

from the RQ Archives

## Direct Action Newspaper!

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

The tabloid-sized paper was produced by volunteers working with typewriters, xerox machines, and gluesticks. Every scrap of print and every graphic were (lovingly) pasted down by hand. Sometimes we didn't get them exactly straight...

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

Articles were written by people involved in the actions, and feature first-hand narratives plus reflections on tactics and strategy. Later issues featured carefully-elaborated theme sections produced by various sub-groups and focusing on economics, art and activism, solidarity actions, and more.

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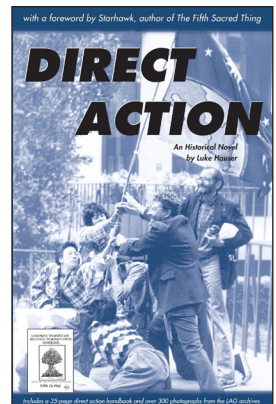


## DIRECT ACTION An Historical Novel

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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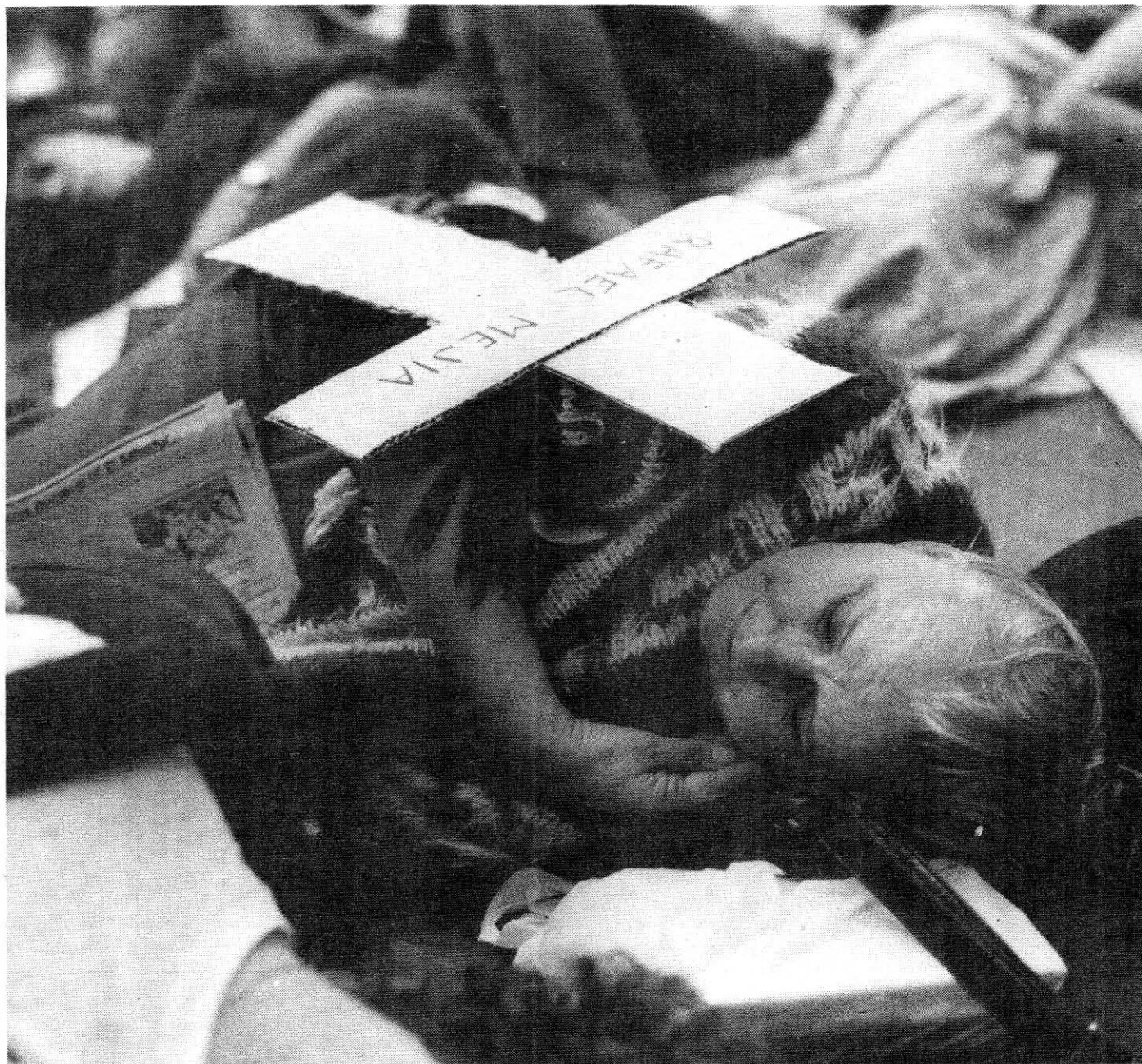
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# DIRECT

Issue #23

# ACTION

January/February 1986



Allie Light

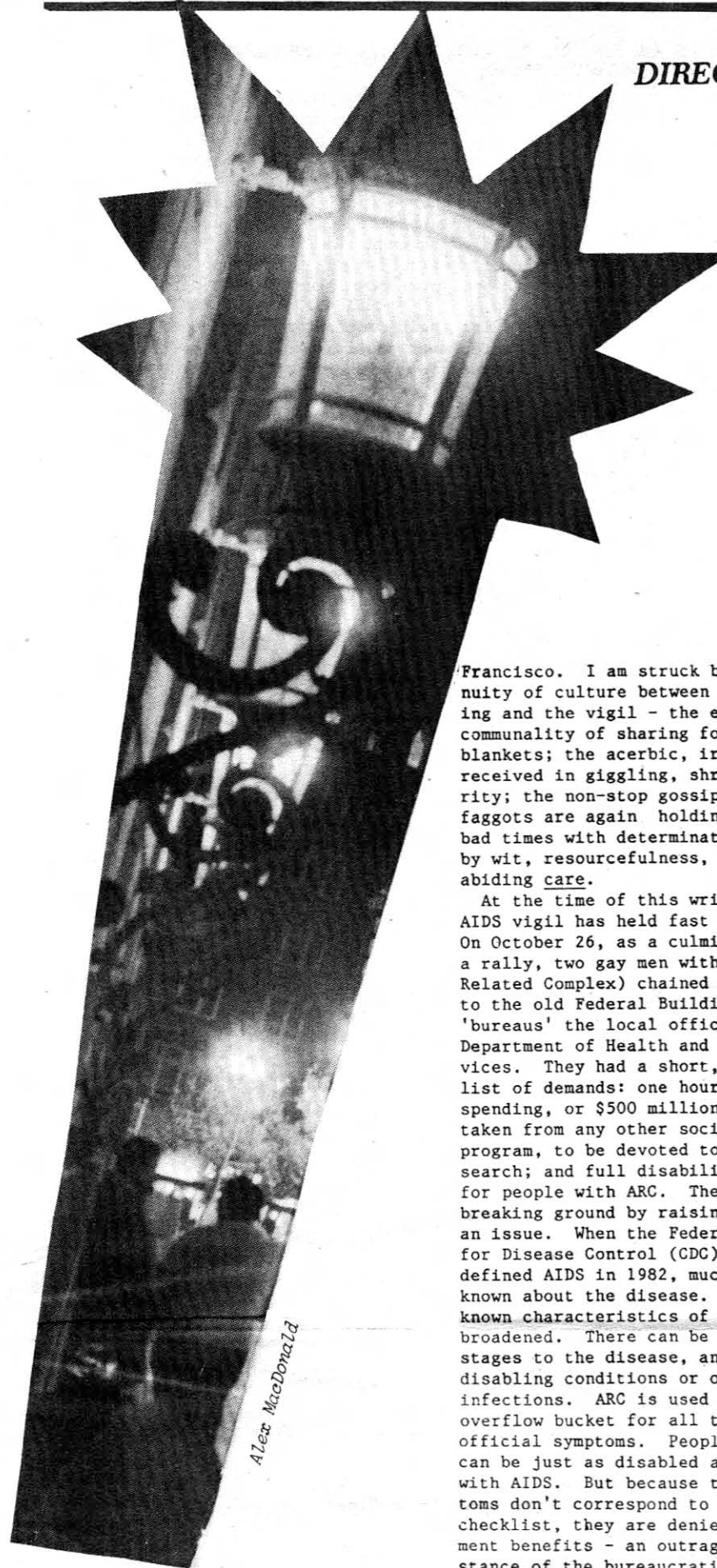
Street Theatre --Pg 7

## WAGING CULTURE

Pages 7-11



# Don't Take No For An Answer



Alex MacDonald

Francisco. I am struck by the continuity of culture between the gathering and the vigil - the easy-going communality of sharing food, clothes, blankets; the acerbic, ironic humor received in giggling, shrieking hilarity; the non-stop gossip. Here we faggots are again holding on through bad times with determination buoyed by wit, resourcefulness, and deep, abiding care.

At the time of this writing, the AIDS vigil has held fast for a month. On October 26, as a culmination to a rally, two gay men with ARC (AIDS Related Complex) chained themselves to the old Federal Building that 'bureaus' the local offices of the Department of Health and Human Services. They had a short, two-item list of demands: one hour of federal spending, or \$500 million, not to be taken from any other social service program, to be devoted to AIDS research; and full disability benefits for people with ARC. The vigil is breaking ground by raising ARC as an issue. When the Federal Center for Disease Control (CDC) officially defined AIDS in 1982, much less was known about the disease. Since then, known characteristics of AIDS have broadened. There can be intermediate stages to the disease, and different disabling conditions or opportunistic infections. ARC is used like an overflow bucket for all these unofficial symptoms. People with ARC can be just as disabled as people with AIDS. But because their symptoms don't correspond to an outdated checklist, they are denied government benefits - an outrageous instance of the bureaucratization of illness.

## Keeping It Together

The vigil has become a community event. A handwritten, photo-copied leaflet renewed daily in the Polk and Castro asks people to "stop by for five minutes, or to spend the night." Material help comes from all quarters. Workers from the surrounding government offices bring morning doughnuts and make noon lunch runs. People stop by at night with pots of soup, pans of coffee-cake, bags of pretzels. The National Hotel lets vigil participants use their toilets and showers at any

time of the day or night. KRON, the TV station, provided a wide TV screen so that the vigil could watch "An Early Frost (Spineless Yuppie Goes To the Hospital)" -- but that's another issue.

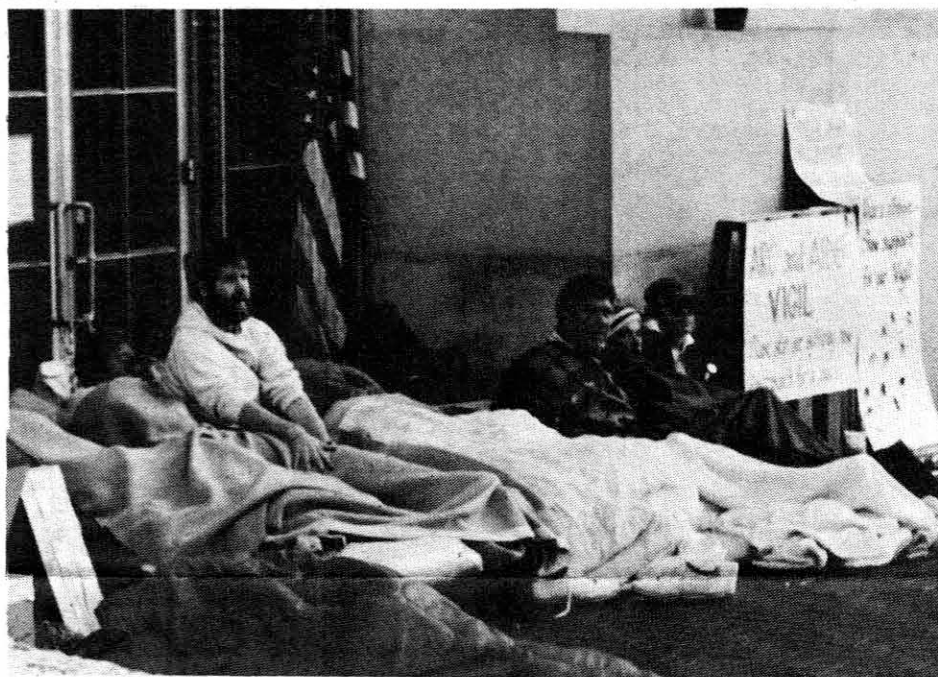
Counter to the spirit of warm camaraderie has been the vigil's experience with assault. The first attack happened on Sunday, November 3. At about two in the morning, three men who had been hanging about, harassing and threatening people ("Are you handing out AIDS") finally did attack, wielding bottles, a broom handle, and a knife. By the time the police finally came, three people had been wounded to the point of requiring hospitalization. The violence did not stop with this incident - there have been others. The threat is omnipresent: people who walk by all the time, hostilely muttering, or shouting, homophobic tirades.

The organizers have disparately dealt with the problem of street violence. Some have cultivated

parted and the non-hierarchical process. The role playing was especially fun - within most gay hearts is a Betty Davis/Errol Flynn dying to get out.

People who go to the vigil are given a green ribbon. The organizers say green is the color of spring, of new life; green is also the color of money, desperately needed for AIDS research and treatment programs. The green ribbons have become a symbol of special courage - a statement of having, or supporting, a widely denigrated identity.

A story: When Russell's General Assistance check came, he took a break from hanging out at the vigil to go get his TV out of hock. Another guy went with him, supporting him by the elbow as Russell painfully shuffled the few Tenderloin blocks to the pawn shop. Incidentally, Russell and his companion were each wearing green ribbons. The ribbons did not escape the notice of the pawnshop keeper. He almost kicked them out of the store. He



Alex MacDonald

closer relations with the police. Since the Board of Supervisors gave their official endorsement, the police have been stopping by every hour or so to check in. In addition, a high priority alert button has been installed next to the vigil bed. Other organizers have tried to give vigil participants skills to deal directly with hostile intrusions. LAG veterans Rita Archibald and Jack McDonough have held on-the-spot non-violence training sessions with a special focus on street violence.

People at the sessions have been moved by both the information im-

said, you guys shouldn't be making public displays of your sickness - illness is a private matter. He made the men take off the ribbons before he would hand over the television set.

The cruelty of the shopkeeper is direct, its impact restrained. The cruelty of those in power is abstract but its impact is pervading. Life-saving education is thwarted by

*Continued on page 14*



## The Selling of the Summit

With 3000 shock (or is it shlock?) troops of the American media smothering the most blatant non-event in the history of U.S.-Soviet relations, the triumph of imagery over reality was inevitable. With its sweeping affirmation of business as usual, it is easy to dismiss the summit as irrelevant to the demands of the broader American peace movement, let alone to direct action activists.

Yet we need to analyze both the summit and its media representation. Noam Chomsky, in his studies of reporting on Central America, Viet Nam, and the Middle East, demonstrated that democratic media "manage" information primarily by defining the boundaries of legitimate dissent. We need to understand how summit coverage did this by ignoring Western peace activists and their protests. We need to see how the media's selective use of "experts" to interpret the Soviet dele-

gation functioned to reinstall the Cold War consensus on the Soviet threat. How does the marginalization of women and minorities from the summit preserve the passive spectator role of the public audience? Does the Freeze/Jackson/SANE trip to Geneva offer a starting point for strategies for peace movement intervention in the summit process?

Parallel to the summit, a broad governmental/academic/corporate alliance behind Star Wars was being shaped. The mobilization of popular support either for or against Star Wars will determine the course of the debate on nuclear disarmament in the post-summit months.

## Much Ado About Nothing

No agreement was reached on

arms reduction, the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI, or Star Wars), the extension of the previous SALT agreements, human rights, or Third World issues. To avoid the appearance of complete failure, minor cultural exchanges, new consulates and more talks were agreed to. All of a sudden, process was a new media buzzword.

The pre-summit flap caused by Defense Secretary Weinberger's leaked memo (calling for a "loose" interpretation of the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty to allow Star Wars testing, and no guarantees on SALT II extensions) was buried. After all, with all the precisely worded press releases and official statements, the Defense Department got basically what it asked for. The U.S. refusal to negotiate Star Wars testing (as opposed to laboratory research) accomplished two major objectives.

Soviet nuclear capabilities were now threatened by more than the new generation of first-strike missiles--the Pershing, the MX and Trident missiles. Star Wars could render the Soviet threats of retaliation against a first strike ineffective, destroying the Soviet end of the reliance on deterrence. Soviet decisions were predictable; concern over Star Wars replaced fear of cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe. On the other hand, no cuts in Soviet strategic weapons would be negotiated with the threat of Star Wars literally "hanging over their heads".

Star Wars gave the U.S. control over the pace and strategy of arms control negotiations. Past U.S. build-ups were accepted, and a stalemate on future missile reduction negotiations was guaranteed.

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This stencil, by Norman Meyer of San Francisco, appeared on San Francisco concrete in late fall 1985; in the original, the map of Central America is in bright red, the bodies and skull in black. Norman Meyer and five other Bay Area political graffitiists are interviewed on pages 8-9 of this issue.

## To Our Gracious Readers

During the past few months, the DIRECT ACTION collective, along with many other groups and individuals within the LAG network, have been re-examining our working relations. One outcome of this process has been the formation of the Nonviolent Action Project (see story page 12) as an attempt to make the resources we have gathered available to a wider community. The DA collective endorsed this proposal and will be an active participant in the project. The paper will continue to cover LAG/Livermore/Site 300 actions and news (see stories on page 12); but we have also wanted to formalize the trend of the past year or so toward coverage of a wider range of resistance issues and actions--the stories on the AIDS vigil and Big Mountain are examples of this direction.

We want to thank our readers for their continuing support during a tough period. Although we have only been able to publish two papers in the past six months, we remain committed to movement publishing and need your ongoing support!

