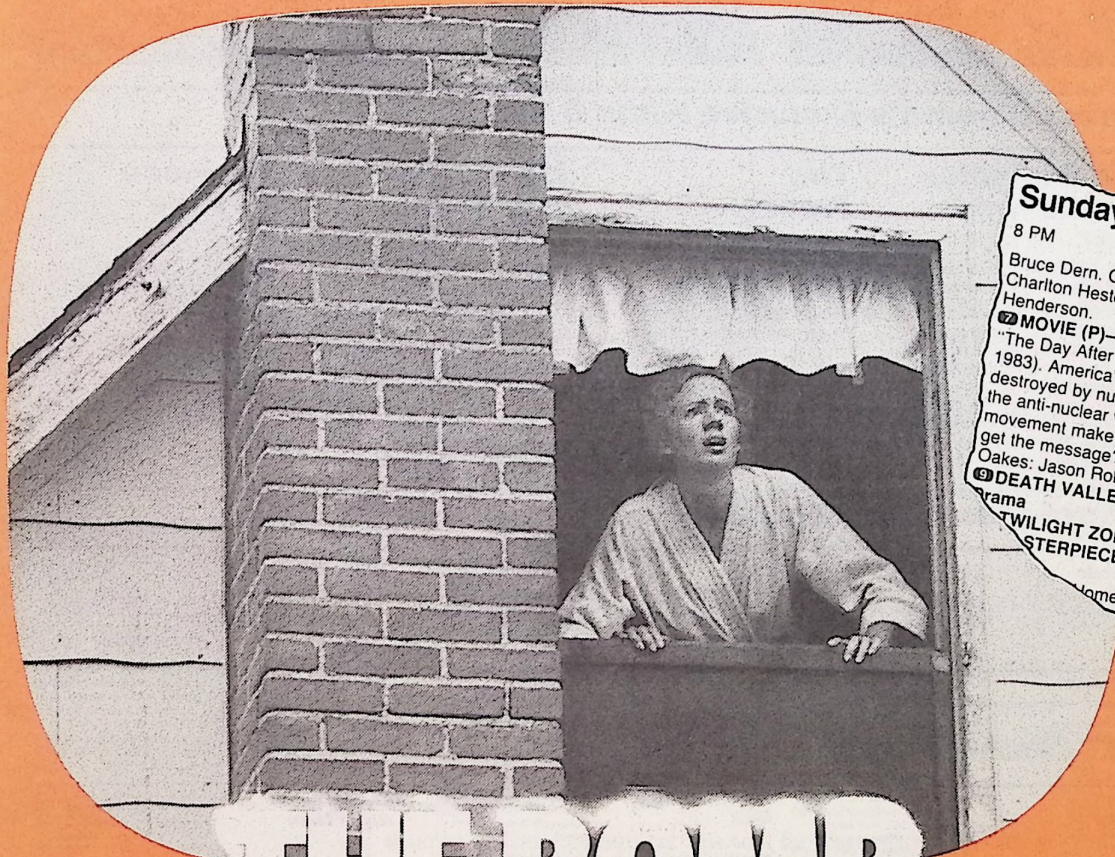


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Academy Award  
Best Actress 1979

This rare movie illuminates with magnificent sincerity the suffering of a crippled Vietnam veteran upon his return home. Stars Jane Fonda, Jon Voight, Bruce Dern.

### Dr. Strangelove

Or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb

This classic by Stanley Kubrick presents a humorous and frightening look at the dangers of nuclear war. Starring Sterling Hayden, Peter Sellers, George C. Scott, and Slim Pickens.

### The Life & Times of Rosie the Riveter

In this valuable history of working women, five former "Rosies" recall their experiences during World War II when women gained entry into major industrial plants and were then dismissed at the war's end.

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### Harlan County, USA

This extraordinary documentary chronicles the lengthy struggles by coal miners to win a union contract.

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This account details the espionage and perjury case that catapulted Congressman Richard Nixon to national prominence and sent former State Department Officer Alger Hiss to prison.

### On The Beach

In this adaptation of Nevil Shute's novel, a group of Australians await the effects of a nuclear war that has destroyed the rest of the world. Stars Gregory Peck, Ava Gardner, and Fred Astaire.

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·NUCLEAR·  
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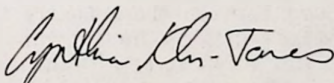
# A Message From Nuclear Times To Our Readers

A little more than a year ago when we launched this magazine, we wrote that we would happily go out of business the day nuclear weapons no longer posed a threat to humanity. We knew then that the arms race, with a built-in momentum of its own, was a formidable opponent, and that we would likely have to keep publishing for some years before our goal was met.

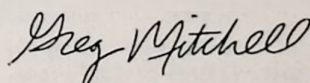
Judging from the feedback we have received from readers, our first year has been a remarkable success. We have established ourselves in the antinuclear weapons movement as an invaluable source of reliable information for people working to reverse the arms race. By lending a national perspective we have shown readers how, both as individuals and members of organizations, they fit into the antinuclear movement. "It's a movement barometer," according to Howard Ris Jr. of the Union of Concerned Scientists. Or as Betty Bumpers of Peace Links said about *Nuclear Times*, "It gives all of our efforts cohesion and mortar as we move forward." We have brought the different pieces of the antinuclear movement together and helped to fuel a more effective force. By spreading information we have given readers a sense of belonging to a larger community.

We are spending less money to meet our expenses than we budgeted—a claim not many magazines of any kind can make. But because the competition for foundation funding is so fierce, we find ourselves, as we begin our second year, \$100,000 short of meeting our 1983 expenses. This is where you, our readers, come in. Unless we can make up this deficit by the end of the year—either in the form of individual contributions or in new foundation support—we will be forced to scale back our efforts significantly. This would come as a great blow not only to those of us who have labored long and hard on the magazine but, we believe, to the movement itself.

If you value this publication as much as we think you do, please take this opportunity to help us in our time of need. If you are unable to make a financial contribution, write us a letter telling us how *Nuclear Times* is keeping you informed—and how you use the magazine. With these contributions and testimonials, we may be able to convince a few more foundations to support us until we are strong enough to take care of ourselves.



Cynthia Kling-Jones, **Publisher**



Greg Mitchell, **Editor**

**YES, I want to support *Nuclear Times*, at this critical time, in its efforts to:**

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# Letters

## Does Not Compute

I am grateful to writer David Morrison and *Nuclear Times* for the attention given to the issue of accidental nuclear war in your July issue ["New Weapons Wired For War"]. However, I am deeply concerned with the attitude revealed in the article's treatment of the issues of computer reliability and the relationship of computers to accidental nuclear war. I believe that Morrison too neatly dismisses the subject with his listing of "reforms" that NORAD [North American Aerospace Defense Command] is undertaking on its computer system. According to the same Senate report quoted by Morrison, there were no fewer than 2159 detections of "irregularities" by NORAD sensors in only the first half of 1980. Extrapolated over a year, this would amount to an average of a little over 12 sensor detections a day that the NORAD computers would be processing. The paramount danger of "launch-on-warning" is precisely that there will be practically no time to correct mistakes.

Try as I might, I can make no sense out of Morrison's statement that "the greatest danger now arises not from faulty computers but from the imminent deployment of counterforce missiles." The launch-on-warning danger is a mix of components which includes weapons that can destroy hardened targets, human fallibility, and computer fallibility. It is the *interplay* between these factors that makes the situation so fraught with danger. I also cannot agree with the statement that "computer error is unlikely to trigger an unintentional attack, absent an international crisis." I submit that the onset of launch-on-warning will *itself* be a continuous, nonstop international crisis.

—Gary Houser  
Athens, Ohio

## Missing Peace

Roberta T. Manning's Forum piece ["Trust-Busting American Style," Aug/

Sept '83] is correct—few Americans know of the recent disarmament proposals of the Soviet Union. She lists some of the good proposals, but does not also list some of the Soviet failures: its persistence in refusing to report military budgets, its refusal to allow UN inspectors to check on the use of toxic weapons, and its continued advocacy of a useless World Disarmament Conference. Despite these lapses of Moscow, she is correct in writing that "our side won't come off looking very well."

Yet this does not mean that we must praise the official Soviet peace apparatus and downplay the new Group to Establish Trust in Moscow (and elsewhere in the Soviet Union). The former is official and its public demonstrations for disarmament are welcome. The Group to Establish Trust is unofficial and maintains a nonaligned policy. It is as critical of the Soviet military as of the U.S. military, a posture taken by most peace organizations in the West.

The trouble with the Soviet Peace Committee and its allies is that its policies are set by the government. It never differs from governmental policy, Afghanistan and Poland being only recent examples. I once made a speech in the Kremlin and was applauded as an American for denouncing U.S. nuclear tests. But I was criticized for daring also to criticize Soviet nuclear tests. At the time, socialist nuclear tests were "for peace" and sanctioned by the Soviet Peace Committee. That was two decades ago. If the Soviet Peace Committee has changed and become as critical of Soviet military might as of its U.S. counterpart, let them (or Dr. Manning) demonstrate this independence. Until this occurs, we can be grateful for the emergence of independent peace groups in the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, and Hungary.

—Homer A. Jack  
New York, N.Y.

## Correction

In the October issue *Northwest Nuclear Xchange* was inaccurately attributed with organizing a boycott of General Electric consumer products. The boycott is being organized by Citizens Boycott Nuclear Arms.

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# Early Warnings

**CONSERVATIVES KICK CAN:** When Citizens Against Nuclear War (CAN) put together the initial program for its Citizens Congress on National Security (to be held in St. Louis in mid-November), it included the usual freeze advocates such as Randall Forsberg and Jack Geiger of Physicians for Social Responsibility. But the program had some surprises. Also listed was an array of anti-freezers such as Senator John Tower; Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's national security adviser; Daniel Graham of the pro-space weapons High Frontier; and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger. Of these four, only Graham was confirmed when CAN sent out its invitations. The other three each told CAN they could be officially listed as invited but not yet confirmed—a sign that they would try to attend.

A week after the invitations were mailed, however, all four conservatives pulled out. Graham's secretary informed CAN that he no longer felt it was in his interest to attend. The conservatives' retreat, says CAN executive director Karen Mulhauser, occurred after several right-wing groups, including the American Conservative Union, applied pressure on Weinberger and the others not to dignify a pro-freeze organization's event by attending. So instead of Weinberger and the rest, CAN has to settle for lesser-known conservatives to ensure that both sides of the nuclear debate are represented at the congress. For example, substituting for Weinberger will be Frank Gaffney, deputy assistant secretary of defense for strategic and theater nuclear forces policy.

**WASHINGTON SLEPT HERE:** With only weeks remaining before the United States is scheduled to deploy cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Europe, there is not much of a sign that Congress will do anything to prevent deployment. But a handful of members of Congress are still trying to obtain a delay. On October 6 Representative Edward Markey introduced a joint resolution calling on the president to announce that the United States would put off deployment for six months. The terms of the resolution would involve a formal Soviet agreement to negotiate toward a treaty that would reduce Soviet intermediate-range missiles to the level of British and French forces in return for no deployment of

U.S. cruise and Pershing 2 missiles.

The Soviets have said they are willing to reduce toward this level, explains Markey aide Douglas Waller, and a delay might give negotiations a chance to succeed. But he admits that prospects for success are not high, and that the bill is largely "an educational vehicle."

And as the 1984 defense appropriations bill made its way to the floor last month, several congressmen, led by Representative Martin Sabo, worked to attach an amendment that would cut Euromissile funds earmarked for transportation and support, thus forcing a six-month delay. But they were not even sure they could obtain a vote on the measure. "Sentiment in Congress is clearly behind deployment," Waller notes.

**CONVENTIONAL WISDOM:** Next summer when the 3931 delegates, the candidates and the upper and lower brass of the Democratic Party assemble in San Fran-

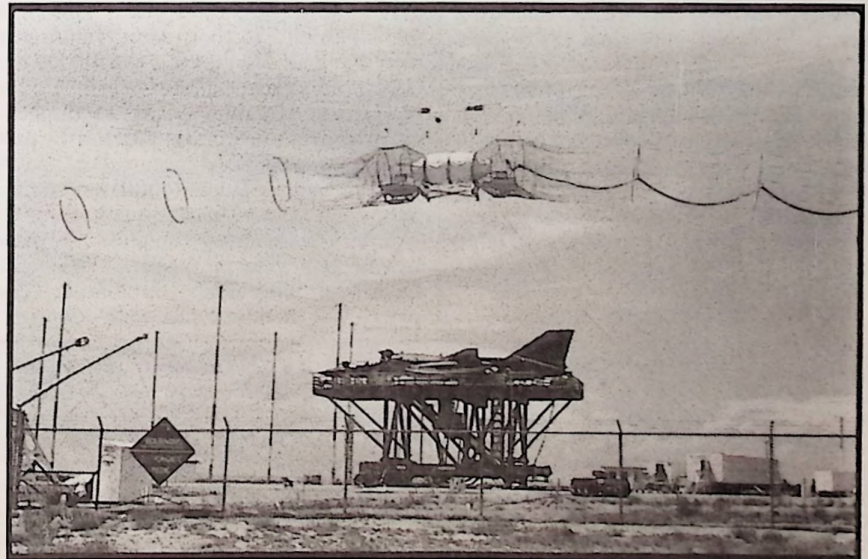
cisco to select the party's presidential candidate, a coalition of over 100 peace and environmental groups will be there to greet them. Already more than 110 organizations, mostly based in Northern California, have banded together to form the Peace and Environmental Convention Coalition, which, in the words of one activist, "exists to insure that the various political messages of the member groups are delivered to the appropriate places—the delegates, candidates and media."

The Coalition itself does not have any specific message, and it might only sponsor one or two events. Its main purpose is to coordinate the many activities planned by its members, which includes national organizations such as Greenpeace, the freeze campaign and Ground Zero. The latter, for example, plans to stage an exhibit of billboard-size art and set up a stage for events and booth space for groups inside the 60,000 square-foot Pier 3 at Fort Mason Center.

Now based in the Berkeley office of Ground Zero-California, the Coalition has made contact with the Democratic Party, the convention staff, and the office of San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein. The Democrats have even asked the Coalition to help recruit the 10,000 volunteers needed to staff the convention. Although some activists are con-

BY ROBERT DEL TREDICI

## Views From The Nuclear World (2)



**ELECTRO-MAGNETIC PULSE, Sandia National Laboratory, Albuquerque, New Mexico:** One unexpected effect of an atomic explosion is the electromagnetic pulse (EMP). A nuclear warhead, when detonated in the air, releases in a fraction of a second a surge of energy strong enough to overload and destroy delicate computer circuitry, effectively "blinding" ground and air operations and communications for at least hundreds of miles around. The device in this picture generates an artificial EMP over a jet aircraft in simulated flight. (This is the second in a series of photographs by Robert Del Tredici based on his visits to seldom seen centers of the nuclear world.)

cerned about working too closely with the Party, one notes, "The pay-off is we get people inside the convention." And he adds, "We will continue with all of our events, even if they express reservations."

**LESS IS MORE:** It's not often that you hear arms control activists complaining about verification. But that has been one of the responses to President Reagan's proposed nuclear weapons "build-down," which in September was incorporated into the U.S. negotiating position at the strategic arms talks in Geneva. Both freeze advocates (and some administration officials) are saying that Reagan's proposal, which calls for the establishment of a formula by which each superpower would have to destroy a greater number of old weapons before deploying new weapons, poses severe verification difficulties.

But is it dangerous for freeze supporters to raise the issue of verification, usually brandished by those opposing the freeze? "Not at all," says Chaplain Morrison of the freeze campaign's Washington, D.C., office. "To detect a violation under a freeze you only have to see if there is any activity. With this proposal, you have building up here, reductions there, and all sorts of changing numbers." This will all be harder to monitor than a freeze, he explains, noting that Reagan's proposed formula to measure all changes is quite complicated. And this proposal will do nothing, Morrison says, to prevent qualitative progress in the arms race.

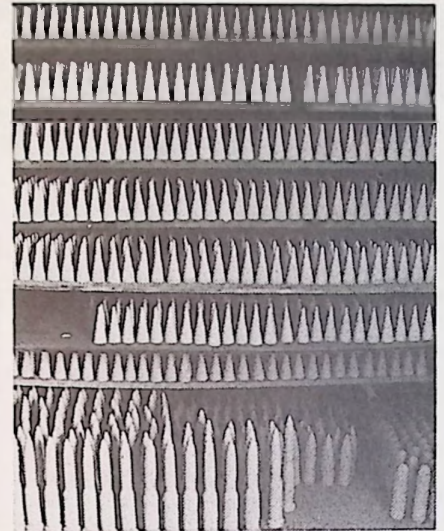
**A NOVEL APPROACH:** When publishing house Holt, Rinehart and Winston won the North American hardcover rights to a new novel, *Warday*, there was cheering in its halls. "This book is going to have a big impact," says Marian Wood, executive editor of Holt. And Holt should hope so. It's been estimated that Holt paid \$460,000 for the book.

