In the fall of 1985 the US Air Force built a 300-foot radio tower on 15.5 acres of prime Iowa farm land. A component of the Ground Wave Emergency Network (GWEN) this tower is meant to be used after electromagnetic pulse and radioactivity black out conventional communications in the first minutes of a nuclear attack. GWEN will allow the government to keep fighting World War Three after most of us are dead.

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# N O O N  V I G I L

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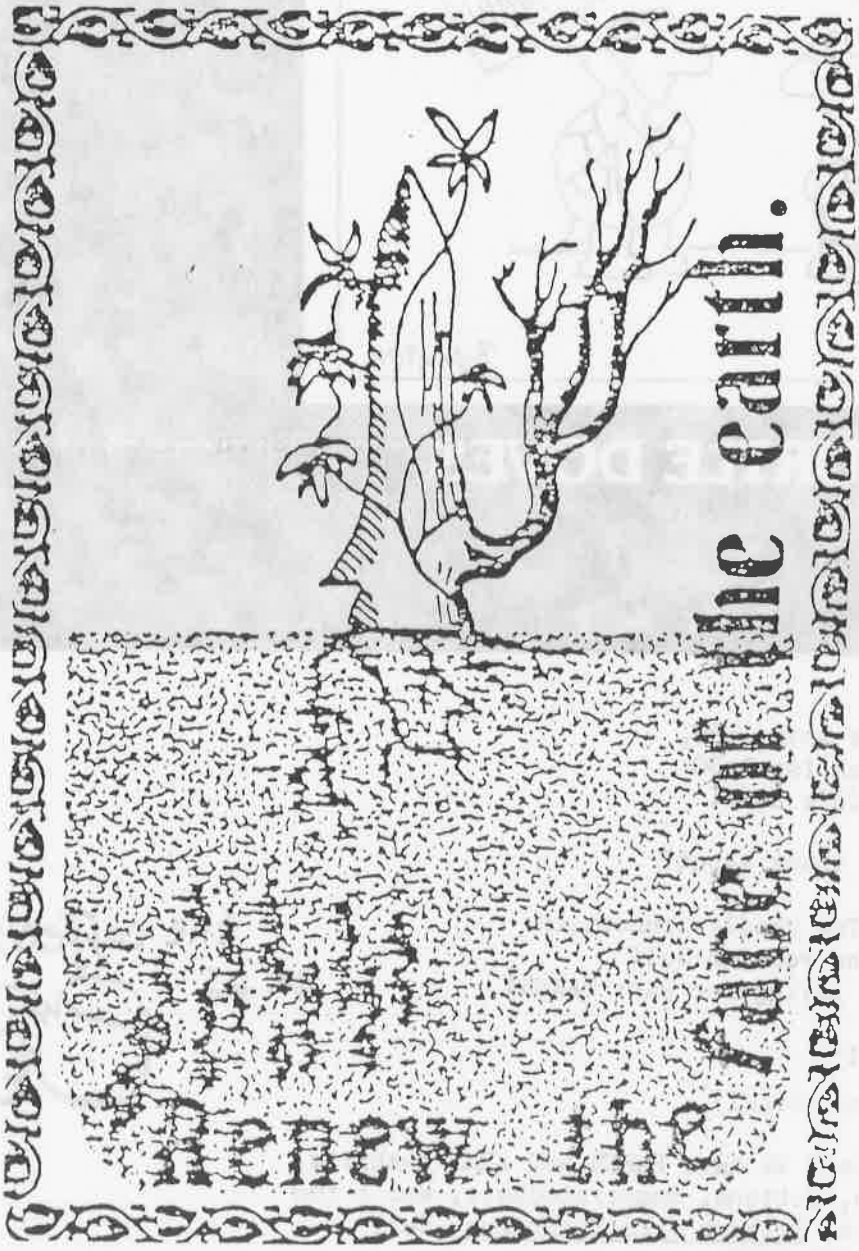


1:30 Program

Deborah Lazar

of Dubuque WAND

talks about the

S T O P  W A R  T O Y S
Campaign

and Francine Banwarth
of Dubuque WAND
talks about Iowa's
Nuclear Test Ban
Campaign

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# WARM AND PEACEFUL WISHES FOR THIS WINTER SEASON


## TWO TURTLE DOVES

Noon vigils at the GWEN tower continue into 1988, the third Saturday of each month. Watch for 1:30 programs in the meeting room of Doc& Jo's Cafe:

January 16th: GWEN review: what's the tower about?

