

from the RQ Archives

Vandenberg Action Handbook

In 1983, hundreds of people traveled to Vandenberg Air Force Base in Southern California to protest US testing of a new generation of intercontinental nuclear missiles known as the MX.

About a thousand people were arrested in three different series of actions in January, March, and June of that year. Some spent as long as two months in prison for multiple arrests, although 1-2 days was more common for first arrests.

The actions contributed to delays in testing, and helped draw public attention to the vast expenditure on a missile designed to escalate the ruinous cold war.

The Vandenberg actions and their broader context are covered in colorful detail in Luke Hauser's novel *Direct Action* – see info at right.

This protester-produced handbook was their guide. The Vandenberg handbook revisited material from earlier actions, rewriting key sections on both the politics of militarism and the internal process of the direct action movement.

Download PDFs of this and other activist handbooks, classic issues of Direct Action newspaper – plus Luke Hauser's complete novel.

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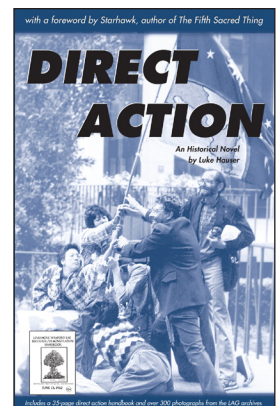


DIRECT ACTION An Historical Novel

by Luke Hauser

More than 7000 people were arrested in nonviolent protests in California in the 1980s, developing the art of direct action to a height not reached again until Seattle in 1999.

This unique book captures the actions, the people, the misadventures... plus 300 photos!



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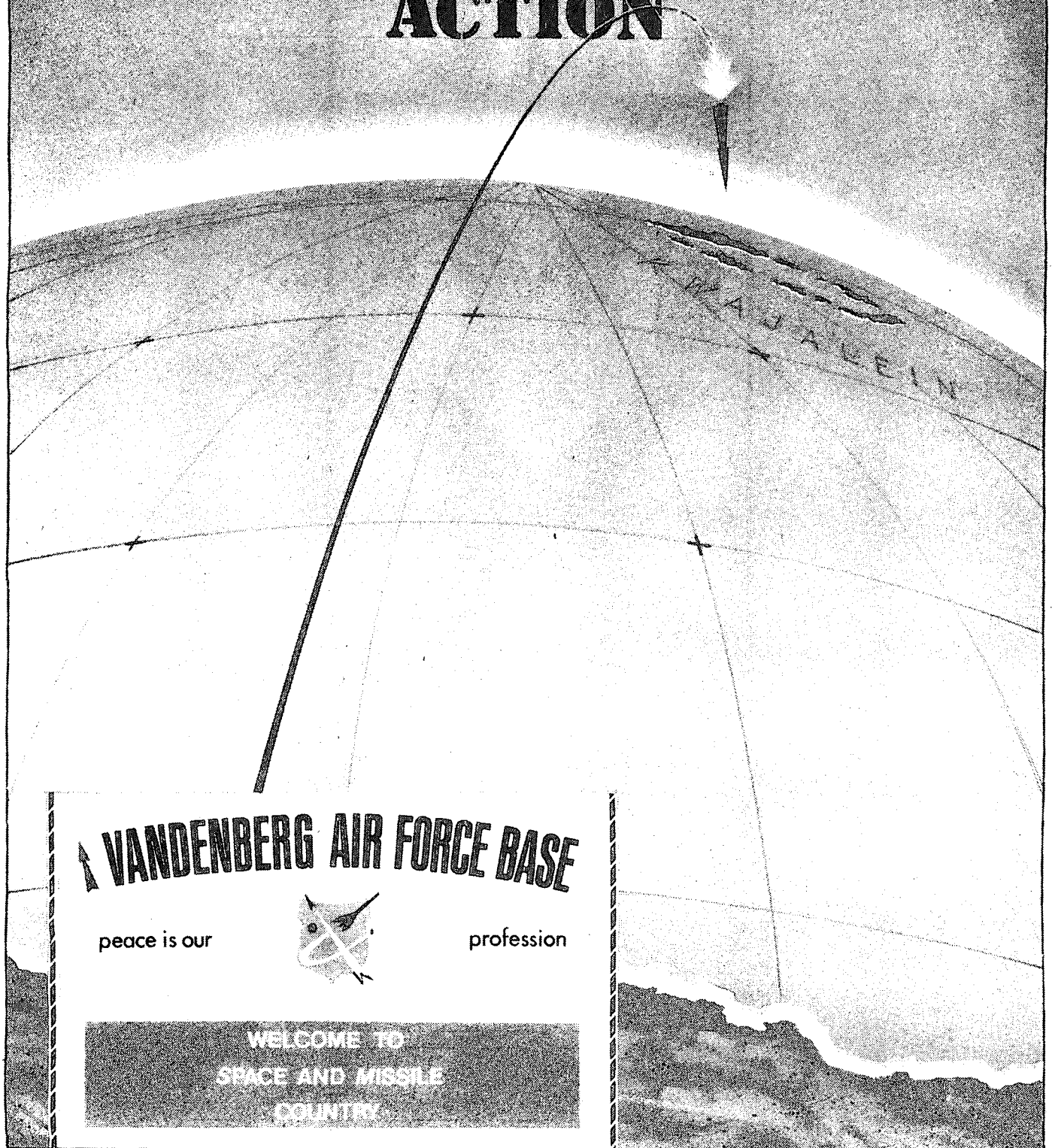
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THE VANDENBERG ACTION



A HANDBOOK FOR NONVIOLENT DIRECT ACTION



GOALS OF THE ACTION

- To interfere with and/or stop the first operational MX Test, as one step towards preventing its deployment;
- To clearly and dramatically focus attention on the reality of first-strike nuclear policy;
- To focus attention on the vast militarization of the Pacific and its impact on human lives;
- To consciously move towards a widespread, intense and continuous level of non-violent direct action; to work in coalition and in unity with all interested groups and individuals.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

BACKGROUND

Points of Action	2
Call to Action	4
From Vandenberg to Kwajalein	5
Pacific Primer	7
Kwajalein: Occupied Territory	8
Vocies of the Pacific	11
Missile Experimental: The MX Report	13
MX and the Economy	15
Native Struggles	16
A Movement of Action	17
Politics of Nonviolence	19

MX

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PROCESS

Feminism	20
Overcoming Masculine Oppression	22
Discrimination, Heterosexism	24
Racism	25
Classism	27
Affinity Groups	28
Consensus	29
Meeting Procedure	30
Power and Authority	31
Nonviolence code	32
Dynamics of Nonviolence, and Emotional and Verbal Violence	33

MX

MX

SCENARIO

Overview Map of Vandenberg	34
Detail Map of Site	35
Living in a Time Bomb	36
And Now for a Word from Our Sponsors	37
Scenario	38
Blockade	40
Legal Demonstration	41
Responses to Violence	42
What the Prez Sez	44
Media	45
What to Bring	46
Welcome to Space and Missile Country	47
Legal Process	48
Jail Solidarity	52
Recommendations and Tactics	53
After It's All Over	54
Epilogue	55

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High in a loft . . . somewhere in a San Francisco warehouse . . . 3 a.m. The handbook collective works diligently to turn out this latest edition which you are now about to read. This is the collective work of more people than we have room to name here. As we struggle to peerjood the final pages we'd like to give special thanks to all the people who contributed to this handbook, and to those who unknowingly contributed because we pirated their work from other publications. Although we've been tired, hungry, strung out, fried, & frustrated, we feel this handbook has been a worthwhile project and will contribute to the growth of our movement. Here's how to order more copies . . .

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A CALL TO ACTION

Land is essential to survival. For a culture to survive, its people need land if they are to eat, to raise children, to practice their spirituality—to continue a way of life. In January, 1983 these basic rights to self-determination will be violated in the Marshall Islands and in America. The military will flight-test the MX, a first-strike nuclear weapon. It will fly across the Pacific and land in the lagoon at Kwajalein Atoll. The people who live on this atoll have been evacuated from their homes for US missile tests. They have been forced to move to another island where their living conditions and lifestyle have been devastated. The Marshall Islanders were evacuated from their homeland by the US to ensure their survival in the face of missile testing, yet without their land the culture of these people will not survive.

In our hierarchical system, a few people have power over the lives of other people. Those who have power consider certain groups of people expendable on the basis of their color or economic class. The maintenance of power over others and survival of the existing economic system is valued more than land or life itself.

The development of nuclear weapons is a continuation of this hierarchical system that is destroying the earth as well as her people. The fuel cycle begins with a natural resource—uranium. The uranium is taken from the earth and a balance between native people and their land is destroyed. Weapons are developed from this uranium and more land is needed to house the weapons. The weapon's launch pad is built upon sacred Chumash Indian land. The weapon needs to be tested to demonstrate its power. Again, more land is designated as the target and the Marshall Islands become a new destination for the MX missile.

We are not living in a time of peace. People all over the world are dying from the effects of a system which creates nuclear weapons to falsely ensure its own survival. The lives of third world people, people of color, working class people, and women are constantly threatened. The people of the Marshall Islands are dying because their land and their lifestyle are dominated by the needs of US foreign and economic policies. They are dying from radioactive fallout, from resulting genetic mutation, from enforced starvation at the hands of the US government, and from being robbed of their right to continue living in coexistence with the land.

As the system of power-over continues to impose its values on people of different color, different religion, and different ways of life, we find that we, living within this hierarchical system, are also losing our rights to self-determination. We live under the daily threat of nuclear annihilation. We no longer have the choice to live closely with the earth. Instead, we live in fear of death by



nuclear weapons. Our land is used and raped for the survival of the military industrial complex. Our natural resources are polluted. The problem of radioactive waste disposal will be with us forever.

As people around the world and in America have lost their basic rights to self-determination, we have lost the right to choose for ourselves the spirituality which we want to practice. When a people's cultural and spiritual identity are tied to their land, destroying the land can only destroy the people. Survival of the people and survival of the land are inseparable. The right to self-determination and spirituality become the politics for survival.

Yet, deployment of the MX continues to desecrate land, culture, and economic resources in the US and the Marshall Islands. By denying the military industry's present threat to our survival, we ignore the death of people, land and all forms of life on earth. We cannot ignore the constant fear of nuclear terrorism which pervades our lives. We must fight for survival. We must take back control of our lives by taking responsibility for our future and the future of the planet.

We are focusing on preventing the test flight of the MX in solidarity with the people of the Marshall Islands. As they reoccupy their homeland, we will occupy Vandenberg AFB. We do this to counteract a military and economic system which survives by dominating people. We do this to ensure our survival by reclaiming the land, by creating a home.

In taking direct action against one of the most destructive manifestations of this system, we are empowering ourselves. In taking responsibility for stopping the MX, we are expressing our strength and determination to continue our struggles to ensure the rights of all people.

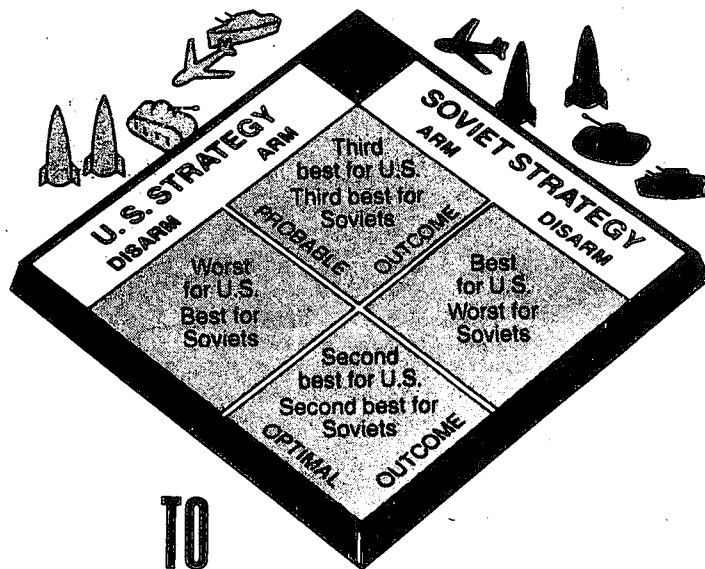
FROM

VANDENBERG

Next January 22-28 1983 the testing phase of the Missile-X begins at Vandenberg Air Force Base near Santa Barbara. If completed without interference, it will spell the end of an era of arms negotiations, and seriously imperil an already tense world situation. To the many Cold Warriors in the Reagan Administration, M-X technology is the "final solution" in their nuclear fighting/winning scenarios. And what is the test flight path of M-X? From Vandenberg to Kwajalein.

Vandenberg Air Force Base. Rough, semi-arid, desert-like, thistles, poison oak, rocket gantries, ICBM silos. One wonders why people will converge upon such a place next January.

Kwajalein Missile Range, the Marshall Islands in eastern Micronesia, some 2,300 miles southeast of Hawaii. This boomerang-shaped coral atoll, the largest of its kind in the world, encompasses a lagoon within which the Marshallese people used to fish. It now serves as a 1,000 square mile target for incoming ICBM's launched from Vandenberg.



KWAJALEIN

In 1947, the U.N. designated Micronesia as the world's only "strategic" Trust Territory, granting the U.S. power to use the islands for military activities. Concurrently, the Trusteeship Agreement obliged the U.S. to "promote the development of the inhabitants of the trust territory toward self-government... to promote the economic advancement and self-sufficiency of the inhabitants, encourage the development of fisheries, protect against the loss of land and resources... (and to) protect (their) health..."

Nevertheless, for the first 15 years of the Trusteeship, Micronesia welfare was largely ignored. Instead, the Defense Department was busy conducting 66 nuclear bomb tests. Six islands were completely vaporized and hundreds of Marshallese were seriously contaminated with fallout. Told that the bomb blasts were "for the good of mankind and to end all world wars," the Bikini and Enewetak people were given little choice but to leave their homes, which had been selected by the military for the tests. The nuclear testing ended in 1958, but other weapons tests continued. In 1959, Kwajalein became the target for intercontinental missiles launched from Vandenberg Air Force Base. Once again, Marshallese people living on the islands were evicted from their home islands and relocated to Ebeye. Today, Ebeye is an island ghetto in the Pacific, with a population density greater than New York City, where people are forced to sleep in shifts. Over 8,000—nearly all landowners according to Marshallese tradition—live on the 66 acre island in conditions "bordering on a patent violation of basic human rights," according to a U.S. Congressional report.

One hardly wonders why more than 1,000 Marshallese people have been interfering with business as usual since last June 20, 1982. They are trying to reclaim their own land through a recent nonviolent occupation, dubbed "Operation Homecoming."

Permit the mind's eye, like a satellite reconnaissance lens, to move eastward from Kwajalein across 4,200 miles of ocean, and then some 250 miles north of Vandenberg Air Force Base in

Lompoc, California to Lawrence Livermore Weapons Lab in Livermore, California where the ICBM's are designed. Let the date return to June 21, 1982 when more than 1,400 men, women and children engaged in massive civil disobedience. Permit the camera to swing 3,000 miles eastward to Washington D.C. to the Capital building where funding for the testing phase of the M-X was lobbied for and allocated, to the Pentagon where "strategic interest" was cited in the decision last January, 1982 to resist the Nuclear Free Movement "...by any means necessary...", and then to the White House where the Ambassador to the Marshall Islands sat with The President last September to convey the message that "...the natives are getting restless..." 1982 has been a busy year indeed.

The military base on nearby Kwajalein is covered by advanced radar, Ballistic Missile Defense systems (BMD) and "space wars" technology, as well as modern shopping centers, a country club, and so on. All are off limits to the indigenous Marshallese people — except those who work low-paying blue collar jobs. It is nothing less than apartheid in the Pacific.

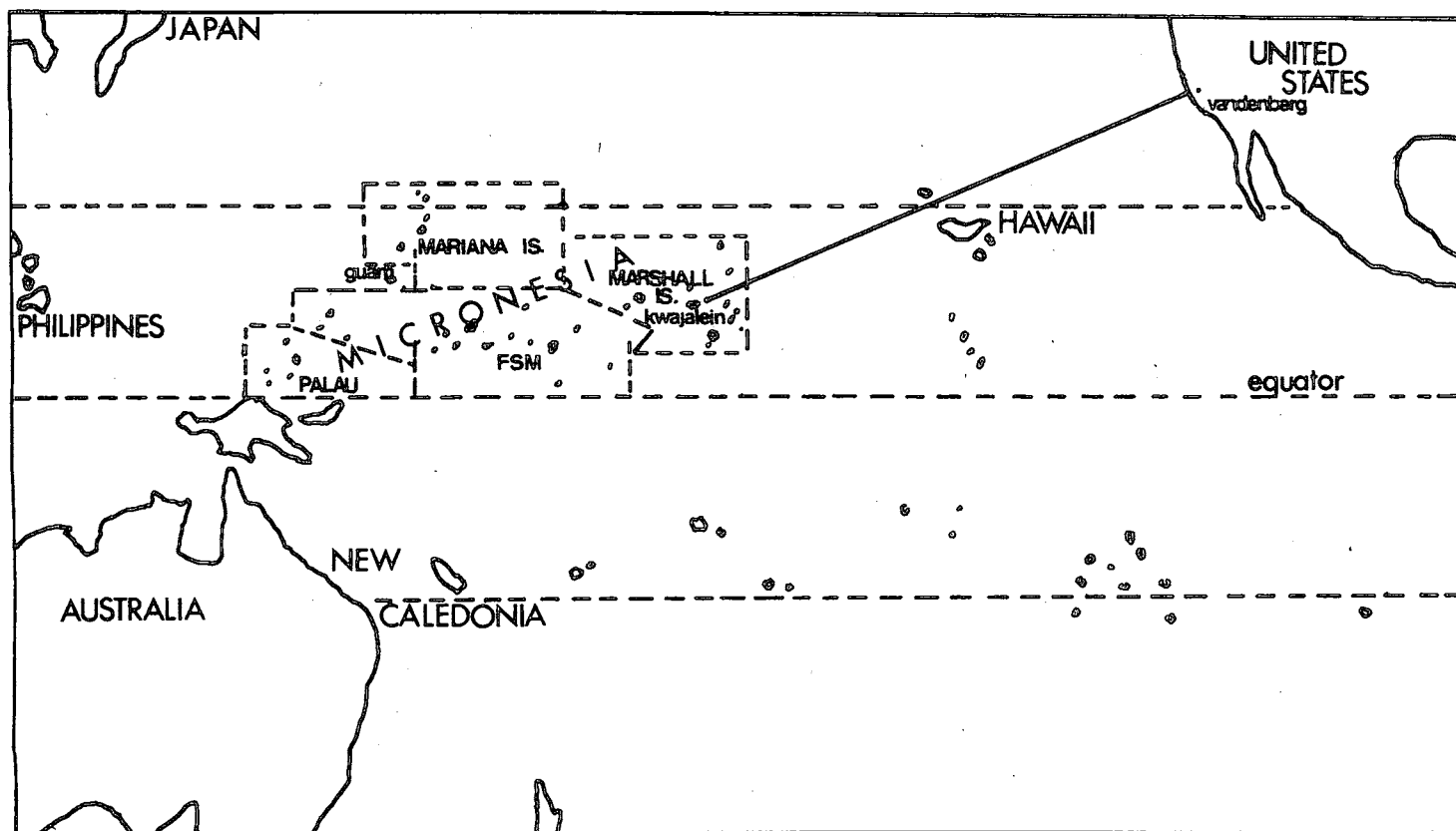
When Operation Homecoming began last June, the U.S. military tried to dissuade the occupiers, first with ice cream and Coke, then with military force. The U.S. Navy imposed a news

blackout, and cut off food and water to the occupiers. Only when two children contracted typhoid did they relent, turning running water back on. Legally and morally, the U.S. military's position was and is, by its own admission, embarrassing. Its administration throughout the Micronesian Trusteeship has bordered on criminal negligence, blackmail, extortion and fraud. The documented history since 1947 illuminates and amplifies this over and over.

Vandenberg and Kwajalein: why are such actions necessary? Because the war has come home, and it is on many fronts. The urgency to engage in a citizens' action is clear. It is particularly clear now that the Reagan administration has announced its decision on a basing mode for the MX—in utter disregard of the mandate of the American people regarding the Nuclear Freeze. To the war-makers, our unity is as much a threat as it is in Kwajalein, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Angola, Viet Nam, or the inner cities of America itself. Now is the time to encourage our own people to keenly focus their attention upon a dark side of history long ignored, on a place and time which contains all the clues necessary to comprehend and actively resist the global war machine both at home and abroad. The war machine is turned on all of us. All are welcome to participate in the Vandenberg action in any and every way possible. All will be needed.

The U.S. Marines Go Ashore





pacific primer

Where is Kwajalein?

To answer, let's go back to the beginning —

The Pacific Ocean covers one third of the Earth's surface. It touches the shores of the *Pacific Rim Countries*, including Japan, Australia, Canada, the U.S., etc. The Pacific contains thousands of islands and *atolls* (made entirely of coral) which are divided into three geographical regions: *Polynesia*, *Micronesia*, and *Melanesia*. Voyagers from Asia, Africa, Europe, and North America discovered and re-discovered, influenced, and conquered many of these islands over several thousands of years, leading to a seemingly infinite variety of overlapping cultures.

Micronesia, on which we are focusing, contains 2,141 islands in 3 million square miles of ocean—an area the size of the continental U.S. The population of about 115,000 is of Malaysian-Polynesian descent. The area is administered by the U.S. as a Strategic Trust Territory for the U.N. and is divided into the Marianas (which 'chose' Commonwealth Status in 1975), Palau, the Federated States of Micronesia, (or F.S.M. which includes the Yap, Truk, Ponape, and Kosrae Islands), and the Marshalls. *The Marshall Islands* contain 34 atolls, some of which are Kwajalein, Bikini, Rongelap, Utirik, and the late, vaporized Igulebab.

Spain 'owned' Micronesia from about 1520 - 1898, reducing the native Chamorro people of the Marianas from 100,000 to 10,000. The U.S. won Guam in 1898 during the Spanish-American War; Germany bought the rest of Micronesia from Spain, but lost control to Japan in 1914, under a League of

Nations Mandate. During WWII many islands became a battleground and the plane carrying the first atom bomb flew from the Marianas to Hiroshima on Aug. 6, 1945.

The movement for a Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific:

How do you organize across thousands of miles, national boundaries, and barriers of language and culture? (Not to mention the usual lack of funds and of staff.) Delegates from over 17 nations have met yearly since 1975 to ask and at least partially answer these questions. They drafted the People's Charter for a Nuclear-Free Pacific Zone and successfully united against further nuclear waste dumping by Japan and the U.S. In 1980 the Pacific Concerns Resource Center was founded, with offices in Honolulu, Vanuatu, Palau, and Aotearoa/New Zealand, to act as international networking centers. The U.S. Nuclear-Free Pacific Network coordinates work in the U.S. and hopes to connect domestic issues, such as nuclear dumping off the California coast, with issues in the rest of the Pacific.

RESOURCES:

Micronesian Support Committee
1212 University Ave.
Honolulu, HI 96826

Pacific Concerns Resource Center
P.O. Box 27692
Honolulu, HI 96827

U.S. Nuclear-Free Pacific Network
942 Market St., Rm. 712
San Francisco, CA 94102
(415) 434-2988

Some of us reassure ourselves that at least the testing of the MX and other land-based missiles does not yet affect anyone. Unfortunately, this is not true. There are immediate social consequences of this horror. The following story provides grounds for despair. It is also a basis for hope and inspiration.

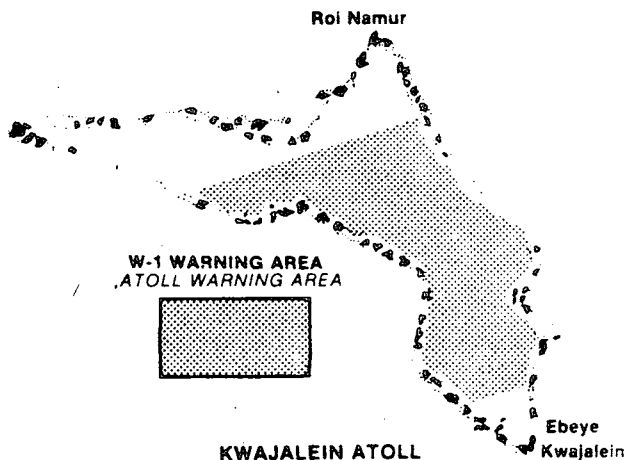
The missiles fired from Vandenberg fly for 4200 miles and splash down in the Kwajalein Missile Range, a 1000 square mile lagoon in the center of the Kwajalein Atoll of the Marshall Islands. Kwajalein is the largest atoll in the world, a chain loop of over 90 small coral islands. The flatness of its terrain and its bow-shaped configuration offer ideal vantage points for setting up electronic instruments that can analyze the trajectory of the incoming missiles from Vandenberg.

Robert Aldridge, former Lockheed engineer and the author of *First Strike*, states: "Without Kwajalein Missile Range, it would not be possible to develop the accurate missiles and ballistic missile defense elements of the first strike machinery." The Air Force position is that KMR is unique and that they will fight to maintain their billion dollar investment. Growing numbers of Marshall Islanders are committed to shutting down the missile range and returning to their traditional way of life.

A BRIEF HISTORY

The present situation has its roots in the aftermath of World War II. At the time, the three island chains that comprise present-day Micronesia (the Carolines, Marianas, and the Marshalls) were under US occupation. The US took some of the islands in battle with Japan and the remainder at the end of the war. The United Nations designated the islands as a "strategic trust territory" under US administration. As trustee, the US was obligated to aid Micronesia in attaining economic and political self-determination. The subsequent actions of our government can only be described as a total betrayal of trust.

When the US military needed a target range to experiment with successive ICBM technologies, the shallow lagoon in the Marshalls was designated as the easiest area to recover the weapons. In 1961, the US uprooted thousands of native peoples from their ancestral lands and placed them on the island of Ebeye, three miles away from the US base on Kwajalein Island. The construction of Kwajalein Missile Range also created "a cash economy that has been a magnet drawing relatives and others from throughout the Pacific looking for jobs." (*Pacific Daily News*, Aug. 9, 1982). The allure of employment is a cruel hoax. Instead, newcomers find a culture struggling to survive in the face of incredibly overcrowded and destitute living conditions.