Coauthored by James Kunetka Jr.

(who has written books on Los Alamos and J. Robert Oppenheimer) and Whitley Strieber (author of *Wolfen*), the novel takes place in the United States in the 1990s after a nuclear war with the Soviet Union. The war lasts 30 to 40 minutes and is curtailed only by the collapse of communications systems on both sides. "This occurs at the beginning of the book," says Wood. "What's left is how people respond." The two authors travel across America and survey the results. "It's chilling, a most effective antinuclear statement," Wood notes. She also adds that the novel, a potential bestseller due out April 16, is very accurate: "It's been read by a great many scientists who are expected to endorse it."

**CLAY FEAT:** Barbara Donachy returned home from abroad in 1981 a worried woman. "Reagan was in the White House talking about limited nuclear war, and the people we met in Europe were frightened," recalls Donachy, a Denver artist. "What bothered me the most was that the average European cabby knew a lot more about the military policies of the United States than I did." But Donachy didn't forget the whole thing—what she did was *build* it. Using over four tons of clay, 50 volunteers and thousands of hours, Donachy and husband Andy Bardwell constructed a miniature, ceramic replica of the entire U.S. nuclear arsenal.

Recently the Nuclear Arsenal Project appeared at a New York art studio as part of an Artists for Nuclear Disarmament exhibit. It took eight volunteers over 300 hours to arrange the 30,000 nuclear warheads, 1700 missiles, 400 bombers and 33 submarines in symmetrical rows. Plans are underway for the project to move to Washington, D.C., later this fall, where Representative Patricia Schroeder is scouting for a suitable site. Donachy is financing the show, in part, by selling original pieces of it, all of which have been individually numbered. (The pieces will then be replaced by identical,



Donachy's homemade "nuclear" arsenal

unnumbered weapons to keep the arsenal intact.) The weapons cost \$1 for every \$1 million they cost U.S. taxpayers; prices range from \$4 for a warhead to \$2400 for a two-foot-long Trident submarine.

**DISARMAMENT DOCTRINE:** One of the first ecumenical responses to the U.S. Catholic bishops' pastoral letter on war and peace is an ambitious plan that could provide doctrinal authority for disarmament actions. Eight denominations in the state of Washington are initiating a two-year project, "Dialogue for Peace," that will include grass-roots discussions, regional convocations and a concluding call to action. The project (based at the Washington Association of Churches in Seattle) will focus on the major points of the 100-page Catholic document issued last May—support for disarmament, the freeze and a no-first-strike policy.

Discussion groups involving up to 30,000 church and parish members across the state will begin in January, followed by regional convocations to develop a "sense of the people" statement on the issues. A second round of local discussions set to begin in November 1984 will develop the statement into proposals calling for specific actions that individuals should take towards the goal of preventing nuclear war. A "call to action" is expected by March 1985.

**CRAZY ARMS:** Under present plans the United States will build about 17,000 new nuclear weapons in the following decade and retire only 11,000 old weapons, according to a major new study by the Center for Defense Information (CDI) in Washington, D.C. The study also reveals that the Reagan administration will spend \$450 billion in the next six years "preparing for nuclear war." This figure represents about 22 percent of the

## Blips

**Joseph Cardinal Bernardin**, archbishop of Chicago and chairman of the committee that drafted the Catholic bishops' pastoral letter on nuclear war, will receive this year's Albert Einstein Peace Prize later this month in Washington, D.C. . . . A simplified version of **Ground Zero's** "Firebreaks" game (with new nuclear war scenarios) will be distributed in January. . . . William Starkweather and Gary Seldon of Amherst, Massachusetts, whose life-sized models of **cruise missiles** have been "deployed" by antinuclear groups in seven states, are making 12 "new and improved" fiberglass models, and are also shipping ready-to-assemble parts to local groups. . . . The **Council for a Livable World** has initiated a new public service. Everytime a member of the Reagan administration makes a factual error relating to arms control and national security the Council sends a Reagan Correctgram to the media, correcting it. . . . Greenham Common women, represented by the Center for Constitutional Rights and **Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy**, will be filing a complaint in a U.S. District Court this month arguing that the use and threatened use of the Euromissiles violates international law, the U.S. Constitution and British law. . . . Soviet peace activist **Oleg Radzinsky** was sentenced on October 13 to a year in prison and five years in internal exile.

total military budget—considerably higher than the 10 to 15 percent claimed by administration officials—and means that spending for nuclear weapons has doubled under Reagan. The cost merely to develop and purchase 15 new nuclear weapons systems during the next decade is in the \$335 to \$400 billion range.

"If the study's findings are startling," says CDI senior researcher Dr. Robert Norris, "it's because the scattered, publicly available details on these nuclear programs are rarely seen in their entirety." Some interesting tidbits of information from the CDI study:

- The average production rate over the coming decade will be five nuclear weapons a day.
- The \$280.5 billion in overall military funding requested by Reagan this year is nearly double President Carter's 1980 request.
- By 1986 the Pentagon will be spending nearly \$1 billion a day, \$41 million an hour, \$700,000 a minute.

**THE DAYS AND YEARS AFTER:** How bad will it be after a nuclear war? Two reports recently released indicate that the long-term ecological consequences might even be worse than previously thought. According to *The Aftermath*, edited by Jeannie Peterson, published by Pantheon Books and based on a special issue of *Ambio* (the journal of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences), fallout, vast fires, photochemical smog, famine, disease and social collapse caused by a major nuclear war will "totally" destroy all the industrialized societies of the Northern Hemisphere. And the Third World, which depends on international trade in fertilizers, fuel, farm machinery and technology, will follow—itsself swept by waves of famine and disease. The report indicates little hope that the globe might ever recover.

A much-overlooked recent study by the House of Representatives Committee on Science and Technology comes to much the same conclusion and notes there are no civil defense measures that can "afford significant protection against the post-war health and ecological consequences of nuclear war." The Committee also calls for a worldwide coordinated effort, akin to the 1957 International Geophysical Year, to further explore the global consequences of nuclear war, noting it was "struck at how random and uncoordinated the amassing of such knowledge has been."

**ELVES VS. ELF:** In Michigan and Wisconsin, opponents of Project ELF—the construction of an extremely low frequency electromagnetic radiation antenna that the U.S. Navy hopes will one day send messages to Trident submarines carry-

Photo: Herman Landshoff



## George F. Kennan

*"George Kennan's lantern illuminates the world: it penetrates the murky recesses inhabited by political time-servers: it puts to shame the tired catchwords of ideology: it shines like a beacon in an era of militarist adventure and 'personalized' foreign policy."*

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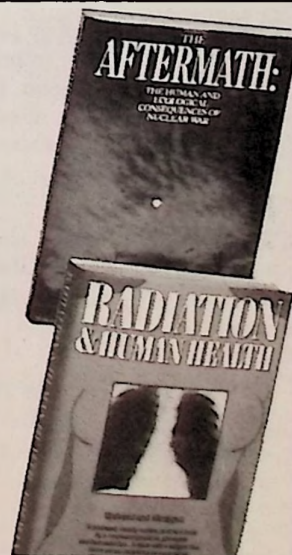
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ing nuclear missiles—are waiting for the outcome of the state of Wisconsin's lawsuit against the Navy and the Department of Defense. Some time this month, a final decision is expected that will determine whether or not the Navy will be required to temporarily halt all ELF activities until it produces an updated environmental impact statement.

The anti-ELF battle is being waged on more than just the legal front. Citizens Against Trident/ELF (CATE) in Wisconsin recently launched a campaign to ensure that the giant underground antenna never gets built. The program, called the alternative survey, is simple. As Navy contractors survey and mark the 57-mile-long ELF corridor in Michigan's upper peninsula with wooden stakes, ribbons and steel pins, anti-ELFers follow behind and remove the survey equipment. By mid-October, after two months of forest forays, 40 percent of the corridor had been "desurveyed," and activists predict that by the end of this month, the entire area will be restored to its natural state.

CATE member Jan Shireman says that while there has been local pressure in Michigan papers to arrest the alternative surveyors, not one activist has been charged. "They haven't come after us, even though we do our work out in the open, during the day—we even invited Governor Blanchard to come," says Shireman. The governor (who opposes ELF) "respectfully declined" the invitation.

**THE AIR FORCE STORY:** When the Air Force began to deploy B-52 bombers equipped with air-launched cruise missiles last December, the editors of NUCLEAR TIMES decided to publish a feature article on Griffiss Air Force Base, the site of these initial deployments. There was one problem. The Strategic Air Command would not grant NUCLEAR TIMES permission to visit Griffiss, located in Rome, New York. Although SAC had granted other periodicals permission to visit the base, its officials took exception to NUCLEAR TIMES. One SAC officer noted that it would not be in the Air Force's interest to allow a NUCLEAR TIMES reporter to visit the base.

Both Air Force regulations and Supreme Court decisions, however, state that SAC cannot discriminate among publications in providing access. And legal counsel for NUCLEAR TIMES raised this point in several letters to SAC. It took eight months of letters and calls to and from SAC headquarters in Nebraska—as well as a threatened lawsuit—before SAC relented and okayed senior editor David Corn's request to visit Griffiss. His report will be published in a future issue. □



ORGANIZING FOR THE "DAY AFTER"

# Will Millions Get The Message?



On the evening of November 20, just four days before a thankful America sits down to turkey dinners, tens of millions of people will be gathering around television sets in livingrooms, churches and town halls—not to enjoy a heartwarming holiday special, but to watch Kansas City get blown off the face of the earth.

At 8 o'clock on that Sunday evening, ABC plans to air what many believe is the most controversial television movie ever made—*The Day After*. Directed by Nicholas Meyer, and starring Jason Robards, the \$7 million film grimly—and at great length—depicts World War III, focusing on America's heartland and the losing battle for survival by those unlucky enough to live through a nuclear war.

Airing on the eve of the planned deployment of American nuclear missiles in Europe, *The Day After*—despite ABC's assertions that the film advocates no political philosophy—is being viewed by many as a timely commercial for the anti-nuclear movement. The film dramatizes two points peace activists have long been making: that the deterrence theory is dangerous and that no one will survive a nuclear war. (For a summary and review of *The Day After*, see page 15.) After a slow start, peace activists are now planning both local and national strategies to ensure that the public not only tunes in to



The Bomb hits home: Jason Robards and Georgann Johnson minutes before the end

the movie, but into the movement as well.

Right-wing groups are paying attention, too; their accusation that ABC is peddling Soviet propaganda is adding to the controversy surrounding the film. As Theo Brown, deputy director of Ground Zero in Washington, D.C., says, "My organizer's nose tells me that this movie is going to create one helluva hullabaloo, and we better plan on being there for the duration."

## FROM SHOPPING CENTERS TO CONGRESS

Most antinuclear groups are concentrating on grass-roots organizing, encouraging outreach through group viewings. "No one should see this film alone—not kids, not adults," says Wendy Roberts, a California social worker. "It should be watched in the framework of group support."

Ground Zero plans to print 200,000 *Day After* guides to help "walk" viewers through the movie and subsequent discussions. The guides will be sent to schools, churches and community groups; and members plan to distribute them in shopping centers during the busy pre-holiday weekend when the film airs, thereby reaching many non-activist shoppers. A special toll-free number is being set up by activists in New York and Washington, D.C., to match callers with peace groups. Members of Physicians for

Social Responsibility (PSR) throughout the United States will write to their local Chambers of Commerce for lists of mainstream community groups. "Then we'll write to them and say, 'If you saw the movie and want to get involved, we're here to show you how,'" explains Abram Claude, PSR's associate director.

Susan Alexander with Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR) is assembling a *Day After* guide with specific suggestions for discussions people can have after seeing the film. And the Center for Defense Information in Washington, D.C., is trying to place ads for their "nuclear war prevention kit" on dozens of ABC stations immediately following the film.

STOP Nuclear War in Northfield, Massachusetts, hopes to flood the White House and offices of all elected officials with letters saying, "I'm watching *The Day After*; I hope you do the same." And, in an effort to supplement a national media campaign, SANE, together with the freeze campaign, is sending thousands of activists packets containing a how-to manual for putting together viewing groups, suggestions for doing local press work around the movie, and material urging activists to get out into their communities during the week following the film. Says Randy Kehler, national coordinator of the freeze, "This movie has given us a fantastic opportunity for growth—

## TV Guides

**The Day After** *The Day After*, special edition of the Educators for Social Responsibility newsletter. Available for \$1.50 from: Educators for Social Responsibility, 23 Garden St, Cambridge, MA 02138.

**Ground Zero's Viewing Guide**, free, from: Ground Zero, 806 15 St NW, No. 421, Washington, D.C. 20005.

**The Day After—A Viewer's Guide**, by Cultural Information Service, free, while supplies last, from: CIS—The Day After, PO Box 786, Madison Square Station, New York, NY 10159.

**The SANE/Freeze Day After Project**, free, from: Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign National Clearinghouse, 4144 Lindell Blvd, Ste 404, St. Louis, MO 63108.

now it's up to us to run with it."

*The Day After* has sparked considerable interest on Capitol Hill as well. "It produced the single most emotional response I've ever had to a movie," says Representative Edward Markey. And Representative Thomas Downey is planning a *Day After* conference for his constituents, and will open up his district office for phone calls on the night the movie airs.

#### WAKING THE MOVEMENT

Josh Baran, a publicist based in Berkeley, California, is finishing a marathon run with *The Day After*. Months ago he dreamed up a project called Target Kansas City; that, along with a sister project, Let Lawrence Live (Lawrence, 40 miles from Kansas City, is where the film's nuclear war survivors struggle with radiation sickness and social entropy), promises to be at the center of public attention when *The Day After* airs. Organizers there have planned midnight vigils, pub-

lic rallies, press conferences, forums, and town hall meetings with local congressional representatives. "After the movie, a lot of Americans will be looking to us out here to see what we're thinking and doing," says Allen Hanson, director of Let Lawrence Live. "You can count on us to make a hell of a lot of noise."

Baran, who traveled across the country last summer urging movement groups to use the film as an organizing tool, wants to hear a clamor from coast to coast. "I've been working full-time on getting the movement awakened to the movie," he says. "It's taken a long time. For four months I was a lone voice crying in the wilderness. People in the peace movement are ignorant about the media; they have no understanding of how it works and how to use it. They'd rather spend a quarter of a million dollars on a documentary that no one will see than grab the opportunity that *The Day After* presents." However, once ABC announced the November 20 air-date for

the film in September, Baran says, anti-nuclear groups began to get involved in the event.

Previews of the movie also contributed to a sudden increase in movement activity. "We heard about the movie last June, but it was only after seeing it that we began intense work and made it a top priority," says ESR's Susan Alexander. "*The Day After* is very powerful," says PSR's Abram Claude. "After seeing it, I realized that it makes what we're trying to say to the public much more real. It really gets to the heart of the matter."

However, Claude, Alexander, and a number of other organizers are concerned about the film's limitations—limitations that Baran freely admits.

"The movie is a passive-depressive experience and offers no sense of hope or idea about what you can do," Baran says. "That's why it's imperative for groups to relay the message that nuclear war is preventable. Groups should get representatives on talk shows the day after the movie. They should hit the newspapers and magazines. Get out there and tell the public what they can do."

#### AIRING DIFFERENCES

## Right After "The Day After"



"If conservatives have the sense God gave a jack-rabbit, they will get busy now on plans to lay down a counterbarrage." Thus spake William Rusher, publisher of the *National Review*, in a syndicated column appearing in 700 newspapers and magazines in mid-September. Charging that *The Day After* amounts to nothing less than Soviet propaganda, Rusher called on the Young Americans for Freedom, Phyllis Schlafly "and her troops," and several other mainstay right-wing organizations to get busy.

Rusher's rallying cry to the right garnered some immediate support. The *New York Post* ran a column celebrating the film's lack of advertising support followed by an editorial, based on Rusher's article, entitled "Why is ABC Doing Yuri Andropov's Job?" Conservative groups have mounted a campaign (that includes writing dissuasive letters to potential commercial sponsors of the film) countering what they see as a dangerous attack on deterrence.

"In airing *The Day After* ABC is fanning the flames of revolt," says Paul Dietrich, director of the Fund for a Conservative Majority in Washington, D.C. Dietrich believes that the film's political position—if only by omission—plays into the hands of the antinuclear movement.

"I know that ABC says the movie is not political," Dietrich says, "but indirectly it undermines our government and all our symbols of authority. It depicts the breakdown of a policy [deterrence] that has in fact kept us out of nuclear war for 38 years. It makes a liar out of every administration since World War II." And Dietrich contends that the network's decision to air the film just weeks before the planned deployment of the first American cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Europe is "an irresponsible ploy to exploit an explosive situation of international politics," adding that ABC is simply hoping to "cash in on all the controversy."