February 20th: Billie Marchik, AFSC: The deadly connection: nuclear weapons and the Persian Gulf

March 19th: Vigiling for peace while paying for war: TAXES!

April 16th: Marks 2 years of vigils!!'

( Tentative schedule... tell us what you think!)

the coffee's on us

Need holiday gifts?? We have FARMS NOT ARMS t-shirts, Nicaraguan coffee, buttons, bumperstickers, and a few copies of the book, Letters from Nicaragua. Call PEACE ALLIANCE , 337-5187

Above is a xerox of a card sent by the Friends Committee on National Legislation, a Quaker organization which attempts to bring spiritual values to bear on the political process. The original art is by Sandra Boynton, a member of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends.

# THINKPEACE

A Publication for Brainstorming and Idea-Sharing

Vol. III No. 5


*"War begins in the minds of human beings. Since this is so, the minds of human beings must also be capable of ending war."*

—Preamble to the Constitution of UNESCO

*STATEMENT OF PURPOSE San Francisco Study Group for Peace & Disarmament believes that war and the arms race cannot be abolished without breakthroughs in a science of peace. While holding that present approaches are insufficient to achieve lasting peace and actual disarmament, we believe in the possibility of much better approaches and in the obligation to search for them. To stimulate such a search, to provide a clearinghouse of ideas, to help formulate more effective strategies and tactics for the peace movement, are the goals toward which we work.*

## Ideas for the Thaw Movement

by David Martinez

Increasing numbers are working to build friendship between the superpowers, believing that radically better relations are the precondition of disarmament and of the long-term prevention of nuclear war. The trend is well-timed. Gorbachev is instituting such changes in Soviet society as can clear the way for unprecedented US/SU intercourse. And if, in spite of Reagan's wrigglings, a Euromissile agreement is concluded—and a more enlightened president emerges in 1988—the Gorbachev/post-Reagan period may constitute the soil in which a quite new US/SU relationship can take root.

In order that the Thaw movement may be in high gear by the time more auspicious circumstances arise, we should soon begin exploring the many paths open to us.

### Friendship Gesturing

1. Make Washington and Moscow sister cities.
2. Build Peace Monument in or near Red Square; enable Soviets to build one in Washington, DC.
3. In Moscow and/or Leningrad, erect memorial to Soviet WWII dead; enable Soviets to build one (or two) for American WWII dead, in US.
4. Plant peace trees in other country. Trees could come with inscription stones saying something like, "From the people of the United States (or a certain city) to the people of the Soviet Union, as a token of peace and friendship," and vice-versa.

### Cooperative Projects

1. Reforestation of denuded areas in US, SU and world.
2. Preservation of endangered species.
3. More films. *Four Faces*, about WWII, is now in the making.
4. TV programs, series.
5. Establishment of a Peace Day in both countries.
6. Establishment of a US/SU Friendship Day in both countries, and/or a day commemorating the signing of a treaty, e.g., Limited Test Ban Treaty.

### Merging

Some people are actually talking about a US/SU Merger. (See Robert Fuller's article "AmerRuss" in *Whole Earth Review*, No. 53, Winter 1986.) While AmerRuss is nowhere on the horizon, we should work toward as much merging as is possible. The main way to go would seem to be through "cross-cutting" groups, clubs, etc., such as:

1. US/SU symphony orchestra—"Friendship Philharmonic."
2. US/SU Peace Corps, especially for Third World.
3. US/SU writers, artists, lawyers, etc., guilds.
4. US/SU singles' dating service or agency. Assuming this one can be made feasible, it could unify Americans and Soviets faster than anything else!
5. US/SU boys, girls clubs.
6. US/SU WWII Veterans Association.
7. US/SU opera and ballet companies.
8. US/SU Animal Protection Society. A mutual love—of animals, in this case—can create a strong bond between people. Also, a joint APS might enable Americans and Soviets to work together for the rights of sentient beings without running into severe political snags.
9. US/SU Conservation Corps Camps. If young Soviets plant trees and clean up creeks in America—and vice-versa—there will presumably be greater love for, and desire toward preservation of, that land.
10. US/SU sport teams: hockey, soccer, baseball, etc. Teams consisting of both Americans and Soviets would play other teams of like composition.
11. US/SU athletic and game clubs: runners, swimmers, hikers, rowers, chess players, etc.
12. More cross-cutting peace groups like IPPNW (physicians) and the one presently contemplated by lawyers. Groups for educators, computer professionals, scientists, etc.

