

DIRECT ACTION

WEB
FEATURE

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from the DA Archives

International Day 1983 Handbook

After a 1982 protest at Livermore Nuclear Weapons Lab near San Francisco drew 5000 protesters and led to 1300 arrests, organizers called for a similar protest in June 1983 — and invited the rest of the world to join in an International Day of Nuclear Disarmament.

The ambitious proposal met a mixed response, drawing little support from the traditional Left. But several hundred grassroots anti-nuke groups across North America and Western Europe as well as scattered participation from Japan, Australia, Mexico, and several other countries.

The story of this and related actions, resulting in thousands of arrests, form the narrative of *Direct Action: An Historical Novel* by Luke Hauser. A complete list of participating groups and cities can be found in the book's appendix.

This handbook (produced by Livermore Action Group and adapted from earlier LAG, Diablo Canyon and Seabrook publications) includes background and organizing information that is still timely and valuable. (For Livermore site info, see the Livermore 1982 handbook.)

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



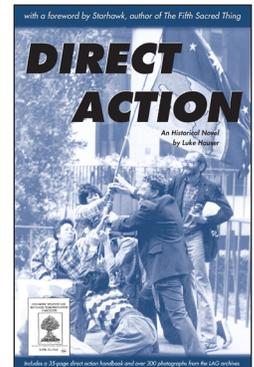
DIRECT ACTION

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Direct Action: An Historical Novel by

Luke Hauser,
is available
as a free PDF
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website — all
768 pages and
300+ pictures!

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just \$9.95 plus
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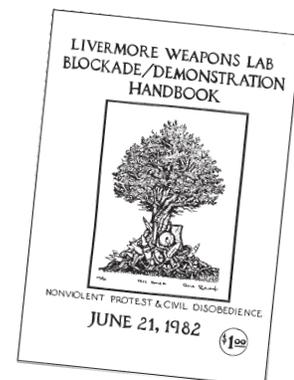


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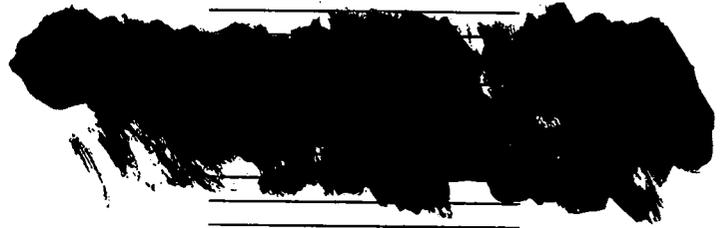
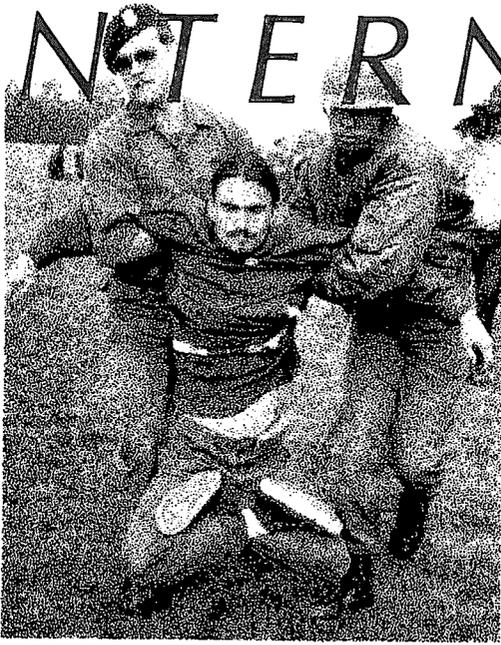
PDFs of activist handbooks from
**Diablo Canyon, Livermore Lab,
the Pledge of Resistance, and more**

Handbooks contain site-specific
information, plus a wealth of articles
and tips for actions at any site. Pages are
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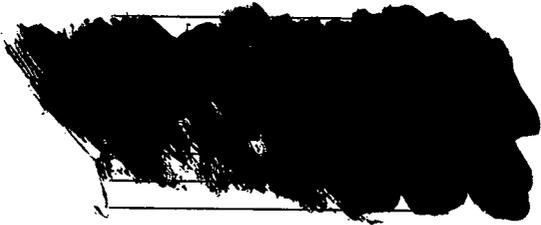


INTERNATIONAL

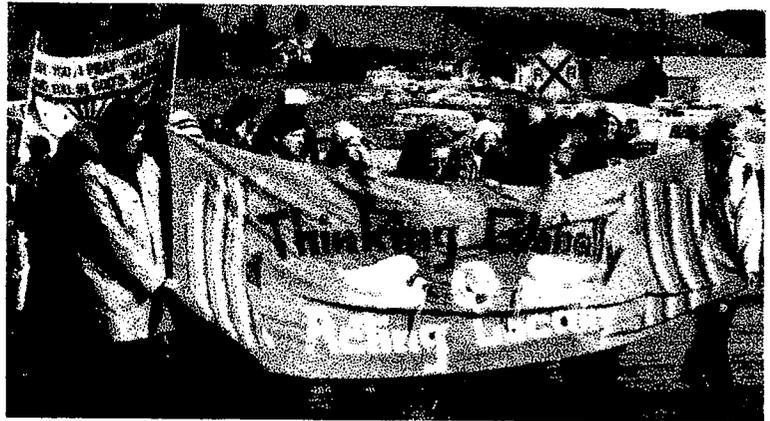


DAY OF

NUCLEAR



DISARMAMENT



Desire

My sons set up their telescope, to see
the moon,
close up.
We huddle under stars.
We're shot from stars, and of such
flimsy stuff
that planets turn in space
between my nerve cells.

Atoms.

And smaller things I cannot call
by name, because their names
mean nothing to me.

I am too big to be
intimate with them,
too small
to see their meaning.

Blue earth

is of a size I comprehend, and life here
has captured my
imagination.
The air

is such my sons can
breathe it, and live.
The colors here are
good
in our eyes, to feed us
what our souls need.

Here

are salty pools of liquid light,
anemones & purple urchins
opening. And on a night like
this one,

human comfort.

All else—life

before this life, a life called death or
life in spirit—I know
on faith. But life on earth is
visible
and precious; it's just begun
to flicker.
We must be born to live it.

And yet

we're scared, our fear
a bandage over sores too raw
to touch—the knowing
of madness
in places of power. These wounds
want air, to heal them. They must be
seen,

& so must photographs of
scorched & melting children. We bear

the power of Hiroshima destroyed
one hundred thousand-fold, and yet

we are such flimsy stuff
as flowers, only
atoms

and those smaller things, spinning
in empty night.

And fear. And rage.

And hope. And will

to love.

My sons take
turns, to see
the moon, close up. I take
pleasure
in the thinning skin
of my throat—in signs
of age, and softness.

Pulling tight my sweater, I want

time

to be

the mother of three

old men

in warm socks

on this living earth.

INTRODUCTION

From the Handbook Collective,

The articles in this handbook do not necessarily represent the views of the Livermore Action Group or even of a majority of its members. Different authors express varied, sometimes opposing, opinions on a number of subjects.

We have tried to give a sense of the diversity of people working for disarmament and social change, in the hope that it will inspire new discussion and continuing growth in our related movements.

There are a number of articles and poems throughout this handbook that appear in *italic type*. These represent personal statements from a variety of people concerning their motivations, beliefs, and involvement in political activity.

Any articles not otherwise credited were written by the handbook collective.

For us, there is a great feeling of relief, coming to the close of a *long* process that began last August. The next step is yours to take—we'll see you on International Day!

—The Handbook Collective:

Donna Canali, Patrick Diehl, Arleen Feng,
Jim Hildreth, John Lavine, Karen Rachels

NEED FOR A LOCAL SUPPLEMENT

This handbook tries to give an overview of organizing techniques and background information. Local groups will need to add specific information for people participating in their specific actions. The local supplement may be anything from a few photocopied leaflets to a newsprint tabloid; it should include:

- scenario for the action (plan, date and time, locations, maps)
- history and background on local issues and planning for action
- legal information and strategy recommendations
- steps to take to participate in action
- addresses and phones of local contacts

This handbook will be available on cassette tapes for visually impaired people. Contact Livermore Action Group for more information.

CREDITS

This handbook is the result of many people's work and enthusiasm. In addition to the new articles, we drew from a fine reservoir of handbooks and manuals, representing the efforts of many others in the movement, to whom we are indebted. We would like to thank the members of the LAG Coordinating Council and the International Day Working Collective for their suggestions and guidance, and the Peace Development Fund and the Ferrys for their generous financial support. Additionally, we are grateful to all the following for their contributions:

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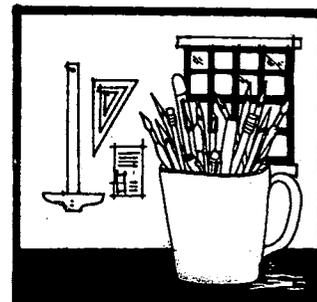


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- (B 1) through (B50) = Bibliography, pp.101-102
- (P 1) through (P22) = Periodicals, page 102
- (G 1) through (G33) = Groups, page 103
- (R 1) through (R23) = References, page 100

A CALL TO ACTION

FROM THE LIVERMORE ACTION GROUP

From diverse backgrounds, and with varied world views, we are drawn together on this day, International Day, to create something new. Ours is an effort that is at once joyous and desperate: we seek to prevent the destruction of life on our planet and to re-create our world.

Different as we are from one another, our experiences have taught us that the struggle for social justice and protection of the ecosystem pit us against powerful interests which control the military, economic and social policy of our country, and the fate of the earth. To wrest power from these interests we will have to create a movement that is radical in its understanding, determined in its practice, and broadbased in its constituency. The Livermore Action Group is one seed in such a movement; International Day is an attempt to bring together many such groups around the world.

Some of us, experienced in various radical movements (socialist, anarchist, new-left, feminist, gay/lesbian), bring our commitment to analyze root causes and to pursue fundamental change.

Some of us, veterans of the anti-Vietnam War movement and other national liberation solidarity movements, bring an understanding of imperialism: we see the nuclear arms race as part of the domination of the third world and the exploitation of its resources. We see an end to this system as necessary if disarmament is to be achieved.

Some of us, Third World people within the U.S., have directly experienced the kind of oppression faced by the poor of the world. We bring an understanding of the connection between struggles against militarism in this country with national liberation struggles.

Some of us, women, see that the arms race is related to our own lives in that the same patterns of domination and objectification of the "other" create both militarism and sexism. We bring commitment to root out of our own organizations traditional power relationships between women and men which replicate the power structure we must change in the world at large.

Some of us, men, bring to this movement a rejection of our masculine roles as dominators and perpetuators of violence: roles that are crucial to the militarism that creates the nuclear menace. We search instead for relationships based on cooperation, trust and love.

Some of us have our activist roots in the political mainstream. We bring our experience of the workings of that mainstream and our recognition that traditional ways of expressing opposition through voting, petitioning and lobbying are inadequate to the task of making

basic changes in policy needed if we are to prevent nuclear war.

Some of us come to this movement after trying to focus our energies on our own personal lives; our families and our worklives. We bring the understanding that without our willingness to enter political struggle our personal lives and the future of our children are in jeopardy.

Some of us began our political work in defense of the ecosystem. We bring a deep sensitivity to the delicate balance of natural elements which support life, and our understanding of how profit and militarism threaten that balance.

Some of us view the world through a religious lens. We bring to our political work dedication to social transformation in accord with our sense of the holiness of life.

Some of us are children. We bring our worry that we will not live to fulfill the promises of our lives. And we bring our anger at those who have taken our sense of security and a future from us. We will not obey those who have led us to this place. We are learning to fight back.

Trained as we have been to fear difference, we at times are tempted to see our diversity as problematic, as something to be rid of. In bringing together our varied and at times conflicting strands lies our hope and strength. Each of us adds something of significance to the collective vision of what is wrong, of what will have to change to make it right.

Throughout history those with a common interest in fundamental change have been divided and conquered: only by refusing that fragmentation, recognizing and affirming through action our common concerns, can we win this war against war that we are fighting.

We are unified by our love of the earth and our fear that we and the earth will be destroyed; our recognition of our own oppression; our empathy and compassion for those who suffer hunger and injustice; our refusal to be passive in the face of repression and destruction; and our need to take direct action to oppose them.

Time is short. Rising militarism and the imminent, universal threat of nuclear war require the building of a movement that crosses national and cultural boundaries.

As the U.S. encounters difficulty in maintaining control in Central America, its military involvement escalates, increasing the threat of major war.

Plans to deploy first-strike weapons in Europe and in the United States in 1983 represent a qualitative leap in the arms race, creating a situation in which preemptive strikes or the use of "launch on warning" systems are in-

creasingly likely. This unilateral escalation by the U.S. is the most serious threat to world peace.

The Soviet Union too, although originally a less-than-willing participant in the arms race, has developed its own stake in maintaining a nuclear force, both as a defense against the U.S., and as a means of enforcing its control in Eastern Europe and in Third World countries.

The issue of nuclear war is an international one. Nuclear weapons form the centerpiece of U.S. and Russian foreign policy. Nuclear proliferation can only be halted by international protest. Nothing short of the abolition of all nuclear weapons will bring lasting peace.

What is needed is an international movement, focussing on both the nuclear arms race and the global system of exploitation and militarism which it supports.

We are calling for an International Day of Nuclear Disarmament as a first step in building that international movement. We urge you to join us.

PROPOSAL

A day of coordinated local action around the world to resist nuclear arms and power, militarism, intervention, and their social and ecological consequences. People will use whatever nonviolent 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
- 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 ACTIONS

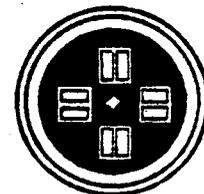
Planning for actions on or shortly before the International Day of Nuclear Disarmament is taking place at the local level. All decision-making is decentralized. However, in addition to planning actions on and around this date, all participants are asked to abide by a non-violent commitment for these particular actions.

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:

- Nonviolent blockades, occupations and other civil disobedience at nuclear weapons facilities and military installations, etc., occur throughout the world.
- Legal marches, vigils, and rallies involving theater, speakers, graphic art, music, dance, poetry, prayers, and meditation, take place everywhere. Peace camps are initiated.
- Nonviolent strikes 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 proclaim solidarity with these strikes and other nonviolent actions.
- Conferences, teach-ins, art festivals, religious services, and mass demonstrations during the week and weekend before June 20th awaken people to the issues involved.
- On June 20th itself, people unable to leave their homes or workplaces telephone friends, public officials, newspapers, radio and television stations to voice their objection to the nuclear holocaust being prepared for us.
- June 20th is an excellent time to begin a nuclear free zone campaign in your state, city, or area. In a nuclear free zone, all nuclear materials, including weapons, powerplants, and wastes, are banned.
- Businesses and homes 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 completely circles the earth as it spins around the sun.



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, but we may help regain 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 against these weapons. In solidarity with the European Peace Movement, we must act now to stop their scheduled deployment in the fall 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 after year, we will gather on or near the June solstice, and the balance of our work will shift gradually from reaction to action, from resistance to creation.

And once peace is achieved—failure is unthinkable; we *will* succeed—the day can be celebrated in rejoicing for as long as there is an earth to roll around a sun and humans here to perceive it.



SPONSORS

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 nonviolent 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.

The Livermore Action Group is a network of approximately 200 affinity groups and a number of working groups using the consensus process for its decision making. Living throughout Northern California, LAG members have diverse backgrounds, ages, and experiences. LAG publishes a monthly newspaper (*Direct Action*) and educational materials done by working groups.

Livermore Action Group is currently working in coalition with California groups to organize civil disobedience at Vandenberg Air Force Base near Santa Barbara, California, in protest of 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.

As the sponsor of the International Day of Nuclear Disarmament, LAG's role is that of a clearinghouse for the network of groups organizing actions in their own areas.

This call for action is issued in cooperation with the Mobilization for Survival (G9), a coalition of local and national disarmament, peace, environmental, religious, and community organizations working for the goals of: zero nuclear weapons, ban nuclear power, reverse the arms race, fund human needs.

INTERNATIONAL DAY WILL BE NONVIOLENT

'To promote unity, trust, and a consistent image to the outside world, we ask that all participants in actions connected with International Day of Nuclear Disarmament remain nonviolent throughout their actions.

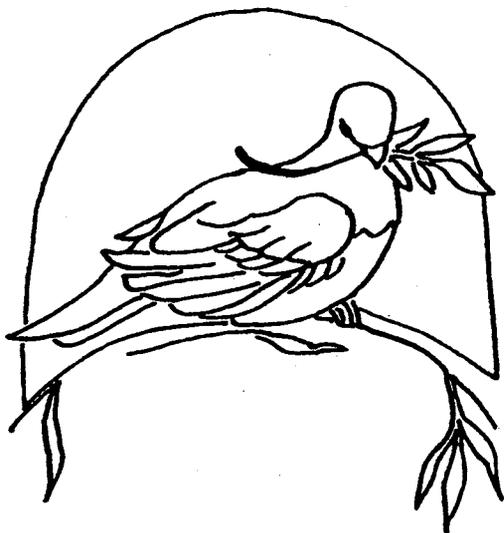
LAG'S GUIDELINES

The following are LAG's Nonviolence Guidelines. They are basic agreements, made by all participants for our actions, rather than philosophical/political requirements placed upon them. The guidelines are meant to act as a basis for trust among participants who, for the most part, have only met for a particular action. The guidelines are under constant discussion and are seen as our current working understanding, not as statements etched in stone. Most importantly, although they have been a traditional part of the direct action anti-nuclear and disarmament movement, they are not mandatory guidelines for International Day. Each participating group is urged to discuss and draw up their own non-violence guidelines.

GUIDELINES FOR NONVIOLENCE

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

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



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

In Favor of Change

Millions of people who have experienced and resisted oppression do not feel "open, friendly, and respectful" toward people they rightly perceive as their oppressors.

We need to open our movement to the energy of these people, while affirming our commitment to non-violence. After a month-long series of discussions, the Livermore Action Group authorized an open meeting to discuss the nonviolence guidelines. That meeting recommended replacing the words "friendly and respectful" with "nonviolent" in the first point of the nonviolence guidelines. Consensus on this change was blocked. Those of us who support the change hope this discussion can continue in a productive way as we prepare for June 21st (1982).

In Opposition to Change

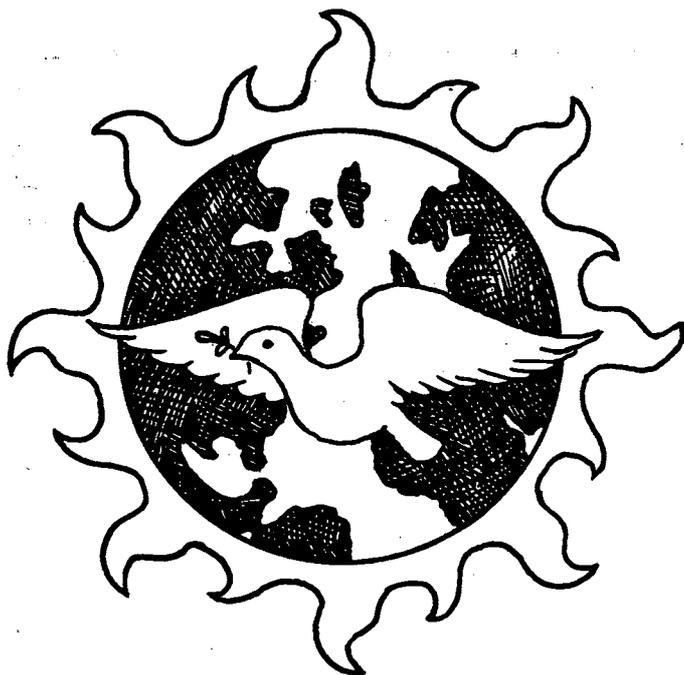
I am angry at the ugliness that is destroying the planet. I am scared of the force of the police hand, militarism, and patriarchy. Civil disobedience seems like a confrontation between the police and us: we stand on a line looking at each other. In the collective consciousness, it is not individuals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

COMMON GRAPHIC SYMBOL

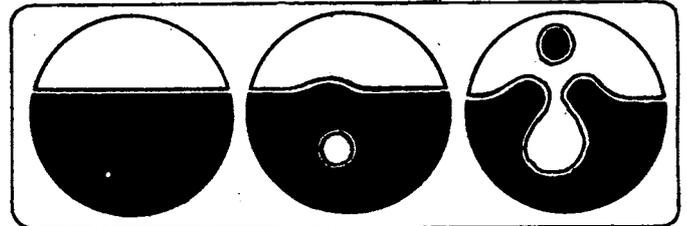
The graphic on this page is offered as a common symbol for the International Day of Nuclear Disarmament. A common graphic would be widely recognized and serve to emphasize the unity of our commitment.

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, publicity, 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.



NON- VIOLENCE



DW

WHY NONVIOLENCE?

Nonviolence is an alternative to the use of violence to initiate change. A nonviolent approach to activism 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 and gains, such as ending racial segregation on buses in Montgomery, Alabama as a result of the 1956 bus boycott or the signing of the 1963 Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in response to popular pressure for disarmament.

The use of nonviolence offers us important strategic advantages in our political campaigns and struggles. By demonstrating our sincerity and resolve, we gain the support of previously neutral or inactive individuals and groups; we can define the terms of the debate rather than simply accepting the terms of our adversaries; and very significantly, we can take steps toward gaining control of our lives and our future, which is the real challenge to the "powers that be".

For some, a commitment to nonviolence grows out of a religious conviction. For others, it comes from a careful consideration of a vision for the future and a path to reach it from where we are today. The choice of a nonviolent way of life is a personal one. But a large part of the anti-nuclear movement has decided to incorporate nonviolence into the heart of our strategy, and therefore it is important that what we mean by nonviolence is fully understood by all and is consistently carried out. This common understanding will help assure that our strategy is effective.

Elsewhere in this handbook, the Working in Groups Section discusses how nonviolence principles operate within our movement, and the Planning Section deals with strategy and suggestions for nonviolent action.

WORKING ASSUMPTIONS OF NONVIOLENCE

In El Salvador

"Non-violence is the constant awareness of the dignity and humanity of oneself and others; it seeks truth and justice; it renounces violence both in method and in attitude; it is a courageous acceptance of active love and goodwill as the instrument with which to overcome evil and transform both oneself and others. It is the willingness to undergo suffering rather than inflict it. It excludes retaliation and flight."

Wally Nelson, conscientious objector,
civil rights activist, and tax resister

The following working assumptions form a preliminary framework for the understanding of nonviolence:

1. *The means must be consistent with the ends.* A good example of this principle is group or consensus decision-making; the process used to reach a decision is as vital as the political viability of that decision.
2. *Respect all life.* The essence of this working assumption is the attempt to relate to all individuals in as human a way as possible, despite disagreements or anger, and to value and respect non-human forms of life.
3. *Transform opposition rather than destroy it.* Because there is a basic respect for the other individual in any confrontative situation, it is possible to work toward changing rather than destroying that person. Linked to this approach is the awareness that it is not only the other person who needs to change; we must be willing to listen and undergo change or hardship ourselves.
4. *Use creativity, humor, and love.* Use of creative ways to approach adversaries can sometimes prevent reactions of fear, anger, and hate, and at the same time, produce unexpected positive results.
5. *Aim for underlying changes.* Nonviolence seeks underlying changes more than surface changes. To reach deeper, more profound change in society and the way people live obviously may take much longer, but will produce more enduring, higher quality change.

*Bullets find their nests
in the breasts of nuns & of teachers
there is blood in the apples
there are tears in the looms.*

*In the White House
the unemployed hack cowboy actor
eats jellybeans
& says:*

*Human rights will not be
our concern. It is not our
business what happens in
those countries.*

*& sends guns & bullets
to the generals.*

*There is blood in the apples
there are tears in the looms.*

Rafael Jesús González



6. *Power lies in social dynamics.* Power doesn't "belong" only to certain people or groups; it lies in social dynamics. It is our cooperation with people and institutions in power positions that gives them power. Through organized nonviolent action and civil disobedience, it is possible to withhold our cooperation from those who abuse power and thus remove power from them.
7. *Nonviolence is active.* Although to some the word nonviolence implies passivity, nonviolence is actually an active form of resistance. It analyzes the sources of institutional violence and intervenes on a philosophical and political level through direct and persistent actions.

NONVIOLENCE—AN AMERICAN BUDDHIST VIEW



by Mitch Durrell

Non-harm or non-violence is a translation from the Sanskrit "ahimsa". For Buddhists, "ahimsa" is a fundamental virtue and an expression of Buddhist life. To understand "ahimsa", one must practice it. To practice it, one must understand it.

From the perspective of Buddhist psychology, human beings seem to have the "unnecessary" but inevitable tendency to divide their experience into two separate realms: self and others — and what is inside and what is outside.

A Buddhist antidote for this dilemma is the practice of Meditation, Morality, and Wisdom and Insight.

Buddhist Meditation is the process of being aware and present with our breath, our body, and whatever arises in our mind. Whether our experience is calm and a unity of inside and outside or an experience of greed, anger and ignorance—we are still mindful. Through the practice of meditation, we can become less violent people and eventually realize the nature of our mind is always "ahimsa".

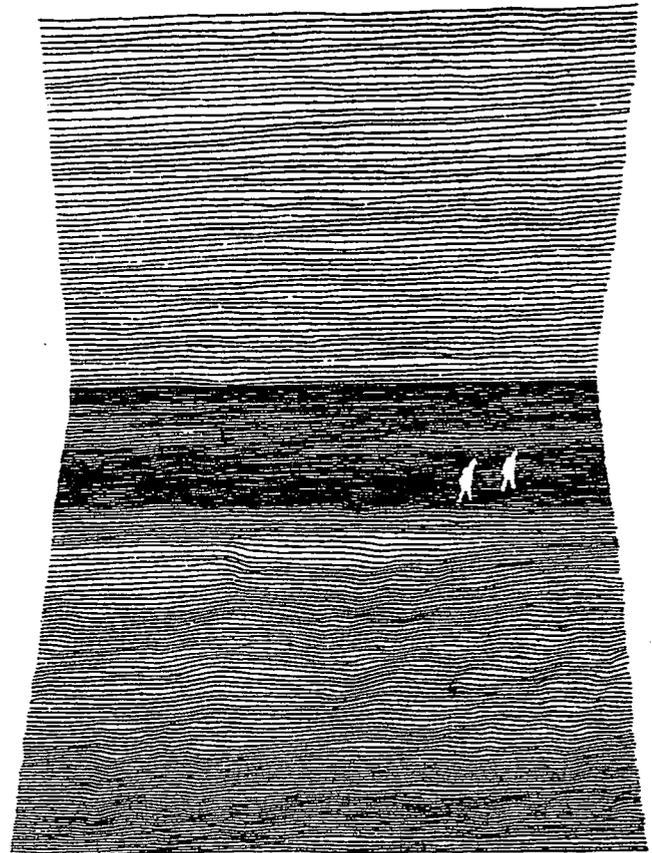
Buddhist Morality is the compassionate expression of our non-dual mind and a guide to its development. Here the contradictions of our life, self and other, inside and outside, and birth and death, can become at ease — and accepted. From this viewpoint, Aitken-roshi of the Diamond Sangha addresses the First Buddhist Precept, "No killing":

"There is fundamentally no birth and no death as we die and are born. When we kill the spirit that may realize this fact, we are violating this precept. We kill that spirit in ourselves and in others when we brutalize human potential, animal potential, earth potential. We brutalize with a casual word or a look sometimes: it does not take a club or a bomb. . . War and other acts of organized violence, including social repression are massive violations of this precept.^{1"}



Given the difficulty of existence in this world, with the often brutal and violent disregard for life, what is our responsibility?

Wisdom, or insight, is a translation of the Sanskrit "prajna". By highest wisdom is meant seeing "things" directly and precisely as they are and not as a projection of our confused and discriminating mind. With this recognition, that all beings are interdependent and mutually conditioned, we hear and share the suffering and joy of others, and know it as our own.



In this century, Buddhism has begun to root itself in America. Our concern has been predominantly with the absorption of the teachings, and out of this has grown an involvement with the daily concerns of social life: "efforts to build inner-city community, work to end hunger and malnutrition, alternative health and child care,"² and concern and care for the terminally ill. Although there has often been this kind of concern, American Buddhists have been slow to engage in intentional political activity such as protests, organizing, and collective efforts to lobby our elected representatives, activities which are, strictly speaking, outside of the community context itself.

In the face of a nuclear holocaust that could possibly eliminate all life on our planet, American Buddhists are now beginning to directly confront and oppose the decisions and postures of our government. Just the possibility of such a holocaust has been a catalyst that is reminding us of the inseparable relationship between religion and politics.

"We have reached the place in international affairs, and in domestic affairs, too, where it is altogether absurd to insist, as some of my Buddhist friends do, that the truly religious person does not get involved in politics. What is politics? Is blowing up the world political? Is torture political? As a matter of fact, the denial of politics in religious life is itself a political statement. The time when politics meant taking a position of allegiance to one government faction or another has long passed. Politics in our day of nuclear overkill is a matter of ignoring the first precept (no killing) or acting upon it."³

Acting in accord with "no killing", may we live and mature with all beings.

(R1)

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NONVIOLENCE

From philosophical peace societies to mass movement direct action

by Craig Simpson

Reading newspaper reports of demonstrations at Cruise missile bases, nuclear power plants or corporate headquarters gives the impression that they are a new fad or modern trend. Nonviolence is usually put in quotes and rarely placed in the context of what is actually happening in the action and in similar movements around the world. It is also true that many of those sitting in the road, climbing the fences or being dragged off by police know little or nothing of the tradition in which they act. In fact, the nonviolence of today is a blend of ideas and strategies from cultures and actions throughout the world.

The merging of philosophical pacifism, noncooperation and direct action that has provided the basis for a mass nonviolent social change movement is a long and intriguing evolution. Many social movements have contributed their ideas and experience to pacifist or nonviolent principles, and nonviolent theories and practices have been borrowed or adapted by many movements; sometimes this has been done for short-term tactical reasons and in many cases not explicitly connected to nonviolence. These exchanges have expanded nonviolence from a mainly moral or utopian vision to a focus on organized mass resistance to violence in all its forms.

Nonviolence today claims much of its roots in philosophical pacifism. Throughout history there have been those who oppose war and violence, and most religious traditions have pacifist elements. In the 1600s small Christian pacifist sects like the Anabaptists, Mennonites, Amish and Quakers began appearing in Europe and the United States, where they spread pacifist ideas through work against conscription and war as well as work for the abolition of slavery and for freedom of religion and speech.

Pacifist ideas were first heard from secular sources in the late 1700s. Peace societies arose out of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe and later in the United States. In 1848 Henry David Thoreau wrote his essay "On Civil Disobedience," which had a major international impact on pacifist ideals; it defined the individual's responsibility to take action and resist the power wielded by oppressive institutions or governments.



San Francisco to Moscow peace walk, 1961.
Photo by A. Stuzhin, UPI, (B 4).

Between 1815 and 1914 there were two separate but overlapping peace movements, one concerned with the abolition of war and violence, and a second working class anti-war movement which laid more emphasis on social justice and political freedom. World War I brought together war resisters from different countries and for the first time both pacifist and political objectors joined together, with the workers' movement bringing their tactics of noncooperation and direct action.

Noncooperation has occurred in almost every revolution and social change movement in history. Most ideas of noncooperation were not based in pacifism but arose out of people's struggles, often violent, to assert their rights. American revolutionaries used tactics such as tax and tea boycotts and publishing illegal newspapers to mobilize thousands of colonists before the military conflict against the British. In the late 1800s, labor organizers used strikes, pickets and boycotts to organize immigrants and ethnic minorities without violence and with incredible creativity. The women's movements for the right to vote carried on a century of work in lobbying, silent vigils, mass demonstrations and hunger strikes. Noncooperation was used in occupied Denmark and Norway to smuggle Jews out and resist Nazi-ordered changes in the school system.



Swiss anti-nuclear march, 1977.
Photo by Klaus Rozsa.

Although many movements used noncooperation and direct action as tactics in their struggles, the concepts of revolutionary perspective and commitment in lifestyle were rarely formally articulated by pacifists or political activists. Mohandas K. Gandhi made a significant personal contribution in the history of nonviolence with his political experiments and writings that broadened the scope of nonviolent action and refined its practice. In the 28-year campaign to win Indian independence from Great Britain, he merged pacifist thought, political strategies from other movements, and local Indian traditions, laying down an ideological framework and organizing mass nonviolent actions which included millions of the Indian poor. Gandhi was the first to both theorize and practice nonviolence for social change on such a scale. His work has affected African liberation movements in Tanzania, the Congo and South Africa as well as activists and pacifists in the U.S. and Western Europe.

During World War II pacifists and other conscientious objectors in the U.S. organized and used nonviolent tactics in their prisons for better conditions and to end racial segregation. After the war many of them joined civil rights movements against discriminatory Jim Crow laws throughout the country; swim-ins, sit-ins, freedom rides and bus boycotts were organized using nonviolent ideas. Others began using similar tactics in the campaigns against atomic weapons and nuclear testing. Ban the Bomb movements using nonviolent action and mass civil disobedience spread throughout Europe, becoming so strong in Greece that the military took power and assassinated or jailed major pacifist leaders. In the movement against the Vietnam War thousands employed tactics of civil disobedience, mass noncooperation and tax resistance in the U.S. and around the world.

In 1971 Gandhian ideas influenced a group of peasants on the Larzac plateau in France to employ nonviolent tactics to save their farmland from being taken for expansion of a military base. Over a ten-year period they used a number of direct actions, including constructing sheep shelters on the base and holding gatherings of 100,000 supporters. These farmers and their creative use of nonviolence had a major influence in the German village of Whyll, where local wine growers mobilized 28,000 people from several countries to occupy the site of a proposed nuclear power plant in 1976. A similar occupation at a proposed nuclear waste dump near Gorleben several years later further contributed to the rise of the mass movements against the cruise and Pershing missiles in West Germany today.

When a Whyll-type occupation was planned at Seabrook, New Hampshire in 1976, the concept of affinity groups for the democratic organization of civil disobedience was used for the first time since the Spanish Civil War. Using nonviolent tactics and decentralized planning, coupled with the decade-old ideas of nonviolence training that came out of the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements, the affinity group structure caught on quickly. Across the U.S. hundreds and then thousands of people began to take nonviolence training and risked arrest, beatings and incarceration in actions to stop nuclear power. This laid a groundwork for a movement that for the first time could challenge the American military policy in a peacetime environment.

Joining the growth of this nonviolent movement, many new and exciting groups of people have worked to expand the borders of nonviolent theory and action: Farmworkers in California began using strikes and major boycotts to win recognition; Israeli Arabs in the villages of Ikram and Beram have campaigned with nonviolent techniques for the return of their land; and relatives of political "disappeared" in Chile and Argentina have used nonviolent vigils to get prisoners released. The growing women's movement, with its analysis connecting the personal and the political and its use of small consciousness-raising groups, has played a major role in broadening the vision of nonviolence. It has drawn the connections between institutional and military violence and domestic social violence in families and communities, and developed cooperative structures and practices for people working to free themselves from violent social conditioning.

Nonviolence theory is rooted in many centuries of philosophical thought and political action. It is just beginning to become a revolutionary theory that addresses issues of political and economic power or human liberation, but it is not a rigid or dogmatic perspective. Many peoples and cultures can use nonviolent tactics and ideas as long as creative minds exist. We must keep in mind our historical roots as we create a new movement of people for a world without war, classes, injustice or violence. History shows that people can change.

NATURAL RIGHTS



by John Lavine

We are raised in a society that systematically teaches us to regard the world around us in terms of human needs and desires. By defining all else according to our concerns, we do two things: We assume that our concerns are most important, and we separate ourselves from the rest of the world. Animals in particular are regarded as objects with only functional value, to serve our needs.

This is evident in the great, and ever-increasing, use of animals as "tools for research". Each year millions of animals, from mice to monkeys, are killed in the name of research. While the nature of most experiments is kept secret from the general public, the myth is spread that these animals are "sacrificed" so that humans can live. The facts of the matter, however, are that hundreds of thousands of animals die testing lipstick and shampoo, that hundreds of thousands more die duplicating or triplicating previous test results, and that some of these experiments bear a closer resemblance to sadism than discovery. Because these animals are regarded as disposable objects to be used as we choose, the issue of violence to a creature capable of suffering is obscured, or dismissed.



But by far the most widespread, and deeply ingrained, example of this attitude and practice is evident in the food we eat. Killing animals for their meat is an act of violence that discounts any suffering they feel. Furthermore, our society possesses the means to nourish its people without having to kill or torture animals. It is well documented and generally accepted that a non-meat diet can provide all our nutritional needs, and in terms of the world food situation, is a more efficient use of the world's resources. There are strong investments in a meat-oriented economy, however, particularly U.S. agribusiness concerns, that actively oppose such use. This kind of manipulation of the world market causes many impoverished countries, especially in the Third World, to forsake broad-based agriculture in favor of cattle-raising for export and other cash-crop specialization.

Within the U.S. there is also manipulation of the food market, though somewhat different. Meat-eating is promoted as part of "the good life", and its connections to class and privilege are made explicit. This transformation of food from a necessity into a status symbol is a perversity of our market culture. Another, though opposite, version of this transformation is the current "health food" fashion. It is important to state that choosing not to eat animals does not mean supporting this business, which is equally classist in nature.