This issue is a tribute to "movement culture" which we feel is one of the most exciting elements of the direct action community in the Bay Area. We are featuring articles on the Spiral Dance ritual, the anarchist coffeehouse, political graffiti, and a new book on the 1983 Livermore action and its resultant "representative trial". We want to continue to focus on such activities. In future issues, we plan to cover street theatre, the Freedom Song Network, and other political music. We would welcome articles, photos, graphics or ideas on this theme - drop us a line.

## HELP!

\*We need your help! Several key DA workers are absorbed in new projects this year, and we need some new energy. We need writers, proofreaders, typists, and layout help. Experience is helpful but not necessary - most of all we need people with good energy and a willingness to work collectively under less-than-ideal conditions. If you're interested, call George at (415)644-2028, and we'll fill you in on the specifics.

We also need help in specific professional areas:

--photographers for actions: if you're going to an action, how about taking your camera and taking photos for the paper?

--typesetting: Jim Mascolo of the Illustrated Word has done our headlines for over two years; he needs some help! Do you have access to typesetting, either free or at a good discount?

--darkroom production: we need help developing and printing film, often on short timelines; and we could save a lot of money if someone could do half-toning of our photos.

CAN YOU HELP? Please give us a call--George, (415)644-2028.

## Whodunnit?

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

DIRECT ACTION, as we said above in "HELP!", needs production help. Give us a call at 644-2028.

The following people helped with production of issue #23:

Sheila Harrington, Kate Raphael, Steve Nadel, George Franklin, Judy Foster, Kathy Bindels, Paul Bloom, Suzanne McMillan, Bruce Yamamoto, Gene Wiens, Graham Hale, Tad Mutersbaugh, Geoff Yippie!

## Photo Credits

Last issue, we neglected to paste in credits for the photos we had from August 3 in San Francisco and August 9 at Livermore Lab.

The photographer, a regular contributor and production worker for DIRECT ACTION, was Bill Washburn. We apologize to Bill, and appreciate the work he's done for the paper.

## From Our Readers

Hi LAG,

I had some reservations about the August 9th Livermore blockade. Specifically about logistics and tone.

After the religious service ended about 12 noon, people moved directly into the corner intersection. By noon, most workers were inside the Lab already, and were a quarter of a mile from the gate, so we snagged a lot of non-workers. I realize it would have dissipated a lot of energy to walk the road to the gate for the blockade, but I wonder what we are trying to say for people who aren't lab workers (I have similar reservations about the August 4 Golden Gate Bridge blockade. It was an OK media event, but what were we saying to the commuters?).

The tone of the Lab action bothered me, too. The Silhouette painting was great in the intersection, but the dancing and defiant tone made me wonder what was being communicated to drivers. Did support people fan out to talk to the drivers and explain why we were there?

I know with Arms Control stalled and world leaders uncaring there's a lot of frustration and rage among us. Who are we directing that rage at, though? Lab workers or innocent (is anybody who pays taxes "innocent"? passersby? Do we blockade to express outrage? Defiance? (There's a certain amount of machismo in defiance.) Or to touch people's consciences and awaken them to the threat over all our heads? I hope we haven't written off the Livermore Community as unreachable and only a backdrop to let off steam around.

I've tried to visualize how block-

aded drivers see us. If we're dancing in the intersection maybe it reinforces the media's image that the movement is a big party and we're in it for fun. We could probably use better coordination between blockaders and support people. Support often waits to cheer arrests when they are in the position to go up the lines of cars and attempt dialogue.

I admit that I'm partial to the '82/'83 actions where clusters could plan the tone of the zone, there was more autonomy than being in a crowded intersection. Hopefully we can work harder at directing our actions at those most responsible for the Arms Race, in a tone that communicates our concern and maybe touches people's conscience.

Sincerely, Gilbert Lee

### DIRECT ACTION:

I have decided that civil disobedience is a mistake. Although it may be emotionally satisfying, it fails to address the concerns of those who support nuclear weapons. I think that acknowledging the intelligence and integrity of those whom one opposes, and trying to understand their viewpoint, is a much more effective approach. Civil disobedience disrupts the dialog.

A former subscriber  
(no name signed)

### DIRECT ACTION:

I love DIRECT ACTION, and I read each issue eagerly when it arrives. But I was deeply alienated by the exclusive and elitist views expressed in the four articles on jail solidarity in the summer 1985 issue (#21). There must be room somewhere for those of us who want to express our outrage and commitment through civil disobedience but simply cannot stay in jail for more than a few days.

Please don't dismiss me as "new to the movement"--my involvement has been regular since 1962. And, I was able to maintain jail solidarity for most of the June 1983 Livermore incarceration when I was arrested there for blockading. My only reason in not risking arrest at the August 9, 1985 Livermore action was that I knew I could not maintain that part of jail solidarity that might have meant staying in jail past Sunday, and after reading issue #21, did not want to undermine those who could. But I was disappointed, both for myself and for the action, because the number of arrests was smaller by at least one.

Back to the articles: they all, especially Kate Rafael's, suggested that only those who could commit to a long initial stay in jail were "dependable" and worthy of the privilege of doing civil disobedience. "Quality not quantity" was her message--implying that individuals whose families and jobs just cannot accommodate two weeks in jail were not high quality c.d. material.

Then Andruid suggests that it is okay to lose those people! Not only are these elitist attitudes

unbecoming to LAG but I disagree with the implied strategy. The movement needs everyone who wants to do c.d. The goal in risking arrest is to participate in a mass action that educates others via the media. (My goals in jail are most certainly not to make new friends and gain personal fulfillment!)

Let's face it--mainstream media are impressed by quantity. Big demos get big coverage; lots of arrests create lots of attention. The education is done by the action itself, not by the price arrestees pay later.

Jail solidarity is definitely an ideal for me and everyone, but let's keep it in perspective. In a mass movement, it is a luxury. How can we work out a way next time to include "short-timers" in jail strategy?

for peace & justice,

Roxanne Schwartz

## DON'T FORGET TO WRITE

DIRECT ACTION welcomes letters, accounts of actions and events, opinions and analysis, etc. Please include a contact number in case we have questions. Send materials to DIRECT ACTION, 3126 Shattuck, Berkeley CA 94705. Messages for DA can be left at (415)644-2028.



# Left-wing Homophobia

On October 27, during a demonstration by the Mobilization Against AIDS, two men with AIDS Related Conditions (ARC) chained themselves to a rarely-used side door of the Federal Office Building at UN Plaza, declaring a 24-hour vigil until their demands are met or they are removed. By the next weekend, the space had been renamed "Bobby Campbell Plaza" after a local organizer who died of AIDS two years ago.

Inevitably, many of us were reminded of an event last spring, when a handful of students at U.C. Berkeley decided to prolong a demonstration against apartheid and established an all-night vigil on the steps of Sproul Hall. In the next three weeks the "Stephen Biko Plaza" action had helped trigger and remained one of the most dramatic parts of a huge national student (and non-student) movement.

Five weeks after the establishment of Campbell Plaza, its dissimilarity to the Biko action is much more apparent to me than its likeness. I went to Biko Hall the first night to bring food and blankets; already there were 100 people gathered on the steps; most seemed settled for the night. The Freedom Song Network had been there to entertain the vigilers. A large meeting was in progress, and it was already clear that there would be a high level of discord, chaos and ego involvement in the decision-making there.

Five weeks into the current action, the group assembled there ranges from a high of, about 25 to a low of about 5. The most people ever to spend the night was 18. (UPDATE: The Milk/Moscone memorial march on Nov. 27 made a pilgrimage to the vigil, and since then participation has picked up.) Holly Near and Alice Walker have not shown up; the Freedom Song Network has not been there, and neither have most activists who rally to other causes. There seems to be a fairly simple, open decision-making structure, though a few people seem to be relied on for certain key tasks. There are the inevitable tensions between originators and newcomers to the vigil, but an aura of harmony generally pervades the scene. The people present tend to be considerably older than most U.C. Students - most are in their 30's or 40's. There is an American flag flying. The relationship between the



Alex McDonald

from this action, in which men have placed their lives on the line, and where our help is desperately needed to win concrete aid for thousands in our community.

The most straightforward reason is that people don't know about the vigil. It was begun without much thought for organizing support, at a time when the gay community was entirely focused on Halloween activities. And most of those who have taken up the organizing since are new to it. So word has been slow to get out. And certainly, the weather has not been very conducive to spending nights out in the rain.

There are other reasons people have given, however, for their absence which amounts, I feel, to homophobia and myopia. When I talked with Stuart Hysom, an anarchist who spends part of every day at the vigil, he said many activists are put off by the non-militant tone of the action. I

at the sign and came over said, without prompting, "They can spend all this money for bombs in El Salvador; they can afford to give us \$500,000,000."

As to the implication that the vigilers are only concerned about their own issue, that does distinguish them from the Biko students, who liked to see themselves as the forefront of every movement. But I ask you, how many people who are dying have energy to spare for "other issues"? It is not really very difficult for young, healthy, middle-class people in Berkeley to be concerned about everyone else. I don't expect Bobby Sands in the last days of his hunger strike thought much about anything but Ireland. Daniel Ortega and Bishop Tutu make important links between their countries and other oppressed people, but I doubt the average Central American and South African, facing death squads and starvation, has time to

think two days in jail and a B in Economics is a major sacrifice became the darlings of the radical movements. Each time I go to the vigil and hear the coughing of the protesters get worse and worse, I get angrier.

I will be honest and say that I am often frustrated about the gay community's failures to recognize its true allegiances. Gay men, especially, have found it easy to move into the upper income brackets-as long as they keep their sexual preference a secret-and have been more interested in personal than in "political" liberation. Dan White's recent death was an occasion for me to reflect on how quickly gay people seem to have forgotten a painful lesson that the system will not work for us in the end. The vigil has given me clues about why they have forgotten.

I began to ask myself why gay people would identify with radicals. Many straight friends have said they don't feel comfortable at the vigil, though they feel it is important, because they don't know anyone there. Many people didn't know anyone at Biko either when they first stayed there. And it's not that the people at Campbell aren't as friendly. (In fact, being less paranoid, they are apt to be friendlier.) Again, I have the feeling that people are afraid of having to work with or talk to openly gay people. It's easier to dismiss the gay community as not radical enough than to face one's own discomfort with people who are "different." (This excuse is frequently given for avoiding Third World people as well.)

People always wonder why more gay people aren't getting involved in all the good peace work we're doing. But we never really try to get them involved; why would they come to us? A gay friend who was very active in the Biko sit-in was upset by the tone of the non-intervention contingent in last year's parade. The straight people who came seemed to want it to be the same as any other multi-purpose march. The chants were the same; there was not commitment to letting gay people's energy lead the group. The attitude was "We're here, so we're doing our bit for gay freedom. Now let's focus on the important issues." People didn't want to chant "We're dykes and faggots . . ." They wanted chants that expressed them. As usual we were supposed to worry about their comfort; but it was our day.

Some members of the DIRECT ACTION collective had never heard of COMING UP!, one of the largest monthly papers in the Bay Area. An anarchist friend of mine said he hadn't gone to see "The Times of Harvey Milk", an award winning movie, because it sounded "boring." Two years in a row LAG held its big action at the Lab at the end of June, when the gay community was mobilizing around the parade.

In general, I think people consider sexuality basically a private issue. You can say that when your sexuality is affirmed in every major movie and every corner billboard.

On the other hand, people believe that gay people should naturally ally with others who are oppressed, and be their champions, without being approached about the connections between issues.

Like other oppressed peoples, we will be your allies when you make our struggle yours.

(NOTE: This article represents only my opinion, and is not intended to speak for other gay activists.)

--Kate Raphael



Alex McDonald

vigil and the police seems cordial, even cooperative, most of the time.

The biggest difference is that a significant proportion of the men involved are critically, perhaps terminally, ill.

The arrest of 200 "steps" activists prompted massive demonstrations at U.C. last year. Quite appropriately, these demonstrations added to their divestment demands a demand that the university stop harassing the protest with unjust arrests and unsanctionable brutality.

No such collaboration with police seems likely at Bobby Campbell, though the vigilers were twice firehosed by the Public Works Department. (Remember, it is November, not May; the cold and wet are upon us already, and many of those people are quite ill. Why take them to jail where they'll be warm, if you can threaten their lives by "cleaning up"?)

The major violence has come from another quarter. On Halloween night a demonstrator was threatened with a knife by a street person who didn't want to get AIDS. Three days later, four men were seriously injured by three men for the same reason. With the exception of a few gay and lesbian anarchists, the "direct action community" has been noticeably absent

have gotten this impression as well from friends who pointed out that, after all, they are flying an American flag. I don't like to carry flags myself, but I, and those who commented about it, have certainly participated in actions which chose to fly American flags to soften the concept of protest for mainstream Americans.

Another friend mentioned a sign posted at the vigil which, he said, proclaimed that it was not a political action and that the vigilers were not interested in any issue except their own. That concerned me too, and I looked at the sign next time I went down. It reads "We are a group of American citizens assembled peacefully for the petition of grievances...Our vigil is a nonviolent and nonpolitical civil rights action...demanding proper government response to the crises of AIDS and ARC...We want to reach the American people, to reawaken their true spirit of compassion, justice, understanding and love...."

The tone this sets is not, I think, very different from that of many religious peace actions, including some of the most "radical" - if by that we mean directly challenging to the system. A man who saw me looking

worry about the "broader issues." I can only hear people's objection to the vigil's single focus as an assertion that gay people's lives are not really worth fighting for.

If I sound bitter, it is because I am outraged that a group of men speeding their own deaths to save others are considered not "radical" enough to deserve our wholehearted support, while a group of people who

"Given our budgeting constraints..."  
—Ronald Reagan

"We want our money back!"  
—Enola Gay



# The Selling of the Summit

Continued from page 1

Given that years of mass protest and public consciousness-raising could only be dashed by such outcomes, major problems remained for the U.S. How is such a monumental failure, to be the first U.S. president in a generation not to negotiate a significant arms control treaty, to be sold to Western opinion? What real interests, in the government and corporate defense establishments, are represented by the new directions of SDI and the abandonment of traditional arms control processes? What about the peace movement?



## The Selling Agenda

What was the context which was relayed to the public by media representation of the summit?

--There is no American peace movement (Did you see any sign of it on TV? I didn't).

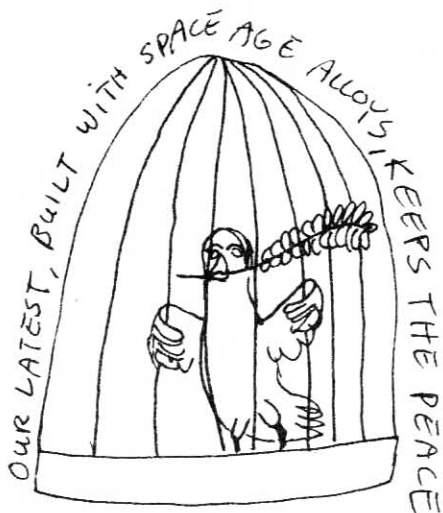
--The Soviets are more dangerous than ever because of appearances. Opening up to the media is a trick to hide their evil intentions.

--Women are too dumb to understand arms control; blacks should stay at home and keep out of foreign affairs (the ultimate white male preserve).

--Finally, the old perennial: any and every challenge to the status quo in the Third World is directed and controlled from Moscow (the rest of the world is a board for games played by the U.S.-USSR.)

All American media faithfully echoed the Reagan administration characterization of "regional conflicts" in Southern Africa, Central America, Cambodia and Vietnam, the Middle East, and Afghanistan as essentially US-USSR proxy wars. In every instance these countries were torn from their historical context and their conditions denied any national specificity. The common language of a harried U.S. "containment" facing Soviet "expansionism" was used to universalize all internal causes of Third World conflicts into camouflaged superpower confrontations.

But to maintain traditional cold war rhetoric of international conspiracies directed from Moscow requires some cooperation from the Soviets. Old Soviet images of sec-



retive, unappealing, cold or confrontational leaders helped. Expert "Soviet watchers" from Stanford and other think tanks were called upon to interpret why, 30 years after their American counterparts learned how to appear in front of a TV camera, the new Soviet openness to the media is a "threat to national security".

That a vital link in the ideological campaign to maintain U.S. images of the Soviet "Evil Empire" might be challenged by a few smiles and stylish dresses might seem ludicrous. But it highlights the crucial psychological components that go into creating a fear of the Soviets, that is essential to public acceptance of an escalating arms race. The vulnerability of this climate of fear without reinforcement is seen in New York Times predictions, that conservative governments would face new difficulties in selling the USSR as a military threat, given Soviet images at the summit.

The most unusual role of a "democratic press" in the summit lies in preserving the summit as the prerogative of the protagonist governments (and their respective press corps). Donald Regan's comments relegating women to the tea-room were never disowned by the Reagan administration. The press refused to make this a significant issue, but it continued to reinforce Regan's sentiments. Since women are by nature incapable of understanding the arms race, this was replaced by the dinner coat race. Unlike ICBM's, here the Soviets could safely be admitted to lag. Media were quick to point out that Mrs. Gorbachev wore the same dinner coat twice. When Mrs. Gorbachev refused to follow Nancy Reagan's lead and limit their discussions to "women's issues" like children and family, the press faithfully reported Mrs.

was the public image. But what was going on in the background?

## Star Wars Triumphant

Again, it can not be underemphasized that Casper Weinberger was the winner at the summit. His position, that nothing be agreed to that could limit the SDI program, carried the day. A powerful alliance in support of Star Wars is being cemented in industry, academia and government. Despite some moderate defense establishment critics, and a nascent academic revolt, opinion polls show that the administration is winning the propaganda war.

It was no accident that on the Tuesday before the summit, a lead

university and national laboratory (particularly Livermore) development of more powerful "supercomputers" to control star wars. The VHSIC (Very High Speed Integrated Circuits) program finances university research and development of the electronic circuitry essential to the next generation of military technology.

Through control over research and defense funding, at a time of weak economy, lean budgets and profits, the government is forging a community of support for Star Wars. And a community for Star Wars is, by definition, a community against real arms reduction.