KWAJALEIN:

OCCUPIED TERRITORY

APARTHEID IN THE PACIFIC

The total land area of Ebeye is 66 acres, the size of three football fields. Of the Marshall Islands' 32,000 inhabitants, 8000 of them live on Ebeye. Dozens of children die each year from the polluted water. The housing is dilapidated housing projects—an average of thirteen people, sometimes as many as 30 or 40, sleep in a single room. Many families have to sleep in shifts. The main source of employment is the military base on Kwajalein Island, where Marshallese receive primarily service and maintenance jobs.

The island of Kwajalein itself has a fine school, a modern and well-equipped hospital, middle-class air-conditioned housing, subsidized inexpensive stores, and numerous free recreational activities such as a golf course, tennis, basketball and handball courts, swimming pools, bowling alleys and movies. It is the home of 3000 American civilians and their families. There are only about 25 military personnel on the island.

Giff Johnson, an American journalist, describes it as "Apartheid in the Pacific". The Marshallese are not allowed to live on Kwajalein Island. If an American and a Marshallese marry and live together, they must move to Ebeye. Marshallese are not allowed to shop on Kwajalein, either at Macy's or at any of the subsidized stores. Although there is no high school on Ebeye, Marshallese children cannot attend the Kwajalein high school. Instead, they go to the nearest one, 250 miles away. Marshallese can use the Kwajalein hospital only in dire emergencies, a policy that has resulted in countless and needless deaths.

The Marshallese face three enormous obstacles in their quest to break out of this colonial nightmare. One of them is the US military's determination to continue weapons testing and maintaining their presence. Secondly, the military refuses to make accommodations in the missile program that would enable the islanders to live on their homelands. Finally, the present role of the US government is to deny the Marshallese any significant voice in resolving the future political status and economic base of the islands. The American stance is embodied in the proposed Compact of Free Association that would end the trusteeship between the US and the Marshalls. "Free association" is a brand new type of political status (such as sovereign state, commonwealth, trusteeship, colony) invented by this agreement.

THE COMPACT OF FREE ASSOCIATION

The terms of the Compact would extend the lease of the Kwajalein Missile Range for another 30 years (15 years with a 15 year option). More importantly, it means that the 5000 members of the Kwajalein Atoll Corporation (or KAC—the organization of the dispossessed native landowners) cannot leave Ebeye and return to live on their islands.

The governments of the Marshall Islands and the US have agreed to a “free referendum” that will allow the islanders to vote on an end of the trusteeship agreement. Now, watch how it unfolds.

The State Department is demanding a two-part ballot. The first part is a YES vote for approval of the Compact (which ends the trusteeship), with the understanding that the Compact can be terminated at any time in favor of a new political status. Sounds pretty good for a first step. However, the ballot does not mention Section 454(b) of the Compact which states that even if the “free association” status changes, the “subsidiary agreements” remain. The continued existence of Kwajalein Missile Range is a “subsidiary agreement”. In other words, the military maintains its use of the islands for at least 15 years no matter what.

If voters reject the Compact, there is a second part to the ballot. Here, voters may then check the appropriate box to indicate whether they would prefer to be a commonwealth, an unincorporated territory, or independent. This vote, however, is nonbinding.

The plebiscite has been continually delayed, and Marshallese are concerned that there be adequate time for political education before the referendum. A thumbnail sketch of the history of the lease is as grimly comical as the story about the election. In 1964, the US managed to obtain a 99 year lease from the hereditary chiefs for a total of \$750,000. As the Marshallese became more sophisticated in the value of money, relations with the US became far less cordial. The KAC staged a two week occupation in 1979 which resulted in the renegotiation of the 1964 lease to a temporary lease for \$9 million a year. As of Sept. 30, 1982, the 1979 lease has expired. The Pentagon insists that the 1964 lease is once again in force, but the courts may not agree. If the 1964 agreement is invalid, the military may have no legal claim to the islands at all.

OPERATION HOMECOMING

The Marshallese are reclaiming their land and their identity as a people. Since June 19, 1982, over 1000 of Ebeye's 8000 residents have sailed back to their native islands. The KAC has dubbed it “Operation Homecoming”.

The landowners are convinced that the time has come to take direct action. Many are calling on the US to stop the nuclear weapons testing and for rejection of the Compact. Others demand that “landowners must be allowed to live on mid-corridor islands” and for reduction of the term of military use of Kwajalein Atoll to 15 years or less. But they are united in their insistence for self-determination over their lives.

In the past, the U.S. has refused to negotiate directly with the KAC, recognizing only the Marshall Islands government (or MIG). The MIG has felt that the KAC is endangering the Compact that they have spent thirteen years negotiating. It must be recognized that the relationship between the KAC and the Marshallese government is similar to that between the traditional Native Americans and the tribal councils on the reservations. The values of the original Marshallese culture fundamentally conflict with the influences of a Western-imposed political apparatus.

At the beginning of Operation Homecoming, thirteen of the leaders were arrested and jailed, including three members of the MIG Parliament. The base commander ordered the arrest of the KAC treasurer, who was standing outside the jail in support. He maintained nonviolent composure as he was choked, hammer-locked, booted and pushed face-down into the ground. The leaders were permitted one phone call and reached their Honolulu lawyer, who obtained a court order that effected their release.

For weeks afterwards, the situation in Kwajalein was reminiscent to the current clampdown in Poland. The Army controls all communications facilities and proceeded to cut off all outgoing telephone calls. Although many KAC members were being sued by the MIG, they were no longer allowed to telephone their lawyers. Press people were denied access and were harassed. Threats were made to stop barging water to Ebeye, and it took a federal court order to insure its arrival. Food shipments to some Ebeye businesses ceased entirely.



Photo Julian Rikton

Kwajalein atoll **cont.**

All Marshallese that did not work at the base were barred from using the Kwajalein bank. Merchants were often unable to buy food to restock their shelves. Workers from Ebeye were not even allowed to bring their lunch to the base—the Army was afraid that they would give it to the occupiers!

By early August, these tactics were abandoned as it became clear that the net result was to strengthen the resistance. The Department of Defense stated that the new strategy was to isolate participants and to close off employment on the base to “all but essential Marshallese”. This meant that the gardeners and the maids were told not to report to work.

Why hasn't the military resorted to brute force? The purely pragmatic reason is that many Marshallese would simply sail back. Also, the “final jurisdiction” of the Marshall Islands lies in the hands of the U.N. Security Council. As the press blackout has been fairly effective to date, the US apparently feels that a political adversary might seize the opportunity to embarrass our government. The “containment policy” continues to this day.

About 500 Marshallese settled on Kwajalein, the missile range headquarters. Another 200 encamped on Roi-Namur, home of the Altair radar tracking station (and anti-satellite technology). The other occupiers mingled throughout nine smaller islands. They live in tents and increasingly rely on hunting and fishing for their survival. For many of the children, it is the first time that they have ever been away from the 66 acres of Ebeye. For many of the occupiers, there is no turning back. Houses are beginning to replace the tents.

Operation Homecoming has had a direct impact on the missile tests. *Aviation Week* magazine reported in its July 12th issue that

“the target area for a recent test was moved hundreds of miles into the ocean, away from the normal target area” because of the occupation. As the radar installations at the missile range cannot analyze the trajectory of the flight path from this distance, many of the objectives of the test flight were rendered meaningless.

UPDATE

On October 19, 1982, the Marshall Islands government signed a 3 year interim agreement with the Pentagon, which must still be approved by the entire KAC. The agreement allows the military to continue use of the missile range and base. It also allows the Marshallese to “visit” their homelands in the restricted area—for a maximum of six weeks a visit, three times a year, and at the discretion of the base commander. Although the meager concessions of the settlement are still the best terms that the Marshallese have attained, it means that the segregated social structure will continue. Also, even these limited concessions may be nullified if the Compact of Free Association is approved in the subsequent plebiscite.

Under the threat of economic sanction, the MIG has convinced the reluctant KAC leaders to accept this interim agreement. The KAC leaders are now strategizing a long-term campaign for self-determination.

This brief history of subjugation and resistance may illustrate the factors that have led the Marshallese to press forward against heavy odds. It is crucial to support their efforts, whether or not they choose to declare independence or close the missile range. The principle of self-determination is of utmost importance. Moreover, it is not enough to support their actions. As Americans, we have to clearly evaluate our own situation and examine the degree of control that we have lost over our own lives—and how to take it back.



Photo Julian Riklon

VOICES OF THE PACIFIC

This is a circular history of a Nuclear Paradise, told in the words of the islanders, generals, scientists, senators, and diplomats who have lived, worked, and survived there:

"Bikini may be the only global source of data on humans where intake via plutonium is thought to contribute the major fraction of plutonium body burden.... It is possibly the best available source for evaluating the transfer of plutonium across the gut wall after being incorporated into biological systems."

Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory study of Bikini, 1977

"Lead us into self-sufficiency, deliver us from canned mackerel."
Leaders of Oneop Island in Truk, F.S.M.

"It's natural for islands to sink."

Charles Hernu, French Minister of Defense, when asked why Morurua Atoll, in 'French' Polynesia, had sunk five feet during over 100 atmospheric and underground atomic tests. Public health records were classified when tests began in 1969, and Tahitians are flown to Paris secretly for cancer treatments.

"We are strangers in our own lands. They hold the power over our daily existence and we have to dance to the tune of the government which oppresses us. What they are doing is grounding the aloha, the love, out of us. Aloha is synonymous with love and peace. Yet we, the people of aloha, have given plenty, but in our own land there is no aloha for us. We feel we have a responsibility to our brothers and sisters in the Polynesian nations to try to make sure they don't make the same mistakes that we have made—and that have been made—here on our own land."
Hawaiian Delegate to the 1980 Nuclear-Free Pacific Conference.

(The State of Hawaii contains 110 discrete military bases, yet its Congress passed a freeze resolution last April, 1982. One island is the nation's largest Nuclear-free Zone; another stores what may be the world's biggest nuclear stockpile; and yet another is simultaneously a national historic monument and a target for conventional bombing practice by the U.S. and its allies.)

"There's only 90,000 Micronesians out there. Who gives a damn?"
Henry Kissinger, Winner of the Nobel Peace Prize

Sen. Daniel Inouye, HI, released the Senate Intelligence Committee's report on CIA activities in Micronesia in 1977, despite Pres. Carter's disapproval. The report criticized "failure to differentiate between intelligence techniques appropriate for use against an armed adversary and those proper for use against a people under U.S. protection." In 1973 Kissinger approved the study of "the possibility of exerting covert influence on key elements of the Micronesian independence movement and on those other elements in the area where necessary."

"What you see developing in the Marshalls is a diplomatic snafu of potentially staggering proportions. And it's making our job down here much harder."

Unidentified Pentagon Official

"Standing before you today, I have no intention of repeating again what has already been spoken before the United Nations. That Ebeye is, in short, a biological time bomb which could go off at any moment.... The history of the Marshall Islands during the 3 decades of American rule has been the saddest history we can remember. History will show that it was we Marshallese who had

the "trust" while America had the "territory".

Hon. Ataji Balos, Micronesian Congress, during Interior and Insular Affairs Hearings, Ebeye, July 13th, 1976.

In fact, on July 4th, 1976, hours after High Commissioner Peter Coleman said that there was no segregation at Kwajalein (a statement he would not dare make on Ebeye), the command at K.M.R. celebrated the American Bicentennial by closing Kwajalein Island to any Marshallese. So American Independence was celebrated by enforcement of all out and total segregation.

"While some of the Micronesian workers at Ebeye have the technical ability to warrant promotion, they do not have the ability to be in charge, to supervise people, particularly Americans."

Peter Coleman, former Acting High Commissioner of the Trust Territory.

"We don't have too many U.S. hires working for \$2.40 an hour. We do everything we can to reserve those jobs, what we call beginning jobs, for our Micronesian friends."

Official at Global Associates, headquartered in Oakland, CA which has a \$30 million a year contract to operate the base. Global has been sued several times for physical abuse of Kwajalein Islanders.

"There was a study done about a year ago called the ARK study: Alternatives to the Range at Kwajalein...they looked at all the atolls available, and we can say that (leaving) it would be very expensive and very disruptive to our ongoing programs, including MX, Trident, and our BMD...but we are a little nervous because of the occupation that occurred here last summer (1979) where about 500 came over from Ebeye and squatted on the beach...there were some radicals in that group that said "Hey, we are going to close this range down."

Gen. Grayson D. Tate, Commanding General, Ballistic Defense Systems Command, during Senate Military Appropriations Hearings, 1980.

"I don't care about missiles or danger. I only care about my land. Leaving it is just like moving away from a loved one."

Handle Dribo, leader of several re-settlement sail-ins to islands in the hazardous 'mid-corridor' zone.

"The landowners banded together in a landowner's association. They have gone to N.Y.C. and Washington D.C. and gotten very clever and very smart lawyers to represent them. One of these people was an ex-General Counsel of the Air Force. They are savvy enough to advise these people very well as a client. But, on the other hand, it gives us intelligent people to work with, who understand not only U.S. law but also we can explain the range to them."

Gen. Tate, again, at 1982 Military Appropriations Senate Hearings

"Dear Friends: I'm writing this letter on behalf of the people who are now in the hazardous and restricted areas of the Kwajalein Missile Range.... We want you to know that the tents and money you have sent us have been put to use.... You are and always will be in our heart even if we are facing difficulties and hardships."

There is a rumor that army is planning on a shot next week.... We hope and pray that army will cancel this shot because landowners are determined to stay put. I'm also praying that U.S.

...Voices...

people are aware of this plan and call immediately upon their representatives.... Again, please convey our love and deep appreciation to friends around U.S. and the world. In Solidarity, Julian Riklon and KAC."

Riklon is KAC Treasurer and also the first Marshallese to graduate from an American law school. The letter is to the Pacific Concerns Resource Center, one of the Vandenberg Action's Pacific liaisons, via the U.S. Nuclear-Free Pacific Network.

The Minuteman II launch of June 25, 1982 was retargeted because occupiers would not leave; nor would they enter debris shelters. The missile landed 600 miles off course, into open ocean near Utrik Atoll. The Army claims that there was no interference.

"Right now, in a trade sense, countries in the Pacific Region exceed the amount we do with Europe.... It boils down to the greatest good for the greatest number. They're not being exploited. If the problems (of world peace) can be solved by only inconveniencing a very small number, not hurting them, not depriving them of anything except maybe their traditional homes—I can't think of a better way to solve a very difficult problem."

General Edwin Black, 1980

John Anjain was once chief magistrate of Rongelap Island, which received fallout from the 1954 hydrogen bomb "Bravo Test" on Bikini Atoll. He travelled 7,000 miles to testify as part of a Marshallese Delegation before the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee Hearing in 1977. Since the entire delegation was only allotted 15 minutes in which to speak, Anjain never did get to tell his story. His written statement was placed in the court record and is excerpted here:

"In the afternoon, something began falling from the sky upon our island. It looked like ash from a fire. It fell on me, it fell on my wife, it fell on our infant son. It fell on the trees, and on the roofs of our houses. It fell on the reefs, and into the lagoon.

In the morning, the sun rose in the east, and then something very strange happened.

It looked like a second sun was rising in the west. We heard noise like thunder. We saw some strange clouds over the horizon....We were very curious about this ash falling from the sky. Some people put it in their mouths and tasted it. People walked on it, and children played with it.

Later on, in the early evening, it rained. The rain fell on the roofs of our houses. It washed away the ash. The water mixed with the ash which fell into our water catchments. Men, women, and children drank that water.

The next day some Americans came. They had a machine with them. They went around the island. They looked very worried and talked rapidly to each other. They told us we must not drink the water. They left. They did not explain anything. On the second day, ships came. Americans explained that we were in great danger because of the ash. They said if we did not leave we would die. They told us to leave everything and to only take our clothes. Some people were taken away to Kwajalein by airplane, the rest of us went by boat.

Some people were feeling sick. They threw up. They felt weak....There were doctors at Kwajalein and they examined us. Now we were very afraid.

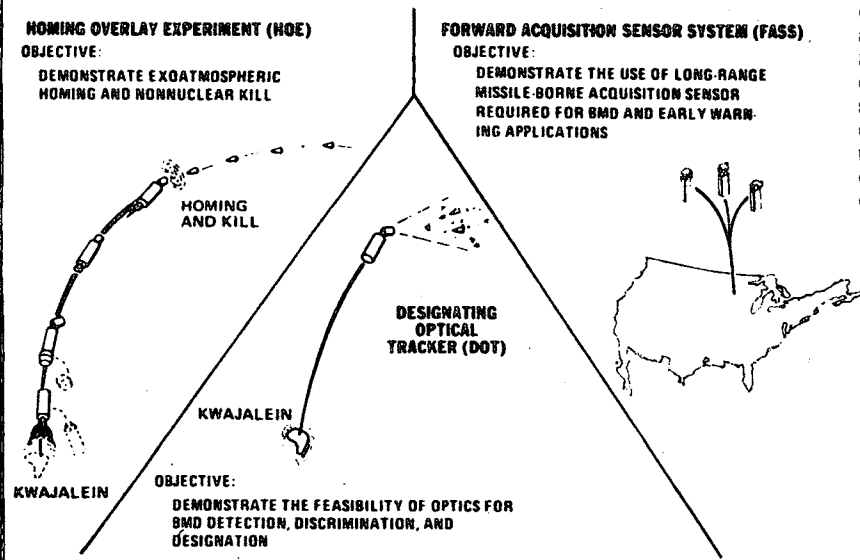
Three years passed very slowly. The American doctors came to examine us from time to time....Many women said they had miscarriages, and that the babies did not look like human babies. Some babies were born dead. The doctors said they did not know why. Now it is 23 years after the bomb. I know that money cannot bring back my thyroid. It cannot bring back my son. It cannot give me back three years of my life. It cannot take the poison from the coconut crabs. It cannot make us stop being afraid."

"We of the Pacific have somehow to take up the candle...of hope. We must rekindle our society....We must become the wind and the current that diverted the oncoming storm."

Bernard Narakobi, Papua, New Guinea

BMD BMD UNDER THE REAGAN STRATEGIC PROGRAM

"ANY GROUND-BASED SCHEME ULTIMATELY WOULD REQUIRE A BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE FOR SURVIVABILITY"



Ballistic Missile Defense in Brief:

The U.S. tests much of its Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD), formerly known as Anti-Ballistic Missile systems (ABM) at Kwajalein Atoll bases, using world-wide communication networks, Spartan and Spirit missiles are fired to intercept incoming ICBM's from Vandenberg A.F.B., using a world-wide communication network. Our most successful arms control agreement, part of Salt I, has been to freeze ABM deployment in 1972. If the 2.5 billion dollars requested for accelerated research and use of BMD is appropriated, BMD systems could be ready by 1986 and the treaty broken or changed. Perception of the U.S. as preparing for 'war-making,' rather than for deterrence, is thus further increased. For more information: Contact U.S. N-Free Pacific or the Livermore Action Group.

(Charts from Military Appropriations Hearings for Fiscal Year 1983)

WHAT WE NOW KNOW

- WE CARRIED OUT 50 MISSIONS AT KMR
- WE FIRED 76 SPRINTS & 38 SPARTANS
- WE DEMONSTRATED THAT YOU CAN KILL UNPENALIZED BALLISTIC MISSILES WITH NUCLEAR WARHEADS
- WE DEMONSTRATED THAT YOU CAN DISCRIMINATE

Missile Experimental Report

MEANWHILE IN AMERICA

In the early 1950's, the Pentagon began to push for a new, long-range bomber. Having no demonstrable need for one, it invented a *bomber gap* between the US and the Soviet Union to rally support for what became the B-52. A few years later the same people created a *missile gap* by insisting that the Soviets had a superior Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) force, when in fact it had virtually none. President Eisenhower even sent U-2 reconnaissance planes into Soviet airspace to find the evidence he needed. Receiving none, he invented it.

The USSR shot down one of the U-2's in May, 1960 on the eve of a scheduled summit meeting. Relations deteriorated and the war lobby had what it needed to push for a new missile program.

Later that year, John Kennedy used the missile gap fallacy in his campaign for armed preparedness and military superiority. In office, he worked for new weapons programs, much of it hidden in space program funding. MX is one of the results.

Missile Experimental is the Defense Department's ultimate long-range weapon. Using the latest in solid fuel propulsion, remote guidance and nuclear wizardry, it is planned solely to hit the 'enemy' with a pre-emptive first strike.

When Jimmy Carter unveiled the MX in 1979, it was the largest missile allowed under terms of the ongoing SALT II negotiations. Ronald Reagan, the candidate, promised to rearm America. Ronald Reagan, the president, has been true to his word. He has committed the U.S. to spending \$1 trillion (a million million) by the end of fiscal 1986 to close the 'window of vulnerability' the missile gap of the 1980's.

We have 10,000 warheads aimed at the people of the USSR. We have Stealth, Pershing, Cruise, Neutron, Tactical Nuclear Weapons, B-1 on the horizon. And we have MX.

MX has been promoted as a replacement for the 'aging and vulnerable' Minuteman missile. Minuteman, as it is presently deployed, is a state of the art killer. Updated with more power and advanced guidance systems, Minuteman shares only a name with the missile of the early sixties. And the 550 Minuteman III's have been fitted with a MIRVed (Multiple Independently-targetable Re-entry Vehicles) third stage which carries three warheads.

Rather than slowing the arms race, MX will further threaten our security. The threat implied merely by its development will serve only to encourage the Soviet leadership toward similar programs. The USSR relies on slower, heavier and less accurate ICBM's, has faced many attacks from outside forces and will doubtless counter any US escalation with one of its own.

MX will form one leg of the Triad defense, replacing Minuteman and Titan. The second leg is the Submarine Launched Ballistic Missile (SLBM), the least vulnerable US defense. SLBM's carry one half of the strategic nuclear warheads. The Navy, which continually upgrades the submarine fleet, has just launched its first Trident. One Trident, carrying less than 2% of the total US destructive force, can launch enough warheads to destroy every Soviet city of 100,000 or more.

The third leg, land based aircraft on constant patrol, deploys large bombs and cruise missiles.

MX will be the largest, most accurate and most lethal weapon in the U.S. arsenal. It is a four stage, 71 foot long, 95 ton projectile. The first three stages will burn solid fuel; the fourth stage is the liquid fueled bus which will drop off warheads individually after making final adjustments in their trajectories.

The first version of MX will have an accuracy (CEP: circular error probable, the radius of a circle within which half of its

warheads will fall) of 600 feet at 6000 miles. The system will be capable of destroying or disabling 75% of the Soviet ground-based missiles. Each of its MIRVed warheads will have an explosive force of 335 kilotons; twenty-five times that of Little Boy, destroyer of Hiroshima. Early versions will have a warhead capacity of twelve and later 17, though the SALT II limit of 10 is the current deployment figure.

Carter's MX basing plan was a complex plan for placing the system in large areas of the Nevada-Utah Great Basin. It called for each of the 200 missiles to shuttle among a group of 23 shelters built into the desert floor. Each missile would have its own cluster of shelters and would change locations every six months. Riding on enormous transporter/launchers, each missile would be remotely controlled in event of attack.

The rationale behind the plan was that with so many shelters, the Soviets would never know just where in the whole system the missiles were and would have to fire an inordinately large number of warheads to be certain of disabling the MX.

At that time, the administration was formulating its missile policy with an eye toward compliance with SALT II. Spreading MX all over the desert would provide a means to make the system easily verifiable yet effectively hidden.



Missile Experimental Report *cont.*

Each MX shelter would have a slot in its roof which could be opened at specified times; Satellites able to detect the small amounts of radiation emitted by live warheads would read the location of MX shelters to reaffirm the total number of missiles. After such a flyover, each MX would move to a new shelter.

This plan was to have been the largest construction project in history. It would have consumed 2.7 million tons of concrete, enough electricity for a city of 180,000 and a total of 90 billion gallons of water. There would have been 15,000 miles of roads and the entire complex would have occupied 40,000 square miles—the size of New York.

At first the people of Nevada and Utah welcomed the MX project. The coming job boom looked very attractive until they realized the long-term, more far-reaching effects.

Thousands and thousands of desert acres would be stripped or set off limits. Already scarce water would be diverted. The great dust clouds that would arise from the excavation would carry particles of plutonium and other radionuclides that have lain on the desert since the atomic tests of the 1950's and 60's. Public sentiment turned. The Mormon Church, very powerful in Utah, which has expressed consistent support for a strong defense posture, stated its total opposition to the plan.

The Reagan administration dismissed the Great Basin plan for its complexities, cost and out of a reduced need to comply with SALT II, signed but never ratified by the Senate. Instead, it has been favoring deployment of MX in clusters of hardened capsules.

Closely Spaced Basing (CSB) would place 100 missiles in one of several possible configurations. The Defense Department has not yet announced a final basing mode, but all indications now point to a rectangular pattern. Any variation on this scheme relies upon the

US's ability to make the launch capsules superhard. Hardening is accomplished with massive, removable covers of reinforced concrete. The launch points would have a theoretical ability to withstand a direct blast of 5000 pounds per square inch (PSI) and an above ground blast of 10,000 PSI.

In view of the Soviets' lesser technological capability, CSB would be able to place the missiles close together without risking many direct hits. Rather, incoming missiles would blow each other up (Fratricide) and leave most of the MX sites intact.

The current technology gap between the US and the USSR is about three years, and CSB is seen only as a stopgap measure. The Defense Department, looking ahead to the late 1980's and 90's is developing basing modes whose technology is only now emerging.