Dietrich, who in his organizing efforts has been in touch with the White House, veterans' groups, and other "responsible Americans," says he hopes ABC will give his side fair representation. His efforts, he says, will be focused on getting the right's point of view on the special ABC news program following the movie. Dietrich expects few problems; network executives have met with conservative leaders over lunch to arrange private previews of the film.

Robert Dolan, the national chairman of the Young Americans for Freedom, is busy organizing in Lawrence, Kansas, helped by a chapter of his group at the University of Kansas. Tentative plans have been made for a counter-vigil at the ABC affiliate in Kansas City, and Dolan intends to hold numerous press conferences. Laying down an effective counterbarrage, however, will not be easy because, as Paul Dietrich observes, "the other side is so much better funded and organized."

—Renata Rizzo

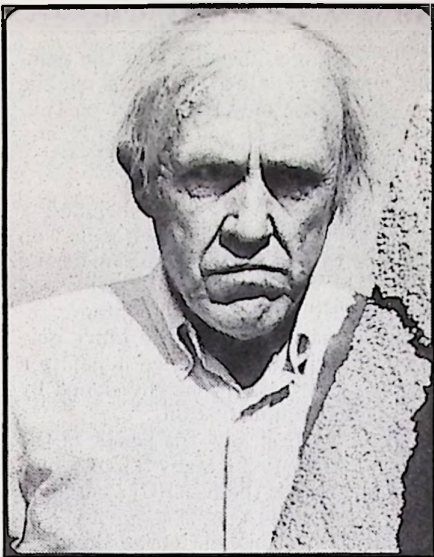
#### BEFORE THE DELUGE

That is precisely the premise of a project based in Emeryville, California, called *The Day Before*. Director Wendy Roberts, backed by 12 national organizations, has arranged community gatherings in over 100 locations throughout the United States for the Monday and Tuesday nights following the Sunday night movie to show people that nuclear war is preventable—if they work on it.

"Talking about nuclear fear is almost as taboo as talking about sex once was," Roberts observes. "*The Day After* provides us with an opportunity to break that taboo. We can finally begin to confront what we all know is out there."

The *Day Before* project is focusing on the mainstream. Field organizers throughout the United States have been instructed to make sure that non-activists comprise at least half of the participants at *Day Before* gatherings. "We're going after the mainstream people who love their kids, their lives, and their country, and who don't want to see it all blown up," says Roberts. *Day Before* gatherings are planned for YWCAs, garden clubs, churches, and, in one town in Virginia, the local firehouse. All of these people, Roberts says, must be shown that nuclear war is not inevitable. "After we deal with their responses to the film," Roberts says, "we want to get them active. We want them to take their heads out of the sand and do whatever they can do to help."

Janet Michaud, with the Campaign for



Robards: In a movement commercial?

Nuclear Disarmament in Washington, D.C., hopes to make that first step toward action as simple as picking up a phone. Michaud is finalizing plans to set up a toll-free "800" number anyone can call in the days and weeks following *The Day After*. Callers will then be hooked up to local peace groups and the national antinuclear movement. The number will be advertised in national and local newspapers, and on radio shows, television, and billboards.

But one Washington, D.C., activist already sees problems arising over this area of outreach strategy. "The movie is like a giant rally," he observes, "and we'll all be trying to get the people who come to the rally to join our group. Who gets first whack at the names for direct mail membership drives? There are, unfortunately, questions of turf here."

Michaud says that the names will be made available to any group that wants them. But, as one New York organizer points out, "If the list goes to everyone, we'll have chaos. If people start getting letters from four or five different groups, we could end up killing their good intentions with kindness."

Despite the problems raised by such an ambitious media campaign, Michaud believes that the effectiveness of the antinuclear effort depends on this project and others like it. "There is a lack of understanding and commitment to using serious media as outreach in the peace movement," Michaud says. "And there's good reason for it. Organizers are out in the trenches, and they *should* be there. But we've all got to understand that the union of the peace movement and the media is the perfect marriage." Of course, the chronic shortage of capital in the peace movement has severely limited its mass media outreach. That's why Jenny Rus-

sell of Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament in Arlington, Massachusetts, feels that *The Day After* (which cost the movement nothing to produce) is so important. "In order to make a difference, the disarmament movement has got to start talking numbers," Russell says, "and for numbers, TV is the way to go."

#### SAVING THE TITANIC

Not everyone is sure that they *want* to go with *The Day After*. Although the Lawyer's Alliance in Boston is arranging group viewings and working to get members on talk shows in the days following the film, Gail Gallessich, the group's director of public relations, has misgivings about it. "The movie does not address the fact that there are alternatives to the arms race," she explains. "There are no activist role models in the film. It is so negative that if we become overly associated with it, it may backfire on us."

Organizers from Educators for Social Responsibility are concerned about the movie's effect on children, and are recommending that no one under the age of 12 sees it; as Susan Alexander half-jokingly puts it, "They should be torn away from the TV and tied to their beds." (Some organizers, however, fear that if such protective impulses are overly publicized, this may unwittingly play into the hands of right-wing groups who are making the related—but broader—claim that the movie will terrify all Americans.)

Leslie Cagan of Mobilization for Survival in New York wonders how to get *The Day After* out of the context of despair and move it into the context of politics. But Josh Baran maintains that it is precisely the movement's job to charge the atmosphere around the movie and turn it into a political event. "We must be there to move people through the experience, catch them the day after *The Day After*," Baran says. "But we've got to stop futzing around here; this is not Never Never Land. We're on the Titanic, and we have to do all we can to break into the control room and turn the ship around. We can't wait around forever for the perfect movie," Baran adds. "We don't have the time."

Whatever the movie's failings, the fact remains that ABC has spent \$7 million on what amounts to a powerful indictment of nuclear weapons. Watching people die from radiation sickness can never be a pleasant experience, but when viewed in the context of responsible support groups, *The Day After* could prove to be a landmark political and educational event for the nation. As Jenny Russell said, after leaving a preview of the film, "I kept wondering, 'how can anyone be expected to watch this?' and yet knowing that this is one movie everyone *must* see."

—Renata Rizzo

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REJECT PENTAGON SCREEN PLAY

# Filmmakers Stick To Script



The Pentagon was almost as deeply involved in the buildup to the fictional *The Day After* as it is in real-life nuclear war planning.

Top military officials demanded script approval before they would allow the filmmakers to use government equipment or facilities. The filmmakers acceded to some demands, but two weeks before shooting began last fall in Lawrence, Kansas, cooperation with the Pentagon broke down. The Pentagon wanted a more positive vision of a postnuclear civil defense operation and a more malevolent portrayal of the Soviets.

Both producer Robert Papazian and di-

rector Nicholas Meyer initially sought out the Pentagon's expertise to improve the film's accuracy. They also showed staff experts at the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) several versions of the script, which were revised to include certain government suggestions about technical details and terminology.

But pressure from the Pentagon to make substantive changes intensified as the start of shooting approached. "Every time we changed the script they extended their requests," Meyer says. "For example, an agronomist comes to advise what's remaining of the community on postnuclear planting. Our information came out of a government pamphlet.

"The Pentagon insisted that the pamphlet was out of date and we must use the new one. But a new theory on postnuclear cultivation is not necessarily any more accurate than the one published a month before.

"At one point we even included a speech they suggested which called on everyone to pull together and make the best of the situation." (This scene was later cut.) Nevertheless the Pentagon remained dissatisfied with the film's portrayal of civil defense, since it paints a bleaker picture than that envisioned by the Reagan administration.

"When we first saw the script in the spring of '82 we found many things which would have made them [ABC] a laughing stock, so we made a list of suggested corrections," says Colonel Conrad Gonzales of the Pentagon's Directorate of Emergency Planning. "Then we took them on tours of Vandenberg and Whiteman missile bases in July. At the time the script was very, very fluid and constant changes were being made."

That summer ABC asked for permission to use the Forbes Field Air Force base in Kansas for certain scenes. "With the new request," says Gonzales, "we had to look at the script again because there would be questions about Defense Department cooperation. The script needed to give an accurate representation of the current policy of the NATO alliance and of the U.S. towards deployment and early warning. And at the time I saw the script it did not."

Meyer interpreted the Pentagon's comments as pressure to introduce political bias to the story. "Our ability to work with the Pentagon really began to break down as it became clear they wanted conditions which tended towards the idea that the Russians started the war," he says. "In the end we decided that we did not need the cooperation of the Pentagon that much. Rather than twisting ourselves into a pretzel, it was easier and cheaper to rent our own helicopter, paint it Air Force white and use stock footage."

FEMA spokesman Jim Holton, who saw two revised versions of the script a year ago, says that at that point it contained several technical inaccuracies and scenes that were included purely for visual effect. "Our scientists say several of the scenes could not happen—for instance, a telephone pole bursting into flames," Holton explains. Holton, however, admits that the whole subject of civil defense is "full of 'ifs'." And the government has produced many documents and pamphlets that are more definitively written than they deserve to be. Our experts are only experts to the extent that one can be about something that has

ACTING THE PART

## Preparing For The Final Scene



Lori Lethin is the young actress who suffers gruesome physical and emotional trauma as Denise Dahlberg, the 19-year-old bride-to-be in *The Day After*. Denise's marital plans are destroyed when a nuclear bomb hits Kansas City on her wedding day. Instead of marching down the aisle, Denise and the surviving members of her wealthy farming family take refuge in their basement after the bombs fall.

Wanting to maintain the basic naiveté of her character, who is totally involved in her wedding plans and her fiancé (who dies in the nuclear attack), Lethin avoided becoming very familiar with the consequences of nuclear fallout. However, she viewed documentary films and photographs of the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and read books provided for the cast by ABC. Lethin found it hard, she says, to capture "a certain look in the survivors' eyes. They were alive on the outside with their bodies functioning, but their eyes looked as though they were dead inside."

Playing Denise was physically taxing for Lethin, who underwent three hours of makeup each day to simulate the effects of radiation sickness. Lethin starts her decline looking like "death warmed over," as she puts it, with 40 percent of her hair gone and numerous sores and

burns. Her final makeup effect—bald, cracked lips, brown teeth, red-rimmed eyes and sores and burns everywhere—was so terrifying that small children would run away in horror when they saw her in costume on the street between scenes. Scaring the children was the most difficult thing for Lethin because she has a 17-month-old daughter herself.

The role and filming of the movie were marked by a constant sense of unreality, according to Lethin. "It was hard to watch some of the scenes I'd been in," she says, "I was barely able to see the final scene in which Steven Guttenberg [who joins the Dahlberg family in their base-



ment] is searching for me in this huge gym filled with thousands of survivors."

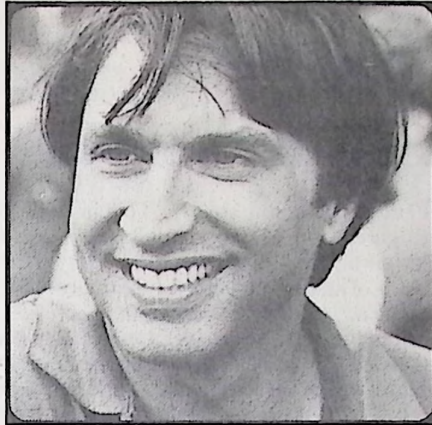
Lethin says that before filming began she was very much like the character she plays—"basically unaware" about nuclear issues. But after playing a nuclear victim, Lethin notes a definite change. "I'd do anything I could," she says, "to help enlighten people about the threat of nuclear war."

—Gina Lobaco

never happened."

A six-month delay in the screening of the film—it was originally slated to be aired last spring—and subsequent editing, which reduced its length by one hour, sparked allegations in the press that the network was bowing to censorship pressure from the Reagan administration. Meyer and Papazian deny the rumors. *The Day After*, Meyer explains, was originally written and shot to be shown over two nights with many commercial breaks. Meyer, who did most of the editing, says the network originally wanted the longer version to allow for 30 minutes of commercials. "They told me they couldn't afford to lose too much on this movie," Meyer explains, "so the padded version was prepared to accommodate the advertising. When ABC's New York executives saw it they decided a tighter format would make for a better film. Then we spent all summer taking it apart." Now the film will be shown with all commercial breaks occurring in the first half, before the Bomb explodes. Concerning the "censorship" issue Meyer now says: "All I know is that ABC wants it to get more press than *The Winds of War*."

Although Meyer was satisfied with the film (as of late-September), he was still worried that ABC might make changes in the final weeks of editing. One of the



**Meyer: Resisting pressure for changes**

more shocking scenes has already been cut, he says, following criticisms by a child psychologist who judged the episode to be too disturbing.

But the man who wrote the script, Edward Hume, sees no softening of the film in its depiction of the hopelessness of surviving a nuclear strike. When ABC first approached him with an idea about a movie on nuclear war, "they did not have any hard notions about the scenario," Hume says. "They just wanted to deal seriously with the issue. They wanted to show what might happen if this country were hit." When asked how ABC origi-

nally framed the proposal for the movie, Hume recalls, "Their major concern was that it should not alienate any segment of the population. But that is not to say that I do not want this film to have a political impact."

After doing research for the script, Hume concluded that there was "no effective way to deal with the consequences of a nuclear strike. The people at FEMA are pretty confused about the whole thing themselves as far as I can see."

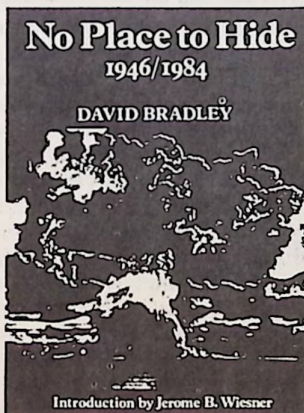
What political message will viewers receive from this film? "Many people will draw different political conclusions," Hume says. "This film is a mirror and people will see what they want in it." And Meyer adds, "It doesn't advocate any particular position; it just shows in pictures that nuclear war is horrible."

Asked if he viewed the timing of the screening as ironic, coming just a few weeks before the deployment of Pershing 2 missiles in West Germany, Meyer said, "The timing would always be ironic because there's always some new issue or development emerging in the nuclear arena, and that's been the case ever since Hiroshima."

—Judith Dudley

Judith Dudley is a Washington correspondent for the Center for Investigative Reporting.

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## THE REAL DAY AFTER

# Film Rebutts Postwar Visions



It certainly isn't intended to be, but *The Day After* can be viewed as a dramatic argument in favor of the civil defense planning now limping along at the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA). Central to that planning is crisis relocation. "There is nothing quite so helpful," FEMA explains, "as being, say, 10 miles or more away from a nuclear weapon when it goes off." Gazing upon *The Day After's* representation of Kansas City after the Bomb, the viewer might well agree.

The prewar crisis that unfolds in the film is both extended and threatening, yet crisis relocation is never ordered. Early on, Dr. Russell Oakes (Jason Robards) and his wife discuss some neighbors who, on their own initiative, have decamped to Guadalajara with their dog and Vietnamese maid. The Oakeses have a good laugh about this. Better they should have gone to Guadalajara.

When nuclear attack finally appears imminent, there is a chaotic *spontaneous* evacuation of Kansas City, which presents another argument for crisis relocation planning. If people are going to evacuate anyway, why not have a plan to smooth things along? (The film's evacuation is marked by accidents and traffic jams but remains curiously orderly in one regard: The interstate highway out of Kansas City is all jammed up on the outbound side, but nobody is traveling in the inbound lanes. Surely, in the face of imminent death, people would drive on the wrong side of the median.)

The argument against crisis relocation, of course, is that, in the long run, it will do you no good. If you don't die now, the argument goes, you will die later. If the Bomb doesn't get you in Kansas City, then the fallout will get you in Podunk, or the famine will, or the epidemic will, or the looters will, or the ozone depletion will. This is apparently the view of the film's director, Nicholas Meyer, who has said, "Not everyone dies on camera, but the clear implication is that no one, not even Jason Robards, is going to survive."

But the film indicates otherwise.

Jason Robards clearly is on his last legs at film's end, but he has by that time survived for weeks, laboring heroically at a Kansas hospital that must be downwind of a considerable number of detonations. We are told at one point early on that fallout in the area is emitting 50 rads an

hour and holding steady. This is enough to give almost anyone out in the open a lethal dose in less than half a day. The walls of an ordinary hospital (or any other building) offer some radiation protection, but not enough to enable Robards and his colleagues to work for *weeks* with no visible ill effects except exhaustion and hair loss. Yet they do. And Robards' colleagues, so far as we know, never even get sick. (Nor do they get hungry. Even FEMA realizes that food distribution will be difficult after a nuclear war, but Robards' hospital seems to have plenty.)