Our society also uses language to distort the fact of killing animals. We do not eat dead animals; rather, we have hamburgers, hot dogs, veal, steak, and a host of other "stuff words" to mask the origins of these foods. Because these "products" have been so removed from their origins as living things that suffer death at our hands, it becomes easier to regard a decision not to eat meat as giving up something pleasurable and good—we do not imagine that this pleasure can be part of oppression.

Yet oppression is exactly what I think is involved. We live in a fragmented world, separate from the rest of nature and susceptible to all manner of social, political, and economic manipulations of our values. In our conditioned practices we become the unwitting agents of that system.

I am a vegetarian because I wish to break from that system, because my belief in nonviolence and my desire to end oppression extends beyond the limits of human concerns. I do not wish to make aggression and destruction part of my fundamental experience of the world. By giving up and renouncing my role as a "master" of nature, I attempt to rejoin, in harmony, the community of beings of our exploited planet.

PRACTICING NONVIOLENCE

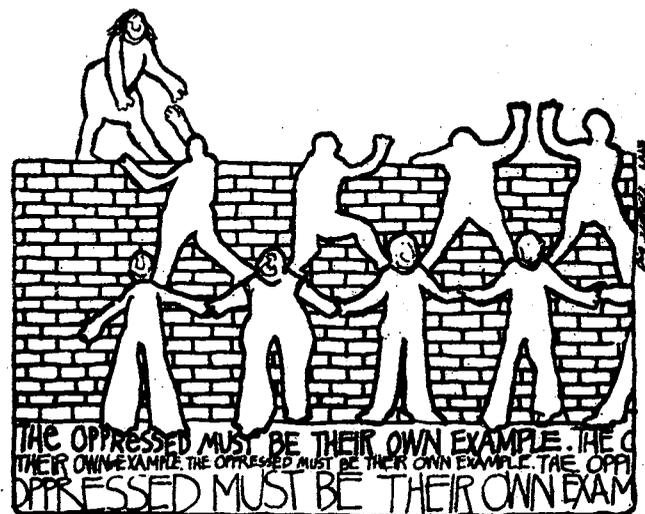
"Without a direct action expression of it, nonviolence, to my mind, is meaningless."

M.K. Gandhi

Practice is a key word in understanding nonviolence. A nonviolent approach assumes that people take active roles, making choices and commitments and building on their experience. It also presents a constant challenge: to weave together the diversity of individual experiences into an ever-changing vision. There is no fixed, static "definition" of nonviolence.

Gandhi's vision of nonviolence is translated as "clinging to truth" or sometimes "truth force", which includes both determination to speak out even when one's truth is unpopular and willingness to hear the truth of other people's experience. He also defined two other components of nonviolence: the refusal to harm others and willingness to suffer for one's beliefs. Many activists who adopt nonviolent tactics are reluctant to accept these aspects philosophically, or to prescribe them to others. For example, Third World people in the U.S. and other countries are often pressed to use violent action to defend their lives. Feminists point out that since our society pressures women to be self-sacrificing, the decision to accept suffering is often reinforcement of women's oppression rather than a free choice.

Jo Vellacott, in her essay "Women, Peace and Power", speaks of violence as "resourcelessness"—seeing few options, feeling like one's self or small group is alone against a hostile or at best indifferent universe. Many societal institutions and conventions, despite their original intention to benefit at least some people, perpetuate this violence by depriving people of their lives, health, self-respect or hope. Nonviolence then becomes resourcefulness—seeing the possibilities for change in oneself and in others, and having the power to act on those possibilities. Much of the task of becoming effectively nonviolent lies in removing the preconceptions that keep us from seeing those resources. Undoing the violence within us involves challenging myths that we are not good enough, not smart enough or not skilled enough to act. The best way to do this is to try it, working with friends or in small groups at first, and starting with roleplays or less intimidating activities like leafletting. As confidence in our own resourcefulness grows, we become more able to support each other in maintaining our nonviolent actions.



Anger and emotional violence

Getting rid of the patterns of violence that societal conditioning has placed in us is not always a polite process; it involves releasing despair, anger, and other emotions that haven't been allowed to surface before. The myth that emotions are destructive and unreliable prevents us from trusting our own experience and forces us to rely on rigid formulas and people we perceive as authorities for guidance. Most of us have been taught that expressing anger especially provokes disapproval, invalidation and physical attack, or else will hurt others and make us suffer guilt. This conditioning serves to make us both repress our own anger and also respond repressively to each other's anger.

Anger is a sign of life. It arises with recognition that injustice exists and contains the hope that things can be different. It is often hard to see this clearly because, as Barbara Deming says,

"... our anger is in great part hidden—from others and even from ourselves—and when it is finally allowed to emerge into the open—this pride—it is shaking, unsure of itself, and so quick to be violent. For now it believes and yet it doesn't quite dare to believe that it can claim its rights at last."

To make room for a healthy expression of and response to this anger, it helps to create a general attitude of respect and support. Verbal violence—snide or vicious tones, interrupting, shouting down or misrepresenting what people say—is the antithesis of respect and communication. When people sense this happening, they should pause and consider their feelings and objectives. Clearing the air is especially important when people are feeling defensive or threatened; developing a sense of safety and acceptance of our anger with each other helps us concentrate all our emotional energies towards constructive, effective action.

Property rights versus human rights

Public perceptions of violence are closely linked to attitudes about property. A 1969 survey revealed that 58% of American males viewed draft card burnings as violent, while 57% felt that police shooting looters was not violent.* In fact, even within the disarmament movement, there are widely varying opinions about what constitutes violence. Some individuals feel the weaving of webs of colored yarn across gates is violent, one step in the cycle of violence that breeds further violence. Others, who may find the weaving of webs tolerable, object to the cutting of fences to acquire access to nuclear weapons facilities or to the actual sledgehammering of components of first-strike weapons. These individuals believe that violent acts of this sort, although aimed at weapons of destruction, serve only to escalate violence by precipitating a violent response. The argument continues that, through our behavior, we must model our non-violent vision and philosophy. Still others believe that some physical objects, such as nuclear weapons or missile bases, by their very existence perpetuate societal or institutional violence. To remove these objects is only destruction of the structures that hold violence in place as the basis of power.

We are creating the nonviolent world we deserve to live in, where the right to live in respect and trust with each other and with the earth has priority over the right to kill. Because people still attach value and security to property, and currently depend on the structures we are trying to change, this positive vision has to be communicated clearly. Whether or not any property is affected, creativity and careful preparation are crucial to finding effective ways to express our purposes. Analyzing the roots of violence in our society requires research, listening to each other and seeking out new perspectives. Non-violence is a commitment to this ongoing process as a means of interrupting the pain/fear/greed cycle of violence.

—adapted from an article by Arleen Feng

* *Science News*, July 3, 1971



NONVIOLENT RESPONSE TO PERSONAL VIOLENCE

Nonviolence focuses on communication:

- 1. Be clear about your objectives.**
Your objectives must be reasonable. You must believe you are fair and you must be able to communicate this to your opponent.
- 2. Don't be frightened.**
Maintain as much eye contact as possible.
- 3. Don't be frightening.**
Make no abrupt gestures. Move slowly. When practical, tell your opponent what you are going to do before you do it. Don't say anything threatening, critical, or hostile.
- 4. Don't be afraid of stating the obvious.**
Say simply, "You're hurting my arm", or "You're shouting at me".
- 5. Don't behave like a victim.**
Someone in the process of committing an act of violence has strong expectations as to how his/her victim will behave. If you manage to behave differently—in a nonthreatening manner—you can interrupt the flow of events that would have culminated in an act of violence. You must create a scenario new to your opponent.
- 6. Seek to befriend your opponent's better nature.**
Even the most brutal and brutalized among us have some spark of decency which the nonviolent defender can reach.
- 7. Don't shut down in response to physical violence.**
You have to play it by ear. The best rule is to resist as firmly as you can without escalating the anger or the violence. Try varying approaches and keep trying to alter your opponent's picture of the situation.
- 8. Keep talking. Keep listening.**
Get your opponent talking and listen to what s/he says. Encourage him/her to talk about what s/he believes, wishes, fears. Don't argue but at the same time don't give the impression you agree with assertions that are cruel or immoral. The listening is more important than what you say—keep the talk going and keep it calm.

—adapted from an article by Mark Morris in *WIN*, (P22), January 24, 1974.

WORKING IN GROUPS



The key to social change is our success in working with each other. The ways in which groups form and the nature of their concerns are many; so also are the backgrounds and experiences of their members.

This section is broken into two subsections. The first, **Discrimination**, addresses the varied experiences of individuals within the disarmament movement; the second subsection, **Group Process**, addresses ways we can bridge these differences in our common work.



DISCRIMINATION INTRODUCTION

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

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 bombs and missiles and other 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. The same system that creates a bomb designed to destroy humans and retain property intact also deprives elderly people and disabled people of life resources and encourages in-

dividuals to compete with each other and treat each other disrespectfully.

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.

Confronting the violence between us can be painful. Speaking of oppression or using words such as sexism or racism can often result in people feeling guilty, or hurt, or reacting defensively. Most of us benefit from some form of privilege; many of us suffer from discrimination from one or more sources. Because discrimination distorts the power dynamics between us and, as a result, divides us, it is harmful for everyone.

None of us alone has the power to end the institutions of discrimination. It is both the individual and collective challenge to these forms of discrimination that will lead to the social and political changes that will benefit us all.

WE'RE ALL IN THE SAME BOAT

by Rosario Morales

April, 1980

This society this incredible way of living divides us by class by color It says we are individual and alone and don't you forget it It says the only way out of our doom of our sex our class our race is some individual gift and character and hard work and then all we get all we ever get is to change class or color or sex to rise to bleach to masculinize an enormous game of musical chairs and that's only at its fairy tale Horatio Alger best that's only at its best

From all directions we get all the beliefs to go with these divisions we believe all kinds of things about: what real men really are what women must want what black people feel and smell like what white people do and deserve how rich people earn their comforts and cadillacs how poor people get what's coming to them

O we are all racist we are all sexist some of us only some of us are the targets of racism of sexism of homophobia of class denigration but we all all breathe in racism with the dust in the streets with the words we read and we struggle those of us who struggle we struggle endlessly endlessly to think and be and act differently from all that

Listen you and listen hard I carry within me a vicious anti-semitic voice that says jew him down that says dirty jew that says things that stop me dead in the street and make the blood leave my face I have fought that voice for 45 years all the years that I lived with and among jews who are almost me whose rhythms of speech and ways of laughing are close beside me are dear to me whose sorrows reach deep inside me that voice has tried to tell me that that love and identification are unreal fake cannot be and I refuse it I refuse its message

I carry a shell a white and crisp voiced shell to hide my brown golden soft spanish voiced inner self to pass to hide my puertoricanness

I carry a pole 18 inches long to hold me at the correct distance from black-skinned people

I carry hard metal armor with spikes with shooting weapons in every joint with fire breathing from every hole to protect me to prepare me to assault any man from 13 to 89

I am a whole circus by myself a whole dance company with stance and posture for being in middle class homes in upper class buildings for talking to men for speaking with blacks for carefully angling and directing for choreographing my way thru the maze of classes of people and places thru the little boxes of sex race class nationality sexual orientation intellectual standing political preference the automatic contortions the exhausting camouflage with which I go thru this social space called



a daunting but oh so nicely covering name this is no way to live

Listen listen with care class and color and sex do not define people do not define politics a class society defines people by class a racist society defines people by color We feminists socialists radicals define people by their struggles against the racism sexism classism that they harbor that surrounds them

So stop saying that she acts that way because she's middle class that that's all you can expect from that group because it's white that they're just men, quit it!

We know different things some very much more unpleasant things if we've been women poor black or lesbian or all of those we know different things depending on what sex what color what lives we live where we grew up What schooling what beatings with or without shoes steak or beans but what politics each of us is going to be and do is anybody's guess

Being female doesn't stop us from being sexist we've had to chose early or late at 7 14 27 56 to think different dress different act different to struggle to organize to picket to argue to change other women's minds to change our own minds to change our feelings ours yours and mine constantly to change and change and change to fight the onslaught on our minds and bodies and feelings

I'm saying that the basis of our unity is that in the most important way we are all in the same boat all subjected to the violent pernicious ideas we have learned to hate that we must all struggle against them and exchange ways and means hints and how tos that only some of us are victims of sexism only some of us are victims of racism of the directed arrows of oppression but all of us are sexist racist all of us

— excerpted with permission from *This Bridge Called My Back* (B12).

CAPITALIST PATRIARCHY

NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

CONFRONTING CLASSISM



by Donna Warnock
War Resisters League/West

We live in the wealthiest country in the world but, according to *Fortune Magazine*, 75% of that wealth is in the hands of 5% of the population, carefully guarded by the most powerful police force in the world—the U.S. military. Those dedicated to disarmament are therefore forced to dismantle the oppressive system that employs the military as well. It is environmentally and technically possible for everyone to enjoy a good standard of living if wealth were redistributed, exploitation ceased, and the arms race abandoned.

The inequitable distribution of wealth prevents the whole society from enjoying the full benefits of people's labor, intelligence and creativity, and creates great misery for the lower classes. One-half of the population has less than \$800 in liquid assets (cash plus that which is easily convertible to cash) according to the U.S. Census Bureau. *Newsweek* reports that one in four people in this country owns nothing and often has debts. The U.S. government classifies one-fifth of the population as poor. Nonetheless, many people have bought the myth that most of the country is middle class.

Criteria for determining class identity is subject to debate, being variously defined by origins, workforce status, income and/or outlook. For example, some consider all who derive their income from wages members of the workingclass; others exclude that 15-20% of the workforce which constitutes the professionals and managers whose incomes are high enough to provide a stake in the capitalist system. Depending on the breadth of one's definition, 70-85% of the population can be considered workingclass. This is true despite the fact that the individuals themselves might identify as or with the middle class. These individuals, however, are not beneficiaries of middle class privileges, as witnessed by the *Newsweek* report that 80% of everything that can be owned is in the hands of 20% of the population, and the fact that only 20% of the population goes to college, and an even smaller percentage graduates.

Economic privileges alter the effects of classism and provide the illusion that upward mobility eliminates economic oppression. But people have no choice about the class into which they're born, and there are no individual solutions. Acting together, though, workingclass people can refuse to fight or work at crucial steps. We could deprive the system of a vital element in its power: our cooperation.

Economic inequalities are held in place through the direct exploitation of people's hard work and basic resources, and also by a system of beliefs which ranks people according to economic status, "breeding", job, and level of education. Classism says that upper class people are smarter than poor people.

Class affects people not only on an economic level, but also on an emotional level. Classist attitudes have caused great pain by dividing people from one another and keeping individuals from personal fulfillment or the means to survive. Consequently, the process of rejecting such attitudes and their accompanying misinformation is an emotional one. Since people tend to hurt each other because they themselves have been hurt, and since most forms of oppression are accompanied by economic discrimination, class overlaps with many other social issues, all of which move as we unravel how we've been hurt.



The stereotype is that poor and workingclass people are unintelligent, inarticulate and "overly emotional". A good ally (a non-workingclass committed supporter) will contradict these messages by soliciting the knowledge and histories of poor and workingclass people, being a thoughtful listener, trying to understand what is being said, and not criticizing how the message is being presented or responding with automatic defensiveness. Distrust, despair and anger are common consequences of oppression; it is the test of a true ally to remain undeterred when these flare up and to refrain from withdrawing support at such points. When targets of oppression believe the lies about themselves it is called "internalized oppression". To begin to undo the damage caused by classism, it is useful for everyone to examine their own feelings about money, education, privilege, power, relationships, culture and ethnicity. This advice applies to organizations as well. The points and questions below are offered specifically to help the disarmament movement address important class concerns.

QUESTIONS ABOUT CLASS TO CONSIDER

For general discussion:

As a movement, who are we and who are we trying to reach in terms of class? How? To whom do our literature and events appeal? How are poor people's needs being met in our organizing? What steps are being taken to change peoples's attitudes about classism? Are poor and Third World people invited to participate in organization planning? What is being done to reach and involve organized and unorganized workers? What are we doing to support poor, workingclass and Third World people in *their struggles*?

The situation for poor & workingclass people in our movement and organization:

Is classism evident in who does what work in the organization? Are poor and workingclass people facilitators, spokespeople and/or media contacts and leaders, and not just relegated to cleanup crews and collating mailings? Are organizing expenses paid upfront, or promptly reimbursed?

Meetings and events:

Make meetings and events known and accessible to poor and workingclass people. Be aware of how the length, time and frequency of meetings affects full-time workers, especially those who parent. Arrange for transportation.

Routinely provide childcare and sliding scales. Ask people what they need to be able to attend meetings and events. How does income-level and class composition affect the development of resources, the dates of

demonstrations, the levels of commitment and power working people can have, the events sponsored? What are the cultural offerings? Who are the speakers and entertainers? Are they individuals poor and workingclass people can relate to?

Process:

Make sure that process isn't actually being used to tell poor and workingclass people how to behave by "proper" etiquette.

Is consensus being used so that decisions favor those who can stay the longest, or who are used to getting their own way and will block to do so?

Watch that group hugs and rituals are not imposed—allow people to interact with each other in whatever ways feel comfortable to them.

Civil disobedience (C.D.):

Does class determine who is able and who is unable to commit civil disobedience? How can we make it economically possible for those who want to commit C.D. to do so? How do we keep C.D. from being a movement privilege, with activists who can afford to tally arrest counts granted subsequently more political prestige? How do those who are arrested relate to the regular prison population, taking into account how class figures in their treatment and ability to cite out among other things? How is the strain on prison facilities alleviated so as not to adversely affect other prisoners? Watch for class differences in people's reactions to and attitudes about authorities: police, guards, lawyers, judges, laws.

Racism (Guidelines)

Some guidelines for white people in dealing with racism:

1. If you're in a situation that a person of color is identifying as racist, and it doesn't appear that way to you, assess the situation again. Like many other forms of discrimination, racism occurs on a variety of subtle levels not always apparent to someone not directly experiencing the discrimination.
2. If you want to work against racism, you must put yourself in a place where it's happening. Real change of racist attitudes and beliefs does not happen in a vacuum.
3. When relating to a person of color, don't focus on or be obsessed with racial differences. One goal of ending discrimination is for all persons to be seen as individuals. On the other hand, pretending that color does not exist obscures one very important aspect of that individual's experience.
4. Identify for yourself ways that racism hurts you and examine ways that you have internalized misinformation about your ethnicity and cultural heritage.

RACISM

by Alice Walker

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

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

In any case, this has been my own problem.

When I have considered the enormity of the white man’s crimes against humanity. Against women. Against every living person of color. Against the poor. Against my mother and my father. Against me. . . When I consider that at this very moment he wishes to take away what little freedom I have died to achieve, through denial of my right to vote. . . Has already taken away education, medicine, housing, and food. . . That William Shockley is saying at this moment that he will run for the Senate of my country to push his theory that Blacks are genetically inferior and should be sterilized. . . When I consider that he is, they are, a real and present threat to my life and the life of my daughter, my people, I think—in perfect harmony with my sister of long ago:

Let the earth marinate in poisons. Let the bombs cover the ground like rain. For nothing short of total destruction will ever teach them anything.

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

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

What they have done to the Old, they will do to the New.

Under the white man every star would become a South Africa, every planet a Vietnam.

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

However, just as the sun shines on the godly and the ungodly alike, so does nuclear radiation. And with this knowledge it becomes increasingly difficult to embrace

Editors’ Note: The following is a curse-prayer that Zora Neale Hurston, novelist and anthropologist, collected in the 1920s. Derogatory references to disability should be viewed in this historical context.

TO the Man God: O Great One, I have been sorely tried by my enemies and have been blasphemed and lied against. My good thoughts and my honest actions have been turned to bad actions and dishonest ideas. My home has been disrespected; my children have been cursed and ill-treated. My dear ones have been backbitten and their virtue questioned. O Man God, I beg that this that I ask for my enemies shall come to pass:

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

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

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

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

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

the thought of extinction purely for the assumed satisfaction of—from the grave—achieving revenge. Or even of accepting our demise as a planet as a simple and just preventative medicine administered to the Universe. Life is better than death, I believe, if only because it is less boring, and because it has fresh peaches in it. In any case, Earth is my home—though for centuries white people have tried to convince me I have no right to exist, except in the dirtiest, darkest corners of the globe.

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

And we are not saved yet.
Only justice can stop a curse.

Speech reprinted from *Reweaving the Web* (B10)
Reprinted with permission.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

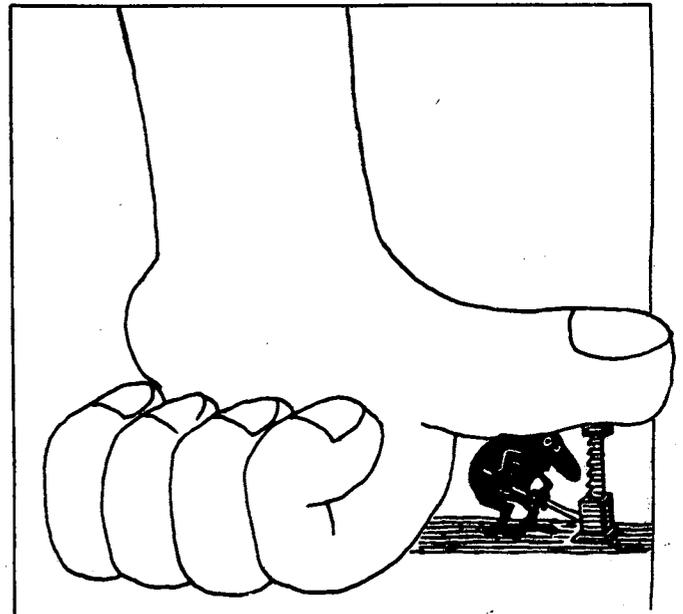
As editors, we chose to print the preceding speech because we feel it is a direct, powerful statement by a person of color. We are aware, however, that for some white people, reading this speech may provoke a variety of uncomfortable reactions. Some reactions might include: anger (a result of feeling blamed), guilt, frustration or exasperation (with one's own inability to eradicate racism and/or change the world), total lack of reaction (being unmoved), or feeling personally attacked. Given the feelings that most white people in this country have attached to racism, these possible reactions are understandable.

However, it is apparent that before any real change of racist attitudes can happen, the following must take place:

1. White people need to realize that it is possible to unlearn racism, that we do have that power. Racist attitudes stem from misinformation acquired by every white person who has grown up in American society. Because this misinformation was imposed and is not inherent, it can be unlearned.

2. White people need to learn how to get accurate information from and about people of color. The process of learning includes a certain amount of detachment from what is being said, an ability to put aside personal feelings or reactions, and simply listen.

3. White people must become aware of the ways in which our lives have been limited and restricted by racism. Such an awareness will increase the interest of white people in ending racism.



DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS JEWISH PEOPLE

by Karen Rachels

Discrimination towards Jewish people often happens on a different level than other forms of discrimination. Within progressive movements, the most frequent occurrence of anti-semitism surfaces in assumptions made about the attitudes of Jewish people towards the state of Israel.*

From its inception as a nation, the Israeli government has publicly defined its policies as integral to the survival of world Jewry. There are, however, widely differing views amongst Jewish people about the truth of this connection. Many Jews who don't live in Israel believe that the existence of Israel and its actions are crucial to Jewish survival. Largely, these feelings come from the collective world history of Jews as a people. But for many other Jews, Israel is not and never has been the solution to world anti-semitism. Regardless of what position is taken, however, many individual Jews both inside and outside of Israel feel critical of current and recent Israeli government policies. Despite this, an assumption prevails that all Jews inherently support Israeli policies and actions. Further, many non-Jews do not clearly distinguish the Israeli people from the Israeli government.

On a world-wide level, this assumption that all Jews support Israeli policies has led to bombings of synagogues and other Jewish institutions that are unconnected to Israel. Within progressive movements, this assumption can surface in expecting a certain response from a Jew when talking about the Middle East, or in justifying anti-semitic comments on the basis of what Israel is doing to the Palestinians, or not taking seriously the needs of Israeli Jews alongside the needs of Israeli Arabs and Palestinians outside of Israel.

Further, in general, the situation in the Middle East is often used to explain or justify the current resurgence of anti-semitism. It is important for Jews and non-Jews alike to examine the roots of anti-semitism and understand that Israel is not responsible for anti-semitism: anti-semitism already exists. The current Israeli situation serves only as a catalyst for its exposure.

The disarmament movement must address issues around the Middle East: what is happening there is intimately related to the escalation of the arms race and the balance of power between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. It is imperative, however, that any discussion of the Middle East clearly and consciously distinguish between Jews and Israel, and between the Israeli people and the Israeli government. Any approach to the Middle East that does not make these distinctions will only serve to aggravate already existing anti-semitism, and will not move us further towards viable political solutions for that region.

**here, referring to discrimination against Jews, although the complete definition includes Arabs as well.*

AGISM*

*This particular spelling is preferred by author.

by Marjory Nelson

Agism is action based on the belief that one age group is inferior to another. The action becomes oppressive when it is backed with power and resources (e.g. money and media). Agist beliefs are legitimized by theories (often "scientific") and myths, and serve to keep target ages out of competition for jobs and other resources.

We all experience agism in this age-segregated society. We learn to believe that people who are very young and very old are physically and mentally inferior to those who are in the "prime" of life and that young adults have the greatest strength, particularly men. This belief, a payoff for the exploitation of their labor and their bodies, also reflects our throw-away mentality, which puts top value on the new (young) adult, and the useful (able to find employment). Young women are defined at the height of their "beauty" as sex objects. Agism is so powerful for girls that many believe they will never grow up or grow old.

Agism intensifies all of the other "isms." During the long period of childhood (itself a relatively modern phenomenon), we keep our young dependent, helpless, and almost totally devoid of rights while we socialize (brainwash) them into rigid patterns of behavior according to class, sex and race. In school, which they *must* attend, they are tracked into career lines at an early age with little account of individuals' speed of learning or lack of opportunities. This oppression of the young denies them access to their own dreams, visions, creativity, spirituality: their own reality.

A lot of agism stems from the resentment that younger people feel toward the entrenched power of older people. Agism provides a way to avoid principled struggle over valid questions of class, power and leadership.

Every generation wants to believe that they hold the key to the "revolution", yet the ignorance of history and our inability to talk to each other across generations means that each generation starts out repeating the same mistakes. The expectations that older men will be powerful and older women nurturing makes it difficult for some older people to share and to learn. Agism keeps us divided, ignorant and ineffective.



A PERSPECTIVE

In my brief involvement with anti-nuclear work, I have noticed a few ways that I've felt different as a young person.

Sometimes, I'll find myself in a group situation feeling as if I don't fit in, and feeling self-conscious about my participation (or lack of) in the process of the group. When a heated discussion is happening, I'll often end up agreeing with everyone and having no opinion at all; the other people in the group, usually older by about ten years or more, seem to me to have more experience to back up their opinions. Then, sometimes, when I do speak up my comments are not given equal attention.

Initially, I felt all this was my fault. Now, however, I'm beginning to see that it's a group problem that the group needs to address. All people have something to contribute; if someone's feeling as if he or she doesn't fit in, then it probably means something's wrong with the process of the group rather than with the individual. Maybe, people with more experience can yield a little, be a little less opinionated, solicit the opinions of others in a non-pressured manner.

In contrast, I'm also part of an anti-draft group, many of whom are my peers, age-wise. I feel I participate differently, more fully and effectively in that group than in the anti-nuclear working group. A good part of that difference is probably a function of the age similarity in the anti-draft group. We do a number of different things together; I feel more a whole person. In the anti-nuclear working group, we interacted on one level to the exclusion of all others.

One concrete need of young people that the anti-nuclear movement does not address adequately are issues around the draft and draft resistance. I found little or no information available to me as a draft resister about possible risks when I decided to blockade.

Paraphrased from an interview with Adrian Bond, a young person active in the anti-nuclear movement.

For women, agism intensifies all of the atrocities of sexism, racism and class oppression. Old women (as defined by census, 62 or older) are the poorest sector of the population, with ever-diminishing expectations. Yet every year the population of poor old women increases.

Much of the oppression of older women reflects their stereotypical roles as mothers: sexless, nurturing and silent about their own needs. Surrogate mothers who do a "good" job of it are told "I wish my mother were like you." Many younger adults project on all older women their own unresolved issues with their own mothers.

If an older woman manages to "pass," her greatest compliment is that she doesn't "look her age." This really means that at meetings she manages to sit quietly and unobtrusively on the floor, that somehow her lungs haven't succumbed to the years of smoke filled meetings, that she doesn't talk about her own children, or her own pain, she never shows her anger, and she is able to fit into or to afford clothes that are cotton, and jeans, the uniform of young movement people. Jokes around polyesters reflect a cruel lack of understanding of older women's needs. Many older women are fat, particularly poor women. These are the only clothes that fit, that are affordable. Large sized jeans are expensive (if available) and are tailored to the bodies of men, not of mature women. T-shirts, for example, the symbol of movements "of the people", are also tailored to the bodies of men and do not fit either the very large or the very small.

Some older women are disabled (please read that section); some are not. Energy and physical needs may be different, but that doesn't mean they can't participate. Older people often have valuable skills.

Older women are expected to provide a background for the activities of younger women and men, but rarely play lead roles. They are often discounted, and are virtually invisible, leading to the painful, common and incorrect assumption that older women are not doing anything, or have not been active at anything effective. Yet a great deal of the work of the anti-war movement has been carried by older women. If not totally invisible, older women are depicted as destructive witches (another distortion of peoples' history), or they are patronized.

Older women who are still engaged in struggle, who refuse to be invisible, are often seen as an embarrassment, because they challenge simplistic notions of social change. Their daily struggle for survival shows that more is needed than an end to nuclear power. Younger people who don't want to believe they will end up the same way choose to blame the victim, rather than look at the source of the oppression.

DISABILITY AWARENESS: AN INTERVIEW

Steve Hoffmann participated in the June 21, 1982, blockade of Lawrence Livermore Laboratory in Livermore, California. He is an individual who uses a wheelchair due to a severe disability. As a disabled individual in a situation involving mostly able-bodied people, he has the following unique impressions to offer of his experience:

How did you decide to participate in civil disobedience?

Civil disobedience has always been one of my attachments to reality. If I didn't have that, it would be a lot more difficult for me to function as an individual with a sense of humor. In New York City, by law, in order to ride the subway:

- 1) I needed a special permit.
- 2) I needed an able-bodied escort.
- 3) I wasn't allowed to ever change cars on the train.

That law, obviously, conflicted not only with my morality, my mobility, and my right as a taxpayer; it was also not a just law. And the reality of riding the subway, worrying about being stopped at any moment by a transit cop kind of taught me to distinguish between right and wrong and the law, which are two different things.

It's comparable to saying that 504* protects our rights. The point is: didn't we always have civil rights? The only difference is that the legislature decided one day that maybe we needed the protection of the government which, by the way, always helps. But, it's a question of consciousness whether you believe in your own self that you are equal and right and do not need any external body to give it credence.

Did you experience any problems regarding other people's attitudes towards you during the June 21 action?

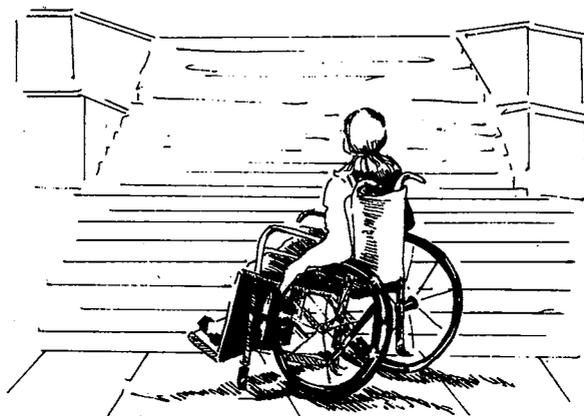
Mostly, people's attitudes were contradictory. On the one hand, "How great and brave you are!", and on the other, "You're scared and I need to protect you".

I think people mean well but they're just victims of non-exposure to disabled people. I think it also has to do with disabled people feeling that they can't contribute to any kind of political movement. I'm sure, in the next few years, there will be more disabled people participating in actions. But, basically, many disabled people are still immobile and shut-in due to architectural and attitudinal barriers.

*The Rehabilitation Act of 1973: all entities receiving federal funds shall not discriminate on the basis of disability.

What kinds of things do you think keep disabled people from joining in?

One barrier is not believing that you're going to get your needs met if you participate. I believe that clusters and affinity groups support and protect the inherent right of individuals with disabilities to practice civil disobedience. And I could almost believe that there isn't anyone too severely disabled that he/she couldn't participate in jail solidarity. And that's good. Because the authorities dealing with people with severe disabilities taxes the whole system more. But making that right to civil disobedience a reality is another matter. Because, for the disabled individual, it means risking control over your daily routine and not knowing if your needs will be cared for. I think able-bodied people need to be more conscious of what those needs are—to be more readily available to help but without being solicitous and over-protective. And I think that kind of consciousness comes with having ongoing relationships with disabled individuals.



Secondly, I think it's the problem of one-issue politics. Many disabled people are very radical and very progressive when it comes to issues about accessibility, but they don't see it in a broader political context. Likewise, I see that people who haven't been exposed to individuals with disabilities also think we only care about access.

Finally, of course, a major barrier to participation by disabled people is simple access—can they get into the hall where the planning meetings are held, is sign language interpretation provided when needed, etc. Access really is the most vital issue because it creates accessibility but it also sends a message that disabled people are welcome. That's why it's important to make things accessible even if no disabled individuals show up. You have to lay the groundwork and then wait a while for the concept and the reality of accessibility to sink in.

HOMO- PHOBIA

by the Non-Nuclear Family

Homophobia: fear of homosexuality

Do you know lesbians and gay men who are active in the anti-nuclear movement? If you don't, do you know why?

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 last 20 years.

Historically, gays have been forced to live secretly out of fear of psychological or physical attack 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.

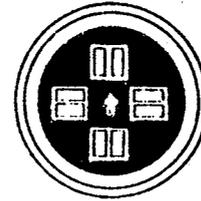
In the anti-nuclear movement, which encompasses people from a wide variety of political and religious backgrounds, prejudices that lead to negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men remain unchallenged as long as we remain invisible.

These unexamined prejudices result from historical condemnation of homosexuality. Gays have been attacked on all fronts: by psychiatry (which only 7 years ago ceased identifying homosexuality as a mental illness); organized religion (which identified gayness as a "sin and an abomination"); the Right (the Moral Majority has targeted gays); and the Left (which viewed gayness in Marxist terms as evidence of capitalist decadence). The list is extensive and horrifying, yet repression towards gays is often trivialized and our concerns dismissed as inconsequential.

Are lesbians man-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 philosophy is based on the desire to not have to expend energy constantly dealing with sexism and general societal hatred of women. This concept of separateness 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 criticism 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.

Another common stereotype surrounds the relationship of lesbians and gay men to children. This stereotype covers a wide range of ideas, from right-wing moralistic fears that gays are child molesters and recruiters, to a common heterosexual assumption that gays can't have children or don't care for children. In fact, many thousands of lesbians and gay men have made the decision to have children or became parents during previous heterosexual relationships. Many more have ongoing personal relationships with children or have jobs involving children such as teaching, health care, or child care. In the anti-nuclear movement, where concern for future generations as well as ourselves is a prime motivating factor, it is important to understand that the concern of gay people for future generations is not simply intellectual and humanitarian in origin, but is also based on real physical, emotional and spiritual connections with children.



The treatment of lesbians and gay men by the police and jail authorities is another concern. Gays are often verbally or physically abused by police and as a result feel especially vulnerable to police and jail.

In jail, those who are affectionate or who participate in homosexual acts are frequently maligned by other prisoners or cited for "excessive physical contact", which may result in harassment and forced isolation. Punishment and the threat of punishment for homosexual behavior is a major tool used to separate prisoners from each other. By preying on existing anti-gay sentiment, the prison authorities can succeed in creating a climate of fear, and provoking verbal and physical harassment, thereby squelching prisoner organizing. In actions involving civil disobedience, visible lesbians and gay men are often subject to specific violence by police. 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 homophobia 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.

FEMINISM



The split which in our society divides women and men is one of the most basic ways in which human beings are devalued. Similar to how gay people, people of color, and Jews are viewed, women become the *other* in a society that establishes maleness as a primary reference point. As a result, 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. Such demeaning of women is reflected in language, the images in American textbooks, and on TV. Economically, women are clustered in the lowest paying, lowest status jobs. Women of color bear the burden of double discrimination. For every dollar earned by men, women only make 59 cents, a fact that remains true despite years of publicity and struggle.

Further, women live in constant fear of rape or battering, and with good reason: a woman in the U.S. is battered once every eighteen seconds (FBI). As a result of such pervasive violence against women, many women stay penned in their homes at night. In fact, the attitude that women are the property of and under the control of men is apparent in magazines and movies which portray women as objects to be violated, and in the common war custom that allows the victors to rape the women of the people they've conquered.

Women have been challenging blatant and subtle sexism and the presumption of patriarchal ("rule of the fathers") power for a long time. Feminism, the philosophy and political force that has given expression to women's voices against sexism and for a vision of a cooperative, human-valuing society, started early in the 19th Century with demands and principles that matched the conditions of that time: education and voting rights for women. The current second wave has also emerged out of the historical conditions of its time: women active in social change movements of the 60s began questioning why we were always fighting other people's issues and never even identifying our own.

As a result, the feminist movement grew up in the late 60s, giving support and validation to women to achieve power over our lives, challenging sex role stereotypes and limitations, addressing economic disparities and violence towards women in its many forms, and providing a basic understanding that personal issues are rooted in political realities.