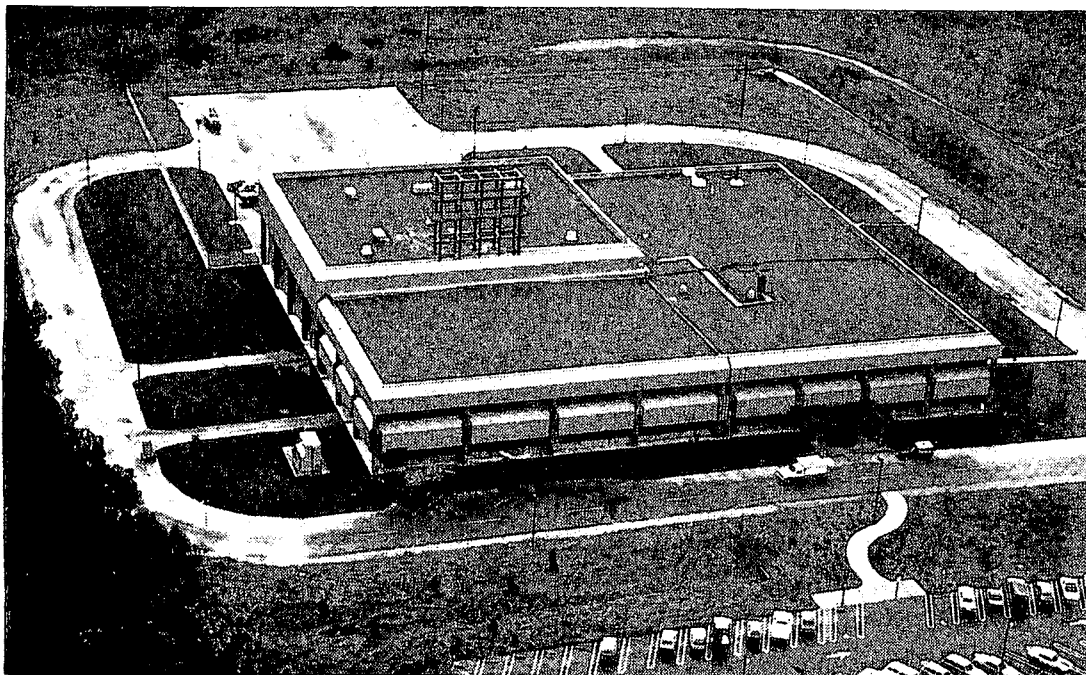
The administration has hinted that it will probably use some sort of Ballistic Missile Defense to protect the MX. BMD would retain the conventional silos, and would protect them with groups of Anti Ballistic Missiles designed to knock out any incoming missiles. This plan would violate the ABM treaty signed in 1972 as part of SALT I, but defense department officials have already hinted at a willingness to modify or nullify the treaty if BMD seems the most effective deterrent.

The other plan receiving serious attention is a Deep Basing mode, which would place the missiles in silos three thousand feet deep, presumably invulnerable to Soviet threat.

It seems that when the Reagan administration asserts its belief that nuclear attack is survivable, it is referring to weapons, not people. Who'll be left to push the button?

'The race is on and it looks like heartache, and the winner loses all.'

The Integrated Test Facility



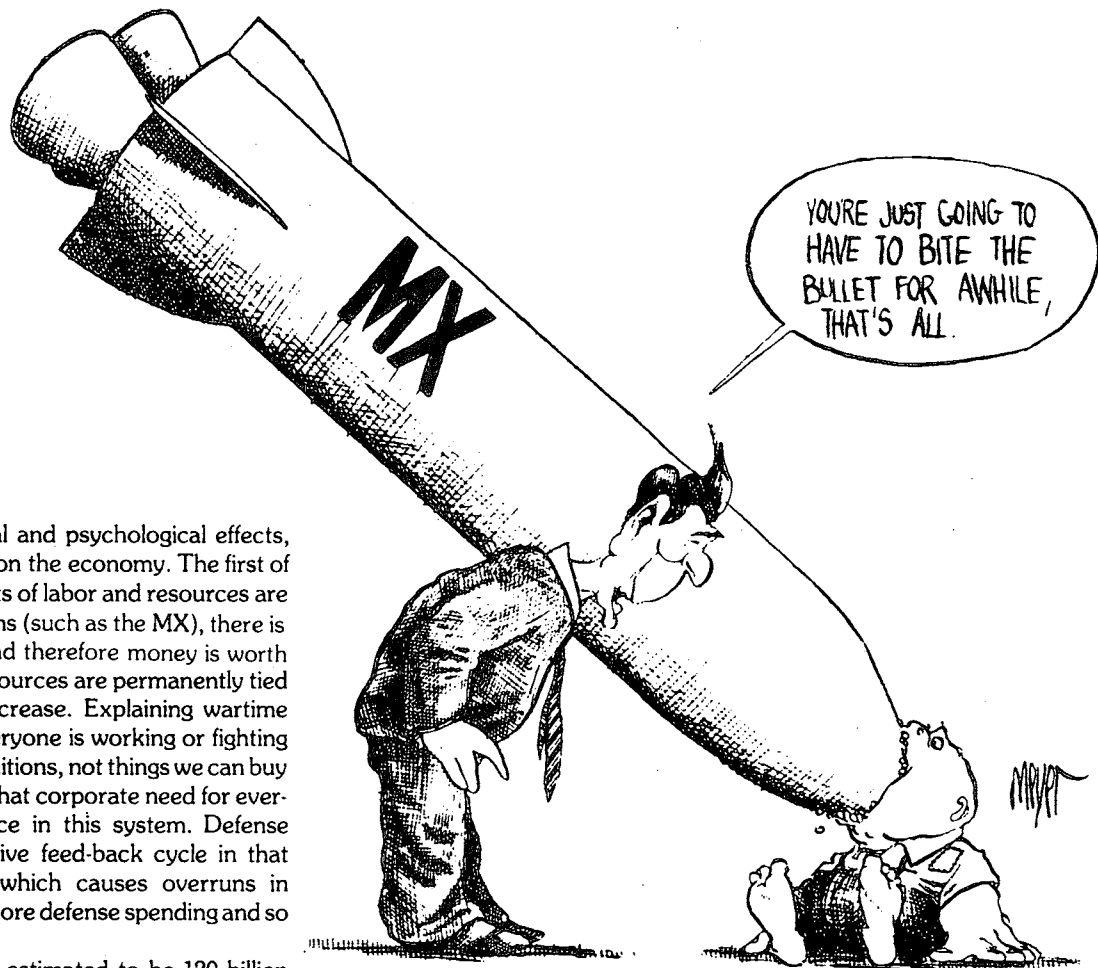
MX

&

Besides undesirable environmental and psychological effects, the MX has severe adverse impacts on the economy. The first of these is inflation. When large amounts of labor and resources are used to produce non-consumable items (such as the MX), there is a lower ratio of goods to money, and therefore money is worth less. As more and more time and resources are permanently tied up in missiles, inflation tends to increase. Explaining wartime inflation, President Reagan said, "everyone is working or fighting but production is of weapons and munitions, not things we can buy or use." What Reagan doesn't say is that corporate need for ever-increasing profits is the driving force in this system. Defense spending makes up part of a positive feed-back cycle in that defense spending causes inflation which causes overruns in military budgets which necessitates more defense spending and so on.

The total cost for the MX is now estimated to be 120 billion dollars. In the 1982 Carter budget, defense spending accounted for two-thirds of all discretionary spending. (Discretionary money is money the Government has control over, unlike Social Security funds, which are pre-allocated.) By continuing to spend these huge sums on useless (we hope) weaponry, the Federal Government has been the primary cause for the accelerated inflation of the past ten years.

The second major effect of MX spending is that it fuels unemployment, especially among less-skilled workers. Total employment created by the MX program is estimated at around 53,000 persons. If the same amount of money were spent on solar energy research and development, 57,000 jobs would be created. These are both highly technical fields, which means they employ a small number of highly trained and highly paid workers. If the MX funds were spent in a non-technical field, such as day care, 120,000 jobs would be created. Missile spending differs from defense spending as a whole in that it is spent in a highly technical field, creating fewer and more expensive jobs than defense money spent for feeding and arming conventional forces. A 1980 analysis done by a defense contractor showed that aerospace market growth was going to be primarily in missiles. Companies eager for



missile money will hire more PhD's and engineers while laying off blue-collar workers. If jobs continue to be concentrated in technical fields, the labor force will soon be divided into two categories: the technically trained, who will be overworked and overpaid, and those people lucky to find employment at any wage.

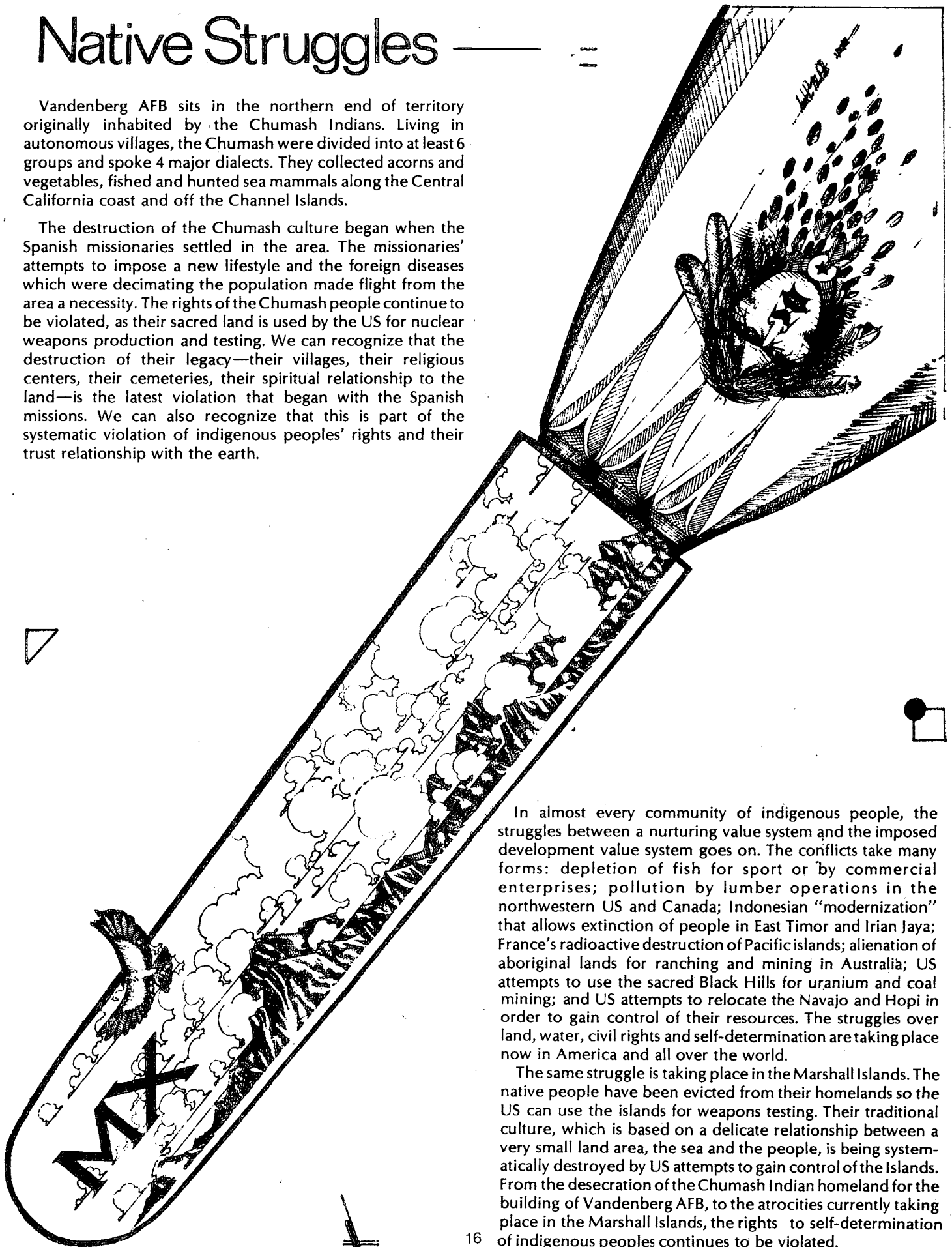
When the effects of unemployment are combined with the effects of inflation, we have a truly dreary economic picture for all those unwilling or unable to participate in the design and production of military weapons systems. At present, 99% of all software research and development is funded by the Department of Defense. Even for the computer specialist with advanced training, jobs not directly related to military efforts are virtually non-existent. And for the 19-year-old high school drop-out, enlisting in the Armed Forces is often the only job available. Thus we are economically coerced into work we find morally objectionable. With each dollar spent on missiles, the coercion becomes more effective as the value of our remaining dollars erodes, and alternative employment disappears.

THE ECONOMY

Native Struggles — =

Vandenberg AFB sits in the northern end of territory originally inhabited by the Chumash Indians. Living in autonomous villages, the Chumash were divided into at least 6 groups and spoke 4 major dialects. They collected acorns and vegetables, fished and hunted sea mammals along the Central California coast and off the Channel Islands.

The destruction of the Chumash culture began when the Spanish missionaries settled in the area. The missionaries' attempts to impose a new lifestyle and the foreign diseases which were decimating the population made flight from the area a necessity. The rights of the Chumash people continue to be violated, as their sacred land is used by the US for nuclear weapons production and testing. We can recognize that the destruction of their legacy—their villages, their religious centers, their cemeteries, their spiritual relationship to the land—is the latest violation that began with the Spanish missions. We can also recognize that this is part of the systematic violation of indigenous peoples' rights and their trust relationship with the earth.



In almost every community of indigenous people, the struggles between a nurturing value system and the imposed development value system goes on. The conflicts take many forms: depletion of fish for sport or by commercial enterprises; pollution by lumber operations in the northwestern US and Canada; Indonesian "modernization" that allows extinction of people in East Timor and Irian Jaya; France's radioactive destruction of Pacific islands; alienation of aboriginal lands for ranching and mining in Australia; US attempts to use the sacred Black Hills for uranium and coal mining; and US attempts to relocate the Navajo and Hopi in order to gain control of their resources. The struggles over land, water, civil rights and self-determination are taking place now in America and all over the world.

The same struggle is taking place in the Marshall Islands. The native people have been evicted from their homelands so the US can use the islands for weapons testing. Their traditional culture, which is based on a delicate relationship between a very small land area, the sea and the people, is being systematically destroyed by US attempts to gain control of the Islands. From the desecration of the Chumash Indian homeland for the building of Vandenberg AFB, to the atrocities currently taking place in the Marshall Islands, the rights to self-determination of indigenous peoples continues to be violated.

A MOVEMENT OF ACTION

The struggles for social justice and respect for life are goals continuously blossoming into reality. Through the inspiration of people like Thoreau, Gandhi, and Martin Luther King, humans the world over are hatching from their shells of psychic numbness to the realization that they can and must take responsibility for the world they live in. Nonviolent actions have proven to be one way of regaining control of our lives.

The achievements accomplished, however, are generally quietly brushed aside, while our "advanced" societies idolize the accomplishments of violent conflicts.

Basically, nonviolent tactics can be divided into three areas:

- 1) Protest
- 2) Non-cooperation, and
- 3) Intervention.

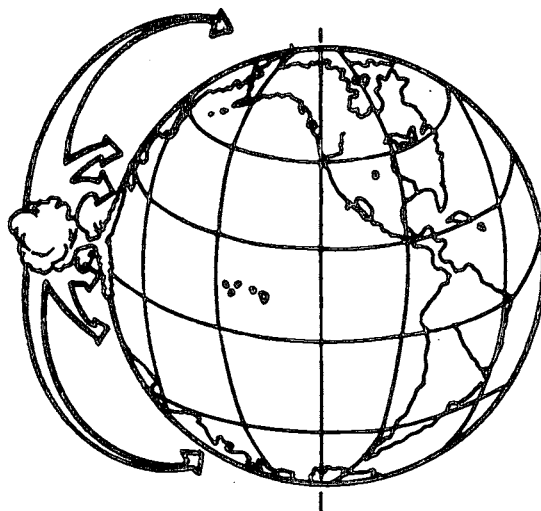
Incorporating features of protest and non-cooperation, intervention can be a very powerful method of resistance. Intervening in the operations of those we oppose offers them a direct challenge. Even with small numbers of fearless and determined protesters, a large impact can be made. Interventions include such methods as:

- fasting,
- sit-ins,
- blockades, and
- occupations.

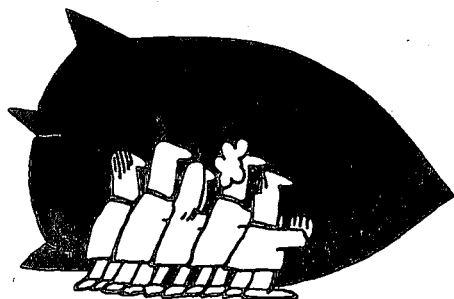
The emphasis here will be on the use of blockades and occupations in the struggle against nuclear weapons and nuclear power. The people involved in each of the following actions used one or both of these two methods of intervention. By doing so, they brought their concerns to the forefront and forced the opposition to react—to react not just out of desire but also out of sheer survival. Occupations and blockades can be very useful tools in this growing movement to give new priorities to our societies—this movement whose goals include equating the functions of the earth's governments with the will of their people.

In the anti-nuclear/anti-militarism movement, blockades and occupations have been used more and more within the past 20 years than for almost any other cause. Just during the past 10 years, hundreds of instances of nonviolent direct action have been recorded. Due to the continuing narrow-minded guidance by the world's leaders, the anti-nuclear movement must turn more and more towards loud and spirited actions to rouse those threatening our very existence.

The following examples offer proof that a powerful movement is growing—that people across the globe are proclaiming they want peace and life, not fear, war and death.



- In April 1977, about 2000 people occupied the construction site of the nuclear power plant at Seabrook, New Hampshire.
- In July 1977, at Crays-Malville, France, close to 30,000 people occupied the construction site of the new fast breeder reactor, the "Super Phoenix".
- In South Carolina, from April 30 to May 1, 1978, more than ...1000 people blockaded the \$300 million commercial re-processing plant in Barnwell.
- In April 1979, at Groton, Connecticut, more than 3000 people demonstrated and over 200 people blockaded the launching of the first Trident submarine, OHIO.
- On April 28, 1979, more than 250 people voiced their disapproval of weaponry by blockading the US's only producer of plutonium "triggers" for nuclear weapons at Rocky Flats, Colorado.
- In April 1979 in New Mexico, in the Cibola National Forest, about 300 members of the American Indian Environmental Council and other anti-nuclear demonstrators gathered to draw attention to a uranium mining operation on Mt. Taylor, an area sacred to the Navajos and the Pueblos.
- In May of 1979, in Scotland, nearly 3000 people occupied the grounds of a nuclear power plant under construction.
- On Long Island, in New York in June 1979, more than 15,000 people gathered on the town beach to protest and prevent the construction of a nuclear-powered generating plant at Shoreham, New York.
- In Buchanan, New York, in August of 1979, nearly 4000 demonstrators marched and rallied at the Consolidated Edison's Indian Point nuclear power plant, only about 35 miles up the Hudson River from New York City.
- In October 1979, in New Hampshire, about 2000 people again occupied the construction site at the Seabrook nuclear power plant, continuing the struggle to permanently close down the plant.



A MOVEMENT OF ACTION cont'd.

- In Washington DC, in April of 1980, some 1200 demonstrators blockaded the Pentagon entrances to protest the needless increase in military spending.
- In Gorleben, West Germany, in May 1980, some 3000 demonstrators occupied a nuclear waste dump site to prevent continued dumping, setting up an anti-nuclear village dubbed "The Free Republic of Wendland".
- In June of 1981, in Amelo, The Netherlands, about 500 people blockaded the roads leading to a nearby uranium enrichment plant.
- In September of 1981, in California, about 2500 demonstrators helped to blockade the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant, to further prevent the plant from beginning operation.
- In Tokyo, Japan, in December of 1981, nearly 6500 people blockaded at the construction site of a nuclear power plant located near Sapporo. The plant would be the first nuclear power plant on Hokkaido Island.
- In England, in the Spring of 1982, 160 women residents of a peace camp at the Greenham Common US Air Force base, blockaded the six gates leading into the base to protest the proposed deployment of American cruise missiles at the base in late 1983.
- In June of 1982, in Livermore, California, thousands protested and blockaded the laboratory where most of the US nuclear weapons are designed, including the MX and the neutron bomb.
- On June 19, 1982, in the Central Pacific, over 1000 native residents of Kwajalein Atoll began another nonviolent occupation of several islands in the atoll, in their continuing struggle for self-determination against the American war-lords.



Because of the wide spectrum of world culture affected by the accelerated growth of nuclear weapons and nuclear power, almost everyone on earth is touched. Job losses are related to the rapid shift of funds from human-needs programs...life, to the military-industrial complex...death. Native American Indians and all others who feel close to the earth are being swept by the wayside as the Earth is raped in the search for more uranium. Women are continuously oppressed in our male-dominated societies bent on increasing militarism. The construction of dangerous nuclear power plants in known hazardous areas and the massive proliferation of nuclear weapons can only arouse people to react for their very lives.

Do those entangled in the web of corporate — or Pentagon-fed rhetoric really believe their sham will fool the citizens of the world forever?

Are those who care about the future and the future of others really naive and simplistic by just wanting to live?

Though the actions mentioned here are rather large, the number of participants in a blockade or occupation often does not matter. Depending on the goals of an action, a very small group can pose large problems for those they oppose. The Plowshare-8, the Trident-9, and most recently, the farmer who tried to take back his farm located on the White Sands missile range in New Mexico, are all examples of actions small in size yet large in effect. As Edmund Burke stated quite simply, "Nobody made a greater mistake than he who did nothing because he could only do a little."

Large or small, occupations and blockades are but two out of hundreds of methods of nonviolent action. Each person should follow their own conviction in deciding if and how to protest an issue. When a universal problem emerges, such as the proliferation of nuclear weapons, each one of us can play a part in the solution. If you're not part of the solution you're part of the problem.

As long as threats to the sanctity of life exist, civil disobedience will endure. The time has never been more ripe.

THE POLITICS OF NONVIOLENCE

The conventional view of political power sees people as dependent on the good will and caprice of their government and any other hierarchical system to which they belong. Power is seen as something people have—kings, czars, generals hold power as one holds a knife. Power resides in knowledge, control of wealth and in the ability to impose violence. Those who serve have little power. Consequently, those without power must kill or destroy their rulers and replace them in their positions in order to wield the selfsame power.

The theory of active non-violence proposes a different analysis: that government depends on people and that political power is variable, even fragile, always dependent on the cooperation of a multitude of groups and individuals. The withdrawal of that cooperation restricts and can even dissolve power. Put another way, power depends on continuing obedience, so when we refuse to obey our rulers, their power begins to crumble.

In this sense, non-violent action is not passive—nor is it a naive belief in converting the opposition—nor is it a “safe” method of protest, immune from repression. Rather, it is based on a different understanding of where people’s power really lies. By acting disobediently, people learn to withhold rather than surrender, their cooperation. This recognizes that the individual’s discovery of self-respect is tied to the recognition that one’s own assistance makes the unjust regime possible. When a group of people recognize this—as the “untouchables” did with Gandhi’s help—the result is massive noncooperation and obstruction involving the use of social, economic and political power.

Then why don’t people decide to withdraw cooperation? Why instead do the many obey the few—and how can this change? The authorities are able to wield power both because masses of people passively obey, and because they have the violent means for suppressing dissent—police, National Guard, prison guards and prison cells. A few disobey and are punished, keeping the many afraid.



Yet there are chicks in the armour. First, the repressive apparatus is made up of human beings whose cooperation is essential. A nonviolent approach to the police undercuts their rationale for violence—and reveals to neutral parties the extent to which the system relies on violence and force. Second, the repressive apparatus is based on a minimal level of dissent (i.e., lots of mild dissent), or a small number of militant dissenters. When dissent grows and brings force to bear, the system breaks down. When a non-violent campaign stands its ground using non-violence to resist dispersal (not merely for a day or weekend, but over time), it astronomically raises the cost of continuing violence against it, until it becomes unfeasible.



PROCESS

Introduction

In this action, our struggle is not only against missiles and bombs, but against the system of power they defend; a system based on domination, on the belief that some people have more value than others, and therefore have the right to control others.

We say that all people have value. No person, no group, has the right to wield power over the decisions and resources of others. The structure of our organisations and the processes we use among ourselves are our best attempt to live our belief in self-determination.

People come to an action for many different reasons. For some people the overriding issue is the struggle to prevent nuclear destruction. We, the writers of this Handbook, do not see that struggle as separate from the struggles against racism, sexism, classism, and the oppression of other groups of people who are different because of sexual preference, religion, age, physical disability, appearance, or life history. To us, nuclear weapons are already killing people, destroying the islands of Micronesia, poisoning the homelands of the Dine and the Hopi, diverting resources from social programs. Nuclear war is already being waged, claiming its victims disproportionately from native peoples, the Third World, and those who are economically vulnerable because of the history of oppression.

All oppressions are interlocking. We separate racism, classism, sexism, etc. in order to discuss them, not to imply that any form of oppression operates in isolation. We know that to work against any one of these is not just to try to stop something negative but to build a positive vision. Only in the case of feminism do we have a name that reflects this broader goal.

Confronting the issues that divide us is often painful. People often feel guilty, or hurt, or react defensively when we begin to speak of these things, as if they were being personally accused. Yet to challenge racism, sexism, classism, and heterosexism is to challenge institutions and systems, to spur us to take responsible changes. Most of us benefit from some form of privilege due to our sex, or class, or skin color, or sexual orientation, but that privilege is limited. None of us alone has the power to end the institutions of discrimination. Only when we struggle together can we hope to do so—and when pain and hurt arise in that struggle, we can see it as a measure of the depth to which discrimination hurts us all.



Feminism

The split which in our society divides women and men is one of the most basic ways in which human beings are devalued. Under patriarchy, which means, literally, "the rule of the fathers", men assume power over women. Women are relegated to limited roles and valued primarily for their sexual and reproductive functions, while men are seen as the central makers of culture, the primary actors in history. The feminist movement attempts to change this deep-rooted pattern, to assure equality of women under the law, and beyond that, to challenge on every level of society the limitations that deny women—and men—the chance to live our fully human possibilities.

Patriarchy is reinforced by the language we use, by the images in our textbooks and on our TV screens, by the fairy tales we hear as children and the popular songs we sing. It is enforced economically: women are clustered in the lowest paying, lowest status jobs. For every dollar earned by men, women make only sixty cents. Women of color bear the burden of double discrimination.

Patriarchy is also enforced by violence. Fifty percent of all women are battered at some time in their lives. Fear of rape keeps most women penned in their homes at night and makes hiking trails and lonely beaches places of terror for many women when they are alone. Magazines and movies portray women as objects to be violated. In war, the victors often rape the women of the conquered peoples.

The feminist movement has actively struggled for women's self-determination in many areas—economic equality, access to jobs and education, equal representation in positions of status and influence, control over our own bodies and our own sexuality, the right to control our own reproduction. Women in the movement have established services for victims of rape and battering, have explored new dimensions of spirituality, and have challenged the demeaning images of women put forth in the media and the pornography industry.

Feminism and the Anti-nuclear Movement

Women have a long history of opposition to militarism and nuclear destruction. As feminist activist Ynestre King writes:

"There were women of Women's Strike for Peace and the Ban the Bomb movements of the fifties, mailing their baby's teeth to Congressmen as a reminder of future generations. And there are the brave women scientists who have spoken more recently and the women who have been at the forefront of the anti-nuclear struggles, the peace movements, struggles against toxic wastes and for occupational health and safety. There are those who have helped us to imagine the world as it could be—artists, poets, writers and dreamers who have given us new visions of culture, health, technology, community and politics. We are shaking the world."