A somewhat more realistic survival story is that of farmer Jim Dahlberg and his family. The Dahlbergs, who also seem to escape radiation sickness, are at least shown to have taken shelter in their basement. Their continued good health ascribes more protection to that shelter than an ordinary basement would actually afford. But it does reflect the idea—often emphasized by FEMA—that people inside shelters will be better off than people outside them.



Life After Wartime: How close to reality?

The only Dahlberg to get sick is their eldest daughter, who runs outside in a fit of panic and stumbles around for a while in a fallout-laden field (where she trips over a dead cow) before being hauled back inside. The daughter later falls fatally ill, an unlikely consequence of a few minutes exposure, considering the good health of the rest of the family.

Like all the film's radiation victims she proceeds toward death rather decorously. She bleeds some and loses lots of hair (hair loss is the film's dominant vis-

ual motif) but she—and we viewers—are spared the vomiting and seizures that are also symptoms of fatal radiation sickness.

As for farmer Dahlberg, he stays healthy to the end—when he is shot by a refugee. And here the film is very convincing. The picture it paints of postattack social disintegration—food riots, looters, firing squads—seems an inevitable consequence of massive nuclear war. And the film's nuclear war is massive. We witness the launching of what appear to be every Minuteman missile at Whiteman Air Force Base (east of Kansas City) *before* any Soviet weapons have arrived. This indicates, an airman explains, either that the United States has struck first or that it has launched under attack. Either way, the war is all-out. *The Day After* has simply—and wisely—ignored all the popular think-tank scenarios for limited strategic nuclear war.

It has ignored, as well, the elaborate federal plans for postattack recovery. The only appearance in the film of federal planners or plans is at a meeting between Missouri farmers and representatives of the "National Emergency Reconstruction Administration" (apparently modeled on the Office of Defense Resources, which is supposed to supplant FEMA after a nuclear war). The government men advise the farmers to decontaminate their fields and plant ultraviolet-resistant crops (to resist the extra ultraviolet radiation that will be reaching the earth as a result of the atmospheric ozone depletion that may be caused by nuclear explosions). The farmers, surly and depressed, deride the questionable advice.

FEMA's rosier vision of the postattack United States, where life-affirming survivors will pick themselves up, brush themselves off, and pitch in to rebuild the country—"We are counting on you. . . to rebuild this great nation of ours," the film's president implores in an emergency radio broadcast—is shattered by *The Day After*. Nobody seems to be in that kind of mood, and for good reason.

But not everyone is dead, and not everyone is dying. It seems that life will go on, albeit miserably. And so the film rebuts not only the postattack optimists but also the nuclear doomsayers, who predict nothing but death for the postnuclear war world. The film makes a stronger point: Nuclear war need not be the end of the world to be the worst thing in the world. —Edward Zuckerman

*Edward Zuckerman's book, The Day After World War III, which describes government plans for surviving and rebuilding after nuclear war, will be published next spring by Viking.*

BY ROBERT FRIEDMAN

# A Movie Without Sequel



A few years ago, long before there was talk of a freeze in the air, I visited the factory outside Amarillo, Texas, where all of this country's nuclear weapons are assembled. Driving around the perimeter of the vast reservation known as Pantex, past the concrete "igloos" where the lethal weapons are stored, I was struck by the serenity of the scene. Farmers across the road were busy harvesting their winter wheat, and inside the restricted area itself cattle grazed contentedly. The temperature dropped 60 degrees that day, but the chill that came over me had nothing to do with the sudden change in weather.

I had a similarly eerie feeling while watching the opening montage of *The Day After*. The movie begins with shots of a railroad track running through golden fields, the stockyards at dawn, an empty stadium, a milk bottling plant—everything just as peaceful as a Hallmark card, and all of it, as we are warned in a parental advisory at the outset, about to be obliterated. For tucked away in the cornfields of eastern Kansas, literally in farmers' backyards, are dozens of missile silos, each of them targeted by Soviet warheads.

There is something inherently melodramatic and emotionally manipulative about this kind of movie making; it's like watching the *Jaws* of war. The characterizations are never very deep, only the terror is. Instead of showing children frolicking in the waves, unaware of the danger lurking below, we have children playing in the yard, unaware of what lies buried under the topsoil beyond the fence. The suspense is not whether the missiles will go off, but when—and just how bad the damage will be.

Waiting for the Bomb to drop is almost as painful as watching what happens next. For the first 45 minutes, *The Day After* is as flat and corny as the midwestern landscape. Each of the characters is introduced, soap-opera style: there's the distinguished heart surgeon (Jason Robards) whose daughter is leaving home; the farmer (John Cullum) whose oldest girl is getting married; the pregnant woman (Amy Madigan) who's about to give birth; the student (Steven Guttenberg) who's registering for classes at the state university. In the background, as

these individual dramas unfold, is news of rising international tensions.

At first, no one seems to pay much attention to the images on television, the voices on the radio, or the headlines in the newspaper, but the frightening reality of events far from home slowly seeps in. In response to NATO deployment of Pershing and cruise missiles, the Soviet Union has begun to build up tank divisions along the Elbe River in East Germany. Although ABC officials, sensitive to charges that the network is playing



The farm family: Waiting for the Bomb

nuclear politics, have stated that the sequence of events leading up to war is intentionally vague—"I feel satisfied that there is enough ambiguity about who pressed the button first," Alfred Schneider, ABC vice president of broadcast standards, told *The New York Times*—in fact, it is the United States, or NATO as the case may be, that uses nuclear weapons first, detonating three atomic warheads over Soviet troops invading West Germany. (Screenwriter Edward Hume's scenario, though purely imaginary, is faithful here to the U.S. policy of "flexible response," which permits the use of nuclear weapons in retaliation against a conventional ground attack by the Soviet Union.)

What is unclear is which side launches its *intercontinental* missiles first. When, about 45 minutes into the film, we see the flash of a rocket reflected in a bedroom mirror, and then watch as half a dozen Minuteman missiles arc over Kansas City, we don't know whether the United States has ordered a preemptive first strike or is responding to a Soviet attack already underway. In either case, as an airman says, deserting his post at a local missile base, "The war is over."

The movie, however, is just beginning. From the moment the first mushroom cloud appears over the Kansas City skyline, *The Day After* is transformed from

an inert mess into a gripping, relentless drama of human suffering. It is as if the film itself suddenly began to glow. For several minutes, we witness scenes of people being vaporized, of buildings being engulfed by firestorms, of houses and bridges collapsing under the pressure of the blast. Then the screen fades to an iridescent blue, and, after what seems like a prolonged silence, *The Day After* picks up the story of the survivors. For them, the future is unrelievedly grim. The farmer who takes refuge with his family in a basement fallout shelter, the airman who wanders the countryside foraging for candy bars, the heart surgeon who valiantly tries to comfort the wounded, all meet the same fate in the end. If radiation sickness doesn't get them, starvation, despair, or the breakdown of social order surely will. Only the cries of the pregnant woman's newborn baby offer a ray of hope—until we realize what kind of world it's being born into.

This is television of a kind rarely seen by American audiences, conditioned as we are to happy endings. Graphic depictions of the effects of nuclear war have long been taboo on network television, and ABC deserves a great deal of credit for producing this film and broadcasting it in the face of considerable opposition.

To assure some measure of "balance," ABC will air a one-hour panel discussion, moderated by Ted Koppel, immediately after the broadcast. And it has included books by Henry Kissinger, Edward Teller, and Herman Kahn, among others, on a recommended reading list that follows the movie's credits. But the sentiments of the filmmakers, and of the network, remain clear. After the final scene, in which a dying Jason Robards returns to the site of his home in Kansas City and embraces another dying man camped out in what was once his living room—a last, feeble gesture of humanity in a world soon to be devoid of humanity—the following message crawls up the screen: "The catastrophic events you have just witnessed are in all likelihood less severe than what would actually occur in the event of a full nuclear strike against the United States. It is hoped that the images of this film will inspire the nations of this Earth, their peoples and leaders, to find the means to avert the fateful day."

When was the last time a made-for-television movie said anything like that? □

# The Movement Strikes Back

**A**n F-15 jet fighter flying at an altitude of 60,000 feet launches an 18-foot-long missile. Traveling at a speed of eight miles per second, the missile, guided by a miniature homing vehicle (MHV), heads straight for its target—an orbiting satellite—and rams into it, obliterating the satellite.

This anti-satellite (ASAT) weapon is only one component of President Reagan's grand Star Wars scheme—which includes nuclear and conventional weapons—announced last spring. (See *Washington Report*, p.25.) But the ASAT is the space weapon perhaps closest to an operational capacity—much closer than any of the particle beam or laser weapons heralded by Reagan (and still mostly confined to the research and development stages).

The first flight test of the MHV was originally scheduled for August and then postponed at least two months by the Air Force. But no exact date was announced; the ASAT program is highly classified and shrouded in secrecy. And as some ASAT opponents note, it is a bold step that may launch a U.S.-Soviet arms race in space.

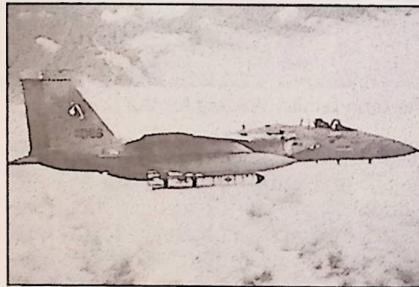
In August Soviet President Yuri Andropov called on the United States to negotiate a ban on ASATs and presented a draft treaty to the United Nations. After announcing it would "study carefully any Soviet proposal," the Reagan administration then rejected Andropov's offer out of hand. Administration officials noted that Andropov's offer indicated Soviet concern that the United States is ahead in ASAT technology.

Though the antinuclear weapons movement has its hands full with the MX missile, the Euromissiles, and the freeze, several organizations and activists, as well as some members of Congress, have been campaigning against the start-up of an arms race in space. Most of this opposition has focused on the new MHV system, which, according to John Pike, staff assistant for space policy at Federation of American Scientists (FAS), could become operational as early as 1985.

But opposition to this ASAT has yet to find a broad base and is primarily limited to technically oriented groups, such as the Union of Concerned Scientists, Center for Defense Information and FAS. "Grass-roots involvement and concern is

lacking," says congressional aide Jim McGovern. "This is not catching on as much as we would like."

McGovern's boss, Representative Joe Moakley, is one of the leaders of the fight in Congress against space weapons. With Senator Paul Tsongas, Moakley successfully backed a measure (that was attached to the 1984 defense authorization bill) which requires the president to certify to Congress that the administration is trying in good faith to negotiate a ban on ASATs and that the ASAT test is "necessary to avert clear and irrevocable harm to the national security." Such a measure probably will not stop the test, but ASAT watchers point out that, at least, it applies some pressure on the administration.



**F-15 with ASAT underneath:  
A bold step toward a new arms race?**

Moakley has also been pushing a House resolution which calls for a negotiated ban on all space weapons. The bill has 124 cosponsors, and McGovern expects it to reach the House floor by the end of this session. He believes that the resolution has a fair chance of succeeding: "Not too many on the House side feel it is wise to expand the arms race into space. They first want to enter negotiations."

Several other anti-space weapons legislative fronts are also being opened. The 1984 defense appropriations bill will contain a request for \$19.4 million for parts for an operational ASAT, and this is expected to draw some opposition. Also, Senators Larry Pressler and Tsongas have backed a bill calling for an ASAT testing moratorium, resumption of U.S.-Soviet ASAT negotiations, and further development of the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty.

But ASATs are not the only concern of those worried about expanding the arms race into space. The Reagan administra-

tion's 1984 defense authorization requests for space weaponry, according to FAS, totaled \$2.7 billion (eventually knocked down to \$2.4 billion by Congress) for a potpourri of systems. The Pentagon, according to published reports, is accelerating its laser and particle-beam weapons programs. (Last summer the Air Force successfully tested a high-energy laser, mounted to an aircraft, that was able to shoot down missiles traveling nearly 2000 miles per hour.)

It's been hard for space weapon opponents to keep up with the Pentagon's expanding program. One problem has been visibility. "Three years ago we couldn't give this stuff away," comments Pike, referring to materials on space weaponry. "Now slowly but surely people on the Hill and within organizations are coming to grips with the subject and recognizing it as a crucial issue." As an example, he points to the Space Policy Working Group, a loose coalition of congressional staffers and representatives of arms control and religious organizations, which meets weekly on Capitol Hill. Across the country, the San Francisco-based Progressive Space Forum is trying to turn space weapons into a grass-roots issue, while promoting the peaceful use of space technology. According to the Forum's Jim Heaphy, its membership is small but includes activists in both "pro-space" and antinuclear organizations. And the Center for Defense Information, FAS and the Union of Concerned Scientists have all prepared reports criticizing the ASAT program. UCS is now embarking on a study of the long-range consequences of an ABM space race.

Nevertheless, space weapons still remain a secondary issue for many within the antinuclear movement. "But the general perception," Pike says, "is that in the next year this will be seen as increasingly important." Moakley aide Jim McGovern agrees. "This is a unique moment in history," he explains. "We can stop an arms race in space or let it go. Now we look back at the decision to MIRV [put multiple warheads on] our missiles and say 'If only we had done things differently.' There's not yet too much of a sense of urgency on this. If this doesn't change, five years from now we'll say, 'Where was everyone five years ago?'"

—David Corn



# Cambridge Strikes Up The Ban

**W**hen voters in Cambridge, Massachusetts, go to the polls on November 8, the election of the city council and school committee will take back seat to a referendum that has sparked nationwide interest and galvanized opinion in this university-dominated city of 95,000 across the Charles River from Boston.

Titled the Nuclear Free Cambridge Act, the binding referendum, if passed, would declare the city a nuclear free zone and ban research on, and development of, nuclear weapons within city limits. Cambridge voters approved a similar, but nonbinding, referendum in 1981. What has inspired stiff opposition from local Defense Department contractors this time around are the enforcement provisions of the act, which call for up to a \$5000 fine and a 60-day jail sentence for every day of noncompliance.

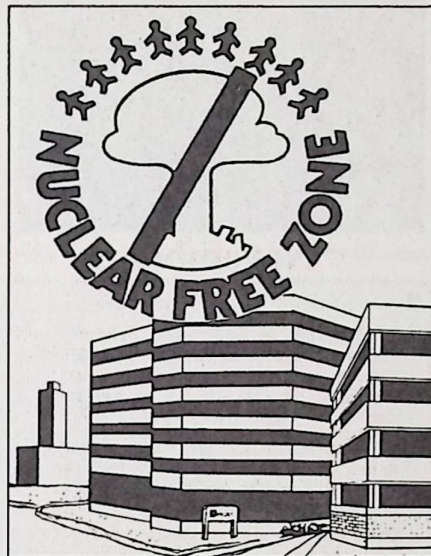
The Cambridge campaign has "thrown the whole nuclear free zone [NFZ] issue out in the open and given it a national stage," says Albert Donnay of Nuclear Free America in Baltimore, Maryland, a national clearinghouse for NFZ activity. "It's Act I, Scene 1 of our movement. There's a question of how far municipalities can go—Cambridge will help show us how far."

The NFZ forces, however, face an uphill battle: Local law requires that the referendum will have to win two-thirds of the votes cast on November 8—and the total "yes" votes must represent at least one-third of all registered voters in the city.

## THE TALK OF THE TOWN

While similar initiatives have been instituted in at least 25 cities and towns in the United States, the Cambridge campaign is the first with a fighting chance in an area where weapons research or production is carried out. A similar proposal was defeated last year in Santa Cruz County, California, where weapons manufacturers outspent free zone backers by 10 to one.

Should the Cambridge proposal pass, the fight is expected to continue in court (see sidebar, p.19). The Cambridge campaign was not even assured of an official airing until the city council voted on September 19 to place the question on the ballot. The vote overturned an earlier council decision and ended three months of challenges before the state Election Commission and state Supreme Judicial Court.



This battle has pitted Mobilization for Survival and other local disarmament activists, neighborhood groups, and religious leaders against the Charles Stark Draper Laboratory (the leading local weapons contractor), *The Boston Globe*, some university professors, and a Draper-initiated coalition, Citizens Against Research Bans (CARB). CARB represents many local businesses and individuals—including the Chamber of Commerce and former president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Jerome Wiesner—and is reportedly raising money nationwide to defeat the NFZ measure.

The intensity of this struggle has brought the disarmament issue and the nuclear free zone strategy to the evening news and talk shows in the Boston area with such regularity that NFZ organizer Eric Segal of Mobilization for Survival (MFS) says he is pleased with the free publicity. Segal comments, "Everybody in the area knows about the campaign. I just hope the question of ballot access didn't detract from the real issue—what Draper does and how people feel about weapons work in their backyard."