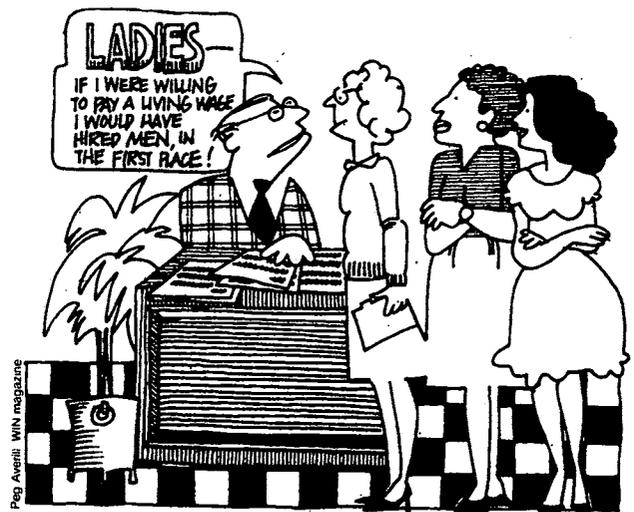
In the peace movement, feminism's contribution is immeasurable. Because patriarchy supports and thrives on war, a feminist analysis is crucial to effectively challenge militarism. The view of women as the *other* parallels the view of our enemies as non-human,

available targets for any means of destruction or cruelty. In fact, U.S. foreign policy often seems like the playing out of rigid sex roles by men trying to achieve and maintain power through male toughness. How can a cooperative, humane public policy be developed by people who have been socialized to repress emotions, to not cry, to ignore their own needs to nurture children and others?



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 which 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.

-expanded from an article by Starhawk.



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. Such behavior is therefore termed a "masculine behavior pattern," not because women never act that way, but because it is generally men who do.

Men beginning to take responsibility for confronting our behavior must do so in an affirmative way. We are making a choice to take part in the liberation of all people, through changing our actions and our views of ourselves and the world. 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.

Speaking in capital letters: giving one's own solutions or opinions as the final word on the subject, often aggravated by tone of voice and body posture.

Nitpicking: pointing out minor flaws in statements of others and stating the exception to every generality.

Restating: saying in another way what someone else, especially a woman, has just said perfectly clearly.

Attention seeking: using all sorts of dramatics to get the spot light.

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.

Inflexibility: taking a last stand for one's position on even minor items.

Avoiding feelings: intellectualizing, withdrawing into passivity, or making jokes when it's time to share personal feelings.

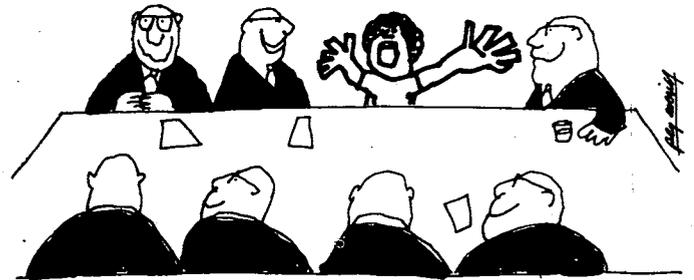
Condensation and paternalism: "Now, do any women have something to add?"

Being "on the make": treating women seductively; using sexuality to manipulate women.

Seeking attention and support from women while competing with men.

Running the show: continually taking charge of tasks before others have the chance to volunteer.

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 are less assertive than others or who don't feel comfortable participating in a competitive atmosphere are, in effect, 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 arrogant manner, minimizing our critical tendencies, and interrupting the oppressive behavior of other men.

Increasingly in mixed groups, there is heavy criticism of men. This is an important, positive development in the movement and essential for progress towards a better society. Although this criticism is usually accurate, it doesn't feel very good. And sometimes there is undeserved criticism mixed with it, which feels even worse and is frustrating and confusing.

It is important that men not allow their pain and frustration in this situation to build into anger and hostility. Instead, we must acknowledge these feelings, share them, and begin to deal with them. Through mutual support, men can respond to this without resorting to a counter-attack.

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 women and men from oppressive sex role conditioning, from subtle as well as blatant forms of male supremacy, is incomplete.

—adapted from an article by Bill Moyers, MNS (G28).

PROCESS GUIDELINES

One major contribution of the feminist movement to current social change movements is the awareness that effective group process and meaningful personal interaction are crucial factors in developing a successful movement. This tenet of feminist philosophy has merged with the principles of a variety of nonviolent movements, such as the Quakers, to reinforce a basic premise: non-violence 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 cooperation over competition, recognizing the contributions of each individual, and decentralizing power through a non-hierarchical organizational structure.

PROCESS SUGGESTIONS

1. **Use go-rounds:** Equalize speaking time by going around the circle and allowing each person to speak for a specified time.
 2. **Share skills and rotate responsibilities:** Keep work groups open so that new members can have access to all information and acquire experience.
 3. **Value feelings:** Include time in meetings for expressing emotions and for personal interactions.
 4. **Work together cooperatively:** Bear in mind that the goal is to further the work of the group — not bettering any given individual's position.
 5. **Meet separately:** Allow time for women to meet with women and 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.
 6. **Meet in small groups:** Allow time for meeting in small groups so that individuals who feel uncomfortable speaking in large groups can speak more freely. Small groups will give each person more speaking time as well. This format is also useful for discussing conflicts and sensitive issues.
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CONSENSUS

by John Lavine

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, consensus synthesizes the ideas of every member of the 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.

HOW IT WORKS

An **issue is raised** in a group. This may be in the form of a concrete proposal for the group to act upon, but more often it will be as a **general discussion**. Often, a **go-round** is used for everyone to express their point of view, and these ideas are then synthesized into a **proposal**. When the proposal has been formalized, there is **further discussion** and debate. There may be **questions** concerning the specifics of the proposal that need to be clarified. There will most likely be **modifications**, in the form of additions or **friendly amendments**. These must be acceptable to the originator of the proposals to be considered as such, or they may be offered as a **counter proposal**. This process is repeated until a general agreement emerges. At any point during this discussion, **process suggestions** may be offered on how to proceed. This is often signalled by raising both hands, and takes precedence over other speakers. Process suggestions are strictly that, however, and should not be used to express opinions on the issue. Dividing the proposal into several parts for discussion, breaking into smaller groups to allow fuller debate, forming a committee to rework the proposal, or pointing out a mistake in procedure are all examples of process suggestions that can be helpful in overcoming difficulties.

When a proposal seems finalized, the facilitator **tests for consensus**. This is done first by asking for **reservations**. Even though a proposal may be acceptable to someone who is not in total agreement with it, it is important nonetheless for these reservations and concerns to be voiced. Group members who are a clear minority may often be willing to abandon a position— **stand aside**— when they see that there is no chance to persuade the rest of the group. This flexibility allows a group to move forward, but it is not true consensus; it is often referred to as “lukewarm” consensus. Such a process can in the long run become very debilitating. Some people do not even consider lukewarm consensus to be a valid consensus. For consensus to function in a constructive way, a group should always encourage and respect minority points of view, and should strive to incorporate all of them. Every proposal has its weak points; looking carefully at people’s reactions and disagreements provides an opportunity for improvement. Such a process leads to a truer feeling of shared direction. This is especially true for **blocking consensus**, which is too often seen as an extreme and disruptive tactic. It is important to emphasize that a block must be used cautiously and in a principled way, reflecting deeply felt convictions about the issue in question. However, it is equally important to emphasize

ROLES

Facilitator—Helps move the meeting along.

Takes suggestions for the agenda and arranges them in order of priority. Makes sure all necessary roles are filled. Calls on people to speak in turn. Helps insure that everyone has a chance to speak, and that no one dominates the discussion. Helps group resolve conflict and make decisions by summarizing, repeating, or re-phrasing proposals as necessary. Should remain neutral on topics being discussed; when an issue arises about which the facilitator feels strongly, someone else should take over.

Timekeeper—Warns the group near the end of the time period allotted for an agenda item.

Notetaker—Records minutes, especially all proposals and amendments the group makes. Decisions and who is to implement them should be noted as precisely as possible.

Process watcher—Pays attention to group process, especially unexpressed feelings and tensions; reminds the group to relax and take breaks as needed. This role is especially important in large meetings.

that if one does feel that strongly, it is vital for the good of the individual and the group as a whole to block consensus without feeling guilty, and for the group to respond to this without resentment or anger.

If no one blocks a proposal, and if it has been fully discussed, the group can **consent** to it by using a show of hands, smiles, cheers or whatever. This should be followed by deciding **what needs to be done** to carry out the proposal, and **who is going to do it**.

Decision-making in large groups can be handled by having **spokes** (representatives from each affinity or working group) meet in a **fishbowl** format. In that situation, all spokes meet in the center of the room, with other members of their groups sitting behind them and making comments to their spokes as needed. Another method for large groups is to hold a meeting of **empowered spokes**, consisting completely of individuals who have been given the power to speak for and make decisions for their respective groups.

Since many decisions can be reversed quite easily, and because feelings and ideas and circumstances can change, there should be an understanding that everyone in the group or every group represented will be open to new ideas and be willing to experiment further. This leads to the idea of **two-way consensus**: as soon as there is disagreement about a decision, there is, by definition, **no longer consensus**, and until a new consensus is reached, the original decision and its implementation does **not** stand. In **status-quo consensus**, on the other hand, once a decision is made, in order to change that decision everyone must agree to change, and until there is a new agreement the original decision stands and is implemented. In one sense, two-way consensus is a truer form of consensus, based on a dialectical philosophy which incorporates analysis and change. In another sense, it is an invitation to chaos. Which form one uses can depend a lot on the size of the group and its basis of unity. An affinity group or a small work collective often may find two-way consensus the only way to go; a large organization or coalition may decide that status-quo consensus is necessary to provide continuity and allow the group to move forward.

CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM

Since consensus decision-making requires us to be more honest about our real feelings, and to delve more deeply into all the implications of decisions, this process can provide powerful support for us as we struggle to develop structures that serve people better than hierarchical ones. This means, though, that people need to learn how to take risks and make exciting decisions. Often people resist decisions that they find personally threatening. Blocking a group from exploring its hidden class values or race attitudes because one is uncomfortable with that type of discussion would be an example of

this. Consequently, this tendency can make groups very conservative. People's fears can lead to subtle agreements not to talk about certain issues or deal with certain problems. This can first stifle and then kill a group.

Furthermore, many deadlock situations in a group are mixed up with a complex set of emotions. If the root of someone's objection to a proposal is a personal feeling about the originator of the proposal, then hopes for resolution are virtually nil until those personal issues can be addressed. A group working closely together must learn to deal with all levels of conflict, personal as well as ideological.

Sensitivity and trust are the two cornerstones for creating a secure place to deal with these problems. Beyond that, though, there are certain techniques that are very helpful, and which have their roots in the same world view where consensus grows. These techniques are part of a process called Criticism/Self-Criticism, or sometimes just Constructive Criticism. As with the consensus process, fundamental principles of unity are essential for constructive criticism to operate effectively. Another aspect is the concept of the "common good": the purpose of criticism is not to prove someone wrong, or to impose one's views on another, but to reach some common understanding of the situation that is for the benefit of the entire group, movement, community or whatever. Remember also that these are not just the concerns of two separate individuals, but of the group as a whole; in fact, the others in the group provide an important perspective, and can facilitate or mediate a particular criticism, identifying dynamics that each person only sees partially.

We are all struggling together. The world we shall live in is the one we are struggling with our lives to create. All the answers aren't given; they're for us to discover.

TECHNIQUES

When giving criticism, ask yourself, does this promote unity or divisiveness, growth or put-down? Begin by saying what you appreciate about the person (in context) before you go on.

- A) Be concrete in your observations and criticisms; avoid ambiguous references, stereotypes, categories
- B) Clarify your feelings. Recognize the difference between making judgments and expressing your emotions. Remember that expressing one's feelings is important, but not the end in itself; rather, it is the beginning point for resolving conflicts.
- C) State your wants. Again, be specific, and try to emphasize what you want and not what you don't want.
- D) State your purpose for what you want; explain why you think something or someone should change.

An example of the above four ideas would be: "When you are late for meetings all the time (A), I feel angry and frustrated (B), and I think you should make more effort to arrive earlier (C), because we have so little time and so much that needs to be done." (D)

When receiving criticisms:

- E) Make sure the criticism is understood. Often it is helpful to paraphrase what you heard to make sure you heard correctly.
- F) Empathize with the one giving criticism; try to identify in what way she or he is trying to benefit the group with this criticism. Acknowledge the accurate parts of the criticism.
- G) Don't fear mistakes or criticism. Stay focused on common goals to overcome feelings of defensiveness; don't take it personally.



MEETING PROCEDURE—PROCESS?

1. Check-in: each member tells the group how s/he's doing, and if there is any information the group needs about how his/her state will affect his/her participation in the meeting (optional).
 2. Give new people a welcome and some orientation. An orientation could also happen prior to the meeting with a few members of the group.
 3. Choose facilitator, notetaker, timekeeper, vibeswatcher.
 4. Review agenda, prioritize items, and set time limits for items and for the meeting.
 5. Follow agenda as agreed.
 6. Remember to take breaks.
 7. Review decisions and tasks to be carried out.
 8. Allow time for announcements.
 9. Set time and place for next meeting.
 10. Conduct evaluation/constructive criticism.
 11. Close the meeting.
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PLANNING



This section provides both an overview of nonviolent actions and a number of suggestions for making them effective and accessible. This isn't a complete guide, but a sample selection of topics that gives an idea of how to prepare for an action. Because of LAG'S focus on direct action and civil disobedience, there are more articles covering these areas; there is emphasis on large, affinity-group based actions for the same reason. We encourage groups to choose from and adapt this information to suit their own needs, as well as exchanging ideas with other local activists. Also see Resources Section for groups with useful information on organizing.



NONVIOLENT ACTION

Nonviolent action may be taken in order to win short term goals or as part of an ongoing campaign. In either case, it works best when the strategy and tactics are chosen with an understanding of the advantages and disadvantages of nonviolence.

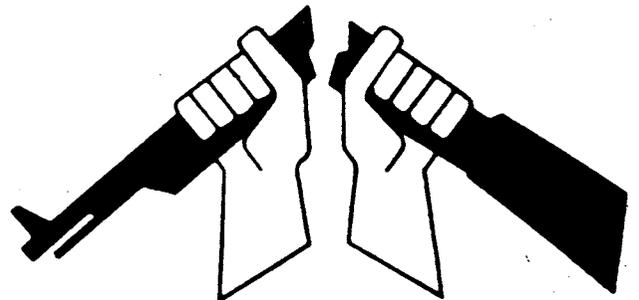
Nonviolent action is effective because it asserts that political power resides in the cooperation of groups and individuals, as opposed to the more conventional view of power as controlled by a few members of society. Governments and other hierarchical institutions tend to rely on this conventional view because it is easier to maintain cooperation among people who see themselves as dependent on the good will and decisions of selected authorities. Nonviolent action aims at withdrawing support from the opposition and permanently rearranging power relations to bring about change. A major effect is that participants are "empowered" — they see themselves as capable of acting for change, of choosing where to place their cooperation. In addition, most opponents concentrate their defenses against violent opposition and its threat to their share of power; creative nonviolent action can surprise both opponents and neutral bystanders into reconsidering their positions.

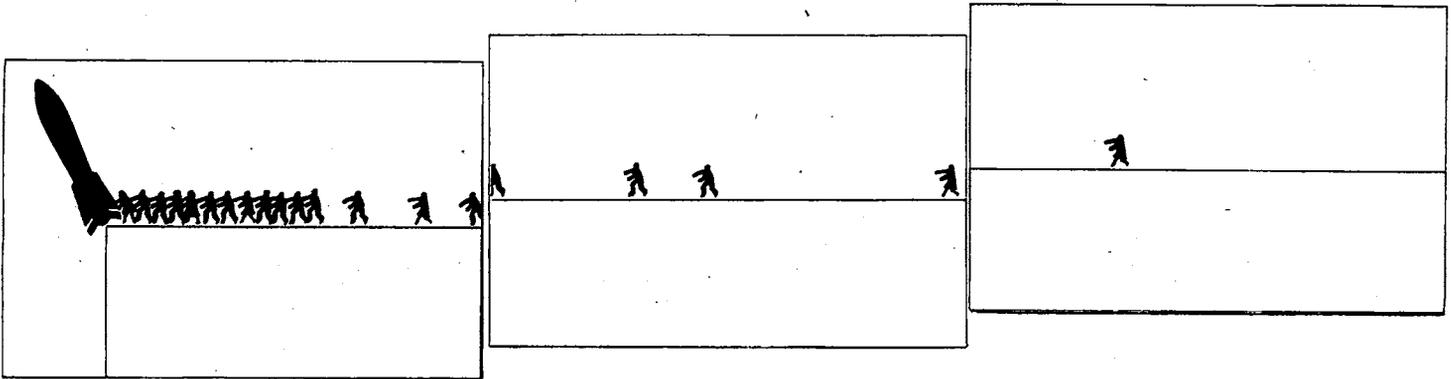
In *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, Gene Sharp lists three ways of successfully affecting the opposition: *conversion*, where an opponent wants to make the desired changes; *accommodation*, where he or she does not agree with the changes but decides it would be best to accept some or all of them; and *nonviolent coercion*, where he or she does not want to accept the changes but has lost too much support to actively oppose them.

In practice, different people and groups will be variously affected by a nonviolent action, and it is usually best to consider three broad types of approach: winning over uncommitted third parties, arousing dissent among opponents, and increasing active support and participation among people already in favor of change.

There are three main categories of nonviolent action: *protest and persuasion* (speeches, petitions, marches, rallies and symbolic demonstrations); *noncooperation* (social and economic boycotts, strikes, resistance to the draft or war taxes); *intervention* (sit-ins, blockades and other disruption of existing structures, or creation of alternative structures).

Protest and persuasion are generally equated with symbolic action which tries to influence others (workers, elected representatives, etc.) to work for the desired goals. Noncooperation and intervention are forms of direct action, which seeks to limit or stop an injustice at the source without appealing to an intermediary. The distinction between direct and symbolic action is often just one of emphasis. A direct action which is not sustained or uses too few people to realistically accomplish its goals tends to be symbolic in effect, though direct in intention and style.





Another dimension of nonviolent action is whether or not it is legal. Civil disobedience (often shortened to "CD") is a term coined by Henry David Thoreau. The term has usually been applied to all open and deliberate (usually nonviolent) violation of law for political or social reasons. An action can be legal or illegal and civil disobedience can be either symbolic or direct action. These four variations are illustrated below.

	legal	illegal (CD)
direct	A	B
symbolic	C	D

- A. "work to rule" slowdown by workers at a nuclear weapons factory
- B. blocking construction at a weapons facility
- C. rally at the United Nations protesting nuclear arms production
- D. trespassing at a weapons facility without interfering with work there

In general, effective direct action requires gathering strength and support through other, symbolic, action. Organizing a campaign involves planning a series of actions focused on achieving a particular goal, such as closing a military facility or passing a public referendum. Larger campaigns are built from a number of small campaigns, each aimed at one short-term goal necessary to reach the final goal. A nonviolent action campaign goes through several stages, each stage increasing pressure on the opposition as support grows:

- Investigation* (develop a strategy)
- Negotiation* (use established channels)
- Education* (expose the injustice)
- Protest* (show public opposition, express commitment to change)
- Direct Action* (intervene in the situation)
- Protracted Struggle* (maintain gains through further campaigns and/or alternative institutions).

Doing Your Own Action

Single demonstrations like International Day actions are effective in themselves, but the combination of many actions on one day makes a stronger statement. Single actions can also gain force by relating to an existing campaign in the same area (e.g. Jobs with Peace). Coordination with other local groups working for social change is important both for scheduling and lending mutual support. Other considerations in planning an action are a group's current resources (time, number of active members, degree of support, money) and its strategy afterwards. The group should discuss how an action will increase its own resources and what kinds of future activities are possible.

When developing ideas for a nonviolent action some guidelines are:

- A. Identify the participants in the situation (individuals or groups).
 - In what ways does each support the opposition?
 - How do we want them to support us instead?
- B. Condense this analysis into a picture or scenario in which we enact the desired change; this includes:
 - focusing attention on the injustice of the situation
 - showing our goals and ways to move towards them
- C. Choose a target and setting.
 - Does the location enhance or clarify the picture of the situation?
 - How will physical conditions affect the action?
- D. Make the actions dramatic—emphasize the active process of change.
- E. Give everyone a role to play, ranging from very involved to supportive to curious or interested.

Any form of action has advantages and disadvantages. Talking to other local activists is a good way to learn what works well and how much planning time is needed, but use your own group's judgment and priorities in applying all advice.

—adapted from material in (B19), (B21) and Bill Moyer's *Non-violent Action Manual*. (R3)



BECOMING INVOLVED



by Suzanne Maxson

Something happened when I saw the sign hung above a noisy hall: "We are here because there is hope." I started to sob—but that was the moment when despair gave way to involvement.

It was a meeting I'd read about in the paper, and I went there hoping to find a dozen or so other people who might be feeling as desperate as I felt about living on the edge of nuclear war. When I got there, though, the streets were filled; the parking lot was filled; the hall was filled—and there was that sign. I saw women I knew, people I'd seen around, and hundreds of strangers. I was not alone. It was a revelation.

I was one of those people who'd given up on political activism somewhere along the muddy path between SDS, Eugene McCarthy, and Richard Nixon. I wasn't ignorant; I had some strong opinions. I read a lot. But I had been saying for years that political issues were external to my real life. I remember telling an activist friend that she deceived herself if she thought politics was the way to real change—that we must look inward for the place to start changing things.

Well, I was partly right. But the issue of nuclear war has served to wake up people like me to the fact that time—the kind needed for that "real change"—is a luxury we may not have. Because it's such an urgent issue—the issue of our time—it has the power to move us to unexpected commitment and activism. Of course the other side of that urgency is its terrifying power to put us to sleep; that's the battle—to stay awake.

For me, the first step was to join a local group, to start a newsletter, to talk. My writing changed; the old obsessions with love and pain found a larger context. But it's impossible to be conscious of only one issue, and I woke up to Latin America and South Africa and to the interconnectedness of all the economic and political and bloody crimes committed against humankind by greed and for power. This is my real life.

I have three sons—13, 11, and 8 years old. The oldest has said to me that he can't imagine our lives without politics—that my writing, my husband's films, our dinner-table conversation, and our reactions to everything around us seem to be grounded in politics. He's pretty casual about it. But I don't think it's a coincidence that these three children have unusually positive attitudes toward life in general and their own lives in particular—and that they seem to believe in change. They know what the dangers are; they know what we fear. But what they see around them is a determination to change things, to do right. I hope they're learning that head-shaking isn't good enough.

I get depressed sometimes, feel powerless, hate myself for doing so little. Sometimes I still feel terrified, and it's not enough to know that I share that terror with millions of mothers—and fathers—all over the planet. The "news" is sometimes more than I think I can bear; my car radio has churned up some screams so intense I had to pull over. But at least I know now what I'm screaming at. And I know why we're here: We are here because there is hope.

Jessica Collett



WHAT INDIVIDUALS AND SMALL GROUPS CAN DO

Beginners



The struggle for disarmament cannot be limited only to those people who have the opportunity and/or inclination to participate in large organizations. Following is a list of nonviolent ideas which may be initiated by individuals or small groups in connection with International Day.

1. Organize co-workers/co-students to observe International Day on the job/at school by establishing a period of silence.
2. Present a resolution to your union to be passed on International Day calling for disarmament and/or solicit funds to be used for this work.
3. Communicate your concern to government officials via letters, telephone calls, telegrams, petitions or personal visits.
4. Communicate your concern to radio, television, newspapers and magazines via letters, telegrams, or telephone calls.
5. Encourage people to set aside their wages for International Day to contribute to the disarmament effort.
6. Make an appropriate sign expressing your concern and hold a vigil in a public place. Vigils can be silent or a time to talk to passersby and distribute literature. Inform the local media of what you'll be doing.
7. Ask clubs or groups (including places of worship) to sponsor a speaker or showing of films, slideshows, or videotapes that will address the threat of the nuclear arms race.
8. Invite friends over for an informal presentation/discussion on the issues.
9. Set up literature tables at local events or in public places.
10. Call everyone in your address book and ask them what they are doing to end this madness.
11. Compile information packets about the dangers of the military buildup and deliver or mail them to friends as an International Day gift. Encourage them to read them and pass them on.
12. Display buttons, bumperstickers, and posters.
13. Withhold your taxes which are going to finance the military establishment.
14. Join or form a group working for disarmament.
15. Show your support of International Day of Nuclear Disarmament by wearing a green ribbon.

Dedicated to the memory of Karen Silkwood and Eliot Gralla

*'From too much love of living,
Hope and desire set free,
Even the weariest river
Winds somewhere to the sea—'*

*But we have only begun
to love the earth.*

*We have only begun
to imagine the fullness of life.*

*How could we tire of hope?
—so much is in bud.*

*How can desire fail?
—we have only begun*

*to imagine justice and mercy,
only begun to envision*

*how it might be
to live as siblings with beast and flower,
not as oppressors.*

*Surely our river
cannot already be hastening
Into the sea of nonbeing?*

*Surely it cannot
drag, in the silt,
all that is innocent?*

*Not yet, not yet—
there is too much broken
that must be mended,*

*too much hurt we have done to each other
that cannot yet be forgiven.*

*We have only begun to know
the power that is in us if we would join
our solitudes in the communion of struggle.*

*So much is unfolding that must
complete its gesture,*

so much is in bud.

*by Denise Levertov
(R 4)*

COALITIONS

by Denise Ferry

The easiest way to build support for International Day within a local community and to share the work in putting together events on that day is to form a coalition. In San Francisco on June 12, 1982, a coalition of 250 organizations put on a demonstration in support of the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament which drew 50,000 to 70,000 people. If 5 or 6 of these organizations had worked together they would have only been able to bring out 2,000 to 3,000 people. The coalition should be as broadbased as possible yet grounded in a commonality of interests. A basic formula can be followed which will help insure that compatible groups are brought together and given a structure through which decisions can be made and work can progress. The method described below is one commonly used by the progressive community.

A clear statement of purpose or rallying call must be formulated by the groups and/or individuals that are initiating the coalition. In the case of International Day, the already stated objectives 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, serve as the rallying call.

After the call has been agreed to, an executive board or steering committee is formed of the representatives of the originating groups and individuals, and other groups and individuals they want to include who have taken progressive stands on the above 4 issues and who are genuine representatives of facets of the progressive community with a strong commitment to responsible work. Some groups to include are peace groups, student, minorities, solidarity, human needs, labor, religious, gay and lesbian, anti-draft, ecology and women.

The first meeting of the executive board should formulate a proposal for what actions the coalition should take up: march and/or rally, blockade, vigil, teach-in, etc. It needs to make a proposal for the structure of the coalition, who should chair it with exactly what powers and whether or not paid staff should be hired. Committees needed to carry out the work of the event should be identified, such as: finance, publicity, outreach, logistics, and security.

Next, the executive board issues a call in the form of a letter to the progressive community at large asking them to come to a meeting to endorse the coalition and to take up the proposed action outlined in the letter. At that meeting the coalition can either adopt the proposal or decide on an alternative and begin work.

To facilitate the day-to-day work a member of each committee must be represented on the executive board which meets frequently to evaluate the progress being made and deal with problems that arise. The general meeting is the final decision-making body. It reviews the decisions of the executive board and can approve its decisions or make alternative suggestions.

For people who have not worked together before, many issues must be clearly understood from the start so that differences do not arise on procedural matters. If, for instance, a rally is the chosen project, where within the structure is the choice of speakers made? Since the decision-making processes used by different groups in the progressive community can be extremely different, the method to be used by the coalition must be discussed thoroughly and agreed upon from the beginning so that all groups feel equally empowered. Is the coalition called together for a specific day (such as International Day on June 20, 1983) and will it disband after that event or is it an ongoing coalition to stay together for projects later on?



A major source of tensions in coalitions can be avoided if the coalition ensures that equal weight is being given to all the concerns raised in the statement of purpose or the rallying call. This is done through the literature that is produced and the speakers that are chosen to represent the coalition at news conferences, rallies and panels, etc. Then no group begins to feel that the particular concerns raised by the call that drew them into the coalition are now being played down or set aside altogether.

Building a coalition is the channeling of idealism and urgent need through a structure in order to create a specific event to protest what is being done to our planet and to our lives. The care with which this structure is created enhances the quality of the event it produces and the experience of the people who are brought together to work for peace.

RALLIES AND MARCHES

PRELIMINARY LOGISTICS

Initial Meeting

- Develop structure for overall coordination
- Select date with minimal conflict and preferably a lot of symbolism (e.g., August 6)
- Set a time which will avoid darkness

Location

- Is it accessible? For the disabled? 
- Sufficient parking? Shuttling necessary?
- Any problems with sound?
- Is it too big or too small?
- What permits are necessary?
- Are exits adequate for dispersal?

Timetable

- Brainstorm tasks put on timeline
- Set up task forces for specific areas needing coordination (e.g., program, logistics, finances, etc.)
- Recruit staff

The Office

- Open and equip an office 
- Select staff
- Find rooms for meetings and training

Advertising

- Leaflets, posters, buttons, ads, etc.
- Articles in newsletter mailing
- Leaflet other events
- Radio announcements

Buses

- Necessary for transportation?  
- Reserve buses and print bus tickets
- Where will buses unload people and park?

Endorsements

- Prominent individuals helpful
- Organizations—coalition building to secure political and practical support

Fundraising

- Loans and contributions for front money
- Prepare fund raising activities for rally and post-rally

Media

- Initial press release/conference 
- Ongoing work: contacts, releases, speakers for interviews and talk shows

SITE LOGISTICS

Stage

- Locate or build suitable stage
- Chairs and podium for speakers, entertainers
- Rain and sun protection
- Establish press area near stage
- Sound system—sufficient microphones
- A security system to limit access to stage

Permits

- Obtain permits well in advance
- Are insurance or clean-up deposits necessary?

Toilets

- If long rally with many people, rent toilets 

Food Vendors

- Raise money by selling food and drinks  

Directions

- If location not obvious, put up signs or station people to direct participants

Stage Decorations

- Banner(s) with slogans/name/logo

Clean Up

- Have trash cans available at site
- Bring bags and brooms to help collect trash
- Have a clean up crew

Legal

- Have legal team if expecting any trouble from authorities or counter-demonstrators

Transportation

- Have vehicles available for speakers, money,   material transportation

PROGRAM

Speakers

- Moderators
- Line up speakers well in advance 
- Determine how long program is to be, how many speakers, how long they are to speak (1 minute to 10 minutes, usually)
- Get proper balances: female/male, minorities, labor, scientists, sponsoring groups, etc.
- Plan for problem of speakers running over schedule
- Sign foreign language interpreters

Entertainers

- Line up well in advance 

Fund Appeal and Money Collectors

- Have person near middle of program give pitch, after a particularly moving speech
- Make several appeals
- Have volunteers with properly marked buckets cover the crowd thoroughly, more than once
- Provide safe place to hold money

Emergency Decisions

- Determine mechanism to make last minute decisions (e.g., someone, who is not scheduled, demands to speak)

CROWD CONTROL

For large rallies, organizers must be prepared to deal with the usual problems of crowds: guiding people to and from the site, providing information (medical, buses, etc.), minimize crowding, secure press and stage areas, and minimize impact of hostile folks and counter-demonstrators. (See also article on pg. 41)

- Set up training sessions for monitors

LITERATURE AND MONEY

Literature Tables

- Buttons, posters, T-shirts, follow-up leaflet, stickers, cheap or popular booklets
- Have at key and visible locations
- Get tables, chair, signs, etc. in advance
- Make up special commemorative buttons

Button Sellers

- Establish system to cover crowd adequately
- Recruit people in advance to sell buttons
- Aprons to make change, display buttons and price

MARCHES

Marches give participants a more active role than rallies and expose your views to more of the general public. Marches also have the distinct advantage of being able to link sites. The items listed below are in addition to the considerations above.

The Route

- Decide plan, make up charts, and go over route (by walking). Check for:
 - Rest stops (if a long march)
 - Breaks because of traffic signals
 - Roads that become narrow, sidewalks that vanish, etc.
- Length; too long and you lose people

Miscellaneous Points

- Street permits (if not walking on sidewalks) and sound permits
- Vehicles to carry medical equipment, sound equipment, and leaflets, disabled and children if desired
- People to leaflet during march
- Publicize route and timetable (noting breaks for people to join late)
- Line of march—if arranging march by constituency, issue, organization, etc., have signs and people to mark off each segment
- Money collection—barrels across line of march
- Assembly—allow a half hour to assemble; for large march, allow 1 hour
- Monitors are needed to aid in directing march, helping pace it, and distracting any hostile onlookers away from march
- Communications system is desirable so line of march can operate smoothly (e.g., using runners, bicyclists, roller skates, walkie talkies)
- Finale—every march should have an ending, other than simply dispersing, e.g., rally, sit-in, rousing speech, or song

FOLLOW UP

- Clean up site
- Clean up debts, deposit money
- Thank yous to speakers, big contributors, volunteers, et al.
- Gather mailing list for fund appeals and future actions
- Evaluation
- Thank you's to speakers, big contributors, 

—adapted from an article by Ed Hedemann in the WRL Organizer's Manual (B19).

CD—WHY IT'S OUR CHOICE

Civil disobedience – illegal action against civil authority undertaken in a civil, nonviolent manner – involves selective violation of the law. Its purpose is demonstrating and acting on our conviction that if required changes in unjust laws are not made by our courts and representatives then we must make these changes ourselves.

Few things cause as much controversy as what many see to be an over-emphasis on getting arrested. Yet, despite this, Civil Disobedience (CD) actions have become the main focus of our growing nonviolent direct-action movement. What makes for this attraction to CD? Many join a blockade or occupation for very personal and

emotional reasons: out of rage, anger, or fear at the direction of world affairs; out of disillusionment with electoral politics or other “normal” channels; or just because we finally felt the need to actively do something. Massive CD actions are often a relatively safe way to participate in dramatic resistance. But, the reason people stay committed to CD is that it works. From the Boston Tea Party, to Gandhi's Salt Campaigns, to the 60s civil rights lunch counter sit-ins, CD has continued to show its strength as a vehicle for change.

Civil Disobedience has become so popular in our movement because we see it as a dramatic way to oppose a system that threatens life on earth. Moreover, we consider it a moral act that is a means for creating a new system based on nonviolence and accountability. Through open disobedience, we take back some of the power people have lost to the institutions of society and use that power in a nonviolent spirit to bring about fundamental change.



ORGANIZING CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE ACTIONS

There is no one correct way to organize a civil disobedience action.

But there is one ingredient crucial to success, and that is a clear and passionate sense of purpose.

A civil disobedience (CD) action can succeed with a minimum of preparation, planning and people or may involve months of planning and large-scale organizing. In larger actions, more effort must be devoted to insuring the safety of the participants and getting across the desired messages.

In planning a CD action, there is no need to continually reinvent the wheel. There is now a body of past experience that can be useful to groups who are thinking of CD for the first time (see Resource Section). Properly seen, this information is only a guide – it must be adapted to the specific circumstances of each case.

The Greeks, it is said, made decisions twice, once when drunk and once when sober. If the decision looked good in both states, then it was accepted. If not, it was reconsidered. While our processes will probably differ, the decision to do CD will most likely look different at different points in the action. But hopefully, with a clear sense of purpose to fall back on, the whole experience can be seen in perspective.

Meetings can be a major source of frustration in planning for an action. The following are some points which can help:

- There should be a simple, consistent way of calling meetings and determining their purpose and content.
- Give people time to react to new information or developments.
- For new ideas or proposals, seek out comments from diverse group members *before* meetings.
- Distinguish speaking for oneself from speaking as a spoke or representative of a group (affinity or working).



AFFINITY GROUPS

Listed below are steps which might be used, and some questions to be answered, in planning for an action.

1. Set up meetings to determine the politics (perspective and tone) and the issues to be focused on at the event, and the scenario (plan) to be employed.
2. Select a target that is clearly related to the issue.
3. Determine when the action should occur, how long it will take to organize, and when it will be most effective.
4. Decide whether the event is to last for a specified length of time or until demands are met or demonstrators are arrested.
5. Discuss roles of people not risking arrest.
6. Is the action to be announced, encouraging mass participation? Or will it be an unannounced activity with a small number of people? Secrecy is sometimes crucial for the success of an action, but can create distorted information, fear, mistrust, elitism, and police spying.
7. Do you want to link into International Day to show the larger context of your action?
8. Will affinity groups (see below) be used?
9. Will the action be preceded by a march?
10. Do guidelines (e.g. nonviolent tactics) need to be drawn up for participants to agree to?
11. Will the police be contacted in advance?
12. Will the action be largely symbolic, or will it be a sustained direct action?
13. What are the contingencies if the scenario doesn't go as planned?
14. Under what circumstances should the demonstration be postponed or called off? This is an important consideration to avoid the temptation of coopting the action under the inevitable pressures of last minute maneuvering by the authorities.
15. Prepare a detailed timeline from the present to the time of the event, listing all the work which needs to be done and when it must be accomplished. Leave room for the unexpected.

16. Form subcommittees (e.g. media, logistics, materials, recruitment/outreach, finances, training, support) to carry out the preparation for action. Decide on facilitators who will be responsible for convening these meetings. Set a time for another general meeting to review progress of subcommittees.

—adapted from an article by Ed Hedemann in the *WRL Organizer's Manual (B19)*.