*Crossed Flags*

*House Speaker Jim Wright has designed a cross-flag button which can be obtained from Hook-Fast Specialties Inc., P.O. Box 1088, Providence, RI 02901, (401) 781-4466. T-shirts can be made by most stores that do their own designs.*

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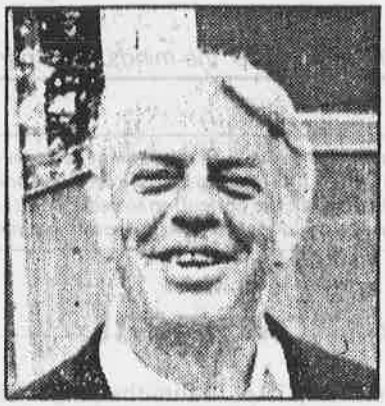
# 'Jack, we are so grateful'

## *Friends recall controversial ex-clergyman*

**By Alma Gaul**

QUAD-CITY TIMES 12-11-87 p. 8



Jack Smith

**'Jack was a man impatient with politics, with the church, with people who weren't curious about what was going on around them. A conscience for the Quad-Cities.'**

You can tell something about a man's life by the people who mourn his death. Crowding into Halligan-McCabe's, Davenport, the other evening were priests, politicians, professors and peace activists. They had come to pay respects to Jack Smith, 63, a man described in newspaper clippings from the '70s as the Quad-Cities' most controversial clergyman because of his outspoken criticism of the Vietnam War.

In 1976 he resigned his 20-year association with St. Ambrose University because administrators were considering offering an ROTC (Reserve Officer Training Corps) program. Jack, a history professor with a doctorate from Catholic University, Washington, D.C., said that given the threat posed by nuclear war, a military program at a Catholic college was unacceptable.

"Some of us are expendable," he wrote. "A generation of young people is not."

**A YEAR LATER,** he created shock waves when he quit the priesthood. He said he didn't think the church was living up to its potential. He said the church had become so preoccupied with laws that it had little energy or sympathy for the "larger human issues of life" and this was contrary to the Gospels. It was an anguishing decision, his friends say. Until his last days, he'd winced when people forgot and addressed him as "Father."

His heyday was a different time and place in the Quad-Cities, the days of the Interracial Council, of weekly vigils at the downtown Federal Building to protest the war, of forums and seminars and brainstorming sessions.

Chuck Quilty, Rock Island, describes Jack's death as the end of an era.

**YET** if Quilty and the other people who gathered at Halligan's said anything, they said there is no end. Jack's influence lives on. Lives are different because he was here.

It was through the questions Jack raised, for example, that Quilty quit his job as a research chemist at the Rock Island Arsenal as a matter of conscience.

Davenport Alderman Karl Rhomberg credits Jack for getting him interested in politics.

St. Ambrose professor Richard Geiger has spent the last 25 years teaching here because when he came to interview, he was so impressed with Jack's intellect that he chose St. Ambrose over several other offers.

**A SCHOLAR,** a leader, a dynamic teacher whose classes attracted more students than the rooms were designed to hold, Jack was a man impatient with politics, with the church, with people who weren't curious about what was going on around them. A conscience for the Quad-Cities. A man with questions. "We don't presume that we have all the right answers," he once said. "But I believe we are beginning to ask some of the right questions."

He took flak from people who disagreed. Michael Current, Davenport, recalls a vigil at the Federal Building to protest President Carter's reinstatement of military registration. A man walked up to Jack and sneered something about his not being good enough to be a priest. "That about broke my heart," Current says, "but Jack just smiled and said, 'I'll pray for you.' And he said it like he meant it. It wasn't canned. He taught us how to deal with people. How to build bridges." Current also recalls the *way* he said it. "He had an incredible voice, the most resonant voice. He could give you shivers when he spoke. I'll never forget that."

**WHEN** Jack died last week of heart problems, his closets held more books than clothes, including a 750-page history of the American peace movement looking for a publisher. He was a man who had asked tough questions and lived with the answers. And lots of people in the Quad-Cities are better for it. Perhaps his friend and colleague, the Rev. William Dawson, speaks for others when he says, "For me personally and any number of the students and faculty at St. Ambrose and others — Jack, we are so grateful."