## The End Game

After the summit was over, the U.S. declared victory. No concessions had been made to restrict Star Wars. SDI



Reagan's dissatisfaction with the "Marxist dogma" of Mrs. Gorbachev. The message was clear: American women would rather watch first ladies visit drug clinics and schools. Once more, women take care of the home while the men go out and do the real work.

## Stay at Home Jesse

The media preserved its ultimate delegitimization tactics for U.S. activists, particularly the Reverend Jackson. Jackson was only one member of a delegation of American peace groups (including SANE and the Freeze), presenting a million petition signatures for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Media treatment had two objectives: first, ignore the peace movement; equally --challenge Jackson's right to be in Geneva.

Jackson carefully avoided directly criticizing Reagan. He challenged Soviet treatment of Jews rather than the invasion of Afghanistan so as to avoid the possibility of a Soviet response about Central America, in which Jackson would be forced to challenge U.S. policies. Yet Jackson's very presence at Geneva was characterized as sabotage of U.S. policy.

While blacks overwhelmingly supported Jackson's right to be at Geneva, opinion polls showed white America to be in opposition. From the time of Martin Luther King's criticism of the Viet Nam War, blacks have been denied any legitimate organized voice in defining U.S. foreign policy. The media reinforced this by concentration on Jackson's individual right to be at Geneva, minimizing his presence in a delegation. Additionally, other delegations present (such as a pro-Star Wars contingent led by Phyllis Schaffly) were ignored.

The net effect of concentrating on Jackson the individual was twofold. It reinforces domestic racism. It defines the peace movement into oblivion. With the absence of any coverage of the past six years of U.S. and European anti-nuclear weapons protests, Jackson can be represented as an opportunistic black publicity seeker. The significance of the potential alliance between domestic black politics and anti-war protests can be hidden.

Racism, sexism, cold war xenophobia, an invisible peace movement. That

New York Times article was headlined, "Star Wars Industry Rises". What made this article more interesting than usual was that it was the lead article of the Business section.

Concerned by this year's congressional budget cuts in SDI, industry feared summit agreements that would limit testing of Star Wars systems. Without testing, Congress would be more reluctant to fund production programs. Therefore industry favors Weinberger's call for the "loose interpretation" of the 1972 ABM treaty to allow testing of the component systems of Star Wars.

The big players --TRW, Lockheed, Boeing, Hughes (now owned by G.M.), Rockwell --are risking their own funds to insure front row seating for future appropriations. As an industry analyst said "... to be a long-term player, they can't let SDI get away." Lucrative future contracts worth tens or hundreds of billions of dollars

**Blacks and women have been denied any legitimate voice in defining U.S. foreign policy.**

would be at risk with negotiated limits to SDI.

Why is SDI so important to industry? Recent electronics industry trade journals report that the traditional portions of the defense budget --money for soldiers, munitions, planes and ships --are growing slightly or stagnating. The fastest growing segment is electronics -- the computers, sensors, lasers, radio, communications and other equipment -- that are predicted to account for 40% of the defense procurement budget by 1994. This is the type of equipment that is at the heart of Star Wars.

In the academic community, the majority of government funding for science and engineering is being tied into Star Wars. While all other government funding to universities has leveled or decreased, SDI grants alone will total \$600 million over the next five years. And not all Star Wars funding comes with truth in labeling. The Strategic computing initiative and other programs fund

program director, Liet. General James Abrahamson, stated he expected orders to speed up work, now that the summit period is past. He has added his voice to those calling for revisions in the ABM treaty to allow testing of SDI.

A new governmental strategy is to reveal the results of laser and kinetic energy weapons tests to create a momentum of Star Wars successes. The objective is to create a euphoria based upon the technological attractiveness of Star Wars components, which will make piecemeal deployment of individual systems politically irresistible. Industry will support these efforts with a Congressional lobbying offensive, stressing yet again the supposed economic/employment benefits of another military boom.

More ominously, Weinberger's latest statements portend a drive for new offensive military programs to accompany SDI development. For months the Reagan administration has been attacking the legitimacy of SDI critics in the defense and arms control establishment who have warned that U.S. intransigence in SDI negotiations would merely lead to new Soviet build ups in strategic nuclear missiles. Now Weinberger reverses their arguments. A fictional Soviet lead in anti-missile systems (a "Star Wars gap"?) now requires further U.S. offensive missile build-ups until an American SDI goes into place.

## So Where is the Peace Movement?

The basic condition of Reagan administration policy was to continue U.S. nuclear expansion through the controlled failure of arms reduction negotiations. This makes it easy for direct action activists to dismiss summitry as irrelevant, and to ignore it as an arena of political struggle.

Is this a sustainable strategy? At the least, this means Reagan and the media have free rein to define the negotiation process. Absolute rejection of summitry leaves the peace movement with no mechanism to propose for US-USSR governmental relations during a process of arms reduction.

In a way, this summit poses questions for direct action activists, similar to the role the relation to electoral politics played for New Left activists in the 60's and 70's. In a society which defines democratic politics as



# The Selling of the Summit



elections (or negotiations), either a total abstinence from elections or acceptance of the limits defined by the two party system lead to well-defined dead ends. The total rejection of electoral politics (take the Revolutionary Communist Party/RCP as an extreme example) leads to strategies for the transfer of political power based upon the cataclysmic collapse of government. Acceptance of existing limits (for example, Democratic Socialists of America/DSA) subsumes mass mobilization to the politics of the possible in the Democratic Party.

LAG's first International Day (1983) in some ways was the anti-nuclear equivalent for total rejectionism. The projection of the total autonomy of all groups (on local and regional lines, in the U.S. and internationally) meant the refusal to develop any common programs, goal or ideology. Its vision of the alteration of political power was also based on the sudden collapse of its opposition in the face of mass unrest (civil disobedience).

The broader left is searching for an alternative to fantasy replays of insurrection a la 1917, or the electoral passivity of European Social

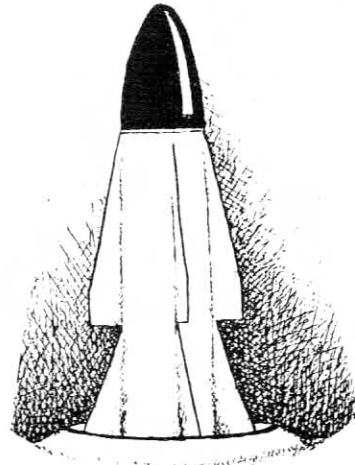
Democratic and Labor parties. This is very much a question of the relationship between struggles in the street and in the institutions. This search is just as applicable to the peace movement and direct action activists; intergovernmental negotiations play the institutional role.

The question posed by the Freeze/SANE/Jackson trip to Geneva is, can the organizations of grassroots peace activists intervene in the institutional processes that govern arms control negotiations? Furthermore, is it at all possible for such an intervention to result in anything but the domination of anti-nuclear politics by the interests of government bureaucracies?

The delegation of the Freeze/SANE/Jackson tried to substitute leadership for the drop in mass mobilization of the past year. The restoration of strong local organization, mass actions, and civil disobedience is the first priority before entering institutional struggles (and don't ask me yet how to do this). But when this happens, direct action activists must have rethought their approach to the relationship of civil disobedience to other arenas and types of struggles.

The absolutism of autonomy must be tempered by some ways to develop local actions which create consensus for agendas, programs, and demands across regional and national lines. This requires a greater degree of dialogue and cooperation among U.S. and Western European activists. In this regard, we can learn from the process of dialogue between Western European peace movements, and Eastern European democratic rights activists (such as Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia or Solidarity in Poland), concerning common programs for peace and democracy in a superpower-bloc-free Europe.

The European dialog raises issues of peace and democracy in Europe, in ways that recapture the language of democracy from Reagan and his rhetoric of the "Evil Empire". The recent publication of a joint East-West activist statement in opposition to U.S.



**30 years after their American counterparts learned how to appear on TV, the new Soviet media openness is a "threat to national security."**

policy in Nicaragua opens this dialogue to incorporate anti-intervention issues outside of Europe.

Frankly, I have few ideas for how to initiate such processes in the U.S. We have no broad peace coalitions comparable to CND or END in Europe to act as a forum. The first step is to

overcome the isolationist and individualist interpretations of autonomy, which helped to define LAG as affinity groups with ever-decreasing commonality. Then, using whatever forums we have--DIRECT ACTION, the International Day network (or what is left of it), the Mobilization for Survival network, etc.--we can begin discussions. What should common agendas be for peace issues: a freeze, a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, no Star Wars research? How do we ally with Eastern European groups in ways that break the Cold War consensus which identifies freedom with western anti-Sovietism? How do direct action campaigns and other grassroots mobilizations get translated into the next peace movement entry into Geneva? Is it possible to challenge the public's role as passive spectator to the history of Geneva meetings? Where do we find the common language of anti-interventionism to oppose Cold War politics viewing the Third World as a battlefield of US-Soviet relations?

In the current doldrum of direct action, these may seem to be abstract questions. But once again we are struggling from behind. The domestic alliance behind SDI strengthens daily. The politics of mobilization through fear is not enough. The government will always be in a better position to use that fear as long as the politics of the Cold War go unchallenged. Direct U.S.-Soviet negotiations lie at the heart of shaping Cold War ideology. It is a terrain we cannot leave to Reagan.

--by Allan Josephson

## Vandenberg: The Real Secret of the Space Shuttle

The real secret of the space shuttle is everybody (that is, the U.S. politicians, the Soviet government, the defense contractors) knows what it does except the American people. The military satellites that make up almost half of its cargo play various roles that give our strategic missiles the ultra-accuracy to directly target the missile silos, airfields, and submarines of the Soviet nuclear forces - a first-

infrared portion of the spectrum, which is invisible to the naked eye. Infrared sensors, also known as heat sensors, can focus on the "heat signatures" of the exhaust plumes of bombers, cruise missiles, and ICBM launches to determine their identity.

Although Teal Ruby's official mission is to focus on the red-hot exhaust from bombers, it may be able to detect cruise missiles and ICBM launches. The military is loath to

current warning satellites.

"Star Wars" depends on being able to locate and destroy 95% of the Soviet missiles within five minutes of launch: each missile that evades destruction and makes it into space on its way towards the U.S. separates into up to 20 warheads and hundreds of decoys. In order to determine if a perceived threat is a missile and to bring our forces into the fray within a five minute period, Reagan's advisor George Keyworth has testified in Congress that the decision to "go to war" would be made by a computer.

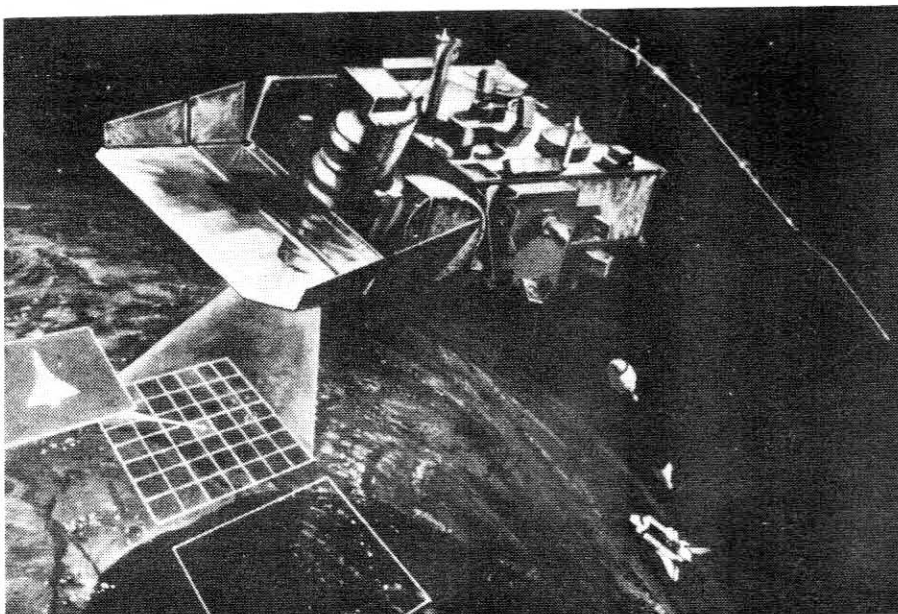
Teal Ruby illustrates the key role played by the shuttle and its cargo. The shuttle can carry up to 33 tons, or twice the weight and three times the bulk of the Titan booster, the only existing alternative. Teal Ruby will take up half the cargo bay and would be too bulky to fit inside a Titan. Similarly, many of the new military satellites have had to wait in line for the shuttle to take them off the ground. Star Wars will need more and even bigger shuttles to place its complicated weapons system into orbit.

The shuttle was designed specifically for trucking heavyweight military hardware, and not the needs of the light telecommunications satellites or other commercial items which may be bumped to a later flight at any time in the interests of "national security."

To avoid political opposition, the military cargo has been kept secret

from the public on almost every launch. Meanwhile, the trade magazines slip out numerous leaks on the nature of the cargo. Similarly, by watching each launch from ships, tracking the orbit by radar, and

Continued on page 6



Teal Ruby--Star Wars in space

strike ability that has put both sides on a much higher degree of alert over the past few years and is the main destabilizing feature of the arms race.

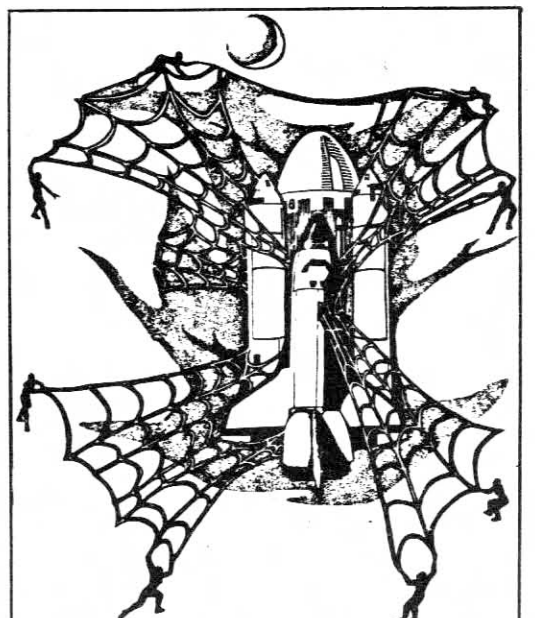
In the future the shuttle will deliver the various components of the "Star Wars" defense into orbit. Many of these components can be used offensively as well as defensively. It is worth noting that the Soviets are most worried about Star Wars as a shield that could successfully ward off their "ragged retaliation" to an American first-strike.

The first flight of the shuttle from Vandenberg AFB, scheduled tentatively for July, 1986, will carry the Teal Ruby experiment. Teal Ruby is a super-cooled telescope; its barrel contains 250,000 detectors of light that are known as "sensors." These sensors focus on light from the

admit that the sensors being tested on Teal Ruby will be deployed in the next three years to improve the detection of Soviet ICBMs by the early warning satellites. Why?

1. Its heat sensors will be able to track which missiles or bombers left from which silos or airfields. This makes it and its successors a great first-strike tool --if you know which ones they got off the ground, you know which ones to retarget rather than hit an empty silo.

2. This above-mentioned ability makes it the first piece of orbiting hardware under the wing of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) Organization, as Teal Ruby will help the American military develop the ability to track a missile from the moment of launch. This enables detection of missiles much earlier than



T-shirt design by Bob Thawley this design will be available on 100% cotton T-shirts to benefit the 1986 Vandenberg Space Shuttle Action. Please send \$6.50 plus \$1.00 postage and handling to VAC, c/o 3126 Shattuck, Berkeley 94705. Specify size and color, red or lavender on black or black on white.

RETURN TO VANDENBERG ACTION COALITION  
c/o 3126 Shattuck Berkeley CA 94705

☐ I would like to form/join an affinity group for participation in protest activities at Vandenberg Air Force Base

☐ Put me on the mailing list. Enclosed please find \$\_\_\_\_\_ to cover costs for the mailing & action

☐ I want to help organize  
☐ literature/outreach  
☐ media  
☐ legal  
☐ non-violence preparations/affinity group formation  
☐ other

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS: \_\_\_\_\_

PHONE: ( ) \_\_\_\_\_



# New Coalition Resists Rock Island

Some 400 people gathered this past October 21st in a concerted effort to shut down the U.S. Military's largest manufacturing arsenal at Rock Island, Illinois. (9-10,000 workforce). This was the second action in the last two years, following on a June 1984 blockade and protest. In the most recent campaign, more than 100 people were detained and charged for their disruption of Arsenal work. Many others participated and evaded arrest. The Rock Island organizing takes place in a context in many ways unique to recent anti-militarist direct action campaigns. Not only location and geography find it this way, but also the transitions sweeping the region economically and socially.

The Rock Island Arsenal sits on an island in the Mississippi River—some 160 miles west of Chicago—banked by the cities of Rock Island, Illinois and Davenport, Iowa. With adjacent

towns the area population adds to 400,000. The arsenal work takes in both military administration and weapons manufacture. It is headquarters to AMCCOM (Army Armament Munitions and Chemical Command) responsible for supplying all conventional ammunition to U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Force worldwide. In addition, some 3,000 people are involved with the manufacture of battlefield artillery weapons. The main line of production are howitzer cannons. 40% of the weapons manufactured are sold overseas. Standing at the checkout counter have been the Philippines, South Africa, Israel and El Salvador.

The surrounding regional economy is in a depression. The area has long been a center for the manufacture of agricultural/farm equipment. The main representatives, John Deere and Caterpillar have curtailed or stopped production. Over the past four years

there has been a 50,000 loss in population. In the same period of time the Arsenal increased its workforce by 2,000 or some 30%, growing to a 230 million yearly budget.

The recent opposition organizing has built on the work of Quad Cities War Resistance Community and a link with Disarm Now Action Group of Chicago. The campaign has become regional with representation from Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Missouri, Indiana, & Ohio. That work has spurred intense discussion in the local community with regard to the work of the Arsenal. The curtain is up. By the time the 10 foot fences and razor ribbon were placed around the Arsenal perimeter, it was clear that the artillery shells falling on the hills of Lebanon and Salvadoran villages had been launched from an island in the Mississippi.