One wild card in the Cambridge vote is the freeze vote: Which way will it go? Some freeze activists are wary of the NFZ strategy because it does not reflect bilateral concerns. Although Randall Forsberg and some other national and local freeze leaders have endorsed the Cambridge NFZ proposal, many pro-freeze groups in the Boston area have not taken part in the campaign. "We have a rather conservative constituency," says



**Protesters play dead at Draper Lab, target of the Nuclear Free Zone push**

Abram Claude of Physicians for Social Responsibility. "Nuclear free zones are a very interesting idea, but we feel it's necessary to concentrate on bilateral questions, such as a test ban and the freeze." But MFS's Segal believes that the "net result of the initiative would be very close to the objectives of the freeze—slowing down production of a new generation of weapons."

## ENTERING THE TWILIGHT "ZONE"

There are an estimated 65 military contractors in Cambridge, but only about half a dozen work on nuclear weapons. Millions of dollars in military research is carried out by Harvard University and MIT, but purportedly none of it is related to nuclear weapons. By far the largest local nuclear contractor is Draper Lab, the recipient of over \$140 million in Defense Department contracts—an estimated 85 percent of which goes for work on guidance systems for the Trident II, cruise and MX missiles.

According to Albert Donnay of Nuclear Free America, Draper has adopted the same strategy the Lockheed Corporation used during the 1982 NFZ campaign in Santa Cruz. Lockheed reportedly spent \$150,000 to defeat the referendum (63 to 37 percent), with a

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## November

6

1945—HUAC begins an investigation of seven radio commentators. HUAC spokesperson: "The time has come to determine how far you can go with free speech."

1968—At an RMN victory party, advance man J. Roy Goodearle: "Why don't we get all the members of the press and beat them up? I'm tired of being nice to them."

1976—Disclosure of Operation Shamrock: since 1947, RCA Global, ITT World and Western Union International have made international telegraph traffic available to the NSA.

## • NATIONAL •

good deal of it going for door-to-door canvassing and public opinion polls. During the campaign Lockheed threatened to pull its \$11 million payroll out of the area if the referendum was adopted, according to Donnay.

Taking a cue from Lockheed, CARB has hired, at great expense, a number of local polling firms that have inundated Cambridge residents with telephone calls. Their questions subtly support the message on CARB leaflets, which call the referendum "a direct attack" on local employees. CARB asks residents to vote *no* on the initiative in order to keep from making into criminals "those who do scientific research in the Nation's service"; to "prevent the loss of thousands of existing jobs"; and to "save our constitutional freedoms of speech and inquiry." Draper contends that it pays about \$625,000 in local real estate taxes, employs 1800 people, and contributes at least \$10 million to the local economy.

Eric Segal complains that in raising the jobs and economic issues Draper is trying "to keep attention away from the issues of nuclear war as a strategy, Draper's role in the arms race, and production of first strike weapons." Some jobs will be lost if the referendum passes (and is enforced), Segal admits, but he claims that the laboratory employs far fewer people per dollar spent than any other major Cambridge company. The NFZ campaign also charges that Draper, because of its nonprofit status, contributes less than 1 percent of the city's tax revenue, and that only 10 percent of its employees are residents of Cambridge.

Loss of jobs could be minimal, since provisions of the Nuclear Free Act call for conversion of the lab's military work to peaceful projects by October 1, 1985, to be supervised by the city's recently formed Peace Commission. Draper vice president Joseph O'Connor recently admitted that "the ability to do a lot of other things is here, and we in fact do a lot of other things." Segal says, "Those jobs could be saved, but what's most likely is that Draper will follow the easy money."

### ANTINUCLEAR COPS

The issue of "academic freedom" has also entered the campaign. The referendum would give city officials authority to review the academic pursuits of faculty members to determine whether the "primary purpose" of their research conforms to the goals of the ordinance. Originally a part of MIT, Draper severed this connection in 1972 after massive community and academic protests during the Vietnam War. But many students and faculty still work at the lab and they have been joined by the liberal *Boston Globe* in

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opposing the NFZ proposal. (The *Globe* denounced the referendum in an editorial titled, "Nuking Academic Freedom.")

In a recent radio debate on the referendum, Edward Sullivan, business manager of Local 254 of the Service Employees International Union, raised yet another issue in decrying that section of the act that would empower local citizens to help enforce the ban on weapons research. "Every citizen in Cambridge," Sullivan said, "would be an antinuclear policeman and if that doesn't set up the closest thing to a fascist secret police, I don't know what does."

Draper promises a legal challenge to the constitutionality of the act that may go to the U.S. Supreme Court if the ini-

tiative wins at the polls on November 8. "We are carrying out national policy," says Draper attorney Laura Carroll. "We do not feel a city can decide it doesn't like that policy."

Regardless of a final court ruling, nuclear free zone activists say that it is important for the city of Cambridge to go on record as refusing to cooperate in the arms race. Donnay says that the strength of the NFZ strategy is that it involves the whole community "and makes people realize what's at stake. It brings the arms race home. As the reaction by Lockheed, and now Draper, shows, the arms-makers take their nuclear weapons business very seriously—and that's the point."  
—John Demeter

### THE NUCLEAR BAN

## Will It Play In Court?

**N**o one really knows if a city has the power to prevent nuclear weapons research and construction within its borders. Kenneth Cohen, an attorney for Cambridge's Charles Stark Draper Laboratory, contests the validity of the Nuclear Free Cambridge Act. According to Cohen, the act violates First Amendment guarantees of free speech because, in addition to physical work, it would prohibit theoretical, written research. If enforced to an extreme degree, such an act would impose a highly abnormal zoning regulation that would in effect prohibit thinking about a subject within a given region.

Cohen also claims that because the act deals with nuclear safety and because its "purpose is to influence debate on defense and foreign policy," it is trampling on congressional turf.

But Mark Cogan, a member of the Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy who helped research and draft the act, argues that the act's prohibition of research does not constitute a restriction of free expression because it would never be enforced to limit pure First Amendment rights. "Any law," Cogan says, "if stretched far enough in enforcement terms could violate the Constitution." He stresses that legal turf is the real issue. "If Congress were to pass a law," Cogan says, "which said that no city or state can regulate nuclear weapons issues, then the Cambridge act would be clearly illegal." But since Congress has not passed such a law the question becomes: Do any existing federal laws preempt a locality's right to make this kind of restriction? And that is where national defense and safety issues come into play.

Cogan says the act was drafted in a

way designed to undercut the defense issue. The act gives seven reasons why Cambridge residents object to the presence of nuclear weapons facilities. None of those reasons has anything to do with the current debate on foreign policy and nuclear arms, a debate that is clearly national. Instead the rationale concentrates on what is traditionally considered the domain of the city—the safety and health of its citizens.

Unfortunately for the drafters of the act, their emphasis on safety, designed to make the act more viable, may be the very reason the law will be shot down in court. An April 20, 1983, U.S. Supreme Court decision upholding a California moratorium on the construction of nuclear power plants ruled that localities could regulate "matters nuclear," a significant victory for antinuclear forces, but could not regulate nuclear safety issues because Congress had made nuclear safety an area of unique national concern.

The analogy between the recent California case and the Cambridge act is far from exact because the Cambridge regulation deals with nuclear weapons and not nuclear power. But the nuclear ban faces other obstacles. In addition to its possible First Amendment problems, a ban on research may also run counter to the purposes of the Atomic Energy Act, which calls for the "continued conduct of research and development" of nuclear technology for peaceful and military purposes.

Any local "action must be invalidated," Laurence Tribe writes in his highly regarded textbook on constitutional law, "if its effect is to discourage conduct that federal action seeks to encourage." That may not leave much room for a local ban on nuclear weapons research anywhere. But the final word on the legality of the issue will have to wait until the last gavel has sounded because, as Cogan puts it, "no one can predict the courts' decision."  
—Douglas Lavin

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# Cruise Crews Train In Desert

Amid the cactus, scrub, and tumbleweed of Arizona, special groups of Air Force personnel are being trained. Since early this year, the Davis-Monthan Air Force Base, bordering Tucson, has been the training center for the Air Force's 868th Tactical Missile Training Squadron—the crews who will operate the ground-launched cruise missiles (GLCMs) slated for deployment in Europe. Here teams responsible for the launch, maintenance, and security of the highly mobile missiles are preparing for their overseas assignments.



As crews train, activists pitch camp

The Air Force expects about 450 "students." Air Force personnel (many who volunteer for the assignment), to complete the training course each year at Davis-Monthan. (Deployment in five European countries of the 464 cruise missiles and 108 Pershing 2s is expected to begin in December and be completed in up to five years.) The recently formed 868th Tactical Missile Training Squadron has received so many volunteers that its squad is now an elite group. Its members all boast previous missile experience. Its first class graduated from the program last April. During the summer, most of the 47 graduates (both men and women) reported for duty at the cruise missile base at Greenham Common in England.

## STUCK INSIDE A MOBILE

At Davis-Monthan, the GLCM training center is based in a newly constructed (at the cost of \$10 million) two-story building at the edge of an abandoned runway, somewhat isolated from the other buildings on the base. Inside, the atmosphere is clean, efficient, and secretive. All but a conference room, a classroom, and a launch simulator are off-limits to visitors. But guests can get a look at a

transporter erector launcher, otherwise known as a TEL. A TEL is a 55-foot-long tractor-trailer rig that weighs nearly 80,000 pounds. Its launcher assembly occupies the back half of the flatbed, which is hydraulically raised at a 45-degree angle to expose four missile tubes.

In a cruise missile unit, or "flight," the TELs work in tandem with larger vehicles known as launch control centers (LCCs). These LCCs serve as mobile battlefield command posts, with two LCCs, four TELs, several security vehicles, and 69 crew members making up a single flight. So that they blend into Western Europe's forested terrain, the TELs and LCCs are coated with "lizard skin" paint, the military's camouflage green. In Europe, the TELs and LCCs will be stored in 12,000 square-foot concrete and dirt bunkers, which are "hardened" against conventional attack. It is in the LCCs that officers will wait for the instructions to fire the 21-foot-long cruise missiles.

Toward the south and east of Davis-Monthan, TELs and LCCs rumble at speeds of up to 60 miles an hour through the desert in what are called "dispersal exercises." During these maneuvers, an alert is simulated, and flights scramble into the desert to set up for launch. Upon receiving a launch order, the officers in the LCCs—there are two in each, sitting 12 feet apart—must simultaneously press separate green buttons which say "EXEC," meaning "execute." Captain Alan Blackburn, a launch instructor, notes that one of his most important jobs is to design dispersal scenarios for his students. The simulations add such twists as breakdowns in normal communications to instill flexible reactions needed for the unpredictable events of real battle.

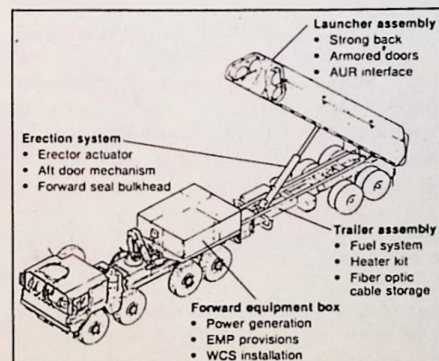
As the students' performances are carefully examined, so are their attitudes monitored under a "Human Reliability Program." Members of the future cruise crews are under constant scrutiny by their peers and commander for any signs of psychological disorders, explains Blackburn.

## OUTSIDE THE GATES

These "missile masters," as they are known, have to withstand the psychological stress that comes with the responsibility for handling missiles bearing the explosive equivalent of 15 Hiroshima blasts. They also have to cope with some

pressure from local peace activists. Each morning many of the members of the 868th squadron must drive past a small peace camp pitched near the gates of Davis-Monthan. Since June the peace campers have tried to raise Tucson's collective consciousness about the dangers posed by the cruise missile, according to Rhea Miller, the 33-year-old spokeswoman for the camp. "It's been a real struggle, for there's a lot of distrust of the peace movement," says Miller, who works for a Catholic agency that helps feed the poor. The Soviets' downing of the South Korean airliner and the "wave of anti-Soviet hysteria generated by the incident" has further hindered the camp's educational task, Miller adds.

The peace camp, home for nine activists and the rallying point on occasion for up to 100 others, has twice been the scene of nonviolent confrontations with federal officers. On September 3 Miller and two colleagues were arrested for trespassing on a military installation, but the U.S. attorney has since dismissed the charges. Camp members have vowed to stay at a location near the entrance to the base, but off federal land, until December when the first cruise missiles are to be deployed.



The cruise missile controversy has not gone unnoticed by members of the 868th Tactical Missile Training Squadron. Captain John Schutt, 32, a launch instructor for the 868th, says he is well aware of the weapon's "political ramifications." The controversy, he adds, "does make things a little more interesting" at Davis-Monthan. Schutt maintains that the peace camp has had no effect on him or the morale of the students. "Most of us feel we're doing a job that needs to be done," he adds.

Schutt became a missile procedures trainer at Davis-Monthan in May. He

was attracted to the assignment, he explains, because "next to flying, this is one of the few operational jobs open to officers." (His poor eyesight prevented him from becoming a pilot.) Others, especially some of the students, were drawn to the program by the prospect of a posting in Europe. Captain Blackburn, who transferred to the 868th in May from a Minuteman missile wing in Missouri, explains that unlike at his old job, he now stands a good chance of drawing an overseas assignment as a member of a cruise missile wing. "It's a new system, and I thought this was a good time to get in on it," he says. Unfortunately for the members of the 868th, the House of Representatives last summer cut funds to build housing for the dependents of the missile teams based in Europe, so family members will have to stay behind. (The House also cut funds for a bowling alley at the Greenham Common base.)

Those participating in the training course at Davis-Monthan all appear proud to be a part of a new missile program. The cruise missile is so advanced and the Soviet Union is so wary of the weapon, Blackburn says, that the missile "may help prevent a nuclear war because the Soviets realize they can't defend themselves against it."

Rhea Miller and fellow peace campers, who represent such local groups as Nuclear Free State and Casa Maria, a Catholic organization, disagree, but they have had trouble bringing home their point in Tucson. Although greater Tucson is represented in Congress by two liberal Democrats—Morris Udall and James McNulty—and has a reputation for being more liberal than the rest of the state, Miller observes that Tucsonans do not seem particularly alarmed about the missile training sessions. That's not surprising, considering residents here lived inside the ring of 18 Titan II intercontinental missiles since the early 1960s. Half have already been deactivated, and all will be gone by 1984, as the Pentagon scraps the antiquated missiles. But Miller maintains that their presence has calloused Tucsonans to the nuclear threat.

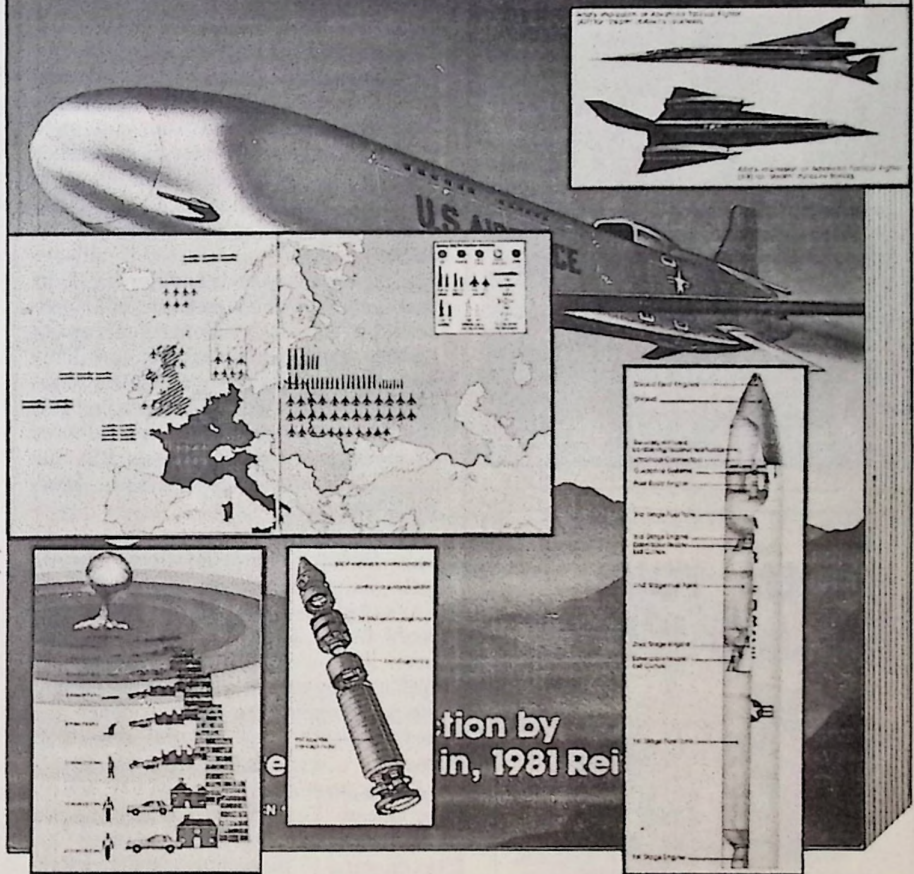
Like other peace camps in the United States, the one set up outside Davis-Monthan has, at the very least, caused some local residents to address the cruise missile issue. And the cruise missile training program has prompted some debate within the local media. Nevertheless, it has not been enough for Miller. "The people in Tucson," she observes, "haven't taken responsibility for the fact that the battle is being fought right here."