Women have opposed war, most obviously, because women bear the next generation and feel a responsibility to protect it. But feminists are not content to speak only from traditional roles as mothers and nurturers. Feminists oppose war and, instead, envision a new culture that would safeguard every individual's right to determine what she or he can be, one in which each person can contribute as a full human being to the work of society.

Many women see a feminist analysis as crucial to effectively challenge militarism. Patriarchy supports and thrives on war. The split which turns women, or people of color, into *the other* is the same split which allows us to see our enemies as non-human, fair game for any means of destruction or cruelty. Our country's foreign policy often seems directed by teenage boys desperately trying to live up to stereotypes of male toughness. Men are socialized to repress emotions, to not cry, to ignore their needs to nurture and cherish the next generation. Emotions, tender feeling, care for the living and those to come are not seen as appropriate concerns of public policy.

Feminism says that the system which enforces male domination harms both women and men. That system is part of the system which perpetuates racism, classism, heterosexism, and all forms of oppression. In its broadest sense, feminism seeks not only to shake the world, but to remake it.



Feminist Process

We learn sexism at such an early age and in such intimate surroundings—our own families—that the attitudes it fosters are often unconscious. To help each other confront this deep

conditioning, women in the late sixties and early seventies met together in small groups called *consciousness-raising groups*. As stories and experiences were shared, women began to discover that what we thought were personal frustrations or failures often stemmed from our common situation as women. The personal, we found, is political.

The process that developed in those small groups has strongly influenced our process in the peace movement: in fact, we call our process *feminist*. Feminist process does not mean that women dominate or exclude men—on the contrary, it challenges all systems of domination, matriarchy as well as patriarchy. The term recognizes the historical importance of the feminist movement in insisting that nonviolence begins at home—in the ways we treat each other.

When we say that we use feminist process, we mean that the relationships within our groups cannot be separated from the accomplishment of our goals. We mean that we value synthesis and co-operation rather than competition, that we value each individual's contributions to the group and encourage the active participation of everyone involved in an action. We mean that our organizations are non-hierarchical; that power flows from the united will of the group, not from the authority of any individuals. Nevertheless, our groups are not leaderless—each one of us is a leader.

Following are some specific ways we use feminist process:

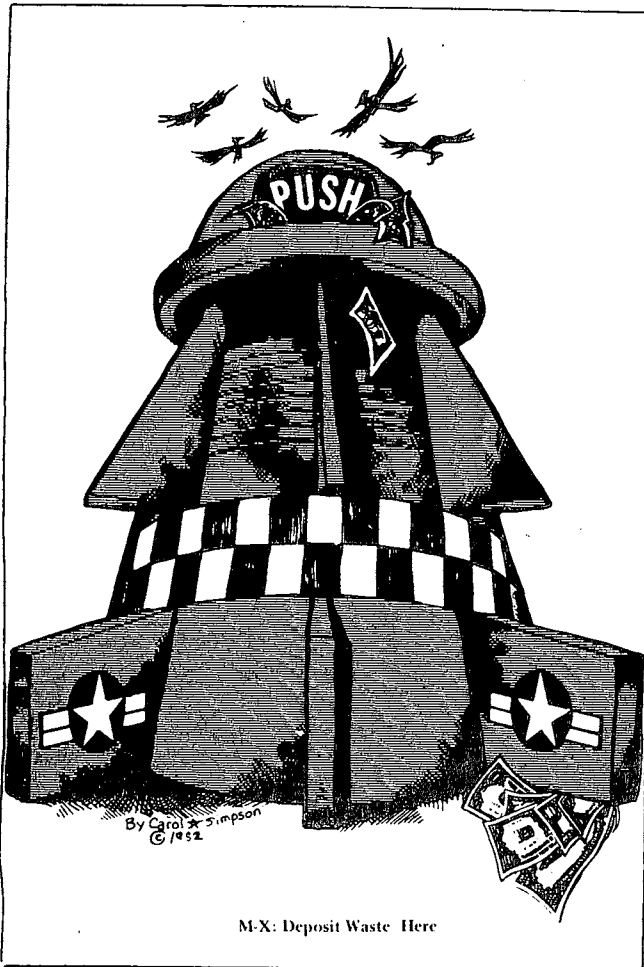
- Protecting speaking time by going around the circle and allowing each person to speak for a specific time. Thus we hear the ideas of people who do not feel comfortable speaking out in a group, and highly verbal people do not always dominate meetings.
- Sharing skills and knowledge: we keep our work groups open so new members can gain experience in many areas, and we share information openly and equally. When we turn to experts — such as lawyers — for help, we see them as sources of information, not as decision-makers or priority-setters.
- Rotating responsibilities so new people can develop skills and share fully in all aspects of the action. Because a person does something well is no reason that same person should do it all the time. Perhaps she or he can pass their skill or knowledge on to others, so that the group as a whole is enriched. In general, we try not to perform the same role—such as facilitating a meeting—twice in a row.
- Valuing feelings: we include time in our meetings for expressing emotions and for personal interactions.
- Working together co-operatively: our goal is furthering the work of the group—not bettering our own position. Before we speak or act, we ask ourselves if we are truly contributing something unique with our speech or our action.
- We allow times when women can meet with other women, and men can meet with men—not to exclude the opposite sex, but to discover who we are. Our society conditions women and men to depend on the opposite sex to embody many basic human qualities. Among those of our own gender, we cannot play the same limited roles, and must become more whole. When direct action results in our being jailed, the state separates us. We can use this time for consciousness-raising, turning a punishment into an opportunity.

OVERCOMING MASCULINE OPPRESSION

Many of the problems we run into in anti-nuclear groups are those of domination within the movement.

People join a social change movement in order to alleviate an external problem. Too often we are confronted with the same kind of behavior we find in our everyday lives. We're all too often stifled by heavy-handed authority: bosses at work, parents or spouse at home and teachers at school.

People want not only to be accepted in these groups but also to make a contribution and be active participants. In order to work successfully to change things we must also pay attention to our own behavior. More often than not, men are the ones dominating group activity. Such behavior is therefore termed a "masculine behavior pattern" not because women never act that way, but because it is generally men who do it.



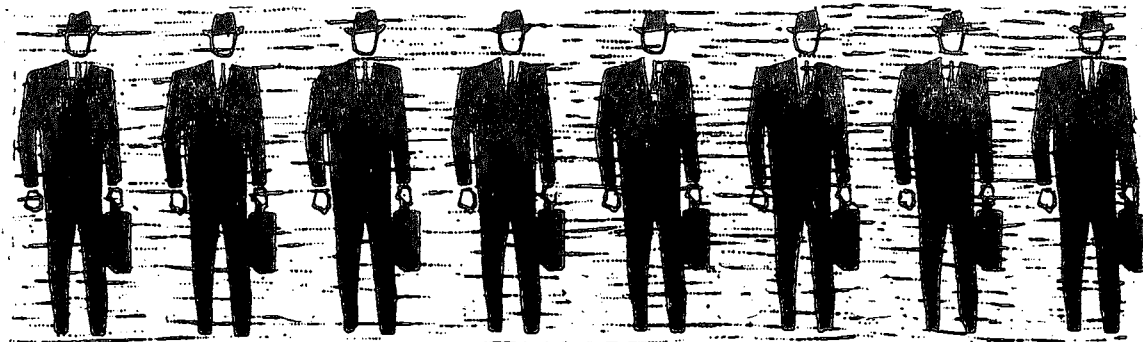
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Here are some specific ways we can be responsible to ourselves and others in groups:

- Not interrupting people who are speaking. We can even leave space after each speaker, counting to five before speaking.
- Becoming a good listener. Good listening is as important as good speaking. It's important not to withdraw when not speaking; good listening is active participation.
- Getting and giving support. We can help each other be aware of and interrupt patterns of domination, as well as affirm each other as we move away from those ways. It is important that men support and challenge each other, rather than asking women to do so. This will also allow women more space to break out of their own conditioned role of looking after men's needs while ignoring their own.
- Not giving answers and solutions. We can give our opinions in a manner which says we believe our ideas to be valuable, but no more important than others' ideas.
- Relaxing. The group will do fine without our anxiety attacks.
- Not speaking on every subject. We need not share every idea we have, at least not with the whole group.
- Not putting others down. We need to check ourselves when we're about to attack or "one-up" another. We can ask ourselves, "Why am I doing this? What am I feeling? What do I need?"
- Interrupting others' oppressive behavior. We should take responsibility for interrupting a brother who is exhibiting behavior which is oppressive to others and prohibits his own growth. It is no act of friendship to allow friends to continue dominating those around them. We need to learn caring and forthright ways of doing this.

The following are some of the more common problems to become aware of:

- Hogging the show. Talking too much, too long and too loud.
- Problem solver. Continually giving the answer or solution before others have had much chance to contribute.
- Speaking in capital letters. Giving one's own solutions or opinions as the final word on the subject, often aggravated by tone of voice and body posture.
- Defensiveness. Responding to every contrary opinion as though it were a personal attack.
- Nitpicking. Pointing out minor flaws in statements of others and stating the exception to every generality.
- Restating. Especially what has just been said by a non-dominant person.
- Attention seeking. Using all sorts of dramatics to get the spotlight.
- Task and content focus. To the exclusion of nurturing individuals or the group through attention to process and form.
- Putdowns and one-upmanship. "I used to believe that, but now..." or "How can you possibly say that?"
- Negativism. Finding something wrong or problematical in everything.



- Focus transfer. Transferring the focus of the discussion to one's own pet issues in order to give one's own pet raps.
- Residual office holder. Hanging on to formal powerful positions.
- Self-listening. Formulating a response after the first few sentences, not listening to anything from that point on and leaping in at the first pause.
- Inflexibility and dogmatism. Taking a last stand for one's position on even minor items.
- Avoiding feelings. Intellectualizing, withdrawing into passivity or making jokes when it's time to share personal feelings.
- Condescension and paternalism. "Now, do any women have something to add?"
- Being "on the make". Using sexuality to manipulate people.
- Seeking attention and support from women while competing with men.
- Running the show. Continually taking charge of tasks before others have a chance to volunteer.
- Pack ratitis. Protectively storing key group information for one's own use and benefit.
- Speaking for others. "A lot of us think that we should..." or "What so and so really meant was..."

The full wealth of knowledge and skills is severely limited by such behavior. Women and men who don't feel comfortable participating in a competitive atmosphere are, in effect, cut off from the interchange of experience and ideas.

If sexism isn't ended within social change groups there can't be a movement for real social change. Not only will the movement flounder amidst divisiveness, but the crucial issue of liberation from sex oppression will not be dealt with. Any change of society which does not include the freeing of women and men from oppressive sex role conditioning, from subtle as well as blatant forms of male supremacy, is incomplete.



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京浜は男社会の終着駅

このニュースの問い合わせ... 横浜市正倉4-8-39 竹内まき TEL 06-382-8937

[This piece was originally written by Bill Moyers of the Movement for a New Society (MNS). For the complete article you can write to MNS at 4722 Baltimore Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19143.] ●

heterosexism

Heterosexism is the assumption our society makes that sexual relations are only permissible, desirable and normal between opposite sexes. Heterosexism is also the romantic and monogamous ideology of heterosexual relations. Heterosexism legitimizes discrimination against women who love other women and against men who love other men and against men and women who prefer celibacy or any form of sexuality which deviates from the romantic, monogamous, heterosexist ideal. Sexual deviants may be denied employment, housing, services, and other opportunities. If we appear obviously gay or otherwise *deviant*—that is, dress and look in ways we feel most comfortable—we are subject to physical violence on the streets and at the hands of the police. We experience the pain of being viewed by our own friends and allies as strange and not-quite-human.

Sexuality is a delicate issue. We come to this action from different life experiences, different religious backgrounds and philosophies. When we are thrown together with people whose orientations and lifestyles differ greatly from our own, we may experience culture-shock. Homophobia, a fear or loathing of homosexuality, may surface in subtle ways—our willingness to believe the worst about a woman who looks *different*, our unease with a man who seems effeminate. We need to have respect and sensitivity for everyone involved in an action, to open discussions and share feelings honestly rather than condemn each other for either our preferences or our fears. We must be aware of the special risks lesbians and gay men face in arrest situations. As a movement based on the principle of self-determination, we must support the right of all people to make this most personal choice—that of sexual partner or practice.

discrimination

Hidden Assumptions and Attitudes

1) The assumption that the dominant group represents humanity as a whole: for example, that *man* refers to all people, or that pink band-aids are *flesh-colored*.

2) The assumption that we all share common experiences, resources, and interests. Women's experience is different from men's, blacks' from that of whites', working-class people's from middle-class people's. Society's institutions treat us differently and we grow up with different expectations and opportunities. We do not have the same access to money and time, or to resources such as transportation and emotional support. We have different responsibilities and different limitations. As we work together, we need to bear this in mind.

3) The assumption that discrimination does not hurt the dominant group. Restrictive sex roles hurt men as well as women. Racism hurts us all. Both divide us as potential friends and allies.

4) The assumption that education on these issues should be carried out by oppressed—that people of color should educate white people, that gay people should raise the consciousness of heterosexual people. Yet no one can raise someone else's consciousness—that is a task we each must take for ourselves. Because change benefits us all, it is up to each of us to learn about and raise issues other than our own.

5) The assumption that the values, symbols, and world-view of the dominant culture are universal.

6) The assumption that people from different groups and lifestyles should try to look and act like members of the dominant group, or should fit the stereotypes to make dominant group members feel comfortable.

7) The assumption that these issues of liberation and survival are side issues that distract from the *real work* and can be conveniently set aside whenever they make people uncomfortable.

Ways We Can Work for Change

1) Raise the issues of racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism, discrimination against the disabled. Speak up about them. Make them our concern.

2) Join together with people of our own sex, class, race, or sexual preference to share experiences, frustrations, pain, and develop common understandings. Make time for consciousness raising.

3) Educate ourselves about people who are different from us. Read the writings of people of color, working class people, women, lesbians and gay men. Learn the history of Africa, the Americas, Polynesia, Asia. Learn other languages: Spanish, Chinese, American Sign Language.

4) Tell our own personal histories to each other. Recognize that we are all *ethnic*, that we are rich in the diversity of our heritages and life experiences.

5) Realize that Third World people face daily threats which are more immediate than the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

6) Understand that many peace and anti-nuclear issues affect Third World communities in special ways. For example:

- Nuclear programs are dependent on uranium mined in southern Africa and on native lands in the US, Canada, Australia, and elsewhere.
- Military intervention is planned to prevent self-determination throughout the Third World, for example in El Salvador, Nicaragua and South Africa.
- Military recruiting is targeted at areas of high unemployment. With few jobs available, blacks and hispanics have little choice but to enlist.
- The massive transfer of resources to the military in the Reagan budget has particularly hurt Third World communities.
- The massive expenditures for arms worldwide takes funds and resources needed for economic development in the Third World.

7) Learn and act upon issues of special concern to Third World communities. Integrate the concerns of these communities in your approach to peace issues.

8) Develop working relationships with all groups involved with social change, including black, hispanic and native groups. In planning for events form coalitions early, which include as many groups as possible.

9) Don't force your agenda on other organizations.

RACISM

TO the Man God: O Great

One, I have been sorely tried by my enemies and have been blasphemed and lied against.

My good thoughts and my honest actions have been turned to bad actions and dishonest ideas.

My home has been disrespected; my children have been cursed and ill-treated.

My dear ones have been backbitten and their virtue questioned.

O Man God, I beg that this that I ask for my enemies shall come to pass:

That the South wind shall scorch their bodies and make them wither and shall not be tempered to them.

That the North wind shall freeze their blood and numb their muscles and that it shall not be tempered to them.

That the West wind shall blow away their life's breath and will not leave their hair grow, and that their fingernails shall fall off and their bones shall crumble.

That the East wind shall make their minds grow dark, their sight fail and their seed dry up so that they shall not multiply.

I ask that their fathers and mothers from their furthest generation will not intercede for them before the Great Throne, and the wombs of their women shall not bear fruit except for strangers, and they shall become extinct.

I pray that the children who may come shall be weak of mind and paralyzed of limb and that they themselves shall curse them in their turn for ever turning the breath of life in to their bodies.

I pray that disease and death shall be forever with them and that their worldly goods shall not prosper, and that their crops shall not multiply and that their cows, their sheep, their hogs and all their living beasts shall die of starvation and thirst.

I pray that their house shall be unroofed and that the rain, the thunder and lightning shall find the innermost recesses of their home and that the foundation shall crumble and the floods tear it asunder.

I pray that the sun shall not shed its rays on them in benevolence, but instead it shall beat down on them and burn them and destroy them.

I pray that the moon shall not give them peace, but instead shall deride them and decry them and cause their minds to shrivel.

I pray that their friends shall betray them and cause them loss of power, of gold and of silver, and that their enemies shall smite them until they beg for mercy, which shall not be given them.

I pray that their tongues shall forget how to speak in sweet words, and that they shall be paralyzed and that all about them will be desolation, pestilence and death.

O Man God, I ask you for all these things because they have dragged me in the dust and destroyed my good name; broken my heart and caused me to curse the day that I was born. So be it.

I am sure it was a woman who first prayed this curse. I have often marveled at the precision of its anger, the absoluteness of its bitterness. Its utter hatred of the enemies it condemns. It is a curse-prayer by a person who would readily, almost happily, commit suicide, if it meant her enemies would also die. Horribly.

I see the woman who uttered this curse: Black, Yellow, Brown or Red—"aboriginal," as the Ancients are called in South Africa and Australia and other lands invaded, expropriated and occupied by whites. And I think, with astonishment, that the curse-prayer of this colored woman—starved, enslaved, humiliated and carelessly trampled to death—over centuries, is coming to pass. Indeed, like ancient peoples of color the world over, who have tried to tell the white man of the destruction that would inevitably follow from the uranium mining plunder of their sacred lands, this woman—along with millions and billions of obliterated sisters, brothers and children—seems to have put such enormous energy into her hope for revenge, that her curse seems close to bringing it about. And it is this hope for revenge, finally, I think that is at the heart of people of color's resistance to joining any antinuclear movement.

In any case, this has been my own problem.

When I have considered the enormity of the white man's crimes against humanity. Against women. Against every living

person of color. Against the poor. Against my mother and my father. Against me....When I consider that at this very moment he wishes to take away what little freedom I have died to achieve, through denial of my right to vote....Has already taken away education, medicine, housing and food....That William Shockley is saying at this moment that he will run for the Senate of my country to push his theory that blacks are genetically inferior and should be sterilized....When I consider that he is, they are, a real and present threat to my life and the life of my daughter, my people, I think—in perfect harmony with my sister of long ago: *Let the earth marinate in poisons. Let the bombs cover the ground like rain. For nothing short of total destruction will ever teach them anything.*

And it would be good, perhaps, to put an end to the species in any case, rather than let white men continue to subjugate it and continue their lust to dominate, exploit and despoil not just our planet but the rest of the universe, which is their clear and oft-stated intention, leaving their arrogance and litter not just on the moon but on everything else they can reach.

If we have any true love for the stars, planets, the rest of creation, we must do everything we can to keep white men away from them. They who have appointed themselves our representatives to the rest of the universe. They who have never met any new creature without exploiting, abusing or destroying it. They who say we poor and colored and female

and elderly blight neighborhoods, while they blight worlds. What they have done to the Old, they will do to the New. Under the white man every star would become a South Africa, every planet a Vietnam.

Fatally irradiating ourselves may in fact be the only way to save others from what earth has already become. And this is a consideration that I believe requires serious thought from every one of us.

However, just as the sun shines on the godly and the ungodly alike, so does nuclear radiation. And with this knowledge it becomes increasingly difficult to embrace the thought of extinction purely for the assumed satisfaction of—from the grave—achieving revenge. Or even of accepting our demise as a planet as a simple and just preventive medicine administered to the universe. Life is better than death, I believe, if only because it is less boring, and because it has fresh peaches in it. In any case, earth is my home—though for centuries white people have tried to convince me I have no right to exist, except in the dirtiest, darkest corners of the globe.

So let me tell you: I intend to protect my home. Praying—not a curse—only the hope that my courage will not fail my love. But if by some miracle, and all our struggle, the earth is spared, only justice to every living thing (and everything is alive) will save humankind.

Only justice can stop a curse.

This article was first delivered as a speech at a rally sponsored by the Women's Party for Survival at San Francisco's Grace Cathedral. It is reprinted here with permission from Mother Jones where it appeared in the September/October 1982 issue.



**the Arms Race is
A DEAD END!**



Racism, the systematic mistreatment experienced by people, is a result of institutionalized inequalities in the social structure. Racism is one consequence of a self-perpetuating imbalance in economic, political and social power. This imbalance consistently favors members of some ethnic and cultural groups at the expense of other groups. The consequences of this imbalance pervade all aspects of the social system and affect all facets of people's lives.

Racism operates as a strategy of divide and conquer. It helps perpetuate a social system in which some people consistently are "haves" and others are "have nots." While "haves" receive certain material benefits from this situation, the long-range effects of racism shortchange everyone. Racism sets groups of people against each other and makes it difficult for us to perceive our common interests as human beings. Racism makes us forget that we all need and are entitled to good health care, stimulating education, and challenging work. Racism limits our horizons to what presently exists; it makes us suppose that current injustices are "natural" or at best inevitable. "Someone has to be unemployed; someone has to go hungry." Most importantly, racism distorts our perceptions of the possibilities for change; it makes us abandon our visions of solidarity; it robs us of our dreams of community.

No human being is born with racist attitudes and beliefs. Physical and cultural differences between human beings are not the cause of racism; these differences are used to justify racism. Racist attitudes and beliefs are a mixture of misinformation and ignorance which has to be imposed upon young people through a painful process of social conditioning. "You have to be taught to hate and fear." Having racist attitudes and beliefs is like having a clamp on one's mind. It distorts one's perception of reality. Two examples: the notion that there is something called "flesh color"; the use of the term "minorities" to describe the majority of the world's people.

Racism continues in part because people feel powerless to do anything about it. There are times when we have failed to act, and times when we did not achieve as much as we wanted to in the struggle against racism. Unlearning racism also involves understanding the difficulties we have had and learning how to overcome them, without blaming ourselves for having had those difficulties. The situation is not hopeless. People can grow and change; we are not condemned to repeat the past. Racist conditioning need not be a permanent state of affairs. It can be examined, analyzed and unlearned.

All people come from traditions which have a history of resistance to injustice, and every person has their own individual history of resistance to racist conditioning. This history needs to be recalled and celebrated. When people act from a sense of informed pride in themselves and their own traditions, they will be more effective in all struggles for justice.

(Adapted from a piece by Ricky Sherover-Marcuse, Unlearning Racism Workshops, 6538 Dana St., Oakland, CA 94609)

CLASSISM

by Donna Warnock, War Resisters League-West

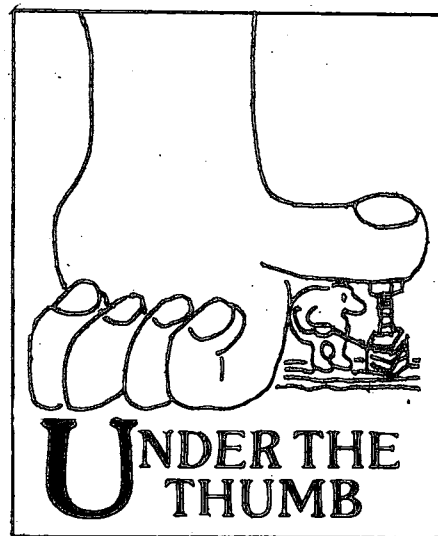
Working class people have the power to demand fundamental social change. We constitute 80-85% of the country's population, contrary to the myth of "Middle Class America". We can resist at the most crucial stages of the military-industrial complex—the point of production, the point of deployment, and the point of dispatch. We can refuse to be cannon fodder. We do not need to leave work for a blockade; we are in strategic positions already.

Poor and working class people feel the effects of the military directly, profoundly and brutally. We have many reasons to join the disarmament movement. Our vital services have been cut to feed the Pentagon. Inflation, aggravated by the military budget, chews away at what is left after disproportionately high taxes are deducted from our pay. Our people fight on the front lines in times of war and in times of peace. We are prime military recruits with historically little access to draft deferments (for students and professionals) or information about conscientious objection. It was our men and women who returned from Vietnam as drug addicts, alcoholics, suicidal, disabled, and plagued with delayed stress syndrome and Agent Orange. It is our men and women who are now filling prisons, hospitals, mental institutions, and cemeteries. Our neighborhoods have become war zones as we take out on each other the rage from these experiences.



The disarmament movement, for the most part, has failed to provide encouragement and support for poor and working class people. Outreach has been limited. Disarmament activists offer conversion schemes and obtain token endorsements from progressive unionists. But the main arguments and strategies are geared toward privileged people. For example, "nuclear madness" indicates that atomic war is an aberration of the military-industrial complex rather than part of a system that does not care for people, but is expressly designed to protect wealth.

This lack of attention to socio-economic considerations hurts when it is reflected in attitudes about each other. We hear it implied that one has to be a moron to enlist in the military and cops are called pigs. Debates held with the heads of nuclear facilities are too often seen as more important than discussions with workers or the people in surrounding communities.



Graphic from Peace Newsletter.

The elevation of experts and lack of appreciation for workers divides people and maintains the status quo within society. This hurts *everyone*. The disarmament movement needs to challenge such relationships rather than perpetuate them. But too often people who are professionals in the world automatically assume similar posts in the movement while maintenance workers are rarely elevated to prestigious positions. People who cannot be depended on to throw away their own cups at the meeting's end are quick to volunteer as consultants, experts, process observers, facilitators and media contact. There are poor people who are afraid to participate because they do not know enough while the privileged are not helping with maintenance because they are reading their 46th book on A-bomb technology.

Poor and working class people are rendered invisible by the assumption that everyone is middle class. Not everyone has had the opportunity, desire or experience of a college education. People with 40-hour jobs, and/or younger, aged or disabled dependents cannot take time for frequent or long meetings. We have little patience for people who are used to getting their way and will hold up consensus to do so. People need to watch when "process" is actually being used as a tool to tell poor and working class people how to behave with "proper etiquette". We must see to it that working class activists are made facilitators, spokespeople or media contacts and not just relegated to cleanup crew. We need to watch out for late night meetings and provide rides for those who rely on public transportation. Group hugs and rituals should not be posed as meeting requirements.

Classism hurts everyone and limits the movement's potential. Classism assumes, according to economic status, some people are smarter than others, and that most of society is unimportant, unintelligent and powerless. This message is repeated whenever elitism goes unchallenged, whenever anyone is treated as dispensable, whenever people's labor—though voluntary—is exploited so that others may have it easier, whenever poor people are stereotyped, and whenever poor people's intelligence is not solicited and respected.

We need working class support groups and caucuses. We want visible support from our more privileged allies. We want workshops about class, literature that speaks to our concerns, childcare, sliding scales, rides home and shorter meetings. We want an organization where everyone is respected.

If we all work together to challenge relationships of domination and submission, among ourselves as well as in society, we will all benefit.

Affinity Groups

An affinity group is usually composed of 5-15 people who have either been brought together at a preparation in non-violence, by being in a local anti-nuke group or other type of work, or just because they're friends. In addition, many affinity groups choose to focus around a specific interest, issue or philosophy, such as opposing sexism or racism in the anti-nuclear movement, peace-keeping, being lesbians, Dead Heads, or single mothers. Affinity groups are the basic decision-making body of the action.

Affinity groups serve as a source of support and solidarity for their members. Feelings of being isolated or alienated from the movement, the crowd, or the world in general can be alleviated through the love and trust which develops when an affinity group works, plays, relates together over a period of time. By generating familiarity and trust, the AG structure reduces the possibility of infiltration by outside provocateurs.

The concept of affinity groups is not a new one; the name goes back to the "*grupos de afinidad*" of the anarchist movement in Spain in the early part of this century. But actually affinity groups are probably the oldest and most ubiquitous form of organization by people seeking to make a better world: what makes more sense than small groups of friends who share an "affinity" working together?

We hope that in organizing for Vandenberg, many affinity groups will continue on as political/support groups doing anti-nuclear and other things together (for example, anti-war, poetry, gardens, parties, alternative tech, tofu factories, etc.). All over the country this is starting to happen ... there are groups like Hard Rain, Purple Rage and Luna in Boston; Yellow Rose Life Force in Texas; the Rocky Flats Truth Force in Colorado; Direct Current and The Black Rose in California, and many more.

We feel that affinity groups should meet regularly, or at least several times before the action to build community in the group, work on their process, plan out a blockade strategy, and have a good time being together. Group names and even identification such as t-shirts or armbands can help bring a group together. At least one group meeting, preferably the one right after the non-violence preparation, should be devoted to legal and jail preparation, in which everyone's questions, fears, reactions, emotions, and attitudes are explored in depth. Also, if there is energy for it, an affinity group can practice their blockade strategy with other local AG's, visit the site ahead of the action, do fund-raising, etc.

Principles of Unity. Simply put, principles of unity are a set of starting agreements for affinity groups. Every affinity group must decide within itself how it will make decisions and what it wants to do. This process starts when the AG forms. For example, if an affinity group is forming to take part in the Vandenberg blockade/occupation, it will have to reach consensus on the nonviolence code. Later it will decide what role it wants to play in the action and what legal stance to take. If a new person asks to join that affinity group, they can find out what the group believes in and what they plan to do, and decide if they can share it. Some groups ask that all members

share a commitment to feminism, for example, or to non-violence as a way of life. Others, who have specifically formed to do the blockade/occupation, might have less sweeping agreements.

A group cannot hope to reach consensus decisions without having some base of agreement. Once a base is agreed upon, working out the details of specific issues and actions is not as difficult as one might expect, providing that there is a willingness to go along with a good idea, even if it is someone else's.

Affinity group support people are considered part of the a.g.s they're doing support for. Among other things they can:

- *Collect a list of people that the members of the a.g. want as contacts in case of injury or arrest.*

- *Hold money for emergencies and the unlikely need of bail.*

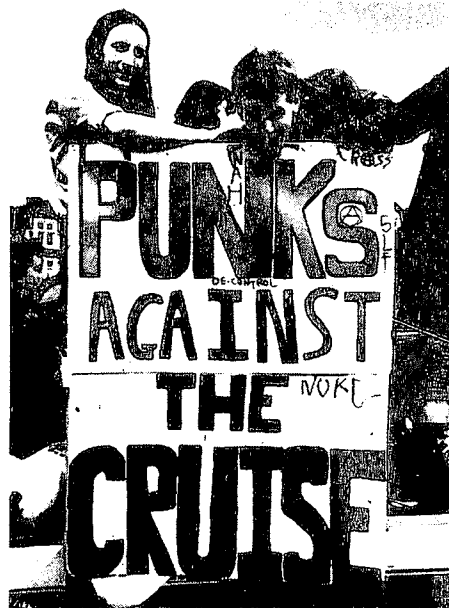
- *Take care of blockaders' cars, personal belongings, I.D.s, etc.*

- *Help the a.g. by providing physical and moral support.*

- *Keep in touch with the protesters for as long as possible, knowing their arrest strategies (going limp, noncooperation, etc.) and being prepared to follow police buses to jail if necessary.*

- *Keep track of where each member of the a.g. is jailed, greet them when free.*

- *Support on the home front: plants, animals, kids, jobs, etc.*



CONSENSUS

Consensus is a decision-making process that reflects commitment to the right of every person to influence decisions that affect her or him. Consensus comes to us through the Quakers, but it has been used by tribal cultures since prehistory. The Six Nations of the Iroquois, for example, use their own form of consensus government to this day. Children also use an informal consensus process as they make up games, choose roles, and play together.

Consensus is a creative process. It is a method for synthesizing the ideas and concerns of all group members. Unlike voting, it is not an adversary, win/lose method. With consensus, we do not have to choose between two alternatives. Instead, we can create a third, a fourth... we see that problems may have many possible solutions. Those who hold views that differ from ours do not become opponents; instead, their views are seen as giving us a fresh and valuable perspective. As we work to meet their concerns, our proposals are strengthened. When we use consensus, we encourage each person's active participation and we listen carefully to what each person says.

Consensus is not the same as a vote. It does not necessarily mean total agreement. Rather, it means that a proposal has gone through a synthesis process in which everyone has had a chance to express feelings and concerns. When consensus is used well, it empowers individuals because the process constantly affirms the value of each person's rare experience. It often brings out our best insights and encourages our sense of responsibility.

CONSENSUS: Roles in a Consensus Meeting

The **facilitator** helps move the group through the decision-making stages. She or he may take suggestions for the agenda and arrange them in order of priority. The facilitator makes sure all necessary roles are filled, calls on people to speak in turn and may suggest ways in which the group can tackle an issue—for example, brainstorming solutions before discussing specifics.

The facilitator should remain neutral on topics being discussed. When an issue arises about which the facilitator feels strongly, she or he may step aside and let someone else take over.

By calling on quiet people, soliciting opinions from those who tend to hang back, and limiting those who tend to dominate, a skillful facilitator makes sure every person has a chance to fully participate. The facilitator makes sure proposals are restated when necessary so that they are fully understood, and that long discussions are periodically summarized.

The **vibeswatcher** is called the **snake** by some groups because she or he keeps an underview of the group process, and stays aware of the feelings people are not expressing. The vibeswatcher looks at body language and reminds the group to breathe and to take breaks when needed. She or he may name or query the group about hidden feelings, saying, for example, "I sense tension—can someone tell me what it is?" or "Maybe this discussion would move better if we all acknowledge that we're scared to be here in jail."

The **timekeeper** warns the group halfway through and at the end of each time period allotted to agenda items.

The **notetaker** records minutes, taking special care to write down all decisions the group makes, and to note who is responsible for carrying them out.

CONSENSUS: How it Works

An issue comes up in a group for discussion. For example, an affinity group is trying to decide what its focus will be. After general talk, one person suggests a *round* during which each member has five minutes to speak. One person notes ideas and suggestions on a large sheet of butcher paper, so that they can be seen by all.

When everyone has spoken, someone attempts to synthesize the ideas into a *proposal*—a suggestion for actions the group will take. "I propose we concentrate on the Vandenberg Action." The facilitator then calls for *clarifying questions*: "Do you mean blockading or public education, or what?" When the proposal is clearly understood, the facilitator asks if there is support for it. *Additions and friendly amendments* may be offered: "I propose we concentrate on Vandenberg, doing education before the action and support for those who want to be part of the occupation." Friendly amendments must be acceptable to whoever made the original proposal. The facilitator also asks for *concerns and objections*. Throughout the discussion, people may offer *process suggestions* by raising two hands. These take precedence over other speakers. An example might be, "I think we need to discuss this proposal in two parts." Process suggestions are *not* statements of opinion about the proposal—they are suggestions for how to proceed with the meeting.

A WHOLE NEW SYSTEM.

A proposal may be *accepted* by acclaim. It may die for lack of support or be *withdrawn*. Most often, however, a proposal is *modified* as concerns are expressed. We try to keep our concerns specific and remain open to creative new ideas which may resolve them. For example: "I'm concerned," a group member might say, "that a focus on Vandenberg is too narrow, considering that most of us can't go down there." After much discussion, perhaps even another round on the subject, the proposal will be modified, and modified again. In its final form, it might be something like this: "This group will develop a public education campaign around the impact of US nuclear weapons development on the Third World. The MX missile launch and the situation on Kwajalein will be a major focus, and we will support those who can go to the action."

A **spoke** may report back on a group discussion, summarizing what was covered. Spokes may also carry a group's viewpoint to a **spokescouncil** where group representatives meet. A spoke may be **empowered** by a group to participate in a consensus decision.

All these roles rotate among group members, so that we each learn a variety of skills and bear our share of the work. Everyone in the group can help the facilitator, by making suggestions about how to proceed and by respecting the process.

CONSENSUS cont.

When the proposal seems finalized, the facilitator *tests* for consensus. People may still express *reservations*: "I don't think we know the facts well enough to speak in public." Others may stand aside. "I think it's fine if the group does this but I'm not interested in it myself."

Any individual in the group may also *block* consensus, but a block should be used very cautiously. A block is *not just a "no" vote, or an expression of disfavor*. A block says: "I believe what the group wants to do is wrong. I cannot allow the group to do it—and I am willing to impose this view on other group members because I feel it so deeply." One member may prefer action to education. Another may be afraid to talk to strangers. But they would not block the group's consensus on this proposal unless they believed that the public education program was harmful or unethical. When blocking is used for less serious reasons, it frustrates the consensus process; because it ends discussion and cuts off the possibility of synthesizing new options.

If no one blocks a proposal, and if everyone feels the proposal has been fully discussed, consensus can be acknowledged by smiles, nods, handclaps, twinkling fingers, cheers, or whatever gesture the group prefers. At times, the notetaker may wish to read back to the group so that everyone clearly understands it. Then the facilitator asks the group to decide what needs to be done to carry out the decision, and who is going to do it. For a consensus decision is a group agreement to do something.

People sometimes complain that consensus is too time-consuming. Especially when a group is learning to use the process, it may seem cumbersome. But discussion time is compensated by the increased energy and enthusiasm with which people carry out a consensus decision. There is no dissatisfied minority to undermine a decision. Because group members feel part of the decision-making process, they often take on responsibility in new areas.

Of course, consensus does not always work ideally. When group members withhold ideas and opinions, they cannot become part of the synthesis. When members talk on and on without contributing anything new, or repeat points others have made, discussion bogs down. Consensus demands that we respect each other and listen to each others' opinions, that we are willing to struggle honestly to reach agreement, that we exercise

responsibility and self-discipline in taking up the group's time, and that we co-operate with each other to reach our common goals. Practicing consensus also fosters these qualities. The anti-nuclear and anti-militarist movement has used consensus effectively for many years to organize large-scale, complex, and sustained actions. We continue to find it a tool for individual and group empowerment.

CONSENSUS: Consensus in Large Groups

For consensus to work creatively, everyone in the group must have an opportunity to speak to an issue. In large groups, this becomes impossible. Instead, we use one of the following:

Spokescouncil. Affinity groups or clusters choose spokes who meet together to come to consensus around an issue. The decision may be brought back to affinity groups for approval, or spokes may be empowered by their groups beforehand to make a binding decision. The role of spoke should rotate frequently so that power remains decentralized.

Jail model spokescouncil. Spokes form a central circle. Affinity group members can sit behind their spoke and listen to the discussion. They may whisper suggestions or pass notes to their spoke who can then make their points and take their views into consideration.

Breaking down into small groups. A proposal or issue may be brought up in a large meeting which is not a spokescouncil. The facilitator calls for clarifying questions only. Then the large meeting breaks into small groups—either affinity groups, or groups of random composition, in which the question at hand can be fully discussed. Notes are taken, and spokes from each small group synthesize the discussion and report back to the large group. The process may be repeated as many times as is necessary. Or a small working group may form, attempting to synthesize a new proposal that will later be brought back to the large group.

Periodic evaluations. Evaluation is an important ongoing part of our process. After each meeting, we discuss what went well, and what could have gone better. We continually learn how to work effectively together. We have periodic evaluations throughout large meetings, thus enabling those who may feel frustrated or intimidated to speak out and change the process before the meeting is over and the chance is lost.

MEETING PROCEDURE

Connect - sit down, sing, breathe together, short game, etc.

Choose facilitator, notetaker, timekeeper, vibeswatcher.

Weather reports - how is each person's emotional 'weather'? How are you all feeling?

Collect items for the agenda. Set times. Prioritize.

or

Review agenda.

Review minutes or old business from last meeting.

Go through agenda as agreed upon.

Don't forget to:

Set a date for the next meeting.

Leave time for announcements—or circulate a sheet of paper with announcements written on it.

Collect names, addresses, and phone numbers if needed.

Take breaks.

Evaluate the meeting. What did you like? What could have gone better? What would you like to see different next time?

Close.

POWER & AUTHORITY

When we engage in direct actions against coercive institutions, we challenge the principle of power and the model of authority upon which they rest. We challenge the expectations and behavior we have been taught by all of society's institutions. Often we do so in the heart of the institution in which authority is most clearly oppressive—the jails and prisons. Our process challenges the model of power-over, and to make it work we must understand and challenge the ways in which we become disempowered.

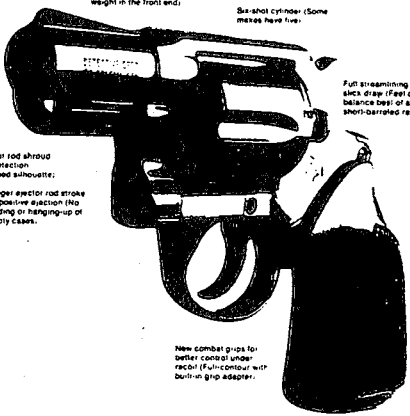
- ★ *We seek authority. We look for the expert, the leader, the one with secret information to tell us what to do. Before we act we look for approval or assurance that we are going through 'proper channels'.*
- ★ *We believe authority figures, especially when they appear friendly and approving. Even experienced blockaders find it hard to realize, in the moment, that the smiling guard or police officer may be giving us false information. We think 'nice people' don't lie—but the guards or police do not see themselves as lying, they see themselves as handling a difficult situation, preventing possible trouble.*
- ★ *We blame the victim. When one of our group clashes with an authority figure, we tend to assume that the person in trouble must have done something wrong. Yet police and guards often arbitrarily remove people from the group without provocation, or treat one person differently from others.*
- ★ *We placate authority figures and attempt to gain their approval or we respond belligerently to authorities, lashing out in ineffective ways or, we revert to the ways in which we responded, as children or teenagers, to our parents and teachers.*
- ★ *We police ourselves. We censor our own statements and actions—relieving the authorities of the responsibility of stopping actions they disapprove of.*

The new voice of authority

Greater accuracy than other mass 18 loads and grooves (instead of 5)

New barrel for greater holding stability. More weight in the front end.

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The all-new Detective Special 38, with 2 inch barrel. 23 ounces light, with the features you want in a concealable gun. For all the details, stop in at your nearby Colt's Registered Dealer or write Colt's Firearms Marketing Division, Hartford, Conn. 06102

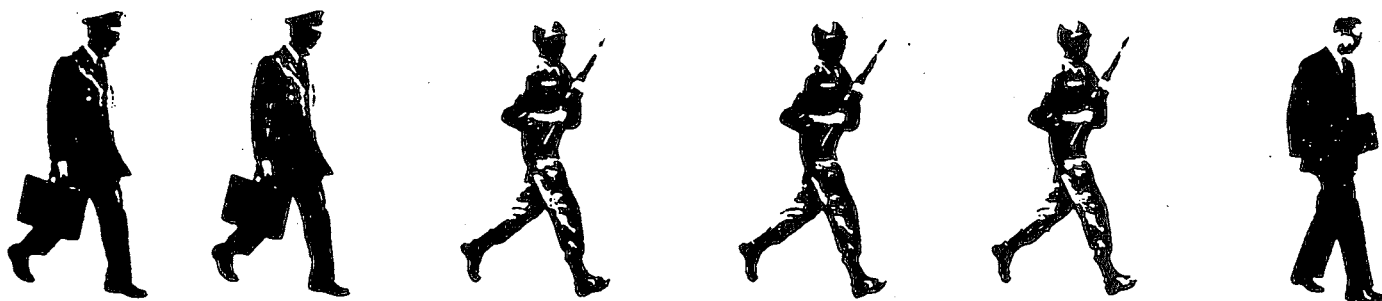
Colt Industries


Firearms Marketing Division

HOW WE CAN EMPOWER OURSELVES — Some suggestions:

- *We can take responsibility for what we see needs to be done, for making happen what we want to happen, for speaking our views and opinions even when we suspect they go against those of others.*
- *We can remember to distrust rumors and information that comes from guards and police. We can help each other remain aware of possible manipulations. We can be honest with each other.*
- *We can give each other the benefit of the doubt, and refuse to believe in each other's guilt without proof.*
- *We can communicate clearly and directly, as one adult to another, to authority figures. We can help each other find empowering ways to express anger.*
- *We can act in accordance with our consciences, as if we were at all times completely free.*

Struggling with the issues of power and authority is difficult and often painful, but the lessons we learn may help us shape a vision that can change the roots of power in society itself.



NON-VIOLENCE

GUIDELINES FOR NONVIOLENCE

The Livermore Action Group requires that all participants in the blockade accept and adhere to the nonviolence guidelines for this action, so that people know what to expect of each other. For more elaboration of the rationale behind these guidelines, see the section, "Dynamics of Nonviolent Action."

1. Our attitude will be one of openness, friendliness, and respect toward all people we encounter.
2. We will use no violence, verbal or physical, toward any person.
3. We will not damage any property.
4. We will not bring or use drugs or alcohol other than for medical purposes.
5. We will not run.
6. We will carry no weapons.

These guidelines are a valuable beginning, but they are no substitute for sensitivity to the dynamics of a particular situation or a sense of what kinds of positive acts are likely to be constructive and beautiful.

There has been considerable discussion within the Livermore Action Group about making some modifications in the guidelines. There was a proposal to change the first point of the guidelines; however, no consensus was reached. We consensed to keep the Abalone Alliance guidelines intact, and, in order to convey the discussion, print a short statement reflecting the two perspectives.

In Favor of Change

Millions of people who have experienced and resisted oppression do not feel "open, friendly, and respectful" toward people they rightly perceive as their oppressors. We need to open our movement to the energy of these people, while affirming our commitment to nonviolence. After a month-long series of discussions, the Livermore Action Group authorized an open meeting to discuss the nonviolence guidelines. That meeting recommended replacing the words "friendly and respectful" with "nonviolent" in the first point of the nonviolence guidelines. Consensus on this change was blocked. Those of us who support the change hope this discussion can continue in a productive way as we prepare for June 21st.

In Opposition to Change

I am angry at the ugliness that is destroying the planet. I am scared of the force of the police hand, militarism, and patriarchy. Civil disobedience seems like a confrontation between the police and us; we stand on a line looking at each other. In the collective consciousness, it is not individuals who are face to face, it is a battle between class interests and ideas. Discharging my fear and rage onto the person in front of me obscures the larger issues. Treating all beings with respect is not submission; it is a radical act toward de-militarization of the human mind. In this act of resistance we affirm our sister/brotherhood.

DYNAMICS OF NONVIOLENCE

When we in the anti-nuclear movement commit ourselves to non-violent campaigns, we set in motion a twofold dynamic. First, we begin to change ourselves; as we confront corporate lies, hold non-violence preparations, form new affinity groups, we gain confidence in working together. This happens both naturally and consciously, as we learn that the means by which we come together and act determine and affect our ends. The second dynamic is our effect on those outside our community, not only our governmental and corporate opponents, but the large number of uncommitted people whose support is necessary for important social change.

The antinuke movement reflects this dynamic. Its commitment to feminist process, small autonomous groups, and to strong, well-organized actions that help people brave arrest, has done more than empower its members. It asserts to neutral people that we are dedicated, that we're not going to give up or go away. We alienate some by acting, just as we perhaps exclude some who don't "believe" in consensus process — but we gain the attention and respect of many more who otherwise remain untouched by thoughts of the nuclear menace.

Potentially, everyone can act to stop nukes, because ordinary people have power. In 1977, 47 people committed civil disobedience at Diablo; the next year, ten times that many risked arrest. By acting we gain momentum — and this momentum creates grave problems for the authorities. As we gain and keep people through good process and commitment, we enlarge our choices of non-violent strategies — and limit the authorities' choices in the process.

The ideal dynamic is that of ordinary people gaining power and control over the things that matter in our lives. The means we employ — consensus decision-making, skill sharing, small groups, mutual respect and support — mirror these ends. So what about the dynamics of actual confrontations? Can non-violence help us control real-life situations? Certainly it can give us more power. When we act violently, most of us are in unfamiliar terrain which is very familiar to police trained to respond to the cues of violence. But when we refuse to give those cues, we put the police in unfamiliar territory. Their power resides in the threat of arrest or the fear of force; and, in the power to disperse us once again and turn a collective into isolated individuals. When we stand our ground, when we show determination rather than fear of arrest or violence, we deprive them of their usual responses, and draw them into a field of conflict with rules of our choosing: non-violent rules. Violence is a relationship — when we act differently, when we combine non-violence with determination, when we treat them as potential allies or intimates, we confuse them and open them to change.

EMOTIONAL & VERBAL VIOLENCE & THE ROLE OF ANGER

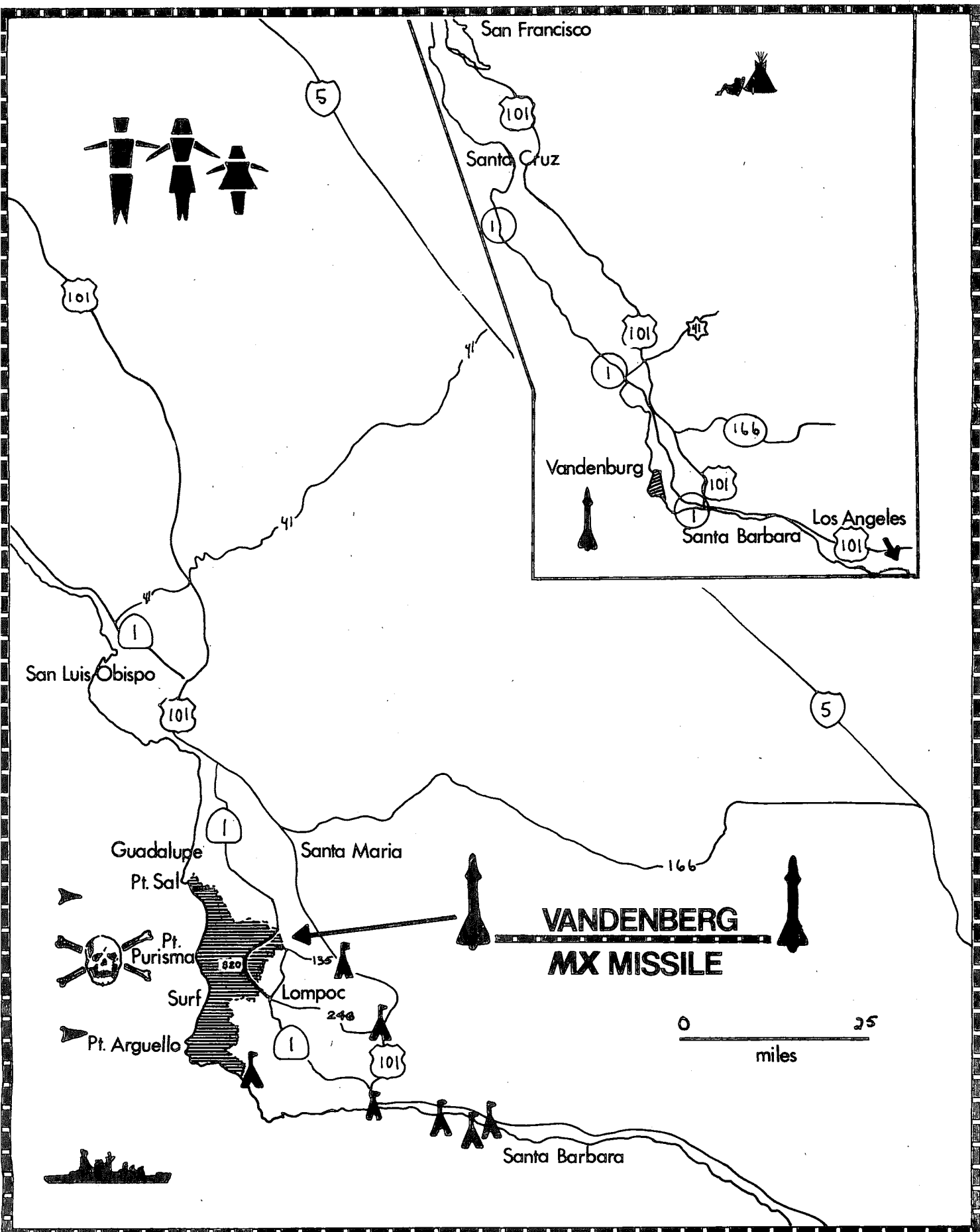
Most people have experienced emotional and verbal violence as destructive and divisive; it creates a pattern of response that leaves people cold and closed to each other, when it doesn't escalate into physical violence. Yet we also know that anger — at the violence and greed in our society, at the destruction of our environment, and no less when we see the individual habits that support these values (in ourselves as well!) — seems natural and valid. One imagines the false good times evident everywhere on TV, or the frightening prospect of a world of smiley faces co-existing with racism, sexism, and even apocalypse.

There is a difference between constructive and destructive anger. The East Bay Trainers Group notes that *"It is violence to ourselves if we don't express our anger"*. They quote Barbara Deming, who calls anger healthy when it is *"a concentration of one's whole self that things must change. This kind of anger brings about confrontation, and has respect for oneself and for the other. It says I must change the other. It says I must change — I have been playing the part of the oppressed, and you must change for you have been the oppressor."* Change is possible for both sides. Anger gives us strength to refuse to act like slaves or powerless people.

It's anger we feel when we read the history of the nuclear industry, when we find chemical dumps in our community, when we think of those who cold-bloodedly put profits before people's lives and safety. But there is also the anger of women at sexism in our meetings (men too sometimes), or the anger all of us feel when people disregard what we're saying or feeling.

To make room for a healthy expression of, and response to, this anger, it helps to create a general attitude of respect and support, both in and outside of our meetings. Verbal violence — snide or vicious tones, interrupting, shouting down individuals, misrepresenting what people say — is the antithesis of respect and communication. This violence can infect an entire group of people — everyone gets defensive, feels uncomfortable or even claustrophobic. When people sense this happening, they should pause and silently consider their feelings and objectives. Then they should bring it up during the meeting. Serious rifts should be aired, and feelings shared — otherwise the violence and defensiveness fester, making our consensus superficial. When people clear the air, however, they reaffirm their commitment to taking care of emotions and to working things through. It's a *maturity* the anti-nuclear movement needs if we're serious about creating a better world. ●





One of the most beautiful parts of the central California coastline is officially restricted. Vandenberg Air Force Base extends 35 miles along the coast, and varies in width from 5 to 15 miles. From Point Sal southwest to the hamlet of Casmalia, lie the Casmalian hills. The vegetation on the hill is mostly grassland with some oak woodland and coastal sage scrub. A large firebreak marks the Vandenberg boundary. Cattle share overgrazed hills with deer, coyotes, and bobcats. Minuteman missile test areas are located along the edge of these hills. One and a half miles northeast of Casmalia, in a lower valley, a Class 1 disposal area receives toxic wastes such as PCBs. There is concern about whether PCBs have contaminated the ground water.



LIVING IN A TIME BOMB



DANGER

WARNING

RESTRICTED

IT IS UNLAWFUL TO ENTER T
PERMISSION OF THE INSTAL
(SEC. 21, INTERNAL SECURITY AC
WHILE ON THIS INSTALLATION
AND THE PROPERTY UNDER
ARE SUBJECT TO
USE OF DEADLY FOR



IN A NUCLEAR WAR...



THESE TARGETS ARE LIKELY TO BE HIT...

FALLOUT WOULD ENGULF...

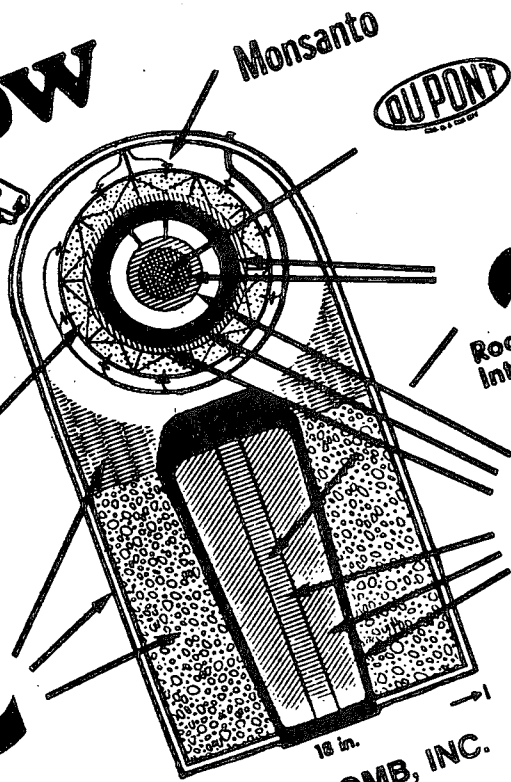


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WORD
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There's just got to be something we all owe T.K. Jones, who inspired the title of Robert Scheer's recent book, "With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush and Nuclear War." If such men are willing to give us enough shovels, the least we can do is give them enough rope.

Special mention goes out to those without whom this action would not be either possible or necessary: Martin Marrietta Corporation; Global Associates in Oakland; The Department of Defense; Lawrence Livermore National Laboratories; Los Alamos Scientific Laboratories; White Sands Missile Range, New Mexico; the U.S. Missile Command, the Redstone Arsenal, Alabama; the Federal Emergency Management Agency; the Committee on the Present Danger, and others too numerous to mention.

And now, in the words of those who continue to stimulate, amaze and astonish:

I make lots of mistakes because I make lots of decisions.
James Watt, Secretary of the Interior.

We reject war as a deliberate instrument of foreign policy because it is repugnant to our national morality...everything I do in Washington, and abroad in meetings with our allies, has but one purpose: to deter war of all kinds...but Peace is our goal, not a policy. Peace is what we hope for at the end of our journey; it does not describe the steps we must take, nor the roads we should follow to reach that goal.

Caspar Weinberger, at Grace Cathedral, S.F., 1982

See, what the M-X does is give you an ability to retaliate against hardened sites, and does not make the President have the choice of killing people.

George Bush, Vice President

It would be a survival of some of your people and some of your facilities that you could start again (sic). It would not be anything that I think in our society you would consider acceptable but then we have a different regard for human life than those monsters do.

Ronald Reagan, President of the USA, 1980

In my opinion, we have nothing to fear from the Russians, nor the Russians from us, but fear itself, namely the fear that each creates about the other.

Dr. Hans Bethe, Nobel Prize-Winning physicist

While this movement includes such perennial elements as the old-line pacifists, the environmentalists, the disaffected left and various communist elements...there is participation, on an increasing scale in the U.S., of three groups whose potential impact should be cause for concern. They are the churches, the 'loyal opposition,' and perhaps most of all, the unpoliticized public.

Eugene Rostow, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, from internal memo to the White House on destabilizing 'Ground Zero Week' through an "immediate media campaign".

The Nuclear Industry announces 42 million dollar pro-nuclear media blitz, Nov. 13, 1982.

Our religious convictions may well lead us into opposition to our government.

Auxiliary Bishop Thomas Gumbleton, Detroit

We have judged immoral even the threat to use such weapons.
excerpt from *The Challenge of Peace*, a proposed letter from the National Council of Catholic Bishops to be sent to 51 million American Catholics.

11,112,908 Americans vote for immediate, verifiable bilateral agreements to halt the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons, November 2, 1982.

(There will be no U.S. demonstrations as large as ones in Europe—which are caused "by Protestant angst"—(because) "we're in the fortunate position of having been through a similar period during the Vietnam era, and we're pretty much over that."

Richar Perle, Asst. Secretary of Defense,

NO NUKES NO NUKES NO NUKES NO NUKES NO NUKES NO NUKES NO NUKES NO NUKES NO NUKES

800,000 people in N.Y. City and countless others worldwide, June 12, 1982

VANDENBERG

MX SCENARIO

We are planning to nonviolently occupy the MX test area at Vandenberg Air Force Base, in order to obstruct the MX test program there. The most firm and direct way to do this is to occupy the actual MX launch pad. However, if we are unable to do so, our presence for as long as possible in the general test area will make a missile launch, and even launch preparations, almost impossible. This is because: 1) the secrecy requirements of strategic missile technology would be seriously broken by unauthorized people observing the missile and launch at close range, and having possible access to pieces of the MX if it misfires and crashes; and 2) a misfire and crash, or even the regular launch blast, could accidentally kill people in the test area. The government definitely does not want this marring its test program.

The prospect of unauthorized people examining missile pieces, or being killed by them, is so worrisome to Vandenberg officials that they are trying to stop a proposed housing development *outside* the base boundaries, because it might be within satellite launch paths. Misfires, crashes and explosions are moderately common at early test missile launches: the first Pershing II tested (July 22, 1982) crashed and blew up near its launch point, as did three of the first seventeen Trident I's tested, and a number of cruise missiles fired from Vandenberg in the last two years.

AFFINITY GROUP COORDINATION

Within the nonviolence guidelines agreed on for this action, each affinity group will decide what to do, either by itself or in a cluster with other affinity groups, and how to best add to the action's success. The nature of occupation and blockade strategies will be up to the creativity and inspiration of AGs and their clusters.

Each group will first check-in at a pre-arranged orientation area, receive informational updates, sign up for nonviolence training if they have not previously attended one (hopefully they will have), and find space, if they need it, in the camping and housing network. Affinity groups (AGs) can begin coordinating informally. An affinity group spokes council is forming and will meet at a central meeting area before the action. AGs may function autonomously or form clusters and cluster networks.

INSIDE THE BASE

There are wide areas to the north and northeast of the base, and possibly on-base, where AGs can be dropped off from cars driven by support people to begin their hike in to the MX test area (northwest Vandenberg). These routes are approximately four to eight miles long, generally through grass covered hills and easy-to-walk-through sagebrush (not thick and impeding chapparal) with some areas, especially in the valley streambeds, where trees and thick brush cover grow. The gently rolling sagebrush and sand dunes of the San Antonio Terrace-MX test facility area (about four square miles or 2500 acres) as well as the neighboring hills and wooded stream valleys provide a large area for us to camp and move around.

Most of this area, including quite close to the MX launch pad and buildings, is not currently fenced nor regularly patrolled (although it may be during the action). In fact, it would be difficult for the Base security officials to patrol the area because of the wilderness and size. There are few roads so most of the terrace and hills are accessible only by dirtbikes and four-wheel drive jeeps (aside from walking or horseback), with the dunes accessible only by dune buggy, and some wooded and steep areas having no practical access for vehicles at all. Reaching AGs in this terrain will present major problems for government troops and police, and actually removing occupiers from the area will also be difficult. Unlike the Livermore and Diablo road-gate blockades (and close approaches to the Diablo reactor), the police will not have buses standing by, at, or near the arrest point in these areas onto which they can load the occupiers: how many people can you fit into a jeep? If large numbers of occupiers nonviolently noncooperate with arrest procedures, the difficulty of stopping the occupation becomes even greater.

Finding all the AGs, let alone reaching them, will not be easy. People in the wooded valleys, or many parts of the terrace-dune region, and in some parts of the hills cannot be seen from base roads and buildings. Extensive use of helicopters by the security forces will be required. AGs will be able to shift positions, rest and meet at suitable times and establish easily moved temporary campsites, making it still more difficult for the police to reach and remove them.

OUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Thus, occupying the Base for an extended period of time is actually quite possible. By doing so we are greatly hindering the preparations and making a test launch almost impossible. It is very important for us to realize that even if the launch date is postponed, or that they tell us it is, that a complex sequence of preparations is absolutely required for an actual launch. At any point that we intervene in that smooth "business as usual," we are obstructing the launch, whether the lift-off is scheduled in two hours or in three weeks.

We are also intensely drawing public attention to the MX and the disastrous first-strike development program of which it is a part; to how deeply many people oppose this; and to the oppression of the Pacific Islanders and all the Earth's people by worldwide militarism. In the process of taking this action we can create a living alternative for people to see: a way that replaces murder and terror with committed nonviolence; that replaces regimented masses of citizens commanded by a ruling elite with freely cooperating and participating people. By working through autonomous family-size groups and respectful consensus, and by taking direct action in defense of life and humanity, we can attain respectful, harmonious relations between humans and the natural ecosystem.

This action will present challenges and dangers that most of us have not faced in the past, and this is because so much is at stake. Depending upon our persistence and nonviolent commitment, we really can do what we say must be done. We can draw strength from the severity of the peril and the priceless, life-giving beauty, wonder and harmony which we seek to defend. When we really pay attention we know that there is a power deeper and truer than the power of missiles and bombs, barbed wire and property lines, handcuffs and prisons, rifles and fear.

"Through all this one comes to know the seriousness of the situation, that it is not going to be changed just by demonstrations. It is a question of *risking one's life*; it is a question of living one's life in drastically different ways."

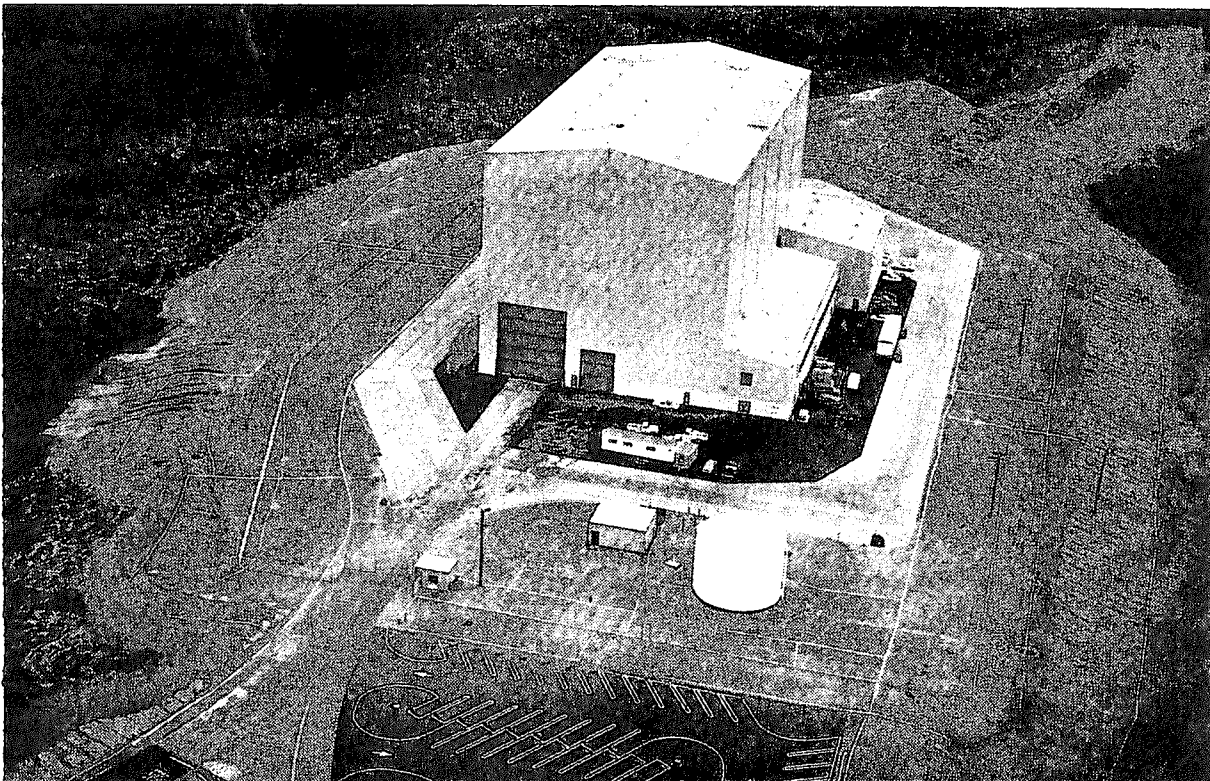
— Dorothy Day, lifelong nonviolent peace and justice worker

"The question is *not* what is 'possible.' The question is what is *necessary*."

— European Ban the Bomb organizer

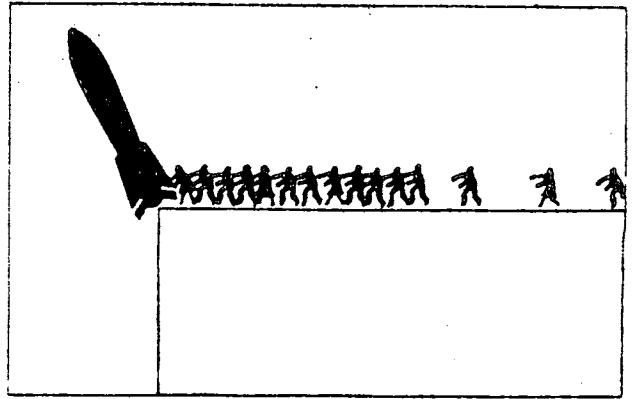
"In this complex we have a concentration of sensors; both optics, radar, laser radar. It is an accumulation of the best sensors anywhere in the world for providing for tracking and diagnosing for both offensive and defensive strategic weapons"

Gen. Tate of Kwajalein Ballistic Missile Defense Advanced Technology Center.



BLOCKADE

VANDENBERG AIR FORCE BASE



The scenario includes a blockade of the main gate and possibly other access gates at Vandenberg AFB on or about the time of the launch. Affinity groups will coordinate the details of the blockade (and the occupation) at the AG Spokes Council. Have representatives of your AGs attend or contact the LAG office for further information. If you're not in an affinity group, join one or start one!

It can be a hard decision on whether to be a blockader, an occupier, or a supporter. Participants in the action should evaluate their physical and emotional well-being. All three of these roles are equally valuable and essential to the success of the action.

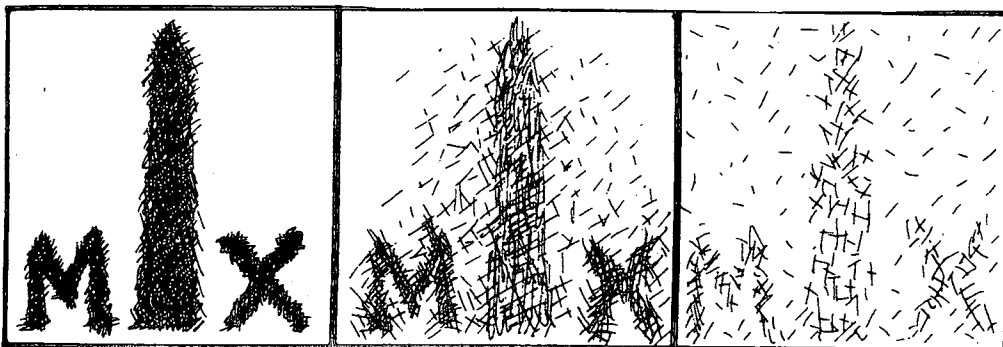
Blockaders should be aware that they will be in the media spotlight, as any reporters that enter the base will risk arrest. The presence of the press decreases the potential of physical injury, but increases the potential of distractions that could hamper the tone of the action.

People arrested for blockading or occupying Vandenberg Air Force Base will receive federal or state charges. (For further information, see the *Legal* section.) There is a possibility that the blockaders will face state charges and the occupiers will face federal charges. If this should occur, blockaders may be placed in

separate detention facilities from the occupiers. Before the action, blockaders should consider their strategy for jail/bail solidarity.

The objective of a blockade may be to prevent an action that endangers the lives of others—such as the attempt to open Diablo Canyon, the ongoing work at Livermore Labs, and the MX tests at Vandenberg and Kwajalein. Or a blockade may be waged to prevent a more serious confrontation, such as the planned “nonviolent buffer zones” protecting the land reclaimed by Native Americans at Yellow Thunder Camp in South Dakota and D-Q University in California. In either context, “waves” of blockades can be set up to provide support for one another.

Blockades are among the most effective tools of nonviolent direct action. There has been considerable discussion in the past about whether a planned blockade is “actual” or “symbolic”. Generally speaking, an actual blockade is specifically intended to halt a dangerous activity. A symbolic blockade provides an opportunity for participants to make an unequivocal political stand, to be a “moral witness” or to call public attention to the issue. Without getting drawn into a debate on the nature of the Vandenberg blockade, it seems fair to say that either type of action has the potential to empower the participants and illustrate our purpose.



Beverly Chorbajian

LEGAL DEMONSTRATION

The legal demonstration at Vandenberg is scheduled to begin at noon on Sunday, January 23. Sponsored by the Lompoc Safe Energy Coalition and the Southern California Alliance for Survival, the rally will be held in Ryon Park near the center of the town of Lompoc. Lompoc adjoins the military base and has economic ties with it as well; the rally offers us an opportunity to reach out to its residents in a direct and focused manner.

The rally is envisioned as an educational event that will share the latest information on the MX, the situation in the Marshall Islands, and other issues. It can serve as an inspiration to us all for the days ahead. Among the planned speakers is Darlene Keju, a Marshallese activist and long-time organizer from Ebeye. Accompanied by Giff Johnson, a free-lance American journalist who has traveled extensively in the north and south Pacific, both of them will make a speaking tour throughout the West Coast before the Vandenberg action.

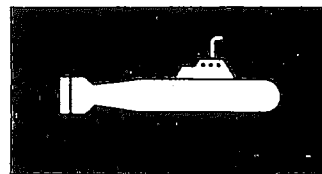
During the "launch week", small groups will be conducting legal vigils in a variety of locations. Creativity and effectiveness in conveying our message is far more important than the number of participants. Supporters in affinity groups can play a key role in organizing actions that can reach people's minds and hearts. Support demonstrations are also being held in other regions of California.

The Vandenberg demonstration and the support actions can broaden the base of the movement in several ways. They enable families and working people with fixed hours or prior commitments to voice their opposition. People who are not inclined to participate in civil disobedience or are new to these issues have a place to make a strong and clear statement. The movement will sense its numbers and solidarity, while simultaneously getting its message out to the public.

An exciting feature of support demonstrations is that they provide a forum for activists involved in other aspects of the movement for social change to speak out without abandoning their ongoing projects. For example, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) and Bay Area antiwar activists will be acting together during the launch week to protest the US military's role at Vandenberg and Kwajalein. They then plan to take action at the Concord Naval Weapons Station in Port Chicago to oppose the delivery of military hardware to the El Salvador government. The date of the recertification for US military aid to the El Salvador government is January 27—the projected date of the MX launch. It underscores the importance of being able to move on many fronts.

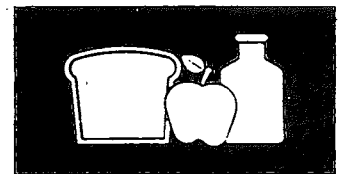
For information on the rally at Vandenberg, call the Southern California Alliance for Survival. (213) 462-6243.

The Choice is Clear:

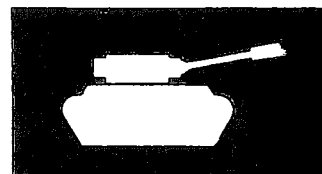


1 Trident submarine
(without nuclear missiles)

OR



A \$1.6 billion cut in
Food Stamps in fiscal 1982

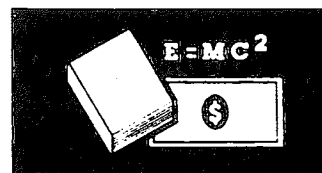


7% of the military outlays
1981-86 at \$100 billion

OR

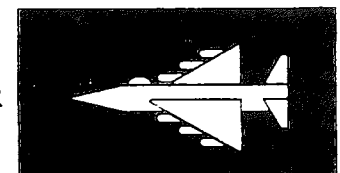


Rehabilitation of the
U.S. steel industry

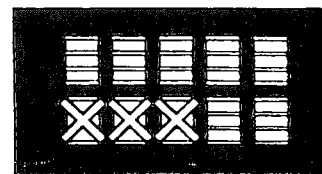


1,000 teacher's salaries
at \$20,000 apiece

OR

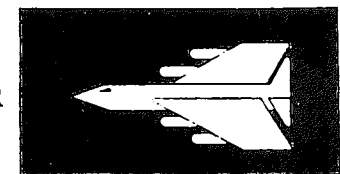


1 F-15 fighter with 6
Phoenix air-to-air missiles



A ten-year effort to cut
oil imports by 20-35%

OR



\$40 billion for
100 B-1 bombers

RESPONSES TO VIOLENCE

Most of us have little experience with the police, MP's, and security guards who are the uncomfortable middlemen in our struggles with corporate and governmental authorities. Because of this, while we laugh at the television images of police as moral, fair public servants, many of us have our own stereotype: usually a combination of the bull-necked sheriff hosing down civil rights activists, and the Chicago 'pig' whaling on longhairs. This stereotype is obvious to anyone who participates in anti-nuke role plays; our 'police' barely pause to say "you're arrested" before gleefully clubbing their victim with a rolled-up newspaper.

In fact, the relationship of protesters to police has a dynamic all its own. At the June 12 demonstrations in New York, for instance, both protesters and police knew the civil disobedience steps: protesters got up or went limp, and for the most part police either escorted them or bundled them off in stretchers. Compare this cooperation to the October '79 and May '80 Seabrook actions, where many demonstrators tried to cut down fences and occupy the construction site in the face of riot helmets and batons, pepper gas, mace, water cannon, and, to put it mildly, hostility. Somewhere between war and peace are actions like Diablo Blockade and June 21 Livermore: emphasizing group autonomy, diversity and 'creative' tactics, both actions experimented with the strange dance of police and protesters.

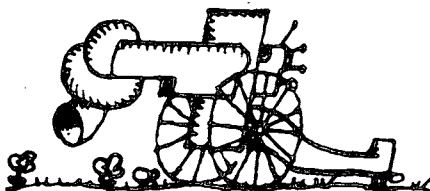
Spontaneous back country blockades at Diablo surprised PG&E and police alike; police at Livermore, strategically placed to disrupt an effective blockade, were nevertheless treated to webs, rituals, theatre, serenades and powerful Buddhist chanting; and both actions included long, charged, often one-way conversations between lines of protesters and lines of police.

Our contact with the authorities, in other words, was more complex than both the choreographed New York scenario and the 'us-them' dynamic of Seabrook.

Police violence at Seabrook is instructive. When police swept down on clusters, often pouring out of holes cut in the fence by protesters, affinity groups who tried to stay their ground nonviolently didn't fare too well. Everything—people running away, backs to the police, disorganized—told the police that we were victims, not actors like themselves. The brightest spot in it all was the incredible bravery of the AGs who stayed their ground—



and their occasional ability to shame police and disperse their violence. When some officers took off their badges (a frightening sight, let me tell you), protesters called out to their fellow officers, asking "Are you all as ashamed of what you're doing as these officers? How do you feel about officers who themselves break the law? How can you ask us to respect laws you don't even obey?"



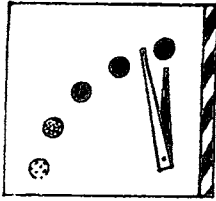


This response to police—asserting ourselves as actors, not victims—is crucial. “Treating police as humans” means more than refraining from verbal abuse or somehow befriendng them; it means calling upon them to be human. It means nonviolently confronting their violence in the same way we confront the violence of weapons engineers, or for that matter, the violence we encounter in everyday life. At the Mother’s Day action at Livermore, several women were blockading a gate, when one officer with no identification began manhandling one of them. A couple people shouted, “Hey, stop that!” Then, spontaneously, all the supporters began chanting “Shame on you, shame on you.” The power of the collective response startled the man, and he stopped; in addition, the other police seemed thrown off guard by it. Imagine those supporters as part of a cluster, and it’s easy to see this taking place in the backcountry at Vandenberg.

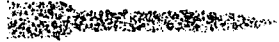
In our preps, some of us combine techniques for surviving violence—such as ‘going fetal’, protecting head and neck with our arms, or learning to fall—with the above lessons in defusing violence before it escalates. The best way to prepare for new situations, however, is to role play them as realistically as possible. Recently, 50 nonviolence preparers roleplayed this scene: a cluster in the back country, moving toward the launch pad, encounters MP’s. In the ensuing encounter, they communicate by

whistle with another cluster in the area. The first cluster had to decide whether to move away, stand still, link arms, and so on; the MP’s had to decide what actual MP’s are likely to do with protesters in the middle of nowhere; and the second cluster had to decide both their ultimate goals (are we here to ensure the safety of the others? to move to the pad? to remain in the back county?) and their response to MP’s struggling with a knot of protesters. When the dust cleared, a few things seemed clear: that some responses, such as individuals struggling to break away, not only drew violent responses but made violence seem the only recourse available to the MP’s; that prior discussion and agreement on responses (like linking arms) would help clusters focus their energies as police approach; and that, because of the tense and shifting nature of the police-protester dance, individual protesters need to maintain eye contact with each other as well as with the police, like dancers subtly aware of the movements of the entire troupe.

While there are no assurances that we can prevent violence from ever occurring, confronting our fears and acting collectively and nonviolently will help us learn how to face and defuse violence. These lessons in turn will make possible other, perhaps more and more effective, actions against nuclear and everyday violence.



'The Right Missile at the Right Time'



"Three earlier Presidents worked to develop this missile. Based on the best advice I could get, I concluded that the MX is the right missile at the right time. On the other hand, when I arrived in office, I felt the proposal on where and how to base the missile

simply cost too much in terms of money, and the impact on our citizens' lives.

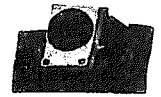
But unless we demonstrate the will to rebuild our strength and restore the military balance, the Soviets, since they are so far ahead, have little in-

centive to negotiate with us. If we had not begun to modernize, the Soviet negotiators would know we had nothing to bargain with except talk. They would know we were bluffing without a good hand because they know what cards we hold — just as we know what is in their hand."

• President Reagan



M E D I A



It's impossible to overstate the complexity of the relationship between the Press and the American Left. Participants in actions such as this one often see the media--especially the "establishment" media--as an adversary (or, at best, a problem.) And for good reason: the mainstream media in this country is controlled by the same corporate and ruling class interests that feel threatened by our actions.

But the mass media is also a necessary ally. For a frighteningly large number of Americans, the media--especially TV--is the main link with the rest of the world. The vast majority of the people who learn about this action will do so through the media.

Good relations with the media are crucial for the action to be covered accurately--so our message will loudly and clearly reach the thousands (perhaps millions) who see, hear, or read reports of it. If a reporter approaches you, be friendly. If you want to talk, try to explain clearly and simply the reasons for your actions. If you don't want to talk, or feel you can't answer a question properly, just say so, and direct the reporter to someone who may be more helpful. Reporters are used to having interview requests turned down; as long as you aren't hostile, he or she should accept your attitude.

It's important to remember that reporters are human beings, people who are doing their jobs. Most of them feel that "job" is very important, and they take it seriously. There's a good chance the person pointing a camera or microphone in your face has nearly as strong a commitment to being at Vandenberg as you.

Of course, it's also important to remember that the reporter's commitment is very different from yours. Most of the reporters you will encounter will be on the scene not for political reasons but because "it's a good story." They will want to focus on the dramatic or unusual--bizarre costumes, outlandish

signs, confrontations with the authorities. Often this will detract from the coverage of the action. So, if you discuss the action with the press, be sure to focus on the issues involved--the arms race, the threat of nuclear war, the government's treatment of the Marshall Islanders. Remember, the reporter probably will take one sentence of what you say and use it out of context in the midst of something totally unrelated. Don't ramble or make speculative statements. Emphasize, too, that what you say is your own opinion, and not that of the group as a whole.

Be patient. Nearly all the reporters you encounter will find the concepts of "consensus," "affinity groups," and "feminist process" totally alien. Reporters live and work in a pressured, competitive, male-dominated, highly-structured system. They may not understand why "there's no one in charge." It's nearly impossible to change this in five minutes. It's better to stick to the issues.

Reporters nearly always feel in a rush. But try, if possible, to talk slowly, and to break through the "professional aura" by talking to the person. Ask his or her opinion of the arms race, or this action. If you can relate on a personal level, the interview will be more friendly, and you may get a better idea of how to focus your statements. You will find we do have some friends out there.

It's hard not to be intimidated the first time you are approached by the press. Affinity groups may want to role-play interviews. Try to formulate ahead of time some ideas on what you will say to the press if asked.

No press coverage is ever unbiased. Although editors and publishers have ultimate control over stories, the reporter's view nearly always sneaks in. Reporting on the Vandenberg action will be a difficult job. Reporters are bound to make mistakes. So be clear, patient, and friendly--but keep on your toes.



WHAT TO BRING

January at Vandenberg will probably be wet and cold. Warmth will be important. To help keep you dry and warm, you may need:

- 1) Wool clothes: socks, sweaters, shirts, pants, hats, gloves, whatever you can find. Wool will keep you warm even if it's soaking wet, unlike down, which loses almost all of its insulating ability once wet.
- 2) Waterproof outer clothing: rain pants and rain jacket or rain pants and poncho. Rain boots or waterproof hiking boots are also recommended.
- 3) A heavy ground cloth and enough tarps to make a rain shelter or a small and inconspicuous tent.
- 4) A waterproof pack cover and/or waterproof plastic bags in which to pack dry clothes, food, maps, etc.
- 5) A synthetic fiber sleeping bag: down will get wet and not keep you warm. Even a few wool blankets will keep you warmer than a wet down bag.
- 6) Extra camp shoes so you can have warm dry feet now and then.

Sanitation, especially water hygiene, is important.

- 7) There will be water at Vandenberg but you may have to venture far for unpolluted sources. Bring one gallon water container per person.
- 8) Bring one camp shovel per affinity group.
- 9) You may also feel the need for toilet paper.

Don't rely on someone else for emergency medical care. BRING:

- 10) A snakebite kit. There are rattlers at Vandenberg, though they will be hibernating if it's cold and wet. If the weather is warm and sunny, you can avoid snakes by looking where you put your hands and feet, especially if you're about to put them down on warm flat rocks.

- 11) Gauze and tape and disinfectant for minor scrapes and scratches.
- 12) Cortisone cream and/or antihistamines for attacks of poison oak. (Yes, there's lots of poison oak at Vandenberg, and it's especially dangerous in the winter when you can't tell what it is.)
- 13) Aspirin for headaches, cramps, strained and sprained muscles.
- 14) Ace bandages for sprained ankles or wrists.

You will get hungry. Bring as much food as you can. Bring a small camp stove. Bring waterproof matches. (15, 16, 17).

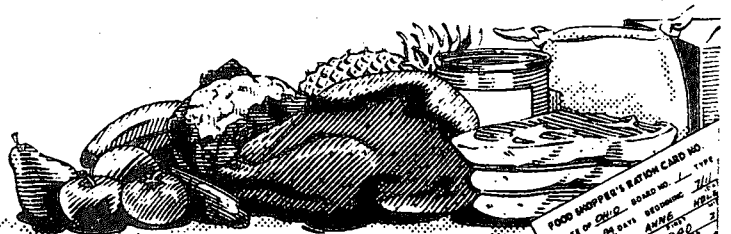
In case vital gear (like your tent or pack) is ripped, you might want to bring (18) a sewing kit.

You never know when you'll need (19) Rope.

DON'T BRING YOUR DOG.

Put all of the above in (20) your Backpack.

RESPECT THE LAND, EVEN IF VANDENBERG IS ON IT. PACK IT IN, PACK IT OUT.



FOOD ALLOWANCE

Government studies predict that relatively more food will survive a nuclear attack than will people to eat it. If you can get yourself to the food, or it can be gotten to you, you will be allowed three pounds of meat, six eggs, seven pints of milk, four pounds of cereals, and one-half pound of fats and oils per week. (Warning to sweet tooths: All food manufacturers will be required to cut their sugar use in half.)



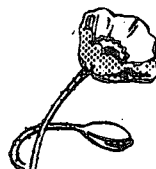
LIFE UNDERGROUND

Life will be difficult. Elect a shelter manager. Maintain order. Ration food. Stay inside. Follow war news. Consider the alternative.



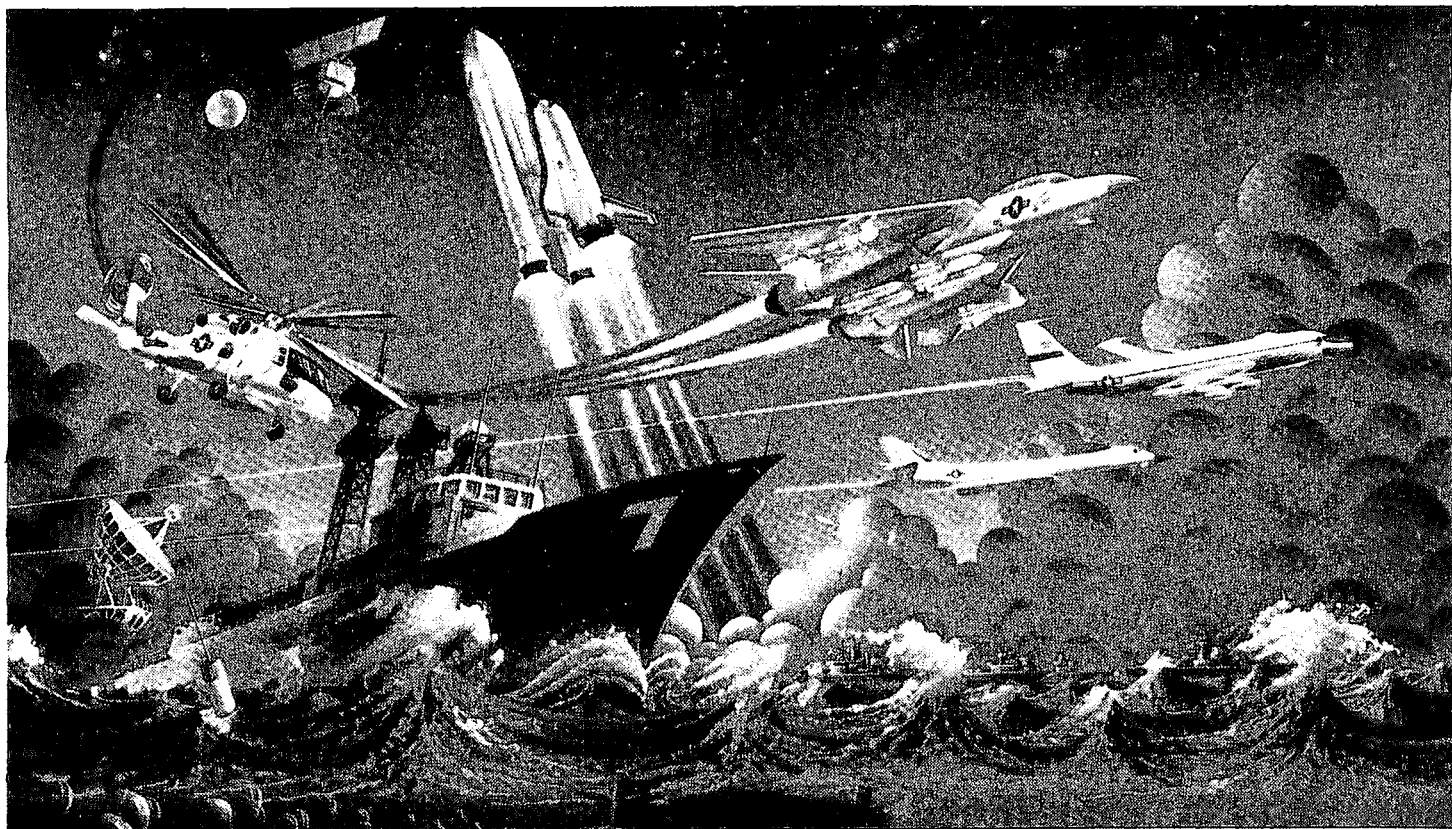
FOLLOW THIS SIGN

The government is now making plans to evacuate "risk areas" in a period of extreme international tension. If an attack comes and you have not been evacuated, dive for shelter and take food and water with you.



STOCKPILED MATERIALS

Government stashes of cobalt, opium, bismuth, castor oil, diamonds, iodine, and fifty-five other key materials will be drawn upon as needed.



WELCOME TO SPACE AND MISSILE COUNTRY

WELCOME GEN. & MRS. SMYTHE CINCMAC. Thus spake the sign over the Visitors Control Center, introducing us to four acronym-filled hours of Missile-Experimental-seeking espionage. A woman wearing white gloves and khaki bloomers waved the three of us, and our military pass, through the arched gates. A quick check of license plate and driver's license, and we ran smack into our next sign: PEACE IS OUR PROFESSION. The visitor's map showed us how to find the BX (base exchange), the Run-In Chef, and various civilian camps, such as Federal Elec. Corp., McDonnell Douglas, Sandia, Space Data Corp., and our personal favorite, Martin Marietta. But no MX. WARNING U.S. AIR FORCE INSTALLATION. IT IS UNLAWFUL TO ENTER THIS AREA WITHOUT THE PERMISSION OF THE INSTALLATION COMMANDER. AFTEC MX TEST TEAM: Human Factors Analysis was right next to "Family Services Bldg." UT . . . THOR . . . CDT, and at the intersection of Talo and Tonto streets, BPR (ballistic payload research). Getting closer. NAVSTAR GLOBAL POSITIONING SYSTEM, PAB 1, PAB 2, MILITARY WORKING DOG CENTER, AVCO SYSTEMS DIV., GENETIC RESEARCH, ITT AIR TEST, WESTERN TEST RANGE DIV., FLIGHT LINE—NO ENTRANCE—DEAD END. Sometimes I wish they'd go back to the acronyms. the acronyms.

On to open missile country. A few open silos. There's Minutemen II's and III's in those hills and fields somewhere. But at least they're inactive—no warheads. ICBM CONVENTIONAL MUNITIONS STORAGE, REENTRY VEHICLE BRANCH, TRW—"Let's try the beach." A visit with the U.S. Rod & Gun

Club, whose members were sending their dogs after mock rabbits. It's Saturday and no one pays much attention to us. We ask a young Air Force couple to guide us to the Space Shuttle. Not too interesting, except for NAVAL RESEARCH LAB, ATLAS SPACE LAUNCH SLC-4 . . . and a less officially scrawled F-K VANDENBERG, painted in red on a wall near an empty beach. Time to head North.

In fact, we were escorted north—back to Visitors Control—by an M.P. who had been following us through a prohibited area. We said that we were looking for a hamburger, flashed our badge, and ran into the Run-In chef to have one.

Lunch over.

"I'm beginning to think that . . . this is a big base." We resort to begging kids skateboarding on back roads—"Hey, do you know where the MX is?" "No." "Well, does your Dad work here?" "I don't know." Finally, a civilian bike rider says "The MX? Right down there, off of Bear Creek Road—you can't miss it." Miles later, and we could almost smell it—MMF, Mechanical Maintenance Facility . . . RAIL TRANSFER FACILITY . . . DISASTER CONTROL—small concrete bunkers surrounded by barbed wire, . . . THOR, again . . . and behold, a monolithic, windowless building rose whitely out of the bushes. The MAB—Missile Assembly Building. And finally, a half-finished railroad platform, leading to nowhere.

On the way out we passed WELCOME TO SPACE AND MISSILE COUNTRY again. PEACE IS OUR PROFESSION. But not even the guard at the gate knew what CINCMAC meant.

LEGAL PROCESS



In September 1982, one person was arrested on Vandenberg AFB in an effort to scout out the MX launch site. He was apprehended by an AF Security Policeman, and held in a detention center on the base for interrogation. A few hours later, he was handed a "violation notice" and released. Three weeks later he received formal charges in the mail, citing 18 U.S.C.A. 1382 (see Federal Charges section). Along with the charges, he was issued a "Ban and Bar" notice forbidding him to reenter the base. Arraignment took place before a US magistrate in a courtroom provided on the base. He pleaded "nolo contendere" and was sentenced to 10 days in Santa Barbara County jail.

It is reasonable to expect that persons who participate in the occupation will face similar federal charges. Based on conversations with military personnel at other facilities, it appears more likely that those who blockade outside the gate will be prosecuted by the state. If that occurs, the charges should be similar to what we have encountered at Livermore. At the June 21st blockade, everyone received infractions except four people who were charged with misdemeanors. Previous blockades at the Lab with fewer people resulted in misdemeanors. No one in the Livermore actions has served longer than 10 days in jail for blockading.

Blockaders at Diablo Canyon have consistently received misdemeanor charges.

The best we can do is predict what may happen based on these past actions. Any person who plans to occupy or blockade at Vandenberg AFB should be aware of the possibility of federal charges and direct contact with military personnel.

POSSIBLE CHARGES

The following is a comprehensive, although not exhaustive, synopsis of possible charges. Some are more applicable to occupiers than blockaders, and vice versa. Mention of charges is not an implication that the acts described in the statutes will occur or are planned. They are listed here merely for your information.

State Charges

Infractions. These are petty offenses similar to traffic tickets. Possible infractions are too numerous to list. The important things to know about them are that they carry maximum penalty of a \$100.00 fine, and they do not entitle you to a jury trial. Blockaders at Livermore on June 21st were charged with infractions for obstructing traffic.

647 Blocking a public right-of-way

Misdemeanor punishable by up to 6 months in jail and/or \$500 fine.

602 Trespass

All forms of trespass involve peaceable but wrongful entry on land of another; a misdemeanor punishable by up to 6 months and/or \$500.

602K entering upon posted and/or fenced property

602L refusing to leave

602J entering with intention of interfering with business or occupation

148 Resisting arrest

Persons who go "limp" requiring officers to carry or drag them risk this charge in addition to the charge under which they are arrested; misdemeanor punishable by up to one year and/or \$1,000.

148.9 (new subsection) falsely representing oneself as another person or as a fictitious person to a police officer upon arrest in order to evade the process of the court.

182 Conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor

Felony; punishable by up to 5 years in jail.

243 Battery

Any physical contact with a police officer; felony punishable by 2-5 years.

Under the California penal code, it is possible to receive the maximum sentence for two separate misdemeanors if they are considered either separate actions or having separate victims. The district attorney may also charge two offenses in the alternative, meaning you must enter a plea to each of them, and one will eventually be dropped. The court has power to impose harsher bail and sentences on repeat offenders; however, it is unusual for someone to receive the maximum penalty.

Federal Charges

18 U S C A 1382 Two parts:

1) **Entry** upon any military installation for any purpose prohibited by law or regulation.

2) **Reentry** after having been removed or ordered not to reenter by any officer or person in command.

Violation of either 1) or 2) is punishable by 6 months and/or \$500.

18 USCA 1383 Restricted military areas

Whoever enters, remains in, leaves or commits any act in a military area which is contrary to restrictions imposed by a military commander; punishable by up to \$5000 and/or 1 year.

18 USCA 795 Photographing and sketching defense installations: Refers to any photograph, sketch, drawing, map or graphical representation of military installations or equipment without permission of the commanding officer; Punishable by up to \$1000 and/or 1 year.

18 USCA 781 Photographing, sketching, mapping, etc. of military places, property, or equipment related to national defense, whether it is located on a military base or on the property of any defense contractor; punishable by up to \$1000 and/or 1 year.

18 USCA 797 Publication, sale or distribution of photos, sketches, etc. of military equipment or installations without prior permission or censure by commanding officer; punishable by up to \$1000 and/or 1 year.

18 USCA 231 Obstruction

Whoever commits or attempts any act to interfere with a law enforcement officer engaged in his official duties incident to and during a civil disorder which in any way delays or adversely affects movement of any article in commerce or the performance of any federally protected function; punishable by up to 5 years and/or \$10,000.

For purposes of this section, a *civil disorder* means 3 or more persons creating a public disturbance through acts of violence which cause an immediate danger of or results in damage to property. Military personnel may be considered *law enforcement officers* within this statute if they are enlisted to restore law and order during a civil disorder.

18 USCA 1361 Malicious mischief

Willful injury or depredation against any property of the US, or any property which has been or is being manufactured or constructed for the US is punishable as follows: Misdemeanor if damage is less than \$100; punishable by up to 1 year and/or \$1000. Felony if damage exceeds \$100; punishable by up to 10 years and/or \$10,000.

18 USCA 911 False personation

Willful and false representation that you are a US citizen, whether you are in the US legally or illegally; punishable by up to 3 years and/or \$1000.

Infractions. There are no federal infractions per se, however you can be prosecuted in federal court for violations of state and military petty offenses. The military can issue *Violation Notices* which are similar to traffic tickets in state court, except that you will appear before a federal magistrate.

THE LEGAL PROCESS

Any person who chooses to commit an act of civil disobedience at Vandenberg could face state and/or federal charges. The differences between state and federal procedure are delineated where appropriate in each step of the process.

1) Preparation for possible arrest:

- ★ *Attend nonviolence training with your affinity group if you have not previously done so. If you are not already in an affinity group, you may join a new one at nonviolence training.*
- ★ *Prepare yourself for the experience of arrest and jail by talking with those who are experienced at civil disobedience.*
- ★ *Carry **no** weapons or contraband into the action. Prescriptions should be in original containers only. Carry prescription orders with you to facilitate receipt of medication in jail.*
- ★ *Make sure support people have necessary information about you (name, who to contact, birthdate, special needs in jail, etc.)*
- ★ *Keep 20¢ and/or make arrangements for placing a collect call from jail.*

2) The warning. Police may first warn blockaders to disperse, or occupiers to leave. Military police (MP's) also have the option to escort trespassers off the base and order them not to reenter.

3) The arrest. Arresting officers could be state or county law enforcement officers, federal marshalls or military security police. Be aware that MP's are not trained to deal with civilians and may not follow civil police arrest procedures.

There are several attitudes affinity groups may take toward arrest: (a) walking with the officer in an effort to communicate with him/her; (b) going limp or non-cooperating in another nonviolent manner. In either case, you may be handcuffed. Any active resistance or interference with someone else's arrest can lead to additional charges and personal injury.

Police are not required to read you the Miranda Rights unless they are questioning you. Anything you say after having been read your rights can be used against you in court. You have the right to remain silent. MP's may request you to make a statement. You have the right to refuse to do so. You are also entitled to confer with a lawyer at any time before you say anything or agree to anything.

Men and women are usually separated at the time of arrest. Affinity groups may be divided up. Write down the details of your arrest as soon as possible. Record the time and place of the arrest for possible trial use later, as well as the name and badge number of the arresting officer. You are a witness; what you remember may be valuable to someone in court proceedings later.

4) Identification or Booking. The state and federal identification process is called *booking*. It is not a mandatory process, and authorities may prefer just to issue citations if they think that will get rid of you. See *infractions* below.

Booking, if it occurs, will take place either on the base or at Santa Barbara County jail. You will be asked to show picture I.D., address, social security number, etc. How much information you give and the accuracy with which you give it is up to you. It is not against the law to go by whatever name you choose, provided you are not doing so to evade the court process (see possible state charges), or to conceal other illegal activity. Refusal to supply the requested information slows the whole process down considerably, which may or may not be desirable for the group as a whole.

At booking you will be given a preliminary set of charges which are not final, but may be changed at the time of arraignment.

The military follows a slightly different procedure than civil law enforcement agencies. They cannot book you, but they may attempt to identify you either by looking at your drivers license or photographing you. They then file an *Incident/Complaint Report* with the prosecuting attorney, and prepare a civilian *rap sheet* known as an *Individual Incident Reference Record* which is kept on permanent file at the base.

If federal or state authorities wish to press charges, you will be turned over to them for booking. If not, you may be issued a *Violation Notice* and/or released with orders not to reenter the base property. (Violation notices will be discussed under *Infractions* below.)

5) Infractions. Infractions are not really part of the process, but they are placed here because they may arise at this juncture in the process.

At the scene of the arrest or after identification, military authorities, like civil police, have limited authority to issue citations to civilians for petty crimes. They are called *Violation Notices* and are similar to traffic tickets. The notice will state the amount of the fine, and either 1) set forth a mandatory arraignment date and time to appear before a US magistrate, or 2) instruct you to merely pay the fine within 7 days without having to make a court appearance. In the latter case, you still have the right to appear in court and contest the fine. To do so, you must request a hearing, and you will be notified by mail of the date and time to appear.

A similar procedure exists in the state system for handling certain petty violations. Officers may prefer to cite you on the spot for an infraction because it obviates arrest and booking, however merely citing you will not make you leave. For that reason, they may first arrest you and then issue citations after you are in custody. You cannot be sentenced to jail time for an infraction as you could for a misdemeanor. The disadvantages to infractions are twofold: 1) everyone cited may not be held in jail to await arraignment, and each may receive individual arraignment dates making solidarity difficult; 2) an infraction does not entitle you to a jury trial in the event you wish to plead *not guilty*.

6) Opportunity to cite out: Citing out is **not** the same as receiving a citation discussed previously under *infractions*. The opportunity to cite out may arise if you are held in custody awaiting arraignment on *state* charges. Authorities may offer to let you go if you sign a citation release form promising that you will appear in court at the appointed time for arraignment. This has the same effect as being released O.R. (own recognizance). Failure to appear results in a bench warrant being issued on you. The Sheriff's Department prefers to cite-release prisoners or O.R. them because it is less burdensome on the jail system, both financially and in terms of personnel.

The situation is somewhat different if you are being held on federal charges. Federal marshalls do not offer citation release as a matter of course. They may do so only upon the order of the US magistrate.

Because the option of citing out tends to split up the group solidarity and make second-time offenders more visible, the individual decision to cite out should be carefully considered. Furthermore, protesters who cite out may be assigned individual or small group court dates. In any case, their arraignments will be separate from those who remain in jail. At Livermore, some people cited out in order to return to the blockade. They were identified as repeaters and given misdemeanors on the second arrest.

7) Arraignment. This is an appearance before a district court judge or a US magistrate in which the charges will be read to you, and you will be asked to enter a plea to them. You will not be alone in the courtroom. Other protesters as well as lawyers for the action will be present. If you are confused about the charges or how you wish to plead, request that the judge grant you time to consult with one of the lawyers. This can usually be arranged on the spot.

If you are brought before a US magistrate for arraignment, you may elect whether you wish to be tried by him/her or a federal district court judge. Normally, infractions and minor federal offenses are heard by a local US magistrate. Initially, the magistrate will request you to sign the consent form you also waive any right you may have to a jury trial. If you refuse to consent to the US magistrate, you will be required to appear in US district court in Los Angeles for arraignment and trial, if you wish to go to trial. The decision whether to accept or refuse the magistrate's jurisdiction is a political one. Generally, US district court judges do not favor hearing cases on petty offenses.

Arraignments are conducted in a similar way in state and federal courts. If you as a group disagree with the way the court wants to arraign you, there are ways of expressing your views through non-cooperation with court procedures (e.g., muteness, refusal to enter a plea, to stand up in court, to speak to the judge as a symbol of court authority). These measures should be carefully considered because they may result in contempt of court charges.

If you are being held in custody on state charges, you have a right to be arraigned within 48 hours of your arrest, not including weekends or holidays. At Diablo, this was ignored. Motions for dismissal of charges based on this right were denied. At Livermore, the 48-hour rule backfired to the protester's disadvantage. Those who were still in jail when the time was up were released without having been arraigned and were given individual arraignment dates.

If you are being held on federal charges, the 48-hour rule does not apply. Instead, you are to be taken before a US magistrate "as soon as possible". The availability of the magistrate will largely determine how soon arraignment can take place.

8) Pleas. Defendants have the option of pleading not guilty, guilty, or nolo contendere (no contest) during the arraignment. A *not guilty* plea always results in a trial. Except in the case of infractions or trials before magistrates, you have the right to be tried by a jury. In all cases, you have a right to call your own witnesses and cross-examine government witnesses. The prosecution has the burden of proving your legal guilt at trial.

A nolo plea has the same effect as a guilty plea for purposes of sentencing. Unlike a guilty plea, it does not admit culpability. Nolo contendere simply means you do not contest the facts as alleged in the charging document. Further, pleading nolo to a misdemeanor is not evidence of guilt in the remote possibility of a civil suit against the group for money damages. A plea of nolo contendere to a felony charge may be used in a civil suit as evidence of guilt.

After you enter a plea of guilty or nolo contendere, the judge will sentence you. If you plead not guilty, a date will be set at that time for a pre-trial hearing.

9) Bail. Either before arraignment or after you enter a plea of not guilty, the court will set bail or offer to release you on your own recognizance (O.R.). Bail is money that you must put up to be released from custody. It guarantees your later appearance in court; if you show up you will get it back. If you decline to accept bail or O.R., you will remain in jail to await your next court date.

There are political reasons why you may refuse to accept bail. Bail solidarity is one means of assuring equal treatment to everyone, including repeat offenders, organizers, and perhaps non-cooperators.

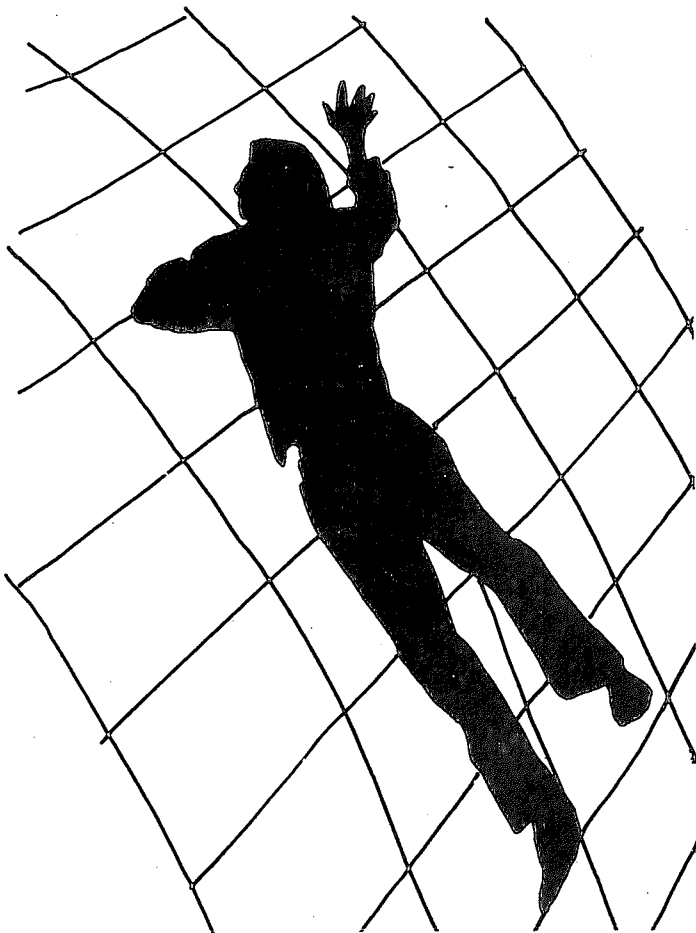


10) Trials. The decision to plead not guilty and go to trial is essentially a political one. You must determine whether a trial is consistent with the objectives of the action, and whether it is the best alternative for you personally. A jury trial involves a major commitment of your time, energy and money. You could be tied up in the court system for months.

The legal collective is expanding to a statewide network in order to make available the broadest range of legal options to demonstrators. In spite of this effort, our financial resources are very limited. Based on past actions, we are assuming that the majority of blockaders will want to plead nolo and be sentenced right away. For those who wish to plead not guilty, we would like to offer advance support in terms of workshops on how to represent oneself in court (Pro per). Pro per manuals are available from the National Lawyers Guild in San Francisco (415-285-5066) and the Abalone Alliance (415-861-0592).

The legal team is also contacting lawyers across the state who would be interested in representing individuals and groups of defendants in political trials. Trials of this nature include representative trials and utilization of political defenses such as the *defense of necessity*. It would be advantageous to you and to the legal team if you would contemplate these alternatives in advance of the action, and notify us as soon as you have decided to plead not guilty, especially if you would like representation. We will then determine what support we can realistically offer.

Sentencing. Sentencing is discretionary with the judge up to the statutory maximum. In lieu of jail or fines, a district court judge may offer probation, suspended sentence or possibly community service through the Volunteer Bureau in your home county. Community service is regarded by the court as a privilege and not as a matter of course. US magistrates rarely if ever offer community service as an alternative.



JAIL SOLIDARITY

Jails and prisons are designed to make people feel powerless. Jail solidarity is the way we empower ourselves and each other, by making our own decisions, acting in harmony with each other, and committing ourselves to safeguard each other's well being.

Jails and courts are intimidating places. The authorities expect that, out of fear, people will obey the rules and accept conditions and injustices. When we exercise solidarity, we make our own rules. At times it may seem as if we are acting against our own self interest, but we know that we are protecting our larger interests in attempting to assure equal treatment and fair sentences for all who participate in our action.

People sometimes question the need to struggle inside the jails when our action's primary goal is something else. Some people, because of outside responsibilities, cannot afford the time jail solidarity may demand. Others find jail conditions physically or emotionally intolerable. Jail solidarity must never become coercive. The strength of our solidarity comes from the free agreement by all who take part in it. Those who must leave jail are not betraying the group—there are many ways they can continue supporting those inside: by speaking to the media, to the movement and to the public about conditions inside, by fulfilling responsibilities for those inside, by carrying messages to family, friends, and employers.

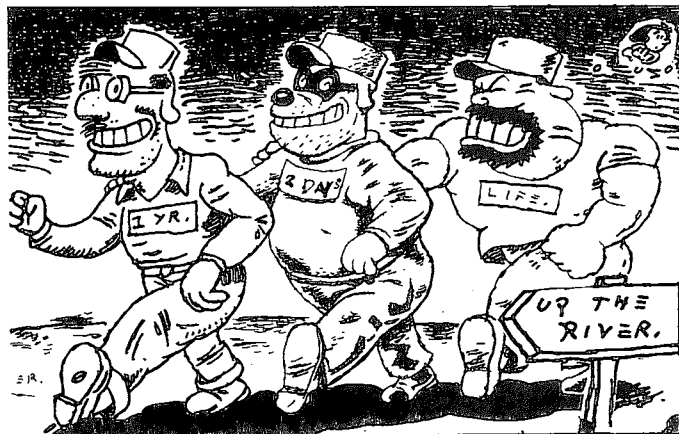
The prison and court systems, however, should not be regarded as separate from the military or the nuclear weapons industry. If the jails and courts did not exist to protect militarist interests, we would not be preparing for a possible stay in jail. We might expect as many people to gather on the launch pad of Vandenberg as marched in Central Park on June 12.

Jails and courts also serve to control the most directly oppressed in our society. More than half the people imprisoned in this country each year have not been convicted of any crime—they are awaiting trial and are too poor to make bail. People of color are imprisoned in disproportionate numbers. The crimes of the poor and desperate—drug addiction, prostitution, petty theft—are often punished by jail sentences, while 'white-collar crimes' of embezzlement or fraud often are not. And the worst crimes—the manufacture of mass murder machines, the systematic robbery of the earth's resources and human beings, the long term destruction of our environment—aren't even illegal!

At this writing, consensus around solidarity recommendations for this action has not yet been reached. What follows are strategies that have been used in former actions by the Livermore Action Group and the Abalone Alliance. Each affinity group will need to come to consensus about its own solidarity decisions.

In past actions, anti-nuclear activists have consistently refused to accept fines on the grounds that a vast majority of low income defendants have no choice but to serve time in jail. Probation is usually rejected for tactical reasons: Probation carries a condition that you will refrain from further acts of civil disobedience throughout the prescribed period, which may be up to three years. If you are arrested for any reason during that period, your probation may be revoked. That means you will be resented to serve for your civil disobedience conviction in addition to whatever sentence is imposed for the subsequent offense.

To some extent, you have the power to choose what form your sentence will take. You have the right to refuse fines and probation, however, the only alternative to those may be jail time. You must decide what kind of sentence will best serve your political objectives.



Illustrated by Gary Panter

PAST SOLIDARITY RECOMMENDATIONS

- No 'cite outs', also called citation releases. In most actions, individuals are offered a chance to sign a citation release, which is a promise to appear at a later date for arraignment. We have usually recommended refusing this privilege, because the presence of our physical bodies in jail is the greatest leverage we have on the system. If we cite out and come back for arraignments separately, we have no way of assuring that all of us receive equal sentences.
- We do not accept bail. Bail is the most blatant example of classism; those who have money get out, those who don't, stay in.
- We will not pay fines. Fines, like bail, discriminate against the poor. Fines and bail also put money back into the system we are working against, and drain the limited funds and resources of our movement.
- We will not accept probation. Probation gives the court system the right to interfere in our lives for many months, and makes us liable for longer sentences should we be arrested for civil disobedience in its duration. We do not feel that our actions have been wrong, or that we should promise not to repeat them. Indeed, many of us fully intend to take direct action again as soon as we feel it is necessary.
- In all cases, exceptions must be made for those who have conflicting needs and pressing responsibilities.



NONVIOLENT SOLIDARITY TACTICS

- * Refusing arraignment. In some cases, blockaders have sat in a circle within the jail and refused to move until assured by our legal team that demands have been met. In other cases, people have stood mute or refused to enter a plea at the arraignment. (However, the court may, in that case, enter a not guilty plea for you.)
- * Calmly encircling a threatened sister or brother, and physically protecting her or him from being taken away.
- * Refusing to give the guards identifying information about individuals.
- * Refusing to work or participate in jail routine.
- * Refusing food.
- * Refusing to get dressed.
- * Holding a prayer, meditation, song or chanting vigil.
- * Be creative; invent new solidarity tactics.

Solidarity also means the empowerment we share with each other in jail, by making our time there productive. In jail, we can offer workshops for each other—sharing skills that range from meeting facilitation to juggling. We have held rituals, prayer services, and talent shows, taught each other songs, told stories, learned new jokes, and made plans for future actions. Each one of us can take responsibility in jail for helping to organize activities that enrich us all.

GOALS OF SOLIDARITY

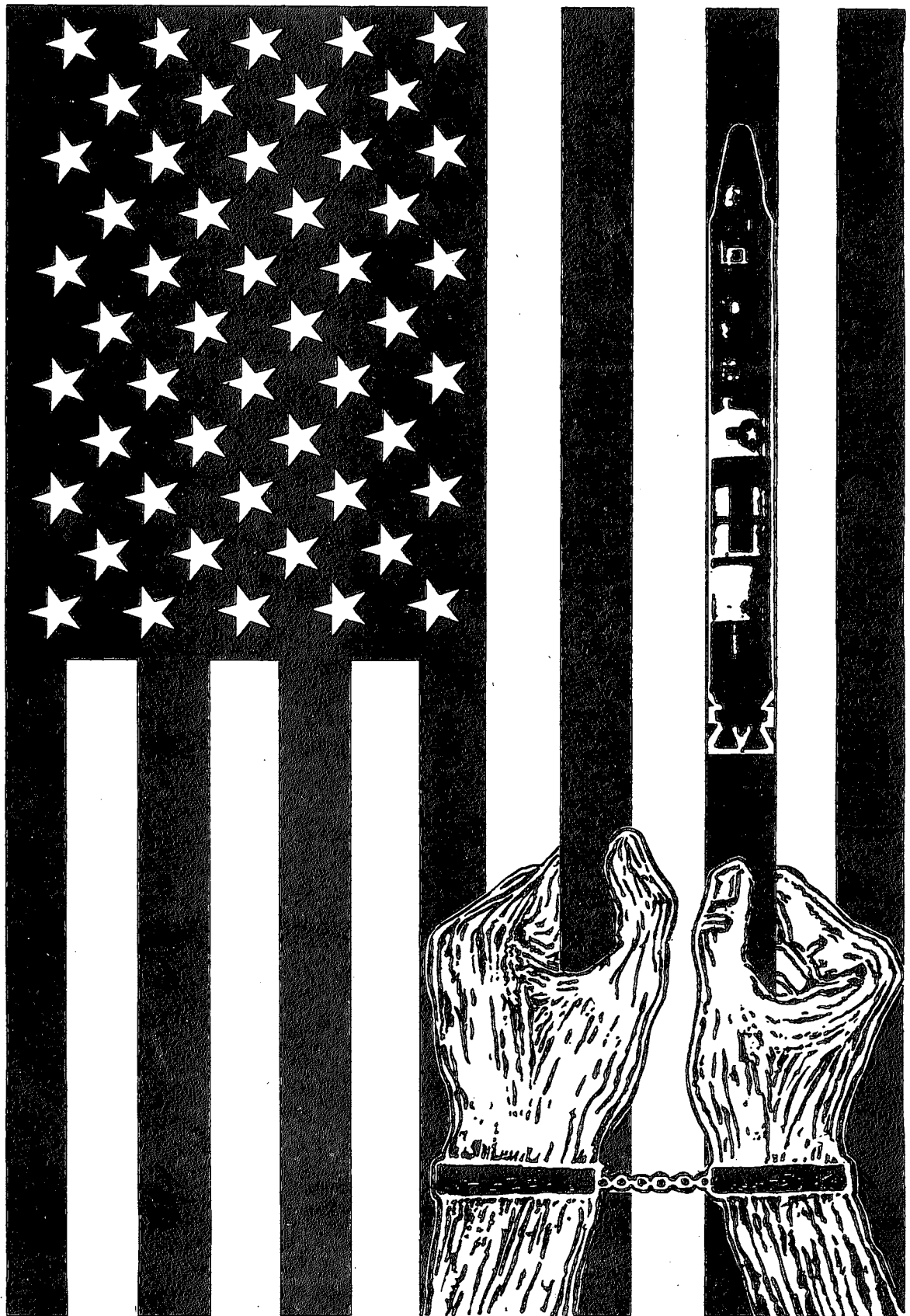
- * Equal treatment for all—including people of color, lesbians and gay men, those with previous arrests, known movement people, and (in many, but not all cases) noncooperators.
- * Fair and equal sentences for all who receive similar charges.
- * Dropping of inflated or unfair charges.
- * No isolation of individuals or of parts of our group.

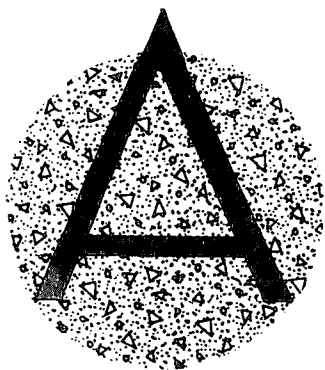
All of the above should be fully discussed and understood. Not every affinity group will necessarily agree with all of these goals. For example, some people feel that noncooperators are making a personal decision that should not bind everyone in the group to hold solidarity. Others feel that noncooperators are making a strong moral statement, in keeping with our goals and our nonviolence agreements, and that they deserve support because their actions strengthen our overall action.



IN JAIL—REMEMBER:

- If you want something to happen in our group—a meeting, workshop, song circle, etc. make it happen. Don't wait for someone else to think of it.
- Remain aware of how people of color, lesbians and gay men, and known organizers are being treated. In previous actions, the guards have often removed one or two people from the group without obvious reason or provocation. Usually, the people they choose are those who are obviously 'different'—lesbian, gay, loud or assertive. Sometimes they are people who make others in our own group feel uncomfortable. Try to protect those who may be at risk by making sure others are with them at all times.
- At all times, know the whereabouts of the members of your affinity group. In large groups, a buddy system may be helpful. If you are the lone member of your group in jail, find another to join for the duration.
- Liason teams can be helpful in communicating with guards, but members should rotate so that no-one becomes identified as a leader.
- Never point out a member of our group to the guards as a 'leader'.
- Never point out someone the guards ask for by name. You can say, simply, "I don't know that person," or "I'll try to find her or him." Let the person make her or his own decision about whether to answer.
- Jail fosters dependence. Avoid as much as possible turning to the guards for help, permission, or information.
- In jail, the guards often create false crises. Do not let yourselves be panicked. Take the time you need to meet, to discuss options and reach consensus.





AFTER IT'S ALL OVER...

A large civil-disobedience demonstration is a very powerful emotional experience for those of us involved. Particularly in an action extending over several days, we are likely to be hyper-excited, tense, bored, and exhausted at the same time. The weather will probably be too hot or too cold, too wet or too sunny, we won't get enough sleep, we will have to work things out in long, intense meetings, and in jail we'll be poorly fed and separated from close friends and lovers. We may be physically injured or watch our friends get hurt by the police. No matter how inspiring and empowering the action is, it is likely that these things will take their toll.

For example, after the 1981 Diablo demonstration, many of us returned home elated with what we had accomplished. But we were also very tired and lost. An action we had planned and intensely worked on for months, consuming almost all of our time, was now over. Our work and social lives had been seriously disrupted. Although we felt very different, many friends, housemates, and co-workers seemed to go on as if nothing had changed.

We wanted to talk about how important and exciting the action had been, how scary parts of it were, how angry the police, PG&E officials, and the entire nuclear establishment had made us, and how much we had learned from it all. But the action was now passe, the media had moved on to other "crimes", and most people, largely untouched by the action, had stopped talking about it. We wanted to start work on new actions but we were mentally and physically exhausted and needed time to attend to other, neglected tasks.

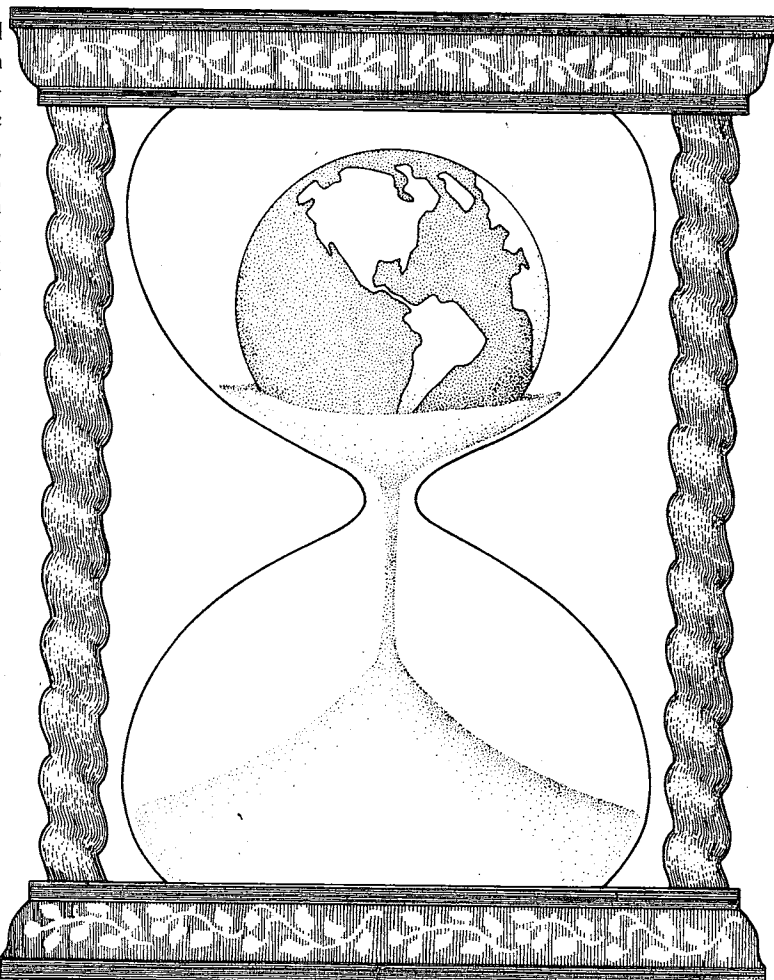
This post-action burn-out is certainly understandable and is common among us. But we have often ignored it or treated it as an individual's problem to work out on her/his own.

Things that may be useful in relieving post-action burn-out:

1) Get your affinity group together just to talk about the action; share the joy and misery with others who experienced it and can understand. Let each person have lots of time to say how it affected him/her, the excitement and empowerment, and also the fear, pain, and helplessness. The story may need to be told and acted out numerous times—like oral history or ancient rituals. Howling, crying, whooping, wailing, and shaking may help let the bottled-up feelings out, providing the necessary catharsis.

2) Make sure everyone gets lots of hugs, cuddles, and emotional support. If they aren't too burned-out, support people in the AG may be able to provide this. They may need lots of support too. They have worked long and hard for days without reaping much of the glory. If possible, recruit friends, housemates, and co-workers.

3) Be aware of post-action burn-out and give everyone (including yourself) the benefit of the doubt. Bickering and irrational behavior may be just a temporary effect. Let the weird emotions ebb and flow.



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4) Do fun things together: have a picnic, go backpacking, or sit in a hot tub. Rejuvenate your concern for each other, reconfirm your trust, and revel in the warmth of your community.

5) After a few weeks (months) or so, plan to work together on a small, easily accomplished task so people can feel useful, but not overwhelmed. Paint someone's house, write a leaflet, hold a vigil, etc.

6) Plan your response to post action burn-out with your AG before the action. Try to arrange meetings, counseling, etc. in advance so little effort need be expended on your return. For example, plan for everyone to call everyone else the day after you all get back home just to talk for 10 minutes or set a specific date to get together with your AG.

It may take as long to come down off an action as it took to prepare and get excited for it.

pilogue/prologue



We couldn't decide when to stop writing this. New information surfaces daily; new connections emerge—and it all seems too important to leave out. Yet, in another sense, it is all too predictable.

As we go to print, the Compact of 'Free' Association has yet to be approved. Catholic Bishops are debating the morality of nuclear weapons. Announcement of the MX basing mode has just been made, and the date of the test launch has suddenly become classified. (In fact, the fact that the date is classified may itself be classified....)

Whatever happens, this action has already succeeded—by the mere act of its courageous conception, by the mere act of hoping. Read this handbook, pass it on, and join us in any way you can, knowing that you have already chosen life.

PAX

I will start where?

God of demons

Look around

eat those demons on that island

on that reef

God of demons

Look around

eat those demons circling the sky

God of demons

Look around

eat those demons in the ocean

before they destroy us

Sandpiper of the pandanus leaf

Sandpiper of the dry palm leaf

Sandpiper one and two

Fly from distant ocean roadways

Fly fly hastily fly

And diminish the influence

Of these demons

O little creatures who can't sing

Sons of the She-who-sings

Chirp warnings

I will start in the ocean

O god of demons

look around

in that tree

O god of demons

look around

O god of demons

look around

Chirp effective incantations

And make benign magic that will save us

Sandpiper of the pandanus leaf

Sandpiper of the dry palm leaf

Sandpiper one and two

Chirp warnings

Chirp incantations

Make magic

O incessantly

Make magic

Don't sleep

Shark eat them

Quickly, shark, quickly

Shark eat those terrible demons

Those demons in the ocean

How sweetly they groan like caught boxfish

The demons in the ocean

They die slowly screaming and repenting

On rocks in the ocean

We are pleased

We are saved

From the demons in the ocean

by Etik, Bikini Atoll refugee
translated from the Marshallese

ENDORSERS/SPONSORS

ENDORSERS OF OCCUPATION

ABALONE ALLIANCE
 AIM (AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT)
 BAY AREA ASIANS FOR NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT
 BUDDHIST PEACE FELLOWSHIP
 CANE (CITIZENS AGAINST NUCLEAR EXTINCTION)
 RON DELLUMS, MEMBER OF U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
 EAST L.A. COMMUNITY OF JESUIT VOLUNTEER CORPS
 JOBS WITH PEACE
 INTERNATIONAL INDIAN TREATY COUNCIL
 MX INFORMATION COALITION
 PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY
 PSYCHOTHERAPISTS FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY
 REDWOOD ALLIANCE
 SAN JOSE PEACE CENTER
 WAR RESISTER'S LEAGUE / WEST
 WOMEN'S PARTY FOR SURVIVAL / SAN FRANCISCO

SPONSORS OF OCCUPATION

ACDC (ACTION COMMITTEE ON DIABLO CANYON)
 P.O. Box 693
 Santa Cruz, CA 95060
 (408) 476-8215
 ACTION FOR PEACE & DISARMAMENT
 985 Palm St.
 San Luis Obispo, CA 93401
 (805) 544-5217
 GREENPEACE

LIVERMORE ACTION GROUP
 3126 Shattuck Avenue
 Berkeley, CA 94705
 (415) 644-3031
 NRC (NUCLEAR RESISTANCE COALITION)
 4670 Hollywood Boulevard #103
 Los Angeles, CA 90027
 (213) 455-2765
 U.S. NUCLEAR-FREE PACIFIC NETWORK
 942 Market St., Rm. 712
 San Francisco, CA 94102
 (415) 434-2988
 MID-PENINSULA VANDENBERG ACTION COMMITTEE

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NATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO STOP THE MX
 SAN FRANCISCO NUCLEAR WEAPONS FREEZE CAMPAIGN

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— or the sponsoring organization in your area —