Community groups, churches, and

unions joined in a discussion of the Arsenal's work. It had been identified in a manner not previously possible. Its image had passed from presidio-like military shrine to war exporter.

There is much to note in this transformation. Opposition organizing has been diverse and innovative in framing a range of tactics. The most recent action again saw good use of moving blockades and guerilla tactics—allowing people more options for participation. Another success was the use of "non-violent bodily force" to free persons held by police. These experiences have contributed to a growing understanding of non-violent resistance. Further information on the Rock Island Actions may be obtained from Disarm Now Action Group, 407 S. Dearborn, #370, Chicago, Illinois, 60605-1141.

—by Gene Wiens

## Vandenberg: The Real Secret

Continued from page 5

observing the size and destination of each satellite by telescope, the Soviets routinely have no problem in deducing the mission objectives.

The Vandenberg launch was declassified in October in an admit-



ted attempt to "avoid the hoopla" as Teal Ruby will be the first satellite under the wing of the Strategic Defense Initiative Organization (SDIO). With up to a half a million spectators expected to observe the launch, the first "staffed" spaceflight from a California military base will be an event that will spark an unusual amount of media analysis.

The shuttle launch presents an ideal opportunity for large numbers of activists to leaflet the spectators, rally outside the base gates, and engage in direct actions at corporate offices, on the base, and the vicinity of the launch pad. Exposing the nature of the launch will be newsworthy in its own right. Delaying the launch would be icing on the cake. Awakening ourselves and the world to the real purpose of the shuttle and its cargo of first-strike and Star Wars weapons is what this action is all about.

—Billy Landers



## Stop Big Mountain Removal

In 1974, a largely uninformed and misled Congress passed legislation aimed at settling a so-called "land dispute" between Navajo and Hopi Indians living around Big Mountain in northeastern Arizona. P.L. 93-531, or the Navajo-Hopi Land Settlement Act, came as a terrible blow to the traditional native people, who are struggling to retain their cultural integrity and protect their religious freedoms which are so intricately tied to their lands. The Land Settlement Act authorized a 50-50 split of an area of land formerly known as the Joint Use Area (JUA), which were lands shared among Navajo and Hopi alike for hundreds of years. The law ordered construction of a barbed wire fence to separate the Hopi and the Navajo, 90 percent reduction of their livestock herds, (which these traditional herders depend on for sustenance), and a halt to all building and improvements to property. It also established a Relocation Commission to plan for the removal of all Navajo and Hopi people who happen to be residing on the "wrong side of the fence."

This genocidal relocation ef-

fort is causing great suffering among the traditional people, and the deadline for relocation is rapidly approaching—July 7, 1986. Yet the traditional people assert there is no "land dispute", and that the relocation is being done to increase the access of energy and mineral corporations to vast deposits of uranium, coal, oil and natural gas in the area.

It is imperative that people of good heart all over the country write their congresspersons to urge the repeal of Public Law 93-531, which mandates the relocation and which threatens to destroy the traditional way of life. The relocation is a direct threat to the cultural survival, religious freedom, ecological sustainability, and freedom of traditional Indian people who clearly understand that the mining of uranium will lead to the destruction of Earth.

## Help!

We are in urgent need of people who can help us in our legal advocacy, public outreach, and direct support of the traditional people. We are in need of funds and fundraising contacts to continue our critical work.

You can become involved with our efforts by writing us and joining our mailing list of thousands of concerned and active supporters.

Now is the time to support the Indian people in their struggle for freedom and self-determination and to keep the uranium where it belongs...in the ground.

Walk in Beauty,

The Big Mountain Staff

(The bay area Big Mountain Support Group has a new office—3126 Shattuck, Berkeley 94705; the office is being shared with Livermore Action Group, the Nonviolent Action Project, DIRECT ACTION newspaper, and the Site 300 working group. Big Mountain Support Group will be staffing the office 12-5pm, Monday through Friday. Stop by, or give us a call at (415)644-2028.)

## Trident Actions

### Plowshares

On Friday, October 18, the Trident II Plowshares—Bill Boston, Jean Holladay, Frank Panopolous, John Pendleton and Leo Schiff were sentenced to the maximum one year in jail plus \$500 fine for malicious mischief to property. Frank Panopolous had two months added to his sentence for contempt of court. During the trial, Panopolous had refused to identify who drove the group to the shipyard where they had hammered and poured human blood on Trident II missile launch tubes.

Jean Holladay, the last to be sentenced, told the judge that she would accept a sentence of community service, which would enable her to continue caring for her two small grandchildren. Jean's daughter, Cathy, the children's mother, was killed when struck by an automobile this summer. She asked that the judge not sentence her grandchildren in sentencing her. The judge referred to Holladay's pre-sentencing report, which indicated she had no intention of resuming her "career" until after four-five years, while she nurtured the children. Misinterpreting "career" to mean missile-bashing rather than Jean's outside employment, Judge Bourcier assumed she would then return immediately to the "life of crime" and showed no leniency. As he pronounced the sentence for her, the courtroom erupted. Six people were taken into custody after they stood and turned their backs on the judge. The courtroom was cleared while supporters sang songs of peace.

Later, five of the six who protested the sentencing were sentenced to ten days in jail for contempt, without being allowed to speak in their own behalf.

—Excerpted from The Nuclear Resister

### Pruning Hooks

The Trident submarine and nuclear war will continue to be on trial in Rhode Island even after the sentencing of the Trident II Plowshares, as members of the Trident II Pruning Hooks prepare for their court dates. The group of four men and two women acted at the Quonset Point Electric Boat shipyard on April 18, 1985. Since that date, Greg Boertje, John Heid, Roger Ludwig and George Veasey have been residing at the Adult Correctional Institute - Intake Service Center in Cranston, RI (02920) having refused the conditions of personal recognizance. Sheila Parks and Suzanne Schmidt are released in their own recognizance and have been doing important support work. It is expected that John Heid will soon join Sheila and Suzanne in working on the "outside" spreading the word about resistance to Trident.

On August 13, at a pre-trial hearing, State's Prosecutor Jeffrey Pine offered a plea-bargain promising two years probation in exchange for a plea of no-contest to the charges of possession of burglary tools, trespass, and malicious mischief to property. All six Pruning Hooks refused the bargain. The men have returned to prison.

No trial date has been set.





# Scandinavians Resist Cruise

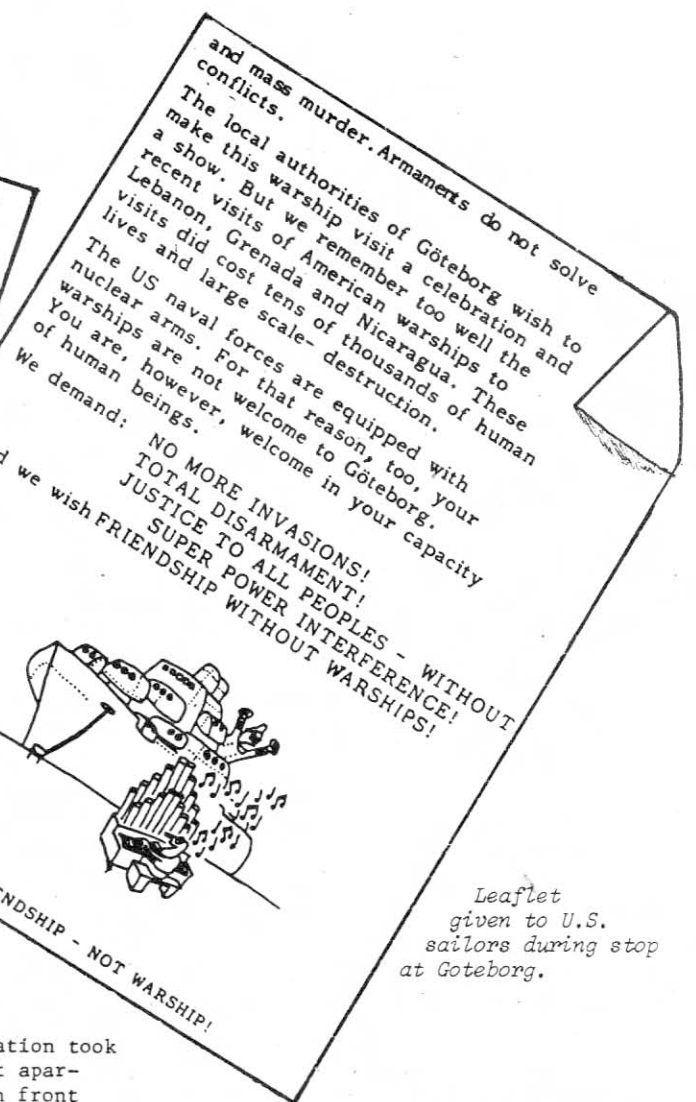
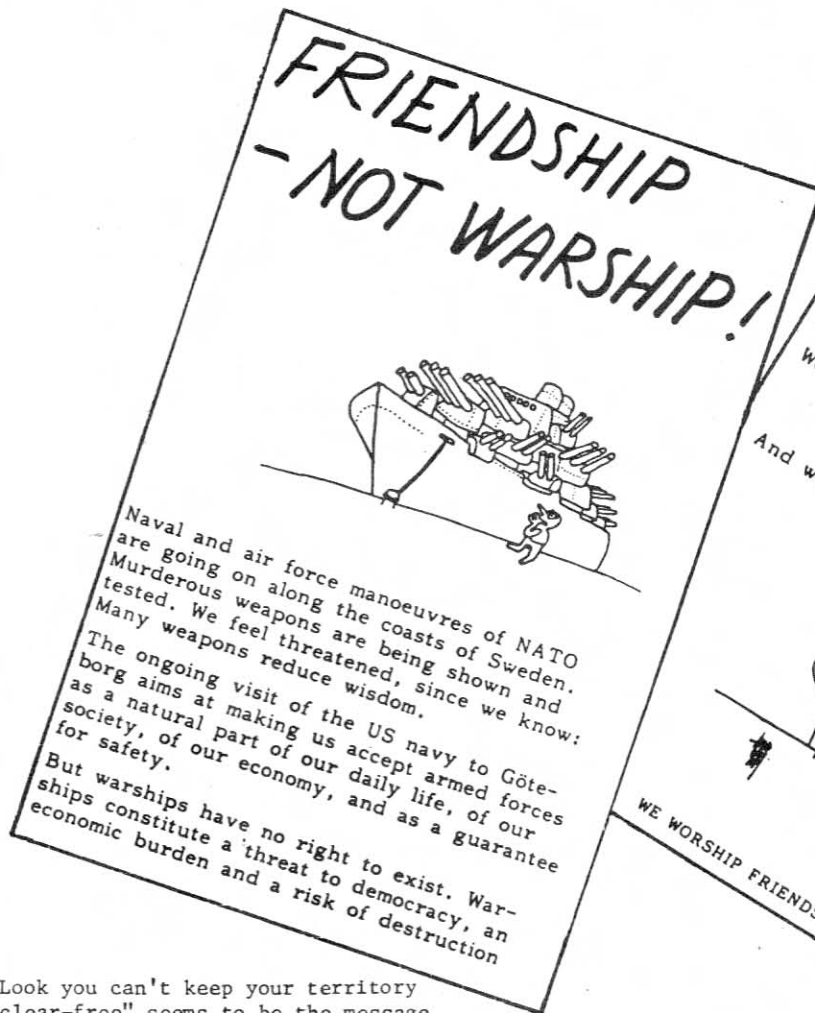
To: Livermore Action Group.  
Thank you for your latest letter. It feels good that you also are protesting against the American navy.

Tonight Old Moe and I went to the Leftwing Women's Organization to talk about the camp.\* It was nice to re-experience the camp at this meeting. A slideshow and a videotape are also being used at several occasions to spread information about the peace-camp.

This week there have been demonstrations against the American navy visiting Göteborg on their way to maneuvers in the Baltic Sea. There have been protests in Norway and Denmark as well (against the battleship Iowa).

We were doing a die-in at the arrival in Göteborg on Oct. 8th, (30 people) and 70 people were supporters. The ninth of October we did a demonstration as well, where the Central America Organization burned the American flag. We can understand that they do that, but we were very angry with them as they didn't mention that this was going to happen when we planned the demonstration together! They used us (the peace movement) as background for their action. And the public certainly doesn't like to see flags burning. Some communists were also burning flags at another occasion. Although we were not a lot of people demonstrating, we had a lot of attention from the media. Lars Barregard also wrote a very good article for the liberal newspaper Göteborgs Posten.

We feel that the Americans want to test us by sailing right into the Scandinavian harbors with their nuclear fleet and doing maneuvers in the Baltic Sea. Sailing into the Baltic in a war situation does not make sense. It would be "suicide" for the American fleet. Also they try to demoralize the movement for a nuclear-free zone in Scandinavia.



"Look you can't keep your territory nuclear-free" seems to be the message. And the governments of the Nordic countries won't ask if they really are carrying nuclear weapons. They probably are.

The 29th of November, politicians from the Nordic countries are gathering in Copenhagen to discuss the nuclear-free zone. It's a very good initiative.

The social democrats are still in power after the election in September here in Sweden. For security policy, though, it doesn't matter that much if the social democrats the conservatives are in power. The 11th of October a lot of ac-

activities and a demonstration took place in Stockholm against apartheid in South Africa. In front of the South African Embassy in Göteborg there will be demonstrations during the next 14 days.

So there are a lot of things going on here in Sweden for the time being. A lot of the kids from the camp also took part in the demonstrations against the naval visit. That was really great.

Greetings from Ole and Britta

\* The International Youth Peace Camp, official project of the city

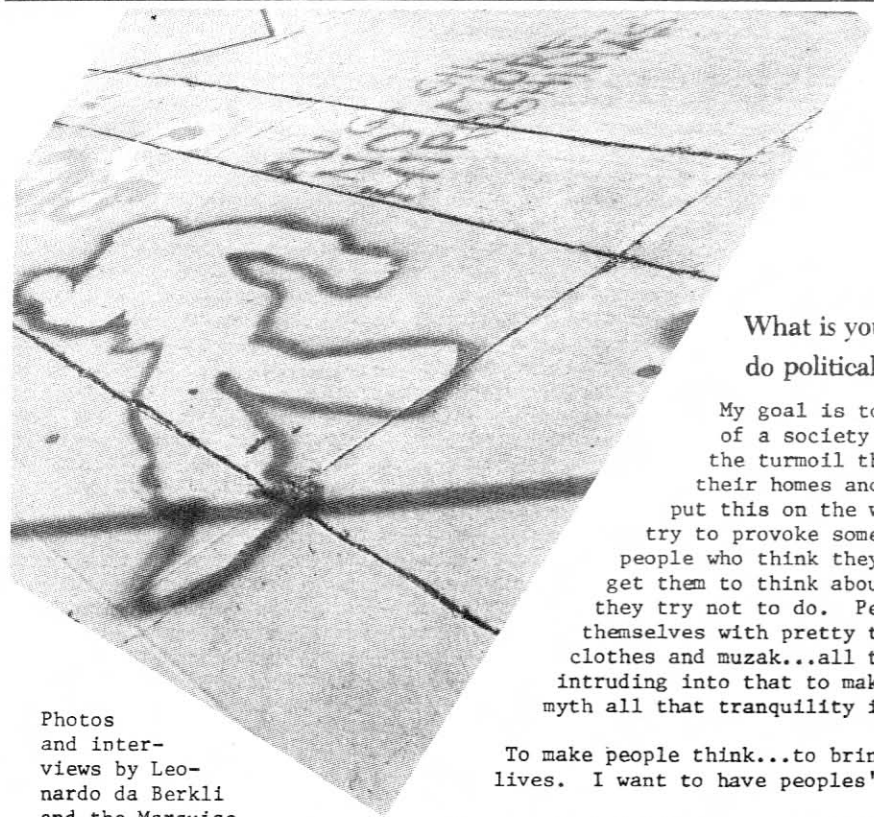
council of Molndal, Sweden, in August. Organizer Britta Pettersson, after visiting LAG's International Work Group, invited us to send four activist teens, 13-16 years, to the camp to meet their Scandinavian and Soviet peers. The last turned out to be children of diplomats. Melody Ermachild and Stan Dewey of the IWG went to visit the group, and they say the Swedes were very inspired by news of all the work against homeporting in San Francisco Bay.



September 23, 1985, outside the El Salvador consulate, Powell & Market, San Francisco: as the 200 protesters slowly read names of the dead of El Salvador to the beat of a drum, 2 "Salvadoran soldiers" and a "U.S. Advisor" executed them, one by one. Surviving protesters leafletted the passersby as they stepped through the sea of bodies, many of which were marked with crosses bearing the names of victims. Sponsored by Emergency Response Network.