—Edmund Lawler

Edmund Lawler is a reporter for the Arizona Daily Star.

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Compiled by Christopher Chant & Ian Hogg




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# Round-Up

## Peace Academy Vote Due

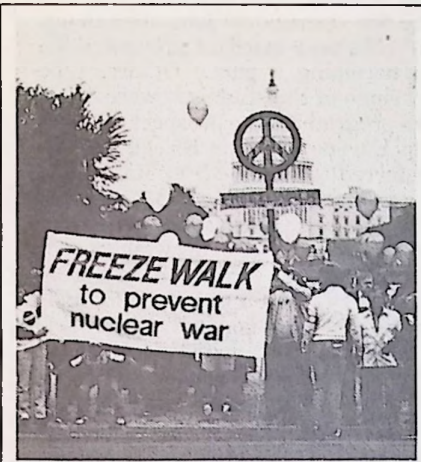
■ Some time in November the Senate is expected to vote on a bill to set up a national Academy of Peace. This federally funded educational institution will teach graduate and mid-career courses in peace studies and "conflict resolution," conduct research, and act as a clearinghouse for peace scholarship around the country. With 54 cosponsors in the Senate and 154 in the House, the bill stands a good chance of passing, in spite of opposition from the Reagan administration and conservatives who claim that the academy would be a focus for "anti-American activity."

Its passage is threatened, however, by the appearance of a substitute bill, sponsored by right-wing Senator Jeremiah Denton, which would set up the academy in a program administered by the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. "It is vital that the academy be independent of any policymaking body," says Rip Sullivan, deputy director of the Peace Academy Campaign.

According to its supporters, who include Senator Mark Hatfield, Coretta Scott King and Helen Caldicott, the Washington-based Peace Academy would be in a unique position to train those in power to settle international conflicts nonviolently. It would encourage policymakers to think of peace as a positive state—not just the absence of war.

Some peace activists, however, are not convinced. They point out that the National Peace Academy Campaign has taken care to dissociate itself from the freeze and disarmament movements, and to make it clear that it will complement, not conflict with, the military establishment. Its board of directors will include the secretary of state, the secretary of defense, the commandant of the National Defense University, and the director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, as well as congressional representatives and community members. And Senator Jennings Randolph, one of the primary sponsors of the Senate bill, is known for his hawkish positions on the B-1 bomber and deployment of the MX.

Pat Washburn, the Peace Academy Campaign's public education staffer, explains that the Campaign has tried hard not to alienate any groups. "We are a single-issue lobby," she says, "and we have



More than 16,000 people participated in 231 freeze walkathons held nationwide on October 1, raising nearly \$800,000 in pledges. "We had more groups interested than we expected and more walks," says walkathon coordinator Rich Zeichik.

to maintain our bipartisan status. The academy would be an educational body, not a policymaking one. It won't advocate any particular view." Some peace groups, including Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and SANE, have endorsed the academy on the grounds that any antiwar institution would be a good thing—provided, of course, that the money to fund it (\$23.5 million for two years) comes from the military budget and not from social programs. But they are suspending their final judgment until the academy has been formed and proved itself to be more than a public relations exercise for politicians.

—Maria Margaronis

## Michigan Court Tries To Halt Civil Disobedience

■ In defiance of a court injunction members of the Michigan-based Covenant for Peace are planning what they call "A Week of Witness and Resistance to Halt Cruise Missile Production" at Williams International, the Walled Lake, Michigan, company which builds cruise missile engines. The week of protest—November 27 to December 3—will be a part of the Canada-U.S. "refuse the cruise" days (see p. 33) and will also test the power of one judge who appears committed to stopping civil disobedience at Williams.

Covenant for Peace—a group of religious-minded peace activists including many members of clergy—has conducted several demonstrations at the Williams site over the past 10 months, leading to four arrests. Last June Circuit Court Judge James Thorburn, who has consist-

ently ruled against the protesters, signed an injunction banning all protests and blockades at the Williams plant. But the Reverend Peter Dougherty, a Covenant organizer, says the event will occur as planned. "We already have enough people for blockades on three out of five days," he notes. Dougherty acknowledges that more people would come if it weren't for the court order; violation of the injunction could mean 25 days in jail.

But an injunction can mean a lot more than a jail term, notes Minnesota attorney Ken Tilson, who has long been involved in civil disobedience actions. With an injunction a court can try to "go behind the scene and destroy the organization," Tilson claims. A well-organized peace group with recognized leaders and assets, he explains, could be very susceptible to an injunction because a court can jail its leaders, fine it, and seize its assets to force it to obey.

The Covenant for Peace Group has no legal organizational charter, and it is not clear whether Thorburn would be within his rights if he tried to impound its assets and lock up its leaders. Sister Elizabeth Walters, a Covenant organizer, recognizes that possibility exists, but she remains enthusiastic. "They can put injunction on injunction upon injunction," she says, "but it will just not stop us."

—Douglas Lavin

## Philly Activists Protest Bush-Carstens Meeting

■ Three hundred years ago, a group of Mennonites and Quakers, persecuted for their religious views against violence and military servitude, fled Krefeld, Germany, and settled Germantown outside of Philadelphia. This town became a key step in the underground railroad, was later incorporated into Philadelphia and is

now a mainly black community.

When Philadelphia voted overwhelmingly for a freeze initiative last year Germantown led the way with over 90 percent in favor. Meanwhile, a peace conference in Krefeld, Philadelphia's "sister city," issued the Krefeld Appeal, a petition drive against the deployment of cruise and Pershing 2 missiles that has collected 4 million signatures and helped launch demonstrations as large as 700,000. In Krefeld last summer a visit by Vice President Bush attracted a protest crowd of 15,000.

The Reagan administration and the West German government, however, have used the tricentennial anniversary of Germantown's founding to emphasize the German-American military alliance now proceeding with the deployment of Pershing 2 missiles. West German President Karl Carstens' visit to Philadelphia on October 6 drew 15,000 in a candlelight witness, which called for "friendship without missiles." There was also a smaller demonstration in Germantown itself, and a few hundred protesters picketed the hotel where Bush and Carstens were dining.


"I'm angry at this perverting of our history," said Kay Camp, disarmament coordinator of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, "of using this as a sales pitch for the deployment of nuclear weapons." Camp's words were echoed by such speakers as Petra Kelly, a co-founder of the West German Green Party, ex-NATO General Gert Bastian, Representative Ronald Dellums, and Simone Wilkinson from the Greenham Common women's peace camp.

The following day, a conference of German and American activists, entitled "Eurolinks," was held in Philadelphia to coordinate future joint actions.

—Bob Sanders

## Wrap-Up

The most recent *Washington Post*/ABC News poll reveals that popular sentiment still rests squarely behind the freeze—80 percent of those polled approved. . . . The Religious Task Force of Mobilization for Survival has launched a campaign to encourage religious communities and churches to declare themselves **nuclear free zones**. . . . A group of 14 **Catholic bishops** has called production of the MX missile unjustified and a threat to the future of the world—the first joint action by bishops addressing a specific weapons system since the pastoral letter on war and peace was adopted last May. . . . In late September five women from the **Puget Sound Women's Peace Camp** in the state of Washington, wearing employee name tags, got inside the high-security area at the Boeing Aerospace plant and spent 30 minutes talking to workers before they were discovered by guards and arrested. . . . **James Richard Sauder**, who has already served almost a year in prison for entering missile launch areas in two states was arrested again (while carrying a wooden crucifix) at a Titan II site near Conway, Arkansas, and charged with unlawful entry. . . . A team of three American psychiatrists, granted the unprecedented chance to study the effects of the nuclear threat on **children in the Soviet Union**, released a report on October 13 revealing that the children have detailed, accurate knowledge about nuclear war and believe that in the event of a nuclear conflict humanity will not survive. The project was cosponsored by the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.



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BEATING THE SPREAD

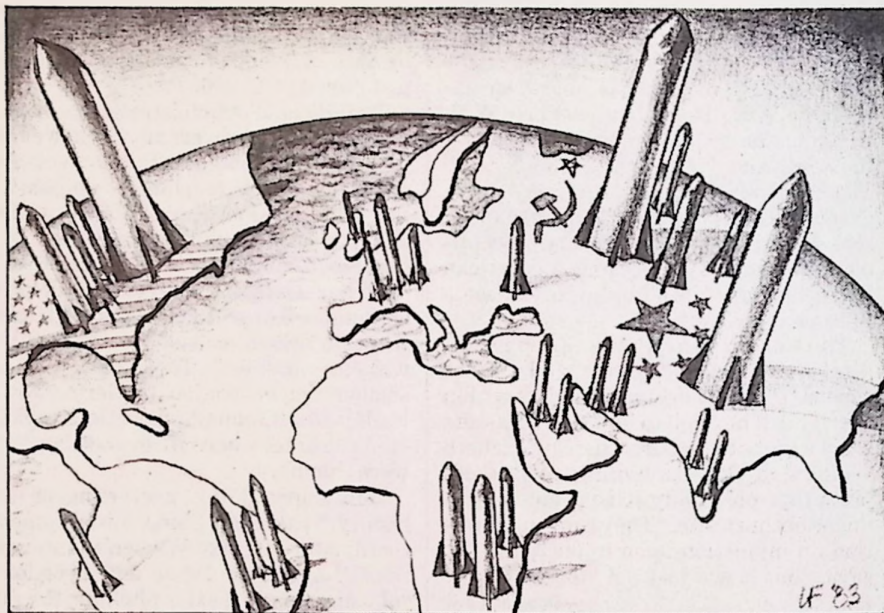
# Resisting Reagan's Proliferation

Since the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) took force in 1970, 119 countries have become parties to the agreement and just one country—India—has openly tested an atomic bomb. Contrary to expectations at that time, India did not proceed to assemble a nuclear arsenal after its May 1974 test. And if any other countries outside the “nuclear club”—the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, and China—have built or tested nuclear weapons since 1974, they have done so secretly, fearful of offending world opinion.

Why, then, is there such pessimism about stopping the spread of nuclear capability from country to country? One reason is a recent series of Reagan administration measures that seem to undermine nonproliferation policy. During the past few months, the administration has approved significant nuclear transactions involving India, Argentina, and South Africa, all of which are known to have an interest in developing nuclear weapons. Leonard Weiss, minority staff director for the Senate subcommittee on nuclear proliferation, has accused the Reagan administration of “backtracking on a strong nuclear nonproliferation policy based on control of exports.” And Senator Charles Percy, who cosponsored the Nuclear Nonproliferation Act of 1978, and presided over hearings on this issue in September, says: “I am concerned that we as a nation—and, in particular, we in the Congress—may be losing our grip on nonproliferation.”

Weiss, an aide to Senator John Glenn, was one of the principal authors of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Act, which Congress adopted in 1978 after several years of legislative action (spurred by India's atomic test). The act, backed by the Carter administration, restricted the export of nuclear technology with possible military applications, particularly to those nations that did not sign the NPT and that do not open their nuclear installations to international inspection. The act also gave Congress the power of veto over administration decisions involving nuclear exports. (A recent Supreme Court decision voided the legislative veto, however.)

The Reagan administration has been openly skeptical about the effectiveness of export restraints. In fact, when he was



running for president in 1980, Ronald Reagan went so far as to say that he didn't think Pakistan's nuclear program was any of our business. Reagan later backed off from that statement, but his advisers continue to follow a line that has become fashionable among some academic specialists on proliferation; that the spread of atomic bombs can be slowed or “managed” but not stopped.

In its latest moves, the administration has skirted provisions of the Nonproliferation Act or exploited loopholes in it.

In late September the State Department recommended allowing the Westinghouse Corporation to conclude a \$50 million nuclear cooperation agreement with the South African government. The firm was given permission to sell replacement parts and provide significant technical assistance—which are not barred by the Nonproliferation Act—for what will be the first two atomic power plants in Africa. The apartheid regime is widely suspected of having tested a nuclear weapon in late 1979, possibly in collaboration with Israel, and it has repeatedly rejected U.S. requests for a promise that it will not test nuclear weapons in the future. The government has refused to sign the NPT and it does not permit international inspection of its uranium enrichment facilities, which could produce weapons-grade material for bombs.

One month earlier, in August, the

State Department gave its go-ahead to a West German firm attempting to sell Argentina 143 tons of heavy water. (American approval was required because the heavy water was produced in this country.) This reversed previous U.S. policy. The Argentine government, which has not signed the NPT, is trying to develop a complete nuclear fuel cycle, which would enable it to produce weapons-grade material at uninspected facilities. To burn fuel in the reactor it has purchased from foreign suppliers it needs heavy water—deuterium oxide, or  $DO_2$ —which is difficult and expensive to produce. According to a recent report in *The New York Times*, an intelligence study now circulating among Reagan officials contends that Argentina has a “secret plan” to divert a ton of uranium and use the material to make nuclear fuel elements that could be used to build an atomic weapon.

The third Reagan move that has caused concern has its roots in Carter administration policy. When Carter tried to get the Indian government, another non-signer of the NPT, to accept new nuclear safeguards by threatening to cut off supplies of U.S. fuel for a reactor near Bombay, Indira Gandhi retaliated with a threat to abrogate existing safeguards. Carter caved in and sent enriched uranium fuel to India—“waiving” prohibitions in the Nonproliferation Act—and

(continued on page 31)



BY FRED KAPLAN

# The Man Who Fell From Space

**R**etired Lieutenant Colonel Robert Bowman is worried about the fate of the earth. Five years ago, he was director of advanced space programs development in what is now the Air Force Space Command. Out of that command grew the programs that now comprise the beginnings of Ronald Reagan's Star Wars agenda—a futuristic vision of lasers, charged-particle beams, and other high-tech, space-based exotica shooting down enemy satellites, missiles, and warheads before they explode over American territory.

Bowman managed these programs. He conducted the earliest studies of their cost, feasibility and implications. And that's why he's worried. Professional arms control advocates have called the Star Wars scheme "destabilizing." Bowman, who has won numerous combat awards, calls it "military lunacy" and "the biggest military issue we face."

First, he argues, it's a waste. Nobody knows how to build these kinds of weapons. Shooting down missiles with laser beams first requires a huge mirror, about 30 feet in diameter, that can both absorb the intense heat of the beam and reflect it across space to zap a missile. Bowman says that the Air Force has figured out how to design a mirror made of graphite that can absorb the heat, but (a) it can't reflect the beam properly and (b) it's only two or three inches in diameter.

Other technical requirements are equally awesome—for example, how to aim the beam exactly on target, then re-direct and aim it exactly once again, and do this over and over, second after second, until all the enemy's missiles are downed. He likens the task to "hitting a nickel at 15 miles—and the nickel is moving very fast, and there are lots of nickels." Even if this job could somehow be mastered, he says, there's the problem of finding and shooting down missiles launched from submarines (especially if fired in a low trajectory) or cruise missiles or bombs dropped from airplanes.

Bowman is hardly a Luddite; he made a profession out of developing advanced technology, and he believes that with enough time and money most of these problems could be solved. However, he estimates that the money would amount to about \$1 trillion for the entire Star Wars project (and he claims that virtu-

ally all of his erstwhile Air Force colleagues privately agree on this point). And even so, the trillion-dollar enterprise could be knocked out of action by relatively cheap and simple countermeasures. "Not one of these systems can withstand a single nuclear explosion in space," he says. The blast, radiation or electromagnetic pulse from the explosion would be too severe.

Some officials have suggested hardening space systems against such an attack. But Bowman says, "We don't know how to do the hardening." Theoretically, the whole system could be surrounded with the hardest of materials, but then its sensors couldn't "see"—they would lose their purpose. The enemy could also design its missiles to shoot out chaff to deflect the laser beam; or send up decoys; or coat the missile's surface with a mirror to reflect the beam. Furthermore, all space systems require ground stations—and they're vulnerable.



Bowman: An anti-ASAT airman

But to Bowman, even these considerations—technical feasibility and vulnerability—are secondary. Bowman opposes spending billions and trillions on Star Wars mainly because it constitutes "a gross violation of military common sense."

The leading anti-satellite (ASAT) program being developed by the Air Force today is called a miniature homing vehicle (MHV), loaded onboard an F-15 fighter aircraft. The F-15 travels almost vertically upward; when it reaches the outer edge of the atmosphere, it fires the

MHV, which, with heat-seeking sensors, homes in on the enemy's satellite.

