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"Hell, No! We Won't Glow"
The Bailly Alliance: Memories of an Antinuclear Coalition

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The slogan **Hell, No! We Won't Glow**, from which this paper's title is derived, was one of many written on placards carried by participants at an antinuclear rally held on April 25, 1981. Although not an active member of the Bailly Alliance, the organization sponsoring the march, I was a participant and (memory is a little hazy) may have been shouting that slogan, which was a take-off on the Vietnam War-era antidraft chant, **Hell, No! We Won't Go**. The demonstration's specific purpose that spring day was to protest plans by the Northern Indiana Public Service Company (NIPSCO), a privately-owned utility company, to construct a nuclear power plant in Northwest Indiana, approximately an hour's drive from Chicago, Illinois. The mass action highlighted a decade-long battle over the ecological future of the southern shore of Lake Michigan, the latest chapter in what historians Kay Franklin and Norma Schaeffer called the "Duel for the Dunes."[1]

The Bailly movement is less familiar to scholars than such other related Seventies stories as the first Earth Day in 1970 (which focused public attention in America on environmental concerns), Karen Silkwood's mysterious death in 1974 (while preparing to

[1] *Duel for the Dunes: Land Use Conflict on the Shores of Lake Michigan*(1983);Alexander Bloom and Wini Breines, eds., *"Takin' It to the Streets": A Sixties Reader*(1995), pp. 239-60; James B. Lane *"City of the Century: A History of Gary, Indiana* (1978). At the 1997 Oral History Association meeting in New Orleans, where I chaired a panel devoted to the Bailly fight, somebody in the audience pointed out that even in the event of a nuclear catastrophe, victims would not literally glow. Still the slogan *Hell, No! We Won't Glow* was an attention-grabber, although some sign-makers opted for the less confrontational *Heck, No! We Won't Glow*. Interview with Toni Trojecka Lane, Jan. 26, 1998. Another favorite among demonstrators demanded, *Kill Bailly Before It Kills Us*. NIPSCO chose the name "Bailly" to honor the Calumet Region's first permanent residents, a French Canadian fur trapper and his Ottawa wife.

expose unsafe procedures at Kerr-McGee Corporation's Cimarron nuclear facility in Oklahoma), the prolonged Seabrook nuclear plant controversy in New Hampshire (which featured highly publicized acts of civil disobedience by members of the Clamshell Alliance), or the 1979 Three-Mile Island incident (which led to the mass evacuation of thousands of central Pennsylvania residents). During a decade of transition the Bailly struggle was symptomatic of a crisis of confidence in private and public institutions which polarized America as it was moving fitfully from industrial behemoth into a more stagnant "age of limits." The inner workings of this antinuclear success story are worth studying for a variety of reasons, including the unique nature of the forces coming together at a moment, in the words of historians Peter Carroll and David Noble, when people were becoming aware of "the necessity to limit growth, decentralize economic and social life, and use renewable sources of energy that came from the cycles of nature."[2]

The social history of the Bailly Alliance could only have been explored fully with the aid of oral interviews. The grassroots coalition included not only environmentalists of many stripes, including hunters and fishermen, joggers and vegetarians, hair-sprayed housewives and sandaled hippies, first-timers and veterans of past crusades, but also polyester-suited liberals and blue-collared trade unionists, including Old Left Communists and Trotskyists and a bewildering variety of New Left sectarian splinter groups who hoped that the antinuclear movement would pave the way for

[2] These stories were dwarfed by the Chernobyl accident in the Soviet Union, which produced mass casualties. Michael Barone, *Our Country: The Shaping of America from Roosevelt to Reagan* (1990); Robert Gottlieb, *Forcing the Spring: The Transformation of the American Environmental Movement* (1993); Samuel Hays, *Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955-1985*(1987); Kirkpatrick Sale, *The Green Revolution: The American Environmental Movement, 1962-1992*(1993); Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen, *The Entropy Law and Economic Process* (1971); E. F. Schumacher, *Small Is Beautiful* (1973); Jeff Stein, "Silkwood Probe Picks Up Where She Left Off," *In These Times* 2,(Oct. 11-17, 1978); Harvey Wasserman, "The Clamshell Alliance: Getting It Together," *The Progressive* (Sept., 1977), 14-18; Peter N. Carroll and David W. Noble, *The Free and the Unfree: A New History of the United States*, 2nd ed. (1988). During the Seventies the word "stagflation" was coined to characterize an economy beset with high unemployment as well as inflation. Charles R. Morris, *A Time of Passion: America, 1960-1980*(1986).

revolutionary change by revealing the bankruptcy of the capitalistic system. I have examined how these disparate factions interacted and resolved conflicts by supplementing my research of written sources with oral histories.[3]

Cold War Background: In 1945, in two signature moments of that most cataclysmic of years, hundreds of thousands of Japanese civilians were incinerated at Hiroshima and Nagasaki to bring down the final curtain on World War II. The atomic mushroom clouds and their radio-active fallout signaled the dawn of a new age of anxiety. The following year, in an act of "monumental stupidity," to quote one antinuclear partisan, the U. S. Congress created the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC). Utility industry boosters touted the peaceful harnessing of nuclear energy as a benign byproduct of nuclear weapons research. **Atoms for Peace** was the way President Dwight D. Eisenhower promoted the program internationally in the mid-1950s, about the time when the AEC authorized the building of the first nuclear power plant. The hope (some would say hype) was that atomic power would be a cheap, clean, environmentally friendly energy source, augmenting and perhaps eventually replacing fossil-fueled electrical plants. Better to have left well enough alone, a few dissenters thought. In 1971, with Americans fretting over rising oil costs and fuel shortages, President Richard M. Nixon endorsed nuclear power plants as one of his domestic priorities; that same year Professor Claude M. Summers declared in **Scientific American**: "If ever any energy source can be said to have arrived in the nick of

[3] The leftwing backgrounds of Alliance leaders can be compared with the *Women's Steelworkers Caucus*, which also was in existence during the late 1970s and early 1980s, and *Steelworkers Fight Back*, a rank-and file insurgency movement within District 31(comprising the Chicago/Northwest Indiana area) of the United Steelworkers of America. Communist Party members played a much more significant role in the *Women's Steelworkers Caucus* and *Steelworkers Fight Back*. The CP position was that nuclear plants were all right under communism, but capitalists could not be trusted to run them properly. See James Lane, "Feminism, Radicalism and Unionism: The Calumet District Women's Caucus and its Fight against Sex Discrimination in American Steel Mills," *IX International Oral History Conference Proceedings* (Goteborg, 1996), 541-48; Michael Olszanski, "Steelworkers Fight Back," unpublished manuscript, CRA. Conflict resolution is a hot topic in the 1990s, especially in Labor Studies. See Rick Halpern and Roger Horowitz, *Meatpackers: An Oral History of Black Packinghouse Workers and Their Struggle for Racial and Economic Equality*(1996).

time, it is nuclear energy." Even so, during the 1970s, as the percentage of nuclear energy increased eight-fold nationally, from 1.4 to 11 percent of America's total energy output, public concerns mounted, especially among those living in close proximity to proposed reactor sites who had come of age during the tumultuous 1960s. For a variety of reasons during that "decade of disillusionment," growing numbers of articulate citizens had come to distrust big business and so-called government regulatory agencies.[4]

In 1974, the year Nixon was forced out of the White House due to criminal activities related to the Watergate scandal, some 42 nuclear power plants operated within the United States, including nine lining the vast coastline of Lake Michigan in Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan (the Bailly plant would have been the first in Indiana). Across the country another 70 were either under construction or in the advanced planning stage. More than half of these were never completed, however, as cost estimates skyrocketed and public opinion soured on nuclear power. In part this was due to doubts raised by the antinuclear movement and also because of a confidence-shattering event, the near catastrophe at Three-Mile Island in 1979, which seemed to echo the doomsday thesis of a film

[4] Interview with Edward W. Osann, Jan. 31, 1988. This and other oral histories are located in the Calumet Regional Archives (CRA), Indiana University Northwest, Gary, Indiana. See also Carl Degler, *Affluence and Anxiety: America Since 1945*(1968); Charles C. Alexander, *Holding the Line: The Eisenhower Era, 1952-1961* (1975). American historians often tend to divide the past artificially into decades and use phrases like "Roaring Twenties" and "Swinging Seventies" to characterize the periods under study. Some labels, such as "Depression Decade" for the 1930s and "Tumultuous Sixties," are more apt than others. Tom Wolfe's trite moniker "Me Decade" parodied the emphasis on self-improvement by Baby Boomers reaching young adulthood in the Seventies, and "Age of Limits" has been adopted by numerous textbook writers as shorthand for America's economic woes. The early 1970s had much in common with the late-Sixties while the late-Seventies presaged the more conservative Eighties. Compared to the 1960s the 1970s has received relatively attention from historians; the leading intellectual history of the period, J. David Hoeveler's *The Postmodernist Turn: American Thought and Culture in the 1970s* (1996) neglects the environmentalist movement. One New Left historian even titled his book *It Seemed Like Nothing Happened*, which reflected, to some, the diminution of social protest. See also Tom Wolfe, *Mauve Gloves and Madmen, Clutter & Wine* (1976); James W. Davidson et. al., *Nation of Nations: A Narrative History of the American Republic*, 3rd ed. (1998); Jim E. Heath, *Decade of Disillusionment: The Kennedy-Johnson Years* (1975); Peter N. Carroll, *It Seemed Like Nothing Happened: The Tragedy and Promise of America in the 1970s* (1982).

popular in the spring of that year called **The China Syndrome**, starring Jack Lemmon and Jane Fonda. In May of 1979, 65,000 antinuclear demonstrators descended upon Washington, D.C., the largest protest since Vietnam. After Three Mile Island no more nuclear power plants went on line for 18 years.[5]

National Antinuclear Movement: According to sociologist Jerome Price, the antinuclear movement arose during the early 1970s as a single-issue coalition of scientific experts and longstanding environmentalists. Initially, some adherents were not against nuclear power **per se**, just sites too close to their own neighborhoods or places of natural beauty. During the mid-1970s critics questioned the rosy statements of the AEC; Barry Commoner's books **The Closing Circle** (1971) and **The Poverty of Power: Energy and the Economic Crisis** (1976) revealed the dangers of trusting the AEC to serve as an industry watchdog, since part of its mission was clearly to promote atomic power (eventually its regulatory role was bequeathed to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission). In time the antinuclear movement included labor unions, church organizations, women's groups, university communities, Sixties counter-culture survivors, a variety of anticapitalist sectarian groups, and myriad Postwar "Baby Boomers" worried about their own children's health. Professor Price distinguishes between legalistic-minded "old environmentalists," as he labeled them, and direct-action oriented "new environmentalists." The former were more interested in specific issues pertaining to land, wildlife and nature; the latter were part of the mobilization cycle that had sprung from the civil rights and anti-Vietnam war movements and tended to be more critical of corporate elites and more concerned with broader problems of destructive technologies. According to Christian Joppke, who compared German and American antinuclear movements, participants were often committed to a utopian vision of community

[5] Lake Michigan was the only one of the Great Lakes lying wholly within U. S. boundaries. See James B. Lane, ed., "Tales of Lake Michigan and the Northwest Indiana Dunelands," *Steel Shavings* 28(1998). Andrew J. Edelstein and Kevin McDonough, *The Seventies: From Hot Pants to Hot Tubs* (1990); David S. Aviel, *The Politics of Nuclear Energy* (1982). In 1997 the Tennessee Valley Authority, a federal agency, succeeded in bringing the Watts Bar nuclear plant on line despite local protests and cost overruns. Interview with Beth Zilbert, Sept. 30, 1997.

and participatory democracy. Whereas erstwhile Sixties protesters had combatted racism, poverty, and war, their latter-day counterparts, argued historian Alan Brinkley, "fought to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons and power plants, to save the wilderness, to protect endangered species, to limit reckless economic development, and otherwise to protect the environment." By the time of Three-Mile Island dozens of antinuclear coalitions had sprouted up nationally, from the Clamshell Alliance in New Hampshire and the Paddlewheel Alliance along the Ohio River region of southern Indiana/northern Tennessee to the Prairie Alliance in Illinois and the Abalone Alliance in California. Some zealots were willing, even eager, to dramatize their commitment and gain publicity for their goals by engaging in nonviolent actions of civil disobedience, lawbreaking tactics incompatible, in Joppke's words, "with the progressive legalism of the public-interest mainstream." He concludes, inaccurately, in the case of the Bailly fight, that "old" and "new" environmentalists remained separate throughout the antinuclear struggle.[6]

Background to the Bailly Fight: Since 1952 the Save the Dunes Council, an "old" environmentalist group, had been struggling to preserve the Northwest Indiana lakefront from industrial despoliation. Their efforts had led to the establishment of a national park (Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore) whose boundary was less than 800 feet from the proposed Bailly reactor site. When NIPSCO applied to the AEC's Atomic Safety and Licensing Board in 1970 for permission to begin construction, members questioned the appropriateness of a nuclear generating plant at the border of the park, a 685-megawatt reactor which would not only be potentially destructive to the dunes ecology but also aesthetically unpleasant. In the words of historian James E. Newman, NIPSCO had already lost credibility locally because, despite assurances to the contrary, their

[6] Ronald Engel, *Sacred Sands: The Struggle for Community in the Indiana Dunes* (1983); Jerome Price, *The Antinuclear Movement*, 2nd ed., (1990); Alan Brinkley, *The Unfinished Nation*, 2nd ed. (1997), p. 945; Christian Joppke, *Mobilizing Against Nuclear Energy* (1993); Helena Flam, ed., *States and Anti-Nuclear Movements*(1994). The historical literature on the American antinuclear movement is sketchy compared to European studies.

fossil-fuel plant, located near the proposed Bailly site, "was emitting a lot of chemicals through its smokestack. Every night you could see this trail of red smoke going off into the distance."[7]

Calling themselves the Concerned Citizens against the Bailly Site, local residents financially supported several citizens who were granted the status of "Joint Intervenors" by the AEC in accordance with federal regulations. In 1973 the opposing parties argued their case during 65 days of hearings before AEC's Licensing Board. After losing that battle, the Intervenors appealed on the grounds that in its evacuation plan the utility had misrepresented the number of people living and working near the plant. Joining the hearings at this point were two groups, the Porter County chapter of the Izaak Walton League (a wildlife organization), and the Chicago-based Business and Professional People for the Public Interest (BPI). Later the City of Gary, the State of Illinois, and District 31 of the United Steelworkers of America became Intervenors also. The Intervenors won their case before the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals (their only legal victory, it turned out; the real importance of their actions was as a delaying tactic). The Supreme Court later overturned the lower court's decision, but the judicial battle moved back construction until late 1976. A year later work halted when NIPSCO could not get the pilings, on which the plant would rest, down to bedrock as required by their permit. Even though the AEC eventually granted permission for shorter pilings, over the objections of the Intervenors, engineering problems plagued them. For one thing, the installation of the pilings threatened the integrity of Cowles Bog, of special interest to the Save the Dunes Council and other conservationists. The formation of the Bailly Alliance in the winter of 1977-78 stimulated mass mobilization against further construction, which in fact, never resumed. With NIPSCO's license running out, the Intervenors successfully demanded a new round of hearings before the AEC made any decision on an extension. Cost estimates by this time had ballooned tenfold to more than a billion dollars.

[7] Tanya Lee Erwin, "Indiana Dunes: Another Border to Defend," *National Parks and Conservation Magazine*, 51(Oct. 1977),4-8; interview with Charlotte Read, Dec. 6, 1996, CRA; James E. Newman, "The Bailly Fight," *Steel Shavings: Concerned Citizens against the Bailly Nuclear Site* 16(1988),1-4.

Meanwhile, predictions of future energy needs had lowered, causing some NIPSCO executives to question going ahead in the face of hostile public opinion. In August of 1981, NIPSCO's Board of Directors voted to cancel the project.[8]

Origins: The Bailly Alliance was in existence for roughly four years beginning in the autumn of 1977. The idea came from Chicagoans, but almost all members were from Northwest Indiana. Helping organize the first rally, held in November of 1977 in Chesterton, Indiana, were members of the American Friends Service Committee. Over the winter, one of these, Quaker Ellida Earnhart, opened up a post office box, set up a checking account, and in the spring of 1978 organized an **ad hoc** steering committee. That June supporters from a half dozen communities heeded an invitation to **Surrender your non-involvement** and **Join us for a Non-nuclear [Italian] Dinner!** Within months members of the nascent organization had made inroads with Bethlehem Steel Company employees. They went to a local 6787 union picnic armed with copies of NIPSCO's emergency evacuation plan, which had been submitted to the AEC and thus was part of the public record. It called for a "suicide squad" of 170 workers to stay inside the mill and bank the furnaces while managerial personnel, in Herb Read's words, "fled in their corporate jet." Meanwhile, Inland Steel's union local came out in opposition to the plant. Their resolution cited three factors: safety, the waste problem, and the inevitable electricity rate increases to consumers. By August the membership had adopted a set of bylaws, and an eight-page debut edition of the Bailly Alliance **News** had been published, with the feature story appearing under the

[8].Interview with James E. Newman, Dec. 3, 1987; Engel, *Sacred Sands*, pp. 286-89. The Bailly Alliance made a special effort to win over African Americans. Although very few were active members, a number of black steelworkers came to public events, as did Mayor Richard G. Hatcher of Gary, some of whose most loyal white supporters were ardent conservationists. See James B. Lane, "The Limits of Black Political Power: An Oral History of the Richard Gordon Hatcher Administration," unpublished manuscript, CRA; Andrew Hurley, *Environmental Inequalities: Class, Race, and Industrial Pollution in Gary, Indiana, 1945-1980* (1995).

headline **NIPSCO resumes construction; renewed protests needed**.[9]

Goals: The organization's overriding goal, as stated in its bylaws, was educational: to warn area citizens about the perils of the Bailly nuclear plant. Perhaps the most effective educational events were Balloon Releases to dramatize how far the wind carried particles emanating from the site (later these were halted when it was learned that some birds had swallowed balloon fragments and choked to death). Other activities included a Midwest No-Nukes Conference (which attracted workshop participants from more than a half-dozen states), speeches to local groups (NIPSCO officials generally refused offers to debate the subject at public forums), and informational pickets at NIPSCO stockholders meetings and AEC hearings. After Three Mile Island, safety became the issue stressed most in Bailly Alliance literature, especially the inadequate pilings and the lack of any rational evacuation plan. As one Bailly leader put it, "the facts were on our side, so our chief aim was to get them out to residents of Northwest Indiana, including our own members, so they could be better advocates within their communities." The educational mission extended to politicians and governmental officials. The way the American federal system operated, NIPSCO had to secure approval from a local zoning board and from state officials, as well as from the federal government. While the Bailly Alliance did not officially support candidates for elective office, several local Democrats came out against NIPSCO's "white elephant" and subsequently enjoyed success at the polls. Some believed that it was perhaps possible to educate utility company officials themselves that it was in their best overall self-interest to capitulate, given the escalating costs and bad publicity which was tarnishing NIPSCO's image.[10]

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[9] Robin Rich, "Bailly Finally Dead," USWA 6786 Energy Committee *Newsletter* (Nov. 1981), CRA; interview with Herb Read, Mar. 28, 1997; Brenda Frantz and Robin Rich, "Two First-hand Accounts of the Bailly Fight," *Critical Mass Energy Journal*, 7(Nov.-Dec., 1981), 8-16. According to several sources, the idea for the Bailly Alliance came from Chicagoan Ed Gogal; the Illinois group later changed its name to Citizens Against Nuclear Power.

[10] Interviews with David Canright(Dec. 2 1997), Cindy Fredrick(Dec. 9,1997), William Drozda(Aug. 28, 1986), and anonymous respondents, CRA.

Structure: Anybody could join the Bailly Alliance regardless of age or affiliation with other organizations. Bylaws could be amended by majority vote at monthly meetings (to prevent any faction from using first-timers to take over the organization, new members could only be signed up at the close of such meetings). Agenda items were prepared by a steering committee composed of two chapter representatives as well as six additional at-large members (in actuality it was rare for more than a half dozen people to attend steering committee meetings). Two co-chairs were elected by the membership, one from Lake County and the other from adjacent Porter County. These positions tended to be rotated, in the spirit of shared leadership. Some female chapter heads resented the tendency of a few male leaders to dominate general meetings. Partly for this reason, Bailly Alliance bylaws stressed participatory democracy, decentralization, and consensus decision-making. Most work was conducted through local branches, the two most important of which, Miller, located within the City of Gary in Lake County and Chesterton, located in Porter County about equal distance between Dune Acres and the college town of Valparaiso, had storefront offices. By the summer of 1980, when active membership peaked at around 200, a dozen "fully autonomous" chapters encompassed a 60-mile area. Each had its own inner dynamic, with some dominated by a single sectarian group (the Socialist Workers Party, or SWP, in Glen Park, for instance) and others relatively free of ideological baggage. For some leftwingers, especially those in the SWP, the antinuclear issue was a means to the ultimate goal of radicalizing America. To others, especially those in the International Socialist Party, or IS, the antinuclear issue gradually became paramount, as it became obvious that "the revolution was not just around the corner," as they once believed.[11]

Leaders: While literally dozens of Bailly members played leadership roles, six of the most important were Jack Weinberg, Herb Read, Mike Olszanski, David Canright, Cristal Stineback, and

[11] Stephen McShane, "Historical Sketch of the Bailly Alliance," CRA. Members of sectarian groups used Bailly meetings and public events for recruiting purposes. Often the person recruited would already be a member of a rival group. Interview with Mike Olszanski, Jan. 8, 1998, CRA.

Brenda Frantz. Weinberg had been one of the leaders of the 1964 Berkeley Free Speech Movement at the University of California; his arrest while passing out literature on behalf of the Congress of Racial Equality had set off a 25-hour teach-in by demonstrators who had surrounded the police car of the officers who arrested him. After many years of civil rights and antiwar activity, he joined the IS and moved to Gary, Indiana, for the express purpose of becoming a steelworker and running for union office. Of all the Bailly leaders, Weinberg was the most sophisticated strategist and had the closest ties to the national antinuclear movement, including Ralph Nader's Critical Mass Energy Project. Read, affectionately nicknamed **Howlin' Herb** because of his theatrical oratorical style, had been prominent in the Save the Dunes Council and the Porter County chapter of the Izaak Walton League (his wife at one time headed both groups) and was friends with the original Intervenors. In his fifties, Read was a generation older than most others and the organization's most effective speaker. He and Weinberg were co-chairs longer than any others. Mike Olszanski was chairman of his union's environmental committee at Inland Steel(one of the first in the country) and part of a leftwing rank-and-file insurgency movement within the United Steelworkers of America. Olszanski said later that he was red-baited so often, he eventually decided that the Communist Party must have been organized labor's best friend. David Canright, who worked at the Chesterton **Tribune,** a rather conservative family-owned newspaper, had joined the SWP while an antiwar activist in college. An indefatigable editor of the Bailly Alliance **News**, he proved adept at winning the confidence of all factions, especially those in Porter County who were suspicious of Weinberg and the Miller office.[12]

In addition to these four "Heavies," as some people called them, several charismatic women played indispensable roles,

[12] Although he has always stoutly maintained that the quote was taken out of context, Weinberg is credited with saying, "You can't trust anybody over thirty." While Canright was generally trusted by everyone, he believes he was passed over for co-chair by those suspicious of his past SWP connections. Interview with Canright, Dec. 2, 1997, CRA; W. J. Rorabaugh, *Berkeley at War: The 1960s* (1989); William L. O'Neill, *Coming Apart: An Informal History of America in the 1960's* (1971), p. 279.

including one-time co-chair and Michigan City chapter leader Cristal Stineback. According to Canright, Stineback typified the hundreds of hardworking people who joined the battle because the issue was so cogent. Known for her long blue fingernails and exotic dress, which highlighted her American Indian ancestry, she was peerless in getting people to turn out at events and, along with her husband, frequently chauffeured many of them to anti-nuke events (including gatherings in Washington, D. C., and Harrisburg, Pa.) in the Stineback family's sumptuous camper. Brenda Frantz was recruited by an IS unionist whom she later married. The Alliance's only paid staff member, she did much of the planning for the Midwest No Nuke Conference. The affair almost turned into a disaster when NIPSCO "turned out the lights" at the motel where the conference was scheduled to be held because the owner had fallen behind on his utility payments, thus providing company officials with an excuse to torpedo the event. Makeshift sleeping quarters and meeting rooms were found, and the crisis helped build an **esprit de corps** among the participants.[13]

Tactics: While Bailly Alliance activities were to be limited to education, the by-laws mentioned that it could later be necessary to set up an independent Bailly Alliance Action Committee. Sit-ins and other confrontations which might have resulted in arrests were rejected as counterproductive, at least for the moment. Yet as a last resort, most Bailly leaders were ready to consider the possibility of direct action that might have led to arrests. In fact, the Bailly Alliance cultivated a "mainstream" image in order to counteract NIPSCO propaganda that it was a "fringe" group composed of "kooks." Brenda Frantz recalled that on one occasion when she informed Valparaiso city officials of their intent to do some leafletting, it was almost embarrassing how respectfully local police treated them. "Oh, you're that polite group," one said. There was surprisingly little disagreement on strategy, tactics or membership qualifications. No efforts were made to exclude communists, Trotskyists or Maoists, a lesson learned from past internecine

[13] Among those whose interviews were especially helpful for this and subsequent sections were Jack Weinberg, Herb Read, Mike Olszanski, Brenda Frantz, David Canright, Ronald D. Cohen, Bill Paulus, Robin Rich, Anne Minor and Cindy Fredrick.

squabbles. Disagreements were usually over rather trivial procedural matters, such as how to conduct meetings. David Canright recalled that the Quakers and hippies wanted everybody sitting in a circle with no leaders, while others demanded more structure. Arguments occurred over what kind of music to play at movement events and whether "loaded" words like "Fascist" should be used in flyers to characterize the enemy. Partisans argued endlessly over what literature could be hawked at Bailly functions and storefronts, in particular sectarian newspapers such as the SWP's **The Militant**. Jack Weinberg, whose arrest at Berkeley for passing out literature had made him a national celebrity, was in a touchy position since he wanted to protect the group's image as a single-issue, broad-based group but didn't want to be a censor. As a compromise, sectarian literature was tolerated at public events but discouraged at meetings, storefront or Bailly Alliance displays. One slight diversion from the organization's single-issue stance was supporting demands of striking NIPSCO workers. Soon after the labor dispute broke out, Dave Canright put out a special issue of the Bailly Alliance **News** devoted to their job action and delivered copies to the picket lines. The lead story quoted a union member as saying, "And they think they can run a nuclear plant. They've got to be kidding." Because of the goodwill generated by Canright's action, along with prodding from fellow unionists, the striking NIPSCO employees (whose union was a steelworker affiliate) went "anti-nuke."[14]

Aftermath: After NIPSCO capitulated to public pressure, there was an unsuccessful effort to keep the Bailly Alliance together for the purpose of putting nuclear plants elsewhere out of commission. Young steelworkers were getting laid off at this time, however, causing some to move out of Northwest Indiana. Others remained active in local grassroots conservation efforts (the most

[14] Favorite singers ranged from Bob Dylan and Jim Morrison to Joni Mitchell and Stevie Nicks; popular groups included the Talking Heads and the Grateful Dead, as well as the Spinners and the O'Jays, with one respondent recalling her fondness for a tape of whale noises. Old labor tunes, such as "Solidarity Forever," were the most popular sing-alongs, perhaps with additional antinuclear verses thrown in. "Fascist" was a word favored more by SWP and PL members. Interview with Mike Olszanski, Dec. 23, 1997; David Canright, "Reminiscences," *Steel Shavings* (vol. 16), 50; David Canright and Jim Eng, "NIPSCO Strike," Bailly Alliance *News* (May-June, 1980).

important being the Grand Calumet Task Force, formed to clean up one of the most polluted rivers in America) or continued to involve themselves in safety issues in the mills. Herb Read has remained active in the Save the Dunes Council; Jack Weinberg is presently an organizer for Greenpeace. Cindy Fredrick and several others joined a disarmament group called Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament(WAND). Some Bailly leaders became prominent in the Citizens Action Coalition, which for several years had been fighting successive rate hikes by NIPSCO, including one which in effect would have taxed the public to pay for their Bailly losses. On the other hand, David Canright was so "burned out" that he embarked on a three-month solitary hike along the Appalachian trail before taking over operation of his family's newspaper and becoming part of the local business establishment.[15]