Each and every time you  
touch the spraypaint can  
Michelangelo's soul  
fills your hand.  
--Grandmaster Melle Mel  
& the Furious Five

### What is your goal when you do political graffiti?

My goal is to create the ambience  
of a society in turmoil, to reflect  
the turmoil that people keep inside  
their homes and in their hearts--to  
put this on the walls of the city. I  
try to provoke some of this turmoil in  
people who think they're immune to it, to  
get them to think about their world--which  
they try not to do. People are surrounding  
themselves with pretty things and pretty  
clothes and muzak...all they need is something  
intruding into that to make them realize what a  
myth all that tranquility is. (MLF)

To make people think...to bring art into people's  
lives. I want to have peoples' art in the streets. (NM)

To assert that I have some control over my environment. (AK)

I want to communicate with people, to reach a broad audience. I want them to see the connection between an institution and the thing I'm protesting. And it helps give me a sense of solidarity with the people I do it with. (HF)



### Why do you feel that graffiti is a significant form of political action?

It's a way of getting art and politics into the  
street. It affronts people's conceptions of  
what's acceptable political expression. It  
pushes the limits of private property, of who  
has the right to use the walls. (NM)

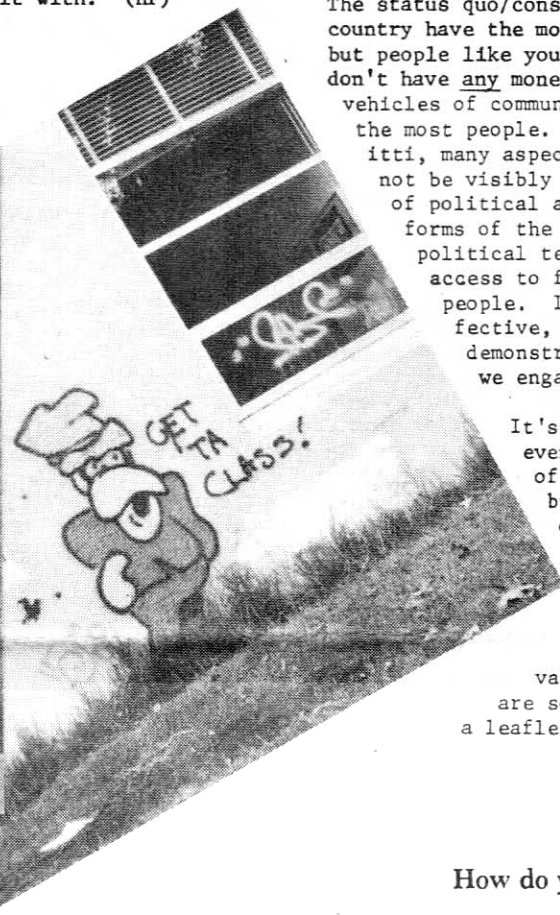
The status quo/conservative forces in this  
country have the money to communicate,  
but people like you and me and the poor  
don't have any money to pay for the  
vehicles of communication which reach  
the most people. If not for graffiti,  
many aspects of culture would  
not be visibly expressed. The forms  
of political action we engage in are the  
forms of the dispossessed and powerless. In  
political terms, it's a way of equalizing our  
access to forms of media which reach a lot of  
people. In terms of whether it's politically effective,  
we can't demonstrate how effective the sit-ins,  
demonstrations, graffiti--any of the forms of action  
we engage in--are. (HF)

It's important to leave the city strewn with acts  
even just insinuations of it. Resistance works in  
of ways, some of which are pretty predictable (1  
but also in some very mysterious ways. Graffiti  
osmosis of consciousness from one sub- or community.  
It expresses the way of looking at the  
that group has. (V)

A lot of my faith in it comes from the fact  
role in enacting revolutions in other countries.  
Validity...People can't turn you down as they can  
are some kinds of people who will respond to graffiti  
a leaflet. (MLF)

Photos  
and inter-  
views by Leonardo da Berkli  
and the Marquise  
de Krylon, except  
upper right billboard  
photo by Belsmith. The  
artists:

Morgan Le Fey (MLF)  
Norman Meyer (NM)  
A. Krayola (AK)  
A. Capella (AC)  
Hanly Furfey (HF)  
Vesuvius (V)



### Graffiti Etiquette

We've been scrupulous about it. The only thing I'll cover up  
is right-wing graffiti. I stay away from houses and cars; I  
wouldn't want someone to spray "USSR Out Of Afghanistan" on my  
house. I wouldn't do a small business, unless it's, say, a  
porn shop which threatens me as I walk down the street. (MLF)

I've never done a house. Small businesses I would only do if  
there was a specific reason--I wouldn't do a general political  
message on a small store. If there was something going on at  
the store, I might tailor the graffiti to the location. But  
there are other ways to interact with a small store. You can  
go and talk with them, or organize people; it's more approach-  
able. A lot of times people spraypaint places that are unap-  
proachable. (AC)

I wouldn't spraypaint over someone else's graffiti; if I dis-  
agree with it, I'll spray my opinion next to it. (HF)



"Once we'd gotten all ready to do this billboard alteration, we went down  
there, and some other group had just been there and plastered ten copies  
of the same poster, side by side. We had planned this really nice thing,  
and they'd just made a mess, but we still didn't touch it. There's plenty  
of space for everybody." (MLF)

### How do you choose what to do, and where?

My impulse is usually to go for issues which are not so much in the forefront of  
issues which people are more inured to--things in the news, but somewhat obscure  
graffiti that's so strident and rhetorical that it turns off 98% of the people who  
Imperialism Get Your Bloody Hands Off Central America". (MLF)

The ones I like best are when what and how I spraypaint plays off the space, where  
I want to say that fits the space. (AC)

I try to think what effects the design will have, whether it creates more clutter  
paint job. Good graffiti and stencils can enhance an area, politically and aesthetically  
are vandalism, they destroy a  
beautiful environment. Graffiti  
is more legitimate than billboard  
ads, it's cultural expression, one  
where people have to care enough  
to get busted for it...It's im-  
portant to think about how the  
location affects people, to ask  
who will be offended and why. I  
try to choose places where the  
location itself won't offend most  
people, and where it will stay up  
for a long time. (AK)

I really don't like rhetoric. I don't  
like graffiti which can be too easily  
labelled, boxed and dismissed--"Oh,  
protesters"--click, end of thought  
process...My big thing is questions,  
because what I really want to do is  
get people to THINK, goddamnit, ABOUT  
THINGS. Some friends of mine did an  
action where they wrote "WHO IS BEN  
SASWEY AND WHY IS HE IN JAIL?" all  
over the place; this is the kind of  
graffiti I appreciate and try to  
do. (V)

### More Opinions Wanted!

We want to hear your opinions on graffiti--goals, styles, methods, reservations...we'd especially like to hear  
from spraypainters doing art or "turf"  
graffiti--what do you think? Send  
your opinions, comments, letters  
(and PHOTOS TOO!!) to DIRECT ACTION,  
3126 Shattuck, Berkeley CA 94705.





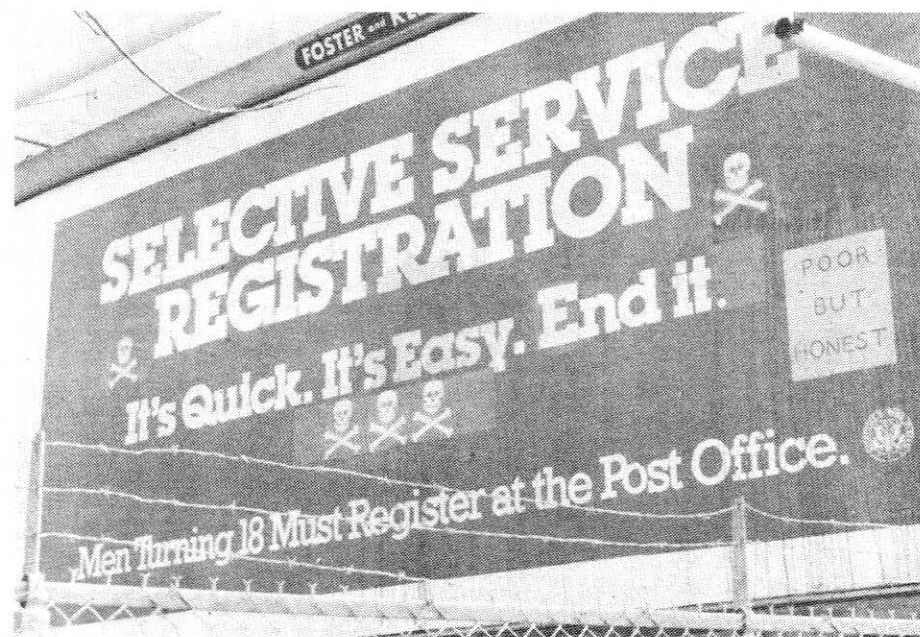
What about the criticism that graffiti alienates some people so much that it hurts more than it helps?

Is it always bad to alienate people? Are we trying to reach people, or shock them? Anytime we try to take control over some aspect of our lives, it's going to alienate people; it's important to think about who will be offended, and why. Certain people, I feel fine about offending. (AK)

Feeling alienated is what people do when they don't want to change, when you're presenting them with some information that--if they really took it to heart--would force them to change the way they look at the world, or even at their lifestyle. But they don't want to make the changes, so instead they choose--and I really believe it's a choice--to feel alienated. It almost seems like alienation is an inevitable step in the process of changing. (V)

There's probably some validity to this. That's partly why I stay away from personal property. But we also need to chisel away at the whole perception of banks and corporations as sacrosanct... Maybe I'm willing to alienate some people--though I want to say that tentatively.

But it seems like not everybody's going to like you if you're doing effective work... It's good to break the law if it gets in the way of what you know is right. (MLF)



Any time you take action you're going to alienate some people--but in the long run, you affront people and make them think, it's a way to kick people's consciences. (NM)

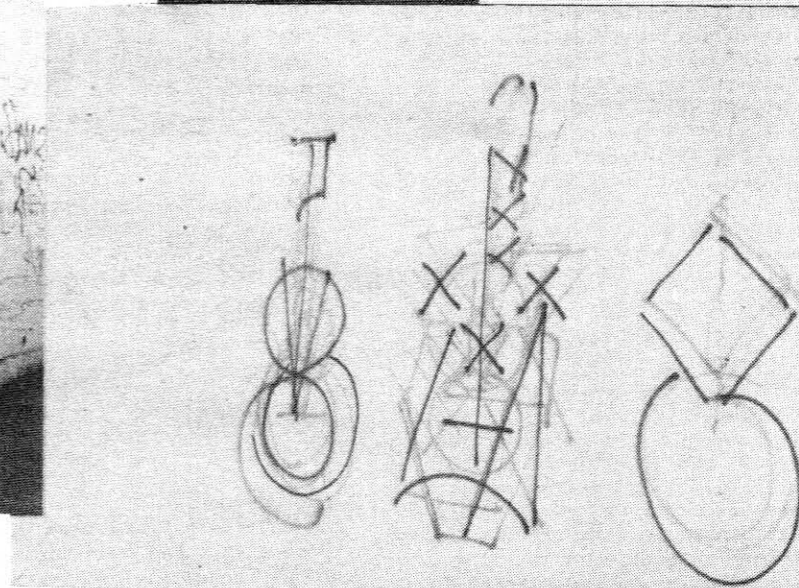
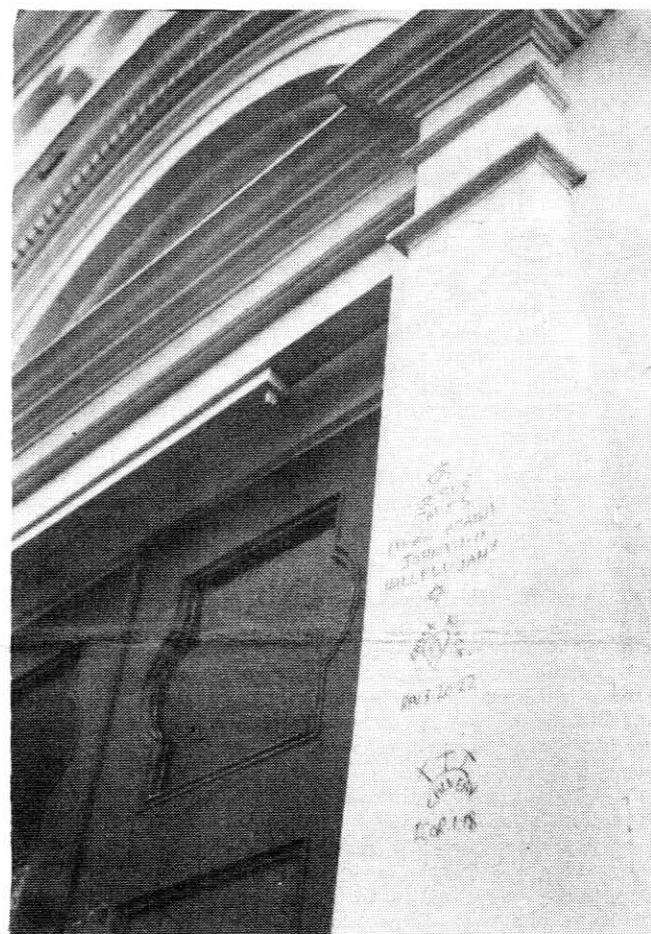
How do you feel about graffiti that's not "political"--like turf graffiti?

I like seeing it on walls, it's a way of saying "I count", "I'm here". Some of the social things, the violence between gangs, or tagging over murals, bugs me. (NM)

I don't think it helps much to rank kinds of graffiti; it's all important. People don't cross over much. I think there could be a lot of exchange. The people doing turf tags are doing the artistic graffiti. Maybe if we used more visual images, it might make crossing over more possible. (AC)

I don't feel very good about it, it's such a waste. If kids are taking the risk, I wish they were doing it with more of a political conscience. It's partly my responsibility to figure out how this will happen. (MLF)

It appeals to me on a gut level; it's an assertion of the individual against an institution. The individual lacks respect for that institution when s/he writes on the wall, and they're using it to communicate to other people. Their action is anti-authoritarian; it challenges the institution, which is what the building is all about... I see graffiti itself in so many ways, not just as a political tactic, but also as an expression of the culture and the social locale--any kind of graffiti is not only political expression, but social expression of one's life. (HF)



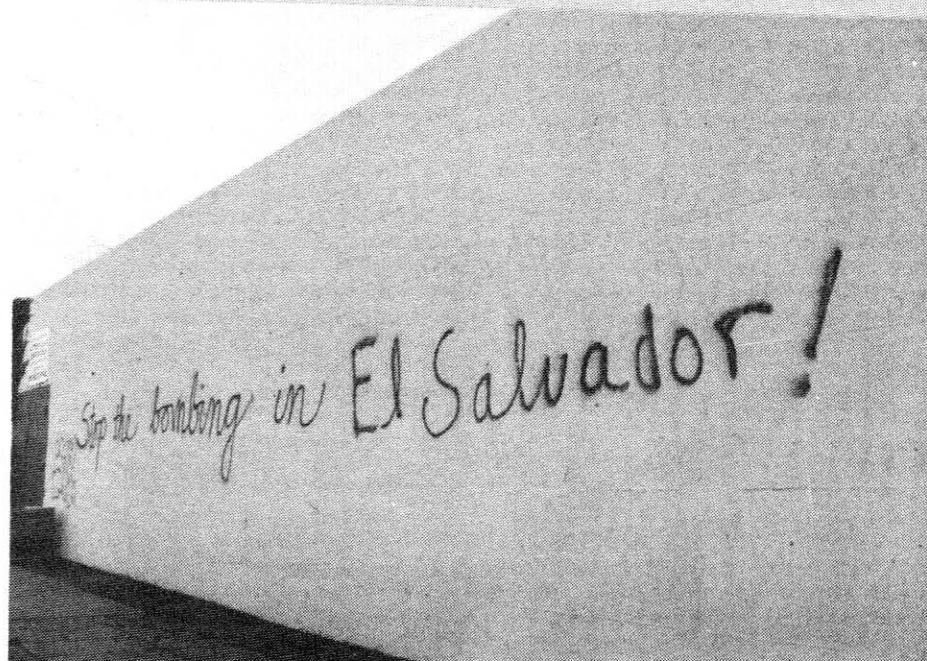
Do you feel that, for you, graffiti is a "social" or an individual form of protest?

I don't really see that there's that much of a distinction. For me the most important thing is that it's a political act. (HF)

Graffiti is not capable of changing society by itself. I have no illusions that it's a substitute for good organizing, but I see it as one part of organizing--a way of expressing what's going on, and of keeping things going between big actions. Clandestine action is less desirable than open action, but open action uses up so much more energy--by almost quantum leaps. Clandestine action can cause as much serious disruption as months of organizing. Neither substitutes for the other, but it's good to use them in combination. (MLF)

What I do is pretty individualistic, but the act of graffiti has a social context--it's a way of taking over turf. I'm inspired by graffiti in the subways of New York. (NM)

I think that graffiti helps build social movements, though it's often a very individualistic act. But political graffiti communicates opposition to the way things are; this is crucial to building a resistance movement because it shatters the sense of isolation that those who aren't comfortable with the status quo feel--an isolation "the establishment" would like to see maintained and which the mainstream media perpetuates. Graffiti is a clue to people that they are not alone. (V)







# Spiral Dance: A Magical Journey



Saturday, November 2--6:30p.m.--

I had been rushing all day, having been part of a small group to organize the Emergency Response Network's skills-sharing day. The day had been intense and productive, but tense and frenzied as well. It had not ended on time, I had to leave before clean-up was finished, and there was a traffic jam on Van Ness and the bus was very late. I had a terrible headache, and decided I wouldn't even mind if I got to the Spiral Dance too late to take my place as a "dragon" and had to go crash instead. When I got to the Women's Building, however, the dragons had just gathered and I joined the meeting, where we talked about how to keep people from

tians in the radical action community. And as with Christians, that realization has given me a deep respect for the faith of those who are "out". I have attended large and small rituals, for solstice and equinox, birthdays, full moon. I have heard about the rituals in the back country of Diablo, which helped keep the plant closed when all other means had been exhausted in 1981 and 1984. I received personal power from a ritual my friends gave me before I went to do time by myself. And in a particularly special moment last spring, I attended a women's ritual where we walked on hot coals without burning our feet.

This would be a totally different

fire. We brought that power up up and grounded it again, and suddenly my headache was gone, and I felt wonderful, reborn.

The ritual itself began then, with the "Guardian Song", a musical and dance invocation of the directions and the elements--Sun and Air (East), Fire (South), Water (West), Earth (North). More songs, dances and meditations invoked the Goddess, as Maiden, Mother and Crone, and the young and older Horned God.

All of this led up to the climax of the ritual, a journey to the Isle of Avalon, the Mystery world of forever, where the spiral dance would be danced and the future reclaimed.

Our memories would guide us on our journey to the Isle of the Dead, so a period of remembering and mourning our dead was central to the ritual. Prepared litanies recalled groups of dead: those who died in slavery, those massacred in the White man's expansion, those who have died in the mines, in radioactive explosions, women who died of rape and abuse, those who have died in prisons, the victims of Sabra and Shatila, of the war in Nicaragua and El Salvador, those who have died of AIDS and of despair. Then we all called out our personal memories; two words punctuated the recital, over and over, AIDS and suicide. I was struck by the number of deaths this primarily (though by no means entirely) young gathering had sustained. For over half an hour the air hung heavy with grief.

## Raising the Power

But then slowly, Starhawk's voice called us back, to the journey ahead. The chorus began to sing and the graces, bearing candles to light the way, ushered participants onto the boat (made of rope) which would take them to Avalon.

The Spiral Dance was danced after disembarking on Avalon. It teaches us what it is to be alive, and about our responsibilities in this life. As the spiral wound inward, the chants "We are alive" "Let it begin now" kept rhythm for sung litanies. The healing magic grew more and more intense, drawing everyone into its spell. The chants became cries, the dance grew wilder, the room vibrated with the power of truth. Even we dragons, who remained behind to guard the altars, were washed over with the

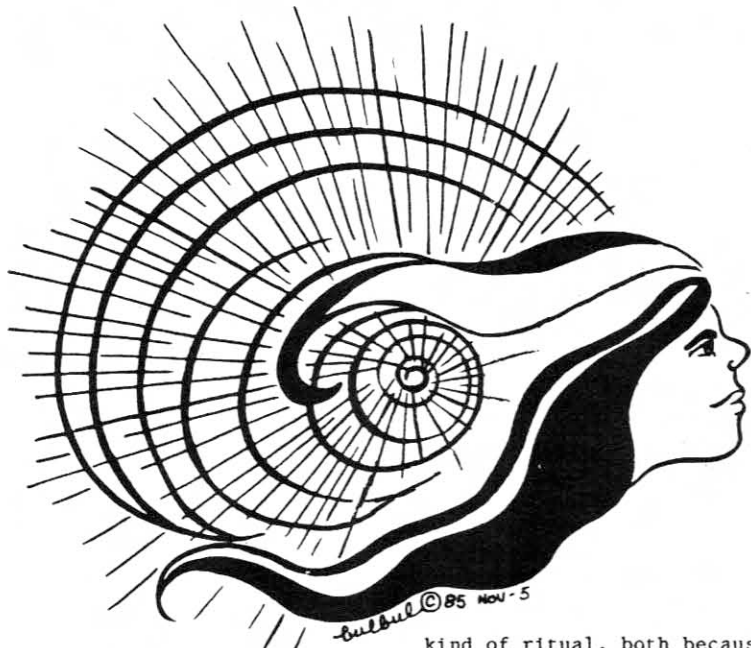
energy. For the power which was born then was to bond us to each other, not to those we visited in the spirit world. "There is no end to the circle, there is no end to life. Reach out and take the hand of a friend. Reach out and take the power to begin" we sang as the dance ended. The energy did not stop rising. Long after the dance ended people continued to dance, to writhe and sing. Even after the circle was opened, back in the world of every day, after the lights were on and the chorus were changing clothes and beginning to clean up, the singing and dancing went on.

Sean McShee, a member of Enola Gay affinity group, cautions against a frequent implication that paganism is "the one true religion" for gay people. Similarly, I must resist the temptation to believe that it is the "true path" for radicals. That temptation is there, I think, because it is such a strong rejection of the characteristics of dominant culture--control and fear of nature, sexual and emotional suppression, self-punishment, misogyny and homophobia--and as well has so long been the ultimate taboo (think of little children riding broomsticks on Halloween). And it is easy for direct actionists to identify with those who were burned at the stake for their beliefs, for being strong women, for loving each other. But I must remember, of course, that both the Jewish and Christian traditions, and Hindu and Muslim as well, have long lines of martyrs, who defied authority and went to their deaths. What is special about an event like the Spiral Dance is that it contains elements everyone can relate to, and invokes images which speak to each of us. We don't have to force ourselves into the roles modeled by God the Father or Mary the Virgin, nor do we have to struggle to find alternative interpretations of the tradition.

Now, when Yuppies are paying hundreds of dollars to learn to walk on fire or to be "regressed" to their past lives, it is wonderful to be in a community which believes we can make our own magic, to heal ourselves and to change the world.

(Reclaiming offers classes in magic and spirituality. For information call 849-0877.)

--by Kate Raphael



crashing into the chorus and make sure the altars didn't go up in flames.

Around us, dancers in long purple robes and green leotards were twirling and leaping. Our meeting ended and I went back to the dressing area. My housemate Bob had just finished painting a tree on Mary's face. She settled a garland on her head as I sprinkled glitter on my cheeks and painted my face with an abstract design.

I stood at the foot of the stairs, directing people to the childcare space, and watched the people pouring into the foyer. Among them I saw many whom I see regularly at actions and meetings. I was pleased to see Christians and atheists among them, not there to watch a freak show but to get a better understanding of another kind of worship. They were wearing elaborate costumes or ordinary clothes and face paint; some wore their best symphony-or-opera suits and dresses. They carried tambourines, maracas, wooden flutes, charms, boxes, children.

I have known about Reclaiming Collective, which put on the Spiral Dance, for several years, since Starhawk and other women led a Summer Solstice ritual in jail at the June 1983 Livermore blockade (as always, I am tempted to say "the Livermore blockade"). I remember my reaction at the time: I was slightly baffled, slightly annoyed by the assumption that all the women would want to participate in this ritual, without any explanation of what it was, why we should, or what was going to happen. I remember being frustrated about not being able to participate fully because the "plan" wasn't told to the common woman; but I think there was fear in my hostility, too, of this new kind of spirituality and the power it might bring to that awesome group of women. After all, there I was in the clutches of a state dedicated to destroying, among other things, any sign of power in women. Weren't the witches afraid to let the cops see them at work?

I, like most women learning to be feminists, flirted with the concept of witchcraft in college, but that had been in the Cris Williamson style where all you have to do is say "I am a witch", tied up with the idea that all lesbians, and only lesbians are witches.

Since 1983 I have come to know many pagans and witches among the people with whom I do political work. I have, in fact, found that closet pagans are as prevalent as closet Chris-

kind of ritual, both because over 400 people attended each of two nights, and because it was partly a performance piece.

The Spiral Dance was a celebration of Halloween by those for whom it is one of the most sacred times of year--the time when the dead return and the living can cross into the world of forever. At the same time, it was a peek into another belief system for non-pagans who were curious.

The weekend before, the dress rehearsal was filmed for a movie being produced by the National Film Board of Canada Women's Shop, to be distributed to schools, groups, and public TV stations. To those of us who do pagan rituals regularly, the filming was a bizarre experience. Some of us called it "The Goddess Goes to Fantasy Island", intrigued but skeptical about bringing paganism and magic to a viewing public whose image of a witch is Elizabeth Montgomery.

## Preparing the way

I didn't really expect to get that much inspiration from either event: the bright lights and fussing around for film crews were distracting, though I was among my close friends; the presence of 400 people I didn't know at a pre-rehearsed ritual boded ill for the final show. It attests to the skill and care of the planners and "cast" (who prefer to think of themselves as "facilitators") that each had a unique and special power for me.

As people filed into the auditorium, the lights had been turned off, candles burned on the altars, the air was heavy with incense and Ruth Rhiannon Barrett was singing "Earth Receive Thy Soul". When the last people had slipped into the packed house and gone to the balcony, which was opened at the last minute for overflow seating, Susan North walked to the center of the room, looked into a burning cauldron, turned to the west and began to sing "Spirits", a chilling ballad of a witch about to die. Charlie Murphy and Jamie Sieber sang "The Burning Times", Charlie's song about the Renaissance destruction of folk culture, women, gay people and witches.

The Tree of Life, a group visualization, almost always opens rituals. More Downing, whom many of you know as a nonviolence preparer, guided this one: "Take some deep breaths. Imagine your breath as the roots of an old oak tree. Feel your roots go down, down, down...seeking the heat at the center of the earth." Her voice rose and my body caught



FLOOD TIMES © 1977



# Risking Peace: Why We Sat in the Road

**Risking Peace: Why We Sat in the Road** is a newly-released book by LAG civil disobedience veterans Jackie Cabasso and Susan Moon. It chronicles the June of '83 demonstration at Lawrence Livermore Laboratories and subsequent trial of 235 protesters (represented by 11 of them) who chose to plead "Not Guilty" to the charge of "willfully and maliciously" blocking roads around the Lab.

The book is extremely accessible, which is perhaps its strongest point: it is short, buzzing with photographs, clearly organized and very well written. Its succinctness is largely due to the lack of detail in the explanation of the demonstration, arrests and jail -- a fact which I at first found disappointing -- but it rapidly becomes evident that these are not the main point of the book. The main point is the statements that the defendants make before sentencing by Judge Clifford Bachand but after they have been found guilty in a trial which did not allow them to explain their action to the jury.

Most of my comments have actually to do with these statements rather than the book itself, although it is certainly true that **Risking Peace** is structured to reflect as clearly as possible the sentiments expressed in the defendants' statements.

It seemed to me that a very high proportion of the defendants spent at least a few sentences establishing themselves as good (often Christian) "law-abiding" American citizens. Many claimed responsibility for their actions in behalf of their

children, for whom they feel a parental duty to protect. Not a single person mentioned the Russians or challenged the media-whipped hysteria around Communism upon which the arms race relies for its most primary pretext. No provocative questions were raised about Freedom, the "justifying condition" of all U.S. policy and action; no questions were raised about the nature of this supposed freedom in a country where the majority of people are afraid to go out alone after dark.

It appears that even among those of us who do direct action there is a real hesitancy to say anything which could be construed as "un-American".

I believe that I understand the reasons for this. Above all, we see ourselves as people who are trying to change society and we are afraid that if we push things too far we will be discredited and robbed of our power to influence.

But the flip side of the coin is that while we are trying to get the judge to grant, (on at least a personal level), that we are "well-intentioned" people -- we reinforce certain societal assumptions which I feel help form the contextual milieu from whence the arms race, American militarism and daily violence most naturally flow. For example, the idea that there are "good people" in the world (Christians, people who work and are law-abiding), and "bad people" (who

"Someday, if we survive so long, our grandchildren will ask us: 'You were alive then. You must have seen what was happening. Did people do anything? Say anything?' It is the same question young Germans ask parents and grandparents who were alive in Hitler's time. This quietly eloquent book provides an answer. America's preparations for a nuclear holocaust have not been suffered in silence. These pages preserve the faces and voices of some who spoke out most clearly: the Livermore protesters. We are all in their debt."

--Adam Hochschild, *Mother Jones*

do break the law and, most especially, COMMUNISTS).

I think that it is important to listen to the implications behind what we say -- or don't. Does this mean that I am less of a good person because I am neither a devout Christian or a concerned parent? We are over-eager, I feel, to pronounce our standing in the "good guys" category (who love children and would never kick a dog) -- and we do this at the expense of non-Christians, those not living in traditional family arrangements, and those who often find themselves outside the law (either because they don't have the luxury of living within it or because they live in a society where the legal and the just are frequently not synonymous.)

Much of this distills down to what could be seen as a very strategic question: is it more effective to accentuate our similarities or differences with those who we are attempting to influence?

I am not without mixed feelings on this. Part of me feels, in agreement with what seems to be the view of the authors and defendants, that we should stress the similarities -- because this seems like it would be more effective. But I wonder: is this really more effective? Is it

really only a strategic point? how much of what is important to us to convey (our holistic view, for example -- our sense of how all of these issues are connected with each other and with American society in general) do we sacrifice by resorting to this lowest-common-denominator--with exception approach?

To read **Risking Peace: Why We Sat In The Road**, one would think that those of us who do civil disobedience are "just like you, only we break the law!" This may be the most effective idea to convey, but doesn't it minimize us and what we're all about? Are we just like them -- only we break the law? I don't think so. Many of the people I know are experimenting with what would be considered "alternative" life-styles and forms of relationships, and no-one I have ever spoken with in jail didn't see how the arms race is in some ways the very natural sum total of this society.

**Risking Peace** strikes me as an excellent organizing tool for certain segments of society -- precisely because it does minimize us. I make no negative judgment on this: if this book helps lure some pure American innocents into the c-d threshold, I'll take it!

--by Sheila Harrington



Photo by Steve Stallone

## ORDER FORM

Please send me \_\_\_\_ copies of **RISKING PEACE**, @ \$7 each\* \$ \_\_\_\_

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\* 40% discount to book stores and libraries

## Anarchist Community Coffeehouse

# The Party of the Revolution

Every so often, not like clockwork but mostly monthly, anarchists of this piece of the world unite. No one issue, cause or project is powerful enough to bring about this occurrence. As Marxists long ago claim to have discovered, the unifying element is a party, in this case the "anarchist community coffeehouse." More fun than the RCP's "Bullets", able to leap ideological chasms in a single bash, a mostly good time is had by all while money is raised for one or another good purpose.

An anarchist community coffeehouse is easier to enjoy than describe. It's a cabaret and a talent show and a dance and a topical presentation and a discussion group and a reunion and a way to meet new people. It is not dogmatic and you don't have to be an anarchist to "belong" although republicans tend to feel out of place.

They go something like this. It is 8:00 p.m. on a Saturday or Friday night and you have found the address on the flyer that somehow fell into your hands. It does not look like a coffee house, you are at someone's home. You are on time or even early unless you were hoping to perform, in which case you are probably late. The sign-up for the "open mike" happens around 7:30 and the 15 minute slots are filled up rapidly by an unpredictable assortment of musicians (some playing weird instruments) poets, performance artists, comedians and none or all of the above. Someone asks you for a dollar toward the evening's cause, which you don't have to give. Others are there to sell you beer, wine, coffee, juice,

food, etc., which you don't have to buy. All of these people are volunteers who have signed up for shifts. Within moments you may become one of them (but you don't have to, this

Right when things are really hopping and the performance area is jammed with people having fun, all that stops so that people can freely subject themselves to an often de-

Central America and South Africa, and local resistance efforts have all been featured in the past. Then it's back to fun.

Who decides where and when the next coffeehouse will be held and for whose benefit? You do if you express an interest. Hopefully, you will also show an interest in doing the work to make it happen. Spaces always need cleaning, equipment needs hauling, and things always need purchasing. So how 'bout it? For more information call Bob at 641-4095 or look for the next Coffeehouse flyer at 3126 Shattuck in Berkeley or Bound Together Books, Haight near Masonic.

--by T. Rinaldo

BEFORE THE SCALES, TOMORROW  
And when the enthusiastic  
story of our time  
is told,  
for those who are yet to be born  
but announce themselves  
with more generous face,  
we will come out ahead  
-- those who have suffered  
most from it.

But it's beautiful to love the world  
with eyes  
that have not yet  
been born

And splendid  
to know yourself  
victorious  
when all around you  
it's all still so cold,  
so dark.

-- Otto René Castillo,  
Guatemalan poet and  
revolutionary, tortured  
and murdered, 1967

is the ideological part.) Since the event is spread throughout the house or warehouse or whatever, you don't have to watch the performances either. Anarchists tend to keep their options open.

pressing but generally moving presentation and discussion led by the group to whom all the evening's proceeds will be donated. Shelters for battered women and homeless youth, groups supporting the struggles in

COMMUNITY COFFEEHOUSE  
FRIDAY, JULY 26 7:30pm

A benefit for the Happening, a participatory  
Street-theatre-demonstration-pageant of  
resistance, August 3rd, in commemoration  
of the 40th anniversary of the atomic bombings  
of Hiroshima and Nagasaki

NAGASAKI



## New LAG Campaign Launched

Do you feel overwhelmed and powerless thinking about the arms race, that we just haven't made any progress in stopping nuclear arms design and development? Have you personally taken some rest and relaxation from focusing on Livermore, or just plain quit -- maybe feeling that not much has been accomplished there? Could it be that our goals (converting the Lab or closing it down) have been too grandiose such that we can't see our successes? Or have you maybe wanted to do more about the development of nuclear weapons and Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory than blockading or occupying Site 300 once or twice a year?

If you have, you and/or your affinity group may want to join the LAG Campaign. We don't want to stop doing non-violent direct action -- you can be sure of that! We are old and new LAG members and are an open group. At our first meeting on Nov. 6th, we reviewed the history of LAG and lessons learned from the Conversion Project, where LAG had its inception. We talked about some of the similarities and differences of focus between the UC Weapons Lab Conversion Project and LAG. At this meeting, people who are focusing on the Lab, but working in different areas, gave reports on their work.

Lab Watch, whose primary focus is research on the Lab, publishes educational materials and acts as a resource for folks wanting specific information on the Lab. Contact person: Ken Nightingale, (415) 531-8581.

Site 300 Working Group has produced a slide show on Site 300 actions which have been held there during the past two years. This slide-show is available to everyone. Contact the LAG office at 644-3031.

ARC, a San Francisco-based group which works with LAG is doing a soil sample study at Site 300 in order to do an environmental impact statement which will hopefully prevent a housing tract being built next to Site 300.

Tri-Valley Cares affinity group, comprised of people living in the Livermore vicinity formed after Livermore area folks developed relationships with the LAG peace camp at Livermore. Tri-Valley Cares consists of around 15 people, and of those, five regularly active ones who do education and outreach in the Livermore Valley. They publish a newsletter with a mailing list of 150 and feel that more and more residents in the Livermore Valley are beginning to question what's going on at the Lab. This affinity group would like to have a closer working relationship with the Livermore Campaign.

On Nov. 25th at our second meeting we tried to envision what success would look like in our campaign over a period of years. After all, if we don't have a vision of what success looks like, how can we recognize what progress we've made! Our whole meeting was devoted to finding what our possible five year goals could be, our one year goals, and projects we will undertake to achieve those goals.

Within five years we want to have built a movement which will encourage and support conversion of the Lab, and will end nuclear testing. To accomplish this, we will have

## CAN YOU RECOGNIZE A TERRORIST?

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and...



A FREEDOM-FIGHTER



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and...



POLITICAL PRISONERS



BOMBING AN EMBASSY.

and...



MINING A FOREIGN HARBOR



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and...



PATRIOTIC CITIZENS

For More Information, Contact the Terrorist Hotline (415) 886-0145

**CAN YOU RECOGNIZE A TERRORIST?** Official looking posters with this heading appeared in public transportation sites in at least 15 cities around the country (including: Chicago, San Francisco, Oakland, Long Beach, Minneapolis, Salt Lake City, Seattle, Denver, New York, Detroit--among others).

The finale of the poster was a "for more information" phone number for the "terrorist Hotline". When commuters called it, they were surprised to be greeted with the words, "Hello, C.I.A." Receptionists vehemently denied that the C.I.A. has any involvement with the Terrorist Hotline or the posters.

For more information about ordering these posters please call: 848-0828

helped develop an informed and active citizenry in the Bay Area and in the Livermore Valley and also within the Lab itself.

Our goal is then to have such constant pressure from all sides that the labs will be forced to convert.

Suggested one year goals were: 1) help support the local group in Livermore, 2) be accessible to Lab workers and the Livermore community, 3) do general public education about the Lab, 4) help strengthen opposition to testing at Site 300, and 5) tie issues together by educating ourselves and others in the Bay Area about the Bay Area's global contribution to the arms race. We then consented on the one year goal of getting the truth out about the Lab.

The proposed projects to help us achieve this goal were: 1) making the visitors' center more viable, 2) helping support the Livermore affinity groups and local work against the Lab, 3) developing dialogues with the workers, and 4) developing a speakers bureau/network of experts, and 5) coordinating a non-violent presence at the Lab. Recognizing that all of these projects are important, we consented to begin with one --the visitors' center.

Through a law suit, the right was won to have the opposing view presented in the Lab's visitors center itself. There are literature racks, two 4' by 4' wall display areas, and access to a slide show space.

At the next meeting on Dec. 16th, 7:30pm, in San Francisco at 349 Church

### LAG Finances

As if by miracles, LAG continues to meet its monthly expenses; we've appreciated and needed the many contributions over the past several months.

Currently, our budget is about \$2500/month. Major items include Rent (400), phone & utilities (3-400), materials and xeroxing (200), staff pay (800), and pro-rated DIRECT ACTION costs (600).

LAG continues to carry a debt in excess of \$12,000. The debt accumulated largely in mid-to-late 1984, but has grown by about \$2000 in the past six months.

We need the support of individuals, affinity and community groups, churches, businesses, etc., to maintain our storefront office as a resource space for the direct action movement.

Can you or your group make a donation or organize a fundraiser? Call Darla, (415)644-2028.

## Nonviolent Action Project Inaugurated

The Nonviolent Action Project is a multi-cultural, multi-issue resource center for community groups and affinity groups using nonviolent direct action as a means of bringing about social change. The NAP was consented to at LAG's November general meeting after discussions at the two previous meetings, and will assume responsibility for the expenses of running the office as of January 15, 1986.

LAGers will recognize how the NAP expands the networking our community has pursued over the past several years; it is an attempt to make resources LAG has assembled over the past four years more accessible to the diverse resistance groups focusing on nonviolent direct action, grassroots organizing, and related social justice issues. While we want the space to continue to be used for anti-nuclear and anti-militarist organizing (as it will be by the LAG campaign --see the article on this page), we want to encourage participation by more diverse affinity and community groups carrying out their projects. We want to support actions that fight discrimination by race, class, sex, sexual preference, age or religion.

Among the resources the NAP will offer will be: work space and telephones, meeting space, media lists, graphic layout space and supplies,



educational outreach and tabling supplies, and local, national and international networking resources such as publications, contact lists, and phone lists.

Over the past several years, the direct action community has worked to "connect issues" --to show in our words how the arms race, interventionary foreign policy, and social and economic injustice are linked. We have recognized the need for bringing together diverse communities, for building a multi-cultural, multi-issue grassroots movement. Help us continue our commitment; donate your energies or make a contribution -- our success depends on all of us.

You and/or your group can join NAP's work or tap our resources by stopping by the office (3126 Shattuck, Berkeley) or giving us a call, (415) 644-2028.

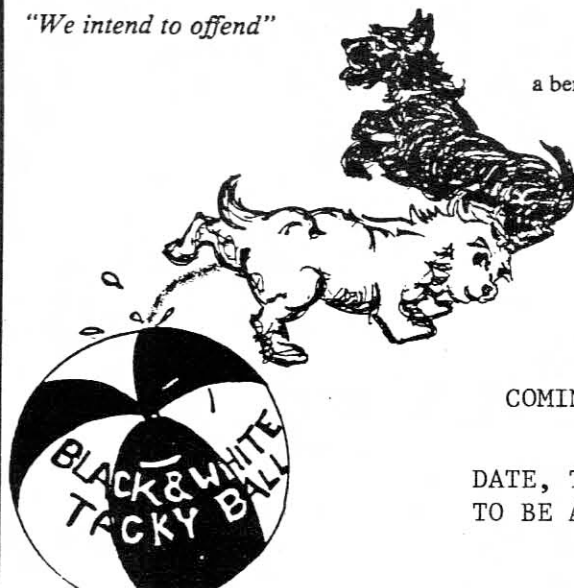
Much 'n Fuch Productions  
presents the

### RHINESTONE JUBILEE BLACK & WHITE TACKY BALL

with  
Special Guest Host-ess  
SISTER BOOM BOOM

"We intend to offend"

a benefit (?) for LAG and its Legal Collective



COMING SOON!!

DATE, TIME & PLACE  
TO BE ANNOUNCED!

Featuring the four basic food groups:  
FAT, SUGAR, SALT and CAFFEINE  
with a cash bar, of course!

Tickets are \$5 in advance, & \$6 at the door

BLACK & WHITE TACKY ATTIRE REQUESTED

for more information call Livermore Action Group: 644-3031





## Back Country at Site 300

The meetings  
The up-at-midnight  
The gathering  
The dropoff. In theory the driver only pauses, while the walkers -- fully loaded--rush out of sight. Over in 45 seconds. In reality, the driver has never driven a stick shift before and needs instruction in the dark before the betraying car lurches away.

Now only silver grass and moonlight. We slip under the fence and from the long grass to the short. The trail beside the creek, worked out by cattle, is clear.

Explain the route, now the landmarks: windmill, tree, the curve of a hill: perhaps next time the companion will be a guide. Fatigue eats away the nervous energy leaving the pure joy of shared effort. We come to barbed wire, a fence with parallel guard roads on the other side. This is the right fence: it has the legal prohibitions properly posted.

The destroyers have burned all hiding places; grass ends at the fence and beyond is scorched, dry soil riddled with animal burrows.

The wind roars relentlessly past our ears carrying the acrid smell of burn. Take out the compass. Waning moon, south at first then southeast. Now, over the fence. The barbed wire is shakey, the steady hand warm and solid.

Into the gulch, hard ground where the water lay last. Climb! Climb! At last there's a road ahead. Watch for the warning of headlights' overshine. Rest. The work has gone on two hours. It will last twelve more for some of us. Then to rest in handcuffs, perhaps.

Fatigue and fear. Remember: the demonstration is already "successful". Crossing the barbed wire already says that the elections have been unfair, that the women and children of the world never voted to hold each other hostage. Each body over the wire represents thousands.

Up again. Road ahead seems to stay the same distance away. The impulse to rush past it is replaced by the desire to help each other survive the ascent. Away to the west a kit fox announces himself with a careful, beautiful aggression of barking. Is he betraying the other group as he did some months ago?

Here is the pass. Breath comes easier, more flowers and less smoke in it. We walk down into the inner arroyo. Ahead of us an eerie

yellow glow becomes street lights surrounding a long building, the vacuum chamber, we guess. We crouch down, watching for guards.

No sign of movement. Quickly, silently, we pass the building then pass an ammunitions bunker that another group will later cob shut with yarn.

Up the last slope, steep and barren. Dawn mercifully delays while we struggle on, legs like rubber. Too many hills, too much weight. Count twenty steps and rest 'til our legs can move again, then count twenty more. We encourage each other. Many a hill lies behind both of us, many old dreams. America of brotherhood is behind us. Peace, liberty, justice --all behind. Ahead only kindness shared and a few minutes delay in the rush to oblivion to beg those with no ancestors, "Please don't roll the bones of our mothers out on the ground."

Daybreak. We stand on the barren hillside and see, in the pale light, the network of roadways and buildings, the wild hills gold like lionskin.



Unseen by the observation towers, we climb over the crest and down into a small ravine. A cozy place to share breakfast and to sleep for a while until nine or ten o'clock.

Wake up, friend: here's the kit fox himself. He studies us, interlopers on his territory, lifts his gorgeous silver tail and trots away to the next station on his breakfast route.

The sun is high now and we can see most of the roadways and facilities on this side of the central arroyo. We watch for vehicles and focused activity. Here is a piece of torn metal, flung up from below by some previous explosion. And a perfectly round grey rock. Into a pocket they go.

Our pop-out time is noon, but the hot sun drives us out earlier. We clamber back over the crest and stand exposed on the hillside, checking out this side. We want to bring back as much useful information as we are able to gather.

Well, here we are: is anyone watching? After what seems like a

long time, a truck on the road below spots us and drives up. Soon there are three vehicles and six security guards. They all have radios, but no one has remembered binoculars. One guard finds a round grey rock and puts it in his pocket.

We wait until somebody with the legal authority to arrest us drives up. He arrives, a University of California cop from the labs --he could have been played by Robert Redford on a cop show.

"Do you know you're trespassing?" This question is difficult to comprehend: is he kidding? He backs up, seeing my naivete, and with elaborate care reads me the Miranda rights. He is familiar, even jocular, with Scott, having arrested him several times before. In later conversations he speaks of how, in "All Quiet on the Western Front," the soldiers on either side understood each other better than they understood their own civilians. His movie becomes instantly clear, who he thinks he is. We don't want to be a part of his movie --it's too noble, too intellectual. We're not here because we're noble. We're both just people, middle-aged and out-of-shape, at that.

We're here because we want to stop the testing of any part of the nuclear weapons which are poisoning this earth. We're here to bear witness to those who administer and use this piece of land, and who pay our Redford look-alike his good salary (with benefits) for himself and his young family, that what they are doing is insane as well as being against International Law.

I'm glad I went. I know what for. I don't know what effect it had. And I accept that I won't know for another ten years, having lived long enough to see how things change. And how people I've known, just by doing what they do, being who they are, become shapers of future reality.

Wading through the court process in Tracy as a "first offender" has been instructive.

I've seen several people given long sentences, and others choose jail over community services. As Scott McClay said to the judge, "It (community services) makes us seem like reasonable people and this a reasonable issue. But I don't want to seem reasonable. This (the work of Livermore Lab at Site 300) is not a reasonable issue."

--by Judy Foster & Scott O'Keefe

## CHOOSE LIFE—A NONVIOLENT SPIRITUAL WITNESS



Ted Sahl

For the past four years, the Choose Life Witness has created a peace presence at Livermore National Lab during a three-week period around advent. Groups and individuals are invited to witness nonviolently for half a day or longer at any time during the three-week period. Each group is autonomous and is free to witness as dictated by their religious roots and/or traditions: vigil, leaflet, picket, worship, risk arrest, etc.

To schedule your group's witness or to join with others in Choose Life's ongoing presence at the Lab, from December 8, 1985 through January 1, 1986, please call the Ecumenical Peace Institute (EPI), (415) 849-2214.

Some of the events already scheduled:

December 14: A Children's Day, games, storytelling, and fun for you and your children. 10am-1pm at park by the Visitors Center. Bring Lunch. In case of bad weather, call 848-6786.

December 17, 7am: A Day of Worship & Action, sponsored by Bartimaeus/Franciscan Affinity Group.

January 1: Sunrise Vigil.

Plus much more! Call! Find Out! Join the Choose Life Witness!

--by Wendy Kaufman



# Freeze Sponsors Test Site CD

When 17 activists from the Bay Area loaded into vans to drive to the Nevada desert in late October, it was to join in the first act of civil disobedience sponsored by the National Freeze.

For over a month beginning Oct. 18, volunteers from throughout the country maintained an almost-daily presence of protest at the Nevada Test Site 65 miles north of Las Vegas. They were there in the wake of the Geneva Summit Conference to call attention to the site where all U.S. nuclear weapons are tested.

Freeze groups from Northern California committed themselves to attend Oct. 25-27. That weekend, Eric Ferry Bill Goode, and Andrea Elukovich of San Francisco and two others trespassed onto the site's property to be arrested, just as 29 others had done during the week before.

The arrests were well-planned, with Nye County Sheriffs waiting to lead the activists to patrol cars where they were issued citations. Ferry and Goode chose to pay a \$260

fine while Elukovich decided to stay in Nevada until the following week to serve a sentence of 24 hours community service.

Since then, the National Freeze at its Chicago conference voted against supporting any more civil disobedience. But Nevada Test Site organizer Nancy Hale said she believes breaking civil laws can be one of the most effective ways to bring attention to the Freeze's demands. One of the objects of the Nevada action, she said, was to clog the Nye County courts so the civil disobedience cases would have to be moved to a federal court where they would receive more publicity.

The San Francisco Freeze Executive Board members continue to support civil disobedience and plan to organize other actions in the spring. Currently they are mobilizing support for House Bill 3442 sponsored by Rep. Pat Schroeder, D-Colo., which would ban nuclear weapons testing.

--by Denise Minor

## ATTENTION Friends and Pre-subscribers of the

### SANTA RITA WOMEN'S JAILBOOK (June 20, 1983 Livermore Blockade)

#### THE JAILBOOK IS ALIVE AND KICKING!

--We've made major improvements-- placing the jail experience in broader context, including history and consequences of LLNL.

--We're submitting the manuscript to publishers, looking for one that's able to cover costs and distribution. (Many small local presses would need us to cover costs. We've got the \$1500 from pre-subscriptions in the bank; but we would need some \$5000 more.)

#### WE NEED YOUR HELP with --

- 1) names of possible publishers
- 2) names of individuals and foundations that might help with publishing costs
- 3) poems written in or about jail (women's jail at Santa Rita following the June '83 blockade)
- 4) other submissions (there are a few places in the ms. that need filling out)
- 5) **CURRENT ADDRESS (AND PHONE) FOR PRE-SUBSCRIBERS** (so we can send you the book when it's published!)

#### BAY AREA CONTACTS:

Karen Engel  
3380 26th Street  
San Francisco, CA 94110  
(415) 824-1197

Deirdre Lashgari  
2230 Prince Street  
Berkeley, CA 94705  
(415) 841-5614

#### SEBASTOPOL CONTACT:

Barbara Fanslow  
4408 Winfield Lane  
Sebastopol, CA 94572  
(707) 823-1564

## Contra Costa Programs

The Mount Diablo Peace Center invites your organization to help foster a new political climate in Contra Costa County. There are two specific projects we will undertake in 1986 to test the extent to which Contra Costa's conservative reputation really holds water.

We want to let you know of our plans so we can avoid scheduling and other conflicts which might be mutually harmful. We also think you'll agree that should both projects succeed, the bounds of what seems politically possible will greatly expand.

(1) A conference entitled **THREE MINUTES TO MIDNIGHT: Superpower intervention in the Third World and nuclear war**, Saturday, January 25, 1986, at Diablo Valley College, 10am-3:30pm; participants need not be present the whole time.

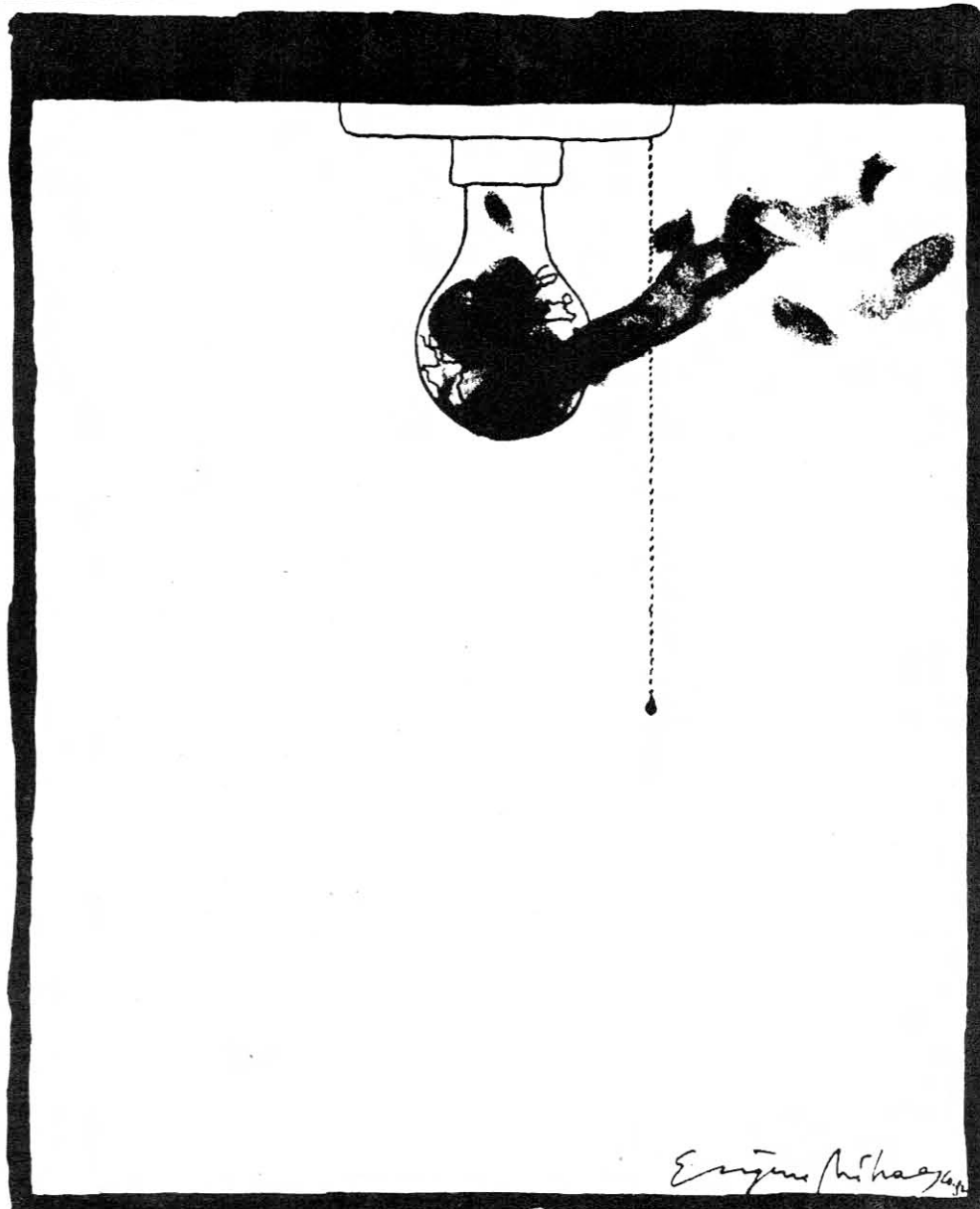
(2) An initiative petition for Contra Costa will place before voters in November 1986 an approximation of the following: The People of C.C. County call upon the government of the U.S. to halt all further military assistance to any government in Central America till a regionally-negotiated peace is achieved, and further that until such time all shipments of military hardware through C.C. County should cease. (We are currently seeking individuals to serve on an advisory council for this effort.)

Will your organization endorse the Three Minutes to Midnight conference? Your comments are also invited. Please contact Mount Diablo Peace Center, 65 Eckley Lane, Walnut Creek, CA 94596.

--Chuck Goodmacher



Fritz Eichenberg



Eugene McCarthy

## Bobby Campbell Plaza

Continued from page 1

narrow-minded moralism. Central areas of community outreach, like the bath-houses, are shutdown. Tracking the state of AIDS funding is especially frustrating. Money is found, money is lost. On example out of hundreds: the San Francisco General Hospital AIDS clinic lost a \$500,000 National Institute of Health grant to study treatment of Kaposi's sarcoma; an important core of investigators, operating in a major treatment center, are without federal support altogether. The issue of sufficient funding is complex. Part of the problem is the scientific establishment itself and its tradition of macho competitiveness. Resources and knowledge are stupidly hoarded when it should be shared. Attempts

to coordinate AIDS research have been underfunded and malsupported. But the biggest monster, no news, has been the military gobbling up the social resources. An example close to home: the annual Livermore Weapons Lab budget was \$830 million compared to this year's Federal AIDS budget of \$216 million (last I heard). The little that's left is tossed back to social services to be tussled over deviously by groups with real needs.

The first incidents of AIDS direct action took on the attempt to create divisions between groups that should be allied. After being severely criticized from all sides on skimpy AIDS research allotment, Margaret Heckler, then Secretary of the DHHS padded the budget with money taken from Indian Health Services. To protest, in late August John Lorenzini, a gay man with AIDS, and Thunderhawk, an Ogalo Sioux Indian chained themselves to the main entrance of the old Federal Building and were promptly arrested by cops wearing surgical masks. Earlier this summer, John conducted a similar action by himself to great acclaim in the gay press.

My affinity group, Enola Gay, is planning a series of actions to make clear the connections between the huge military budget and the miniscule AIDS budget. On December 14, we will conduct a tour of central San Francisco. After a brief perusal of wasteful, destructive government and corporate spending, we will view sites of the gay community coming together to respond to real human needs. The tour will be a precedent for the Money for Aids, Not for War ACTION on Money, January 13. At the action, we will demand the gay community's money back from the Pentagon to be used for purposes that help us and the rest of the world. The tour and the support for the action is open to all; however, we would like the civil disobedience on the 13th to be a faggot's action. For details, see the community bulletin in **Coming Up!**

Even though AIDS is a national problem, the only instances of direct action around it or which I am aware have happened in San Francisco. (I am thinking of the traditional meaning of direct action. I consider the volunteer counseling, practical support, and mutual aid groups that have developed in many cities as being a form of direct action, too.) But I have a feeling that will change. As well as being a testament to the seriousness of our cause, direct action has proven to be a builder of community, a way of cementing alliances, a moving expression of the culture of gay people.

by Mark Leger



# Emergency Response Network Congress

HELP DECIDE ERN'S DIRECTION IN  
1986 AT THE ERN CONGRESS

**FEBRUARY 8, 1986**

10am-11am: registration, tea  
and coffee  
11am-5pm: Congress

At Urban Life Center, 1101  
O'Farrell at Franklin, SF

Information: 771-1276

The Emergency Response Network Congress, which was consensed to at the December 5 ERN Spokes-council, is the first major long-range decision-making meeting the Bay Area ERN has had. All pledge signers and affinity groups are encouraged to participate. This Congress will decide on a campaign for the Emergency Response Network during the year to come.

A campaign is a series of related activities intended to achieve a specific goal. It can include dialog, education, nonviolent direct action and other tactics.

Responding to an invasion or major escalation of U.S. intervention in Central America will remain primary to the ERN. Whatever campaign may be chosen will include or be in addition to this emergency response function.

A U.S. invasion of Central America is always a very real possibility. But it is also

quite possible that there will not be a major, publicly perceived escalation that might lead to a National Alert in the next year. It is also likely that our government will continue to escalate the war step-by-step, trying to keep it invisible to avoid arousing public opposition.

While some pledge signers will wait for an invasion or major escalation, others of us want to do--and have been doing--ongoing actions and education. I have seen many affinity groups form around the ERN and many individuals get involved in it during the last year. But there has been little activity to sustain this involvement because we have been working on a month-to-month basis.

I hope that we continue to involve, and don't repeat the work of, ERN's member anti-intervention, peace and faith organizations.

I look forward to the Congress providing an opportunity for pledge signers and affinity groups to shape the ERN and its ongoing work so that we will see it as our organization and want to carry out our decisions.

See you there!

--David Solnit

If you have campaign ideas or proposals you would like to bring

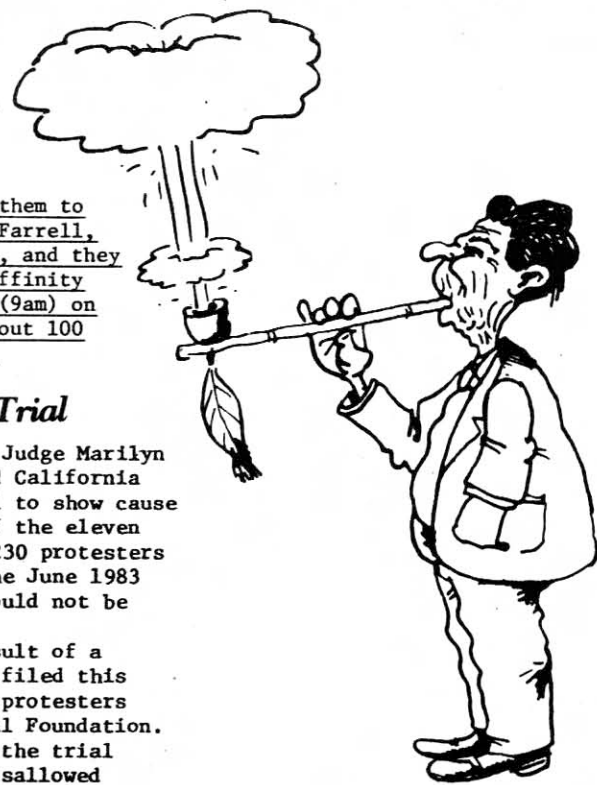
to the Congress, bring them to the ERN office, 1101 O'Farrell, SF, by January 10, 1986, and they will be mailed out to affinity groups. Or come early (9am) on February 8 and bring about 100 copies to the Congress.

## LLL Rep Trial

U.S. District Court Judge Marilyn Hall Patel has ordered California State Attorney General to show cause why the convictions of the eleven "representatives" of 230 protesters convicted following the June 1983 Livermore blockade should not be overturned.

The order is the result of a Writ of Habeas Corpus filed this fall on behalf of the protesters by Western States Legal Foundation. The Writ asserts that the trial judge erred when he disallowed state-of-mind testimony concerning what brought the demonstrators to the Lab, as well as other errors.

A hearing on the Order to Show Cause has been scheduled for 10:30am Monday January 27, in Courtroom #5 17th Floor, 450 Golden Gate, San Francisco. For more info, contact Western State, 839-5877.



## ANNOUNCEMENTS

**Plutonium Players** are looking for actor/writers, songwriter/musicians and other theatre workers to create provocative political satire. Experience in collective decision-making will be helpful. Possibility of understudying "Ladies Against Women" for spring tour. Write to us stating your interests and background, 1600 Woolsey #7, Berkeley 94703, or call us at 841-6500.

**Photos and slides of civil disobedience** wanted by Amazon Sewing Circle, a San Francisco Pledge of Resistance affinity group. We are developing a slide show aimed at explaining to the interested general public what CD is and why people would choose to do it. If you have slides or photos you would be willing to see used in such a project, please call (415)848-5701, or write 1727 Parker, Berkeley CA 94703.

**Buying or selling a house**, or know someone who is? We have a sympathetic realtor who will donate 1/3 of his fee to LAG. For more info, contact Darla, LAG, (415) 644-2028.

## ACTION CALENDAR

### DECEMBER

28 Black & White Tacky Ball, a benefit for Livermore Action Group and the Legal Collective. With special guest hostess Sister Boom Boom. Black & White Tacky attire requested. 8:00pm-1:00am. \$5 advance, \$6 at the door; limited tickets--get yours now! For info or to help produce the Tacky Ball, call LAG, 644-2028.

### JANUARY

15-19 "Casting Shadows", an anti-nuke play, at the Nitery, Stanford. Call Ramshead, c/o Stanford, for more info.

### REVOLUTIONARY NONVIOLENCE

A series of dialogues and discussions for the Peace and Justice Movements of the 1980s, sponsored by American Friends Service Committee and the Emergency Response Network.

Upcoming programs:

**January 6**, "Wellsprings of Hope and Commitment: What Keeps Us Going?", with Barbara Graves, Darla Rucker, and a Salvadoran Refugee, at Dolores Street Baptist Church, 15th & Dolores, SF. 6pm potluck, 7pm forum.

**January 27**, a film, "King Montgomery to Memphis", on Martin Luther King Jr and the Civil Rights Movement, 7pm, at AFSC, 2160 Lake Street, SF.

**February 3**, "Organizing Social Movements: What Is Success?", with Bill Moyer, at Berkeley Friends Church, 1600 Sacramento, Berkeley. 6pm potluck, 7pm forum.

**February 24**, "Gandhi", the film by Richard Attenborough, at AFSC(see Jan 27).

For information on these and future programs, contact the Emergency Response Network, 771-1276.

# ME? A GREAT LEADER?

"ME, START A VANGUARD PARTY TO LEAD THE WORKING CLASS TO REVOLUTION? YOU MUST BE KIDDING!"



JUST IMAGINE BEING A RESPECTED AND BELOVED FATHERLY LEADER UNDER WHOSE WISE GUIDANCE THE REVOLUTIONARY MASSES WILL FORGE AHEAD DAILY WITH THE FIERY ZEAL OF "SPEED-UP" CAMPAIGN!!!!

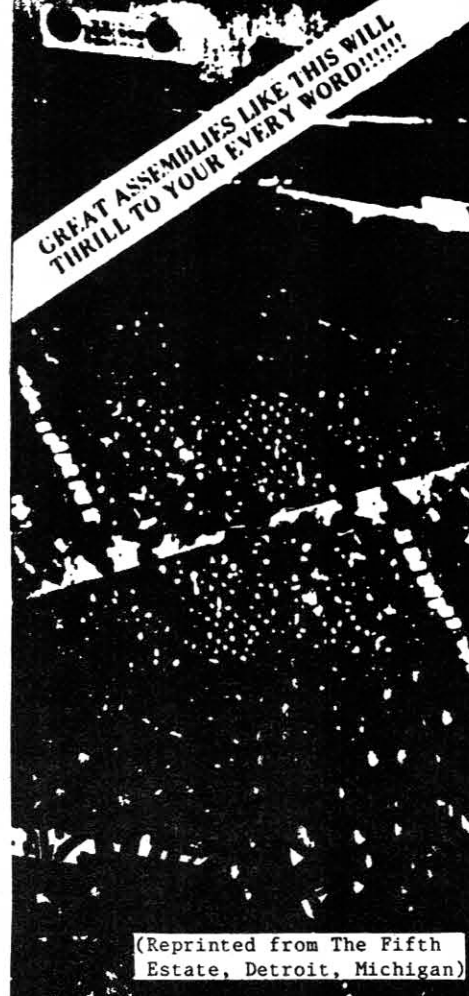
Over the past few years, Party Builders Associates has aided countless individuals and groups to form vanguard parties intelligently tailored to their own needs. These people are now leading creative, happy lives fighting one another. What we've done for others, we can do for you.

A few minutes spent in filling out the following questionnaire may be the best investment you'll ever make. Your answers will enable Party Builders Associates, preserving strict confidentiality, to work out a party program that is JUST RIGHT for you and your friends.

And now, here's the questionnaire. We advise using a pencil, since these are by no means easy questions, and your party will not be able to alter the positions taken here without seriously damaging your credibility among the workers.

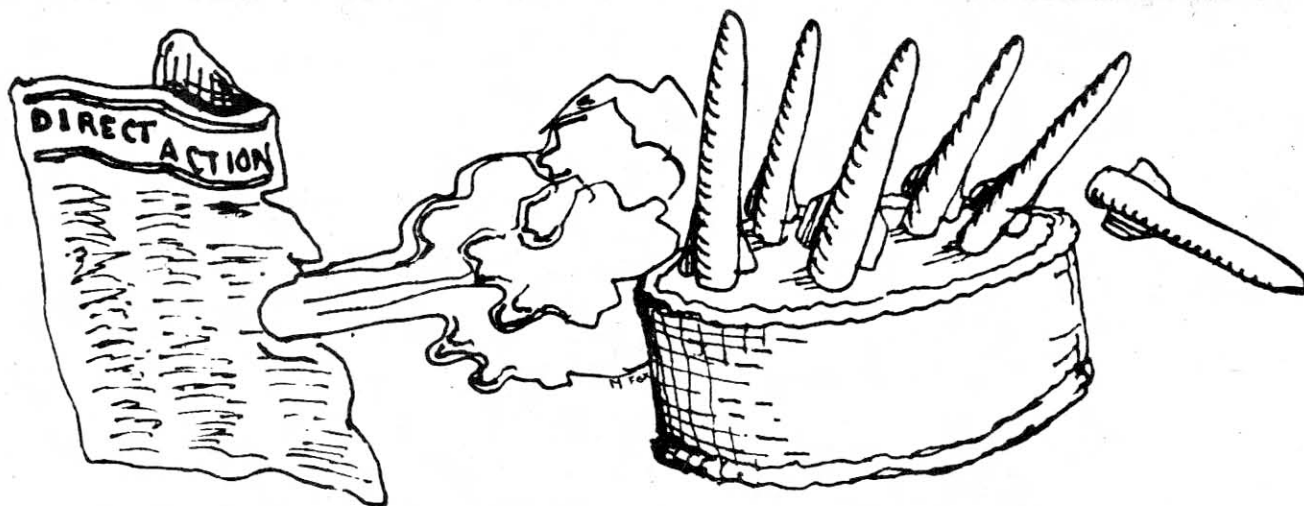
- 1) The Russian Revolution turned away from socialism in:  
\_\_\_ (a) 1917  
\_\_\_ (b) 1927  
\_\_\_ (c) 1953  
\_\_\_ (d) 1957  
\_\_\_ (e) It hasn't happened yet, but my group will be the first to denounce it when it does.
- 2) Black people are:  
\_\_\_ (a) A nation  
\_\_\_ (b) A nation of a new type  
\_\_\_ (c) A super-exploited sector of the working class  
\_\_\_ (d) Petit bourgeois  
\_\_\_ (e) A colony  
\_\_\_ (f) Please send me more information about this controversial group
- 3) The main danger facing the workers' vanguard in the present epoch is:  
\_\_\_ (a) Right opportunism  
\_\_\_ (b) "Left" sectarianism  
\_\_\_ (c) Right opportunism masking as "left" sectarianism  
\_\_\_ (d) My parents  
\_\_\_ (e) Other(please specify):

- 4) Rather than focusing on narrow economic issues, my party will offer a cultural critique of life in advanced capitalist countries. The following are signs of capitalist decadence:  
\_\_\_ (a) Feminism  
\_\_\_ (b) Trotskyism  
\_\_\_ (c) Pornographic movies  
\_\_\_ (d) Recent price increases in pornographic movies  
\_\_\_ (e) Other (please give exact details):
- 5) I would like to include the following in the title of my party:  
\_\_\_ (a) Labor  
\_\_\_ (b) Workers  
\_\_\_ (c) Revolutionary  
\_\_\_ (d) Socialist  
\_\_\_ (e) Communist  
\_\_\_ (f) Vanguard  
\_\_\_ (g) Progressive  
\_\_\_ (h) October (November)  
\_\_\_ (i) United  
\_\_\_ (j) International  
\_\_\_ (k) M  
\_\_\_ (l) L  
\_\_\_ (m) All of the above



(Reprinted from The Fifth Estate, Detroit, Michigan)





## Three Years and Beyond

With this issue, DIRECT ACTION marks its third year of production - 23 issues of resistance news, organizing information, political analysis - and as always, funny cartoons. It hasn't been easy work - but thanks to the great support we have enjoyed from the direct action community, we've survived!

As always, we depend on your continuing support to keep DIRECT ACTION appearing - we need your subscriptions, regular renewals, letters, words of encouragement - in short, we need to know that you want the paper to continue to appear.

Please--if you're a reader of DIRECT ACTION; if you're a participant or supporter of civil disobedience and other nonviolent direct action; if you want to see a strong resistance movement in this country--we need your support!

SPECIAL NOTE TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS--thanks for your support over the past three years. It has been your donations of \$10, \$15, \$25 or more that have made this paper possible. We need your ongoing subscriptions--if you've recently received a renewal letter from us, please send it in as soon as possible and help us keep both the paper and the resistance organizing going!



**Your Subscriptions Are Our Only Support —  
Subscribe (or Renew!) to *DIRECT ACTION*!**

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Berkeley, CA 94705

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