Soviet leader Yuri Andropov has now offered a ban on ASATs. "Why, when we have a ban handed to us on a plate, do we refuse even to sit down and discuss it?" Bowman asks, almost incredulously.

Star Wars advocates want to go ahead with ASAT weapons primarily because of Andropov's proposal to ban them. Bowman admits that the Soviets are probably proposing such a treaty because they realize we have superior ASAT technology. Their ASAT system is much more cumbersome, much less reliable (about half their tests have failed). But Bowman says that without such a ban the Soviets could catch up. Any advantage we might derive from a full-blown ASAT program would be momentary at best. The U.S. military (much more than the Soviets) depends so heavily on satellites—for early warning of attack, for tactical reconnaissance, for battlefield communications, for weapons accuracy—that it only makes sense to aim for a treaty that protects those assets.

Bowman sees only two options: "a comprehensive ban on ASAT or an all-out arms race in space." Precisely because he favors the continued use of outer space as a sanctuary for military radar and reconnaissance, he views an ASAT ban—and a halt to Star Wars generally—as absolutely critical.

Bowman left the Air Force in 1978 after 22 years of service to enter private industry, first as manager of advanced space programs for General Dynamics, then as vice president of Space Communications Company. He thought he could have more freedom to speak out on these issues, but learned that the aerospace corporations were not practical forums. "In industry, you don't speak out against anything, because someone makes money from it," he observes. Last January, he chucked it all and set up the Institute for Space and Security Studies, which he runs out of his home in Potomac, Maryland. It's small, nonprofit, and helps members of Congress and scientists present anti-Star Wars positions.

At this point Bowman has burned all his bridges behind him, but he doesn't mind: "I've put too many years into the security of our country to sit back and just watch what's going on without trying to do something to stop it." □

BY BARRY M. CASPER

# The Best Offense: Civil Defense?

**N**o issue has proved better suited to bringing home to people the choice they face between preparing for nuclear war and working to prevent it than their community's crisis relocation plan (CRP). Experience in dozens of cities and towns has demonstrated the effectiveness of this issue as an educational and organizing tool for the movement against nuclear war. And yet this potential remains largely untapped.

Civil defense is an almost universal "backyard issue." Under CRP plans being drawn up by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), virtually every American community is either a "risk area," to be evacuated if the president decides nuclear war is imminent, or a "host area," to which evacuees will be relocated. Detailed evacuation routes for the residents of each risk area neighborhood have been designated. Computerized lists of the fallout shelter capacity of every public building in host areas have been compiled.

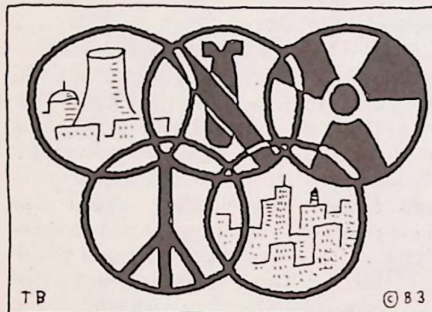
Many imaginative experiments—from mock evacuations to "die-ins"—have been conducted in the two years since Cambridge, Massachusetts, became the first American city to reject the crisis relocation program. One strikingly successful example of what could be called a traditional approach was that employed in my home town of Northfield, Minnesota, population 12,000.

The first step was to alert the community. An ad hoc committee of local citizens simply announced an open meeting to inform the community about Northfield's role as host area for evacuees from Minneapolis and St. Paul, 40 miles north. It turned out that no one, not even city officials, knew of the plan. The city council was taken aback to see pages of computer printout (obtained from civil defense officials) detailing the capacity of local buildings for fallout shelters. The proprietor of one downtown shoe store was astounded to find that 170 people were supposed to fit in his basement. The local newspaper editor, hardly a radical, wrote a strong editorial before the meeting denouncing the plan.

The meeting deepened community concern. State and local civil defense officials were unable to respond convincingly to criticisms raised by a member of Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR)

and to questions from a skeptical audience. The meeting drew statewide media coverage and a decision by the city council to name a Crisis Relocation Task Force, headed by the city police chief.

The task force devoted a month to studying pro and con documents and meeting with state and regional civil de-



fense planners. The second and most important stage was nearly three months of community education. Members of the task force made presentations to over 20 groups. Whatever the forum, from the Veterans of Foreign Wars to the Rotary Club to the churches, there was surprising unanimity against the plan.

The entire task force, including the local civil defense director, found itself in agreement that crisis relocation was a futile attempt to prepare for nuclear war. A rather conservative city council unanimously endorsed the task force recommendation that Northfield reject further participation in crisis relocation planning, while reaffirming its support for legitimate civil defense procedures for natural disaster protection. It then named another task force to consider measures by which the community could contribute to preventing nuclear war, such as endorsing the freeze or declaring itself a nuclear free zone.

The process thus had three important effects: educating a substantial portion of the community, sending a signal to Washington, D.C., and arousing many previously uninvolved citizens.

This approach is applicable to both risk and host area communities. Over 100 cities and towns, including New York City, Boulder, Colorado, and San Francisco, have now rejected the plan.

An effective alternative approach was recently implemented successfully in Saratoga Springs, New York, a host city about 40 miles north of Albany. On Sep-

tember 24 the Saratoga Peace Alliance rented the Saratoga County Fairgrounds to hold what the group called the "Civil Defense Olympics." Several hundred people from a three-county area turned out for what was both a festive occasion with music and refreshments and a serious gathering with an educational and political purpose.

Seventeen teams, with four "family" members each (Mom, Dad, Buddy, and Sis), competed in a series of events, inspired by FEMA's crisis relocation plan, such as "Expedient Shelter Construction," "Duck and Cover Relay," "Relocation Obstacle Course," and "Close the Window of Vulnerability." A local television personality, the host of a children's show, introduced each event, explained how it related to the FEMA plans, and served as sportscaster to describe the action in progress.

The organizers consider the Civil Defense Olympics a great success. The event attracted substantial local media coverage. Van Zwisohn, a spokesman for the Saratoga Peace Alliance, said that hundreds of people had come. "It was easy to see that the emperor had no clothes," he commented. "Once you are skeptical of what your leaders are telling you about nuclear war, you are empowered to be your own leader. Our children's future depends on our willingness to challenge the bland assurances of safety and security."

For further information about the Civil Defense Olympics, contact Zwisohn at (518)584-9432. For anyone planning a more traditional approach in their community, especially useful resources include speakers and material from PSR; *Civil Defense: Information Packet for Educators and Organizers* (\$5 from Traprock Peace Center, Deerfield, MA, 01342); *U.S. and Soviet Civil Defense Programs*, March 1982 (free from Publications Office, U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 202-224-4651); and the slide show and audio tape, *Under the Mushroom Cloud* (\$20 from Nuclear War Graphics Project, 100 Nevada Street, Northfield, MN, 55057). A bimonthly publication, *The Front Line* (\$12 per year from New Century Policies, PO Box 2715, Boston, MA, 02208) keeps its readers informed of recent CRP developments. □

BY ANDREA DOREMUS

# Can Peace Camps Go To Town?

**I**t is the night of Hiroshima Day, August 6. Stadium lights shine down on the road from behind the 8-foot-high chain-link fence. It's as bright as day. Ten women from the Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice are enacting a ritual death in memory of the thousands of Japanese who died in agony that day. They wear shrouds and grotesque face paint and perform in an amphitheater formed by the main entrance gate of the Seneca Army Depot in Romulus, New York. The military police stand behind the gate. Razor wire coils around its base.

Several score of other women kneel in a crescent around them. Farther behind, across Route 96, are 30 to 40 local residents who have come to watch. Someone

Peace and Justice. Grass-roots freeze activists, radical lesbian feminists, artists, clergy—young and old—we were not sure we shared anything but a deep frustration at a world of male violence and a strong commitment to work against the scheduled December deployment of cruise and Pershing 2 missiles.

A half-hour's drive north of Ithaca, in central New York, the encampment was pitched next to the Seneca Army Depot, believed to be a storage place for the neutron bomb, and a point of departure for nuclear missiles, most likely Pershing 2s, to Europe. Over the summer there were four major legal processions and demonstrations, and over 500 women were taken into custody for civil disobedience or "trespassing on federal property."

way of life: peace through military dominance.

## STIRRING UP COMMENT

What happens when such a diverse gathering as was at the encampment carries out an active schedule of demonstrating in the middle of a conservative Republican county in rural New York? First, you make the front page of most local papers for over a month and a lot of people get very stirred up.

As Seneca County undersheriff Tom Cleere pointed out, "I've been working in this county for over 25 years and our community has never been faced with an event of this magnitude." There were occasional, well-publicized confrontations. The major one was on July 30 when peo-



from that group can be heard quietly jeering, "How does this stop the weapons?"

A white-haired townswoman steps out in front of the ritual, and faces the crescent. "And what about Vietnam?" she cries. "Were any of you there fighting and getting killed? I had two sons and a brother in Vietnam! Don't you know that these boys [the military police] are here to protect you from war?! They fought so you could be here today!"

The crowd of women is taken aback, nervous. A chant begins to rise. . . "No More War! No More War!" It is a mob-like response that the townswoman receives to her questions.

In the name of confronting a society that seems hell-bent on self-destruction, a loosely affiliated group of over 5000 women came together this summer at the Women's Encampment for a Future of

The October 22 demonstration against the deployment of Euromissiles drew thousands to the depot. Because of us many more upstate New Yorkers know that the depot exists and what it represents. Many more now understand why these demonstrations were held—but many others still do not.

There are now peace camps at several European sites. Camps have recently sprung up at Puget Sound, Washington, and Tucson, Arizona, among other places in this country. As somewhat eccentric second cousins to the mainstream antinuclear weapons movement, women's peace camps will nonetheless be seen as field representatives. And experiences at Seneca this summer can offer guidance to people everywhere involved in "direct action" and to any of us in the antinuclear movement who are perceived as threatening because we publicly question what many believe upholds the democratic

ple from the nearby town of Waterloo blockaded a bridge, preventing encampment women from peacefully marching through the town.

There were harmonious encounters as well, but they received virtually no press. Everyday we heard stories of fruitful conversations with initially mistrusting local residents. Admittedly, however, this kind of friendly dialogue did not always happen when it could have. It's difficult to constantly represent oneself as a "peace camper" in front of "townspeople." And it's just that notion of "them" versus "us" that keeps it difficult. Peace campers came with their own apprehensions, which were heightened by passers-by who asked questions like: "Why do you have to break the law?". . . "How can you stay clean without showers?". . . "Is it true that you took your clothes off to shower in the car wash?". . . "Why don't you lesbian com-

munists demonstrate in Washington?"

There were more thorough commentaries from community people. "What you've done is get a lot of people thinking," said Gail Vanderlinde, a social worker from Skeneateles, New York. "A lot of us in the Finger Lakes region had no idea of what the depot represented. People now realize that they need more facts. But I think in the minds of many people you left a negative impression," Vanderlinde continued. "People saw you as you appeared to be, rather than as what you are." She saw a natural reason for that. "When outsiders come in and start stirring things up, a lot of people get insecure. Just remember, you can't force changes down people's throats."

The first community contacts the encampment made were with local clergy and officials. This took a lot of work. And then the press onslaught began. Before we could establish rapport with people, we were already a public entity being represented by reporters after the sensational story.

"You took on an incredible responsibility all by yourselves, and there were people in the area who would have gladly helped to pave your way," said Jana Brownlee, a newspaper reporter who lives in Trumansburg. But because of a

lack of time and resources a lot of these contacts were not made initially.

Romulus high school teacher, Jim Delia, agreed that this was an oversight. He got involved because of a separate initiative by one local couple to hold low-key, "porch talks" on peace issues, no press allowed. Delia did say that it took the controversy of the camp's existence "to bring many of us out of the closet as peace workers. Now there is a network emerging for us to carry on the tasks ahead."

#### THE RADICAL CHALLENGE

The women at the encampment strove to create a feminist community of resistance to the dehumanizing violence that permeates all our lives, and which is most starkly expressed in the cancerous spread of nuclear weapons. It is perhaps the feminist refusal to separate the personal from the political that represents the radical challenge, that ignited the contempt of so many townspeople. They cannot understand why we feel that *how* we live our lives and treat each other is a reflection of our stand against nuclear weapons. They are put off by the existence of a self-defining, self-sufficient gathering of women who manage splendidly without the involvement of men.

For many of us, coming to Seneca was

part of a progression of understanding that led us to redefine how political action could be effective and meaningful for us. We are taking a new meaning into everything we do, into our daily lives. We see that social acquiescence to personal violence such as rape, battering, pornography, and social and economic discrimination is the same acquiescence given to the possibility of world destruction.

Nonviolent feminist process has to do with realizing the fundamental interrelation between all things and taking full responsibility for the results of one's actions. It has to do with *refusing to be a victim anywhere*.

The strength of this defiance was apparent in the collective energy of women at the encampment. "You can just feel it in the air," I heard a mother from Rochester say. "As soon as you step on this land, there's a spirit you can feel." But how can the transformational power of these beliefs be communicated to a broad range of Americans to whom the political practice of feminism and nonviolence is alien?

#### FLAGGING THE PROBLEM

Onlookers at the depot gate see us cry and wail, dramatizing the release of pent-up rage. They see us tear our clothes and

## WHAT ABOUT THE RUSSIANS?



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get dirty as we climb the fence. We dance and skip and wear bright, colorful, strange clothing. Sometimes we don't wear enough clothing. We beat drums and chant and some women paint their faces. Women are hugging and kissing and always in circles of three, 15, 300. How effective is this drama if it completely baffles those who are outside of it?

The encampment has been continually criticized for subsuming, even *using*, the issue of the missiles to give preeminence to the banners of "Women's Liberation" or "Lesbian Rights." One town resident, Emerson Moran, said, "If they had not formed a coalition of *feminists* and peace-seekers, they could have communicated to our ears." He is the man who offered the American flag to the camp on the Fourth of July. "I didn't know whether they'd fly the flag or not," he told me recently. "But I know that the community was concerned about the invasion. Who are these people coming into our territory? What are they going to do?"

Had women at the encampment agreed to fly the flag it would have shown a willingness to come halfway, to acknowledge the standards of many residents of the area. But many women saw the flag as a symbol of nationalism and militarism. After six hours of discussion among six women who cared the most for different

points of view, it was decided that each woman at the encampment should make her own flag. Those who wanted to make an American flag were encouraged to do so. At that point there was an opportunity to write explanatory statements and

*... It is time to refine our media strategies ...*

speak to key members of the community. Such measures might have reduced the flap created by what was widely seen as our "rejection of the flag."

Almost everything we did at Seneca that did not fall into the narrow category of community outreach happened to reinforce a sense of estrangement and moral self-righteousness on the part of local residents. No one can deny that in many cases we did not get our point across. "I've lived here all my life and I've never felt as threatened by the depot as I do about what these women are trying to do," said one local woman. By the end of the summer many residents still had no idea what we "were trying to do."

It is time for us to refine our communication strategies and our media skills. In

order to open people up and encourage them to question their prejudices and assumptions, our message must be clear and coherent. We must be able to confront and transcend the manipulation of the media, which tends to condense, sensationalize, and ultimately trivialize every major action and statement that we make. We must face issues most people are worrying about: the "Russians," their jobs, a threat to their way of life. Unless we adopt language, symbols, and points of reference that the average American can identify with in some way, we will continue to be feared and ridiculed.

In the end, however, the Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice cannot apologize to a society that lashes out at any threat to its stability and homogeneity. But if the arms race is to be reversed, and the primacy of human needs asserted, we need a conscious and educated population of Americans. The Women's Encampment and efforts like it are a first step. Let's not isolate ourselves. Let's use the direct contact it offers with people outside our "camp" for all its worth. □

*Andrea Doremus spent August at the encampment. This Forum represents her personal views and not those of the encampment as a whole.*

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# Pressing The Nuclear Issue

This fall's list of new books does not include a peace-movement best seller like last year's *The Fate of the Earth*, by Jonathan Schell. But there are some intriguing new items, including an important history that has been out of print; a study of the Committee on the Present Danger; two views of deterrence by influential commentators; and even a young adults' novel about a 16-year old who accompanies her father to Los Alamos.