Jack finished his book six months ago. Pieces of his history of the peace movement appeared in NEW TIMES, the Quad City alternative newspaper, from 1978 to 1984. Two pieces are reprinted in this issue of The Copy Exchange.

Some of us knew him for 10 or 12 years, some for 5. Others of us knew him longer, lived closer, feel a greater loss. Some of us met him briefly, only at vigils; others didn't have an opportunity to meet him there. We all extend special sympathy to Jack's family, friends, and community.

We remember:

"I knew him when he was a priest at Center East. Once I had to wake him up to get him to go to the Pentacrest to give an anti-war talk. He woke from a sound sleep on the rectory couch, walked over there, and gave a very inspiring speech, full of surprises. He was a man who knew the personal and the political were the same."

"I met him in 1976, through the Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice."

"In 1982 he organized Iowa and western Illinois for the World Peace Walk. He came to meet us in Blue Grass. I met him talking at the dinner table. After he left I said who was that man? I think I just fell in love with him."

JACK SMITH

1924 to 1987

We mourn the loss of this friend.
We celebrate his life,
a committment to peace and justice,
an inspiration to us all to carry it on.

# 'Ban the Bomb'

--John S. Smith

While American pacifists were sitting-in in New York City's City Hall Park, protesting civil defense bomb raid drills, across the Atlantic, in England, even more dramatic public demonstrations to "Ban the Bomb" were commanding world attention.

It was 1958, and a number of developments in England combined to raise British consciousness about the human peril of more nuclear bomb testing. Most notable in arousing Britons was a 1957 Defense White Paper which, as Norman Moss reported it, "offered the British people no hope of survival in a nuclear war." Simultaneously the islanders discovered that the U.S. planes flying patrols from British bases were armed with H-bombs. Further, and even closer to home, the fact that England now had her own nuclear bomb, making her a member of the "nuclear club," meant that England could no longer escape immediate moral responsibility. Thus the unique Anglo-Saxon Protestant conscience was brought to bear on the whole process of manufacturing, testing and deploying of the nuclear bomb. Finally, there was Lord Bertrand Russell and his small band of anti-bomb protesters.

"Throughout the forties and the early fifties," Russell wrote in the final volume of his autobiography, "my mind was in a state of confused agitation on the nuclear question. It was obvious to me that a nuclear war would put an end to civilization." While insisting he was not a pacifist, he nonetheless "used every opportunity that presented itself to point out the dangers," as he himself put it. It was not just the bomb and nuclear weapons that concerned Russell; it was war itself that had to be eliminated. He made this clear in a 1954 BBC interview. "I think the existence of the hydrogen bomb presents a perfectly clear alternative to all the Governments of the world. Will they submit to an international authority, or shall the human race die out?"



By early in 1958 peace advocates in Britain were catching up with Russell. Most notably there was the meeting of the National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons Tests held at the house of Canon John Collins of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, in January. From this gathering which Lord Russell attended, came the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CDN), the group which would become the cutting edge of the "Ban the Bomb" movement in western Europe and even in the United States. This was especially true after CDN's sign--the peace logo made up of the semaphore signs for N and D, nuclear disarmament, inside a white circle on a black background--was adopted in all countries as the movement spread.

"NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT"

In England, "interest in the CDN quickly spread," according to Russell. The popular thrust, however, came not so much from CDN as from a much less prestigious group led by Harold Steele, an English chicken farmer and pacifist who after failing to sail his boat into the English H-bomb testing area, organized the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War. With the new group Steele organized and carried out, during Holy Week, the same year, a fifty-mile protest march from London to the Atomic Energy Authority's weapons production plant at Aldermaston.

The march proved to be the real launching of the "Ban the Bomb" movement in England. The Committee, assisted by Hugh Brock, the Quaker editor of Peace News, a pacifist weekly, and other British pacifists,

had hoped for a responsible fifty or sixty marchers who would have the stamina for such an action. On Good Friday when the demonstrators assembled in Trafalgar Square, the leadership was overwhelmed at the numbers who came--more than 5,000, in miserably damp and cold weather. When the march ended at Aldermaston, Easter Sunday, 10,000 protestors could be counted in the field opposite the atomic plant.