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 the consensus process. *Spokespeople* representing each affinity group meet in *spokes councils* to communicate, coordinate and/or consolidate the different groups' decisions and then bring the coordinated information or proposal back to their respective groups for their final discussion and approval.

Affinity groups also serve as a source of support for their members and reinforce a sense of solidarity. They provide an alternative to the feelings of isolation or separation from the movement that come to individuals acting alone. By including all participants in a circle of familiarity and acquaintance, the affinity group structure reduces the possibility of infiltration by outside agents or provocateurs.

An affinity group (AG) is usually composed of between 5 and 20 people who either have been brought together by attendance at a nonviolence training or have existing ties such as friendship, living in the same neighborhood, or working together. In addition, an affinity group may focus on a specific issue or interest, such as being parents, connecting nuclear power and weapons, or noncooperating in jail. An affinity group may exist only for the duration of one action or may continue functioning as an ongoing group.





ROLES IN AFFINITY GROUPS

Specific roles should be taken on by different members of each affinity group. Each role serves a function that is important to the whole group, such as:

- **spokesperson(s)** attend spokescouncils
- **contact people** for phone or mailing lists
- **legal spoke** can clarify legal discussions and transmit legal strategy decisions to other affinity groups.
- **media spoke** who is more comfortable talking to the press
- **medic** with basic skills and first-aid kit
- **peacekeeper** who is sensitive to group dynamics and has skills in resolving conflicts.

For any civil disobedience action, each affinity group member chooses whether to risk arrest by blockading, occupying, sitting-in, or pouring blood, etc., or to act as a support person. Depending on the circumstances, some of the roles listed above are best filled by blockaders while others can or should be taken by supporters.

Specific tasks for those risking arrest are:

- Discuss possible tactics before the action, make or revise decisions during the action.
- Become familiar with the legal aspects, decide personal legal strategies and relate them to the rest of the affinity group and the action.
- Make personal preparations, set time commitments, clear outstanding warrants (such as unpaid traffic tickets) to avoid additional charges and to avoid complicating jail solidarity issues.

There should be at least one member of the group who does not risk arrest and can be a support person throughout the action.

Before the action, supporters work with all members of the affinity group to:

- List all members of the group and the personal needs of each person who may be arrested (household chores, caring for children, calling the boss, paying bills, etc.). Make sure all these needs can be covered.
- Discuss time commitments and strategies. Will someone need to bail out of jail after a certain time? Are people planning to go limp or refuse to give their names?
- Make sure the group has enough resources for the action: food, vehicles, money, people filling different roles, telephone access. Discuss possible emergencies.
- Make sure belongings are marked with owner's name and affinity group name. Keep a list of major items and vehicle license numbers. Supporters should have duplicate car keys and be able to drive cars belonging to group members doing civil disobedience.



During the action, supporters' responsibilities include:

- Keeping track of all people in their affinity group and their property.
- Maintaining communication between AG members and the other AGs or organizers of the action.
- Caring for the physical and emotional needs of affinity group members at the action, in jail, or working on the action in other ways.
- Leafletting and talking to workers and passersby about the reasons for the action.

The support can be most difficult once the action has started, involving long waits, physical isolation and a frustrating lack of information. Working with supporters from other affinity groups provides emotional support and pooling of resources and ideas. Supporters can also help out and get a better sense of the action as a whole by staffing offices, being monitors, joining working groups or holding vigils or demonstrations.

WORKING GROUPS

Working groups or committees are set up to take care of particular functions for an action. For a mass civil disobedience action the list of working groups usually includes:

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|
| - transportation | - fundraising* |
| - support | - medical |
| - media* | - housing |
| - monitors* | - communications |
| - outreach and publicity | - logistics |
| - legal* | - trainings* |
| - nonviolence | |

(a * indicates there is some discussion of this task in this handbook.)

There may be more or fewer working groups depending on the type of action and the needs of the organizing group. Each working group must assess what needs to be done and make sure it gets done at the appropriate time. This should be done by ongoing communication with affinity groups and other working groups, calling on them to help meet basic needs and also revising lists of needs to fit changes in scenario and strategy. This communication may be facilitated by representatives of each working group meeting together (i.e., a coordinating council) and/or affinity group spokes meeting in a spokescouncil. Working groups must also make budget estimates and work with each other to prioritize distribution of the organization's resources.

MONITORS

by Arleen Feng

The function of monitors (sometimes called peacekeepers or marshals) in a civil disobedience action generally includes:

Facilitating —transmitting information, and providing an overview of the action to all participants and observers.

Peacekeeping—helping resolve confused or disruptive situations

Monitors should take nonviolence training for the action and an additional monitor training (generally 3 to 4 hours) that includes role-plays and quick-decision exercises where a group of two to four monitors is given 90 seconds to decide what response, if any, they would make in a given situation. Flexibility and appropriateness for the individuals involved is more important than coming up with a "correct" course of action. The monitor role can involve some risk of arrest, and prospective monitors should consider under which circumstances they would feel comfortable intervening. Groups responsible for the action may also have guidelines for when monitors should or should not act.

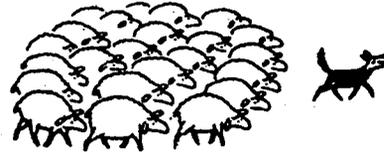
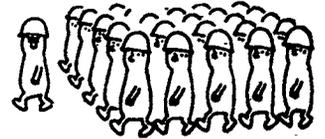
Before the action starts, monitors should:

- Be familiar with the location and the logistics of the action.
- Be familiar with the goals and scenario of the action including what changes could occur.
- Role play some possible situations that might arise.
- Practice working cooperatively with other monitors in developing nonviolent responses to conflict.

Monitors are most effective when they come to the action as part of an previously organized team. Members can plan for an action and develop a good sense of each other's strengths. They can also help each other avoid some common pitfalls:

- becoming "peace pigs"—acting in an arbitrary or authoritarian manner.
- getting defensive or protective about one's role as a monitor, being reluctant to say "I don't know" to questions or call for help from non-monitors.
- focusing on a minor aspect or incident and losing sight of the larger scope of the action.
- trying to make the job simpler by limiting people's choices instead of creatively broadening them.

There is a delicate but crucial interplay between the needs and feelings of individuals on the one hand and the goals and momentum of the action on the other. Monitors should help balance the two aspects.



NV TRAINING

Nonviolence trainings have become an important part of the preparation for larger CD actions. In fact, most groups require nonviolent training for participants in CD. Here is a brief description of the trainings and how to get them.

The most common form of nonviolence training that has evolved for anti-nuclear actions is a day-long session that can be adapted to be given on two successive evenings. There are usually two trainers (who have previous experience in CD actions and have taken part in trainer's trainings) and around 20 participants. The tone of the trainings is more on the lines of sharing and passing on information, rather than the participants being told what to do by the trainers.

The primary function of the training is to pass on *Principles of Nonviolence* . . . what they are, where they came from, and how they can be used to keep potentially violent situations nonviolent. To this end, both *Group Process Exercises* (i.e. consensus decision-making) and *Role Plays* are used to help the participants get a sense of nonviolent process in action. They develop the skills, confidence, mutual support, and energy that enable participants to use information effectively and find out what is necessary for action on their own.

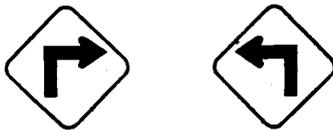
Other important functions of the trainings are: survey of the *Action* (ie. possible scenario, etc.); *Jail and Legal Information*; *Recruitment*; and *Affinity Group Formation* among the participants. Trainings vary from organization to organization. To get the best training for your group, try to be clear with prospective trainers about your needs. Also, get a sense of their perspective, background, and flexibility in regards to the training.

The Livermore Action Group is in contact with a number of trainer networks throughout the U.S. and is hoping to act as a clearinghouse for interested groups. You can call or write LAG. We'll do our best to see if there are trainers in your area, and/or connect you with one of our trainers for more information.

THE LEGAL PROCESS

The legal process, with its strange vocabulary and "behind the walls" ways, is mysterious to many who are contemplating civil disobedience for the first time. For others, a prior experience of being scared and degraded by the jail system might leave questions about purposefully re-entering it. In the following articles we attempt to clarify the legal system and make it more approachable. This is only an overview. To supply the details for your particular situation your group will need to evaluate its own needs and do more research. It is our hope that the following information will enable you to make intelligent decisions based on your politics.

Many of the legal articles are derived from past handbooks and experiences with mass actions. When a group of people, especially a large group, is arrested, many of the "rules" change: through unity and solidarity people can exert greater control over what happens to them throughout the legal process.



LEGAL COLLECTIVES

by Cynthia Sharpe

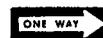
Legal collectives walk a fine line between maintaining the goals and strategies of an action and assuring that the rights and desires of people in jail are acknowledged and advocated. Following are some guidelines on how the work of the collective might be approached.

The primary task of a legal collective is to demystify the legal system by providing participants in the action with all the technical information they'll need to make legal and jail solidarity decisions. It is important to understand that lawyers tend to want to protect and advise "clients" and therefore their training and instincts may be in conflict with the action's goals and jail solidarity efforts. It's extremely important for both the lawyers and action participants to remember this and leave decision-making to the participants.

Defining exactly what the legal collective is should be its first item of business and can only be accomplished with input from the action collective, or other overall planning body.

What are the functions of the legal collective?

1. **Research the possible consequences of your action.** Gather information on laws, sentences, similar actions, law enforcement, the district attorney and judges.
2. **Define relations to other working groups of the action,** such as media or nonviolence trainers.
3. **Develop legal and jail strategies,** consider the jail solidarity issues, and make recommendations to the action collective.
4. **Juveniles:** How are juvenile offenders handled? What needs to be done to assure their prompt release? (see **Minors** article).
5. **Pre-action education:** Brief people on the legal process and CD action legal strategy.
6. **Budget:** What will the pre-action, action, and post-action legal collective expenses be?
7. **Develop a process for coping with unforeseen incidents.** Lawyers may have to be on alert for such things as writ writing (petitioning for a court order) in cases where protestors are separated in jail, property isn't returned, etc.
8. **Get information into and out of jails.** Access to jails may be limited to lawyers. What is the role of the lawyer making jail visits—strictly to give and receive predetermined information, advise people of their rights, etc.?
9. **Track people through the legal system.** Making the criminal justice system aware that you're keeping tabs of who's been arrested, arraigned and released may discourage unfair or inconsistent treatment.
10. **When does your responsibility end?** Are you taking on the details of any or all resulting trials, or is your task done at arraignment or when the majority of protestors are released?



Who is on the legal collective?

It is very useful to have representatives (legal spokes) from affinity groups to participate in developing legal strategies for the action. Once the strategies are agreed upon, some of the potential roles for the collective will become clearer.

The following are some roles you may want to consider filling:

1. **Legal observers**—these people, who don't plan on getting arrested, will witness arrests at close range and will report any incidents of violence.
2. **Staff for legal office.**
3. **Jail teams**—attorneys and non-attorneys who relay information into and out of jails.
4. People to do **legal briefings.**
5. **Lawyers**—to advise people who are representing themselves at trial, write writs, perform trials and be on call for unforeseen legal situations.

MINORS

by Amy Bomse and Aya de Leon

Where there is an action that includes arrests, minors are treated differently than adults. Kids will most likely either be released on the site where they were arrested after being held long enough that the officers think they won't get arrested again that day, or they will be taken to a juvenile facility. They will most likely be handcuffed while they are in custody, but police officers are usually gentler with kids. If taken to a juvenile facility, they will probably get "a good talking to", or perhaps have to spend the night there. When we were arrested for blockading the Livermore Lab, on June 21, 1982, we were taken to Alameda County Juvenile Hall. The whole procedure took about five hours, and we didn't spend the night. We were, however, told that if we blockaded within the next few days we'd be held overnight. Kids who had records of arrest before June 21 were treated the same as first time offenders. Since we were minors we weren't just released; we had to be picked up by a parent or legal guardian. If that's not possible in your case, you'll need a permission slip stating that you are not a runaway, your parent or guardian doesn't mind that you're at the demonstration, and the names, addresses, and phone numbers of one or two people who can pick you up. This must be signed and dated by a parent or guardian. Some groups who are organizing actions supply these, but you can always make your own, get it signed, and have some other adult pick you up.

Though civil disobedience is viewed as a very minimal offense for minors by law, many kids worry, "Will this have any effect on my life? Will it prevent me from getting jobs?" The answer is "no". Although we are very proud of what we did and want it on our records, minors can request their records erased at age eighteen.

Editors' Note: It should be noted that treatment of minors varies in different localities. There have been reports of minors occasionally being treated as harshly or more harshly than adults. This may be more likely to occur with an isolated minor in a group of adults than with a group of minors being arrested together.

Younger men who have refused to register for the draft and citizens of other countries than the U.S. risk additional charges or penalties in a civil disobedience action besides those discussed below. As with minors, the possible participation of draft resisters or non-citizens should be discussed and researched in the planning stages of the action.

OUTLINE OF CHARGES

Because this handbook is national in scope, we will not specifically list what charges are involved, and what penalties are possible, in each situation. We ask that you think about forming a legal collective, or use other resources to determine exactly what local, state, or federal laws you may encounter because of your actions. Thus, the following is only a rough guide to some of the possible charges and penalties that civil disobedience actions may involve. (Note: the sentences listed are maximum sentences; however, it is unusual for someone to receive the maximum penalty.)



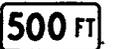
INFRACTIONS AND VIOLATIONS

These are petty offenses like Jaywalking, Disorderly Conduct and Obstructing Traffic. They carry a fine (usually under \$100) and do not allow for jury trials. Basically like a traffic ticket, these are what have been mostly given at the June 14 U.N. Blockade and the June 21 Livermore Action in 1982, and the January, 1983 Vandenberg Action.



MISDEMEANORS

These are moderately serious offenses that include: Criminal Trespass, Blocking Public Right-of-way, Resisting Arrest (going "limp"), Unlawful Entry to Military Installation, Photographing/Sketching Military Installations, Malicious Mischief (damage under \$100). They usually carry a maximum sentence of around 1 year and/or a maximum fine of \$1000. One can plead Not Guilty and demand a jury trial. Misdemeanors have been given at smaller Livermore actions and at Diablo Canyon blockades.



FELONIES

These are serious offenses. Included are: Battery (any physical contact with a Police Officer), Conspiracy to Commit a Misdemeanor, Malicious Mischief (damage over \$100). Penalties are usually more severe than for misdemeanors. One can plead Not Guilty and demand a jury trial.

Judicial procedures may vary—in this handbook we are referring basically to misdemeanor procedures. If you are possibly risking felony charges you need more legal advice than this handbook gives.



THE LEGAL PROCESS

The legal system's terms and mystique create an impression of complexity and unapproachability. But, with a little study and thought, the legal process can become manageable and less intimidating and isolating.

Throughout the legal process, we have the right of choice. This is very important. When we understand the steps, the choices, and the effects of those choices, then we are in a position to make decisions as to what we want to get involved in, and what we want to avoid. There are many levels of commitment possible; we must individually choose our involvement according to our own situation.

The box on the opposite page shows the legal process schematically. As mentioned above, there are certain steps involved, and choices that can be made at each of these steps. Let us now go through the steps and briefly talk about the choices.

WARNING

Usually, but not always, immediately prior to the arrest of demonstrators a warning will be given by the police. They will say which law(s) is(are) being broken, and will say that anyone remaining will be arrested.

CHOICES: To stay and be arrested, or to leave.

ARREST

You will be taken to transportation vehicles, may be hand-cuffed and frisked, and have large possessions removed.

CHOICES: to cooperate and walk, or to non-cooperate and go "limp". Additional charges may be involved for going "limp", but often they are not added.

BOOKING

Name, address and birthdate will be asked. Other information may also be asked (Social Security number, employer, etc.) Fingerprinting and strip-searches may occur here.

CHOICES: amount and accuracy of information given, non-cooperation (possibly incurring additional charges), citing-out (signing a citation release saying you will return for arraignment at a future date), or staying in jail until arraignment.

ARRAIGNMENT

This is where the charges are officially given (often, you may already know the charges and the probable sentencing because of pre-arraignment bargaining), and you enter in your plea of:

CHOICES: **Guilty**—you will be sentenced now. **No Contest/Nolo Contendere** ("Nolo")—this means you do not challenge the charges, and is treated the same as a Guilty plea. **Not Guilty** or **Creative Plea**—you wish to challenge the charges brought against you. The judge will set a trial date and choose whether to release you on **O.R.** (Own Recognizance—your verbal promise to show up for your trial), set **Bail** or **Bond** (a monetary or physical security put up to "insure" your appearance on the trial date) or (rarely) require you to **Remain in Custody** until the trial date. It is up to you to accept or not accept O.R., Bail, or Bond as offered by the judge and you can choose to remain in custody until the trial date.

Note: The choice to take a case to trial should not be made lightly, or without prior study and the willingness to commit time, energy, and money to your defense.

TRIAL

Those who have pled Guilty or No Contest do not have a trial. For those who have pled Not Guilty, or have made a creative plea, the type of trial is up to you.

CHOICES: **Individual Trial** or **Representative Trial**—this is when a number of individuals have been charged with the same offenses under similar circumstances. If this is true, the one case can be tried, with the verdict applied to the group. **Court Trial**—this involves no jury; rather, a judge will hear the case and give the verdict. This form allows for individual circumstances to be heard without the time and expense of a full **Jury Trial**, in which a jury is picked, listens to the case, and gives its verdict. This is the most involved and costly form of trial for both the individual and government. You may have to pay court costs if found guilty.

The judge or jury will either find you Guilty or Not Guilty (acquittal):

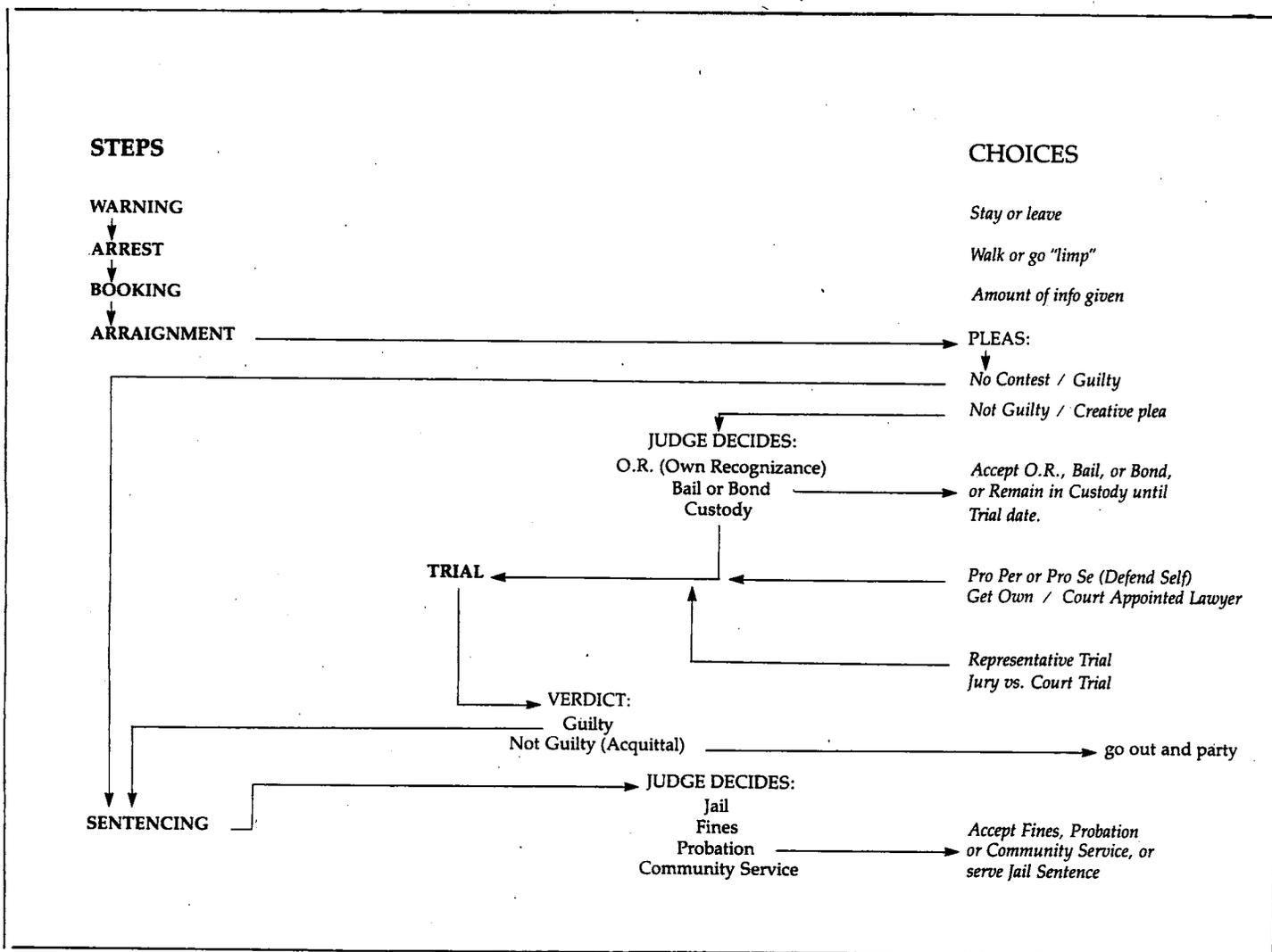
Not Guilty—you are free to go out and celebrate. **Guilty**—judge will then sentence you.

SENTENCING

After Guilty or No Contest pleas, or Guilty verdicts, the judge chooses sentences:

Jail (often time served—which means the length of time already spent in jail), a **Fine**, **Probation**, or **Community Service** (work with human needs agencies instead of time in jail).

CHOICES: To accept or not accept Fines, Probation, or Community Service instead of doing time.



NONCOOPERATION

A refusal to cooperate with the imprisonment of oneself or others is sensible and natural to many of us. The deliberate and punitive denial of freedom that jail consists of is abhorrent to all of us. Many of us oppose prisons altogether, viewing the inequalities and injustices of our society as its culprits, not the victims who end up rotting in its jails.

For many who join in civil disobedience actions, non-cooperation with the criminal justice system is important because it impedes their removal and prolongs their ability to accomplish their goals of stopping the violent business-as-usual of their targets. By becoming great burdens to the courts and jails they demonstrate how difficult and costly it is for these institutions to protect the "status quo" and hope to convince others that this price is too high.

One way of refusing to participate in arrest and detention is by going limp. A decision to go limp is a deci-

sion to approach the arrest situation with peaceful resistance and may involve discomfort and strained communication between the demonstrator and arresting officer, largely because one of the two people is being dragged along the ground, and one is struggling to carry the other. Although very common, even going limp is not an easy way to noncooperate: we are forcing the police to either join us or carry us away. We frequently find ourselves being carried or dragged by an angry police officer, unsympathetic to our claims that we are acting as much on her or his behalf as on our own. This is an uncomfortable dilemma which runs throughout every act of noncooperation and which can only be eased, if at all, by one's ability to explain one's actions with sensitivity and sincerity.

"By our refusal to cooperate, we keep reminding them of our dissent, refusing to allow them the godlike sense that their will alone exists."

—Barbara Deming

Some demonstrators refuse to cooperate partially or wholly with court procedures; they refuse to enter a plea, to retain or accept a lawyer, to stand up in court, to speak to the judge as a symbol of court authority (but rather speak to him or her as a fellow human being), to take the stand or question witnesses. They may make a speech to those assembled in the courtroom or simply lie or sit on the floor if they are carried in, or attempt to leave if not forcibly restrained. The penalties for such noncooperation can be severe, because many judges take such action to be a personal affront as well as an insult to the court. Some judges, on the other hand, overlook such conduct, or attempt to communicate with the demonstrators.

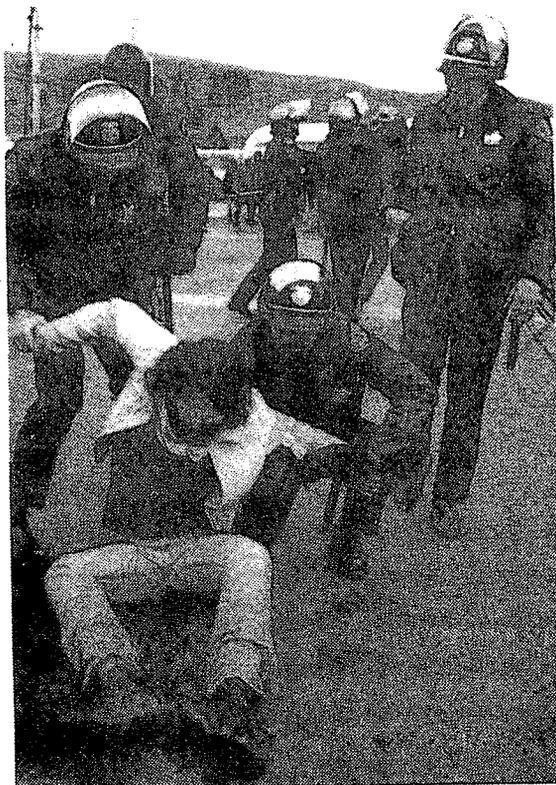
Physical noncooperation may be sustained through the booking process and through court appearances; it may continue through the entire time of one's detention. This might involve a refusal to walk, to eat, to clean oneself and one's surroundings. It may even lead prison officials to force-feed and diaper the inmate.

Another form of noncooperation is fasting—taking no food and no liquid except water, or perhaps fruit juice. While abstaining from food can be uncomfortable and eventually risky, abstaining from all food and liquid can be extremely dangerous almost immediately. Five or six days is probably the longest a human can go without liquid before incurring brain damage and serious dehydration. Usually authorities watch persons who are "water fasting" closely and take steps to hospitalize them before serious consequences occur, but no demonstrator can ever count on such attention and should therefore be prepared to give up the fast or perhaps be allowed to die, as did several Irish freedom fighters during the H-Block hunger strike in 1981.

There are other forms noncooperation may take and other reasons for it to occur. The refusal to give one's name undoubtedly springs from a desire to resist and confound a system that assigns criminal records to people, that categorizes and spies upon them and that punishes organizers and repeat offenders more strenuously. It relays a message that none of us should be singled out: we'll be doing this again and again.

Many nonviolent activists, however, acting with the openness and confidence that characterizes and strengthens nonviolent action, do not choose to hide their identities. They may still noncooperate, however, by refusing to reveal an address, or by refusing to promise to return for trial, increasing the burden on the courts to quickly deal with the demonstrators and enhancing their solidarity and strength as people working together, filling the jails.

Many activists also choose to resist the codification of people by social security numbers. The questions that are



asked about background and employment are means to facilitate both the system's processing of individuals and its preparation of files about them. The very fact that demonstrators may be privileged enough to have jobs and perhaps be ushered in and out of jails more politely and efficiently than other "criminals" is something that some are unwilling to take advantage of.

Noncooperation is difficult. It is rewarding, powerful and inspiring, but it can be frustrating, time consuming, and even painful. Noncooperators must be careful not to pressure others into joining them. Anyone who tries to noncooperate must feel flexible enough to give it up if it becomes too much to handle.

It might be best to try out various levels and different approaches to noncooperation, as they feel appropriate. Noncooperation can be very powerful as a response to unjust demands by guards. It feels particularly natural and effective at such times.

It is likely that noncooperators will be subjected to intimidation and threats. For this reason, it is important that demonstrators prepare themselves for this ahead of time, rather than planning to change their minds about noncooperation under duress. Successful intimidation from the guards will only encourage them to treat the remaining noncooperators more harshly.

On the other hand, cooperation with the indignity and injustice of jail is no easier. We are all working to stop nuclear terror and to create a more just society in the process. The paths we choose may vary. The decision to cooperate or noncooperate with part or all of the arrest procedure is a personal and political one. For some of us noncooperation is one way we will continue the struggle inside prison walls.

JAIL SOLIDARITY



Jail solidarity may be defined as complete unity of purpose of those incarcerated or imprisoned. The ultimate objective of that unity is for everyone committing the same act to be treated equally and fairly in jail and in sentencing. Refusing citations, bail, fines, community service or probation keeps us together as a community with the potential for collective bargaining to meet that objective.

For jail solidarity to be most effective, the issues surrounding it must be addressed and resolved to the greatest extent possible before reaching jail. Jail authorities are not going to patiently wait for us to reach consensus on solidarity agreements before they start employing "divide and conquer" tactics to weaken our bargaining power.

One divisive tactic used by the prison/legal system is different treatment for certain individuals or groups. These people risking harsher treatment usually include non-cooperators, repeat offenders, known organizers, people of color, lesbians and gay men. Discussions of solidarity should always include the issue of how to give these people the extra protection they need.

Coming to agreements about solidarity goals and tactics is a powerful but difficult process. To reach true solidarity with the greatest number of participants, people must have enough information and time to make wise decisions. Solidarity tactics that are employed successfully are empowering. Ill-considered, unfocused uses of solidarity tactics are less successful and drain our energies.

Some of the issues that cause the most controversy around solidarity include interpretation of the non-violence guidelines, and under what circumstances, if any, we will keep solidarity with the blockaders that have previous records, are on probation or have not followed the nonviolence guidelines for that action.

People's motivations for participating in CD will affect their attitudes toward the police and jail guards. Some people are motivated to 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.

The effect of this political viewpoint on behavior in jail can be very dramatic. Often people refuse to cooperate with the authorities at all. Some ways they do this are by going limp during arrest, not abiding by prison regulations, and refusing to participate in arraignment. Some of these acts serve personal moral goals; others are initiated as levers to make the legal system mete out equal and fair sentences to all.



Another group may reflect a different set of motivations and approaches. For some people, their fundamental reason for blockading stems from an awareness of the destructive power of nuclear weaponry. Their fear and outrage over these weapons may be their only motivation to do civil disobedience. Often these people will stress more of the need to communicate with the human beings behind the helmets, uniforms and roles. They will talk to the police, perhaps befriend the prison guards, and try to use persuasion and dialogue to raise questions about these roles.

The differences between these two approaches will frequently lead to conflict among blockaders. The stress of the jail experience tends to intensify conflict but by discussing differences beforehand their effect on jail solidarity can be minimized. Conflicts that arise in jail 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.

Often it is not possible for everyone to agree to stay in jail for solidarity purposes. Sometimes there are people who question the need to struggle inside the jails when the action's primary goal is something else. Some people, because of outside responsibilities, cannot afford the time jail solidarity may demand. Others find jail conditions physically or emotionally intolerable. And still others take the political stand that we're more effective back on the streets encouraging other people to take a stand. Whatever the reasons for not participating in jail solidarity, individuals should make this information known beforehand since it may affect decisions of the group.

Those who must leave jail are not betraying the group—there are many ways they can continue supporting those inside: by speaking to the media, to the movement and to the public about conditions inside, by fulfilling responsibilities for those inside, by carrying messages to family, friends, and employers.

Jail solidarity must never become coercive. In jail, solidarity is our strength and the strength of our solidarity comes from the free agreement of all who take part in it.

PAST SOLIDARITY RECOMMENDATIONS

These are issues that have consistently come up and must be discussed for every action. Experience has shown that prior commitment to a set of solidarity principles is vital in keeping focused and maintaining initiative. Not every affinity group or individual will necessarily agree with all of the points – it's important to understand where everyone stands. The overall goals of the action and its participants will determine how solidarity actually works.

GOALS OF SOLIDARITY

- Equal treatment for all – including people of color, lesbians and gay men, those with previous arrests, publicly known organizers, and (in many, but not all cases) noncooperators.
- Fair and equal sentences for all who receive similar charges.
- Dropping of inflated or unfair charges.
- No isolation of individuals or of parts of our group.
- Attention to particular needs of some individuals, such as for medical treatment.

STRATEGIES

Citation releases: Some people may need to "cite out" of jail as soon as possible for personal reasons, or may want to gain time to join other actions and do immediate organizing. Signing citations tends to split up the group, especially if they are not offered equally to all. The united physical presence of people in jail is usually the best leverage for insuring equal treatment.

Bail and fines: Paying bail or fines puts money back into an unjust system and drains the limited funds and resources of the movement. They are a major way the judicial system discriminates against lower-income people and divides groups; those who have money get out and those who don't stay in. Refusing to pay bail is a means of demanding that all be released on OR.

Probation: Probation gives the court system the right to interfere in our lives for many months, and makes us liable for longer sentences should we be arrested for civil disobedience in its duration. This creates problems for individuals as well as creating a possible excuse for differential treatment of people in future actions. Probation is often offered as a personal "way out" and can interfere with the group's demands for lighter sentencing or control of legal choices.

Pleas: The decision to plead Not Guilty and pursue further legal proceedings is a political one. Keep in mind what you are trying to achieve and evaluate whether legal proceedings will advance these goals; the time,

money and energy committed to a trial might be better invested in organizing and education. People may also plead No Contest or even Guilty out of a conviction that courts have no authority to determine innocence or guilt on the issues at hand.

Trials: Some people arrested in CD actions feel they have a real legal basis for arguing their innocence in court, or want to use the court system as a forum for discussion of the issues. For most actions, any trials are organized and paid for by the individuals or groups involved and are not the responsibility of the overall organization. See (B23, B24) for discussion of trial strategies.

NONVIOLENT SOLIDARITY TACTICS

- Refusing arraignment. In some cases, blockaders have sat in a circle within the jail and refused to move until assured by their legal team that demands have been met. In other cases, people have stood silent or refused to enter a plea at the arraignment.
- Calmly encircling a threatened sister or brother, and physically protecting her or him from being taken away.
- Refusing to give the guards identifying information about individuals.
- Refusing to work or participate in jail routine.
- Refusing food.
- Refusing to get dressed.
- Holding a prayer, meditation, song or chanting vigil.
- Be creative; invent new solidarity tactics.



SERVING TIME IN JAIL

Any act of civil disobedience implies the willingness to risk jail for one's convictions. For those who land there as a consequence of conscious decisions, jail can present an opportunity for testing and strengthening spiritual and political convictions. Though it should not be courted imprudently, it is something that must be faced and can certainly be endured. Those arrested as a result of civil disobedience have the advantage over most prisoners of knowing that they are there having made a conscious choice. That knowledge can make the difference between what is otherwise a thoroughly miserable situation and a larger possibility for reflection and education. What is more, it can provide you, when the time comes, with a reserve of strength of which you were previously unaware.

Jail is a lonely place. It aims to weaken solidarity, to try to isolate people from one another and reduce one's concentration to dealing with the demands of authority and of one's survival. However, no one in jail for affirming her or his conscience is ever alone. Remember that and you should have no trouble getting by.

What exactly can you expect? Jails differ as to particular conditions, regulations and privileges allowed. Yet, jails are enough alike that it is possible to make some rough generalizations.

You can expect overcrowding, which means frustrating and irritating levels of noise and distraction, little personal space or privacy, and scant regard for cleanliness. You must exercise patience, consideration and discipline to preserve peace and sanity. It will be difficult to sleep, there will be blaring radios and TV's, slamming bars, and loud arguments, which may make you irritable and short-tempered. Learn to watch for this in others and try to respect their need for space. Time will be distorted: Days will slip by but each hour will seem like an eternity. Food will be starchy and dull (don't expect vegetarian menus). You will learn to *wait*, for a phone call, a shower, a meal, the answer to a question, the time of day.

You may be issued a uniform. In that case, your clothes will be confiscated along with all your other belongings. You can expect a complete strip search, possibly including rectal and vaginal examination for contraband, which will be the first of many other casual assaults on your dignity.

The guards have a great deal of power and they are aware of this. And because they are human beings, this knowledge tends to have a bad effect on them. Long exposure to jail, whether as a prisoner or a guard, tends to have a corrosive effect on one's confidence in human nature and goodness, and the guards are victims of this as well. They expect the worst out of people, and, not surprisingly, they are not often disappointed. Their principal concern is to preserve order, which demands an atmosphere of unquestioning respect (fear) for authority. This is their contribution to the process of "rehabilitation," supplanting personal responsibility with thoughtless obedience and submission. You should try not to indulge them in their exalted self-image. Keep expecting that they should act with respect and compassion and you may be surprised by the results. Perhaps you will surprise them into remembering that they and the prisoners in their charge share a common humanity. At least you may establish a basis for dialogue. But at the same time that you recall the humanity of your guards don't forget that, 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.

Just because your body is detained doesn't mean you've got to turn in your conscience and convictions along with your other belongings. Whether in jail or on the "outside," the freedom we enjoy is always the freedom we claim for ourselves. Being under lock and key does not deprive you of your essential freedom as long as you continue to insist on your power to say "yes" or "no" within the limits of whatever situation you find yourself. It was your commitment to make decisions for yourself about what you should and shouldn't do that landed you in jail in the first place, and it remains a good principle to live by, even in jail.

IN JAIL—REMEMBER:

- If you want something to happen in our group — a meeting, workshop, song circle, etc. — make it happen. Don't wait for someone else to think of it.
- Remain aware of how others are being treated. In previous actions, the guards have often removed one or two people from the group without obvious reason or provocation. Usually, the people they choose are those who are obviously "different" in some way, or loud or assertive. Sometime, they are people who make others in our own group feel uncomfortable. Try to protect those who may be at risk by making sure others are with them at all times.
- At all times, know the whereabouts of the members of your affinity group. In large groups, a buddy system may be helpful. If you are the lone member of your group in jail, find another to join for the duration.
- Liaison teams can be helpful in communicating with guards, but members should rotate so that no one becomes identified as a leader.
- Jail fosters dependence. Rely on your own and the group's thinking, and avoid automatically turning to guards for help, permission or information. In jail, the guards often create false crises. Do not let yourselves be panicked. Take the time you need to discuss options and reach consensus.