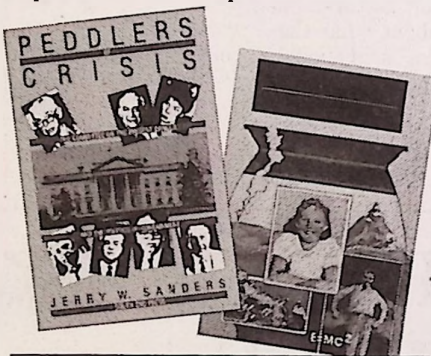
This novel, *Los Alamos Light*, by Larry Bogard (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, \$11.95), describes work at Los Alamos and the dawn of the Nuclear Age from the point of view of Maggie Chilton, who arrives from Cambridge, Massachusetts, with her scientist father, who was recruited by J. Robert Oppenheimer. Cut off from her father, an inexpressive workaholic, Maggie makes a life of her own among the people of New Mexico. Contemporary issues and problems enter the story through a succession of new friends, who are black, Hispanic, and Native American. It is because of her father's work at Los Alamos, however, that Maggie is forced to confront a problem of a completely different magnitude: the destructive power of atomic energy. Although she sometimes sounds 20 years older, the heroine remains engaging, and her odyssey is both credible and compelling.

The heroine's mother committed suicide after her parents died in a concentration camp, which is a reminder of the primary reason for the work at Los Alamos—to stop the Nazis. Several of the project's most prominent scientists were Jewish emigrés. Ironically, they were racing to beat their former colleagues in Germany to the Bomb. Da Capo Press has reprinted a 1967 book on this subject, *The German Atomic Bomb* (\$9.95). Although its author, British historian David Irving, recently has become controversial as a professed "ultra-rightist," this book is a dispassionate and well-written account of the race for the Bomb.

In *Now It Can Be Told*, General Leslie M. Groves, military director of the Los Alamos project, concludes that Alameda made him feel he'd done as well as "the old soldiers and scouts who had devoted their active lives to winning the West." In an introduction to this new edition (Groves' memoir was first published

in 1962 and is now a \$9.95 Da Capo paperback) Edward Teller, a Los Alamos veteran, describes Groves as "a direct man of practical action" who wasn't very popular with the scientists who worked for him. But Groves' greatest accomplishment was to hire Oppenheimer as scientific director of the lab—despite his left-wing background, of which Groves was well aware.

Groves' no-nonsense account provides some fascinating insider accounts: how Klaus Fuchs, the British scientist who spied for the Russians, penetrated Los Alamos, and how the Manhattan Project "borrowed" a *New York Times* science reporter to write its press releases.



## A potpourri of books: Germany to Los Alamos

The Soviets' detonation of their own nuclear weapon prompted, in 1950, the founding of the first Committee on the Present Danger. It included two presidential science advisors who had been instrumental in setting up Los Alamos. The purpose of the new group was to establish as U.S. foreign policy what Jerry W. Sanders describes in *Peddlers of Crisis* (South End Press, \$8.50, paper), his thorough history of the Committee, as "containment militarism," or the Cold War.

The Committee reorganized in 1976 to topple Jimmy Carter, who was talking about a reduced military budget and "inordinate fear of Communism," and to sabotage SALT II. Sanders traces the chilling progress of the Committee from

just another lobby to a formidable power. Reagan's first set of appointments to his administration included 32 Committee members, including its co-chairs Paul Nitze and Eugene Rostow, along with Jeane Kirkpatrick and William Casey. Committee members are largely responsible for the Reagan administration's hawkish stand on nuclear war and animosity towards the freeze campaign.

Sidney D. Drell's slim book *Facing the Threat of Nuclear Weapons* (University of Washington Press, \$4.95, paper) supports deterrence, but not in the same manner as the Committee on the Present Danger (the book includes an open letter on the danger of nuclear war from Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov). Drell, a physicist who has advised several administrations on arms control, outlines the history of science's collaboration with government to build the Bomb and subsequent weapons. While Drell says, "I see—on technical grounds alone—no escape from the mutual hostage relationship [between the two superpowers] and no choice but to make deterrence work," he also applauds the Catholic bishops' pastoral letter.

The bishops grappled with the moral dilemmas of deterrence by concluding that it "may still be judged as morally acceptable provided it is used as a step towards progressive disarmament." Drell comments, "To me, this is precisely the common sense of nuclear weapons, expressed simply and clearly. There is no Pentagonese in these words."

Leon Wieseltier's *Nuclear War, Nuclear Peace* (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, \$2.95, paper) expands on his recent comments in *The New Republic* on deterrence and its critics. He opposes anti-communists who would substitute counterforce for deterrence, but also deplors antinuclear spokesmen such as Jonathan Schell, E. P. Thompson, and the Catholic bishops. In the end, Wieseltier's line of thought contradicts itself. He points out, accurately enough, that "the existence of nuclear weapons did not keep smaller states that did not have them from waging war against larger states that did." Despite this comment on the political impotence of nuclear weapons, Wieseltier goes on to argue that "the only thing more menacing to our security than nuclear strength is nuclear weakness."

— Ann Marie Cunningham

## PROLIFERATION

(continued from page 24)

was attacked in many quarters for doing so.

The Reagan administration, fearing similar repercussions, arranged in the summer of 1982 for France to supply India with fuel. But on a visit to India this past July, Secretary of State George Schultz said that the United States would supply India with nuclear reactor components if no other source could be found. This would defy the terms of the Nonproliferation Act, but the president could get around it by waiving export restrictions. The Nuclear Control Institute, a public interest group in Washington, D.C., which attempts to strengthen barriers to proliferation, is leading (along with five other groups) a legal action designed to block such a move.

Those who back a strong nonproliferation policy are also currently seeking enactment of several legislative measures. On September 30 the House passed, by a vote of 196 to 189, the Wolpe-Ottinger amendment, which closes loopholes in the Nonproliferation Act that allow exports of nuclear parts and technology to countries which have not accepted inter-

national safeguards. The amendment also requires the president to give Congress formal notice when he waives export restrictions, and to allow 60 days to elapse before the waiver takes effect. It went to the Senate in October, where only a much milder version was given a chance for passage. Other legislation up for consideration is designed to discourage use of plutonium and highly enriched uranium in nuclear power plants and research reactors. (Plutonium and enriched uranium are the indispensable elements needed to produce atomic bombs.)

Yet despite the disturbing recent actions by the Reagan administration there is no indication that proliferation will soon become a priority issue for the antinuclear weapons movement. Some on the political left remain cynical of nonproliferation efforts because they regard them as an effort by powerful, developed nations to maintain a nuclear monopoly. And proliferation "has tended to fall through the gaps" at the grass roots, says Paul Leventhal, president of Nuclear Control Institute.

As Leventhal sees it, people who oppose nuclear power have been concerned mainly with health and safety questions, while those opposed to nuclear weapons

have been occupied mainly with the arms race between the superpowers ("vertical," as opposed to "horizontal," proliferation). Howard Morland, disarmament coordinator with the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, does not argue with Leventhal's assessment.

"Groups in the Coalition would enthusiastically condemn any nation acquiring the Bomb," Morland says, "but as a matter of priorities, the most important thing is the superpower arms race." Morland feels that the nuclear proliferation problem has been exaggerated, and while he approves of efforts to tighten restrictions on U.S. nuclear exports to countries that might build bombs, he notes that other nuclear-capable countries can pick up the slack, exporting the very equipment that the United States bars.

But Leventhal considers this a "flawed" argument. "If nuclear weapons spread around the world while we're devoting all our attention to the superpowers," Leventhal says, "we're going to end up living in as dangerous or more dangerous a world than we're in now. The arms race and proliferation have to be dealt with in one piece, as part of one problem."

—William Sweet

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Twelve uplifting images, many in full color, celebrating people's struggle, courage and resistance. Artwork representing Latin America, Australia, Native Americans, Africa and the USA; International Women's Day, The Weavers, Zimbabwe, The Pacific Peacemaker, Bread and Puppet Theatre. 14" x 22" on your wall. Features full wrap-around cover, "Patchwork Power" of squares sewn in honor of women's peace camps. Lunar cycles, holidays, people's history dates, and plenty of notation space. By mail \$7.75, 3/\$20, 5/\$31. Good bulk rates available to help raise funds and consciousness. *Syracuse Cultural Workers Project*, Box 6367, Syracuse, NY 13217, (315) 474-1132.

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**FREE CATALOG!**

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\$8.00 EA. FOR TAN, BLUE, OR YELLOW SHIRTS AVAILABLE IN MEN'S 100% COTTON, WOMEN'S FRENCH CUT & CHILDREN'S STYLES. 10% OF PROFITS GO TO ENVIRONMENTAL CAUSES. 17 MORE DESIGNS © MAPLE-WING 1983.

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Mail to: *Community Bulletin Board, Nuclear Times*, 298 Fifth Avenue, Room 512, New York, NY 10001.



# Resources

## REPORTS, HANDBOOKS, & KITS

**How to Research Your Local Military Contractor** (\$2 for individuals, \$3 for institutions, from Highlander Research and Education Center, Route 3, PO Box 370, New Market, TN 37820). This handbook is a supplement to an excellent longer report, *Our Own Worst Enemy: The Impact of Military Production in the Upper South* (\$10 for individuals, \$12.50 for institutions), which examines the effects of military spending on the health and welfare of Southerners, who are among the Americans most dependent on military production for employment. The handbook decodes a few sample military contracts and shows how all the parts of the military industry work together. It provides a first step toward understanding how military spending shapes the local economy: who gets contracts; what for; and what the costs are to occupational health, the environment, and economic security.

**Trans-Atlantic Information Project** (The Nation Institute, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011) offers materials written and published by peace activists in Western and Eastern Europe. A one-year subscription to the bi-monthly *END Journal* is \$12; single issues are \$1.75 or \$1.50 in bulk. The special reports available cover Comiso, Italy (\$1.20), Turkey (\$1.80), peace movements in Eastern Europe (\$1.80 to \$3), and the nuclear North Atlantic (\$1.80).

**Nuclear Free Zone Packet** (\$5 from Nuke-watch, 315 Gorham Street, Madison, WI 53703). To protest deployment of cruise and Pershing 2 missiles and Trident submarines, hundreds of communities in Great Britain, Europe, and the United States have declared themselves nuclear free zones, including all of London and the entire country of Wales. Nuke-watch's packet tells you how to declare yourself or your turf a non-participant in the arms race.

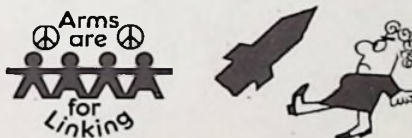
**Stopping the Arms Race in Space**, the summer 1983 issue of *Nucleus* (single issues free from Union of Concerned Scientists, 26 Church Street, Cambridge, MA 02238). Last May, a UCS panel submitted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee a model treaty to ban anti-satellite weapons. This special issue includes abridged testimony and highlights of the model treaty, which bans destruction of any space vehicle and testing in space. A sidebar forecasts an escalated

arms race if no restraint is put on the development of space lasers and small, explosive satellites that follow targets, known as space mines.

## CALENDARS

**The 1984 Calendar: An American History**, created by Tim Keefe and Howard Levine, with introduction by Nat Hentoff (\$10.95 from Point Blank Press, Ltd., PO Box 30123, Lansing, MI 48909). "Is Big Brother watching?" The authors found 1500 examples of citizen surveillance and control of information by government and private interests. While not all of the entries on this poster-sized wall calendar apply to nuclear information, such control is a particular feature of the Atomic Age. And the author's point that "most citizens believe that it's essential to sacrifice some privacy to safeguard the greater community" is especially applicable to nuclear matters.

**International Peace Diary 1984** (\$5 from War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette



Street, New York, NY 10012). A pocket-sized date book with over 1500 peace organizations and periodicals around the world, listed by country. Throughout the year, landmarks in the fight for peace are noted on calendar days, supplemented by illustrations and brief essays.

## FILMS & SLIDE SHOWS

**Rings on the Water**, a film directed by Mercedes Gregory (60 minutes, available in 16mm or videotape. For rental information, contact Atlas Theatre Co., 115 Central Park West, New York, NY 10023.) An American filmmaker documents the 1982 march through the Soviet Union. Scandinavian women peace activists organized the march with, for the most part, Soviet cooperation. (The same Scandinavians marched to Washington, D.C., from New York this past August.) As the representatives of the Western peace movement travel through the Soviet Union a dilemma arises: To what extent is acceptance of the generous hospitality of the official Soviet Peace Committee being taken as an endorsement of Soviet foreign policies? A fasci-

nating look at the intricacies of European and Soviet peace politics.

**On The Brink**, a slide show that can be bought for \$20 from the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 4144 Lindell Boulevard, Suite 404, St. Louis, MO 63108. For rentals contact your local freeze office or the above address for the source nearest you. The slides, accompanied by an excellent script, illustrate the history of U.S. and Soviet nuclear strategy, and the advent of counterforce or first-strike weapons—cruise and Pershing 2 missiles. A literate, straightforward review of the issues raised by these weapons' upcoming deployment in Europe, and the responses of the East and West European peace movements.

## NEW BOOKS

**S.I.O.P.: The Secret U.S. Plan for Nuclear War**, by Peter Pringle and William Arkin (Norton, \$15.95). Pringle, co-author of *The Nuclear Barons* (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1981), on the international nuclear business, has teamed up with Arkin to ferret from the public record a description and history of the Single Integrated Operations Plan, which our president would use to wage nuclear war on the Soviet Union. The authors trace SIOP's evolution from Eisenhower's "massive retaliation" to Reagan's chilling vision of the possibility of nuclear victories. They reconstruct and find unsatisfactory a 1982 war game, the largest ever, which Reagan used to test SIOP.

**The CND Story**, edited by John Minnion and Philip Bolsover (Allison & Busby, paper, \$6 plus 50¢ postage from CND Bookshop, 227 Seven Sisters Road, London N4, England). The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was founded in 1958 by Bertrand Russell, J.B. Priestly, and other prominent public figures in British public life. It remains the most important peace organization in England. Forty contemporary members, including E.P.-Thompson, have contributed to this compendium of brief articles on every aspect of CND, from its early marches, to internal debates and personality clashes, to the literature and music the peace movement in Great Britain has inspired.

**The Nuclear Almanac**, compiled and edited by Massachusetts Institute of Technology faculty (Addison-Wesley, \$20, paper). Contributors to this thorough history of nuclear weapons and energy include heavyweight politicians, scientists, and historians such as Henry Steele Commager, Bernard Feld, Philip Morrison, Paul Warnke, and Kosta Tsipis. Some of the subjects they cover are the history of the Manhattan Project, the development of the H-bomb, government and private organizations that manufacture nuclear weapons, and nuclear strategy.

—Ann Marie Cunningham

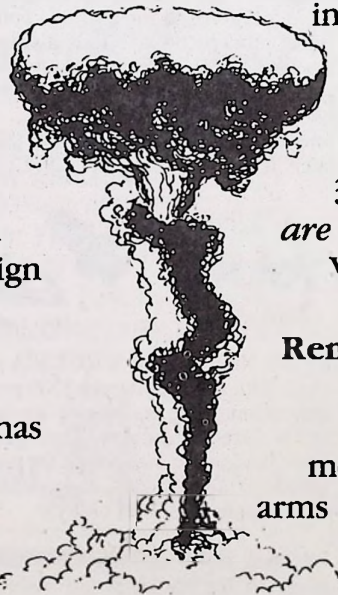
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# DON'T WAIT 'TIL THE DAY AFTER

On Sunday, November 20, tens of millions of Americans will view "The Day After," an ABC-TV movie depicting the people of Lawrence, Kansas, the day after a nuclear bomb has been dropped. Many who view the film may be left with the feeling there is no way to prevent this ultimate horror from happening.

**That's where you come in.**

Join with SANE and the National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign in letting the American people know there doesn't have to be a day after. That if we work *now* we can prevent what ABC has captured so vividly. Here's what you can do:



1. Contact your ABC affiliate and make sure they plan to air the program. The right wing is trying its best to block the film's showing. Your input can ensure the program is aired.

2. Plan group viewings of the film in your home. Be sure to invite people who aren't already involved. Ask local reporters to come.

3. Spread the word that there *are* ways to prevent nuclear war. We'll send you a special "Day After" organizing packet. **Remember.** This is a unique opportunity to reach tens of millions of people with a message of hope for ending the arms race. Please contact us today.

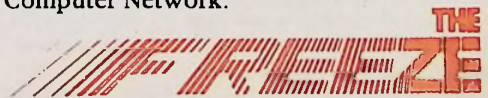
Yes, I'd like a free packet on how to organize in my community around "The Day After."

And while you're at it, sign me up to be part of the Arms Control Computer Network.\*

I'm willing to lobby my representatives in Washington on:

the nuclear freeze only

other key arms race issues.



Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Phone \_\_\_\_\_ (h) \_\_\_\_\_ (w)

Congressional district \_\_\_\_\_

Send to: **The Day After Project, Nat'l. Freeze Campaign,**  
4144 Lindell Blvd., Suite 404, St. Louis, MO 63108,  
314-533-1169.

**sane**

\*The Arms Control Computer Network is a national legislative alert system, linking citizen lobbyists from SANE, the National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Friends of the Earth, Council for a Livable World, Greenpeace and the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy.