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Photo: April 2011 protest at CPUC hearing on Diablo Canyon. By Luke Hauser.



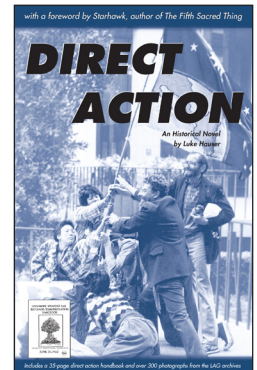
DIRECT ACTION

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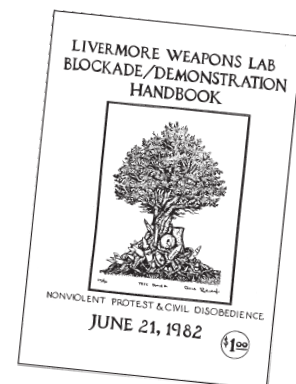


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Appendices and Miscellaneous Fun Stuff

In the last seventy pages of the book, you'll find various odds and ends arranged in what our Structural Semiotics Department determined was the most useful order. The LAG structure chart and the glossary are first for quick reference. The International Day pages give a richer sense of that pivotal event. The handbook gives a basic orientation to direct action. Lastly, be sure to consult the LAG Discography to avoid playing inappropriate music as you read a scene.

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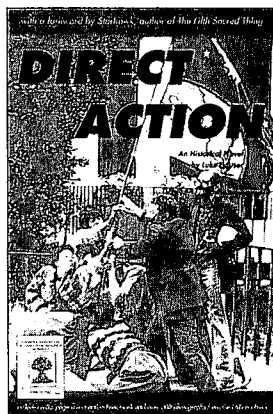
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Study and Action Guide

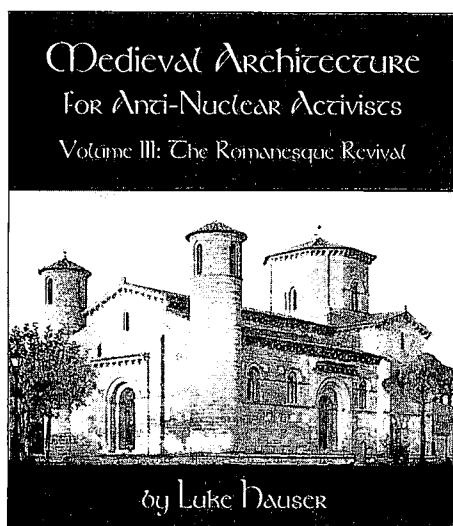
Chapter-by-chapter guide to the issues raised in Direct Action — discussions that turn ideas into action, right where you live or work. Perfect for reading circles, grassroots organizations, classes, or affinity groups.

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About the Author

LUKE HAUSER is a postgraduate student of parajournalism who was arrested numerous times while researching this book. His writing (under various pseudonyms) has appeared in *GroundWork*, *Reclaiming Quarterly*, *Street Spirit*, *The Berkeley Barb*, *The San Francisco Bay Guardian*, *The Indiana Statesman*, *Z Magazine*, and *The Revolutionary Pagan Workers' Vanguard*. He lives in a collective house in the shadow of San Francisco's Mission Dolores, and is part-owner of People's Park in Berkeley.



Also by Luke Hauser

- Medieval Architecture for Anti-Nuclear Activists (four volumes)
- Quasi-Hierarchical Anti-Authoritarianism: An Ontological Analysis
- A Child's Garden of Quantum Mechanics
- Existential Angst in Five Easy Lessons (second edition)
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Edited by Luke Hauser

- The Annotated Lenin-Kafka Correspondence (with a Foreword by U.S. Senator Diane Feinstein)
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- The Complete Pagan Book of Algebraic Geometry
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Appendices

For a guide to the Appendices, turn to the final page of the book

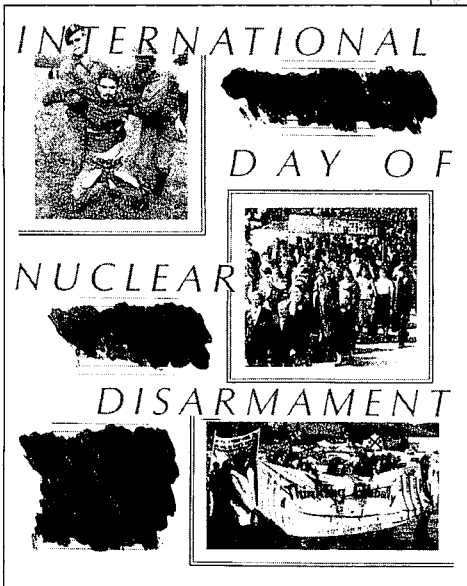
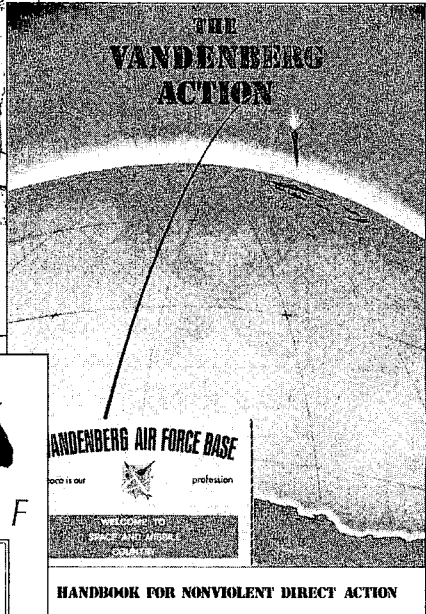
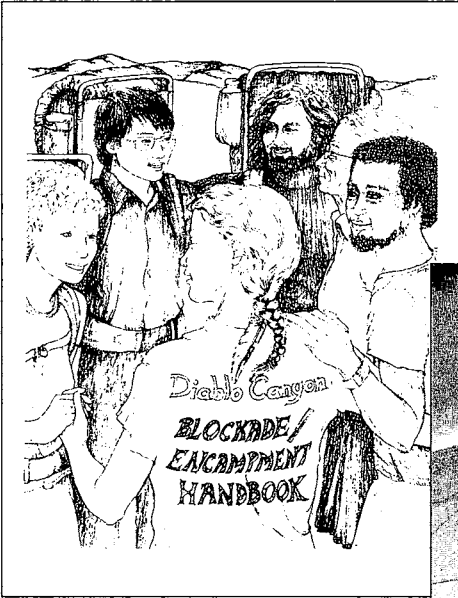


In the mid-1980s, protests of Livermore Lab's weapons programs shifted to the Lab's local test area, Site 300, located east of Livermore in the Altamont Hills. According to the Lab, only non-nuclear "triggers" for nuclear weapons were tested at Site 300. Protesters were skeptical enough to wear radiation suits when they went over the fence in backcountry actions at the sprawling facility (above). Other actions such as the 1985 theater protest at the Site 300 gate (below) used rad suits more for dramatic effect.

Direct Action Handbook

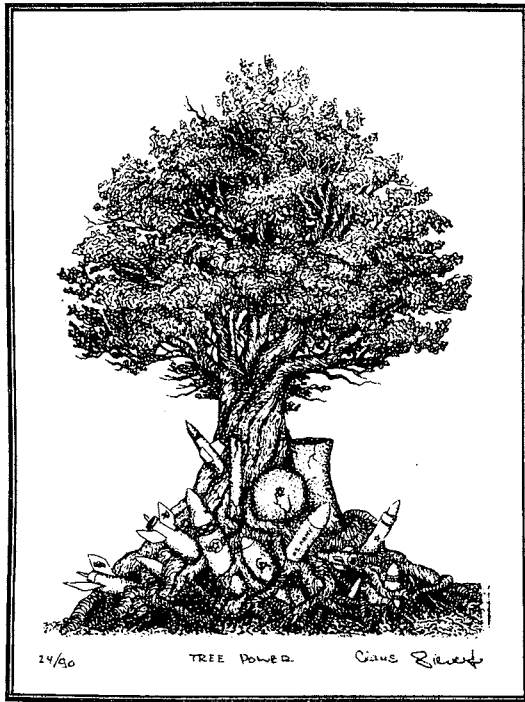
What follows is a much-condensed version of handbooks produced by Abalone Alliance (1981), Livermore Action Group (1982), Vandenberg Action Coalition (1983), and LAG's International Day work group (1983).

The 1982 LAG handbook forms the basis for both the material and the graphic design, with sections of text added from the others.



The original handbooks ranged from 48 to 104 pages. The next 35 pages offer a sampling of the material from those handbooks. More will be posted online at www.directaction.org, along with links to present-day handbooks and resources.

LIVERMORE WEAPONS LAB BLOCKADE/DEMONSTRATION HANDBOOK



NONVIOLENT PROTEST & CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

JUNE 21, 1982

\$1⁰⁰

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This Handbook was originally conceived as an eight-page supplement to the Diablo Blockade Handbook. But we realized it was important to have the excellent material from the Diablo Handbook on process and the Livermore background material in one place. We experienced both the stress of producing this Handbook in four weeks, and the excitement of work-

ing collectively, learning new skills and information, and creating something we think will be useful.

This Handbook is just the youngest descendent in a long line of partial plagiarism of thoughts and graphics which were lifted from the Diablo Handbook, which were lifted from the Pentagon '80 Handbook, which were lifted from the Seabrook Handbook...which were lifted from the mythical, primordial anti-nuclear Handbook. Wherefore and whereas we offer and authorize anyone to use anything from this Handbook.

We see this Handbook as one more step. It is up to all of us to weave *more* threads into the fabric. The pattern is peace.



GOALS OF THE ACTION

The ultimate goal of the Livermore Action Group is to further the cause of (1) global nuclear disarmament, (2) the demilitarization of American society, and (3) a redirection of economic priorities that provides for a more equitable distribution of wealth and resources at home and abroad.

The Livermore Action Group recognizes that people will participate in this action for a variety of reasons. It is not necessary that you take part for all of the following reasons. This summary is intended to help you clarify your reasons for taking part, by making the necessary connections between the lab, the nuclear arms race, and its threat to peace.

1. To focus public attention on the role of the lab in the arms race and militarism;

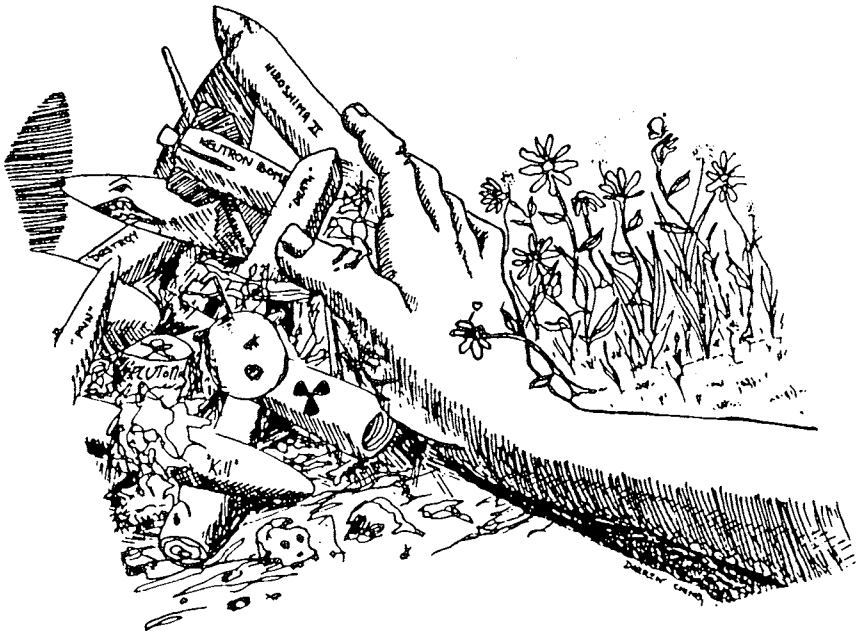
2. To stress the importance of conversion of the lab to productive, peaceful use;

3. To disrupt "business as usual" at the Lab, to slow down the development of first-strike and other nuclear weapons;

4. To urge weapons-related employees to reconsider their role in nuclear proliferation;

5. To assert the right and capability of ordinary citizens to express their objections to present foreign policy and to the threat of nuclear war;

6. To make clear to administrators



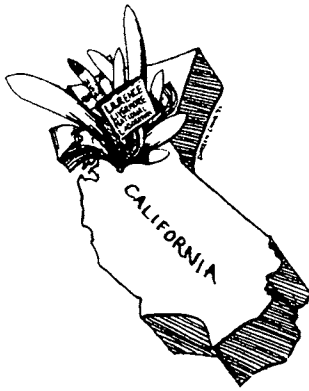
that they will have to arrest this country's own citizens if they insist on continuing on the path of destruction;

7. To show solidarity with European and world peace and disarmament movements;

8. To call attention to the vested interests which oppose disarmament and pour money into nuclear weapons instead of needed social welfare programs.

STATEMENT of PURPOSE

Livermore Action Group proposes conversion of our nation's two nuclear weapons design laboratories to productive, peaceful use, as a first step towards nuclear disarmament. LAG affirms that this unilateral initiative would create a



better environment for negotiations between the U.S. and the USSR.

The most formidable obstacle to arms control negotiations is America's thrust to develop a "disarming first-strike" capability. Some of the main proponents of first-strike weaponry are the self-proclaimed "impartial experts" at Livermore and Los Alamos Labs.

At present, the warheads for the highly-accurate, first-strike nuclear

weapons such as the Trident, Cruise and the MX missiles are in the final stages of development at Livermore Lab. The lab is also developing three different models of the first-use neutron bomb, which because it destroys living beings while leaving property intact has the potential of greatly increasing the possibility of "limited use" of nuclear weapons.

The weapons labs also conduct underground nuclear weapons tests at Nevada Test Site. Without these tests, the development of new and more destructive nuclear weapons systems would end.

Conversion of the weapons labs would constitute an enormously effective first step toward disarmament without jeopardizing the ability of the United States to defend itself during negotiations toward total nuclear disarmament.

In essence, the Livermore Action Group proposal for a first step toward nuclear disarmament would have the same effect as the Nuclear Weapons Freeze ballot initiative, which calls for a halt to testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons. LAG supports the Freeze. However, we are convinced that a more radical approach is necessary. We hope that massive, nonviolent demonstrations and direct action will serve as a catalyst that will encourage people from all walks of life to become active, and that together we will bring pressure on the American government to reverse its nuclear acceleration.

We do not expect to stop work at Livermore Lab for more than a few hours or a few days. However, we expect to focus national attention on Livermore, and to make it clear that we *will* no longer stand idly by while this administration prepares for global destruction. Stop the bomb where it starts!



Introduction

This section is intended to provide a minimum introduction to our reasons for attempting to convert Livermore Lab to peaceful use. We have put together several articles on aspects of the subject prepared by the LAG Education workgroup. These articles were written by individuals and not consensed to by LAG. We encourage further study of and action against this monster in our midst. If you are interested in more information, please contact the Livermore Action Group Education Collective.

LIVERMORE LAB

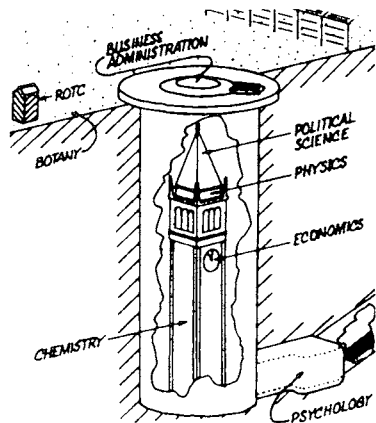
The Ivory Tower is a Bomb

The U.C. Connection

The University of California's name and seal are on every nuclear warhead developed by the United States. Officially, U.C. operates the weapons labs under five-year contracts with the Department of Energy. But the University exercises no control or influence over the work on the labs. Rather, it has provided an academic cover—a "cloak of legitimacy"—for secret nuclear weapons research.

For its part, the University receives a \$5 million yearly management fee from DOE.

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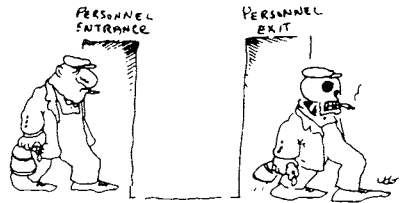
Livermore Lab: lobbyist for WAR

The weapons labs are the most powerful lobbyists in the country against arms control treaties and for new weapons systems. They were instrumental in defeating the negotiations for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in the early 1960s, and again in the late 1970s.

Now, Livermore Lab is lobbying against the California Nuclear Weapons Freeze initiative. Livermore argues that a Freeze now, with the Soviets "ahead," would create an unstable situation, and might actually lead to nuclear war. We need time, the lab says, to develop the new generation of (first-strike) weapons, and then, with these "bargaining chips," we can negotiate real arms reductions. This self-serving argument merely justifies continued weapons work by the labs. In fact, the first-strike weapons under development now represent the most destabilizing development in many years.

Health and Safety at the Labs

Contrary to official proclamations, Livermore Lab is extremely unsafe, a deadly hazard to all in and around the facilities. The lab is run by people who are aware of the dangers and have withheld critical information from the DOE and from



most of their own employees, and from the public in general.

The Environmental Impact Statement prepared in 1978 by the DOE for Livermore Lab admitted to "routine and unavoidable emissions" of radioactive substances, including plutonium, curium, uranium and tritium. The EIS also reported a history of 17 accidents involving radioactive and toxic substances.

The innumerable health and safety problems at the lab reveal the colossal irresponsibility on the part of management. They risk the lives of employees, the community, and over four million people in the Bay Area with contamination of air, soil, water and vegetation.

No one really knows the outcome of these dangers; will we be faced with higher cancer rates and unknown threats against succeeding generations? The spin-off from the labs' design of first-strike weapons is a first strike against the environment.

Ivory Tower

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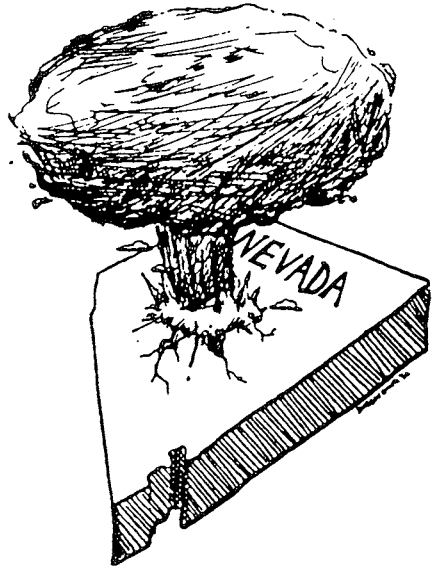
The major benefits to the labs from the University connection are prestige, in that the U.C. name helps in recruitment and retention of scientific personnel, and independence, in that the lab staff enjoys a much greater degree of freedom in its interactions with government officials than would be the case if they were under government or industrial management. It is precisely this independence that has enabled lab officials to exercise powerful influence on weapons policies.

Why are we bombing Nevada?

The nuclear weapons labs and the University of California also need to be held accountable for the ongoing health, safety and environmental risks involved in nuclear weapons testing at Nevada Test Site (NTS). As of June 30, 1979, 537 announced tests had taken place at NTS. President Reagan plans to double the annual number of tests.

Throughout the history of testing in Nevada, the weapons labs and government have knowingly doused thousands of Americans with radioactive fallout from tests. At least 41 of the 441 so-called “safe” underground tests have leaked large amounts of hazardous radiation into the atmosphere, some equivalent to the amount of radiation released in the Hiroshima bomb.

The labs, the Department of Energy, and other government officials have repeatedly ignored and even falsified the health and safety risks for the test site workers and the surrounding communi-



ties. This “invisible violence” against our own citizens reflects the willingness of this government to stop at nothing to achieve its ends.

Guns versus Butter

- 25% of the world’s research money goes into military research
- The money the world spends on military purposes in 12 hours could probably eradicate malaria from the earth
- 5% of the world’s military expenditure could provide school places for 100 million children who do not currently attend school
- The world spends \$22 on military purposes for every \$1 it spends on development aid to poor countries
- “The money required to provide adequate food, water, education, health and housing for everyone in the world has been estimated at about \$18.5 billion per year. It’s a huge sum of money... about as much as the world spends on arms every two weeks.” — U.N. Center for Disarmament

source: Oxfam America

U.S. Militarism

The War at Home and Abroad

The U.S. is at war. It has been in a state of war or war preparedness uninterruptedly for over four decades. Soon the Reagan administration's yearly military spending will surpass the peak of the Vietnam War.