Changing perspectives: In 1986, at a fifth-anniversary reunion picnic, I began interviewing Bailly Alliance members. Ten years later, I re-interviewed most of them to see how their recollections had changed. Because it was such a central experience in their lives, their memories were still vivid. While this may be too sweeping a generalization, interviewees in 1997 seemed more optimistic than 1986 respondents, mired as they had been in the depths of the Reagan counter-revolution. Interviewees in 1986 had used phrases like "people power" and "for once the system worked" to register their surprise at Bailly's successful denouement. By 1997 the struggle had taken on an air of historical inevitability, and NIPSCO did not seem so formidable (or insidious) an opponent. Paradoxically, some respondents were less hopeful about the potential for grassroots movements to ever again have such an impact. In 1986 the Bailly Alliance's importance appeared clear, especially its role in molding public opinion and keeping a rapacious corporation in check. Ten years later, grassroots antinuclear

[15] Lance Trusty, "End of an Era: The 1980s in the Calumet," *Steel Shavings*, 21(1992), 1-7. A Harvard-educated artist, Fredrick had at one-time been close to the Progressive Labor Party, a Maoist group. Some of her anti-nuke drawings were picked up by the Liberation News Service and appeared in publications all over the country. She recalled fondly that whenever she worked on the Bailly Alliance *News*, co-editor Jim Eng found sitters to watch over her young children. Interview with Fredrick, Dec. 9, 1997.

alliances were largely a thing of the past, as the controversy over nuclear power had died down; and at least some Bailly leaders were more modest in claiming credit for stopping NIPSCO's plans and more willing to concede that the Intervenors deserved most of the plaudits.

Perspectives change over time, and inquiries that might seem tasteless or irrelevant to one generation are often deemed important to a succeeding one. During the intervening years the Cold War mentality of secrecy ebbed somewhat, and interviewees spoke more candidly about their leftwing associations, even slipping into old language usage patterns. After calling CP members "Stalinists" and referring to "affinity groups," David Canright said, "Gee, I haven't talked that way for 25 years." My 1990s interviews probed into delicate areas, such as sexual habits and drug usage of Bailly members that I didn't ask about in 1986. Regarding sexual practices, a number of couples switched partners during the Bailly fight, but monogamous relationships were the norm, proving again the resiliency of the nuclear family in late-20th century America, even though divorce rates were at a record high. Members of some sectarian groups, such as the SWP, frowned on doing illegal drugs that could lead to a police bust, while others saw the smoking of marijuana as a liberating part of their lifestyle. Local chapters were not unlike extended families, with all the emotional baggage, good and bad, that comes with such intimate relationships. Even most of the "kooks," as one trade unionist fondly referred to them, went home to their own "pad" rather than live communally. Many male leaders started out as "chauvinist pigs," said one respondent, adding that some of them changed their stripes and others didn't.[16]

[16] Whether some questions are "out of bounds" might differ from one culture to another. In 1994, while discussing a project with an oral historian from Chinese U. in Hong Kong who had been interviewing former Singapore household servants presently living communally, I asked whether most were lesbians; she replied that she did not know, that the subject had not come up. See Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History* (1995). SWP and IS members rarely dated outside their own group, Olszanski recalled. A body of humorous stories has survived, emphasizing the disparate lifestyles of some of the group members as seen through the eyes of working-class trade unionists. Interview with Olszanski, Jan. 8. 1998. On late-20th century sexual practices see David Goldfield et. al., *The American Journey: A History of the United States* (1998); Stephanie Coontz, *The*

Like old World War II soldiers, Northwest Indiana antinuclear veterans considered their Bailly Alliance days as a highlight of their lives: "For once," to quote one of them, "we made a difference." Some friendships made during the Bailly fight have stood the test of time, while other estrangements have likewise remained. Among my interviewees, I encountered nostalgia and more than a little curiosity as to how old allies and enemies were doing. Many stressed the so-called "good vibrations" and "lasting friendships" which came from participating in Alliance activities. Paul Landskroener recalled: "There was a wonderful atmosphere of fun associated with the Bailly movement. One day we had a Thanksgiving dinner, and I spent all day making giant trays of lasagna. It was typical of Bailly Alliance functions in that there were kids of all ages, lots of music. Not only did the important political work happen but we had a good time doing it. It was satisfying on a personal and spiritual level."

Way We Never Were (1992); Arlene Skolnick, *Embattled Paradise: The American Family in an Age of Uncertainty* (1991).