One of those who was impressed that Easter Sunday in the field at Aldermaston was American pacifist and civil rights advocate Bayard Rustin. Rustin had taken time out from his newly acquired duties as aide to the Reverend Martin Luther King, jr., and the Montgomery bus boycott, to see firsthand how the British organized mass demonstrations and marches. In 1963, Rustin would be the chief organizer for the March on Washington, an event which drew over 200,000 demonstrators to the mall in front of the Lincoln Memorial.

After Holy Week 1958, the Aldermaston March became an annual Easter event for British protestors. Since Canon Collins led off the first march, CND "took over," as Russell put it, and served to organize future demonstrations. The numbers increased each year as the unilateralist movement mushroomed. By 1960, there were Easter-time "Ban the Bomb" marches in twenty countries, including the United States, all carring the CND peace sign. In 1961 there were 60,000 marchers in England. "The dominant mood of the first Aldermaston March was outraged parenthood," Norman Moss has noted. "By the fourth, it was adolescent revolt."

## CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

At its first conference after the initial Aldermaston march, CND officially opted for unilateral disarmament and the withdrawal of England from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Bold as these resolutions and marches were at the time, they were not enough for the more militant pacifists and the anti-nuclear people like Bertrand Russell. Something more dramatic, even drastic, was needed. What Hugh Brock and the Direct Action Committee determined, with Russell's support, was a civil disobedience campaign. The precedent for such "lawlessness," the Committee claimed was the early Christian martyrs and such nonviolence advocates as Henry Thoreau and Mahatma Gandhi. The campaign began in 1959.

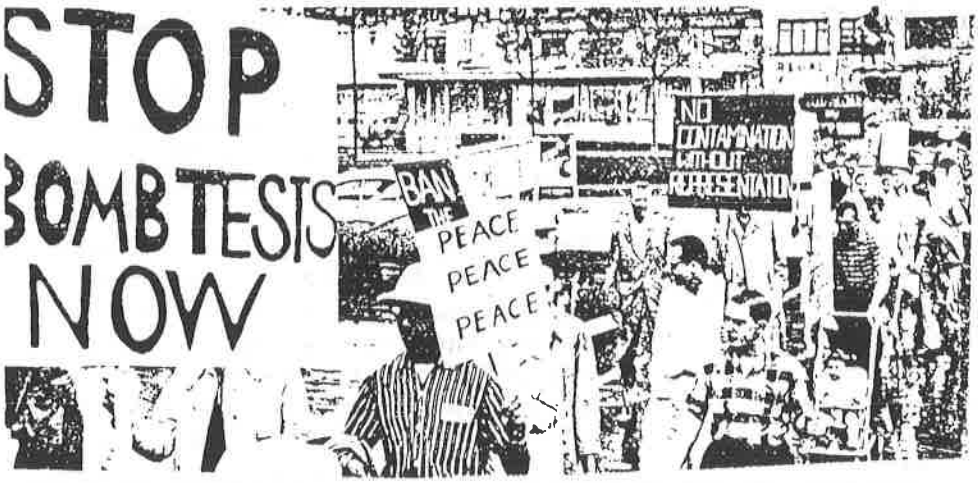
"Non-violent civil disobedience," Lord Russell stated the position in September, 1961, "was forced upon us by the fact that it was more fully reported than other methods of making the facts known, and that caused people to ask what had induced us to adopt such a course of action. We who are here accused are prepared to suffer imprisonment because we believe that this is the most effective was of working for the salvation of our country and the world."

## COMMITTEE OF 100

Late in 1960, the civil disobedience would be further refined with the birth of the Committee of 100. The idea was Ralph Schoenmann's. Schoenmann was an American student at the London School of Economics. His approach was to combine British notables and militant pacifists in an effort that might make it difficult for the English police to come down too hard on those doing CD. Also, the demonstrations were to be moved to the heart of London, the Defense Ministry, and even Whitehall. Russell was impressed with Schoenmann and with his idea. Thus began a series of civil disobedience actions that took full advantage of Britain's centralization of life and culture in London. Some of the British notables who were willing to risk civil disobedience besides Russell were playwrights John Osborne, Robert Bolt and Arnold Wesker; actress Vanessa Redgrave; Penelope Gilliott, the critic; poet Christopher Logue.

"Most of the demonstrators," Norman Moss writes in his evaluation of the "Ban the Bomb" movement in England, "were law-abiding, bourgeois citizens, who would rarely if ever demonstrate against anything else, let alone break the law, but were compelled by what they saw as the unique urgency of the situation. This is easily forgotten in a later period, when conspicuous protest is the characteristic gesture of the youthful and rebellious."

# 'Ban the Bomb' — United States




Back in the United States, the American equivalent of England's "Ban the Bomb" movement took a similar turn towards nonviolent civil disobedience after the model of the New York civil defense protest. In this country, as in England, the Bomb was changing the nature of the peace movement.

Disarmament, always a high priority for the peace movement, was becoming number one as the grim character of nuclear destruction was better understood. "Armaments Mean War" read one of the signs in a walk for disarmament held at Long Beach, California, on Armed Forces Day, 1955.

As for civil disobedience, the militant pacifists thought the excesses of the arms buildup and the developing military-industrial complex required almost drastic dissent. At the same time the survival dimension of nuclear weapons was disturbing other Americans. Non-pacifists, who were not interested in street demonstrations, began to make a case for an expanded peace movement with broader public appeal. Americans would not see the numbers of England's "Ban the Bomb" movement until the anti-Vietnam War era, but clearly more and more were hostile to a possible nuclear war.

The vehicle for the "Ban the Bomb" movement in the United States would be the Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA). In 1958, the same year the British launched Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), militant pacifists in the U.S. organized CNVA. By this time, the militants had abandoned the near Marxist approach of the Committee for Nonviolent Revolution (CNVR), their 1946 creation, in favor of a Gandhian alternative to both capitalism and communism. Two years earlier, the founders of CNVA had started Liberation Magazine to be a voice for American pacifists who espoused a radical philosophy of reform and social change as well as peace and disarmament. Liberation best reflected the urgency of those who engineered the "Ban the Bomb" movement on this side of the Atlantic. At one time or other during these years, all the major disarmament spokespersons wrote for or edited the magazine, e.g. A. J. Muste, David Dellinger, Sidney Lens, Bayard Rustin, Charles Walker, Roy Finch, Barbara Deming, Paul Goodman, and Staughton Lynd.

"The magazine," Robert Cooney and Helen Michalowski would later write, "took up the cause of civil rights, anarchism, decentralism, nonviolent direct action, unilateral disarmament, and a Third Camp foreign policy. Third Camp's radicalism rejected the power politics of the Soviet Union and the United States. It looked towards a third way, a path that rejected the centralism, nationalism, and the dependence on military power for security that both superpowers shared." Yet, Liberation and CNVA did not conceive of revolution as a seizing of the state so much as seeking, in the magazine's words, "the transformation of society by human decision and action."

## DIRECT ACTION AND C.D.

More specifically CNVA sought in its very organization to reflect its direct action/civil disobedience response to the menace of the Bomb. It was not a membership organization. Rather, it attempted to draw together representatives of all major pacifist groups for the purpose of carrying out direct action campaigns which otherwise might be out of the question for local groups with slight resources. Such direct action campaigns, then, would be the tactic CNVA would use to confront the developing military-industrial complex at its installations all across the country. This approach would have the added advantage of acquainting the American public about the key locations where bombs were being manufactured and tested. It was just such an action at the Nevada atomic proving grounds on the anniversary of Hiroshima, August 6, 1957, that CNVA got its start. Eleven members of Lawrence Scott's ad hoc committee--Nonviolent Action Against Nuclear Weapons--crossed over into the prohibited area and were immediately arrested. The next year, Scott's ad hoc committee became CNVA, the permanent organization.

Some of the more dramatic actions CNVA would engineer and support in the years before it became a chief mover in the anti-Vietnam War protest in the Sixties and Seventies, took American pacifists and peace advocates into testing areas in the Pacific and the Sahara Desert, in walks to Moscow and Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and to missile bases in the Mid-west and the Pacific southwest.

In 1958, the year CNVA was organized, Albert Bigelowe attempted to sail his boat, the Golden Rule into the testing zone at Eniwetok in the Pacific near Hawaii. The boat was intercepted by the coast guard but the point had been made. There were support demonstrations in seven American cities, in Montreal and in London. The same year Peacemakers picketed at Cape Canaveral.

The major CNVA project in 1959 was at the Mead Missile Base in Nebraska near Omaha. A group of peace notables including A. J. Muste, Ross Anderson, Wilmer Young, Karl Meyer, Neil Haworth, Brad Lyttle, Marj Swann, and Arthur Harvey entered the base without authorization. All the demonstrators were arrested and given suspended sentences of six months and fines of $500. Those who returned to repeat the "trespassing" were arrested again and sent off to various prisons to do their time. The action at Mead was expanded into a summer-long campaign of education in nonviolent action techniques, meetings in churches, vigils, and more trespassing. It was while he was doing his time in prison for this action that Brad Lyttle got the idea of exposing the deadly threat from the Polaris submarine, the "death machine" which was, he thought, the corner stone of the government's deterrent system. Like the Mead action this became an on-going program.

On the west coast, "Ban the Bomb" activity concentrated on the manufacture of nuclear weapons since the west and southwest of the country were the homes of the Bomb. Los Alamos, New Mexico was the birth place of the atom bomb and Lawrence Radiation Laboratory in Livermore, California, the home of the H-bomb. Rocky Flats in Colorado provided plutonium and most of the radio active material for bomb manufacture. A west coast CNVA unit held the first sit-ins at Livermore late in the fifties.

## AFRICA AND MOSCOW

The vision of the radical pacifists went beyond the boundaries of their own country. CNVA attempted to influence other nations including the Soviet Union. In 1959, a group which included Bayard Rustin, Bill Sutherland, and British pacifist, Michael Scott, travelled to the Sahara Desert to protest French nuclear testing. While the group failed to get into the test zone, they were sucessful in introducing revolutionary nonviolence to the nationals of several countries before they left Africa. Both the World Peace Brigade and the nonviolence training center at Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania came out of these contacts.

A more ambitious "San Francisco to Moscow Walk for Peace," from December, 1960, to September, 1961, became a major communication between the peace people in both countries. This was the first time, according to historians Robert Cooney and Helen Michalowski, "the radical pacifist message had been heard in the Soviet Union and many commentators took the Soviet decision to allow the CNVA walkers to hike to Moscow as an indication of a 'thaw in the cold war'." The New York Herald Tribune editorialized" that of course pacifism was not realistic, but it had to admit that pacifists were able to do what no other diplomats or journalists were able to do before--demonstrate visible protest in the Soviet capitol."

Another peace walk in 1963--the "Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo Walk for "Peace"--brought CNVA in direct contact with the Negro civil rights movement exploding in the South. As the walk proceeded through the southern states it was subjected to continous harassment, "set upon by police with cattle prods," Cooney and Michalowski record, assaulted with white segregationists, and finally arrested and jailed. Whether or not it had been intended the walk had the effect of wedding the two movements--peace and civil rights--with CNVA throwing its support to the developing struggle for justice in the South.

## CNVA'S IMPACT

These demonstrations of CNVA, especially the on-going campaigns like the Polaris Action project, "were probably viewed by most people as being somwhat kooky and extreme," Cooney and Michalowski note in their attempt to evaluate CNVA and the "Ban the Bomb" movement in the United States. "But each CNVA action moved some people, led them to change their lives in what seemed at first a small way but which led, in many cases, to a full time commitment towards peace and justice. Gradually, a cadre of experienced nonviolent activists was being developed for whom nonviolence was a direction for how they wanted to live their lives."

Little has been written about the impact these campaigns of civil disobedience had on the courts. The lack of severity in the judgments handed down might suggest that the judges, while not necessarily sympathetic, were not threatened by this kind of challenge to the law. Certainly there was some education for the men on the bench. It would be left for the civil rights movement and the Vietnam anti-war mobilization later in the Sixties to test the courts more seriously.

Finally, the CNVA did not exhaust American "Ban the Bomb" activities. At the same time that CNVA was being organized in 1958 the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) held its first meetings. A moderate peace effort, SANE was more concerned about non-pacifists than pacifists and its approach was educational rather than direct action. It proposed to be a membership organization which would lobby in Washington for disarmament and peace. The prime movers in SANE, besides Quaker Lawrence Scott, were Homer Jack, Norman Cousins, and Robert Gilmore. Like SANE, the Student Peace Union, organized in Chicago in 1959, also saw itself appealing to non-pacifists, drawing them into what the Union called the growing movement against the Bomb, the organized movement for peace.

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Jan 1985




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