What is the cause of this massive expansion, which began in the late Carter years? It cannot be explained solely in terms of competition with the Soviet

Union, Central America, South Korea, Malaysia, and other "democratic" allies. U.S. corporations and the local elites they support depend on U.S. power to maintain their privileged positions.

At the same time, the nuclear build-up in Western Europe is an attempt to reassert U.S. political dominance over its allies.

At home, the Reaganites are faced with serious tasks. With an economy already weakened by competition from Japan and Europe (whose economies are not drained by excessive military spending), a way must be found to subsidize military programs without totally destroying the U.S. economic base. This means opening a "second front" in Reagan's war: against workers and the unemployed, against women, Blacks, Hispanics, against the people of America.

A massive transfer of wealth is underway from poor and working people to the military-industrial complex. Corporate taxes have been drastically reduced, while basic social programs are slashed, if not eliminated. These actions are all designed to redirect funds to corporate profits and to the military build-up needed to sustain them.

We need unified resistance to confront this growing militarism. This is why Livermore Action Group sees the necessity of being part of a broad anti-militarist movement which includes trade unions, civil rights, feminist, and third world groups, churches and community organizations, and anti-intervention movements



Union. Primarily, this military build-up is due to the loss of the overwhelming political and economic world dominance of the U.S. government and corporations, which characterized the 1950s through the early 1970s.

This abrupt change in U.S. policy parallels exactly the successful upsurge in third world struggles for self-determination. Since 1975, over a dozen third world nations have seen successful liberation struggles in which elites subservient to U.S. corporate interests were replaced by more popular governments. To maintain their profits, U.S. multinationals have become increasingly dependent on cheap labor and natural resources controlled by repressive governments in South Africa, Taiwan, the Phil-



The

BOMB

What It Would Be Like

What is the purpose of calculating just what the consequences of a nuclear war would be? To ignore the reality of holocaust is to surrender to psychic numbing, which produces disabling cynicism and despair. By having a clear understanding of nuclear annihilation, we are able to stop absurd suggestions of the survivability of nuclear war, including discussions of civil defense. And by knowing the future that nuclear war would bring, we are compelled to act.

The circles of destruction emanating from a nuclear holocaust continue to



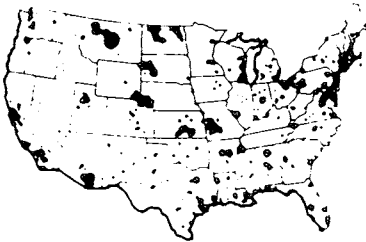
expand as more is understood. The over-kill capacity of nuclear arsenals ensure that much of the land area of the United States and the Soviet Union would be subject to primary effects of the weapons.

After the immediate and local effects, there would be three significant worldwide effects of a nuclear war. First, radioactive material blown into the stratosphere during the explosions would circulate throughout the globe and gradually fall back to earth. This would cause genetic mutations and cancers in organisms on both land and sea, lasting for many generations.

Second, the enormous volume of particulate material blown into the stratosphere would deflect some solar heat from the earth's surface. Cooled by just a few degrees, the climate would change, and global vegetation, including agriculture, would be drastically altered.

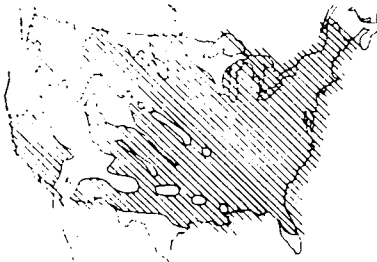
Finally, the layer of ozone in the upper atmosphere, which protects life from harmful ultraviolet radiation, would be reduced 30 to 70 percent. It is increasingly evident that only some types of organisms could tolerate this environment; the others would become extinct.

IN A NUCLEAR WAR . . .

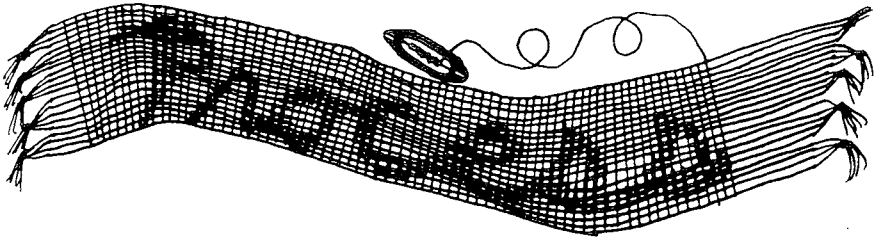


THESE TARGETS ARE LIKELY TO BE HIT

FALLOUT WOULD ENGULF . . .



THE SHADED AREAS



NON-VIOLENCE

Guidelines for Nonviolence

These are basic agreements, rather than philosophical/political requirements. The guidelines are meant to act as a basis of trust among participants who, for the most part, have met only for a particular action. The guidelines are under constant discussion and are seen as our current working understanding, not as statements etched in stone.

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

Nonviolence is an alternative to the use of violence to initiate change. Nonviolence minimizes bitterness and isolation in all people affected by it and tries to break the cycle of violence breeding more violence. The use of nonviolence in campaigns has led to many successes, such as ending racial segregation on buses in Montgomery, Alabama, as a result of the 1956 boycott.

A large part of the anti-nuclear movement has decided to incorporate nonviolence into the heart of our strategy. The following working assumptions form a

preliminary framework for the understanding of nonviolence:

1. The means must be consistent with the ends.
2. Respect all life.
3. Transform opposition rather than destroy it.
4. Use creativity, humor, and love.
5. Aim for underlying changes.
6. Power lies in social dynamics. We can withhold cooperation from those who abuse power, and remove power from them.
7. Nonviolence is active.

Dynamics of NonViolence

How does one remain nonviolent in the face of riot(ing) police? The first thing is maintaining human contact with the potential assailant—whether it's the police, a counter-demonstrator, or an angry participant from "our" side. Body language is important: especially making eye contact. Listening rather than talking may help prevent conflicts from erupting.

It is crucial that affinity groups discuss and role play, responses to potentially violent situations. For instance, an AG can physically surround someone being assaulted, while continuing to distract or calm the attacker. Active nonviolent responses such as this are, after all, the same idea as the whole blockade, which is intervening against the corporate violence of nuclear power and weapons.

We can show police (among others) another model of human nature, people who are acting for nature and for themselves. This process encourages our opponents' doubts about the rightness of their actions.

Many people comment on the extraordinary tone of nonviolent actions. It comes from the fact that participants are *centered and clear* about what they are doing. Gandhi referred to this as *Satyagraha*. *Satya* is truth, the truth that implies love and human dignity; *agraha* is firmness, the force felt by both actors

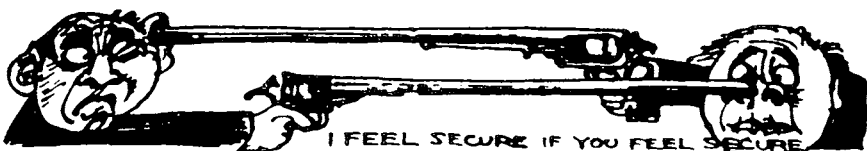
and opponents when truth and love are acted on. Don't look at this tone as something imposed by leaders in order to have discipline. Rather it emerges freely when, by acting, people take back some control over their lives.



Police Violence

Police are trained to use holds and blows that can break bones or sprain joints. You should be aware of this when you are noncooperating with an officer. You will have to be the one to decide how much to risk, how much to accept.

If you are beaten by police, cover the base of the back of your head at the spine with your hands. Your elbows go over the sides of your head. Lie in a fetal position with your legs drawn up to protect your groin. This is the last stage of dealing with this kind of violence. Communication and sometimes withdrawal should be tried first.



the Politics of NonViolence

The conventional view of political power sees people as dependent on the good will and caprice of the government. Power is seen as something people *have*. Consequently, those without power must kill or destroy their rulers and replace them in their positions in order to wield the selfsame power.

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

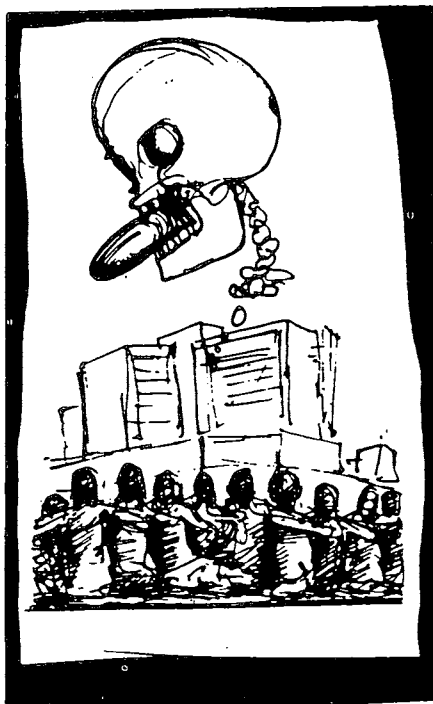
In this sense, nonviolence is not passive—nor is it a naive belief in converting the opposition—nor is it a “safe” method of protest, immune from repression. Rather, it is based on a different understanding of where people’s power really lies. By acting disobediently, people learn to withhold, rather than surrender, their cooperation. When a group of people recognize this—as the “untouchables” of India did with Gandhi’s help—the result is massive noncooperation and obstruction involving the use of social, economic and political power.

The authorities are able to wield power because masses of people passively obey, and because they have the violent means for suppressing dissent—police, National Guard, prison guards. A

few disobey and are punished, keeping the many afraid.

Yet there are chinks in this armor. First, the repressive apparatus is made up of human beings whose cooperation is essential. A nonviolent approach undercuts the police rationale for violence—and reveals to neutral parties the extent to which the system relies on violence and force.

When dissent grows and brings force to bear, it astronomically raises the cost of continuing violence against it, until it becomes infeasible and the system breaks down.



CONSENSUS

Introduction

Consensus is a process in which no decision is finalized until everyone in the group feels comfortable with the decision and is able to implement it without resentment. Ideally, the consensus synthesizes the ideas of the entire group into one decision.

The skill of coming to genuine consensus decisions is a real and hard one. It involves a willingness to change and an openness to new ideas. People must be committed not only to expressing their own feelings, but also to helping others with opposite views to express those as well. Because the ideal of consensus is to reach a decision that is not only acceptable to everyone, but is best for everyone, there must be a “bottom line” of shared beliefs about what is best for all concerned. These are the *principles of unity*. These basic agreements will undoubtedly not encompass all the beliefs of each individual in the group, but rather, will help define the working relationship of the members. This may vary from the specific goals of a coalition formed around a single action, to an in-depth, ongoing process of self-definition in a small collective. Whatever their scope, without these basic agreements, and a willingness to work within them, consensus will never succeed. (IntlDay)

Unlike voting, consensus is not an adversary, win/lose method. With consensus, we do not have to choose between two alternatives. Those who hold views different from ours do not become opponents; instead, their views are seen

as giving us a fresh and valuable perspective. As we work to meet their concerns, our proposals are strengthened.

Consensus is not the same as a unanimous vote. It does not necessarily mean total agreement. Rather, it means that a proposal has gone through a synthesis process in which everyone has a chance to express feelings and concerns.

Roles in a Consensus Meeting

Facilitator: Helps move the group through the decision-making stages. Takes suggestions for the agenda. Makes sure all necessary roles are filled. Calls on people to speak in turn. By calling on quiet people, soliciting opinions from those who hang back, and limiting those who tend to dominate, a skillful facilitator makes sure every person has a chance to participate fully. Helps the group resolve conflict and make decisions by summarizing, repeating, or rephrasing proposals as necessary. The facilitator should remain neutral on topics being discussed. When an issue arises about which the facilitator feels strongly, he or she should step aside and let someone else facilitate.

Vibeswatcher: Pays attention to the group's process. Stays aware of the feelings people are not expressing. Reminds the group to relax and take breaks as needed. This role is especially important in large meetings.

Other roles: Child care, notetaker, time-keeper.

How Consensus Works

An issue comes up for discussion. For example, an affinity group is trying to decide what its focus will be. After general discussion, someone suggests a *go-round* during which each member has several minutes to speak. One person takes notes and suggestions on a large

The facilitator then asks for *concerns and objections*. A proposal is modified as concerns are expressed. For example, a group member might say, "I'm concerned that a focus on Livermore is too narrow." After discussion, perhaps even another go-round on the



subject, the proposal will be modified and modified again. In its final form, it might be something like this: "This group will develop a public education campaign around the impact of U.S. nuclear weapons development on the Third World. The work of Livermore Lab will be a major focus, and we will support those who take part in the

sheet of butcher paper, so they can be seen by all.

When everyone has spoken, someone attempts to synthesize the ideas into a *proposal*—a suggestion for what the group will do. "I propose we concentrate on the Livermore action." The facilitator then calls for clarifying questions: "Do you mean blockading, or public education, or what?" When the proposal is clearly understood, *additions* may be offered: "I propose we concentrate on Livermore, doing education before the action and support for those who want to be part of the blockade."

blockade." If there are no further objections, the facilitator can call for consensus. If there are still no objections, then you have your decision. If consensus is blocked and no new consensus can be reached, the group stays with whatever the previous decision was on the subject, or does nothing if that is applicable.

Blocking: Any individual in the group may also *block* consensus, but a block should be used very cautiously. A *block*

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Consensus

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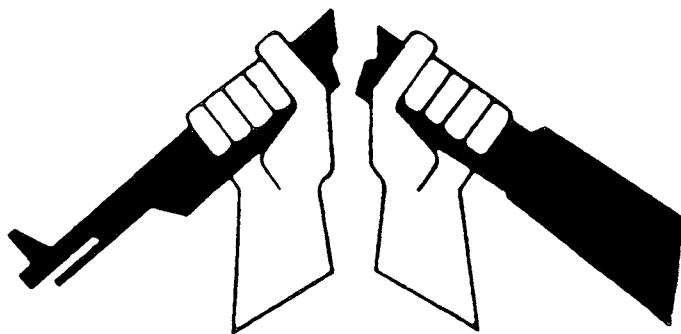
is not just a “no” vote, or an expression of disfavor. A block says, “I believe what the group wants to do is wrong. I cannot allow the group to do it—and I am willing to impose this view on other group members because I feel it so deeply.” One person may prefer action to education. Another may be afraid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

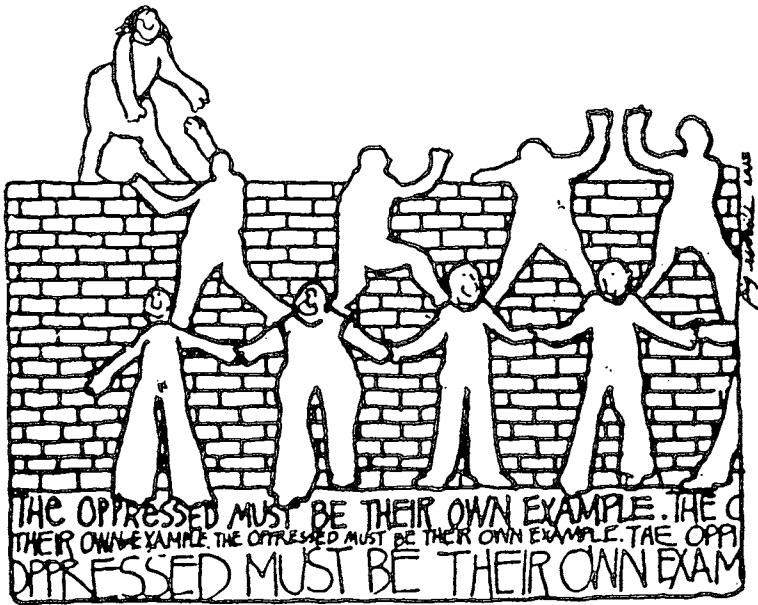
Consensus and Action: The goal of every decision-making process is not just to decide on a solution, but also to carry out that plan of action. It seems that a person’s commitment to any decision is in proportion to their sense of participation in that decision. Consensus attempts to involve all members of a group, not just the “leaders”.

People sometimes complain that consensus is too time-consuming. Especially when a group is learning to use the process, it may seem cumbersome. But discussion time is compensated by the increased energy and enthusiasm

with which people carry out a decision. There is no dissatisfied minority to undermine a decision. Because group members feel part of the decision-making process, they often take on responsibility in new areas.

Spokescouncils: When operating in a large group, each affinity group selects one person to act as their spokesperson. These “spokes” carry affinity groups’ opinions and proposals to spokescouncils of all the affinity groups. Spokes try to consolidate, synthesize, and iron out differences between proposals so as to create a proposal agreeable to all. The new proposal is then relayed back to the affinity groups by their spokes, the issues at hand reconsidered by each AG, and a new position (or perhaps the old one) is reached. These new positions are once again brought to the spokescouncil. If consensus can be reached, great. If not, the process may be repeated, or the group may decide to return to the previously consented upon position. The role of spoke should rotate frequently so that power remains decentralized.





Process Guidelines

One major contribution of the feminist movement to current social change movements is the awareness that effective group process and meaningful personal interactions are crucial factors in developing a successful movement. Nonviolence begins at home, in the ways we treat each other.

Such an awareness stresses that relationships within the group cannot be separated from the accomplishment of political goals. Effective group process, in fact, means valuing co-operation over competition, recognizing the contributions of each individual, and decentralizing power through a non-hierarchical organizational structure.

Process Suggestions

1. *Use go-rounds.* Equalize participation by going around the circle speaking for a specified time.
2. *Value feelings.* Include time in meetings for expressing emotions and for personal interactions.
3. *Meet separately.* Allow time for women to meet with women and for men to meet with men in order to facilitate self-awareness and strengthen each person's participation. This applies to other groups as well, such as Blacks and Whites, etc.
4. *Meet in small groups.* Allow time for meeting in small groups during larger meetings so that people who feel uncomfortable speaking in large groups can speak more freely. Small groups will give each person more speaking time as well. A spoke from each small group can report back to the larger group, particularly if proposals have been discussed.
5. *Share skills, rotate responsibilities.*

Affinity Groups

An affinity group is usually composed of 5 to 15 people who have been brought together either at a nonviolence prep, by being in an anti-nuke or other type of group, or just because they're friends. In addition, many affinity groups focus around a specific interest, issue or philosophy, such as opposing sexism or racism in the anti-nuke movement, peace-keeping, being lesbians, Dead Heads or single mothers. An affinity group may exist only for the duration of one action or may continue functioning as an ongoing group.

Affinity groups serve as basic planning and decision-making bodies for an action, including the preparations and aftermath. Each affinity group provides for its own physical needs and makes all the basic decisions about the action, using consensus process. Spokespeople

representing each affinity group meet in **spokescouncils** to communicate, co-ordinate and consolidate the different groups' decisions and then bring the coordinated information back to their respective groups for their final discussion and approval.

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

The concept of affinity groups is not a new one; the name goes back to the "grupos de afinidad" of the anarchist



movement in Spain in the early part of this century. But actually affinity groups are the oldest and most ubiquitous form of organization by people seeking to make a better world: what makes more sense than small groups of friends who share an "affinity" working together?

We hope that in organizing for Livermore, many affinity groups will continue on as political/support groups doing anti-nuclear and other things together (for example, anti-war, poetry, gardens, parties, alternative tech, tofu factories, etc). All over the country this is starting to happen.

We feel that affinity groups should meet regularly, or at least several times, before the action to build community in the group, work on their process, plan a blockade strategy, and have a good time together. Group names and even identification such as T-shirts or armbands can help bring a group together. At least one meeting, preferably right after the non-violence prep, should be devoted to legal and jail preparation, in which everyone's questions, fears, reactions, emotions and attitudes are explored in depth.

Affinity Group Support People

Support people are considered part of the AGs they are doing support for. Among other things they can:

- collect a list of people that members of the AG want to be contacted in case of injury or arrest.
- take care of blockaders' cars, personal belongings, IDs, etc.
- keep in touch with the protesters for as long as possible, keep track of where each member of the AG is jailed, greet them when they are freed.
- support on the home front: plants, animals, kids, jobs, etc.



Work Groups

Work groups are set up to take care of particular functions for an action. For a mass civil disobedience action, the list of work groups usually includes:

- logistics
- communications
- fundraising
- media
- legal
- outreach & publicity
- nonviolence preps
- jail support
- monitors
- medical

Ongoing communication with affinity groups and other work groups is important. This may be facilitated by representatives of the work groups meeting together as a coordinating council and/or meeting with AG spokes at a spokescouncil.

Work groups must also make budget estimates and work with each other to prioritize distribution of resources.



Discrimination Introduction

In the disarmament movement, it is important not only to struggle against bombs and missiles, but also to struggle against other forms of violence that confront us. Specifically, other violence comes in two forms:

1. Daily physical and/or psychic violence against all people, such as rape or murder, and specifically against oppressed people.
2. Psychic and attitudinal violence within our movement reflected in ways we treat each other and ourselves.

These two forms of violence are strongly interconnected with the creation of weapons of destruction. After all, it is the same system that is responsible: a system based on domination, on the belief that some people have more value than others, and therefore have the right to control others. Because we believe it is the system and all of its forms of violence that we are fighting, we must make a commitment to fight the violence that occurs around us and between us. The Discrimination Section of this handbook specifically addresses these concerns, both within a societal context and within the context of interpersonal relationships.



Racism

Racism, the systematic mistreatment experienced by people of color, is a result of institutionalized inequities in the social structure. Racism stems from a self-perpetuating imbalance in economic, political and social power. The consequences of this imbalance pervade all aspects of the social system and affect all facets of people's lives.

Racism sets groups of people against each other. It distorts our perceptions of the possibilities for change; it makes us abandon our visions of solidarity; it robs us of our dreams of community.

No human being is born with racist attitudes. Racist attitudes are a result of misinformation which has to be imposed upon young people.

Racism continues in part because people feel powerless to do anything about it. But the situation is not hopeless. People can grow and change. Racism can be examined and unlearned.

Before any real change of racist attitudes can happen:

- White people need to realize that it is possible to unlearn racist attitudes, that we do have that power.
- White people need to learn how to get accurate information from and about people of color, to be willing to listen.
- White people must become aware of the ways that our lives have been limited by racism. This will increase the interest of white people in ending racism.
- White people must develop working relationships with all groups working for change, including black, latino and indigenous groups. Don't force your agenda on other groups.

Confronting Homophobia

Many people assume that everyone in the movement is heterosexual, despite the fact that gay people comprise 10 percent of the population and have been a significant force in every major left political movement in the past twenty years.

Historically, gays have been forced to live secretly out of fear of psychological or physical attacks or reprisals. This invisibility hurts us all: it perpetuates stereotypes about gays; it divides us; and it serves to minimize the accomplishments and contributions of gay people.

Unexamined prejudices result from historical condemnation of homosexuality. Gays have been attacked on all fronts: by psychiatry, organized religion, the Right, and the Left (which has viewed gayness as evidence of capitalist decadence). The list is extensive and horrifying, yet repression towards gays is often trivialized and our concerns dismissed as inconsequential.

In the anti-nuclear movement, which encompasses people from a wide variety of political and religious backgrounds, prejudices and stereotypes that lead to negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men remain unchallenged as long as we remain invisible.

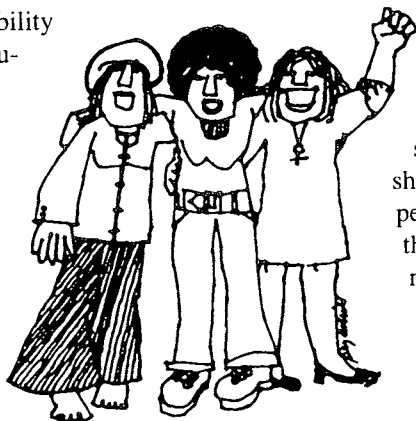
Are lesbians men-haters? This stereotype originated from men feeling

threatened by women choosing women as lovers over men, feelings that reflect a cornerstone tenet of a sexist society: women are the property of men and under their control. In recent years, the advent of the lesbian rights movement has allowed for the emergence of a lesbian separatist philosophy, held by a small part of the lesbian population. For

many lesbian separatists, the basic premise of this philosophy is the building of a culture, institutions, and relationships with women independent of men, rather than in opposition to men. This is based on the desire not to have to expend energy constantly dealing with sexism and general societal hatred of women.

This concept of separatism is not unique to lesbians and has, in fact, had parallel voices in almost every major liberation movement. Misunderstanding of this philosophy, however, has resulted in the broadening of the man-hating stereotype so that, frequently, it is used to discount women's criticisms of sexism or the desire of women to meet separately from men. It is crucial that this stereotype be confronted and not used as a cover for dismissing strong women.

The treatment of lesbians and gays by the police and jail authorities is another concern. Gays are often verbally abused



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Feminism

It is important to include a discussion of feminism in an anti-nuclear/anti-war handbook for several reasons. We can't stop the arms race simply by opposing nuclear weapons; we must also oppose traditional notions of power. Feminism has evolved from women's experiences: being supportive and nurturant; being victims of violence and oppression; being spiritual and emotional beings. And it offers an alternative concept of power.

Feminist philosophy recognizes the need to not only redistribute power, but to redefine it—power as inner strength, a

attempting to live our goals instead of just working for them.

Patriarchy

The split which in our society divides women and men is one of the most basic ways in which human beings are devalued. Under patriarchy, which means literally "rule of the fathers," men assume power over women. Women are relegated to limited roles and valued primarily for their sexual and reproductive functions, while men are seen as the central makers of culture, the primary actors in history.

The feminist movement attempts to change this deep-rooted pattern, to assure equality of women under the law, to challenge on every level of society the limitations that deny

women—and men—the chance to live our fully-human possibilities.

Patriarchy is reinforced by the language we use, by the images in our textbooks and on our TV screens, by the fairy tales we hear as children and the popular songs we sing. It is enforced economically: women are clustered in the lowest-paying, lowest status jobs. For every dollar earned by men, women



sense of self not dependent on control or domination of another. Feminist philosophy envisions a society based on support and cooperation, not on fear, intimidation and violence. The recognition that these societal goals and priorities must also exist in *our* process makes feminist analysis an integral part of anti-nuclear protests. We recognize that our means will influence our ends. We are

make only sixty cents. Women of color bear the burden of double discrimination.

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

The feminist movement has actively struggled against patriarchy and for women's self-determination in many areas—economic equality, access to jobs and education, control over our bodies and our sexuality, the right to control our own reproduction.

Feminism and Militarism

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

Feminism says that the system which enforces male domination harms both



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

Feminist Process

We learn sexism at such an early age and in such intimate surroundings—our own families—that the attitudes it fosters are often unconscious. To help each other confront this conditioning, women in the late 60s and early 70s met together in small groups called *consciousness-raising groups*. As stories and experiences were shared, women began to discover that what we thought were personal frustrations or failures often stemmed from our common situation as women. The personal, we found, is political.

The process that developed in these small groups has strongly influenced our process in the peace movement: in fact, we call our process *feminist*. Feminist

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Feminism

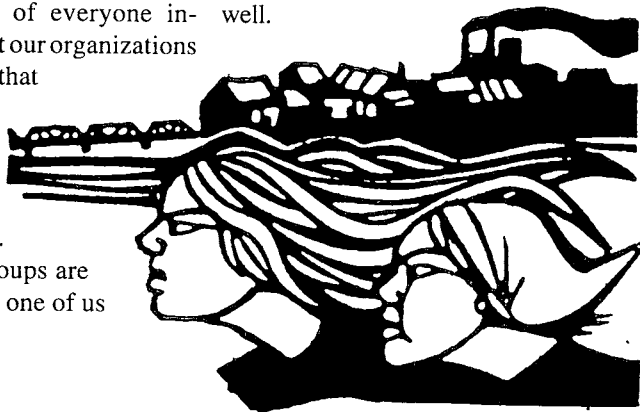
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process does not mean that women dominate or exclude men—on the contrary, it challenges all systems of domination, matriarchy as well as patriarchy. The term recognizes the historical importance of the feminist movement in insisting that nonviolence begins at home—in the very ways we treat each other.

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

Men's Issues

Although the major changes in women's lives are a result of the work that women have done for ourselves, coalitioning with men to fight sexism is an important ingredient of massive and enduring change. Some men have joined women in this struggle, and from this has emerged a small men's anti-sexist movement that challenges the social order that depends on sexism to control both men and women. Such a movement is helping men become conscious of their own pains and needs, recognize how they dominate others, and give support to each other. As with women struggling to overcome limitations that are conditioned, men can overcome the barriers which prevent them from being full human beings as well.



Homophobia

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by police and as a result feel especially vulnerable to police and jail. It is important that heterosexual and gay blockaders join together to guarantee safety during arrest and/or placement in the general jail population. Our unity can prevent the prison authorities from using homopho-

bia as a "divide and conquer" tool.

Concern for issues beyond nuclear holocaust strengthens our movement by building vital coalitions. Gaining an awareness of lesbians and gay men and other minorities whose experiences have been overlooked will improve our process by encouraging a diversity of people to participate.

by the Non-Nuclear Family AG

Overcoming Masculine Oppression in Mixed Groups

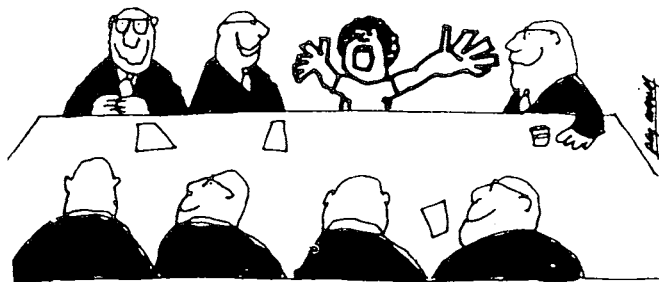
This guide is addressed to men, and to how we can overcome our own oppressive behavior in mixed (male and female) groups. More often than not, men are the ones dominating group activity. Our goals are to rid the society—and our own organizations—of these forms of domination.

The following are some problems for men to become aware of:

- **Hogging the show:** talking too much, too long, too loud.
- **Problem solver:** continually giving the answer or solution before others have had much chance to contribute.
- **Restating:** saying in another way what someone else, especially a woman, has just said.
- **Putdowns and one-upmanship:** “I used to believe that, but now...” or “How can you possibly say that?”
- **Self-listening:** formulating a response after the first few sentences, not listening to anything from that point on, and leaping in at the first pause.
- **Avoiding feelings:** intellectualizing, withdrawing into passivity, or making jokes when it’s time to share personal feelings.
- **Seeking attention and support from women while competing with men.**

- **Speaking for others:** “What so and so really meant was...”

The full wealth of knowledge and skills available to the group is severely limited by such behavior. Women and men who feel less assertive than others



or who don’t feel comfortable participating in a competitive atmosphere are cut off from the interchange of experience and ideas.

As men, we can be responsible to others and ourselves in groups by taking only our fair share of talking time, listening attentively and not interrupting other speakers, giving our ideas in an equal rather than an arrogant manner, minimizing our critical tendencies, and interrupting the oppressive behavior of other men.

If sexism isn’t ended within social change groups, there can’t be a movement for real social change. Any change of society which does not include the freeing of men and women from oppressive sex role conditioning, from subtle as well as blatant forms of male supremacy, is incomplete.

(adapted from an article by Bill Moyer)

BLOCKADE

Scenario

We plan to disrupt business as usual at the labs for as long as possible. Blockaders will attempt to cut off access gates and roads to the lab by engaging in a nonviolent blockade. Blockaders should plan on being arrested.

All blockaders must take nonviolence training and form affinity groups. AGs are encouraged to develop creative nonviolent tactics which prolong the blockade and dramatize our opposition to nuclear weapons. Theatre, props and other nonviolent tactics will maximize the effectiveness of the blockade.

To coordinate affinity group participation for the blockade, there will be regular spokescouncil meetings, consisting of a spoke from each AG. Spokes may express concerns of the AG, exchange information, and discuss proposals for the action. Spokes will then go back to their AGs to discuss proposals in depth, and return to the next council with their AG's concerns and decisions.

The blockade scenario collective is developing the framework for the blockade. This collective will provide for communication, transportation, medics, and other requirements.

AGs will be as autonomous as possible, within the guidelines of the action.

If you are considering blockading June 21st, please contact the LAG office with your name and AG name (if you already have one).

Site Description

Livermore Weapons Lab is located 33 miles southeast of Oakland. The lab is about one mile east of the town of Livermore. It is a large (several square miles) complex of buildings and open fields surrounded by a chain link fence. There are four main vehicle gates, and several pedestrian gates.

Going Limp

An important decision you will have to make is whether or not you will cooperate with police at the time of your arrest. If you decide to "go limp," you should be aware that there is a greater chance of being hurt. Here is some advice from people who have done it before:

- Try to make eye contact and communicate with the person arresting you.
- Try and situate yourself in a way that if you are dragged, you are dragged on your back and heels, instead of on your stomach and knees.
- While linking arms with AG members feels good to you, police have a tendency to view this as defiance, and are more likely to respond with force.

Mace, Dogs and Teargas

We don't expect authorities to use any of these, all of which are dispersal tactics to disrupt the blockade without arrests. However, they are a possibility.

Mace: Mace is an aerosol designed for use against an individual. It causes a burning sensation, particularly to the

eyes. Mace victims should wash skin and eyes with a 5% Boric Acid solution, if possible.

Tear Gas: Tear gas is dispensed by helicopter, grenades, cannisters, or pistols. It causes intense tearing and irritation to the eyes. Effects usually disappear a few minutes after an individual is removed from the area. Treatment includes exposure to clean air, washing with plain water, or with mild salt water. Tear gas will affect a whole area, so authorities won't want to expose lab workers. Therefore, blockaders should be sure they are blockading workers.

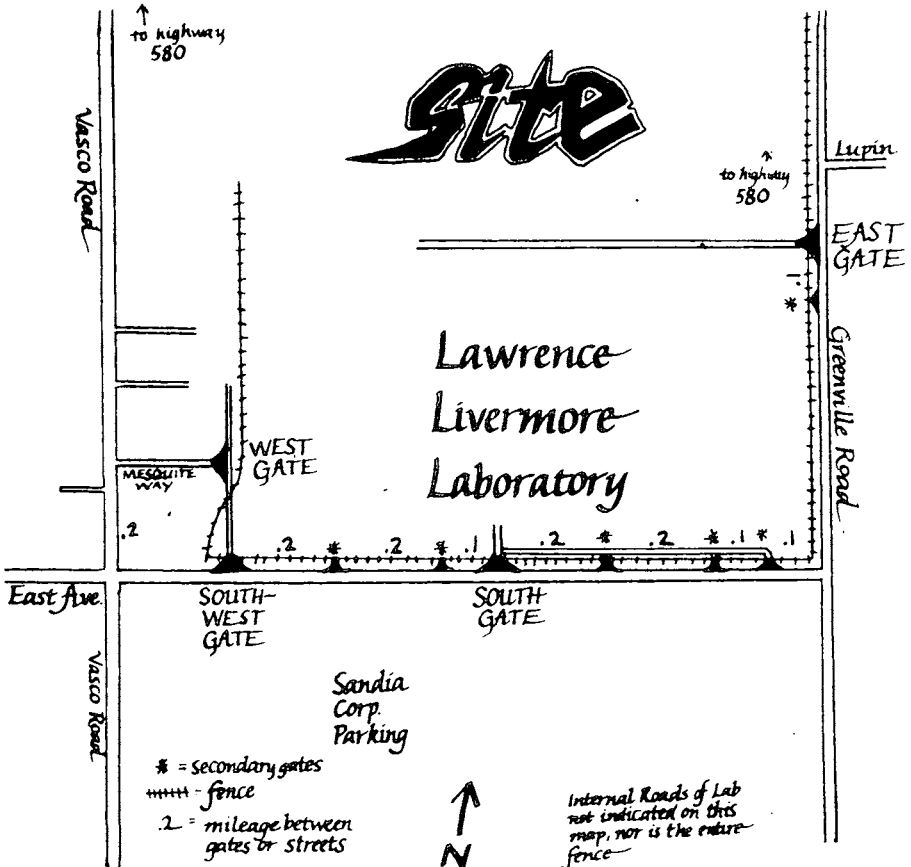
Dogs: Extreme caution must be used.

Remain calm and do not move. Dogs are trained to respond to motion. Make verbal contact with the officer commanding the dog.

The Livermore Community

The Livermore Liaison Collective formed because of our desire to communicate our purpose, concerns and goals to a community supported largely by Livermore Lab salaries. After much discussion with several members of the local community involved in the Nuclear Freeze, we did have supporters from Livermore at our February 1st blockade.

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Kids

Juveniles: Join Us

We as juveniles have grown up under the threat of nuclear war. We have a right to a nuclear-free future. Through blockading the lab, we can show people in power that what they are doing is not all right with us, and that we will not sit passively and let them ruin our world.

We encourage juveniles to join us in the upcoming blockade. The major difference for juveniles are legalities. People under 18 will need a printed permission slip, signed by parent or guardian. This assures authorities you are not runaways, and authorizes someone to pick you up at juvenile hall. Forms can be obtained from the LAG office.

In past actions, punishment of mi-



nors has been light. At the February 1st blockade, the eight juveniles were immediately released to a designated adult.

By Life Squad, an all-kids affinity group.

Blockade Scenario

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Unfortunately, those in the valley who support our strategy are not numerous. They are working in a community that thrives because of the lab, and therefore feels threatened by our activities.

Constructive dialogue with people

in the community and with lab employees is a critical component of nonviolent civil disobedience. We must convey that we don't wish to destroy the lab and rob employees of jobs. Rather, we want the lab to pursue peaceful projects.

We encourage others to join us in opening the barriers and fears that the lab has created against us.

LEGAL

Our approach to the legal system is up to us. We retain as much power as we refuse to relinquish to the government.

The criminal “justice” system functions to alienate and isolate the accused individual, to destroy one’s power and purposefulness, and to weave a web of confusion and mystification around any legal proceedings. Jail solidarity, non-



cooperation, and other forms of resistance can be used to reaffirm our position that we are not criminals and that we are taking positive steps toward freeing the world of nuclear terror.

The police may separate us from each other, breaking up affinity groups and possibly isolating individuals. We must develop an ability to deal with the legal system, while trusting in the solidarity of other demonstrators.

Possible Charges

647 — Blocking a public right-of-way. Misdemeanor punishable by up to 6 months in jails and/or \$500 fine.

602 K & L — Trespass. Peaceable but wrongful entry on land of another, a

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

626.6 — Entry by non-student or non-employee on facility controlled by the U.C. Board of Regents which appears likely to interfere with activities carried on by the facility. First offense, up to 6 months in jail and/or \$500 fine. Subsequent offenses carry mandatory jail sentences with no probation.

148 — Resisting arrest. Persons who “go limp” may risk this additional charge. Misdemeanor punishable by up to one year in jail and/or \$1000 fine.

182 — Conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor. Felony punishable by up to five years in jail.

243 — Battery. Any physical contact with an officer. Felony punishable by 2-5 years in jail.

Infractions (traffic tickets) may also be used against some or all blockaders.

In addition, the court may choose to impose harsher sentences on repeat offenders. However, it is unusual for anyone to receive the maximum sentence.

The Legal Process

Police are not required to read you your rights unless you are being questioned. You have the right to remain silent. You are also entitled to confer with a lawyer before you say anything or agree to anything. LAG is organizing a volunteer legal collective for the blockade. Don’t be afraid to ask for someone from the legal team if you are confused or need

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Legal

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clarification.

Booking: You will probably go through booking procedure. How much information you give is up to you. Some activists carry no ID and refuse to answer questions. Refusal to comply slows the process down considerably, which may or may not be desirable for the group as a whole.

Citing Out: Authorities may offer to let you go if you sign a citation release form promising that you will appear in court for arraignment. This is called being release O.R. ("Own Recognizance"). Failure to appear will result in a bench warrant being issued against you. Because citing out tends to split up group solidarity, the individual decision to cite out should be carefully considered. Further, protesters who cite out may have their arraignments separate from those who remain in jail.

Arraignment: This is an appearance before a judge in which your charges will be read to you, and you will be asked

to enter a plea. You will not be alone. Other protesters may be there with you, and lawyers for the action will be present. You are entitled to legal counsel before you plead. If protesters as a group disagree with the way the court wants to arraign you, there are ways of noncooperation (for example, muteness, refusal to enter a plea, to stand, or to speak to the judge). These measures may result in a contempt of court charge. It can be effective, but it is a gamble. You have the right to be arraigned within 48 hours of arrest, not counting weekends or holidays. However, in an "emergency," this right can be ignored.

Pleas: Defendants have the option of pleading not-guilty, guilty, or nolo contendere (no-contest). A not-guilty plea to a misdemeanor or felony leads to a jury trial (juries are not used for infractions).

Never plead guilty. A no-contest plea has the same consequence as a guilty plea as far as sentencing. However, this plea cannot be used as proof of guilt in case of a civil suit against blockaders, while a guilty plea can.

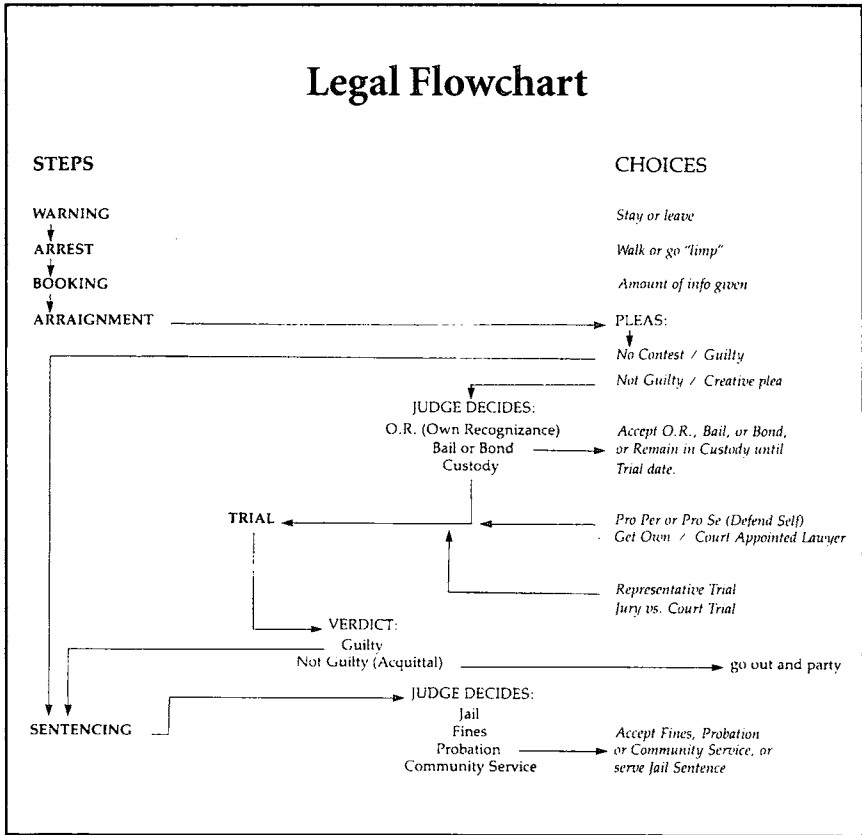
After a guilty or no-contest plea,

you will be sentenced, either immediately or at a subsequent hearing. Immediate sentencing helps avoid unequal treatment.

Bail: At arraignment or before, the judge will either set bail or offer to release you on your own



Legal Flowchart



recognizance (O.R.). Bail guarantees your later appearance in court.

If you decline to post required bail, you will be returned to jail to await your next court date. Refusal of bail has been a general commitment of Livermore blockaders. Bail solidarity is a way of ensuring equal treatment to everyone, and ensuring that those who cannot pay are not left in jail.

Trials: The decision to follow through with a not guilty plea is a political one. A trial involves a major commitment of your time, energy and money. It could tie you up for months. For those who wish to plead not guilty, LAG legal workers will offer workshops. Some

lawyers may be interested in representing groups of defendants in such cases.

Sentencing: Sentencing is discretionary with the judge, up to the statutory maximum. In lieu of jail or fines, the judge may offer probation, suspended sentence, or community service. LAG blockaders have refused to accept fines, probation or suspended sentences. Opposition to fines arises out of recognition that low-income defendants have no choice but to serve time in jail. Probation and suspended sentences are usually rejected for tactical reasons: they carry a condition that you not be arrested again during the prescribed period, or you risk a much more severe sentence.

JAIL

Jail is a lonely place. It aims to weaken solidarity, to try to isolate people from each other and reduce one's concentration to dealing with the demands of authority and of one's survival.

You can expect overcrowding, which means frustrating and irritating levels of noise and distraction, little personal space or privacy, and scant regard for cleanliness.

Food will be starchy and dull (don't expect vegetarian menus).

You can expect a complete strip search, possibly including rectal and vaginal examination, which will be the first of many casual assaults on your dignity.

You will be constantly jerked around.

You will finally appreciate the play "Waiting for Godot."

Conflict Among Blockaders

People's motivations for participating in CD will affect their attitudes toward the police and jail guards. Some people blockade as a protest against the multiple structures in society which work together to create a weapons industry. The prison/judicial system is seen as one of these structures. Such people may refuse to cooperate with the authorities at all. Some of these acts serve as personal moral goals; others are initiated as levers to make the legal system mete out equal and fair sentences to all.

For others, blockading stems from fear and outrage over nuclear weapons. Often these people will stress the need to



communicate with the human beings behind the helmets, uniforms and roles. They will talk to police, perhaps befriend the prison guards, and try to use dialogue and persuasion to raise questions about these roles.

The differences between these two approaches will frequently lead to conflicts among blockaders. The stress of the jail situation tends to intensify conflict. Conflicts must be acknowledged and dealt with at the time, or they may become divisive. Conflict is an expression of opposing viewpoints and should not be confused with violence.

Guards

Guards have a great deal of power, and they are aware of this. Because they are human beings, this knowledge tends to have a bad effect on them. They expect the worst out of people. Their principle concern is to preserve order, which demands an atmosphere of unquestioning respect (fear) for authority, supplanting

personal responsibility with obedience and submission.

You should not indulge them in their exalted self-image. Expect that they should act with respect and compassion and you may be surprised by the results. But don't forget, in the end, you and they have different jobs to perform. Let them be responsible for keeping order. You are responsible for keeping your conscience. It was your commitment to make decisions for yourself that landed you in jail in the first place, and it remains a good principle to live by, even in jail.

In Jail

- If you want something to happen, make it happen. Don't wait for someone else to think of it.
 - Remain aware of how others are being treated, especially those who are "different" or assertive.
 - Never point out someone to the guards.
 - At all times, know the whereabouts of your AG members.
 - Jail fosters dependence. Rely on your own and the group's thinking, and avoid automatically turning to the guards for help, permission, or information.
 - Guards often create false crises. Don't be panicked. Take the time you need to meet and reach consensus.

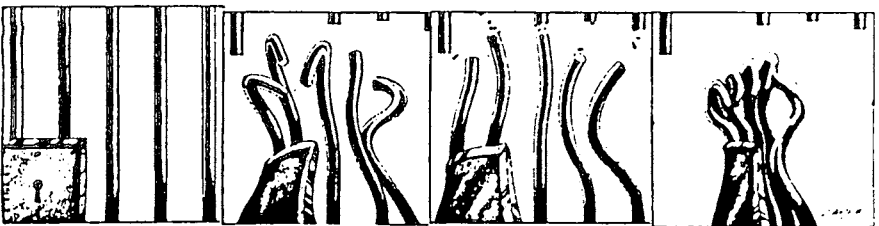


General Population

Some blockaders have been placed in the general jail population and have witnessed the extremely poor conditions under which most inmates live. One primary goal of CD is to make incarceration of blockaders stressful for the government. However, we need to hamper the system as much as possible without negatively affecting the other inmates.

Some ways to minimize our effects on other inmates are:

- Respect that other inmates did not "choose" jail. This may mean avoiding playing around, and recognizing that other inmates don't have the same legal and political support that protesters have.
- Talk with other inmates as much as possible. Communication will increase their support for CD as well as our support for reform of jail conditions.
- Limit our phone calls, and agree to forego personal visits.



SOLIDARITY

The power of jail solidarity lies in two facts. (1) In a mass arrest situation, the authorities need our cooperation to process us. (2) It is expensive for the county to keep us in jail; thus we have great collective bargaining power.



At Livermore in February 1982, blockaders insisted on mass arraignment, equal sentencing for all, and no fines. Judge Lewis said that he wanted to impose a fine, but since blockaders had said they would stay in jail rather than pay a fine, he had no choice but to offer community service as a sentence.

Jail solidarity should not be coercive. If you must get out of jail to keep your job or to take care of your family, you are not breaking solidarity. However, if you cite out you are not assured that your sentence will be the same as for those who exercise collective bargaining.

Solidarity Demands

The following are issues around which solidarity has been exercised in the past:

No bail, no citing out. This keeps us together and in communication, at great expense to the County. As many people as possible should be prepared to stay in jail for as long as necessary to ensure equal and light treatment.

Equal treatment for all. The authorities know the power of our unity and may try to divide us. No one should be singled out for harsher treatment or isolation from the group. Everyone should receive the same sentence for similar actions, and inflated or unfair charges should be dropped.

Mass arraignment. This is the only way we can know for sure that our demands for equal treatment are being met.

We have not maintained jail solidarity with people who have outstanding warrants (pay your traffic tickets before blockading!)

Exercising Solidarity

Around jail conditions: Tactics can include not responding when names are called; all sitting or lying down; milling about; chanting. We can calmly surround a threatened brother or sister, physically protecting them from being taken away. In more extreme cases we can refuse food, or refuse to get dressed.

Regarding sentence demands: The most powerful tactic is to communicate



After It's Over

A large CD demonstration is a very powerful emotional experience. We are likely to be excited, tense, bored and exhausted at the same time.

After the 1981 Diablo demonstration, many of us returned home elated. But we were also very tired and lost. Although we felt very different, our friends, housemates and co-workers seemed to go on as if nothing had changed. We wanted to start work on new actions, but we were mentally and physically exhausted.

Things that may be useful in relieving post-action burnout:

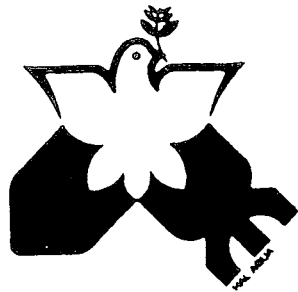
- Plan your response to burnout with your AG before the action. Set a specific date to get together afterward.
- Get your AG together just to talk about the action. The story may need to be told numerous times—like oral history or ancient rituals.
- Make sure everyone gets lots of

hugs and emotional support, including non-blockaders who worked hard on support tasks without reaping much of the glory.

- Give everyone (including yourself) the benefit of the doubt. Bickering and irrational behavior may just be temporary.

- After a few weeks or so, plan to work together on a small, easily accomplished task so people will feel useful, but not overwhelmed.

It may take as long to come down off an action as it took to prepare for it!



Solidarity

continued from preceding page

to the judge and DA that if our demands are not met, we will all plead not guilty, ask for individual jury trials, and not waive our right to a speedy trial. We can also refuse to go to arraignment

Be creative: Invent new tactics.

Don't abuse solidarity: Save it for when it really matters.

For solidarity to be effective, it must be addressed before reaching jail. Jail authorities won't wait patiently for us to reach consensus on solidarity before they start employing divide and conquer tactics to weaken our bargaining power.

Some issues that cause controversy include whether to keep solidarity with blockaders who have previous records, are on probation, or have not followed the nonviolence guidelines.

Fact and Fiction

This story is history. Every action is true. Every discussion has its basis in actual dialogs. Every love affair — well, we won't go into that here...

With a single exception (the Bush demo in Chapter Five), every major protest happened on the date ascribed. Some details have been moved to different dates to suit narrative needs. Discussions and interpersonal scenes are fictional, but the actions and topics discussed are true unless otherwise indicated here.

With two exceptions (the RPF and RWP, fictional composites of various Marxist parties, see Glossary), the affinity groups, clusters, and organizations named in the book are authentic. However, attributions of an action to a specific affinity group or cluster are often fictional.

This book is not biography. It is a history of a movement, not the story of specific individuals or affinity groups. Even more so, individuals in the photographs bear no consistent relation to the fictional characters.

The images, except for scenic shots and murals, are from the LAG archives or were loaned specially for this book. Many were not labeled, and some may be matched with the wrong action. No action or words should be linked to any specific individual based on the text, the photographs, or this appendix.

An updated list of changes can be found at www.directaction.org

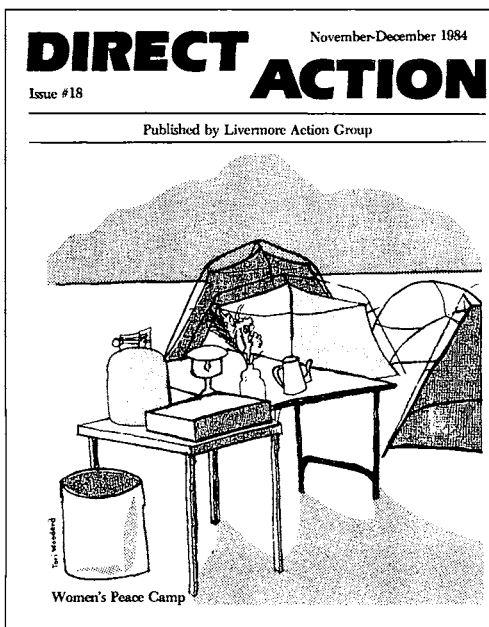
In General

This history is based on memory, interviews, hundreds of stories in *Direct Action*

newspaper, archival notes and materials, other news accounts, and interviews. Facts are true to the best memory and judgment of the author and others involved. Minor details may be mistaken, but the text can be taken as accurate in most respects, and can be used as the basis of future historical work — with the preceding caveat concerning its not being the biography of individuals or affinity groups.

Some 1980s jargon has been retained. The expressions “Blacks” and “Whites” were usual from the late 1960s through the early 1980s. “Gay” was sometimes used as an umbrella term for gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people.

See Glossary for more on specific groups, actions, etc. See website for more details, links etc.



Direct Action #18, November-December 1984

Prologue / 1984

January 29 Consulate action as described, except all three consulates were co-ed actions, and there was not a separate faith-based action.

February 3 Fictional re-creation, topics true. DA articles true, some from different issues.

March 7 Fictional re-creation. Bank of America stencil true, c. 1984. "Who's illegal" graffiti true. Consulate wrap-up true, "no respect" interchange is from 1986.

April 3 Fictional re-creation, topics true, except A's did not open against Detroit that year.

April 16 Kissinger Demo is factual in all detail, as best as could be done with sometimes-conflicting accounts and memories. The flyer-quote at the top is a re-creation, but the facts in it are true. Not sure whether speech was for Commonwealth Club or some other group.

Chapter 1 / 1982

May 25 Tougher Targets demo and LAG office true.

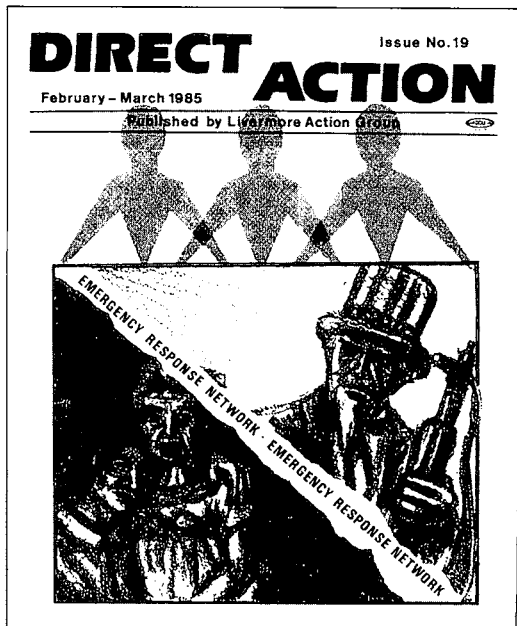
June 20 Provo Park meeting true. The film called "Change of Heart," produced by Peter Adair and Associates, played on public TV under the title "Stopping History," but the cluster kept the original name, Change of Heart.

June 21 Action true, but not sure who other clusters at that gate were. Over 1300 arrests on June 21, and about 80 more on June 22, total arrests over 1400. Order of AGs is fictional. "Circle Chant," ©1982 Linda Hirschhorn, from *Roots and Wings*, Oyster Productions, Box 3929, Berkeley, CA 94703.

June 21-22 Jail, court true. For background info on Seabrook and Diablo Canyon, see *Political Protest & Cultural Revolution*, by Barbara Epstein. Deadheads for Peace not in Change of Heart at this point. Serially-torn novel true, probably not Vonnegut, although it should have been. Civil Rights story is a true incident, as is Wavy's story.

July 10 Fictional scene, all details true. Bible incident— narrative based on several conflicting interviews. Freight & Salvage now located in downtown Berkeley. Urban Ecology, see Glossary.

August 17 Fictional scene, topics true. La Peña description is the old mural, re-painted c. 1990. Old mural was by Anna DeLeon, Osha Neumann, Ray Patlan and O'Brien Thiele of Commonarts. New mural is very similar. La Peña, 3105 Shattuck, Berkeley CA 94705.



Direct Action #19, February-March 1985

October 9 Livermore funeral march true, except flower sign actually read, “Bombs KiLLL” (“LLL” is a common abbreviation for Lawrence Livermore Lab). The St. Louis Cardinals did well in the playoffs that year, but ultimately lost the 1982 World Series to the Milwaukee Brewers.

October 28 Castro Street as described. Vandenberg and International Day planning probably accurate for this date, although specific meeting-date is invented. Berrigan visit true. Stop-sign action true, the signs were all over Berkeley for a while.

November 9 Patriotic Sing-In true, based on a Direct Action story. Not organized by Commie Dupes. Election results from memory, BCA probably got a majority on all bodies.

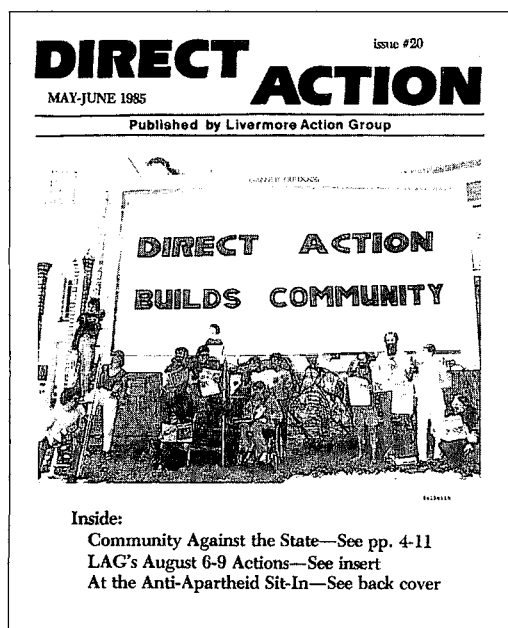
November 15 Livermore leafleting true, based on a Direct Action story. Direct Action discussions reflect actual stories. Pinball scene is an idealized re-creation.

Thanksgiving Day Ocean Beach as described. However, the windmill arms probably didn't turn at that time, and don't as of 2003. The Cliff House is being remodeled, and the Camera Oscura is threatened.

December 20 Fictional re-creation of Coordinating Council, which met every Monday night. Topics true, typical for this period. Not certain exactly when we learned of the MX test delay, but probably by this date. International Day Call, see full text in Appendix. Mobilization for Survival true. December 1982 religious actions — a wide variety of faith-based actions took place each December during the early 1980s (and on a smaller scale since). However, the 1982 specifics here are fictional.

January 2 La Peña meeting and Direct Action production true.

January 16 Fictional re-creation.



Direct Action #20, May-June 1985

Chapter II / 1983

January 23-24 Vandenberg action true. Chumash Indian ceremony true. Camp kitchen was coordinated by Turning Tide AG from Bolinas. Poll of affinity groups and clusters true, but details are fictional (although most or all AGs/clusters named were present). The numbers here are invented (except Change of Heart's). Meeting is stylized, but basically true. Action true.

January 28 Fictional scene, topics true.

January 29-30 Concord action true. Description of jail layout from memory. Marines attacking a protester based on hearsay, but probably true.

February 9 Direct Action production description true. Production was done by hand,

with electric typewriters, scissors, and gluesticks, on folding tables in people's living rooms. Commie Dupes BART action occurred February 1, 1983.

March 5 Santa Cruz roller coaster true.

March 13 Fictional re-creation, topics true. Love and Rage reference fictional. People's History mural, located at Haste and Telegraph, by Osha Neumann and O Brien Thiele, repainted in the 1990s. People's Park is around the corner from the mural.

March 31 Vandenberg March action true, although exact dates and numbers are fuzzy for this action.

April 12 Fictional re-creation, topics true.

April 30 Fictional re-creation, all pinball references and discussion topics true.

May 22 Fictional re-creation, all details true, except Acorn and Sonomore Atomics references are fictional.

June 8 Vandenberg meeting true, not sure of exact date.

June 19 Vandenberg action true.

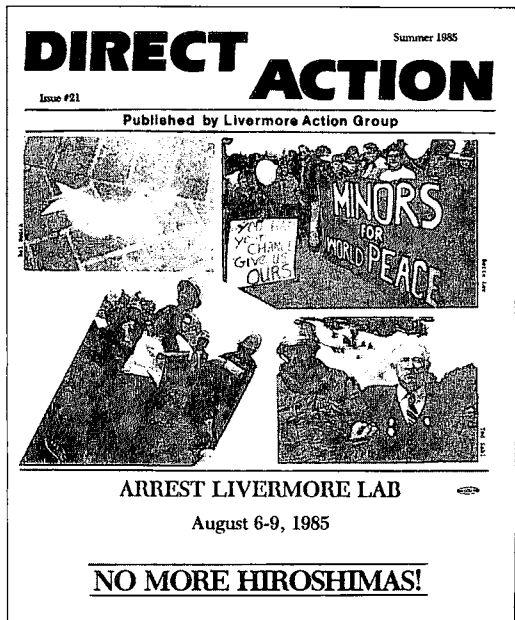
June 20 Livermore action true. Truck scene mostly fictional.

June 22-July 1 Livermore action, all incidents and details true unless noted here. Some events may be on incorrect dates, and some sequences are hazily remembered or based on conflicting accounts. More than 1100 arrests on June 20 (early media reports of 800 were incorrect). About 50 more June 22, total about 1200 arrests. Tents, portajohns, chow as described. Dimensions from memory. "Swords to Plowshares" passage from Isaiah 2:4. "We are the Power" chant by Starhawk. Gay Pride parade true, but details are hazy. Baseball radio story true, but specific game fictional. Escape plan true, but not executed. However, one man allegedly did escape from the tents, according to a story remembered years later by someone in his affinity group. Peace Flag true, unsure which day. Many attributions of actions to specific AGs are fictional, although the events and the AG names are both true. Example: "Thousand Cranes by Acorn Cluster." The event happened as described, and Acorn Cluster was present — but attribution of the action to Acorn Cluster is fictional.

Chapter III / 1983

July 4 Jail exit is a reconstruction.

July 8 Fictional scene, topics true. "Strategy Proposal" was actually named the "Campaign Proposal," but otherwise as described.



July 24 Fictional scene, topics true.

July 25-28 Santa Rita events true, not sure of exact dates. Some memories, especially visuals, are hazy. Santa Rita barracks have been torn down, replaced with a Big Brother high-tech jail similar to the one described in the January 1983 Concord action. Lightbulb incident conflates jail incident with a similar set of interactions on Telegraph Avenue in Berkeley. Gabe's story true, from January 1983 Concord action. Kafka is fictional, actual book was Heidegger, which was even drearier. McDonald's is true. "The Minimum Wage" is by the Funky Nixons, to the tune of Hank Williams' "Move It On Over." From the CD, *Still Not Crooks*. Available for \$12 postpaid, visit www.groundworknews.org/funkynixons or write GroundWork, PO Box 141414, San Francisco, CA 94114.

August 5 Fictional scene, topics true. BARF 1983, organized by BCA, was rained out. Line-up is fictional, but typical of the period, except Funky Nixons formed in 1990 (see July 25 listing above).

August 22 LAG Congress is a fictional re-creation, topics true.

August 27 Russian River is a fictional re-creation, based on Summer 1985 expedition. Visual memories hazy. For Sonoma outdoors, visit www.sonomacounty.org

September 17 Fictional re-creations, topics true.

September 30 Fictional scene, topics true. Labyrinths at Sibley Park, Oakland.

October 21 Fictional re-creation, topics and details true. Spanish NATO action from c. 1988, when Spain joined NATO. Pinball references, nukecycle true. "Cubeland" c. 1989.

October 24 Euromissiles protest true. Route and specific affinity group actions are fictional re-creations and borrowings from other protests. Direct Action reported 72 arrests. "40 men" is

approximate. Embarcadero Plaza described as post-1989 earthquake, without the old bi-level freeway. Nukecycle, Peace Dragon true. Tax resister skit from 1984.

Uncle Sam and Betsy Ross from c. 1991. Punks true, but punk AG names might be from a bit later.

Gandhi from June 1983

Livermore blockade. "No route

map" was typical of later City

protests, not sure on this one.

"Nukes are a Drag" from c. 1985.

Drummers, at least as an

organized corps, more typical

after 1985. Dancing in the streets

true. Die-ins true, tactic

borrowed from London "Stop the

City" protests of c. 1982-83.

Youth Wells Fargo action true,

not sure of AG names. BARF, see

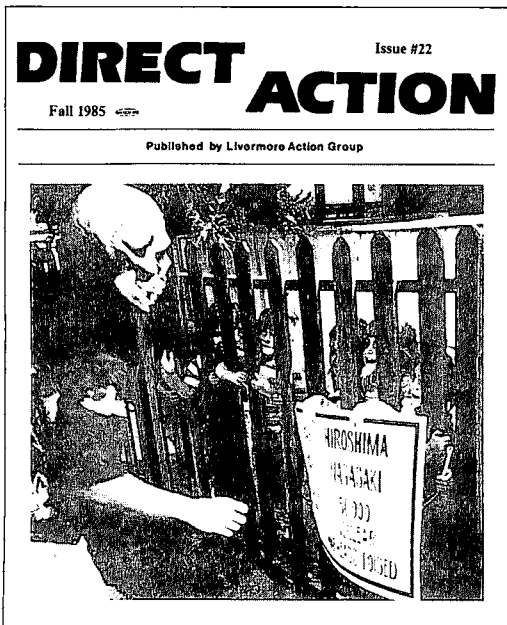
August 5 above. World Series, no

game on Saturday, as Baltimore

had defeated Phillies in five

games. Iwo Jima action from

Spring 1984.



Direct Action #22, Fall 1985

October 25 Grenada invasion and protest true, crowd numbers are estimates. Country Joe, "Screw this!" incident from 1991 Gulf War. Country Joe's classic song, "Feel Like I'm Fixin' To Die Rag," is featured on the on the *Woodstock* album and film.

November 4 Fictional re-creation, topics true. Graffiti action from c. 1987.

November 21 Fictional re-creation, topics true. ERN/Enola Gay true.

Thanksgiving Day Fictional scene, topics true. Mobilization for Survival true.

December 6 Fictional scene, topics true. Garden graffiti from 1998. Beetle Bailey graffiti from Spring 1984, by Apollinaire.

December 11 Fictional re-creation, topics and decisions true. People's Convention true, but RWP is fictional composite of several groups. Actual initiating group for PC was Communist Workers' Party, which dissolved around 1985.

December 22 Fictional scene, topics true.

Chapter IV / 1984

January 7 Fictional re-creation, topics true. Consulate, see Prologue, first scene. Diablo, see glossary. Emergency Response Network was initiated, and many AGs signed up. But Reagan backed off his Central America adventurism, and the ERN was never activated. Later that year, faith-based groups started a national Pledge of Resistance campaign, see Glossary. Balmy Alley true, first painted around this time. Some murals are from later. Romero mural, "Una Ley Inmoral," ©1996 by Juana Alicia, acrylic on wood, nine by twelve feet. Balmy Alley and many other San Francisco murals coordinated by Precita Eyes Mural Arts Center, (415) 285-2311, pem@precitaeyes.org

January 13 Fictional scene, topics true.

January 14 Fictional scene.

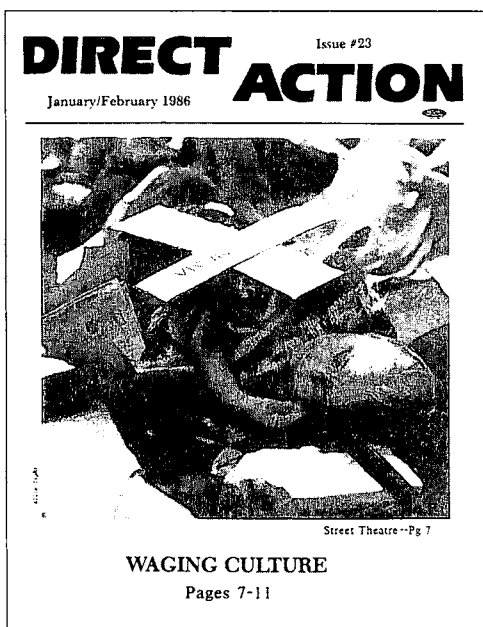
January 28 Livermore Peace Lab true. First camp closed in late February. Camp re-opened for two months in Fall 1984, and spawned the Livermore-based Tri-Valley CAREs group (see Glossary).

February 10 Fictional scene, topics true. All sites true. Oregon weapons train action true, around this time (called "White Trains"). Siena Cathedral true.

February 18 Diablo wedding true. Banner action true, different date, not all Deadheads.

February 29 Fictional scene, topics true. Blast Pass, war tax rally, Direct Action layouts, Bit o' Honey all true, dates approximate.

March 4 Fictional scene, topics true. Cal campus true.



March 16 USA Today action true, around this time. Stencil from different action. B of A graffiti, see Prologue, third scene. Burned box around this time. "Disarmament Dividends" was a popular phrase of the time. Logging-road protests true. Nukecycle true. Infiltrator fears true, Alliance for Survival story based on hearsay but likely true.

March 23 Fictional scene, topics true. Ashkenaz is located at San Pablo at Gilman. BARF true, see glossary.

April 2 Fictional re-construction, topics true. Bumper stickers true. Kissinger true, see Prologue, final scene. April Fool's true, broken arm may have been a different demo.

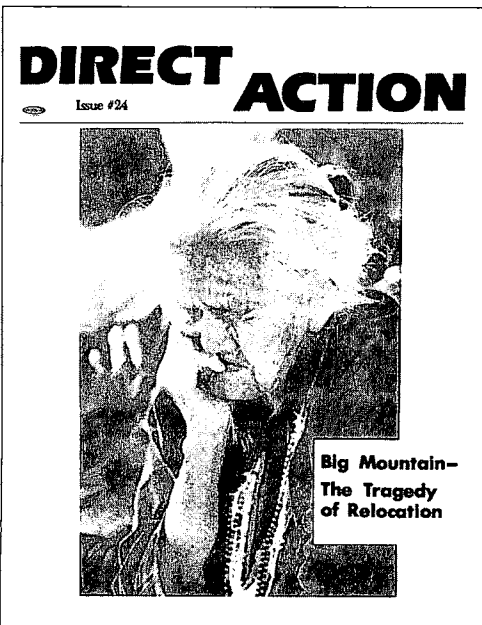
April 13 Fictional scene, topics true.

April 18 Fictional scene, topics true. Windows true. Kissinger, see Prologue, final scene.

April 20 Good Friday is a composite of various Good Friday and Christian actions at Livermore. Nailing the cross true. Summaries of actions true, numbers approximate. Kissinger cop-tire story true. For May 22, see Chapter V.

Chapter V / 1984

May 22 Financial District demo is a composite re-creation of true demo, with details from various protests 1984-1986. Many details based on a Spring 1986 protest. B of A from 1986. Well Fargo from 1986, office at 464 California, stagecoach true (stagecoach still there, please do not climb on it). McDonald's from August 1985 "Happening," based on hearsay. Spiral Dance ending not typical of this period, but possible. More usual from about 1990, and quite common c. 2000. Shopping chant c. 1991.



Direct Action #24, Spring 1986

June 8 Fictional re-creation, topics true. Nicaragua true, but campfire songs are from an activist's trip to a rebel camp in El Salvador about the same time.

June 10 Fictional re-creation, topics true. Action round-up all true, good summary in June 1984 *Direct Action*. *Nuclear Resister*, www.nonviolence.org/nukeresister, (520) 323-8697.

June 12 Fictional scene, topics true. Bound Together, 1369 Haight Street near Masonic. Mural from mid-1990s, "Remembering American Anarchism," by Susan Greene, quote by San Francisco writer Peter Plate. All demos true, as accurately as possible. Motor-cycle burning is a composite of several incidents 1978-1992. "Back to zero" from Fall 1984. "Free speech" quote from Utah Phillips.

June 15 Bush demo from 1988, when Bush the Elder won the

presidency. A similar demo against Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger happened in Spring 1984, from which some details are taken. Noses from 1988. Barricades typical 1984-1991. Cable cars true. Cops grabbing punks c. 1987. Nukeycycle steering true. Union Square has been remodeled.

June 18 Fictional scene, topics true.

June 25 Fictional re-creation, topics true. Graffiti true, around this time. Concord back-country true, around this time.

July 1 Fictional re-creation, topics true. Vacuum true. Jesse Jackson campaign connection true, see Glossary.

July 4 Fictional re-construction. Mime Troupe opens their season on July 4 in Dolores Park every year. Visit www.sfmt.org. Shopping cart calisthenics from a later show. Modern Times is at 888 Valencia near 20th Street, not far from Dolores Park.

July 9 Fictional re-construction, topics true. ERN and Pledge true, see Glossary. Monitors debate true, around this time. Shakespeare speech from *Hamlet* III.i.

July 10 Fictional scene.

July 12 Moral Majority demo re-construction based on interviews and Direct Action story. Mainstream press reports of this action are inconsistent, inaccurate. Kissing Feminists true, probably on this date, story in Direct Action. Reactionary slogan "family values" from slightly later. March to Union Square may be from a different protest. Undercovers true of this period. Limo-hop will happen someday (it is the only incident in the entire book that is taken from the future). Limo-flipoff from mid-1980s, in Berkeley.

July 14 People's Convention is a fictional re-construction, all People's Convention details true. See Glossary for more on People's Convention.

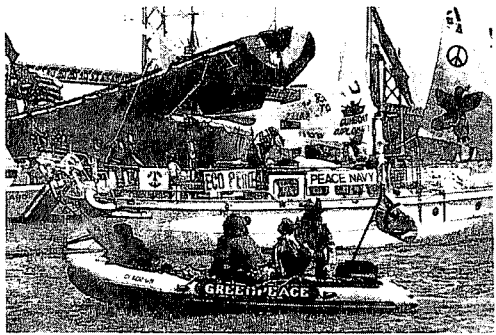
July 15 Fictional scene, topics true.

July 16 People's Convention is a fictional re-creation of the day, all events true, numbers approximate, participating groups typical of the 1980s. Hunter S. Thompson quote from the June 1972 chapter of "Fear & Loathing 1972." People's Convention plenary true. John Deere hat true, or something like it. March true, not sure about dynamics of "take the street." Nukeycycle, tractors true. Earth First! probably anachronistic at this date. March fizzle-out true. Confrontation not so definite as shown here. War Chest Tours summary true.

July 17 Fictional reconstruction of the day, all events true.

DIRECT ACTION

Issue # 25



Fleet Week Actions

AFTER
CHERNOBYL

Pages 8-17

August Witness '86
Summer at Big Mountain
"Art: Action and Participation"

Press release true, computer may be anachronistic. Central America march and theater true. Crosses with names of dead from 1985. At LAG demo, right-wingers actually were carrying an effigy of Jesse Jackson. News cameras true, not sure of stations. "Minimum Wage" and "Screw the Rich" by the Funky Nixons, on their CD, *Still Not Crooks*. Available for \$12 postpaid, visit www.groundworknews.org/funkynixon or write GroundWork.

July 18 War Chest Tour true, route is reconstructed. Get Out of Jail Free from c. 1991. "News whores" c. 1988. Some details from other demos 1984-1988.

July 19 All events true, based on interviews, news accounts, with details from other demos of this era. War Chest Tour true. Rock Against Reagan true, specific songs fictional but likely. RAR also performed at the Republican Convention that year. March to Hall of Justice true. Approximate numbers of marchers and arrestees correct, arrests roughly as described. Almost everyone arrested at the Democratic Convention had their charges dropped after the first people put on trial were acquitted by San Francisco juries. Car incident c. 1985. Initiation stories true, colors c. 1998, rappelling c. 1985. Unarrest action from October 1987 protest at Oakland Airport, including MVP. "I'm ready to get arrested" from 1987. Paddywagon from 1997, including "Always Look On the Bright Side of Life," song from Monty Python's film *Life of Brian*.

Chapter VI / 1984

July 26 Fictional scene, topics true. Screens true.

August 2 Fictional scene, topics true. Cal campus true, but brick building is next door to the Philosophy Building.

August 8 Fictional scene, topics true. Bohemian Grove action true. Bohemian Grove Action Network still organizes protests of the annual gathering — for more information visit www.sonomacountyfreepress.com. Contempt story true, but only one person in this case. Five other men received five-day sentences for contempt at a 1984 Livermore court hearing. Thirty-day sentences approximate. Republican Convention actions true, about 130 arrests, according to Direct Action. Karina arrest, see next scene.

August 29 Action is true in detail, based on interviews. Eventual sentence was two years in federal prison.

September 22 BARF true overall. Smash Nancy's China, the piñata, water balloons, volleyball, lots of dancing, Starry Plough selling beer, Mayor Gus Newport speaking, Wavy Gravy as MC, all true. Many other details from LAG and related rallies of this period, especially from BARC in the Park, 1985. Nukeycycle true, but happened at a Mime Troupe show, not quite so dramatic. Ron-Off from 1985. Zulu Spear played at Ashkenaz regularly in later 1980s. Anarchist Coffeehouse true, happened almost monthly from late 1984 through about 1989, then sporadically for a couple of more years. PG&E reactor from 1990 Earth Day march. Funky Nixons formed 1990, included several former LAGers, see July 17 listing just above for contact info. Nevada Test Site true, huge protests in later 1980s, with many LAGers in the organizing groups. Nevada Desert Experience still active as of 2003, (702) 646-4814, www.nevadadesertexperience.org (in the 1980s, the group was known as Lenten Desert Experience). Food Not Bombs' participation in BARF is fictional and anachronistic. FNB started in Boston/Cambridge in 1981. The San Francisco chapter started in the later 1980s, and hundreds of people (including many from Abalone, LAG, and VAC) were arrested in the ensuing years of harassment. The Berkeley/Oakland chapter formed during the Gulf War in early 1991 and was at the center of the defense of People's Park in 1991-92. These and many other FNB groups are active as of this writing, visit www.foodnotbombs.net

September 24 Livermore/Sandia true, 94 total arrests, according to later LAG timeline. Sandia action true. “We’re only fighting” from c. 1983.

October 16 Fictional scene. Café Med, Moe Moskowitz, and Julia Vinograd as described. Moe’s Books is across the street. Julia’s poems are available on Telegraph Avenue. Coming-out story based on 1987 events.

October 27 Spiral Dance generally true. Valencia Street between 16th and 17th as described, description includes spots on both sides of street, but don’t worry, there’s plenty more. Women’s Building, 18th Street near Valencia, as described. Contact www.womensbuilding.org, (415) 431-1180. “Maestrapeace” mural repainted c. 1990 by the Maestrapeace Art Works collective, www.maestrapeace.com. Karina wrap-up true, two-year sentence. Ritual description based on various Reclaiming rituals 1984-2002. The Spiral Dance ritual has taken place in San Francisco nearly every year since 1979 (continuously since the mid-1980s). For more on rituals and magical work, see *The Spiral Dance* by Starhawk. Dancing comes after the God invocation, not the Ancestors (so be ready). “Goddess Song/No End to the Circle” by Starhawk. “Cycles of the Moon” by George Franklin. “Let It Begin” by Starhawk, Lauren Gale, and Amber-Khan-Engel. “Set Sail” by Starhawk and Mara June Quicklightening. All lyrics previously copyrighted and used with permission. Reclaiming, contact www.reclaiming.org, PO Box 14404, San Francisco, CA 94114. Reclaiming publishes a magazine, *Reclaiming Quarterly*, which has featured the works of numerous former LAGers. Same address, or quarterly@reclaiming.org. Siena Cathedral true. For more information and photos of Siena, visit www.terresiena.it

Moon phases — all moon phases in the book are correct.

That’s all, folks!



The Direct Action collective pulled off a daring daylight billboard alteration.

400 Brian Crowley
 401 Rachel Gertrude Johnson
 402 Rachel Gertrude Johnson
 403 Ted Sahl
 404 Keith Michael Holmes
 405 Ted Sahl
 406 Bob Thawley
 407 Rachel Gertrude Johnson
 410 Ted Sahl
 411 Brian Crowley
 413 Keith Michael Holmes
 419 Unknown*
 420 Bette Lee
 424 Bette Lee
 425 Unknown*
 426 Jack Davis
 426 Jack Davis
 429 Keith Michael Holmes
 429 Bob Thawley
 438 Tom Frideg*
 441 Keith Michael Holmes
 442 Unknown*
 449 George Franklin

Chapter IV

451-454 — see those pages
 458 George Franklin
 459 George Franklin
 464 Unknown*
 465 Unknown*
 468 Ted Sahl
 468 Ted Sahl
 469 Ted Sahl
 470-473 George Franklin
 476 Azienda di Turismo, Siena
 479 Ted Sahl
 480 Unknown*
 484 Commie Dupes AG
 486 Unknown*
 488 George Franklin
 491 Francis Arouet*
 495 Brian Crowley
 495 Brian Crowley
 500 George Franklin
 505 George Franklin
 507 Commie Dupes AG
 510 Martha Fox*
 519 Unknown*
 520 Ted Sahl
 520 Ted Sahl
 520 Ted Sahl
 521 Bette Lee
 521 Bette Lee

Chapter V

525-528 — see those pages
 531 America Narcoleptic
 533 Keith Michael Holmes
 534 Bob Thawley
 534 Bob Thawley
 536 Keith Michael Holmes
 537 Ted Sahl
 538 Keith Michael Holmes
 540 Keith Michael Holmes
 551 George Franklin
 552 M. Collins+
 557 Unknown*
 561 Unknown*
 565 Keith Michael Holmes
 566 Unknown*
 573 Keith Michael Holmes
 574 Unknown*
 577 Martha Fox*
 583 Darren Ching
 593 Unknown*
 600 Bob Thawley
 602 Bob Thawley
 603 Unknown*
 608 Keith Michael Holmes
 608 Keith Michael Holmes
 609 Keith Michael Holmes
 609 Keith Michael Holmes
 611 Unknown*
 612 Unknown*
 615 Bob Thawley
 616 Unknown*
 617 Rachel Gertrude Johnson
 618 Bob Thawley
 619 Keith Michael Holmes
 621 Bob Thawley
 622 Ted Sahl
 625 Bette Lee
 627 Bette Lee
 628 Unknown*
 631 Keith Michael Holmes
 632 Bette Lee
 634 Unknown*
 634 Bette Lee
 637 Unknown*
 638 Unknown*

Epilog

646 BGAN
 647 BGAN
 648 Chris Rossi
 649 Chris Rossi

656 Darren Ching (poster)
 656 Paul Bloom (graffiti)
 657 City Of Berkeley
 658 Mark McDonald
 660 Rachel Gertrude Johnson
 661 Unknown*
 662 courtesy Mark McDonald
 663 Michael E. Bry/SFMT
 663 Michael E. Bry/SFMT
 665 Unknown*
 666 courtesy Mark McDonald
 668 Urban Stonehenge
 669 Steve Nadel
 672 Darren Ching
 674 Ted Sahl
 675 Ted Sahl (2)
 678 Tori Woodard
 679 George Franklin
 680 George Franklin
 691 Azienda di Turismo, Siena
 699 Unknown*
 699 Ilka Hartmann

Handbook

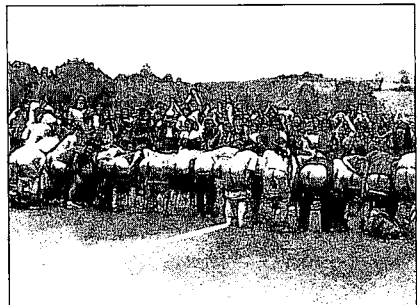
Handbook graphics are from the handbooks. Artists unknown unless noted here*

H-1 Darren Ching
 H-2 Darren Ching
 H-5 Darren Ching
 H-10 Osha Neumann (top)
 H-11 Osha Neumann
 H-13 Peg Averill*
 H-15 Peg Averill*
 H-16 Peg Averill*
 H-18 Peg Averill*

H-19 Peg Averill*
 H-20 Bulbul
 H-21 Jan Mazur
 H-22 Rini Templeton
 H-23 Peg Averill*
 H-26 Darren Ching (pic)
 H-28 Osha Neumann
 H-33 Hal Asua*

Appendices

736 Tori Woodard
 737 Chris Rossi*
 738 belsmith
 739 belsmith
 739 Bette Lee (2)
 739 Ted Sahl
 740 Unknown*
 741 Allie Light*
 742 Big Mountain Support*
 743 Janet Delaney
 745 belsmith
 747 Unknown*
 750-751 Various Artists
 752 Rafael Jesús González
 753 Unknown*
 754 Rafael Jesús González
 758 Leslie McIntyre*
 759 Ted Sahl
 760 Unknown*
 762 Unknown*
 763 Unknown*
 764 Darren Ching
 765 Unknown*
 766 Darren Ching
 767 Chris Rossi*
 768 Brian Crowley
 Back Cover Ted Sahl



German anti-nuclear activists deliver their message to police on a blockade line.

Appendices at www.directaction.org

Even with 768 pages, we couldn't begin to fit everything into this book. So we had to fall back on the internet. Here's a quick guide to the resources you'll find online. If one of these intrigues you and you have absolutely no internet access, send a carrier pigeon to GroundWork, PO Box 14141, San Francisco, CA 94114.

- **Handbook** in printable PDFs — download and print the pages you want
- **Study guide** in printable PDFs — free downloads
- **Direct Action newspaper** — PDF versions of selected pages
- **Photos** — additional photos, color versions of murals, more posters and flyers
- **Stories** — additional actions and narratives posted by readers
- **Discussions and actions** — out-takes, bloopers, alternate scenes, unedited versions
- **Get-involved resources** — books, websites, music, publications, events
- **Bulk discounts** — ordering information and discount schedule

Other Books About LAG

- Barbara Epstein, *Political Protest and Cultural Revolution*
- Starhawk, *Dreaming the Dark, Walking to Mercury, Webs of Power*
- Jim Martin, *1984: The Summer of Hate* (from Flatlands Books, see Resources, next page)
- Susan Moon & Jackie Cabasso, *Risking Peace: Why We Sat in the Road* (from Western States Legal Foundation, see Glossary)

If we missed any books, please let us know for future reprints. Contact info@directaction.org, PO Box 14141, San Francisco, CA 94114.

Bay Area Resources

- *Bay Guardian* — free at news boxes, or www.sfbg.com
- *Street Spirit* — \$1 on East Bay streets
- San Francisco Mime Troupe shows — visit www.sfmt.org
- **Radio** — KPFA (94.1 FM), Berkeley Liberation Radio (104.1 FM), KPOO (89.5 FM)
- **The Long Haul** info shop, 3124 Shattuck Ave (near Woolsey), Berkeley, CA 94705
- **Bound Together** anarchist bookstore, 1369 Haight (at Masonic), San Francisco, CA 94117
- **Modern Times** bookstore, 888 Valencia (near 20th), San Francisco, CA 94110
- **Livermore organizing** — see Glossary for Tri-Valley CAREs and Western States Legal

Study and Action Guide

Whether you are an affinity group, a class, a study group, an activist organization, or a circle of friends, this guide moves from reading to discussion to action.

- Chapter-by-chapter guide for developing and applying the issues raised in the book. Whether you're organizing a revolution or a Solstice ritual (or both), these discussions will shed new light on your work.
- Less talk, more action — local organizing, right where you live, is built into the sessions.
- Ways to share leadership and equalize power within the group.
- Activist, cultural, and legal resources.

Download free printable PDFs from the website. \$3 each in print (order one and make copies). Free with five or more books to the same address. Visit www.directaction.org/guide, or contact GroundWork, PO Box 14141, San Francisco, CA 94114.

Resources

Here's a brief guide. A longer list is posted online at www.directaction.org

- **Indy Media**, outstanding user-posted source of grassroots news and photos. Visit www.indymedia.org for links to local sites.
- **Food Not Bombs**, serving free food and building community since 1981. For local groups contact www.foodnotbombs.net, (520) 770-0575.
- **Earth First!** No compromise in defense of Mother Earth, from educational work to tree-sits. Contact www.earthfirst.org, and check out their magazine, *Earth First! Journal*, www.earthfirstjournal.org, PO Box 3023, Tucson, AZ 85702.
- **Precita Eyes Mural Arts Center** is an artists' consortium which coordinates murals and other artwork in San Francisco, particularly in its home neighborhood, the Mission. Contact (415) 285-2311, pem@precitaeyes.org
- **Reclaiming**, an international community of women and men committed to Witchcraft and magical activism. *Reclaiming Quarterly* features reporting on grassroots activism. Contact www.reclaiming.org, PO Box 14404, San Francisco, CA 94114, (415) 339-8150.
- **The Nuclear Resister** supports imprisoned anti-nuclear and anti-war activists, and has offered great activist news since 1980. Contact www.nonviolence.org/nukeresister, (520) 323-8697.
- **Art & Revolution** is a collective of artists and activists who revitalize political protest by bridging creative culture with struggles for social justice. A&R brings dance, music, theater, and giant puppets to the streets to bring attention to the critical issues of our times. Contact www.artandrevolution.org
- **Flatlands Books** provides a unique range of nonfiction titles by mail order. Many are unavailable elsewhere, on topics such as suppressed science, the global corporate state, Wilhelm Reich and orgone, mind control, conspiracy, UFOs, lodge brothers, and secret societies. Contact www.flatlandbooks.com, (707) 964-8326 (9-5 Pacific Time).
- **"Free Speech Radio"** and **"Democracy Now"** shows appear on many community radio stations across North America.

LAG Discography

LAG never reached consensus on its authorized soundtrack, but here are some essential works that will provide a suitable backdrop for reading this book.

Direct Action Production

Various Artists *Soweto Street Sounds*
 Ferron *Shadows on a Dime*
 Sunny Adé *Juju Music; Live Juju*
 Fela Kuti *Live in Amsterdam, Beasts of No Nation*
 Grateful Dead *American Beauty, Workingman's Dead*
 Bob Marley *Exodus, Uprising*
 Sweet Honey in the Rock
 Various Artists
Zimbabwe Frontline



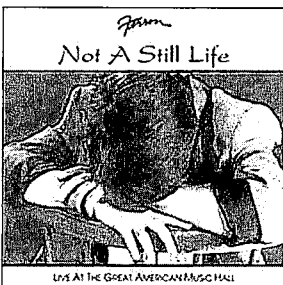
Jeff's Faves

Ferron *Testimony, Not a Still Life*
 Bessie Smith
 John Lee Hooker
Real Folk Blues
 Talking Heads
Songs About Buildings

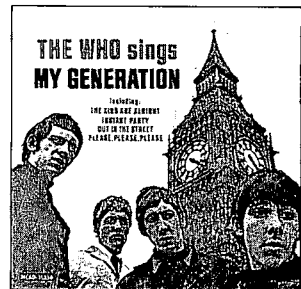


Pinball Classics

The Rolling Stones
 The Who
 Jimi Hendrix
 The Beatles
 Bob Dylan
 Creedence Clearwater
 Revival
 Grateful Dead
Steal Your Face
 Woodstock Soundtrack



Patti Smith
Horses, Radio Ethiopia
 Woody Guthrie
 Muddy Waters
Chess Hits
 Sex Pistols
 Elvis *Gold Hits*
 Doc Watson



DJ Milhous has threatened to make mixtapes of this music — visit www.directaction.org for info

Raoul's Mix

Grandmaster Flash & Melle Mel *The Message*,
Beat Street

Dead Kennedys *Give Me Convenience or
Give Me Death*

Boogie Down Productions
Criminal Minded

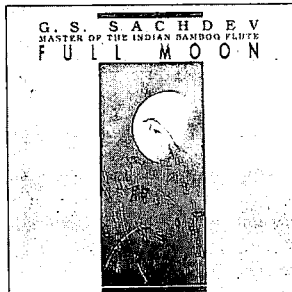
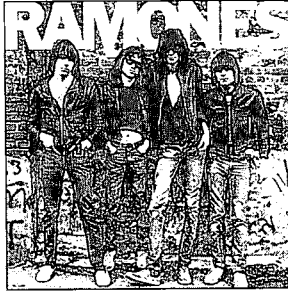
MDC *Millions of Dead Cops*,
Multi-Death Corporations

Run DMC *Run DMC*

The Ramones

Black Uhuru *Brutal Dub*

The Clash *The Clash*,
London Calling



Holly's Music

Sukay *Return of
the Inca*

Inti Illimani

Reclaiming
*Let It Begin Now:
Music of the
Spiral Dance*

G. S. Sachdev *Full
Moon*

Miriam Makeba

Lata Mangeshkar *Golden Voices
of Indian Film*



Bedtime

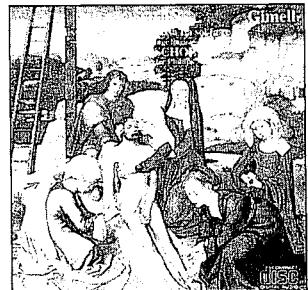
Josquin Des Prez

Guillaume Dufay
Missa Se La Face

Joseph Haydn
Cello Concertos

Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina *Missa Papae Marcelli*,
Missa Hodie Christus Natus Es

J. S. Bach *Cantatas, Cello Suites, Christmas Oratorio*



Odds & Ends

John Coltrane

Thelonious Monk

Linda Hirschhorn

Roots & Wings

Dave Lippman *No Sale*

Utah Phillips

Holly Near

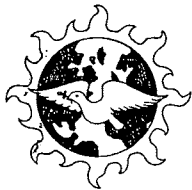
John Trudell

Aka Graffiti Man

Funky Nixons

Still Not Crooks

A CALL FOR INTERNATIONAL DAY OF NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT JUNE 20, 1983



INTRODUCTION

Stand on the moon and look at the earth. In sunlight and solar wind it hangs, a pearl infinitely precious, whole and entire.

Stand on a mountaintop; stand by the sea. Land, air, water—they move round the great arch of earth to meet themselves again. About the globe the mantle of life clings, no less seamless than what it clothes. There are no breaks or barriers, only a million kinds of continuity.

Yet life threatens life with death. Human beings have distorted the variety of life into oppositions and polarities. Many have forgotten that life cannot be divided, only destroyed. In the pursuit of limited and local gains, we risk the loss of everything.

We are killing each other, and killing our planet. Everything we do affects all of us. We need to work together, consciously, for our common good.

The roots of war are deep, and the A-bomb, the H-bomb and the neutron bomb are its most poisonous flowers. They must be eliminated, for they threaten the very existence of life on earth.

At the same time, if we hope to achieve a lasting peace, nuclear disarmament can only be the beginning, the necessary pre-condition, of a profound process of transformation and rebuilding.

The June 1982 U.N. Special Session on Disarmament demonstrated the unwillingness of the world's nuclear powers to disarm. It is clear that we cannot rely on governments to promote peace without serious pressure from their citizens. We as individuals, working with one another all over the earth, must take upon ourselves the responsibility of stopping nuclear destruction.

On the days leading up to the Solstice in June 1983, we call for people all over the world to say NO to nuclear weapons and to the increasing world militarism which squanders precious resources needed for basic human necessities.

We call for, in fact, the celebration of an annual world holiday for peace and justice.

PROPOSAL:

A day of coordinated local actions around the world to resist nuclear arms and power, militarism, intervention, and their social and ecological consequences. People will use whatever non-violent means they think appropriate—civil disobedience, strikes, marches, vigils, demonstrations, individual initiatives, etc.

OBJECTIVES:

To further the causes of 1) global nuclear disarmament, 2) demilitarization and non-intervention, 3) equitable distribution of wealth and resources within and among nations, and 4) a sustainable relationship between the human race and the planet.

To protest, halt, and disrupt the design, production, transport, and deployment of nuclear weapons worldwide for at least one working day.

THE ISSUES

The threat of nuclear war increases each second. An emergency situation confronts us as the world's nuclear powers move closer to deploying first strike weapons, designed not to deter an attack but to launch one. Two of these weapons, the cruise missiles and the Pershing IIs, are slated for deployment in Europe this year, 1983. Plans to test the MX missile in the Pacific also continue for 1983. These dangerous plans must be resisted with all our will.

Funds for human needs are increasingly siphoned off for war preparation while world unemployment, malnutrition, infant mortality, lack of adequate housing, and other societal ills abound. We must work diligently to change the existing social, political, and economic order, nationally and internationally, wherever it fosters suffering and favors war.

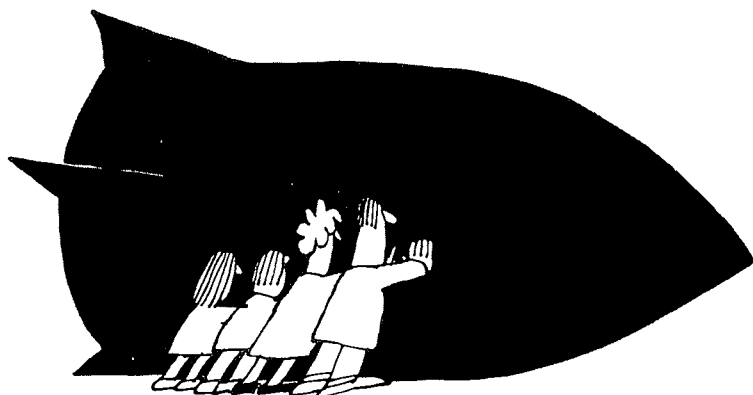
Accelerating militarism increases the likelihood of war, and new "conventional" weapons make war much more violent. Military conscription forces young men, especially poor men, to coerce other people, to kill, and to die. The current military build-up pushes us toward destruction and away from a civilized, peaceable world.

Intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries is bringing death to hundreds of thousands of people each year, and untold misery to others. Wherever intervention exists, it must be opposed, and the right of people to self-determination affirmed.

Discrimination by race, class, sex, age, and religion, is reinforced by a militaristic world. To change that world, we must begin now to live as we would in a more equitable society, and to eliminate these inequities in our daily lives and institutions.

The International Day Call, written by a LAG work group in Fall 1982, spelled out a vision of building a new world, beginning with coordinated direct actions on Summer Solstice 1983. LAG mailed this Call to hundreds of activist groups around the world, with the support of the Mobilization for Survival, the Snake River Alliance, and other networks.

The Call in its final form represented an uneasy compromise between the poetic vision of the Introduction, which spoke for members of the International Day work group, and the list of issues, which was more attuned to Bay Area coalition politics.



THE ISSUES, CONTINUED

Ecological destruction threatens the planet just as surely as does a nuclear holocaust. Immediate steps must be taken to create new ways to live that reward those who work for the enduring health of the land, the air, and the sea, and the health of all who inhabit them. Destructive "development" must be redirected.

Lack of a positive vision of the future hampers us in all we do. Resistance to evil is necessary, but it is not enough. On the International Day let us join one another in imagining and beginning to create a world of peace and justice.

THE DATE—JUNE 20, 1983

Set by the Summer Solstice in the Northern Hemisphere and the Winter Solstice in the Southern Hemisphere, June 20 is a day to affirm life. It is free of ethnic and cultural bias, and emphasizes the integrity of the earth and the universality of the human condition.

We have forgotten our place in nature. Our politics should be rooted in love of the earth. We may gain the vision we desperately need by having our protests and peace festivals coincide with the movements of the earth, the sun, and the moon.

In the emergency brought on by the threatened deployment of the cruise and Pershing II missiles, June 20 gives people time to build international support for European resistance which will culminate in the Autumn of 1983.

1983 is only the start. In 1984, we will continue the dismantling of the machinery of devastation and begin construction of a new world founded on peace. Year by year, we will assemble at or just before the solstice in June, and the balance of our work will tilt gradually from reaction to action, from resistance to creation.

And once peace is achieved—failure is unthinkable; we will succeed—the day will be celebrated in rejoicing for as long as there is an earth to roll around a sun and humans here to perceive it. If this vision seems vast, so much the better, for if we destroy ourselves and the world with us, it will be due not to a failure in technology, strategy or tactics, but to a failure in vision.

THE ACTIONS

Planning for actions on or shortly before the International Day of Nuclear Disarmament is taking place at the local level. All decision-making is decentralized, with the only universal commitments being to non-violent actions and to the date.

Participating organizations are encouraged to form coalitions with other groups in their locale to ensure inclusion of the many important issues relating to nuclear disarmament, and to emphasize to the media the coordinated aspect of the International Day.

Many coalitions are already forming which reach out beyond peace groups to include labor, religious, anti-intervention, anti-conscription, human needs, anti-discrimination, and environmental organizations.

Appropriate actions for June 20 are only as limited in scope as our imaginations.

Non-violent blockades, occupations and other civil disobedience at nuclear weapons facilities and military installations, etc., would occur throughout the world.

Legal marches, vigils, and rallies involving theater, speakers, graphic art, music, dance, poetry, prayers, and meditation, etc., would take place everywhere. Peace camps would be initiated.

Non-violent strikes would halt the design, production, transport and deployment of nuclear weapons for at least one working day. Symbolic work stoppages for shorter lengths of time all over the world would proclaim solidarity with these strikes and other non-violent actions.

Conferences, teach-ins, art festivals, religious services, and mass demonstrations during the week and weekend before June 20th would awaken people to the issues involved.

On June 20th itself, people unable to leave their homes or workplaces would telephone friends, public officials, radio and television stations, newspapers, etc., to voice their objection to the nuclear holocaust being prepared for us.

Nuclear Free Zones would be declared in cities, regions, neighborhoods, and buildings.

Businesses and homes would hang anti-nuclear posters and banners on their windows and doors, and create entire window displays devoted to nuclear disarmament. A prayer in each city and village at sunset on June 20th would completely circle the earth as it spins around the sun.

Like the June 1982 Livermore action, the 1983 action was synchronized with Summer Solstice, connecting the action to the cycles of the Earth. Organizers of International Day aimed to reach beyond specific groups and political cultures and link to a global movement for peace and justice.

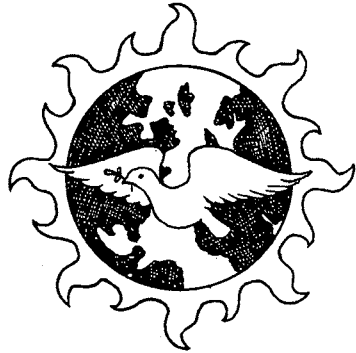
The call for actions, rallies, and educational events at weapons facilities was realized the first year. Other aspects, like strikes shutting down weapons plants, were visionary.

THE SPONSOR

Livermore Action Group (LAG) formed following the failure of conventional appeals and lawsuits to convert Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, one of the United States' two nuclear weapons design labs, to peaceful research. LAG members staged six non-violent blockades of the Lab in 1982, the largest resulting in the arrest of more than 1300 people. LAG remains committed to the tactic of non-violent civil disobedience for the purpose of converting or shutting down the Lab.

Livermore Action Group is currently working in coalition with California groups to organize civil disobedience at Vandenberg Air Force Base near Santa Barbara, California, to protest the first test firing of the MX missile. LAG will also undertake another massive blockade of the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory on the International Day of Nuclear Disarmament, June 20, 1983.

This call for action is issued in cooperation with the Mobilization for Survival in the United States.

**SPONSOR'S ROLE**

Livermore Action Group's role in the International Day of Nuclear Disarmament is that of a clearinghouse for the network of groups organizing actions in their own areas. LAG is offering a handbook, a series of action bulletins, and a common graphic for the International Day.

HANDBOOK

Livermore Action Group will publish a handbook in March 1983 for United States participants in the International Day. The handbook, about 100 pages in length, will include the following sections: a) introduction (nature of the Day); b) process (non-violence, civil disobedience, affinity group structure, consensus); c) planning the action; d) perspectives on the movement; e) information and analysis on nuclear weapons, militarism, intervention, and associated issues; and f) resources (e.g., the location of nuclear facilities). Groups both new and old will find material here to help them in organizing, funding, and carrying out their local actions and in writing their educational literature and publicity. They will also find an extensive presentation of methods and models for working well in groups. The handbook builds upon its predecessors and the experiences and knowledge of more than 50 writers.

HOW TO GET INVOLVED

Organize a non-violent protest in your area on or shortly before June 20, 1983.

Form a coalition with other organizations.

Mail a report of your planned action for inclusion in the action bulletin.

Send in your group's name to be listed as a participant in the International Day.

Distribute this flyer to everyone you know around the world.

Write articles about International Day in your local newspapers.

Return the coupon on this page to:

Livermore Action Group
3126 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California 94705
U.S.A.

Telephone: 415/644-3031

COMMON GRAPHIC

The graphic on this page is offered as a common symbol for the International Day of Nuclear Disarmament. A common graphic would be widely recognized and serve to emphasize the unity of our commitment.

The symbol incorporates three elements: the sun (whose rays are positioned to point to the directions of the compass), the earth super-imposed upon the sun, and the dove (universal symbol of peace) whose wings span the earth.

The symbol could appear on T-shirts, buttons, banners, communiques, and press releases related to the International Day. If you would like to design your own symbol, you might consider incorporating these three elements (the sun, the earth, and the dove) in your design.

ACTION BULLETIN

LAG will also publish a series of action bulletins on a regular basis from March to June 1983. The bulletin will contain news about actions planned on the International Day all over the world. Everyone interested in learning the totality of events on the International Day is encouraged to subscribe to the action bulletin and send articles for it about their planned actions to Livermore Action Group.

| Organization _____

| Contact person _____

| Address _____

| _____

| Telephone _____

| _____

| List our group as a participant

| Send handbook and action bulletins (enclose \$7 individual rate or \$15 group rate)

| Send ordering information for International Day posters, T-shirts, more flyers, buttons, bumper stickers, etc.

| Enclosed is a donation (\$5-\$5000) to help publicize International Day around the world

| _____

| (Checks made payable to Capp Street Foundation/Livermore Action Group are tax deductible in the United States.)

Over 300 groups, mainly in the U.S., Europe, Japan, and Australia, answered the Call, with over twenty organizing civil disobedience actions. A sampling is listed on the following pages.

The work group produced a 104-page handbook, which provided material for the handbook in this Appendix (see page 700). Articles also appear in Handbook for Nonviolent Action, published by the War Resisters League. Contact www.warresisters.org, (212) 228-6193.

International Day Participants

a partial list of participants, actions, and events on and around June 20, 1983

San Francisco Bay Area

- Berkeley** Cycling for Nuclear Disarmament
- Berkeley** Urban Ecology workshop on cars
- Concord** CISPES march to Concord Naval Weapons Station
- Livermore** Livermore Action Group blockade of Livermore Lab
- Livermore** Hands Around Livermore Lab
- Oakland** Fellowship of Humanity debate on disarmament
- Oakland** Pro-Arts driftwood art installation in the mudflats
- San Francisco** Bay Area Asians for Nuclear Disarmament workshop and film
- San Francisco** Bay Area Artists for Nuclear Disarmament exhibit
- San Francisco** International Indian Treaty Council event
- San Francisco** Buddhist Circle for Peace morning meditation and silent walk
- Silicon Valley** Mid-Peninsula Peace Center peace camp
- Walnut Creek** Contra Costans for a Nuclear-Free Future musical festival

California

- Chico** Chico People for a Nuclear-Free Future demonstration
- Claremont** Peace and Justice Coalition event
- Fort Bragg** People for a Nuclear-Free Future event
- Fresno** Sequoia Alliance civil disobedience action at Lemoore Air Station
- Friant** Mountain People nuclear free zone campaign
- Los Angeles** Alliance for Survival peace celebration
- Occidental** Bohemian Grove Action Network event
- Ojai** World Peace Movement event
- Oxnard/Pt. Mugu** Peace Action at Mugu rally and civil disobedience
- Palo Alto** Community Against Nuclear Extinction (CANE) event
- Petaluma** HOPE event
- Pomona** Alliance for Survival peace walk
- Riverside** Alliance for Survival rally
- San Diego** Community Energy Action Network civil disobedience at Pt. Loma
- San Jose** San Jose Peace Center event
- San Luis Obispo** Vandenberg Action Coalition occupation of Vandenberg AFB
- Santa Barbara** Nuclear Free California nuclear free zone declaration
- Santa Cruz** Sisters Rising Affinity Group civil disobedience action at Lockheed
- Santa Monica** Women's Rand Action rally and tea party at Rand Corporation
- Santa Rosa** SONOMore Atomics event
- Ukiah** Coalition for Peace on Earth civil disobedience at recruiting station
- Venice** Alliance for Survival event
- Visalia** Sequoia Alliance event
- Wilbur Springs** Wilbur Hot Springs Group event

continued on next page

International Day Participants

a partial list, continued from preceding page

Northwestern United States

- Milwaukie OR** People's Test Ban picket at Precision CastParts Corporation
Portland OR People's Test Ban event
Kent WA Puget Sound Women's Peace Camp at Boeing
Kent WA Greenpeace direct action at cruise missile plant
Spokane WA Walk Into the Future to Fairchild AFB
Bangor WA Port Townsend Peace Coalition vigil at Trident Submarine Base
Conrad MT Silence One Silo event
Laramie WY Wyoming Citizens Alliance event
Pocatella ID Peace and Justice Center phone-in to Senator's office
Ketchum ID Groundwater Alliance event
Idaho Falls ID Citizens for Nuclear Weapons Awareness event
Sandpoint, Lewiston, and Blackfoot ID SANE and Ground Zero events
Couer d'Alene ID Pine Cone Alliance event
McCall, Buhl, Boise, Twin Falls, and Nampa ID Snake River Alliance events

Southwestern United States

- Tempe/Scottsdale AZ** Nuclear Resister vigil at Palo Verde Nuclear Station
Tucson AZ Cruise Conversion Alert rally at Davis Monthan AFB
Big Mountain (AZ) Big Mountain Diné Nation peace vigil
Las Vegas NV Greenpeace peace procession
Albuquerque NM Disarmament Coalition civil disobedience at Kirtland AFB
Santa Fe NM Project Lighthawk event
Amarillo TX Texas Clergy and Laity Concerned vigil at Pantex weapons plant
El Paso TX El Pasoans for a Nuclear Free Future rally at Fort Bliss
Salt Lake City UT Utahns for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze vigil

Midwestern United States

- Cedar Rapids IA** Ames Peace Network rally and peace camp
Omaha NE New Covenant Justice and Peace and Omaha Pax Christi events
Emporia KS Emporians for Nuclear Disarmament vigil
Kansas City MO Cowtown Alliance march
West Plains MO Ozarks Area Community Congress leafletting at Southwest Truck Body
Chicago IL Disarm Northrup Action Coalition blockade at Northrup Defense Systems
Corydon IN Corydon Peace Group letter-writing campaign
Detroit MI Mobilization for Survival event
Bay City MI Bay Area Peace Coalition leafletting near Wurtsmith AFB
Ann Arbor MI Michigan Alliance for Peace event
Walled Lake MI Michigan Alliance for Peace protest at Williams International
Minneapolis MN Honeywell Project legal demonstration (leading to later direct action)
Madison WI Disarmament Now and Peacemakers direct action at Math Research Center
Milwaukee WI Mobilization for Survival event

Southeastern United States

- Washington DC** World Federalist Student Division vigil
Baltimore MD Nuclear Free America event
Arlington VA International Disarmament Organization event
Orlando FL People for Disarmament legal protest at Martin Marietta
St. Petersburg FL Immanuel House blockade of General Electric Neutron Devices Plant
New Orleans LA Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament event

Northeastern United States

- Groton CT** June Coalition civil disobedience at Electric Boat and British Trident
Norwich CT War Resisters League event
Vermont Yankee VT Vermont Yankee Decommissioning Alliance event
Central VT Central Vermont Safe Energy Coalition event
Burlington VT Burlington Peace Coalition civil disobedience at General Electric
Cambridge MA Ailanthus Community civil disobedience at Draper Labs
Westborough MA Worcester Coalition for Disarmament direct action at GTE
New Bedford MA New Bedford Freeze Group protest at Federal Building
Albany NY Knolls Action Project direct action at Knolls Atomic Power Labs
Genesee NY Genesee Valley Citizens for Peace event
New York NY Fourth Wall Repertory Company event
New York NY Mobilization for Survival event
Pittsburgh PA Thomas Merton Center event

Other Countries

- Morales, Mexico** World Constitution and Parliament Association event
Quandra Island BC Christian Peace Agitators peace boat
Vancouver Island BC Denman Island Peace Group protest at Canadian Forces Base
Victoria BC Greater Victoria Disarmament Coalition vigil at Legislative Building
Tokyo, Japan Japan Citizens' League rally and march with over 100 peace groups
Brisbane, Australia United Nations Association of Australia anti-nuclear march
Sidney, Australia United Nations Association of Australia anti-nuclear march
Adelaide, Australia Campaign Against Nuclear Energy event
Dunedin, New Zealand Peace Action Dunedin rally and letter deluge
Tel-Aviv-Jaffa, Israel International Movement of Conscientious War Resisters event
Leeds, England Headingley Peace Action blockade at Tarmac
Paris, France L'Alliance Internationale pour le Disarmament peace march to Geneva
Vienna, Austria Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Zivildienst street theater
Berlin, Germany Frauen für den Frieden rally
Bielefeld, Germany Christian and nonviolent groups five-day public fast
Bremmerhaven, Germany Nonviolent blockade at Carl-Schurz Kaserne (U.S. Army base)
Trier, Germany Demonstration at Bittburg (U.S. military base)
Krefeld, Germany Friedensinitiative Neuss protest of Vice President Bush's visit
Filderstadt, Germany Banner-hanging and bicycling for disarmament
Dortmund, Germany Gewaltfreie Aktionsgruppe Dortmund vigil and demonstration
Ohain, Belgium Brabant-Ecologie event
Milano, Italy Centro per la Nonviolenza program for peace
Copenhagen, Sweden Forsvar-Militaerkenntisk Magasin event

Glossary of Groups and Terms

pronunciations in "quotes"

Abalone Alliance Forerunner of LAG, direct action group focused on the nuclear power plant at Diablo Canyon. Organized actions from 1976-1984. *See Diablo Canyon.*

Affinity Group Also AG, small groups for direct action organizing. Everyone participating in actions at Livermore or Vandenberg was expected to be in an affinity group. Some AGs existed for two or three years. Most lasted for one or two actions. Some were intentional groups, such as teachers, anarchists, Catholics, gays, etc. Others were simply a group of people who happened to take their nonviolence prep together. *See Cluster, and also LAG Structure chart, page 766.*

AFSC American Friends Service Committee, "AFSC." Social service wing of the pacifist Society of Friends (Quakers). AFSC played a major role in establishing a series of nonviolence guidelines which many direct actions, including the Livermore and Vandenberg actions, adopted. Also promoted a broader idea of "process," including consensus and feminism.

Anarchist A title loosely used by many organizers of the War Chest Tours, Rock Against Reagan, and the street-protest contingent within LAG. The emphasis was on nonhierarchical, decentralized organizing. Most LAG-affiliated anarchists were committed to nonviolence. Some others who took part in 1984 protests depicted in this book were less so. Bound Together Bookstore on Haight Street was (is) a hub of anarchist organizing in the City, along with a network of collective houses in the Mission and nearby neighborhoods. The collective houses sponsored the Anarchist Coffeehouse, 1984-1989.

Arraignment The first court appearance following arrest. Usually occurs within a couple of working days, or at a later date if you "cited out." At arraignment charges are formally read, and you enter a plea (not-guilty, no-contest, or guilty). Never plead "guilty," or you may face civil liability. Plead "no-contest" only if an attorney you trust assures you of the sentence and it is acceptable. If you have any doubts, plead not-guilty. Blockaders pleading not-guilty are usually released without bail, with a date set for further hearings. If you plead no-contest, you may be immediately sentenced, or a future sentencing date may be set. Arraignment is ordinarily individual, and only solidarity tactics can compel

the court to arraign protesters en masse. *See O.R., and Legal Flowchart in Handbook.*



London anti-nuclear "symbolic dyings" like this May 1983 protest...

BARF Berkeley Anti-Reagan Festival, begun in 1982 by Berkeley Citizen's Action. LAG organized BARF III on September 22, 1984. BCA candidates had speaking spots.

BART Bay Area Rapid Transit, light-rail trains that connect the Central Bay Area.

Berkeley Citizen's Action BCA was a progressive electoral slate allied with Congressman Ron

Dellums. Shared an office with LAG, 1982-1985. BCA held the mayor's seat (Gus Newport) and a City Council majority in these years, with a notable record on both local and international affairs. LAGers volunteered with BCA around election time, but otherwise there was little overlap.

Bohemian Grove — See *Fact and Fiction Appendix for September 22, 1984.*

CD Civil disobedience. "Doing CD" was the expression for doing nonviolent direct action. Other expressions included "doing the action" or "getting busted."

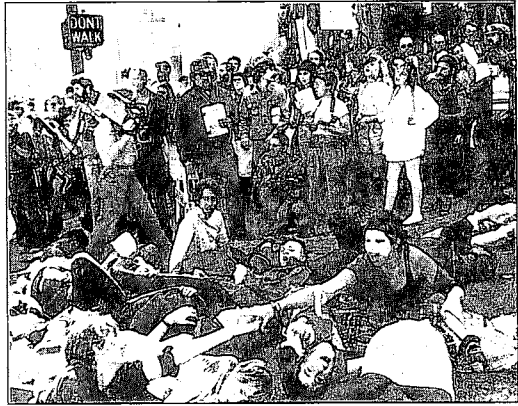
Change of Heart Cluster Jeff, Holly, and Angie's cluster, also included Karina, Sara, Doc and Enola Gay, Moonstone and Deadheads for Peace, Alby, Megan, and initially Daniel, Hank, Caroline, and the Commie Dupes. Formed June 1982, dissolved around June 1984. Change of Heart people helped organize the Anarchist Coffeehouse. See *Anarchist.*

CIA Central Intelligence Agency (also known as the Cocaine Import Agency during the Reagan-Bush era). The U.S.'s covert, extra-legal global intervention network, with a long record of election-fixing, assassination, and destabilization around the globe. Especially active in Central America during the early 1980s. Vice President Bush was a former CIA Director. The CIA was officially barred from domestic operations, where quasi-legal groups like the FBI and Cointelpro picked up the slack.

CISPES Committee In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. U.S.-based organization supporting leftist rebels in El Salvador. The largest of the Bay Area "solidarity" groups, often organized legal protests against visiting government figures. Non-dogmatic leftist orientation, hierarchical structure, more connected to the Bay Area progressive mainstream than LAG, with whom CISPES worked in coalitions. See *El Salvador.*

Cite Out To sign a police citation acknowledging your arrest (but not your guilt) and promising to appear in court on the specified date. The opportunity to cite out is offered at the police's discretion, and is not a legal right. Protesters might accept it to get out of jail faster, or refuse it as a solidarity tactic — particularly if only part of the group is being offered cite-outs. See *O.R., Arraignment, and Legal Flowchart in the Handbook.* See also *discussions in Chapter II.*

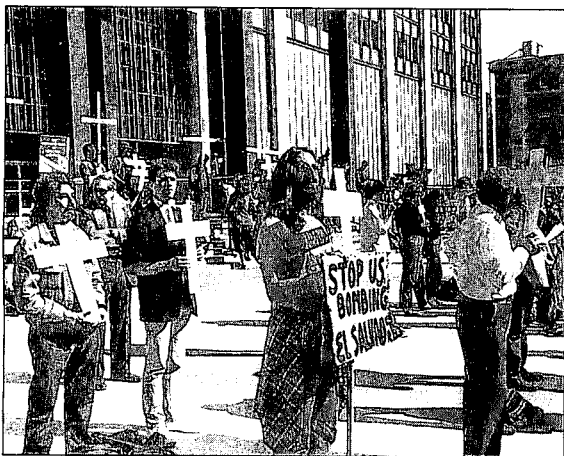
Civil Rights Movement General term for a series of nonviolent direct action protests beginning in the Southern states in the 1950s and gradually spreading across the country. The Civil Rights Movement was probably the most successful and influential nonviolent direct action movement in this country's history. Organized on a mixed model of hierarchical organizations like the NAACP coupled with a decentralized network of churches and community groups, the Civil Rights Movement was a focused, sustained uprising that rewrote laws and social mores. See *discussions in Chapter IV-V.*



...inspired "die-ins" in San Francisco from October 24, 1983 to the present.

Cluster Umbrella group of five to ten AGs. In large actions at Livermore, Vandenberg, and Diablo Canyon, over a hundred affinity groups took part. Most, especially smaller AGs, banded together in clusters. Clusters, not AGs, sent spokes to the jail spokescouncils. A handful of clusters lasted for a couple of years. Most, were ad hoc formations for a specific action. *See Affinity Group, and LAG structure chart, page 766.*

Consensus A complex and much-debated process for bringing a group to a unified decision. Consensus does not mean that everyone agrees with or fully supports the decision. It means that most people support it and none of the others find it morally offensive. LAG, Abalone Alliance, and VAC all used consensus for spokescouncils, affinity group process, and in-jail decision making. To signal consensus (or agreement) in a meeting, hold up both hands and twinkle your fingers. *See Handbook section on Consensus.*



The Pledge of Resistance organized protests at the San Francisco Federal Building in 1984-1985, culminating in a Spring 1985 action with nearly 1000 arrests.

Coordinating Council Weekly meeting of spokes from LAG work groups. Responsible for finances, staff, office, and day-to-day operations. *See Work Group, and LAG structure chart, page 766.*

Cruise Missiles One of the “Euromissiles.” Cruise missiles were small, portable missiles

launched from air, land, or sea. Computer guidance systems allowed the missile to fly below radar level, posing a huge threat to the Soviet Union’s defenses. *See Euromissiles, First Strike.*

Dellums, Ron Congressional representative from Berkeley and parts of Oakland, Ron Dellums was an outspoken opponent of Reaganism in all its forms. One of the two foremost voices of African American politics in the 1980s. Dellums’ successor was Barbara Lee, who opposed the war-making efforts of the second Bush administration.

Democrats The more moderate of the mainstream parties. While the Republicans advocated the immediate and total destruction of the environment and the social infrastructure, the Democrats felt it should be done more slowly.

Diablo Canyon Nuclear power plant begun during the last gasp of the atomic-power boom in the early 1970s, situated along an earthquake fault north of Los Angeles. Protests in 1979 and 1981, resulting in over 2000 arrests, ended with the revelation of flaws in the plant’s safety plans. But a makeover of blueprints and some timely campaign contributions secured the licensing of the plant, which was crucial in allowing PG&E to pass along the project’s massive losses to ratepayers. Abalone Alliance has organized resistance to

Diablo for years, contact (415) 861-0592, www.energy-net.org, abalone@energy-net.org

Direct Action Literally, to take direct action to alter one's environment, whether by creativity, persuasion, or force. As used in the Bay Area for over twenty years, it refers to nonviolent protests in which there is a risk of arrest. The antithesis of direct action is voting, in which we delegate our power. (The name "Direct Action" was also used by at least two small 1980s groups convicted of political bombings, one in Vancouver, BC, and the other in France. A LAG media spoke, asked about one such group, said, "I sympathize with their frustration and anger, but I completely disagree with their response.")

Direct Action Newspaper LAG newspaper published Fall 1982-Fall 1986, 25 issues total. The first two were called the "LAG Rag." By about issue #6, the paper reached 20 tabloid pages (30,000 words). Entire pages of each issue were dedicated to local protests, regional North American events, and European demonstrations and direct actions. Many issues also carried two-page spreads on topics such as the Middle East, the Philippines, the nuclear arms race, Native American news, Central America, and other related matters. *Selected pages of Direct Action may be posted at www.directaction.org*

El Salvador Central American country torn by civil war in which thousands died. Reagan and the CIA supported a right-wing government and its military death squads against a socialist movement called the FMLN. A U.S.-based group called CISPES worked to build opposition to Reagan's policy. *See CISPES.*

Emergency Response Network The ERN was a LAG proposal in Fall 1983 in response to intervention in Central America. The network was never activated. In late 1984 a faith-based group called Pledge of Resistance picked up the idea, leading to a Spring 1985 action at the San Francisco Federal Building in which about 800 people were arrested. Other actions happened around the country at the same time, helping turn the tide against Reagan's policies in the region.

Euromissiles Popular name for the Cruise and Pershing II missiles, part of the U.S.'s First Strike strategy. Deployment of the Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Europe in the winter of 1983-84 prompted the Soviet Union to put their nuclear forces on alert and created the most dangerous standoff between the superpowers since the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis. *See Cruise, Pershing II, First Strike.*

Feinstein, Diane Mayor of San Francisco c. 1978-1987, California Senator since 1992. A true bi-partisan, Feinstein registered Democrat and voted Republican. Owed her career to millionaire landlord husband, who reaped generous rewards on his political investment.

First Strike The U.S.'s First-Strike strategy called for a sneak attack in which the MX and the submarine-launched Cruise missiles would so devastate the Soviet Union that they would be incapable of mounting a counter-attack. Although never an overt part of U.S. policy, security leaks provided sufficient information for critics to piece together the plan. Critics of First Strike eventually convinced enough policy-makers of the devastation such an attack would wreak on Earth's environment, and the plan was scrapped — after corporations had reaped billions in profits. *See MX, Cruise, Pershing II, Euromissiles.*

Freeze The Nuclear Weapons Freeze campaign was a nonbinding anti-nuclear referendum passed by several dozen cities and states starting about 1979, often winning large majorities. The Freeze was on the California ballot in November 1982. Livermore Lab joined a host of defense corporations in lobbying against it. Faced with that financial onslaught, the Freeze barely passed in California, and the movement faded.

Grenada Caribbean island-state which elected a socialist “New Jewel” government in 1983. In late October 1983, facing a dismal economy and failed policies in the Middle East, Reagan mounted an invasion of Grenada. The elected government was deposed, puppets installed, and Reagan’s ratings soared, initiating a pattern that grew familiar during the Bush administrations.

International Day of Nuclear Disarmament A proposal consensed at the August 1982 LAG Congress calling on peace and disarmament groups around the world to do local, decentralized actions around Summer Solstice 1983. LAG planned its second major blockade of Livermore Lab, networked among participating groups, and coordinated media coverage. Over 300 groups, mainly in the U.S., Europe, Japan, and Australia, took part in some way, with about twenty different CD actions. Planners envisioned International Day as an annual event. But dissension within LAG (particularly opposition to the “new-age” tone of the event) sidetracked it and there was never a follow-up. See *International Day Call*, page 752, and discussions in Chapters I and II.

Jesse Jackson African American social activist from Chicago with roots in the Civil Rights Movement. Jackson stepped into the vacuum of 1984 and helped initiate a “Rainbow Coalition” that articulated a vision of peace and justice. He became a credible liberal contender, with about twenty percent of the vote in some primaries. Once Mondale clinched the nomination to face Reagan, Jackson withdrew, but he and the Rainbow Coalition remained a progressive voice in the Democratic Party for years.

Livermore Action Group LAG was a loose organization/network that organized protests at Livermore Nuclear Weapons Lab and elsewhere from 1982-1985. For ongoing Livermore organizing, see *Tri-Valley CAREs and Western States Legal Foundation*.

NUCLEAR WAR?

PROTEST

The Arms Race

Demand the conversion of Lawrence Livermore Lab to peaceful and constructive purposes.

RALLY January 30
Saturday, 12 noon - Pleasanton Park
Berkeley

Non-violent
Civil Disobedience
at the gates to
Livermore Lab
Monday, Feb. 1

for more information call:
947-7994 or 548-4990

You have the right to a livable world.

February 1, 1982 poster. 170 people were arrested in this first mass action at the Lab.

Livermore Lab Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory is one of two federally-funded weapons labs (along with Los Alamos). In the 1970s and 80s, LLNL was the designer of the Neutron Bomb and nuclear warheads for the Cruise and Pershing II missiles. Seven thousand research and support personnel used the most sophisticated technology tax dollars could buy to devise new and improved ways to destroy the planet. Livermore Lab, the younger of the two national weapons labs, was founded when Edward Teller and others argued that competition would be beneficial for weapons development.

Los Alamos National Laboratory Livermore Lab’s older rival. Los Alamos was the home of the H-bomb. Located in the New Mexico desert, Los Alamos was more insulated from protest than Livermore. However, citizen’s groups have tracked Los Alamos’s work for years, particularly nuclear waste issues. Contact Los Alamos Study Group, www.lasg.org, (505) 982-7747.

Mobilization for Survival Anti-militarist coalition of several hundred grassroots groups across the U.S., with regional offices in New York City and Milwaukee. The Mobe endorsed International Day in 1983, and many Mobe "locals" participated.

Mondale, Walter Democratic Party nominee/sacrificial lamb to Reagan in 1984. The moderate-liberal Senator from Minnesota was never close to Reagan in the polls after the Summer conventions. Abandoned by corporate election funders, he lost in a landslide.

MX Missile The U.S. military's proposed \$70 billion intercontinental ballistic missile whose speed and pinpoint accuracy represented a major escalation of the arms race by the United States. The MX featured multiple nuclear warheads capable of striking Soviet targets with extreme accuracy and force. It was planned as part of a new U.S. first-strike strategy. *See also Vandenberg, First Strike.*

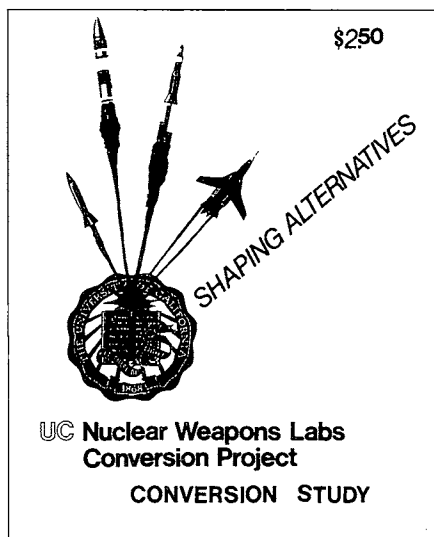
NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization, one of two alliances (along with the Moscow-centered Warsaw Pact) that divided Europe during the Cold War era, 1945-1989. NATO was dominated by the U.S. and its nuclear arsenal. The U.S. State Department and the CIA routinely intervened in Western European politics to keep the alliance in line.

Nicaragua Central American country where a 1979 revolution by the openly-socialist Sandinistas toppled a longtime U.S. puppet government. Then-President Carter gave support to the Sandinistas, who worked to rebuild the country. After Reagan came to power, the CIA covertly funneled millions of dollars to right-wing "Contra" rebels trying to destabilize the Sandinistas and restore a pro-corporate government.

Nonviolence LAG, VAC, and Abalone actions were committed to nonviolence. Most actions explicitly used Nonviolence Guidelines, which were printed in the handbooks. Property destruction, which later was more of an issue, was not particularly debated in these years. *See Handbook section on Nonviolence.*

O.R., Own Recognizance To be released from jail with no bail, on a promise to return on a specified date. O.R. release typically follows arraignment, in contrast to "cite out," which can happen from jail or at the arrest site. *See Arraignment, and Legal Flowchart in the Handbook.*

Overthrow Cluster Leftist-oriented cluster, a haven for LAGers like Mort and Craig. Overthrow activists emphasized coalition work, tying LAG's anti-nuclear work to a broad range of social and economic issues. Overthrow also provided a spark for theatrical organizing — the grim reaper, nukecycle, and other props sprung from this cluster.



1980-81 study released by the UC Nuclear Weapons Labs Conversion Project, an activist/educational forerunner of LAG.

People's Convention Bay Area Coalition to organize an alternative convention at the time of the 1984 Democratic Convention (other years in other cities). Initiated by the Communist Workers' Party (here "RWP"). LAG took a small part. *See RWP.*

Pershing II One of the "Euromissiles." *See Euromissiles.*

Pledge of Resistance *See Emergency Response Network.*

Plowshares Actions A series of nonviolent direct actions beginning in the late 1960s and continuing to the present, in which activists (often coming from a faith-based perspective) enter a military installation and do symbolic damage to property such as draft files or missile parts. The prophetic image of hammering on a sword to fashion a plowshare (Isaiah 2:4) gives the group its name. Contact Jonah House, (410) 233-6238, disarmnow@erols.com

Process Catch-all term (also "feminist process") for consensus, collectivity, nonhierarchy, etc. AGs were expected to have "good process." *See Handbook on Consensus and Process.*

Reclaiming Anarchist-Pagan group that coalesced during protests at Diablo Canyon, Livermore, and Vandenberg. Today, several dozen local groups around North America and Europe organize rituals and grassroots political actions. Numerous Direct Action writers have written for *Reclaiming Quarterly*, Reclaiming's magazine. Visit www.reclaiming.org, and also www.starhawk.org. *See final scene of Epilog.*

Russia The most powerful of the various states in the USSR. "Russia" was the name by which most Americans knew the entire USSR. From 1945-1989, the word "Russia" called forth the spectre of "Communist Totalitarianism" in all its nuclear terror. *See USSR.*

RPF Revolutionary People's Front. Fictional/archetypal Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party. The RPF has a street-adventurist orientation. There were a couple of dozen alphabet-soup leftist parties in the Bay Area, with 20-100 members each. The RPF and RWP reflect some of the tendencies of these dedicated, dogmatic groups.

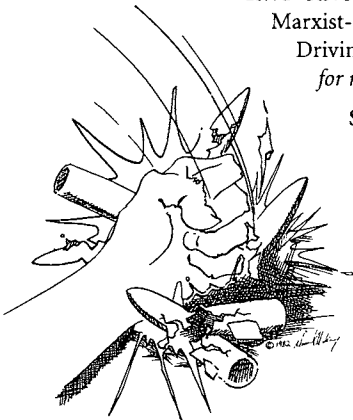
RWP Revolutionary Workers Party. Fictional/archetypal Marxist-Leninist party. More coalition-minded than most. Driving force behind the 1984 People's Convention. *See RPF for more on leftist groups.*

San Francisco Mime Troupe *See Fact and Fiction Appendix, September 22, 1984.*

Spokes Spokespeople, i.e., representatives of AGs or clusters to a spokescouncil, which was the main decisionmaking body for actions. *See LAG Structure chart, page 766.*

Tri-Valley CARES Communities Against a Radioactive Environment, a Livermore Valley-based group which coalesced around the Livermore peace camp in 1984 and has been active ever since in education and organizing around Livermore Lab. Contact www.trivalleycares.org, (925) 443-7148.

UC University of California at Berkeley, also "Berkeley" or "Cal." A beautiful campus marred



Two graphic facets of LAG.
Above, an Overthrow Cluster fist.
Top right, an International Day dove.

by a reactionary Board of Regents. At least through 2003, UC managed Livermore and Los Alamos nuclear weapons labs and Nevada Test Site, providing a cloak of academic credibility for the research and testing of weapons of mass destruction.

UC Nuclear Weapons Labs Conversion Project

Activist/educational forerunner to LAG, focused on research and education about the role of Livermore and Los Alamos Labs in the nuclear weapons complex as well as the University of California's complicity as manager of the weapons labs and the Nevada Nuclear Test Site. The Conversion Project's work gave LAG a factual basis for its critiques, and demonstrated that work through legal channels would not change the policies of these institutions.



Urban Ecology Educational and activist group based in Berkeley working to promote ecological awareness in cities, including urban gardens, planning issues, and transportation. Contact (510) 251-6330, www.urbanecology.org

Urban Stonehenge Anarchist collective household on Potrero Hill in San Francisco, founded c. 1980 and still active in 2003. Core organizing space for the decentralized 1983 Vandenberg actions, the War Chest Tours, and the Anarchist Coffeehouse. *See Anarchist.*

USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or Soviet Union, commonly called "Russia" in the U.S. The USSR was the second superpower, the only country in the world capable of challenging the U.S. at a nuclear level. The USSR was never remotely the military or economic equal of the U.S., but the Reagan administration manipulated statistics to make it appear that the USSR was "ahead" in the arms race — justifying hundreds of billions of dollars of corporate subsidies for new nuclear weapons. *See Russia.*

Vandenberg Action Coalition VAC was a coalition of peace and anti-nuke groups from around California dedicated to stopping the MX test in 1983. LAG was the largest of the member groups. In practice, LAG tended to pursue its own agenda regarding the MX protests, and VAC became a pole for anarchist/decentralist critics of LAG, leading to a major split among anti-MX organizers. *See Chapter I and II.*

Vandenberg Air Force Base Missile test facility located near Santa Barbara, CA. Tests of the MX missile were planned from Vandenberg in Spring 1983. *See MX.*

War Chest Tours Protests during the 1984 Democratic Convention in San Francisco. Not officially a LAG action, although organizing group included LAGers. Tours targeted military corporations which subsidized both Republicans and Democrats. Several hundred people were arrested. Similar protests were organized at the 1984 Republican Convention in Dallas, and possibly elsewhere in other years. *See Chapters IV and V.*

Western States Legal Foundation Peace and disarmament advocacy group which has kept pressure on Livermore Lab and the national nuclear weapons complex around issues of new weapons programs, toxic waste, and accountability. Contact www.wslfweb.org, (510) 839-5877.

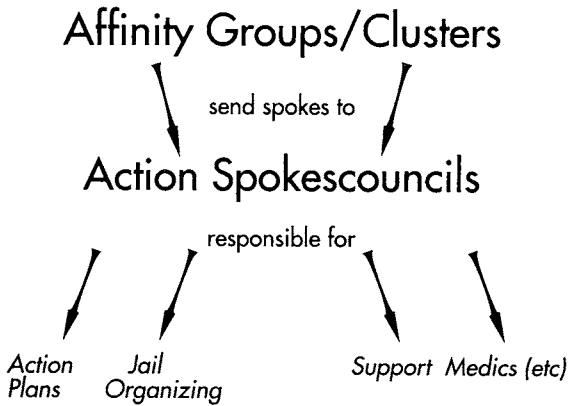
Work Groups Work Groups in LAG were volunteer collectives of five to twenty people organized around specific tasks. Some were stable, others came and went. Around major actions, a hundred or more people would be in work groups, some in several at a time.

Livermore Action Group Structure

LAG developed several elaborate structures on paper. In practice, two kinds of groups met and made decisions concerning LAG: work groups and affinity groups. Each had its own “council,” as diagrammed on these pages.

To complicate matters:

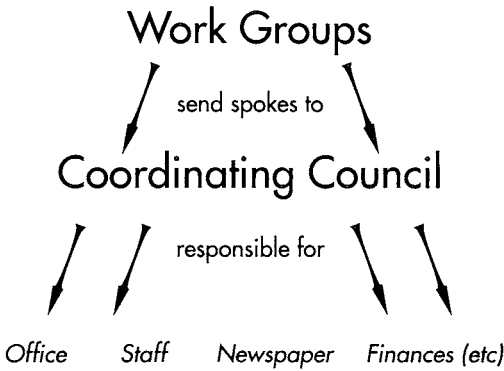
- Some people were in both AGs and work groups. Many were in only one or the other.
- The AG Spokescouncils, which met biweekly for several months before an action, formed numerous work groups specific to the given action — encampment, rally, leafletting, medics, scenario, etc. These work groups then sent spokes to Coordinating Council (or if they didn't, that raised more problems).
- Work group members often attended AG spokescouncils. Being some of the most active members of LAG, work group people played key roles in decisions at spokescouncils.



Affinity Groups, Work Groups, & Clusters

See Glossary for information on AGs, work groups, and clusters, which were the basic organizing units of LAG. See also the Affinity Groups, Work Groups, and Consensus section of the handbook.

Livermore Action Group Structure



Ongoing Work Groups

- Newspaper (produced Direct Action from Fall 1982)
- Finances/Fundraising/Canvassing
- Media
- Peace Camp (from Fall 1983)
- Outreach/Coalitions
- Legal
- Office (paid staff + volunteers)
- Nonviolence Preppers (this group also worked with Abalone Alliance, VAC, Pledge of Resistance)

Ad Hoc (specific actions)

- Communications
- Encampment
- Rally
- Scenario/Action Planning
- Leafletting
- Education/Research
- Posters and flyers
- Handbook
- Outside Support
- Medics
- Jail Organizing

Direct Action ran into a financial crisis in mid-1984. The paper bounced back and continued publishing through Fall 1986.

Today, numerous former Direct Action writers contribute to GroundWork and Reclaiming Quarterly magazines and Street Spirit newspaper. See Resources.



Appendices and Miscellaneous Fun Stuff

In the last seventy pages of the book, you'll find various odds and ends arranged in what our Structural Semiotics Department determined was the most useful order. The LAG structure chart and the glossary are first for quick reference. The International Day pages give a richer sense of that pivotal event. The handbook gives a basic orientation to direct action. Lastly, be sure to consult the LAG Discography to avoid playing inappropriate music as you read a scene.

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