JAIL ISSUES

Upon arrest, many blockaders have been placed immediately into the general population and have witnessed the extremely poor conditions under which most inmates live. Inadequate and malnourishing food, inadequate exercise, poor medical care, and severe overcrowding are aggravated when blockaders are placed in large numbers in the general jail population.

As individuals committed to the preservation of life and the improvement of the quality of life for all people, it is imperative that we become aware of what the jail experience is for those who don't choose jail. Further, we must take some responsibility for the changes created by our presence in jail by striving to minimize these negative effects.

One primary goal of civil disobedience is to make incarceration of blockaders stressful and costly for the government. However, we need to be clear that we want to hamper the system as much as possible without negatively affecting the other inmates. In situations where a large number of blockaders are placed into the general jail population, some concrete ways to minimize our effects are:

1. Respect the fact that the other inmates did not "choose" to go to or stay in jail and that the lack of choice makes the experience a very different one. This might mean making some changes in behavior such as avoiding playing around or making jail a experience in the presence of other inmates who might not see it the same way or who would be penalized for acting that way themselves. Likewise, any protest of jail conditions by blockaders should be done with extreme care. Other inmates can get in trouble very easily and don't have the same legal and political support that protesters have.



2. Talk with the other inmates as much as possible. Explain your choice to be arrested, and find out their experiences. Communication will increase their support for civil disobedience and our support for reform of jail conditions.



3. Agree amongst blockaders to limit the number of phone calls. Try to coordinate information and make one call per affinity group.



4. Agree to forego all visits except from members of the legal team.



5. Individuals with medical conditions that are apt to require medical attention should consider citing out soon after arrest. Not only will the medical needs of the individual blockader be inadequately cared for, the additional strain on the jail medical system will affect the amount and quality of care given to other inmates.



6. Assess the physical exercise needs of the group and decide if all the time allotted to you is necessary, or if there are other ways to get exercise. Be aware that less time for the blockaders may mean more time for the other inmates.



Pieces

In El Salvador

*the soldiers come:
shoot the men because the men
are tired of fear.
shoot the boys because the boys
have faith in change.
shoot the women—women
learn to fight
back.
shoot the children
because the children
are alive.
And babies bleed
beneath the bodies of their mothers.*

*a closer look: babies bleed under
pieces
of the bodies
of mothers; they bleed from pieces.*

*I read of it as I drink
this good coffee, no not
from El Salvador. from*

*Guatemala. The soldiers
keep coming, defenders
of the second cup.*

—by Suzanne Maxson, 1981

AVOIDING POLICE VIOLENCE

However firm the commitment to nonviolence, direct action and civil disobedience challenge a system built on violence and may uncover, rather than provoke, violent response from authorities. When planning an action, anticipate which law enforcement agencies and other authorities may be involved, and try to make a scenario that is clear and has a nonviolent role for them to play. Some suggestions to consider are:

- **clear identification** via armbands, hats, t-shirts, etc., of medical personnel, monitors, and those risking arrest.
- **prior contact with law enforcement agencies** to present your intentions and get an idea of who you'll be dealing with.
- **prior publicity** and evidence of a base of community support.
- **legal observers and media** visibly present at the action.

Clarity about action goals and roleplaying in affinity groups are important preparation for the possibility of police violence. Police have been occasionally known in the past to use tear gas or dogs on demonstrators, sometimes to avoid making arrests. The effectiveness of these dispersal techniques lies in their capacity to create fear and panic; the following is a brief presentation on how they operate:

MACE: Chemical mace is dispensed by aerosol and is designed for use against an individual. Mace causes a burning or stinging sensation to the exposed area, particularly the eyes. Mace victims should be removed from the area and should have their eyes washed with 5% Boric Acid Solution, if possible.

TEAR GAS: Gas may be dispensed by various methods: by helicopter, by exploding grenades or thrown canisters, or through miniature tear gas pistols. Tear gas also causes intense tearing and irritation to the eyes. The effects usually disappear within a few minutes after the individual is removed from the area. Treatment is simple and includes exposure to clean air, washing the face and eyes with plain water or with a mild salt water solution.

DOGS: Extreme caution must be used when confronted by an attack dog. **REMAIN CALM AND DO NOT MOVE.** Dogs are trained to respond to fast motion and to individuals attempting to run away. Under no circumstances should anyone try to run from an attack dog. If confronted by a dog, make verbal and eye contact with the officer commanding the dog.



Nita Winter

ACCESS FOR INDIVIDUALS WITH DISABILITIES

by Nancy Thomas and Andre

Disabling conditions can be visible or hidden and can affect mobility, learning, vision, diet, hearing, stamina, emotions, health—in short, any life function. Inaccessibility relative to any of these factors can result in exclusion. Access enables all people who want to get involved to participate at every level.

Access, however, does not mean just having ramps or sign language interpreters at meetings once in a while. In this article, an attempt is being made to make all of us aware of some of the practical considerations of including people of all abilities in the anti-nuclear movement.

One strategy for accessibility is to set up task forces as part of pre-blockade training that will assure that resources for disabled people are provided. These pre-action training meetings should be facilitated by disabled people who have experience with mass demonstrations and in jail and should produce contingency plans for providing reasonable accommodation for all kinds of disabled people at each planned activity: demonstrations, encampments, meetings, jail. To be truly effective, these plans must be coordinated with other groups organizing security, communications, and medical care. Hopefully, one result of this meeting will be a task force of people knowledgeable and experienced and willing to serve as disability resource allies, attendants, and interpreters.

Meetings

1. To include individuals with physical disabilities, hold meetings in ramped buildings (sloping 12 to 14 feet for every 1 foot rise), with entrances and bathroom stalls at least 32" wide. There should be grab bars on the sides and/or in back of the toilet.
2. Set up the room with wide aisles and leave spaces for wheelchairs among the regular chairs.
3. For visually disabled people, make available any written or visual materials on tape (or in Braille) or minimally, be prepared to have any written materials read aloud. This accommodation will also be useful for people who can't read or have difficulty reading.
4. Arrange for a sign language interpreter to be present at meetings.
5. Plan and facilitate meetings with an effort to avoid draining people's bodies and spirits by providing food, adhering to time limits, and taking breaks.

Marches

1. When planning the march route, bear in mind accessible transportation. If accessible public transportation is not available (at reasonable times), make arrangements (including financial compensation) with agencies or individual owners of vans with lifts. This accessible vehicle can be used as a shuttle from march start to demonstration site.
2. For those who do not wish or are not able to walk the whole route, places along the route should be designated where they can join.
3. Plan routes that are flat or gently sloped and solid (not muddy, rocky).
4. Research accessible public restrooms along the route and point them out on a map.

Demonstrations

1. Make sure the stage is accessible by renting a set of portable ramps (to ramp a few steps only) or a truck with a lift.
2. Designate a specific space in front of the stage for disabled people and their friends/affinity groups to guarantee the best visibility for deaf and hearing-impaired people, people with visual impairments, and people who use wheelchairs.
3. Provide sign language interpretation by certified interpreters and publicize this fact on your publicity. A program longer than two hours requires at least two interpreters.
4. Remember to maintain wide aisles where possible and to provide tapes of any written materials (e. g. programs).
5. Provide accessible portable toilets.

General communications

To facilitate communication between hearing people and people with hearing disabilities where there is no sign language interpreter, have only one person speak at a time. Further, hearing people should face the person with a hearing impairment, and move their lips naturally, and remember not to shout. Even though lipreading is only about 30% effective, it is better than nothing. If you don't know sign language, you can still use gestures and facial expressions to emphasize your meaning. Also, have paper and pencil available in case you get stuck.

People who cannot speak clearly need their listeners to slow down and pay close attention. Ask the person to repeat or spell what he or she said rather than pretending you understood.

People with visual disabilities need verbal descriptions to provide missing information.

People who learn slowly or differently need concepts to be organized and simple—summarize frequently. This will help clarify issues for everyone.

Jail Concerns

Jail is an especially stressful situation where everyone, including people with disabilities, has no control over his/her daily routine. Each person should assess whether going to jail is the most appropriate role for him/her and, if so, what he/she can do in the jail situation. to minimize the stress.

Affinity groups with disabled individuals should strategize ways to remain together when the jail authorities try to separate out the disabled people and ways to handle inaccessible jail buses and jail living quarters.

Individuals with hidden disabilities should have special dietary and/or medical needs put into prescription form by a medical doctor. Plan with his/her affinity group supporters a means to guarantee that these prescriptions will be delivered in jail. If attempts to get prescriptions into jail fail, consider citing out.



The International Symbol of Access was adopted in 1969 to denote architectural accessibility in buildings and facilities usable by people with limited mobility.

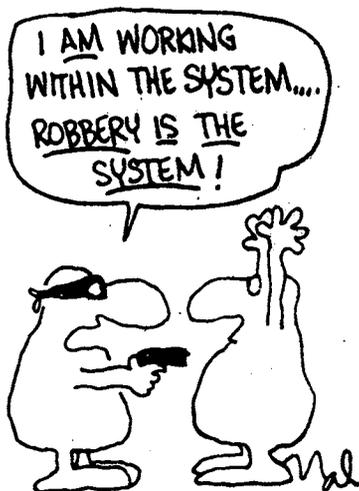
FUNDRAISING

by Dorie Wilsnack

Money is an essential tool to organizing, much as people's time is essential to organizing. No matter how important the money is, it is always a tool and a tactic, not a goal. It is a challenge to our nonviolent politics to use money in ways that build on our value system. How can we use funds to encourage more sharing, collective structures? How can we put money to use in more creative ways?

There is a tendency to leave all fundraising considerations to one or two stalwarts. However, this not only encourages the myth that fundraising should be separate from "real program" work, but it will burn out the lonely individual who shoulders the responsibility. A good structure is to have a fundraising committee of 4 or 5 active members, and to include fundraising and finances on the whole group agenda regularly. If you have a fundraising coordinator, make sure the emphasis is on the *coordination* and not on being the sole fundraiser.

Fundraising is actually just another form of education. You are educating people about your financial needs as well as the issues, and you are educating a constituency with financial resources as well as your other supporters. We tend to assign donors a lot of power and then resent that power. This is not healthy or quite accurate. You are out there holding the rallies and press conferences and distributing the literature for something that they deeply believe in but don't have the time or the inclination to work on actively. What they can do comfortably is make a financial gift. Respect them for that, and recognize that the work you are doing merits the money.



Consider your organization's long-range program and aim for financial self-sufficiency based on small and medium-sized donations. Funding will come easier if you plan ahead:

1. Set your program for the year ahead down in writing. Second-guess and project where you have to, but write a full year's program.
2. Develop an expense budget for the year. Talk with other organizations to glean estimates for your printing, mailing, telephone expenses, etc.
3. List all your possible sources of funds by category (mail fund appeals, benefits, newsletter subscriptions, etc.).
4. Make realistic estimates of how much income you can raise in each area.
5. Lay out your fundraising activities on a calendar, making sure they are spread realistically throughout the year. If you can set your expense plans down on a similar calendar grid, you can foresee cash-flow problems ahead of time, and alter your plans to avoid them.

Have a variety of fundraising activities, so if one fails you have others to fall back on. Every project should have a built-in fundraising aspect. Public events can always have a verbal pitch as part of the program and literature can be a reliable, steady source of income if handled carefully. Film showings and benefits by musicians, poets and other sympathetic performers can be good money raisers but can also be financial flops because of the overhead costs. Some other ideas for fundraising are:

- Encourage people to become pledgers.
- Develop your house mailing list and send out regular mail appeals.
- Telephone specific donors who you know could give more.
- Pass the hat at all meetings and events.
- Sell unusual items such as posters, buttons, balloons, silkscreened T-shirts.
- Hold bake sales, garage or rummage sales.
- Sponsor a raffle (of donated prizes).
- Have a benefit dinner or cocktail party.
- Suggest that individuals give up smoking, drinking, or movies for a period of time and give the money saved to the group.
- Apply for grants from foundations to help get your group or project started.

—adapted from an article in the *WRL Organizer's Manual* (B19)

CHILD CARE

Although children will participate actively in legal demonstrations and civil disobedience, providing child care is an essential aspect of action planning. Having child care allows parents or people responsible for children more freedom to participate, in terms of both time and energy. Further, it enables children to participate on whatever level they can because there is a place for them to be if they no longer want to participate. Making events and actions accessible by providing child care furthers our goal of building a large and diverse movement.

For anti-nuclear work, there are three kinds of child care situations that need to be addressed: indoor events; outdoor events; outdoor events where people move from place to place.

Arranging child care for indoor events such as benefits or planning meetings requires the following:

1. A separate, wheelchair-accessible space that is close to the main event. This will enable children to participate as much as they wish and enable parents to check in as they wish.
2. A means to assess the number and ages of children. Put "48-hour advance registration requested" and a contact phone number on your flyer. This will help you gauge what ages of and how many children to expect, although parents should still be encouraged to leave children even without pre-registration.
3. Enough workers to provide good quality attention to every child. A ratio of five children to one worker is a good guide to follow although the number of workers should be increased if there are a lot of children under two years of age. Also, it's a good idea to have one worker serve as coordinator, particularly if you're depending on volunteers to do child care.
4. Food. Consider the time of day and the nature of the event and plan to provide either a meal or a snack.

5. Activity materials. As much as possible, plan activities that connect with the focus of the event the adults are attending. Plan activities and use materials that are free of racial, sexual, or class bias. Common activities could be drawing, reading books aloud, activities involving movement, etc.
6. Equipment such as mattresses, crib and/or playpen (if needed and available), supplies such as toilet paper, paper towels, diapers, blankets and pillows, medical supplies.

For an outdoor event, try to arrange to hold child care in an enclosed space near the event. In an outdoor event, it is likely that children will be coming in and out of child care, and actual child care activities might be less formalized. Look at the six items listed under "indoor events" and assess how they apply to this situation. Most likely, for an outdoor event, you will need to deal with protecting children from the weather and keeping track of children. Make sure you have a tight system for checking children in and out of child care.

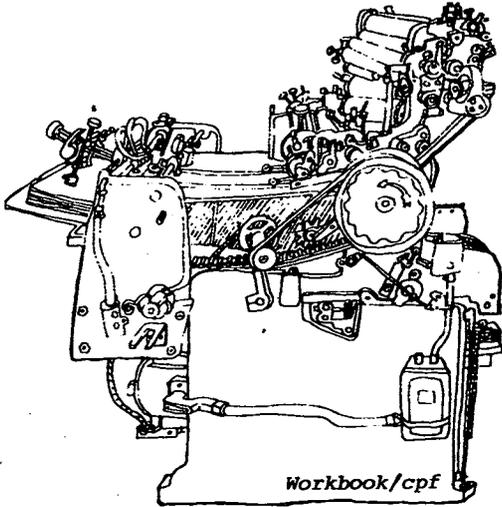
For outdoor events that don't stay in one location, such as marches, you will need a van to pick up children who become tired or want refuge from the heat or the cold. Inside the van, there should be extra clothes and blankets and food and drinks. Station the van at the end of the march route after you've picked up the children. For long marches, you might want to have an indoor child care as well as the van.

Be sure to provide information about child care on any publicity you put out so that parents and people responsible for children will know it's available. Requesting advance registration will help you make plans for the size and nature of the child care.



Jan Phillips

MEDIA



The majority of people who learn about an action, both before and after it takes place, will do so through the media. Good relations with the media are crucial for the action to be covered accurately. No press coverage is ever completely unbiased, but good preparation and clarity about your goals can get a large part of your message through.

In planning for an action it helps both short-term coverage and long-term organizational credibility to deal with the media professionally. Designate a media committee so that repeated contact with media representatives will give reporters and editors more confidence and exposure to the issues. The media committee should develop a list of contacts; ask other groups to lend their lists or get addresses and phone numbers from the telephone directory. Keep a file card on each individual you deal with and use his/her name on subsequent press releases or phone calls.

A press release should be sent out to news departments of all local newspapers and radio or television stations about three weeks before any action. Include the time and place of the action and always remember to include the name and phone number of a press contact. A short statement of the reasons for the action is also helpful. At the action the media will also expect a final statement by a spokesperson about the reasons for the action and what was accomplished. This is also a good place for a *short* political statement.

You may want to hold a press conference and send out a final press release before or during the action. It will help to have someone with a well-known name participate, but make sure your group statement is carefully prepared and clearly presented. This is also an opportunity for reporters to become familiar with your group's media representatives. Press conferences should only be held for events or developments that can attract enough media to make them worthwhile.

There are other media resources to take advantage of: Newspapers and radio stations publish or broadcast calendars of events and will list meetings, benefits and actions if given enough advance notice. Radio stations often carry 20 or 30 second Public Service Announcements—call the Public Affairs department for format and deadline requirements. You can contact features editors to see if they are interested in in-depth interviews, or arrange for group members with speaking experience to be on talk shows.

The media can be intimidating and occasionally hostile. Most reporters are just people trying to do a job, which is to present a short balanced picture of what has happened and why it happened. They will give you a lot of room to make your statement, but an editor will make the final decisions. Keep statements short and simple, with a single focus; when too many issues are covered, especially issues about structure, the resulting media image may be confusing.

During an action anyone may be approached by a reporter or camera. If a reporter talks to you, don't be shy. Try to explain your actions simply and directly, in your own words. Don't try to make up answers, but talk about the issues that are important to you. If you can't answer a question or are busy with other tasks, try to refer the reporter to someone else who can help them.

Sometimes it's hard to react naturally; affinity groups may want to role-play interviews, evaluating each others' responses to some basic questions. It's important to know basic facts about the action and the issues addressed. Members of affinity groups can divide up reading materials like the articles in this handbook and use roleplays as a way of educating each other.



The Wall Street Journal

'That's a good question which demands some real evasion.'

ROLE PLAYS

by Liz Walker



What is a role play?

A role play is a simulation of an actual situation. It is a good way to test out possible scenarios, uncover holes in your strategy, help people to experience feelings that may come up in the course of an action, or try on your opponents' shoes for a change. Because a role play is a type of game, it can be a lot of fun, and a very useful tool for getting people involved.

Role plays may involve 2 to 50 people and can last anywhere from 30 seconds to several days. The standard format, however, generally lasts about 30 minutes including set-up time and discussion afterwards, and is best done with a group of 10-20 people.

Because role plays are new to many people, it is wise to start out with several short, uncomplicated ones (such as hassle lines) and work up to longer, more complex ones. For each of the role plays described below, you will need to pick a *facilitator* who will guide the group through the exercise. The rest of the group will be given different *roles* to play.



Steve Stallone

How to set up a role play

1. Choose a facilitator.
2. Choose a situation.
3. Divide the group into different roles.
4. Describe the situation
5. Allow each group to meet and plan their strategy. To help create tensions, you may give secret directions at this time.
6. Start the role play.
7. End the role play at an obvious ending time (i.e., when everyone's arrested).
8. Evaluation—how did each individual/group feel? Was it realistic?

Simple role plays: hassle lines

Hassle lines are good warm-up exercises and are especially useful to examine people's reactions in possible confrontation situations. They are a form of simple role play in which people interact on a one-to-one basis.

The facilitator should first describe what a hassle line is, and have two lines formed, facing each other. The persons facing each other are partners in the interaction. Give each row a role and describe the situation they are in. Allow a few moments for each side to gather their thoughts. Begin the interaction, let it run for several minutes, then stop the role play. Have people describe their experiences. What did people learn that was new about their role? Were some actions inappropriate? The facilitator should try to draw out people who are shy and make sure that a few people don't dominate the discussion. Each person's experience is valuable. You may also try to sum up major points that have been made and if you have a lot of experience, include tips that you have learned. Make sure you don't talk too much either. Reverse roles. Evaluate again.

Some sample Hassle Lines

- Demonstrator vs.: workers, police, local residents. . .
- Pro vs. Con: Issues such as military buildup, non-violence. . .
- Sexism: Man dominating meeting, woman stating her frustration with him. Switch roles.

More involved role plays

Basically the same idea except now we have more roles and participants. For example, to do a Blockade Role Play, the facilitator might break the group into 2 media, 3 plant workers, 7 blockaders, 4 police, 1 supporter. Situation: Demonstrators blockading workers coming to nuclear weapons research facility. Have each group meet separately. Special instructions that could be given: Have supporter tell blockaders that workers are getting in another gate, or have the police be rough, or have media keep interfering by trying to get interviews. In the evaluation, emphasize the importance of being prepared for possible contingencies.

Other more involved role plays

- Large group meeting, in response to new information.
- Blockading vehicles.
- Jail guards isolating individuals.
- Create your own! Vary to suit your particular situation.

POST-ACTION

After the action, there's often a tendency to leave an action behind. People may be burned out, want to take a breather, or turn to other things that have been postponed due to the action. Unfortunately, for both the organization and the individuals, this may not be the wisest choice.

For anyone who contemplates doing further work, a comprehensive action evaluation is an important tool in moving forward and creating smoother, more focused actions. It is immediately after an action when one feels the strongest emotionally about the action. Also, there is an ability to remember the details that will be lost as the days go by. For the organization, and the individual, this emotional energy and immediacy of detail is crucial in the evaluation of an action.

The evaluation by the organization should be planned even before the action takes place. It ought to be seen as part of the action. Postponement of the evaluation usually dooms it. A good evaluation, on the other hand, is often a good stepping stone from which to start talking about future actions. Use the post-action energy to carry you forward, and let the action's experiences help shape your future course.



The organizational evaluation should cover both the positive and the "needs improvement" aspects of the action. The crucial issue is not the pointing of fingers and affixing blame, rather it is the attention to what went well, and what needs to be improved to make the next action more successful and less draining.

On a personal level, you may be emotionally drained after an action. The events of the action, no matter how inspiring and empowering they were, are likely to have taken their toll. This is where your co-participants can help support you as you help support them. Try getting together in small groups just to talk about the action: share the joy and misery with others who experienced it and can understand. Let each person have lots of time to express how it affected him/her (the excitement and empowerment, and also the fear, pain, and helplessness). The story may need to be told and acted out numerous times. . . like oral history or ancient rituals.

The following are some questions that may be helpful in discussing the action.

On an Organizational Level

- How do we feel about the action?*
- What were our goals?*
- What were our expectations of each other?*
 - Were they met?*
 - Were they justified?*
 - Were they clear beforehand?*
- What happened that we didn't expect?*
- How effective was our outreach to the community? other political groups?*
- Was media coverage satisfactory? How could it be improved?*
- In the planning details (transportation, scenario, medical. . .), what things worked and what didn't? Why?*
- Did we give enough attention to fundraising?*
- Did we have enough people doing the organizing? Were they taken for granted?*

On a Personal Level

- How did my actions contribute to, and detract from, the larger group?*
- To what extent did I expect people to change their attitudes, behavior, or style to make me feel more comfortable? How willing was I to change my own?*
- How did I react to the (police, march, blockade, jail. . .) situations? What did I learn from these situations?*
- How have my life experiences shaped the way I acted during the action?*
- What would I do differently next time?*
- Did I get the support I needed?*
- How has this action changed me?*





ISSUES AND

BACKGROUND

Los Alamos Photo Library

THE DAY THE BOMB WAS DROPPED

by Kimuko Laskey

Every day, I would think, in case anything happens, I will duck under my workbench counter, because that was built right into the wall and it was strong and sturdy. So I did, I bent down to get under, but the air pressure came and blew me out of the room.

Then I was floating on the air, like floating this way and that way, and I felt—suddenly, I stopped moving. So I sat up and tried to look to see what happened.

Then a crash came over my head, and something crashed on my head. I felt a big slap on my left cheek, just like somebody had slapped me very hard.

So I covered my face with my hands, and my hands just went right into my face. Then I thought, "Well, I'm injured." So I bent down right on the floor again, but I couldn't hear anything. I didn't feel anything. So I started looking up again and everything was so dark, I could not see anything. . .

(Finally,) I got up and I ran to the front way. Then I saw everybody was injured, blood all over, and I just went straight to the front door. There I saw people burned, just like overcooked turkey, and some of them very badly burned so they couldn't see; just black people standing there with their skin hanging down from their cheeks and arms. It looked like they had long faces and long arms. . .

Then, at that time, it started getting hot because there were fires outside. So I went to the communications office backyard, because I knew there was a great big pool there where they kept water all the time in case of fire. So I went there, because I needed water. I was so hot.

Then I saw the backyard was all orange up in the sky. I couldn't see blue sky anymore, and I didn't know what time of day it was. In that pool there were so many people, lying over on top of one another. The people on the bottom were drowning and the people on top were hot and trying to get in. So I pushed a few heads over so I could get some of the water, but I wasn't able to get water.

I could hear my hair was crackling, and my dress was curling up, and I noticed my dress—it was funny—all the seams were gone and all the pieces were just hanging there from my shoulders.

So I went back to the front of the hospital again. I remember we had a fire lane there, a little opening. So I went there and I found a water pipe that was broken and it was spraying water. And I just sat there in the water. I lost all my—I felt like I had lost all the bones in my body. I just got so weak, and I looked around, and the ground was orange; the sky was orange. No way I could escape anymore.

Then I saw a woman trying to escape. She said that the fire was just there, and I could go out the side and escape. So she came into the water to get all her clothes soaking wet. Then she started walking through it. Then she danced in the fire. I watched, but I couldn't do anything and nobody else could do anything for her.

And I saw my friend who was on the staff of the communications post office. She was walking with her mother and father's help to try and escape toward the west side of Hiroshima. And I saw her feet. They were cut at her ankles and were just hanging by a thin skin. She was walking on her ankles at that time. I did not see her until a year later, but I could never forget her on that day.

Then I saw my hospital doctor was being helped by the head nurse, and they were going to the west side, too. And the head nurse told me, "Come along with us, we're going that way to escape." I tried to get up, but I couldn't move anymore. Then I think I passed out. Then I don't know how long I was there under the water spray.

When I woke up, black rain was falling, and people were shouting about the black rain. We didn't know at the time—we all thought at the time that it was oil; that probably the B-29s had come back and dropped oil on us and would put fire on us.

So everybody started moving, and whoever was able to move, they were trying to go away from that place. But I couldn't move. Then I passed out again. And the next time I came to, just everywhere were dead people. At that time, I could hardly get my eyes open because my head was so badly swollen, and I could only see the fire with my right eye. And my left eye was—I thought I opened it, but I couldn't see because it was so swollen.

But I lifted my lid open with my finger and saw a beautiful blue sky and what looked like a dead city. Nobody was standing up, nobody was walking around. Just me, sitting there looking at the buildings in front of me, the hospital and the communications building.

So I started crawling. I couldn't get up. I couldn't lift my arm. And I looked at my shoulder and there was about a six-inch-long piece of glass stuck in me, and in my leg. And so I just crawled; I couldn't walk to the hospital. And I don't know how long it took me to get there. But I got there, and the doctor saw me and came toward the door and he picked me up. He said, "Oh, I'm sorry, I saw you out there, but I thought you were dead." He picked me up and took me to the surgery room. . .

Then three or four doctors got together and cleaned me up, took the pieces of glass out, and they decided to sew up my face. Then they warned me, "We don't have anesthetic and no special equipment." I told him just to leave me alone. But he said if I didn't let them do it, I would be sorry afterward—if I survived. So they started sewing my face with a very heavy needle. I was screaming all the time, asking them to kill me or please leave me alone.

Congressional Testimony, March 1982; Reprinted from Common Cause Newsletter, August 1982.

THE WEAPONS CHAIN

One of the myths of our system is that government alone defines and dictates our military "needs". In fact, many of our weapons systems exist solely because of pressures from a vast and sophisticated complex of business interests. This is the weapons chain.

It is difficult to control a sector of the economy that accounts for almost a third of the total budget. The only economic model this network of military contractors knows is corporate growth, and as our national economy is made increasingly dependent on this sector, arms production continues out of control. Indeed, more arms are produced each year than even the Pentagon's budget can buy, and so foreign markets are used to absorb the balance of production. Thus we continue to be the world's largest arms supplier.

But this is only a part of the picture. The scientists and administrators of the weapons design laboratories

may be on the government payroll, but they too work for big business. Many of them come from jobs at the various weapons contractors; others return from work at the labs to head these corporations. Additionally, there is a regular flow of technocrats from both the labs and the corporations into government positions in the Department of Defense and Department of Energy. The entire cycle of personnel ensures a uniformity of outlook and shared interests; interests which are also shared by local politicians who represent them and universities involved in their research and management.

The weapons chain affects us all, as the following map helps to demonstrate. Shown are some of the interests that are dependent on just one weapon—the Pershing II. If the Pershing II is cancelled, all of these corporations will be directly affected. Does this give a clearer idea why the arms race continues against our will?

WARHEADS—2000 PARTS OR BETTER

Teledyne McCormick: Hollister, CA
 GE: St. Petersburg, FL
 Bendix: Kansas City, MO
 Bulova Watch Co.: Woodside, NY
 Nuclear Research Assocs.: New Hyde Park, NY
 Monsanto: Mound, OH
 Sperry Rand: Bristol, TN

ASSEMBLY

Pantex, Amarillo, TX

TESTING

White Sands, CO
 Cape Canaveral: FL

DESIGN

Los Alamos National Laboratory, NM

ENGINEERING

TRW: Redondo Beach, CA
 Martin Marietta, Orlando, FL
 Goodyear Aerospace ARCO

NUCLEAR MATERIALS

Mined

Churchrock Dine Reservation:
 United Nuclear Co., NM
 Laguna Pueblo Reservation:
 Jackpile Mine/Anaconda Co., NM
 Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation: SD
 Black Hills Lakota Reservation: SD

Treated

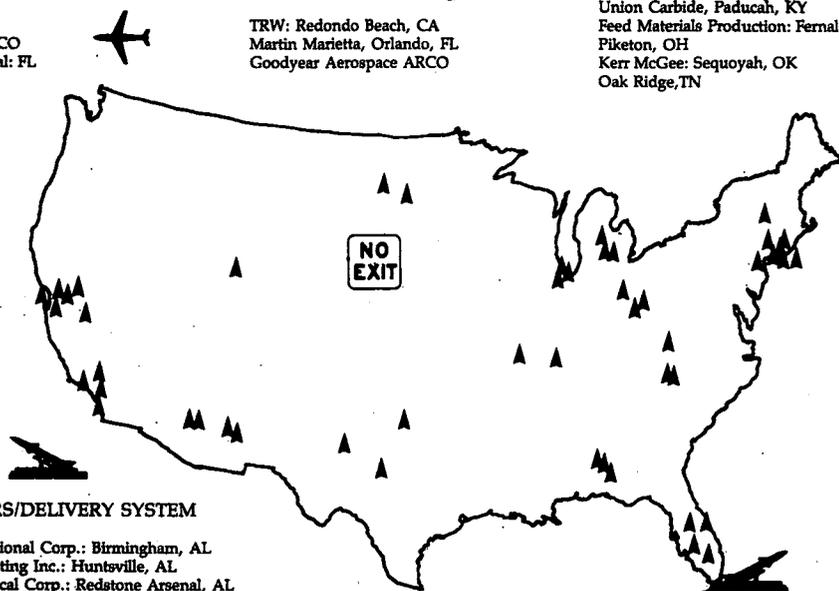
Allied Chemical Corp.: Metropolis, IL
 Union Carbide, Paducah, KY
 Feed Materials Production: Fernald, OH
 Piketon, OH
 Kerr McGee: Sequoyah, OK
 Oak Ridge, TN

LAUNCHERS/DELIVERY SYSTEM

Hayes International Corp.: Birmingham, AL
 M & S Computing Inc.: Huntsville, AL
 Thiokol Chemical Corp.: Redstone Arsenal, AL
 Garret Corp.: Phoenix, AZ
 Motorola: Scottsdale, AZ
 Air Logistics: Pasadena, CA
 Con. Electrodynamics: Pasadena, CA
 FMC: San Jose, CA
 Hitco: Gardena, CA
 IIT Corporation: San Francisco, CA
 Kaiser Aerospace: San Leandro, CA
 McCormick Selph Association: Hollister, CA
 Philco-Ford Corp.: Newport Beach, CA

Syston Donner Corp.: Concord, CA
 Condec Corp.: Old Greenwich, CT
 Radiation Inc.: Melbourne, FL
 Cook Electronic Co.: Skokie, IL
 Motorola: Chicago, IL
 Martin Marietta: Baltimore, MD
 Cadillac Gage Co.: Warren, MI
 Chrysler: Detroit, MI
 Ford: Dearborn, MI

Universal Match Co.: St. Louis, MO
 Bendix Corp.: Eatontown and Teterboro, NJ
 Aerodyne Controls Corp.: Farmingdale, NY
 Maxson Electronics Corp.: Great River, NY
 Oregon Metallurgical: Albany, NY
 Sperry Rand Corp.: Long Island, NY
 Intercontinental Manufacturing: Garland, TX



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TESTING



by Amy Bomse

Every three and a half weeks, a nuclear bomb is detonated at the Nevada Test Site. This has been going on for over thirty years and almost six hundred explosions. Because of nuclear test fallout, every living being on earth carries an extra burden of radiation. Those who live near testing areas have suffered more striking effects.

PLUTONIUM IN THE PACIFIC

The Marshall Islands are a "trust territory" of the United States. Various islands in the archipelago were used for atmospheric nuclear tests in the 50s. One such island was Rongelap. When an H-bomb called "Bravo" was exploded nearby, the 86 residents of Rongelap were showered by fallout. The test resulted in the deaths of 18 children from thyroid cancer and leukemia. Islander John Anjain recalls:

"A few hours later, the radioactive fallout began to drop on the people, the drinking water, and on the food. The children played in the colorful ash-like powder."

Almira Matayoshi was 18 when the test occurred. Over the next years, she lost four babies at birth. One was born without arms or legs. She said, "The people who are testing don't care about people on Rongelap and did not care then. I will not forget what happened to the people of Rongelap."

ANIMALS DOWNWIND

Watch the animals. What happens to them will be happening to people soon enough.

-Helen Caldicott

One morning in the mid-50s, Ken Bulloch was out grazing his sheep when a plane passed overhead and dropped a bomb several miles away. The fallout spread over him, his sheep, and the grass. Within hours, the sheep began dropping dead.

In Utah, directly downwind from the Nevada Test Site, there is a rural area with many sheep farms. When the testing began, shepherds noticed that the sheep began to die at an inexplicable rate and that about 85% of the lambs were either stillborn or deformed at birth.

"The lambs were born with little legs, kind of pot-bellied. Some of them didn't have any wool," said Ken Bulloch. "We figured we lost between 1200 and 1500 sheep, close to half of our herd."

The Bullochs filed suit against the government for the loss of 1500 sheep. Unfortunately, they lost their lawsuit. However, the same judge who ruled against

them 25 years ago recently re-opened the case because of new evidence that the government withheld critical information about the effects of radiation on livestock. This may set a precedent for other lawsuits on testing. It should also make the public aware of the effects of nuclear testing and the government's disgraceful record of lies and suppressed information concerning them.

DOWNWIND PEOPLE

People are no more immune to fallout than animals are. A study shows that children who grew up in southern Utah during the '50s are over three times as susceptible to leukemia as the average person. During 1959, for instance, Sheldon Nisson, aged 13, and another girl, aged 9, who lived just up the street from Sheldon, both died of leukemia within four months of each other. Under normal circumstances, the odds against such an occurrence are several thousand to one.

The latest development involving the downwind victims is a lawsuit that went to court on September 14, 1982.

But the response from Washington hasn't changed much in thirty years. A Nevada Senator says that the fears of the downwinders are "communist-inspired scare stories."

TEST-SITE WORKERS

Another set of people horribly affected by nuclear tests are the test-site workers. Most of them, like the other victims, have been lied to about health and safety. On December 18, 1970, the tragic underground test "Banberry" occurred, releasing 2000 curies of radiation into the air. The workers were evacuated, but not before Harley Roberts and William Nunamaker were fatally poisoned. Soon afterwards, both men died of leukemia. The widows of Roberts and Nunamaker, test victims themselves, took the government to court. In June of 1982, a Las Vegas judge ruled that the government had been negligent and was responsible for the deaths of the two test workers.

Perhaps the most ominous threat posed by nuclear testing is the effect on infants and fetuses. Dr. Ernest Sternglass, of the University of Pittsburgh, has estimated that up to one million babies have died, been miscarried, or not been born alive world-wide from the effects of radioactive fallout. In view of the fact that everyone has received some amount of radiation due to testing, this is obviously cause for alarm. We may not need a nuclear war to destroy ourselves. Every human being begins as a tiny infant, with miniature glands, extremely sensitive to radiation. Whether or not grown-ups can live with radiation, if babies cannot survive, then the chain of reproduction will shatter and the human race will cease to exist. These are the appalling but possible consequences of man-made radiation. ♠

HISTORY OF TESTING

In the 1950s people began to realize that the government was lying about the safety of nuclear testing. The first to come to this realization were scientists in the field. One such scientist was Linus Pauling, who drafted "An Appeal By American Scientists to the Governments and People of the World," which urged that all testing be halted immediately. Within two weeks, the signatures of 2000 American scientists were collected. A few days later Pauling told a reporter, "I would like to see signatures of scientists from all countries of the world to this appeal." The response: 11,021 signatures from 50 nations. In 1957 the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy enlisted 25,000 members in opposition to testing. There were also small sit-ins at missile bases and refusals to participate in air-raid drills. This pressure resulted in the testing moratorium of 1959-1961 and eventually the Limited Test Ban Treaty (LTBT) of 1963.

After the signing of the LTBT, the testers burrowed underground and continued to poison our air. Unfortunately, people assume that the dangers have disappeared. This is absolutely untrue, despite the fact that the government wants very much for people to believe it. Even conservative government estimates now admit to 35 underground tests at the Nevada site that have leaked radioactivity into the atmosphere.

Aside from the health dangers, testing also enables the government to perfect their deadly first-strike weapons, drawing us closer to an all-out nuclear confrontation. Obviously the only solution is a complete ban on testing. Yet last July, President Reagan put an end to negotiation of a comprehensive test ban treaty. In addition, some high-up officials in his administration have been hinting that they might "see (it) necessary" to break the threshold treaty, which set a limit of 150 kilotons per test. The threshold treaty, while never ratified by Congress, has been followed since 1974 by both the U. S. and Russia. In congressional hearings, Edward Teller, of Lawrence Livermore Labs, has said that any test ban will "give away the security of this country."

But what kind of security kills the people it is supposed to protect? And what kind of security has testing provided to the people of the Marshall Islands? Or to the downwinders? Or to the test site workers? Or to unborn babies? Or to the human race? None. Once the suffering of the victims is confronted, every argument against a test ban becomes irrelevant.

DESIGN CENTERS U.S.A.

by Patrick Diehl and Craig Simpson

At the head of the US nuclear weapons production chain stand three laboratories:

- 1) Los Alamos National Laboratory (LANL) at Los Alamos, New Mexico (est. 1943);
- 2) Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (LLNL) at Livermore, California (est. 1952);
- 3) Sandia National Laboratories at Kirtland Air Force Base, Albuquerque, New Mexico (est. 1945).

Under the nominal management of the University of California, LANL and LLNL have designed all the nuclear weapons systems in the US arsenal; Sandia, a subsidiary of Western Electric, has been responsible for the non-nuclear components in the nuclear devices conceived at LLNL and LANL. Together, the three laboratories provide the blueprints, and the rest of the weapons chain (see pg. 60) executes them. The laboratories also exercise testing and oversight functions—Sandia, for instance, maintains offices at most of the nuclear weapons facilities in the USA. Their present budgets, disbursed by the Department of Energy, are in the vicinity of half a billion dollars apiece.

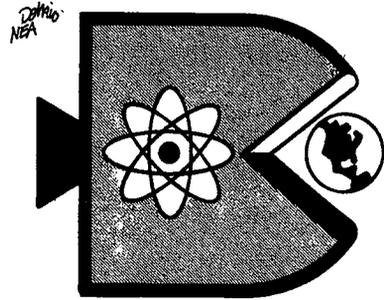
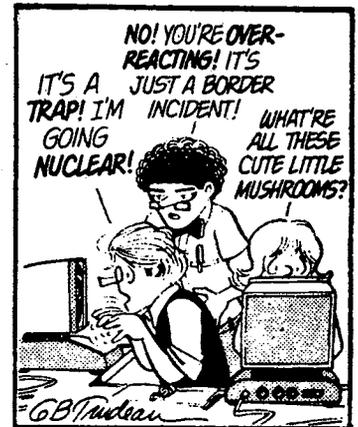
In theory, the weapons laboratories take orders from their superiors in Washington. In reality, they lobby actively for new weapons concepts and against any international agreements that might endanger their survival and growth. Labs representatives helped thwart efforts for a comprehensive test ban treaty in the early '60s and again in the late '70s; labs' representatives moved heaven and earth to win acceptance of the neutron bomb; labs representatives worked against the Freeze Initiative in California this past year.

At present, the labs are pushing forward on several fronts: first strike weapons, battlefield nuclear devices, and orbital anti-ballistic-missile systems (which would violate both the Anti-Ballistic-Missile and the Outer Space Treaties) among them. They bear much of the responsibility for lowering the nuclear threshold (see glossary) and hence for the loose talk in high circles about limited nuclear war, protracted nuclear war, winnable nuclear war, and other fantasies of that ilk. Indeed, it is these people, and their counterparts in England, France, or the Soviet Union, who far more than the politicians have been the driving force behind the quantitative and qualitative escalation of the arms race. Shut the weapons laboratories down, or convert them to peaceful purposes, and the arms race will be running on empty.



THE MOST DANGEROUS GAME

DOONESBURY /



Nuke-Man



In the Pentagon war games the 'blues' frequently fight the 'reds'. Sometimes. . . you have a scenario where the 'blues' aren't doing very well... and the 'blue team' has to convince the other side they're serious. So the 'blue side' decides, "We'll drop a single nuclear weapon on the other tank group or something." Then the 'red team' responds in kind, and before long, the fighting escalates. . . There was usually nobody left when we got through.

Herbert Scoville, Director,
Arms Control Association

At times it seems people are so anesthetized that almost nothing shocks them. The vision of scientists and Pentagon officials playing war games that involve nuclear weapons should shock us. Games often bridge the gap between fantasy and reality. War games are especially dangerous because they have the potential of bridging the gap between peace and war.

JANUS is the most dangerous war game. It is more complex than any previous war game. JANUS is the most sophisticated two-sided interactive combat-simulation computer program for modeling an integrated battle field. An integrated battle field is one in which nuclear weapons are integrated into conventional weaponry. JANUS teaches its players how to engage in limited nuclear wars. The Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, creator of JANUS, reports:

"Our development of JANUS has attracted wide interest from both the Army and the Air Force. The Army Training and Doctrine Command recently assigned two officers permanently to participate in further development. The potential applications range from officer training to evaluation of the war plans of forces stationed in Europe."

In ancient Rome, the gates of Janus' temple were opened for war and closed in times of peace. If, as many experts agree, a "limited" nuclear war will very likely not remain limited, the game JANUS could very well be opening the door to our destruction.



THE CORPORATE LINK:

by Joel S. Yudken
Director of Programs
Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project (R6)

We are in the midst of the largest peacetime military buildup in US history. A storm of protest has been stimulated, from anti-nuclear activists concerned about the increased dangers of a nuclear war, to Wall Street financiers concerned about the dangers of huge Federal deficits.

Although the scale of this Reagan endeavor is very significant in itself, it is merely an acceleration of a 35-year-old trend and process. Before World War II, American military spending was very low. The rapid military industrial build-up during the war, under a centralized war production board, signalled not only the end of the economic depression, it radically altered the nature of the relationships between military power, industry and science.

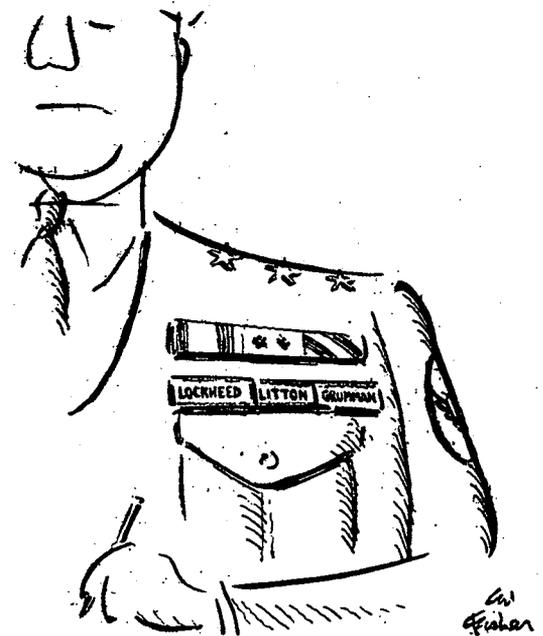
The end of WW II brought a new post-war conception of American world leadership based on a strong economy, military production and military superiority, and led to a significant rise in defense procurements. By 1954, the institutional relationships between the Pentagon, industry and Congressional representatives, known as the Military-Industrial Complex, had become firmly entrenched.

Military contractors still have a unique relationship to the Federal government which not only regulates their industry, but also serves as their top customer. There is also a "revolving door" relationship in which individuals regularly move between corporate boards and government committees and offices. Moreover, since defense industry political action committees (PACs) are the largest of the Corporate PACs, these PACs are able to pull the string harder when they want a specific bill passed.

As a consequence, military-industrial interests continue to exert an inordinate influence over weapons system policies in the U.S. This has affected both the nature of weapons system technology and the size of military budgets. American weapons technology has become increasingly complicated, sophisticated, and costly; yet it is less reliable, and yields only marginal military advantages. There is much evidence to indicate that this trend is as much a product of the need to preserve the military-industrial structure as it is a response to rational military requirements.

Of perhaps even more far-reaching consequence is how this military-corporate dominance has been undermining, at an accelerating rate, the health of our economy in general and eroding our basic industrial capacity. The favored relationship of military contractors within the

NO
EXIT



government allows them to out-compete civilian industries for investment capital, scarce materials, components, and technical talent.

In fact, it is precisely these factors which have contributed to the accelerating decline of American industry in the past decade. Military production produces neither consumer goods or capital equipment that can produce other goods. Strictly speaking, they are not economic goods. Nevertheless, you must use up capital, material resources, components and labor to make them. Hence, when massive quantities of these valuable factors of production are absorbed into the military industrial sector, the civilian sector finds itself undercut.

To illustrate this point consider these facts:

- For every \$100 spent on new capital formation in the U.S. each year, another \$46 is spent on military production, comparable to \$3.70 for Japan, and \$14 for Germany, which are our leading industrial competition;
- It is estimated that 1/3-1/2 of all technical talent in the U.S. works on military related production. There is a serious shortage of technical talent in the U.S. The Reagan buildup will greatly exacerbate this problem.

These factors, along with inefficient management practices, contribute greatly to the spread of U.S. production incompetence. The U.S. has fallen behind in industries it once dominated, and its rates of productivity and innovation have been steadily declining, as has its ability to compete with countries such as Japan and Germany (which put most of their capital and technical talent into upgrading their civilian industries).

A CONVERSION STRATEGY

Every increase in the arms race puts pressure on an already suffering economy. Simultaneously, it increases the dependency of hundreds of thousands of workers, and thousands of communities, on the defense industry. On the other hand, a major reduction in the arms race is essential for our long-term economic recovery, but would cause, over the short-run, significant economic dislocation. It is vital, therefore, that the peace movement directly address the economic issues that are intimately linked to the arms race if we are to break through the "iron triangle" of government, industrial, and military interests.

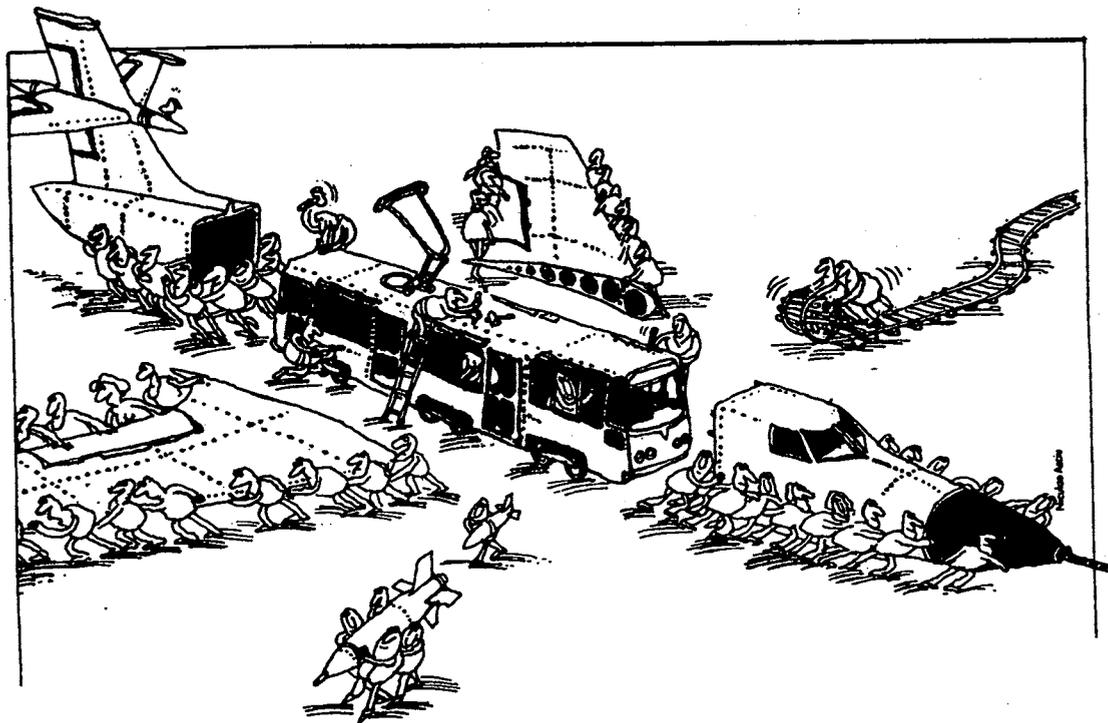
One means of addressing these economic issues is the Jobs With Peace (JWP) referendum which calls for large shifts of military tax dollars to social and economic programs. JWP campaigns around the U.S. chalked up over 50 cities and towns which approved this kind of measure, in the November 1982 elections, with an average 65% pro vote.

Another way is through the many conversion groups located in several parts of the country - California, Washington, Colorado, Missouri, Connecticut, Massachusetts and even Ontario, Canada. Most of these groups promote conversion of military plants and bases to socially useful production. This entails the involvement of workers from these facilities to plan alternative, socially useful, non-military products and services to replace the weapons work or military activities at these locations. Jobs and local economies would therefore be

preserved, and much needed goods and services would be produced, such as mass transit equipment, medical technologies, machine tools, alternative energy systems, etc.

This kind of planning is incorporated into the International Association of Machinists' (the union representing the largest number of defense workers) "Rebuilding America" plan, and national conversion legislation, most recently introduced into Congress by Representative Ted Weiss (D-NY). This bill includes provision for: prenotification of cutbacks or base closures; alternate use planning committees composed of management, workers and community representatives to develop plant level contingency plans; income and benefits maintenance for displaced workers; retraining assistance; and a Defense Economic Adjustment Council to coordinate the conversion-related programs nationally.

By tying conversion to cutbacks in weapons programs or a nuclear freeze, we will undercut the "jobs blackmail" which bolsters the position of advocates for increased military spending and new, dangerous and expensive weapons programs. We should especially target Congresspeople whose districts are most heavily defense dependent. Once they are free to vote on weapons programs strictly on national security criteria, rather than trying to save their constituencies, jobs and businesses, major cuts in the military budget would become at last politically feasible.



MILITARY RESEARCH ON CAMPUS

In the Vietnam era, students tried to force the makers of war off campuses. It didn't take long for them to find the back door and return.

Their profile is lower today. Institutes no longer flaunt their military sponsorship for all to see. The titles of research projects avoid mention of military applications. And where on-campus military research is still forbidden, professors do their military work off-campus, or consult in private behind the shield of academic freedom. But while appearances are saved, our universities and colleges are busy selling themselves, and the Pentagon is busy buying.

One fourth of all federal R & D (Research and Development) money spent on campus now comes from the Dept. of Defense (DOD), which threatens to outpace the National Science Foundation as a source of funds. By 1980, the figure had reached \$652 million. Campus labs get more money from the Pentagon than even the Pentagon's own labs receive. Military funding of university research grew by 70% between 1978 and 1981, competing with socially beneficial, civilian research, for laboratory space and scientists' time, and slowly creating a climate of secrecy in which free inquiry and free exchange of information become more and more difficult. (Nearly 200 Princeton employees, including the president and the provost, now hold federal security clearances). The sponsored projects involve not only hard technology relating to weapons systems, but social science research which could easily be used to manipulate and control dissent in the U.S.

How do scientists at colleges and universities deal with the moral issues of doing such work? In many cases, the DOD goes out of its way to prevent any qualms of conscience. One tactic is to disguise the work by dividing it up across a "multi-disciplinary, multi-investigator program" so that no single researcher can easily have an overview of its ultimate purpose. Or it can be deodorized through co-sponsorship by the National Science Foundation or the Dept. of Agriculture. Or laundered by routing through nominally non-military agencies like the Dept. of Energy or NASA. Due to government money, government marketing, and government cutbacks of non-military R & D, it is no wonder that faculty members are turning to military sources to keep their laboratories and their organized research units functioning. After all, from 1/3 to 1/2 of their engineering and science students will end up working for the defense industry. Should we be surprised that more and more of the teachers do too?

based on material provided by:
Nuke Watch (G11);
Steve Burkholder, *The Progressive* (P18), June, 1981

UNIVERSITIES ON THE TAKE FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

FY 1980

1. Johns Hopkins University	\$163,327,000
2. Mass. Institute of Technology	154,564,000
3. University of California (system)	29,679,000
4. Illinois Institute of Technology	26,319,000
5. Stanford University	18,068,000
6. University of Texas	15,772,000
7. University of Rochester	15,480,000
8. Georgia Tech. Research Institute	14,758,000
9. University of Dayton	13,859,000
10. Pennsylvania State University	12,226,000

Source: Department of Defense



If you want to investigate military research on your campus, you must first be prepared to spend a great deal of time. Sifting through contract records and correspondence, as well as interviewing individual professors, can take months, but it is worth the effort.

One place to begin is at your university's office of research administration. There you will find a report (often a computerized print-out) of all externally sponsored research contracts. Such a list, usually updated quarterly, itemizes contract sponsors (in the case of the Defense Dept., individual branches of the Armed Services), contract amounts, a timetable for completion of research, the name and department of the professor doing the work, and a short title of the research.

From there, using account numbers that are also included, go to the files of individual contracts. While these are generally financial files, they also should include the professor's original research proposal and correspondence with Pentagon scientists. Accompanying the names of such "scientific liaisons" or "project monitors" are the titles of their home lab or military base, which may reveal much about the potential uses of the research.

Some universities, such as Wisconsin, allow public access to individual contract files. Others, such as Michigan, insist that you utilize the Freedom of Information Act, a time-consuming and often frustrating method.

University research administration offices can also supply such useful information as travel vouchers of professors (an aid in investigating their consultations) and policies on classified research.

MILITARIZATION OF SPACE



EDWARD TELLER'S NUCLEAR BOMB POWERED X-RAY SPACE LASER AND OTHER HORRORS



by Jim Heaphy
Progressive Space Forum (R7)

Are space weapons for real? Just when many people are beginning to understand the nuclear arms race, the newspapers and magazines are full of articles about space lasers, anti-satellite weapons, and Soviet reactors falling from the sky. Some people have concluded that all of this space weapons talk is science fiction and basically a diversion to take people's attention away from the all too real threat of nuclear war. On the other hand, a lot of powerful people have become convinced that space-based ballistic missile defense is the "solution" to the arms race which will make nuclear weapons obsolete.

Consider this. A couple of months ago, Edward Teller, former Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory Director, visited Ronald Reagan at the White House in an attempt to convince the President to support his pet research project at Livermore Labs. Teller's friends at Livermore have developed a method of converting the power of a small nuclear explosion into an extremely intense x-ray laser beam, which, if deployed in space, could supposedly destroy Soviet ICBMs at a distance of thousands of miles. Project Dauphin, as it is called, has already been verified through at least two underground nuclear explosions at the Nevada Test Site, one of which was reported to be successful. The last time budget figures on this top secret project were leaked nearly two years ago, about \$20 million had been spent.

What would be the impact on the arms race of flying a few loads of these nuclear bomb lasers into orbit on board the space shuttle? Well, to start out, three important arms control treaties would be violated by this system to "prevent" nuclear war. The 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty does not permit any nuclear explosions in space. The 1967 Outer Space Treaty forbids launching nuclear weapons into orbit. And the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, which Caspar Weinberger and other Reagan Administration officials would like to repudiate, specifically bans the development, testing and deployment of space based ABM systems. Therefore, we've got the U.S. government spending millions of dollars on a weapons system which is illegal and destabilizing, and this is but a fraction of the tens of billions spent on space weapons. Where is the protest and the outrage?

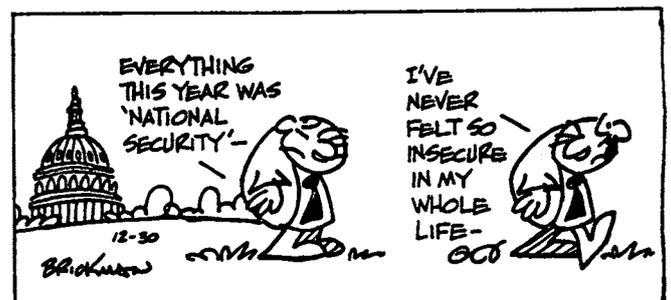
The Project Dauphin space laser project is only one of at least four approaches to space-based ballistic missile defense now receiving significant attention. Each tech-

nique has its bureaucratic supporters and detractors. Besides Teller's nuclear X-ray laser; the second is the long-wavelength chemical laser project; the third approach is the short-wavelength free electron laser; and the fourth approach is the High Frontier concept, with conventional intercept missiles with infrared homing guidance, launched from battle stations in space. Let's take a look at how anti-ballistic missile systems and military space technology fit into the overall strategic nuclear picture.

The first point is simple but often overlooked. If one superpower was on the brink of deploying an effective ABM defense, the other superpower could see a "first strike" use of nuclear weapons as a "rational" decision in a crisis before its opponent's defense was operational. At least it would be a fair fight. ABM systems destroy the deterrent effect of effective retaliation after attack, and subject the country which fails to win the ABM race to blood-curdling nuclear blackmail. There can be little doubt that the militarization and weaponization of space is a crucial element in the development of a first-strike capability.

The U.S. is now spending somewhere between \$8.5 billion and \$10 billion this year to militarize space. The Soviets are spending a similar amount, no doubt, although they have expressed more of a willingness than the U.S. to negotiate a space weapons ban. The Reagan Administration projects that its military space spending will grow at the rate of 10% per year for many years to come. It's not being spent on science fiction. On the contrary, the race to put weapons in space is an integral part of efforts by both the U.S. and the Soviet Union to modernize their forces to the point that the generals will see nuclear war as "winnable".

That concept, of course, is a horrifying delusion, but the possibility that the weaponization of space may be the trigger to nuclear devastation is all too real.



RADIATION

THE EFFECTS OF RADIATION

Oftentimes it is said by the "experts" that we need not fear radiation since we receive more from background sources than from nuclear power plants. It is true that 50% of the estimated exposure to radiation is from sources called cosmic or terrestrial – from the sun or minerals. It is also true that any radiation we receive is harmful and increased amounts increase the harm. A careful balance has evolved through the ages between natural background radiation and human cells. Exposure to radiation is part of the aging process of all living cells. Background radiation has always been present and has played an important role in the evolution of the species.

Originally it was thought that only high doses of radiation were harmful because the only research was on the high levels of radiation from the atomic bomb exposure in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. With more research and statistics about low-level exposure below "permissible" levels, it has been learned that with lower exposure, cells are damaged and can cause long term harm to the body. Whatever the initial damage may be from exposure to radiation, it adds up, is cumulative. Each time the body is exposed the damage carries on where it left off from the last exposure.

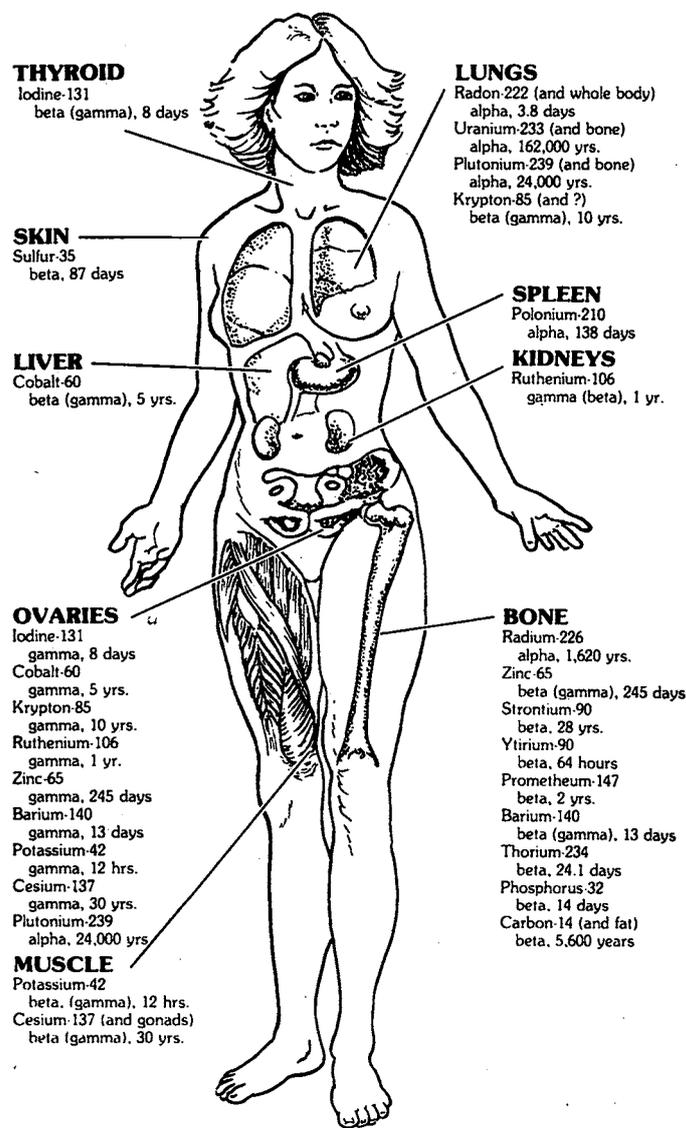
Of all parts of the cell, the nucleus is most affected by radiation. The nucleus houses genes which transmit inherited traits such as hair color and facial features. Exposing the genes of a cell in a reproductive organ can start a whole chain of mutations and deformities in future generations. Exposing another gene may signal the cell to divide uncontrollably, eventually producing cancer in anywhere from five to forty years. Or the exposure may kill the cell outright, and if enough cells are killed, death to the whole body or serious sickness will result. Exposure to radiation can also speed up the occurrence of diseases such as heart disease, arthritis and premature aging. In Hiroshima and Nagasaki, higher rates of suicide and violence occurred following the atomic blasts, and scientists attribute them to radiation exposure. The same kinds of suicide and violence rates have also been recorded with uranium miners in the Southwest where exposure to radiation has been the highest for any workers in the nuclear fuel cycle.

For women, who bear the fetus which is so highly sensitive to radiation, exposure to radiation is of particular significance. It is known that the most damaging period is between day 10 and day 41, or what is called organogenesis. As it is, 60% of the population has a den-

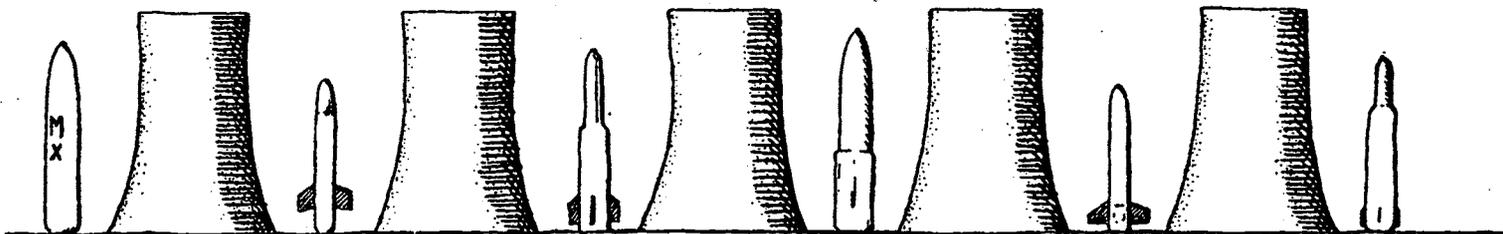
tal or medical X-ray each year. To have one during the 10 to 41 day period would be the most damaging. During the remainder of the 229 days of pregnancy, the risk to a fetus still remains high – 200 times greater than to a man in his fifties.

Even before a woman is pregnant, radiation can affect her future offspring. Since the eggs within the ovaries of a woman are formed at birth and do not change until she reaches menopause, exposure to radiation during that 40-50 year period can damage the eggs before fertilization.

—edited from *A Handbook for Women on the Nuclear Mentality*, Susan Koen and Nina Swaim, 1980. (R8)



The times listed next to the type of ray emitted are the half-lives.



A RADIATION PRIMER

It is important to be informed about radiation so that you are not intimidated by the "experts" serving the interests of industry and the military establishment. In order to challenge them, here are some basic facts about radiation.

Atoms of one element can change into atoms of another element by a process in which the nucleus of the atom is transformed, giving off radiation. An element can have both a radioactive and a nonradioactive form.

There are five main types of radiation:

Alpha—high energy particles that can do a great deal of damage to cells. Alpha particles can not penetrate skin. However, when a substance that gives off (emits) alpha rays is swallowed or inhaled, it can lodge in the body and do enormous damage to nearby living cells. Plutonium-239, the by-product of nuclear fission, is an alpha emitter.

Beta—less massive than alpha particles, but they travel faster. Beta particles can be stopped by a few feet of air, thin metal or thick cardboard, but they can penetrate into human tissue. Strontium 90 is a beta emitter; chemically identical to calcium it replaces calcium in the body and lodges there to do severe damage.

Gamma—comes from the nucleus of the atom. When they travel they can penetrate quickly through the body, damaging the cells on route.

X-ray—comes from the electron cloud surrounding the nucleus of the atom. Like gamma radiation, x-rays penetrate very quickly when they travel, and they can easily pass through the body, damaging the cells on route.

Neutrons—particles which can travel the farthest distances, passing through air, tissue, and metal. Their damage is the same as alpha particles. Also, neutrons can collide with nonradioactive elements to form radioactive ones. In this way the neutrons from a nuclear reactor or nuclear explosion contaminate surrounding materials. Most radiation badges worn by workers who are exposed to radiation do *not* include neutron exposure.

Radioactive substances are most often talked about in terms of their *half-life*. The half-life of a radioactive element is the length of time for half of the atoms present to

emit radiation, thereby transforming themselves into atoms of another element. This second element may itself be radioactive. To figure out how long a radioactive material must be stored, we need to know how many such transformations the material must go through until it reaches a "stable" or non-radioactive state. Without knowing the whole chain of decay for an element, the half-life of the initial element alone can be misleading. For example, radon-222 has a half-life of only 3.8 days, but it transforms itself into another radioactive element with a *much* longer half-life before it eventually reaches a stable state.

There are many ways of talking about the question "how much energy?". One way is in terms of the amount of radiation that a substance emits. However, a more relevant statement of how much is to describe its effects on matter. When radiation passes through matter it deposits energy. Different types of radiation differ dramatically in the manner in which they deposit their energy. The several terms used to define exposure dosage are *Roentgen*, *Rad*, and *Rem*. Of these, the rem is the most accurate measure of the *biological effect* of radiation, because it takes into account an important fact about how living things are effected by radiation: the shorter the distance over which energy is deposited by radiation in living tissue, the more damage is done to the tissue. Consequently, alpha particles are potentially the most damaging and gamma rays the least, but it is important to understand how this works. A source of gamma rays *outside* the body can result in an exposure of dangerous amounts of rems, whereas an alpha source cannot because the alpha particle is stopped before it gets inside living cells. However, if an alpha emitter manages to get *inside* the body it is *extremely* dangerous, very much more so than a gamma emitter would be. The current "maximum permissible lung burden" for plutonium is set at less than one millionth of an ounce!

—excerpted from an article by Michael Gold, "What you need to know about radiation", and from "A Handbook for Women" (R 8).

HIBAKUSHA* PERSPECTIVE

by Mitsuo Tomosawa

August 6 and 9, 1945. It seems like only a few years ago. The instantaneous death of more than 130,000 people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the devastation, the human misery, cries of help from the burning, the blank stares of the dying, peculiar odor of the burned body, and tens of thousands more dying from radiation sickness. . . These are the scenes that still haunt the survivors. The survivors do not wish anyone in the world to experience it. Our fervent wish is for peace throughout the world. At least no more nuclear holocaust!

Many people have finally begun to realize the awesome power of nuclear weapons and to do something about it. In this effort, we have succeeded in some ways, and failed in others. We must continue to educate people around us to the tremendous danger of nuclear war.

The Apostle Paul said, "But, now abide faith, hope, love, these three; but the greatest of these is love." Love conquers all. The nuclear freeze and peace movement must be based on love for one another, including all Russians. If not, the movement will not endure the long and difficult years ahead. To express and cultivate love, what can we do?

One way to begin is to help those atomic bomb survivors who are still suffering from physical, mental, and emotional illnesses. There are about 1,000 survivors in the U.S. Of these, close to 500 are severely ill, and they continue to die mainly from cancer. Their cancer rate is many times greater than those of the general population. They have suffered for 37 years and many of them have used up their financial resources and lost their health insurance coverage when the insurance company cancelled their coverage because they are the survivors. They live in constant anxiety and fear for they do not know

what will happen to them and their children next and how and where they can get medical treatment. They have been trying for 8 years to obtain a program of medical treatment from the government to no avail. There is nothing more traumatic to the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki than to realize that very few people care for them.

We can use this government support, the obtaining of medical treatment, as an avenue to express our love to the victims of nuclear bombings. This action would hopefully become a catalyst to cultivate love for other victims of wars and nuclear bomb testing, and at the same time, indicate to our government that it must be responsible for the care of all the victims of nuclear wars, nuclear accidents, and nuclear testings.

We, also, must now begin a concerted effort world-wide, beginning in the United States of America, directed to the Russian people and the Russian government to scale down the arms race. We must not only condemn our own government for accelerating the nuclear arms race, but we must also condemn the Russian government for their part in leading the world toward nuclear holocaust and the very probable prospect of human extinction.

I believe the following must also be done in order to achieve world peace or at least a world without the very real probability of nuclear holocaust and the end of human history:

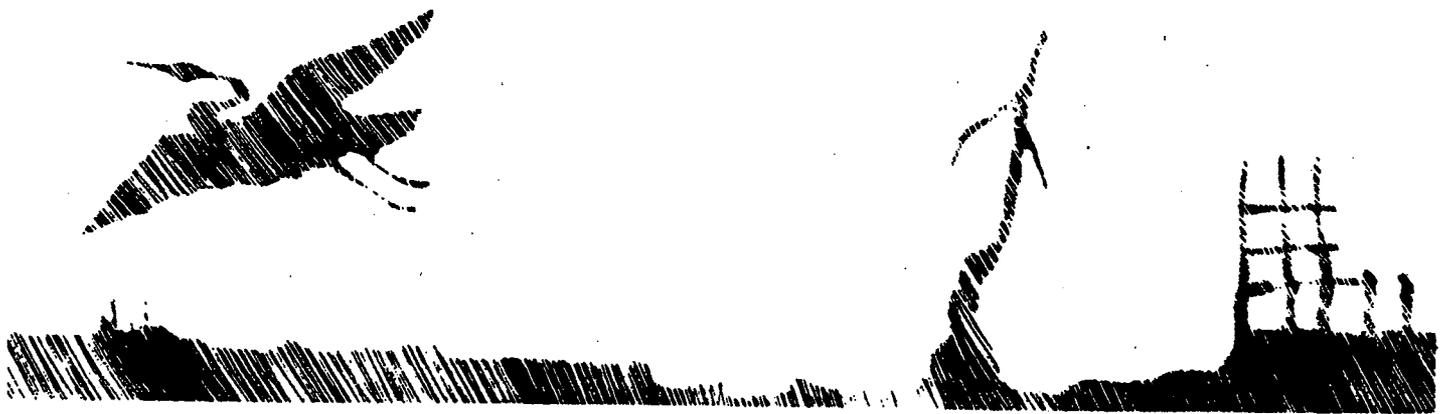
We must continue educating people about the real possibility of world-wide nuclear holocaust and human extinction.

We must form a national organization to effectively lobby Congress. They hold the key.

We must be active to the best of our ability. Some locally, some state-wide, some nationally, and some internationally. Divided our power may be small. But together we can be heard, we can be powerful, we can even move a mountain.

We are for peace. Peace without love is not possible. Therefore, we must carry out our task in a peaceful and democratic manner.

*Hibakusha is a Japanese word referring to atomic bomb survivors.



PSYCHIC NUMBING



by Marianna Jensen

Numbing ourselves in order not to feel emotional, physical or spiritual pain is something we are all familiar with, something we accept as part of life: we lose ourselves in entertainment, in front of t.v.; we drink, get stoned, or take tranquilizers and painkillers. We call it "trying to relax". We try not to think about distressing things, and get uncomfortable if anybody brings up depressing or upsetting issues such as our own mortality or the world economy. We have, with the threat of nuclear holocaust and the possibility of our extinction as a species, stepped into the "age of numbing".

My own first encounter with the terror of facing the possibility of death occurred during the Cuban Missile Crisis. I was 14 years old. Everyone at my school in Denmark was following the "Cold War". We remembered Hiroshima. I became almost sick with fear. Later, conflicts between the U.S. and the USSR over various issues in smaller countries caused reactions of fear, but to a lesser and lesser degree with time. Now I don't react any more. I have been frightened so many times – I am still alive – I don't know what to think any more.

We live in a time which is very confusing and unsettling. Presently, we are subject to the second major economic depression in this century. The threat of unemployment is a reality for all of us regardless of sex, race or educational level. Government spending is channeled towards military build-up rather than social services: We have many reasons to be afraid. How are those in power going to improve the economy this time? Through a war economy, which has been so successful in the past? Through nuclear holocaust?

Our current social situation contains all the ingredients which generally create chronic tension, anxiety, depression, stress, alienation, anger and despair. However, we have become psychologically detached in order to continue our everyday activities as if everything was "normal". We no longer trust our own perceptions and interpretations of reality because if we do, we experience all those feelings – and are labelled "crazy" or "overemotional". We get discounted and may even get locked up!

This culturally accepted psychological defense, which generally is meant to help us survive threatening situations, is extremely dangerous at this time; it prevents us from dealing with the prospect of nuclear war and nuclear energy realistically and head on. Although we do possess the factual data regarding war and radiation, denial, apathy or frantic activities keep us from objectively examining the material conditions underlying the threat to our very survival.

Not only do we defend ourselves from our feelings, we have also lost our ability to envision a more humane society. Competition rather than cooperation has become the predominant mode of interaction. We are taught very young that cooperation and equality are humanly impossible, and result instead in the loss of our individuality and creativity. Therefore, we don't believe that cooperative conflict resolution actually works; the concept of two winners and *no* loser is unknown to us. We are not accustomed to being honest. We are discouraged from speaking and examining the truth and from sharing power in a responsible way. We have learned to become adversaries and to ultimately use violence to solve conflict.

Joanna Macy started the idea of "despair work" as a way to deal with psychic numbing. She has found that "positive thinking" doesn't work. She believes that deep despair with our current situation underlies psychic numbing. As in working through grief, we must acknowledge and let ourselves live through our feelings of despair. We must help each other recognize that there *are real reasons* for feeling the way we feel. We must support each other in experiencing those feelings. We have to stop accepting that people who have strong feelings and express them are crazy or overemotional. *It is we* who live a life of emotional and sensory impoverishment.

For us to be able to give this nurturing support to each other, we must begin to examine how our own dishonesty and competitiveness keep us fearful and isolated, unable to fully utilize our collective skills and resources. We also need to take a long, serious and in-depth look at the economic, political and ideological foundation of the conflict between East and West. What exactly is it *we all* may end up dying for?

To begin the process of breaking through your own psychic numbing, to create awareness without illusions, ask yourself:

- 1) How do I feel powerful (what do I do)?
- 2) Where and when do I feel powerless?
- 3) Do I have permission to feel/express my feelings when they differ from those around me?
- 4) Do I respect and value the feelings of other people when they differ from mine?
- 5) How much psychic space does each member in my group take up? Is that OK with me?
- 6) What can I do differently to listen to my feelings and act accordingly?
- 7) How do I visualize my life being different if I was not numb to feelings?
- 8) How am I part of the whole?
- 9) Which feelings do we all have in common?

You need to get together with other people and ask these questions. Doing it alone will only continue the isolation and sense of separateness. We cannot maintain the illusion if we share our realities.

MEDICAL EFFECTS OF NUCLEAR WAR



by Helen Caldicott
Physicians for Social Responsibility

Let me describe what a nuclear war would mean medically and tell you how long it will take. A bilateral nuclear exchange between the superpowers will take about half an hour to complete. We either live together or we die together within about an hour.

There are so many bombs, there are probably 60 targeted in New York City alone. The San Francisco quota is about 35 or 45. Let's describe *one*, a 20-megaton bomb dropping on San Francisco. It is 1,400 times bigger than the ones dropped in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It would gouge out a crater a half mile wide and 300 feet deep so everything in that volume would be instantly converted to radioactive fallout. Up to a radius of 6 miles from the center, every person would be vaporized, turned into gas. Most buildings would be vaporized. Concrete and steel would burn. Out to a radius of 20 miles, most people would be killed or lethally injured.

When I talk about lethal injuries, I talk about massive, massive burns. You should know there are only 2,000 acute-burn beds in the whole United States of America. One severe burn requires hundreds of units of fresh frozen plasma, hundreds of units of blood, and up to a hundred operations three days apart with the most intensive nursing care and hundreds of thousands of dollars.

The injuries will be lacerations; there will be decapitations, traumatic organ injuries, etc., because there will be millions of shards of flying glass and objects hurled against people, and people hurled against objects. If you are looking at the blast, just looking, glancing from 40 miles away, you'd be instantly blinded as the flash which is so bright burns the retina (back of the eye).

A fire storm would spontaneously ignite; everything would burn in an area of about 3000 square miles. If you were in a shelter, you wouldn't survive because the fire uses up oxygen and you'd asphyxiate.

Let me describe the possibility of people surviving in a rural area which is untargeted. You have to be awake. You must not be asleep. You have to be listening to the radio or watching the TV and hear the WOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOH. This is the emergency signal. You have a quarter of an hour to run to your nearest shelter.

You probably won't have time to collect your children with you or your friends or those people you love. Medically, you can't emerge for two weeks, because the short-lived isotopes in the fallout are so intense you'd die. It may even be six weeks or eight weeks before you can come out. When you come out the world will be different.

There will be no people to come and help you because they will all be dead. There will be no hospitals left. Most of them are targeted. Hardly any doctors will be around to help, and they'll be injured. There will be *millions of corpses*, and as they decay, the bacteria will multiply and mutate in the radioactive environment to become more lethal. Our immune mechanisms which fight infection, the white blood cells, are depleted by radiation.

All the diseases we now clinically control—polio, typhoid, plague—will be epidemic in proportion to the survivors. It is estimated by the National Academy of Sciences that if the superpowers use only 10% of the stockpiles of nuclear weapons—only 10%—it could destroy 80% of the ozone layer in the northern hemisphere and 30-40% in the southern hemisphere. Some scientists think that if only 20% is destroyed worldwide, it could blind every organism on earth by ultraviolet radiation penetrating the atmosphere. That's the death of the ecosphere. There will be no bees to pollinate the crops, no birds, nothing. *That's a very small limited nuclear war—10%.*

We think in a *full-scale war* so much ozone will be destroyed that if you stay in the sun for fifteen minutes, you'll probably get third-degree sunburn, which is lethal. You'll be blinded. You'll have to live underground for a long time until the ozone reaccumulates—maybe ten years.

There will be no drugs to help the dying people, except that last year the Boston Globe reported that former President Carter was stockpiling huge quantities of opium in case of nuclear war. If any doctors were alive, and if we had some syringes, and if any of us knew where they were, we would only use them for euthanasia. Nikita Krushchev said, "In the event of a nuclear war, the living will envy the dead." We predict that within thirty days after an exchange. . . 90% of Americans will be dead. So will Canadians, probably Mexicans, certainly Russians, certainly Europeans—the British, and probably the Chinese.

We do not know what will happen to the people in the southern hemisphere, but because there will be hundreds of thousands or millions of tons of dirt in the upper stratosphere, the climatic conditions will change and make the earth much colder. Also, the radiation will get through from the sun and scorch the crops. The crops may mutate. Certainly, if all the bombs were used, within weeks there would be lethal fallout for *every* human being on Earth.

—edited from a speech in San Francisco; used with permission.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS: ILLEGAL BY LAW

Nuclear weapons are illegal under international law, United States treaties, and the Nuremberg Principles. Currently applicable international treaties prohibiting the planning, development and use of aggressive weapons date back to the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907. UN General Assembly Resolution 1653, passed on November 24, 1961, states:

The General Assembly, recalling that the use of weapons of mass destruction, causing unnecessary human suffering, was in the past prohibited, as being contrary to the laws of humanity and to the principles of international law, declares that:

- (a) *The use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons is contrary to the spirit, letter and aims of the United Nations and, as such, a direct violation of the Charter of the United Nations;*
- (b) *The use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons would exceed even the scope of war and cause indiscriminate suffering and destruction to mankind and civilization and, as such, is contrary to the rules of international law and to the laws of humanity;*
- (c) *The use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons is a war directed not against an enemy or enemies alone but also against mankind in general, since peoples of the world not involved in such war will be subjected to all the evils generated by the use of such weapons;*
- (d) *Any state using nuclear or thermo-nuclear weapons is to be considered as violating the Charter of the United Nations, as acting contrary to the laws of humanity and as committing crimes against humanity and civilization.*

The United Nations Charter has the status of international law. It forbids deployment of first strike nuclear weapons, in stating:

All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.

The United Nations has repeatedly called on the nuclear states, and particularly the two superpowers, to reduce arms spending and to disengage from arms competition. The United States and the U.S.S.R., in the Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968, have also agreed to de-escalate the arms race.

Nuclear weapons systems are in violation of United States law because Congress has not by statute defined these systems to be exceptions to the United States' commitment to its treaties and international law. Under U.S. law, "treaties will not be deemed to have been abrogated or modified by later statutes unless such purpose on the part of Congress has been clearly expressed."

—from testimony by the Pacific Life Community, (R9)

THE NUREMBERG PRINCIPLES

On August 8, 1945, two days after the U.S. destroyed Hiroshima with an atomic bomb, the Allied Powers signed an agreement which "established an International Military Tribunal for the just and prompt punishment of the major war criminals of the European Axis." And so, at Nuremberg in 1945, an historic trial of the surviving Nazi political leaders was held. At the time, there was widespread recognition that, however imperfect, the Nuremberg attempt was a step forward. For the first time, leaders of modern sovereign states were held in a formal way accountable for their violations of international criminal law. In a broader sense, the idea at Nuremberg was that every person, no matter what his or her position in society, has a moral responsibility and potential legal obligation to expose and resist the crimes of the state or other organization of power.

The results at Nuremberg were accepted and understood at the time as general principles *binding on the future*. The basis and outcome at Nuremberg was unanimously endorsed by the members of the United Nations in 1946. At the instruction of the General Assembly, the Nuremberg Principles were drawn up by the International Law Commission as an official document obligatory for all UN members. While political leaders seldom acknowledge these principles, there are many other people around the world who, out of concern and hope, are taking the Nuremberg obligation seriously these days.

—adapted from an article by Richard Falk



NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AND NUCLEAR TERRORISM

by Patrick Diehl

I

Each of the Parties to this Treaty undertakes to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date and to nuclear disarmament, and on a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

Non-Proliferation Treaty, Article VI (1968)

Fourteen years have passed since the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons was opened for signatures in 1968, and Article VI remains an empty promise. The superpowers have done nothing to halt the nuclear arms race, and everything to sustain, even to accelerate it. Meanwhile, every one of the 55 nations involved in purchasing and operating nuclear reactors also acquires the potential for building nuclear weapons. An average reactor, whether for power production or research, produces enough plutonium as a byproduct to build a dozen bombs a year. Three countries—India, Israel, South Africa—have bombs ready in their desk drawers or could assemble them very quickly, perhaps within a matter of hours. An additional 20 or so nations could have nuclear capability within two years, if they decided to seek it; as many as 40 could achieve it by the year 2000.

It is apparent to everyone that the actual or potential spread of nuclear weapons is a grave threat to the human race and to the planet. Yet all efforts to check this spread have so far failed. Why?

- 1) Serious efforts at non-proliferation would harm the international nuclear power industry.
- 2) Competitors in the nuclear power industry such as France and West Germany are suspicious of the motives behind U.S. efforts to enforce non-proliferation; i.e., they think the U.S. may be seeking a nuclear monopoly.
- 3) Economically devastated by high oil prices, Third World nations pursue the false hope of energy independence through nuclear technology, especially through breeder reactors. This desire converges with the desires of the nuclear power industry.
- 4) Third World nations reject the international order which the superpowers attempt to perpetuate. The superpowers offer guarantees of protection; Third World nations would prefer to see the need for protection eliminated.

- 5) Nuclear proliferation is rationalized by the notion that local rivalries might actually be stabilized by a nuclear stand-off between the countries involved. In this way, the other nations of the earth can follow the fine example set by the U.S. and USSR, whose use of nuclear weapons thus far has hardly been stable.
- 6) The superpowers have failed to move toward nuclear disarmament. Some twenty nations continue to refuse to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty, claiming that the vertical proliferation of the arms race between the superpowers must stop before non-nuclear nations can agree to give up horizontal proliferation. Safeguards and export controls affecting nuclear fuels and nuclear enrichment and reprocessing technologies can make building a bomb more difficult for a country, but cannot ultimately prevent it. Until the superpowers face up to the need for political rather than technical measures, the world will remain poised on the brink of a sudden and disastrous bloom of nuclear weapons extending into its remotest parts.

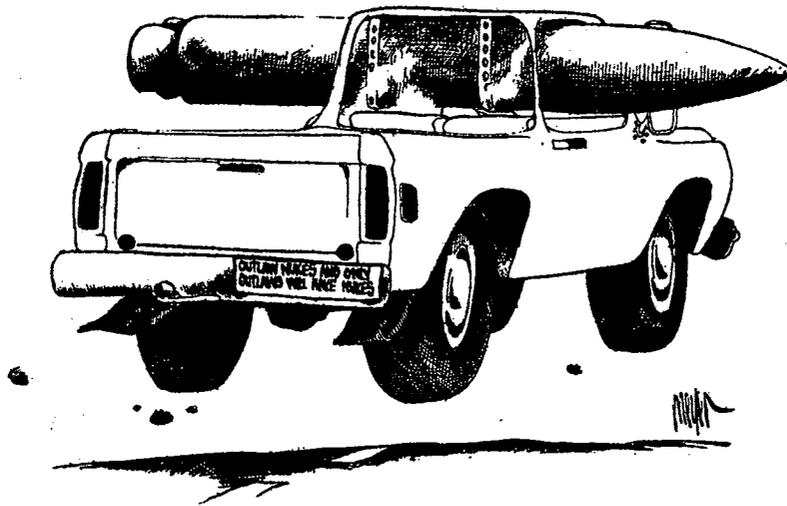


II

Nuclear proliferation, the failure of nuclear arms control, and the likelihood of nuclear terrorism are intimately related. Proliferation creates the source of supply for would-be terrorists. The failure to make any real effort to eliminate nuclear weapons creates the moral climate in which nuclear terrorism is thinkable, even plausible.

In the modern nuclear state, terrorists have several nasty possibilities to choose among:

- 1) They can steal weapons-grade material and make their own nuclear device. A crude one-kiloton bomb is relatively easy to build. Even easier is what is called a dispersal device, which serves to spread plutonium or other radioactive contaminants over whatever area the terrorist chooses. One-tenth of a kiloton could obliterate the Capitol building; one-hundredth could exterminate all the spectators at an event like the Super Bowl. Even though thermonuclear weapons are technically too demanding for terrorist groups to build, they can still aspire to yields as high as 10 kilotons—enough to destroy a small city. A dispersal device could not only condemn great numbers of people to an immediate (and agonizing) or delayed (and agonizing) death, it would render the contaminated zone uninhabitable for months, years, even centuries or millennia.



- 2) Terrorists can steal a nuclear weapon already assembled. Recent counter-measures technology makes stolen nuclear weapons difficult or impossible for the unsophisticated to explode, but such countermeasures are not likely to be taken by poorer countries in the Third World who could acquire the bomb in the course of the next decade or two. Theft itself remains entirely feasible. As a USAF officer stationed in Turkey said concerning a NATO nuclear facility there, "Any force of heavily armed terrorists could conceivably mount a successful attack to steal one of the weapons."
- 3) Terrorists could sabotage a reactor. The terrible consequences of a breach in the reactor containment vessel and a reactor meltdown received ample publicity in the wake of the Three Mile Island "incident." Worse would be the explosion of a nuclear device on the reactor site which would disperse the particularly virulent radioisotopes which are routinely stored next to power reactors. Terrorists could also remove a portion of these wastes for use elsewhere in a dispersal device, though they are so deadly that handling them would very likely be fatal in the absence of sophisticated technical means. As for reactor security, it is far poorer than that of military bases. An NRC official is quoted as saying, "several people with high explosives who really know how to use it can probably go through a nuclear facility like butter." Explosives may not be necessary, however. Over 8000 pounds of radioactive materials have gone astray since 1945; some of them were "lost" by corporations with suspiciously close ties to foreign governments. Through the politically sympathetic, or through cold cash, terrorists might easily acquire the materials they need.

Cutting off the source of supply would be the best way to stop nuclear terrorism. The alternative? Pre-emptive actions against groups suspected of planning acts of nuclear terrorism. Multinational intelligence agencies. Infiltration, counterterrorism, assassination, deliberate provocation, raids, all perhaps escalating into civil wars of extermination. In fact, something very like a world police state would arise, under the plea of simple necessity. And whatever political freedom we still have would be at an end.



III

Nuclear weapons are inherently terroristic. Whether their use is authorized or unauthorized makes no difference to the massacred victims. A three-year-old child dying in the hell of third-degree burns will not be comforted by the assurance that it was done by executive order. The only way to eliminate nuclear terrorism is to eliminate nuclear weapons. To threaten their use is terrorism; to use them, or equivalent means of attack (morally, Dresden and Hiroshima were equivalent atrocities), is terrorism. A world in which nations rely upon weapons of indiscriminate destruction for prestige and power will inevitably breed pathetic, unprofessional imitators dealing in kilotons or fractions of kilotons in the shadow of megaton-wielding giants. These imitators may be nation-states, or groups serving nation-states as proxies, or groups acting on their deadly own—they are all players in the same game. They fill out the gamut of abomination. And they must all be stopped.

FIRST STRIKE

by Julia Randall and Tamara Thompson

What is first-strike capability? It is the capacity to destroy a military opponent's nuclear missiles in their silos before they can be launched. First-strike missiles, such as the MX and Trident, are designed with pinpoint accuracy; each missile can deliver 10 to 14 nuclear warheads to within 100 yards of a target. Such extreme accuracy is unnecessary if the intended target is a city, because everyone within miles of the blast center would be killed outright by the bomb. Direct hits are only needed to destroy other missiles, lying deep in reinforced steel and concrete silos.

Increased accuracy is only one characteristic of these first-strike missiles; another important feature is their speed. The Pershing II missiles are the fastest that have been developed. These are scheduled to be deployed in Europe, close to the Soviet Union.

Cruise missiles, also considered potential first-strike weapons, are designed not for speed, but for invisibility. They are small enough to fit into a truck, therefore not easily verifiable. When launched, they can fly under radar to avoid detection. Although the time it would take them to reach a Soviet target from Europe is about 1½ hours, the missile could not be detected along its flight path.

First-strike capability and policy have recently been publicly declared part of U.S. military strategy. In actuality, however, the *policy* has been part of our military program for at least 20 years. In 1962, Defense Secretary Robert McNamara openly stated that the U.S. "principle military objectives in the event of a nuclear war stemming from a major attack on the alliance, should be the destruction of the enemy's military forces, not his (sic) civilian population."

This policy was accelerated under the Nixon administration, which argued that targeting military sites was more humane than targeting population centers. The U.S. forged this policy and continues to be the only government advocating the deployment of first-strike weapons and promoting first-strike policy. At this time, no other country has first-strike capability.

First-strike is not the same as first use. A first use nuclear weapon is one that initiates tactical nuclear war. The neutron bomb is a primary example of this type of weapon. It's designed to be used on the battlefield—to strike population centers, killing people with the minimum of property damage. Radiation from the blast is intense and short-term. These three factors allow troops using the weapon to advance and occupy "enemy territory" far more easily and with less radiation risk than with conventional weapons or other types of nuclear bombs.

First-strike also differs significantly from the policy of deterrence. Presently, the U.S. government claims to pursue a policy of deterrence, but this masks an actual program bent on developing first strike capability. In theory, a deterrent weapons system should be able to withstand a massive "enemy" strike with enough missiles intact to launch a devastating counter attack. Retaliation would be directed against population centers, with the intention of causing massive damage. This program of the U.S. and Soviet governments—mutually assured destruction, or MAD—was designed to deter each side from launching an initial attack. These strategic weapons are less accurate than the new weapons systems with first-strike design.

Ironically, developing first-strike weapons would not increase our national security, but diminish it. With their improved guidance systems and pinpoint accuracy, first-strike missiles would be key targets for any adversary, who must destroy the missiles in their silos **before** they are launched. The only successful attack, i.e., one which could knock out these missiles, would be a full-scale attack of equally accurate missiles, and many defense analysts claim that deploying first-strike weapons actually encourages attack by a nuclear opponent.

A EUROPEAN

by Monika Gretschnann
Freidensinitiative 'Neuss
West Germany

Klaus Kurtz
Bilker gegen Atomraketen
West Germany

Our country, the Federal Republic of Germany, is the country with the largest density of nuclear weapons in the world. Around 7,000 atomic warheads are stationed here. These weapons are sufficient to destroy the Federal Republic of Germany, and a large part of Europe, and turn these countries into a nuclear-contaminated area where no more life will exist.

With these first-strike weapons, the most important civilian and military centers of the Soviet Union can be reached in only five minutes. That would compare to the Soviet Union basing missiles in Cuba! Also part of the latest weapons plan is the fact that it is the U.S. Government, and not the West German Government, that decides the tactical employment of such weapons. Our government will at best be consulted.

The planned stationing of Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe has catalyzed an opposition movement. In our country alone, more than 3 million people have signed petitions against the stationing of the new weapons on European soil. During the last two

This policy is being actualized by both the U.S. and Soviet governments. The U.S. plans to deploy Pershing II missiles in West Germany late this year. These missiles, which could bomb Moscow six minutes after launch, are significantly faster than the Soviet SS-20s which would take about twenty minutes to reach their designated European targets. Further, the Pershing IIs, with nearly 100% accuracy against Soviet missile silos, allow minimum response time.

In reaction to U.S. plans, the Soviet government has stated it would be forced to place its SS-20s on a "launch-on-warning" system, rather than wait to launch a counterattack after being struck by U.S. missiles. Launch-on-warning is a computerized missile detection and launching system that functions automatically without human control. Once the computer detects a U.S. missile launch, it fires Soviet missiles. According to a U.S. Armed Services Committee report, between January, 1979, and June, 1980, there were 147 serious false alarms in the U.S. strategic warning system—about one every four days.

If the U.S. deploys the Pershing II or cruise missile in Europe, the Soviet Union will be placed in a situation similar to that of the U.S. in 1962 during the "Cuban Missile Crisis". At that time, the Soviet Union placed nuclear

missiles in Cuba, just 90 miles from the U.S. border. The threat, as construed by the U.S. government, was great enough to bring us to the brink of nuclear war. The Soviet Union eventually withdrew the missiles. Similarly, U.S. placement of first strike weapons in Europe would threaten the Soviet Union because of the proximity, their increased speed, accuracy and invisibility.

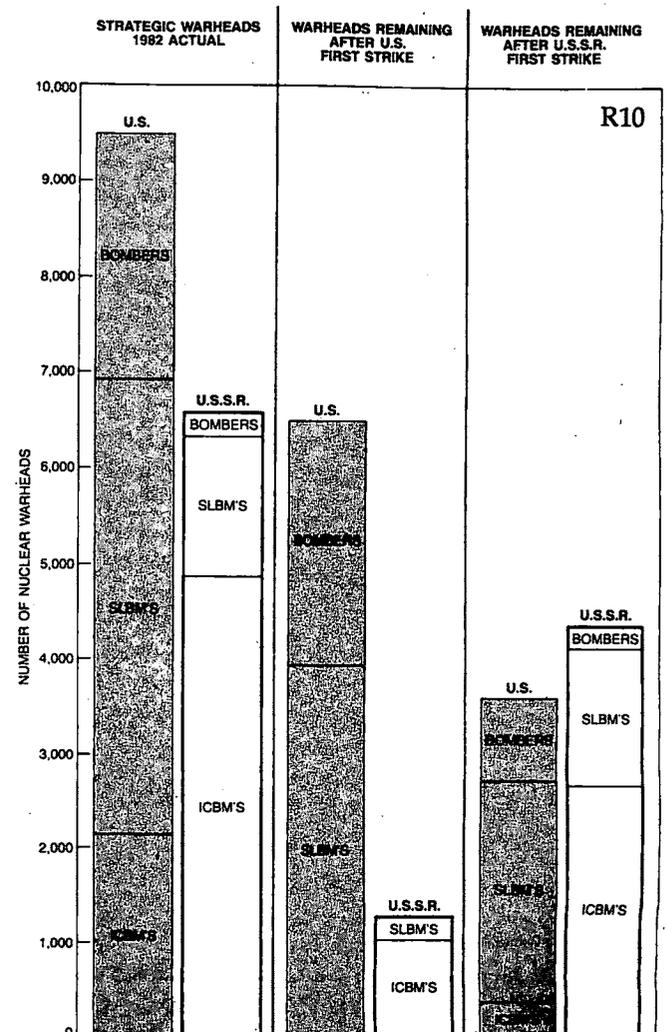
The deployment of first-strike weapons will change the entire character of arms negotiations, and eliminate the possibility of the verifiable, bilateral weapons freeze which American freeze supporters advocate. They also threaten the future of all arms negotiations. Nuclear parity, which the U.S. and Soviet military agree presently exists, will be upset by the deployment of the Pershing II, Trident and MX missiles. Cruise missiles, invisible to radar, will be unverifiable weapons. Further, first-strike weapons drastically decrease both the security of the countries which possess them and the countries which are their targets (often one and the same). Deploying first-strike weapons does not mean just adding new bombs to the U.S. nuclear arsenal. It means putting the world on trigger alert and eliminating what few possibilities now exist for arms reductions.

PERSPECTIVE

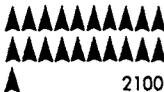
years the West German peace movement has increased rapidly. In June, 1982, more than 400,000 people joined the rally in Bonn, our capital. During this and other activities, Christians, conservatives, liberals, Social Democrats, Green Party members, trade union members, communists, and non-affiliated people demonstrated together against the atomic threat. Although they often have opposite points of view concerning other questions, these people were united for these events. This cooperation is based on the agreement of the different political groups, organizations, and parties, with the demand of cancelling our federal government's consent to the stationing of the new missiles in West Germany.

We live close to the socialist countries. The only way we see to live with them is through peaceful correspondence and actions. Neither we, nor the rest of the world, would survive a "limited nuclear war". There is no such thing.

The prevention of the stationing of the new weapons is the first step towards disarmament. For, if the weapons are stationed in Europe, there will be no more negotiations for a long time between the superpowers. Instead there will be *more* arms. So, we have only until this fall, 1983. This is a very short period of time and we need the help of the American peace movement.



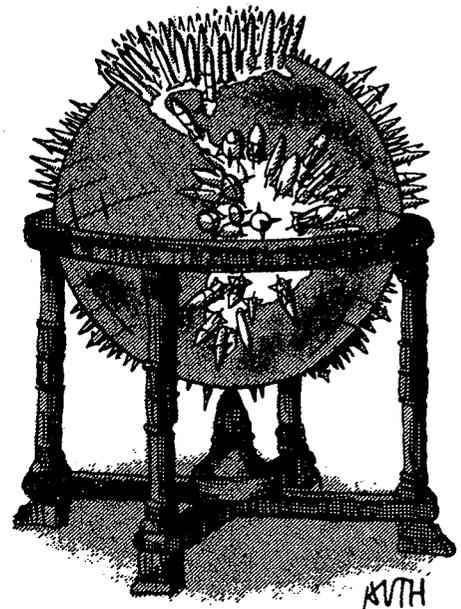
U.S / U.S.S.R. EQUIVALENCE

In Strategic Weapons		Number of Warheads	
THE UNITED STATES		UNITED STATES	
576 submarine-launched ballistic missiles. These have 4750 deliverable warheads, carried on 36 nuclear powered missile subs.			2100
450 Minuteman II intercontinental ballistic missiles. Each carries a single warhead.	Submarine-launched ballistic missiles (with 4750 warheads): 576		7100
350 Minuteman III ICBMs. Each carries three MIRV warheads, 300 of which will be retrofitted with MK12A improved warheads.	 ICBM's: 1000 (with 2100 warheads)		
Bombers. 376 B-52's; 60 medium-range FB-111 bombers.	 Bombers: 376		
THE SOVIET UNION		SOVIET UNION	
950 submarine-launched ballistic missiles. These are carried in 62 subs, with 1900 deliverable warheads.			2500
Intercontinental ballistic missiles. 1398 missiles (figure may vary slightly during missile conversion programs), carrying approximately 5500 deliverable warheads. Of these, the most important are 308 SS 18 heavy missiles, each carrying 8 or 10 MIRV warheads; 300 SS 19 missiles, each carrying 6 warheads, and 150 SS 17s, mostly carrying four each.	Submarine-launched ballistic missiles: 950 (with 1900 warheads)		5500
Long-range bombers. 150 planes.	 ICBM's: 1398 (with 5500 warheads)		
	 Bombers: 150		

Sources: U.S. Defense Department; NATO Secretary-General; International Institute for Strategic Studies; Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. All numbers are approximate.

WHO WAS FIRST?		
US 1945	ATOMIC BOMB	USSR 1949
US 1948	INTERCONTINENTAL BOMBER	USSR 1955
US 1954	HYDROGEN BOMB	USSR 1955
USSR 1957	INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILE (ICBM)	US 1958
USSR 1957	MAN-MADE SATELLITE IN ORBIT	US 1958
US 1966	MULTIPLE WARHEAD (MRV)	USSR 1968
USSR 1968	ANTI-BALLISTIC MISSILE (ABM)	US 1972
US 1970	MULTIPLE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETED WARHEAD (MIRV)	USSR 1975
US 1983	NEW LONG-RANGE CRUISE MISSILES	USSR 1987

—World Military and Social Expenditures 1979



NO WINDOW OF VULNERABILITY

By Howard Ris and Steve Nadis,
Union of Concerned Scientists

At a March 31, 1982, news conference, President Reagan compared the nuclear arsenals of the Soviet Union and the United States by asserting:

"... The truth of the matter is that on balance the Soviet Union does have a definite margin of superiority — enough so that there is what I have called as you all know several times, a window of vulnerability. . . the Soviet's great edge is one in which they would absorb our retaliatory blow and hit us again."

What is the basis for this contention? Is there really a "window of vulnerability" through which the U.S. is susceptible to a preemptive first strike by the Soviet Union? Do we lack a retaliatory capability sufficient to deter the Soviets from even considering such an attack?

Because the total number of nuclear weapons possessed by the two superpowers is about 50,000, comparisons of who's ahead and who's behind are meaningless. Within a matter of thirty minutes, either side — by using only a fraction of its nuclear arsenal — can inflict unprecedented devastation on the other.

There is no defense, by either side, against a first strike. Nor could such a strike prevent devastating retaliation by the victim. A first strike by the U.S.S.R., moreover, would surely lead to an uncontained, all-out nuclear war in which every major and medium-sized city in each nation would be destroyed.

The Administration contends that a so-called "window of vulnerability" exists because the U.S.S.R. could disarm U.S. strategic nuclear forces by launching a preemptive first strike on our land-based missiles. This argument is wrong: it fails to address the invulnerability of much of the U.S. nuclear arsenal, including its nuclear submarines and bombers. (While land-based missiles are sitting targets, the submarines on patrol are virtually undetectable, and the bombers that are on alert would be airborne before any attack could hit.)

The U.S. has approximately 9,500 nuclear warheads and bombs that could be delivered to targets in the U.S.S.R. by the "triad" of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) — all land-based, submarine-launched ballistic missiles, and strategic bombers. In comparison, Soviet strategic forces are far less evenly distributed. (See charts.)

The number of U.S. strategic weapons surviving a Soviet first strike on our land-based missiles would be more than sufficient to provide an effective retaliatory attack. This would be true even if the Soviets destroyed as

much as 90 percent of our land-based missiles. (Such a scenario is highly improbable, and it is doubtful that the Soviets could have much confidence in their ability to carry it out.)

Under a worst-case scenario, 100 U.S. land-based ICBMs would still survive, carrying 100 to 300 warheads, poised for a retaliatory counterattack. One hundred B-52 bombers on alert would also survive, carrying another 1,000 nuclear warheads. Most important, the overwhelming retaliatory capability provided by U.S. missile submarines would remain largely intact, dispersed at sea. At any given moment, this capability consists of some 24 submarines on patrol, carrying about 3,400 warheads.

All told, the United States could respond to a Soviet first strike on our land-based missiles by dropping a minimum of 4,500 nuclear warheads and bombs on the Soviet Union. These warheads and bombs could destroy every major Soviet city twenty times over, an overkill capability sufficient to deter the Soviets from thinking they could "... absorb our retaliatory blow and hit us again".

Adding more weapons to the nuclear stockpile does not close the fictitious "window of vulnerability". The balanced distribution of our strategic forces and our huge inventory of nuclear weapons already provide us with an overkill capacity many times what's needed, even should the United States be subjected to a Soviet first strike and be forced to retaliate in kind. We know this, and the Soviets know it. There is no weakness in the U.S. nuclear deterrent.



VERIFICATION— IS IT POSSIBLE?

By Eugene J. Carroll, Jr.

Among the most frequently expressed objections to the proposed nuclear freeze is the argument that a freeze on production of nuclear weapons could not be verified. This arbitrary conclusion rests on several assumptions: first, the Soviet Union cannot be trusted to comply with a freeze; second, the United States does not have the ability to verify compliance; third, the Soviet Union will not agree to adequate verification procedures.

These assumptions ignore a crucial point: There is to be no freeze except on the basis of agreement on verification procedures by the two countries. Further, they ignore the fact that the freeze could be implemented in a series of careful steps starting with a complete ban on all nuclear testing; then, a freeze on all further development, production and deployment of new nuclear weapons; and, ultimately, significant reductions in strategic arms.

In accepting the assumption that a freeze cannot be based on blind trust, the United States should consider its current ability to verify the first step of a freeze. Many informed scientists agree that the U.S., with a high degree of confidence, could now verify Soviet compliance with a treaty totally banning nuclear tests by using our existing so-called national technical means, which include reconnaissance, intelligence and seismographic data.

Herbert Scoville, a former senior CIA official and a recognized expert on verification of nuclear testing, says that the possibility of Moscow's conducting undetected tests is so slight, at even very low levels of explosive power, that the potential benefit to the Russians would be seriously outweighed by the political harm that would result if they were caught.

Furthermore, the U.S., USSR, and Britain already have formally agreed to the principle of on-site inspection. Paragraph 19 of their July 31, 1980, report to the UN on the status of comprehensive test ban negotiations contains this important statement: "The three negotiation parties believe that the verification measures being negotiated — particularly the provisions regarding the international exchange of seismic data, the committee of experts, and on-site inspections — break significant new ground in international arms limitation efforts. . ."

Once the first step of a freeze was accomplished, two important measures essential to verification of a freeze on production of new weapons would be in place. First, a verifiable test ban would inhibit the design and development of new nuclear weapons (testing is essential to ensure the reliability and military effectiveness of

new nuclear systems). Second, agreed procedures for on-site inspections within the U.S. and USSR could readily be expanded to preclude the undetected manufacture of nuclear weapons.

There would be another major benefit in taking the first step of a freeze. The concluding of a verifiable comprehensive test ban treaty would establish a positive climate for constructive negotiation on successive steps of the freeze. This important first step would do much to ease the mutual fear and distrust that make a successful outcome unlikely in the strategic arms talks that began on June 29, 1982.

President Reagan's proposals seem appealing. But, they are misleading diversions to defuse the freeze campaign while the Administration continues to develop, test and deploy new nuclear systems, including MX and Trident II missiles.

There is no doubt that the U.S. intends to continue the nuclear buildup, even renouncing existing arms-control measures if necessary. This is clearly shown in the Pentagon's draft of a five-year defense plan that provides strategy for fighting a long nuclear war.

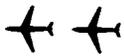
Because the Russians would match each American initiative, the plan ensures the addition of new, more dangerous weapons on both sides. The public demands alternatives.

Eugene J. Carroll, Jr. is a retired Rear Admiral and currently Deputy Director of the Center For Defense Information (R11).

VOTING POWER

Invariably, those of us who participate in political organization planning come to some basic conclusions about strategies and tactics: to inform everybody about the issue, to gain public support, and to affect elected officials to do certain things.

These discussions over goals, strategies and techniques form the organization framework for making change. They rest on a foundation of assumptions about our society that are rooted in the U.S. Constitution. We may recognize that there is more power in the corporations, national and multinational, than in the three branches of government, but so far no one has devised a way to seriously affect these corporations. By necessity, we focus on those who take public offices and state public positions.



GUNS VS. BUTTER



1981 cost overrun on Navy's Aegis-cruiser program	= \$8.4 billion	= comprehensive research & development effort needed to produce 80-100 mile/gallon cars
1981 cost overruns on Navy's Trident and Air Force's F-16 programs	= 33 billion	= cost of rehabilitating or reconstructing one out of five U.S. bridges
eighty-eight percent of cost overrun of Navy's Tomahawk cruise missile	= 444 million	= proposed 1981-82 cuts in Federal solar-energy budget
three Army AH-64 helicopters	= 82 million	= 100 top-quality, energy-efficient electric trolleys
46 Army tanks	= 120 million	= 500 top-quality city buses
initial cost of MX system	= 34 billion	= cost of comprehensive 10-year energy-efficiency effort to save 25-50% of U.S. oil imports
B-1 Bomber Program	= 4.9 billion	= less cuts to federal education programs
Reducing growth in Pentagon programs 15-18%	= 6.9 billion	= all the cuts in aid to the poor
84 F-18 Navy fighters	= 3 billion	= 90% of the cuts in Food Stamps and AFDC programs
Cutting anti-ballistic missiles (ABM's) to last year's (FY '82) level	= 477 million	= almost saves low-income energy assistance from \$565 million cut
Cutting 12 out of 42 planned F-15 fighters	= 420 million	= saves child nutrition and legal services cuts (\$416 million)

Article by Seymour Melman July 26, 1981 New York Times, and information from C.N.F.M.P. (R12)

There seems to be some agreement, at least in elections and opinion polls, that those who control the purse, control the programs. By constitutional guarantee, we the citizens control the purse through our elected representatives. If our government seriously misbehaves, we are theoretically responsible. Enough of us accept this responsibility to try to mold the government to our vision. Yet many of us know that we have been the political and the electoral minority. We know that this should not be so. A handful of people control our lives, a handful of people can kill all of us. These same people impoverish us through a steep military budget and create a tax system which allows the wealthiest to pay proportionally the least.

If only we can communicate this to others like us, we will then have the numbers to beat the money; we will be able to boot out a representative who is no longer representative, and if we are many enough, we can elect a whole Congress. This is the rationale from which we move.

Ying Lee Kelley



MILITARY SPENDING, FEWER JOBS

\$1 Billion Spent On:

EDUCATION	=	187,299 jobs
HEALTH CARE	=	138,939 jobs
CONSTRUCTION	=	100,072 jobs
MASS TRANSIT	=	92,071 jobs
THE MILITARY	=	75,710 jobs

Military spending produces fewer jobs, dollar for dollar, than does civilian production. A freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons would save \$84 billion over the next 5 years, over \$200 billion over the next decade. Savings from a freeze could restore social programs, revitalize civilian industries, help lower the federal deficit.

MILITARY SPENDING AND THE WORLD ECONOMY

I

Today, hundreds of millions of people are living in a state of destitution. 570 million are malnourished; 800 million are illiterate; 1500 million have little or no health care; 250 million children go without schooling. Meanwhile, the world is spending 500 billion dollars a year on its military, and no more than 20 billion dollars a year on development assistance. Each year, enough children die of hunger and poverty to populate 150 Hiroshimas.

World military spending represents roughly what the 340 million people of Latin America or the 1.6 billion people of Africa and South Asia produce. 50 million people, including a half million scientists and engineers (20% of the world total), work in military production, research and development, and armed services.

Military consumption of aluminum, copper, nickel, and platinum exceeds the total consumed by Africa, Asia and Latin America combined. Nearly half as much oil as all developing countries use goes for military purposes.

Conventional weapons account for 80% of world military spending; nuclear, for 20%. Nuclear disarmament is only a partial solution to the enormous imbalance in how the rest of us spend our money.

World military spending is outstripping world economic growth. It nearly doubled between 1960 and 1980 in the world as a whole; in the Third World, it doubled between 1970 and 1980, i.e., in half the time.

Among Third World nations, Iran, Israel, Saudi Arabia, India, and Egypt account for 50% of Third World "defense" spending. Argentina, Brazil, Indonesia, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Nigeria, North Korea, South Korea, and Taiwan account for another 27%. (Huge sums of petrodollars have gone for arms.) Other African and Latin American countries will be buying far more heavily in the '80s than they did in the past.

The Third World arms race may be harder to halt than even the superpower arms race. There are more participants, and complex crosscurrents of conflict which superpower meddling further complicates.

II

Heavy military spending strains the world economy, contributes to economic stagnation, and adds to inflation. In *World Military and Social Expenditures*, Ruth Sivard states that military spending "overheats the civilian economy by generating more spendable income than goods and services can absorb. . . It creates a distinct government-dependent sector which in itself has inflation prone characteristics". In addition, military spending generates only half as many jobs as the same amount

of money spent in the civilian sector would. Nonetheless, the chance of huge and immediate profits, and the need to recycle petrodollars, has led to increasing dependence by developed countries on arms exports.

The U.S. and the USSR account for 75% of world exports of major weapons. France, Italy, West Germany, and the UK accounted for a further 22% over the last decade.

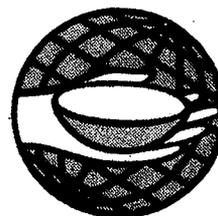
Third World countries presently contribute only 3% of world arms exports. But their output is increasing fast. Israel (which, acting primarily as a U.S. "proxy" in the late 70s following Carter's Human Rights policy, supplied 80% of the arms to El Salvador and 96% to Guatemala), India, Brazil, and Argentina, Taiwan, South Korea, the Philippines, Indonesia, Egypt, North Korea, and Singapore are moving up behind them.

Third World countries buy arms both from each other and from developed countries. Their military expenditures consume valuable foreign exchange, compete for available investment capital, and severely limit social spending. The result is a vicious cycle in which militarization breeds poverty; poverty breeds social unrest; social unrest breeds repression; and repression breeds further militarization. In addition, Third World countries become addicted to high-tech arms and dependent upon foreign technical expertise and spare parts to maintain them.

III

The growth in world-wide military spending gravely damages not only the world economy but the world equilibrium. Internal and international divisions between haves and have-nots widen. The means of destruction increase in magnitude and in lethality. The safety of individuals, of nations, of the human race, of the planet diminishes. And the poor—especially the children of the poor—continue to perish. Compassionate concern for each other and selfish concern for our own survival both tell us that the world-wide arms binge must be stopped.

—adapted from an article by David Ward



DESTRUCTION IS THEIR MOST IMPORTANT PRODUCT

Trans-national Corporations and Their Relationship to the Nuclear Arms Race

by Bob Rivera

To understand the nuclear arms race and its justification (national security) we must consider the dominance of trans-national corporations over human and natural resources and the use of the State as the police force of these corporations.

Trans-nationals act as States without national identity, allegiance or responsibility, directing the movement of capital on an international scale. They are capable of exploiting, exhausting and abandoning communities and their resources and they create growing pools of powerless people subject to increasing political-economic oppression. This is particularly visible in the U.S. as the trans-nationals transfer large manufacturing sections from the U.S. to Third World countries with client regimes guaranteeing cheap labor, cheap resources and low tariffs, or to other parts of the country providing similar conditions, thus deepening the degradation of unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled laborers while weakening and destroying their unions and dispersing their communities.

Because trans-nationals are concerned with short-term profits exacted on an international scale they have little concern for the life of specific peoples and regions. The side-effects of trans-national development are not accidental but *systematic*—the destruction of the environment (natural and human) is a product of the coercive relations imposed by the command production economy. Since workers and society-at-large have little say about what is produced and how it is produced we have few

means of preventing environmental destruction/depletion.

Although these manipulations are especially visible in the Third World, they are practiced in the developed world. The struggle of the American Indians against the State and trans-nationals for control of their remaining lands, the imposition of agribusiness, the continuing underdevelopment of Afro-Americans, Latinos and others, are cases in point within the U.S. Nevertheless, sections of the developed world enjoy a relative well-being although their participation in production decision-making is peripheral. These decisions are made by competing trans-national blocks, in particular that block which, for the moment, has hegemony over the State.

The transnationals use the State as a police force on an international scale as control is threatened by national liberation struggles, rival command economies, or internal dissent. The need for predominating military force necessitates the selective impoverishment of the people of the developed world as capital is transferred from need-and-consumer-oriented production to weapons production. The cycle of nuclear energy, plutonium production, weapons development and deployment is a paradigm of capital-intensive, labor-exploitive relations. This cycle is maintained by appropriating tax money for nuclear hardware and subsidizing nuclear power plants through State-regulated utility rates. The labor of the people is expropriated to advance that element of the transnational command economy with the least creative return. By means of the State, under the guise of national security, we are forced to advance the interests of our oppressors to the point of nuclear confrontation. The State as agent of trans-national interest, is commandant of the global concentration camp and its nuclear ovens.



- the amount of money the world spends on military purposes in 12 hours could probably eradicate malaria from the earth.
- 25% of the world research money goes into military research.
- 5% of one year's world military expenditures could provide school places for 100 million children who currently do not attend school
- some poor countries now spend as much as 10 times more on weapons than on health, education, and welfare combined
- currently, 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 a 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

Oxfam America (R14)

HOLLANDITIS

by Jim Forest and Peter Herby

Hollanditis—a European epidemic of Dutch origins, characterized by anxiety in the presence of nuclear weapons, exhaustion with decades of futile negotiations to ban such weapons, distress at the prospect of a nuclear war which would devastate all of Europe, and a massive surge of resistance against such a possibility.

"May I infect you with a disease?" Thousands of Londoners have recently been receiving postcards with this alarming proposal from their Dutch neighbors across the North Sea. But instead of wooden shoes and windmills, the picture on the card depicts a mushroom cloud rising over the word "Europe."

Without a doubt, "Hollanditis" is a highly contagious malady of conscience. Millions of Europeans have been stricken, and the number of victims is rapidly growing. Sufferers find their lives have been changed as they commit themselves to the elimination of nuclear weapons, starting in their own countries.

Nowhere has the nuclear disarmament movement been as prolonged, deeply rooted and politically influential as in the Netherlands. The groups responsible are numerous and diverse, encompassing the left and the right. But the primary source of "Hollanditis" is the Inter-Church Peace Council (IKV). Founded in 1966 on issues of human rights, development, and peace, its work for ten years centered on preparing an annual Peace Week. In the mid-1970s, however, as frustration with the repeated failure of East-West Disarmament talks increased, IKV leaders took a fresh look at their work and began to see an opportunity for Holland to play a part in breaking the momentum of the arms race. In 1977, they launched a campaign summarized by the slogan: "Help rid the world of nuclear weapons—let it begin in the Netherlands." Its adopted symbol was a huge bomb being pushed away by a determined family of four. Its message was clear: ordinary people aren't as powerless against the arms race as we usually think.



Since 1979, IKV has addressed itself to the various political parties of the Netherlands, seeking to influence both election programs and the work in Parliament. And with half the Dutch people now opposing all nuclear weapons in the country and two-thirds opposing the latest cruise and Pershing II plan, the political impact has been considerable. The current government policy has been to put off acceptance of any new NATO weapons.

Certain American observers, seeking to explain this outbreak in western Europe, claim it is a resurgence of that insidious strain, Isolationism. More careful observation yields different conclusions, however. In fact, "Hollanditis" is not a disease of avoidance and escape but of challenge and engagement. Far from being a terminal illness, it is a healing which seeks the mending of relationships and the easing of borders. It rejects preparations for a war which might be the world's last, and certainly would be Europe's last.

As a bitter joke puts it, "Those Americans and Russians are more courageous and resolute than ever—they are ready to fight to the last European."

—excerpted from their article in "International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR) Report", January, 1982. (R15)

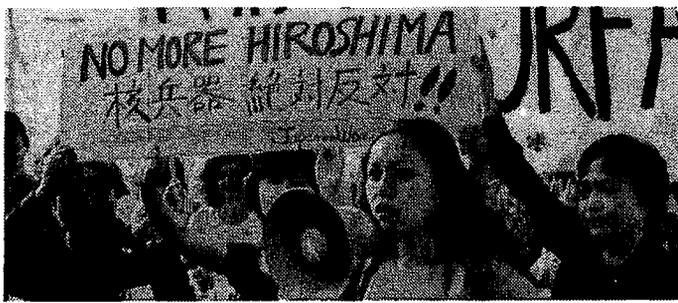
USES OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS SINCE NAGASAKI

The notion common to nearly all Americans that "no nuclear weapons have been used since Nagasaki" is mistaken. It is not the case that US nuclear weapons have simply piled up over the years, unused and unusable, save for the single function of deterring the Soviets. Again and again, generally in secret from the American public, US nuclear weapons have been used, for quite different purposes: in the precise way that a gun is used when you point it at someone's head in a direct confrontation, whether or not the trigger is pulled. . . .

It is not the Russians but the rest of us who need to learn the. . . hidden realities of the nuclear dimension to U.S. foreign policy. Here, briefly listed, are most of the actual nuclear crises that can now be documented from memoirs or other public sources (in most cases after long periods of secrecy. . . .)

▲ June 1948, Truman's deployment of B-29's in Britain and Germany at the outset of the Berlin Blockade.

▲ November 30, 1950, Truman's press conference warning that nuclear weapons were under consideration (for use in) Korea.



THE STRUGGLE FOR A NUCLEAR-FREE PACIFIC

- ▲ 1953, Eisenhower's secret nuclear threats against China, to force and maintain a settlement in Korea.
- ▲ 1954, Secretary of State Dulles' secret offer to French Prime Minister Bidault of three tactical nuclear weapons to relieve the French troops besieged by the Indochinese at Dienbienphu, Vietnam.
- ▲ 1958, Eisenhower's secret directive to the Joint Chiefs of Staff during the "Lebanon Crisis" to prepare to use nuclear weapons, if necessary, to prevent an Iraqi move into the oilfields of Kuwait.
- ▲ 1958, Eisenhower's secret directive to the Joint Chiefs of Staff to plan to use nuclear weapons, imminently, against China if the Chinese Communists should attempt to invade the island of Quemoy, occupied by Chiang's troops, a few miles offshore mainland China.
- ▲ 1961, The Berlin Crisis. Kennedy Administration stated that the US was prepared to hold Berlin at all costs—including the use of nuclear arms.
- ▲ 1962, The Cuban Missile Crisis. Kennedy Administration's threats to Soviet government to pressure the removal of missiles in Cuba.
- ▲ Numerous "shows of nuclear force" involving demonstrative deployments or alerts of forces with a designated role in US plans for strategic nuclear war which were deliberately visible to adversaries and intended as a "nuclear signal".
- ▲ 1968, The White House was advised of the possible necessity of nuclear weapons to defend Marines surrounded at Khe Sanh, Vietnam.
- ▲ 1969-72, Nixon's secret threats of massive escalation, including possible use of nuclear weapons, conveyed to the North Vietnamese by Henry Kissinger.
- ▲ January 1980, The Carter Doctrine on the Middle East as explained by Defense Secretary Brown. . . reaffirmed by President Reagan in 1981. . . that what will keep Russia out of Iran and other parts of the Middle East in the 1980s is "the risk of World War III".

-excerpts from Daniel Ellsberg's intro to *Protest and Survive*

The peoples of the Pacific Islands and their environment have been particular targets of colonialism, military expansionism, and nuclear development. Yet, their story is largely unknown to most North Americans.

Spanning more than one-third of the world's surface, and thus strategically, economically, and politically of vital importance, the Pacific Islands include three great island groupings: Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia.

Approximately 8 million Pacific Islanders live in this region. Although they are ethnically and culturally diverse, they share a common way of life rooted in respect for the vast ocean and the precious land from which they draw their lives. Over the last 40 years, however, this way of life has been threatened by super-power use of the Islands for forward military basing, nuclear testing, and nuclear waste dumping.

Of all the island groupings, Micronesia has had the most bitter history with nuclear development. From 1946 to 1958, the U.S. tested over 60 atomic and hydrogen bombs atmospherically in the northern Marshall Islands. This program, including the infamous 1954 Bravo hydrogen bomb test at Bikini, permanently dislocated several island communities while poisoning their native atolls.

Further, Kwajalein, the world's largest atoll located in the central Marshalls, has been used by the Pentagon since 1959 as the target for its missile testing from California. At Kwajalein Missile Range, a one billion dollar facility at present, all strategic delivery systems, including Trident and MX, are flight tested. Anti-satellite and ballistic missile defense are conducted as well at Kwajalein, and the base is home for crucial command, control, and communications facilities. Beginning in 1969, native Islanders were moved out of their homes in the missile testing zone, and relocated onto a tiny nearby island. There they survive in slumlike conditions, and suffer virtual apartheid segregation from U.S. military and base personnel.

In addition to using the land of the Marshall Islands for nuclear development, the U.S. now wants to use over one-quarter of the land of the Micronesia archipelago, Belau, which recently drafted the world's first nuclear-free constitution, for military bases. These bases would be used for counter-insurgency training facilities, nuclear and conventional weapons storage, and possible harbor support facilities for nuclear ships and submarines.



The U.S. is not the only superpower that has used this region for nuclear testing. In fact, the French have wreaked ecological disaster at Mururoa Atoll near Tahiti, and Japan's growing nuclear industry plans to dump its radioactive waste in the ocean north of the Marianas Islands in Micronesia.

It is the U.S., however, that remains the predominant military presence in the Pacific. It maintains major air and naval bases in Guam, Tinian, Okinawa, Japan, the Phillipines, Hawaii, and Korea. Thousands of nuclear weapons are stationed on these bases, projecting U.S. power into Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean, in order to protect American investments and support repressive U.S. client states in the region.

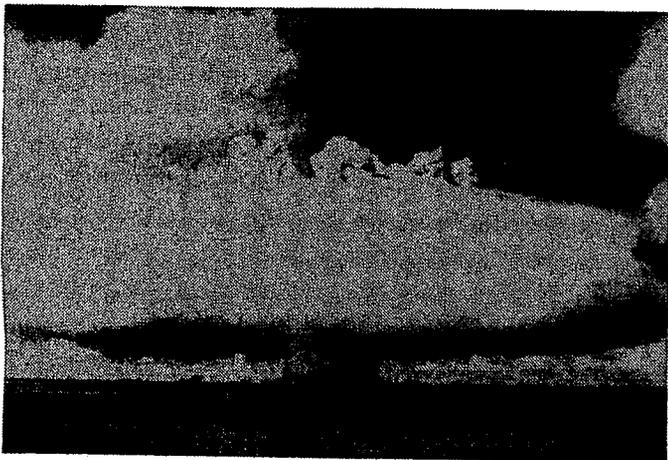
Further, this year, the new first-strike strategic submarine system, Trident, is being deployed in the Pacific. This huge submarine (almost two football fields long and four stories high) carries super-accurate counterforce missiles – tested at Kwajalein – which will create an increased climate of fear throughout the entire region.

In protest, a tidal wave of resistance is sweeping the Pacific. Islanders are organizing grassroots support for an end to colonialism and military and nuclear exploitation through regional conferences and local demonstrations.

Leading the cry are the newly independent nations, such as Vanuatu in Melanesia, which declared itself nuclear-free last year, and underlined this stand by refusing ports-of-call by U.S. warships, and the Marshallese, 1000 of whom nonviolently occupied a restricted area of the Kwajalein Missile Range for four months last summer. Joint protests against Trident have been staged across the Pacific, including the journey of the protest boat Pacific Peacemaker from Sydney, Australia to Seattle, Washington last summer.

Pacific people, like all of us, are struggling with a past and future that lie under the shadow of Hiroshima. They have experienced the death and oppression of nuclear militarism. Their story, too, must be told and remembered.

—adapted from an article by Ched Myers, U.S. Nuclear-Free Pacific Network (R16).



Here for Life: Vandenberg, Jan. 24, 1983

to A.N.B.

*I am here—
I wear the old-ones' jade—
it's life, they said, & precious;
turquoise I've sought to hone my visions;
& coral to cultivate the heart;
mother-of-pearl for purity.*

*I have put on what power I could
to tell you there are mountains
where the stones sleep—
hawks nest there,
& lichens older than the ice is cold.*

*The sea is vast & deep
keeping secrets darker than the rocks are hard.
I am here to tell you
the earth is made of things
so much themselves
they make the angels kneel.
We walk among them
& they are certain as the rain is wet
& they are fragile as the pine is tall.*

*We, too, belong to them;
they count upon our singing,
the footfalls of our dance,
our children's shouts, their laughter.*

*I am here for the unfinished song,
the uncompleted dance,
the healing,
the dreadful fakes of love.
I am here for life*

& I will not go away.

Rafael Jesús González

RACISM AND THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE



The anti-war movement has been an important force in our society for challenging U.S. militarism internationally. It has helped to make peace and disarmament pressing issues for millions of U.S. citizens. And yet, it has not fully recognized the links between militarism and racism, and it has given relatively less attention to the effects of economic injustice. These have been serious drawbacks. We want the peace movement to be as powerful and effective as possible. In order for this to happen, however, it must become functionally multi-racial and focus on racism and economic injustice as well as international militarism.

While the causes for particular wars often appear complex, racism has played a pivotal role in virtually all military conflicts. There are six ways in which we understand racism, militarism and economic injustice to be inter-related:

1. Every military conflict has been over control of land and resources. Historically, people of color have borne the brunt of the world's great wars of domination, for it is the land, resources, and human labor of the Third World that the Western powers have constantly fought over.
2. The ability of a country to wage war or to conquer another people depends on instilling "enemy thinking" in the minds of the populace. Enemy thinking, in turn, depends on racial and cultural stereotyping.
3. Because of racism, the U.S. armed services are disproportionately made up of people of color. Since most of these "economic conscripts" are unskilled, they end up in the front lines of battle, victims of the White generals and presidents who wage the wars.
4. Wars are undertaken at the expense of those who can least afford them—poor people in general, and people of color in particular—as budgets which would otherwise fund human services are given over to the military.
5. Production for military use has proven to be both inflationary and job-reducing. Racism in U.S. society guarantees that the majority of jobs created in the military sector will go to skilled, educated white workers, thus reinforcing the existing racial and class inequities.
6. Poor people of color have not been visible in the mainstream peace movement because they are already experiencing war in their own communities.

We believe it is essential that everyone who is serious about stopping the war machine and establishing a real peace understand the racist nature of war. It is no coincidence that former President Carter reinstated draft registration at a time when the military was complaining that there were too many people of color in the armed forces. They realized that people of color might not be counted on to fight against their brothers and sisters in Third World countries.

We are encouraged by signs that the peace movement is concerned about its white, middle-class image. We too are concerned, not only about the image, but about the analysis and strategy which flows from white, middle-class leadership. We are convinced that it is difficult for white, middle-class people to see the connections between racism, militarism, and imperialism. Poor people of color understand these connections far better. That is why we believe there have been deliberate attempts to keep the movement for peace and disarmament separate from the movements for racial and economic justice. It was when Martin Luther King wed the struggle for civil rights and economic justice to the struggle against the Vietnam War that he became most dangerous to the ruling establishment.

If real peace is to be achieved, the White peace movement must aggressively seek leadership and direction from Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, and other people of color. They must participate in all aspects of organizational planning, decision-making, and outreach. It is only with their active involvement that it will be possible to build a truly broad-based, multi-racial, multi-cultural movement capable of winning.

White organizers must learn to struggle with their own racism, which often comes up in subtle, but significant ways, and keeps them from working with or taking leadership from people of color. Racism is learned behavior and therefore can be unlearned, though the process is often painful. We are convinced, however, that this struggle over racism in the movement is a healthy one. If we are to be genuine peacemakers we will have to work unstintingly for justice.

-excerpted from an open letter to the peace movement, adopted by the Advisory Board of United Methodist Voluntary Service, February 1982.



LAND AND THE ARMS RACE—THE STRUGGLE OF NATIVE PEOPLES

INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

ROOTS OF THE CONFLICT

As Third World countries have moved to nationalize foreign owned mining and oil operations, and have otherwise become less "stable" environments for foreign capital, Corporate America has increasingly turned to lands within its "own" borders for resources. This has brought it into direct confrontation with the main obstruction to its exploitation and plunder of the Earth, the traditional caretaker of their Mother Earth, its Native people.

Native people are the original anti-nuclear movement. The nuclear fuel cycle, feeding the bombs and the powerplants, begins at the same place as the coal fuel cycle: on Native American lands.

Over 60% of U.S. uranium reserves are on Indian lands, and in the 1970's 100% of the U.S. uranium mines in production were on Indian lands, as were half of the 10 largest coal mines.

Indian people pay for this exploitation with the destruction of their Mother, the Earth, with their health and lives: Indian men are forced into uranium mines and suffer mortality rates approaching 70%; Indian women are unable to complete pregnancies because of radiation poisoning of the water and air; Indian children are born with birth defects and suffer radiation sickness and leukemia because of exposed uranium tailing piles, abandoned by United Nuclear, Kerr-McGee and others.

Corporate America and its international brethren run Indian reservations as resource colonies, with Tribal Councils serving as neo-colonial governments, meeting the needs of resource starved corporations.

Tribal Council chairmen, corporate executives and government officials all interlock through the Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT), the Western Regional Council, Americans for Indian Opportunity, the Equitable Life Insurance Company and the Mormon Church. Maintaining the worldwide network of exploiters and victims, colonizers and colonized, is international imperialism.

—excerpted from *Resistance at Big Mountain, A Call for a Halt to U.S. Intervention (R18)*



The self-determination of all indigenous peoples is a prerequisite for the successful struggle for disarmament and is necessary in order for them to control their own land resources.

There has not been nor ever will be adequate compensation for the land taken by the governments and transnational corporations as testing sites and weapons storage facilities, and this illegal usurpation of indigenous land has, among other things, led to the death and displacement of indigenous populations.

There has been a devastation of nature, and of the food and water resources of inhabitants and their livestock, which has been caused by the indiscriminate and greedy exploitation of mineral resources by the military-industrial complex.

The presence of military bases on or near indigenous peoples' land has also caused many well-documented ill effects on the integrity of their communities.

There is evidence of the use of nuclear terror against indigenous peoples, suggesting a relationship between the use and development of nuclear energy and weapons, and blatant racism, colonization and discrimination. This "terror" can be illustrated, for instance, in the establishment of experimental nuclear health centers for indigenous populations.

There is a serious lack of legal protection and of legal recourse, whether national or international, for indigenous peoples against nuclear development and the disposal of nuclear waste. This raises fundamental questions regarding the ethical basis upon which legislation is enacted.

Nuclear testing on the land of indigenous peoples by developing countries, done in collaboration with existing nuclear powers, has very serious implications both for the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the survival and livelihood of indigenous peoples.

Therefore, there is an urgent need for national security doctrines to be examined, especially with regard to nuclear development. The objectives of political gain, national prestige, and arms superiority so far seem to carry more weight than the protection of the people who originally inhabited the land and will continue to do so in future generations.

The proposal for a nuclear-free zone in both the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean cannot be achieved without the elimination of nuclear testing, weapons delivery systems, passage of nuclear warships and submarines, transport and dumping of nuclear waste, establishment of military bases and communication systems, and the militarization of societies.

The above article is taken from a report of the International Indian Treaty Council (G20) Geneva Conference, Fall, 1981. Full copies available.

EXPERTS



by Donna Warnock
WRL/West

Concerned experts are able to put the powerful tools of complex fields on the side of our movement and make enormous contributions. Their involvement should certainly be encouraged; their influence among certain audiences, especially their peers, cannot be denied, and should by all means be used, but in ways that empower *everyone*, not just those who are credentialled.

The inappropriate elevation of credentialled experts within the disarmament movement and outside of the movement has impaired our political effectiveness.

When debating or encountering pro-nuclear experts, our intimidation can make us readily acquiesce to them and fail to assert our own knowledge and power. In my own life, there was a time when I wouldn't debate nuclear engineers because I wasn't an expert in nuclear engineering. I learned that was a mistake. There are some lies and distortions used to promote nuclear power and weapons which any layperson with the desire to do so can learn to rebuff, resulting in a situation that is frequently embarrassing to the expert.

Knowledge is power, whether it is self-acquired or academically acquired; we should not fall into the trap that the latter is of any more intrinsic value than the home-grown sort unless our primary objective is to impress those who demand credentials. Nonetheless, within the movement, power dynamics are repeatedly altered by the presence of experts. People whose expertise may have nothing to do with the matter at hand are sought for advice because they are credentialled. All too often, the expert will gladly take the platform and the offered power. This perpetuates the most common myth about credentialled experts—that they are smarter than less educated people.

In addition, automatically deferring to experts perpetuates the idea that what is important is credentialling rather than information or sensibility. It reinforces the notion that other people are unimportant, uninformed, unintelligent and powerless. It feeds classism, the idea that more privileged people are better than less privileged people. And it furthers the myth that upward mobility and the attainment of degrees are the best ways to attack the power of the ruling elite.

In fact, equalizing power and respect serves the interest of both credentialled experts and lay people alike within our movement. For experts, most of whom are workers, the pedestals which people put them on can hurt as well as flatter. Further, they often labor long hours, maintain rigorous studies, assume incredible responsibilities, and work in isolation. Changing the nature of their participation in the movement can ease

some of these conditions. For lay people, equalizing power can result in individuals affirming their own expertise in areas that are not traditionally acclaimed—design and graphics, office management, carpentry, child care, education, typewriter repair, printing, bookkeeping—and in learning to develop expertise in new areas.

Aside from their particular area of knowledge, experts can play other important roles in the movement by using the attention they are offered for consciousness-raising, instead of self-advancement. They can interrupt internalized oppression by soliciting opinions and listening to poor and workingclass people, women, and people of color, all of whom have been told that they are not smart and that they are expendable. They can ask that people from these groups be included on speakers' platforms, in anthologies, in interviews with the media, in organizational decision-making, on boards of directors, as spokespeople. They can organize their colleagues. And they can demand an attitude of complete respect for *every* human being.



THE GROWTH OF PEOPLE'S MOVEMENTS AND THE THREAT OF NEW REPRESSION



by Dan Siegel

One of the unplanned achievements of the Reagan administration has been the growth of the people's movements for peace, equality, and economic justice. Within the past year or so we have seen important mobilizations of people opposed to the government's policies of war, foreign intervention, cutbacks in social programs, opposition to civil rights, and attempts to make poor and working people pay for the crisis of American capitalism.

We can be proud of our organizing work during the most recent period, and the growth and vigor of our movement promises important victories ahead. But as we plan for the future it is essential that we closely monitor the government's action and prepare for repression in the months and years ahead. Among the lessons we can learn from the 60s is that the government will use every tactic in the book, including legal harassment, spying, attempts to disrupt organizations, and even violence, in an attempt to disunify and smash the mass movement.

On the federal level the Reagan administration has used its regulatory authority to limit civil rights and is pushing dozens of repressive laws through Congress. Regulations have been issued to limit our access to government files through the Freedom of Information and Privacy Acts, making it more difficult for people to determine whether they are being spied upon by government agencies. Reagan has also given the CIA the green light to spy on American citizens for the first time since the Vietnam War. On a more bureaucratic but equally ominous level have been Justice Department efforts to streamline intelligence gathering and sharing with state and local police agencies.

In Congress Reagan's repressive proposals have been blocked so far, with two important exceptions. The Intelligence Identities Protection Act makes it a federal felony to expose the identity of a covert agent of the CIA or FBI, even when the information exposed is from a public source or is obtained accidentally. This law would make it a crime, for example, for a student newspaper to publish the fact that a local political science professor was working part-time in a CIA project to destabilize the government of Nicaragua or prop up the junta in El Salvador. The Simpson-Mazzoli Bill will force immigrants to carry identification cards and will also make it harder for political exiles—especially those fleeing from right-wing governments friendly to the Reagan administration—to obtain asylum in the U.S.

Among Reagan's legislative proposals now pending in Congress and backed by administration allies such as Jesse Helms (R-NC) and Jeremiah Denton (R-Ala) are:

– Establishment of a House Internal Security Committee with the same jurisdiction as the former House Un-American Activities Committee;

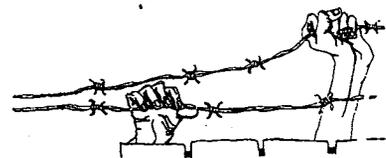
– Enactment of the Family Protection Act, an omnibus bill which would, among other things, bar gay people from receiving any federal funds or benefits, bar federal financing of textbooks which do not teach the "traditional" view of women, and limit access to sex information, contraception, and abortion;

– Passage of a new omnibus criminal code (son of S.1), including provisions to severely punish people who interfere with the draft or urge draft resistance during war; making it a federal felony to obstruct any federal facility, including a post office or nuclear power plant; making it easier for the government to punish demonstrators for "rioting" or "inviting a riot"; enabling the government to prosecute for conspiracy people who plan a nonviolent but disruptive demonstration; and restricting the press' freedom to report on government activities;

– Enactment of laws that would turn ordinary labor picketline disruptions, now treated as minor crimes under state law, into federal felonies.

What is taking place is an overall attempt to streamline and centralize the government's ability to use repressive measures against people's movements for peace, disarmament, civil rights, and economic justice.

While groups such as the ACLU, National Lawyers Guild, and National Committee Against Repressive Legislation are focusing on fighting these attempts to limit our rights, it is necessary for all progressive activists to join in this effort. These kinds of threats, directed not only against activists for peace and disarmament, but also against people fighting for minority and women's rights, or against cutbacks in social programs and increased unemployment, demonstrate concretely the need for unity by all people opposed to the policies of the Reagan administration. Our ability to work together to defend civil liberties will not only make our efforts more effective, but can also show the way for greater unity against the war makers and their reactionary policies in all areas of political, economic, and social life.



WOMEN AND DISARMAMENT

by Kathleen Duffy

I like my life. I want to keep it for as long as I can. I don't want to die in a nuclear war, incident, or accident. Neither do I want to die at the hand of a back-alley abortionist or by a murderer stalking women on hiking trails. As much as I don't want to be exposed to radiation, that much and more I don't want to be raped. I demand a choice in decisions regarding my environment whether that choice regards dumping radioactive waste off the California coast or decisions regarding my most precious and immediate environment, my body.

I leaflet, picket, and blockade against nuclear weapons because I am working for a better world in which to live. Because disarmament does not mean peace, because it does not mean justice, I am compelled to continue working toward that long view. We are in danger of nuclear annihilation. This threat must be removed from our lives. But the fact is we ain't dead yet. Many of us do not live single-issue lives. This is especially true of women. While we go about our anti-nuclear work, we live in a society that does not value the work or ethics of women; we are or know people who are unemployed; disabled and sensory-impaired people are denied full accessibility to the world around them; we witness the hunger and homelessness of people on our street; lesbians and gay men are antagonized and ostracized. It is not only the futures of the children that must be ensured. Regardless of age, no one I know wants to die in a nuclear blast. All things considered, there's a lot of work to be done.

Sometimes, there are things that take precedence. Other times we have to do the best we can on all fronts with what resources we have. My mother called this tactic "making do". Making do was not complacency or submitting to lack. It was a creative alternative to otherwise dire straits.

At this moment, we are in heaps of trouble. Dire straits. From where I stand, I dare say it's not the women of this planet who are responsible for this mess. We have been brought to this precipice by a way of thinking that is only scientific and sterile. Women would never, could never conceive of an idea like the Pentagon where men, scientific prowess and money all come together to invent better and better ways of killing and overkilling. To my way of thinking, feminism is the antithesis of the military mentality. We strive to conjure up better and better ways of living and loving. We work real hard at it. We are making do. We tend our homes and hearths and at the same time wage combat against that band of men who traverse the globe dispersing death, destruction, and disease wherever they step. The vision of women is not one of world domination. It is one of world cooperation and it starts in our laundromats and extends across the seas. It is a dream that calls for the dismantling of MX missiles, Trident submarines and the Pentagon. We call for the building of a new society that would benefit humankind and do no one harm.

Much has been written concerning feminism and non-violence and/or social change. Fine articles have been written about the relationship between the military-industrial complex and the oppression of women and Third World people. Included in most anti-nuclear handbooks is a discussion about power and the need to redefine and redistribute it. In writing this, I don't want only to reiterate what has been said well in other places. I also don't want to appear to be ignoring those issues or leaving too much unsaid. The fact is I take much of this for granted.

It is apparent to me that we need a cooperative model for living. I believe real change can only take place from the grass roots, when peoples' minds and hearts change. I assume that one of our global concerns is a better quality of life for everyone. These are a few basic tenets of feminism. Simultaneously, feminism is the open celebration of our womanhood, our lives, each other, our struggles. We grasp for ourselves self-determination and equality whether or not it is mandated by law.

As activists with common goals, we need to listen to each other carefully. Despite statements to the contrary, we are a diverse movement. The anti-nuclear movement is a huge network of people making alliances and taking action. We can tolerate and celebrate our diversity or we can decide not to take the risks necessary to bring about change in our own hearts.

Sometimes there are things that take precedence. Other times we do the best we can. . . A woman's work is never done.



BLACKS AND THE ANTI-NUKE MOVEMENT



by John Alan

The following paragraphs are a portion of an article that I wrote in my column for "News and Letters" in July, 1982, following the June 12th march. The obvious reason for writing the article was to respond to the fact that only a small number of Blacks were participating in the Peace Movement and the lack of concern that whites in the movement had for what they considered to be Black indifference to the issue of war. I knew both from experience and history, the American Black people had always made a connection with America's imperialist wars and racism at home. It was precisely this connection that gave a revolutionary dimension to the Anti-Vietnam War Movement in the 1960s when the Civil Rights Movement connected the struggle against that war with their struggle for economic and political rights here in the United States.

There is a national popular opinion that is currently going around saying that Black people are not overly interested in the anti-nuke movement that is sweeping the country today. This opinion has found expression in nationally syndicated articles in the bourgeois press and has gained a great deal of credence because most pro-peace demonstrations and anti-nuke activities are almost "lily-white" with a very small number of Blacks.

However, this is not a true picture of Black people's attitude towards Reagan's and Brezhnev's (sic) drive toward a worldwide nuclear holocaust. Blacks are not indifferent to the anti-nuke movement. Indeed, there is wide opinion among Black youth and the unemployed that they are already at the cutting edge of the fight against war, as Reagan moves to place the entire economy of the country on a nuclear war basis by abolishing and curtailing the economic gains achieved by Blacks.



They feel that they are the first casualties of Reagan's war plans. And if they are not in the front ranks of the anti-nuke movement, it is because that movement has attempted to keep the fight for world peace on an abstract "ethical level," skirting the concrete issues of race and class struggles that are so integral to any opposition to war.

It is this short-sightedness of the organizers of anti-nuke demonstrations that Black people deplore, while at the same time supporting the hundreds of thousands that demonstrated June 12, 1982.

Historically the anti-war movement has been tragically separated from the mainstream of labor and Blacks, not to mention other minorities and women. It has carried with it the race and class prejudices that are so endemic of American society, thus making it ineffective against the cause of war, capitalism.

Though the movement has been able to mobilize millions of people, who genuinely want peace, its abstract, depoliticized posture has made it easy prey for either the Democratic Party or the state-capitalists, calling themselves Communists, to manipulate it.

The anti-nuke movement must become a genuine anti-war movement that is not just against the bomb but against the system of capitalism that breeds war, builds the nuclear bombs, is anti-labor, anti-Black and anti-women. This is what the Black movement is looking for. If the anti-war movement tries to work this out, Black participation will grow by leaps and bounds.

THE SECOND WORD IN CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR



by John Judge

Despite Selective Service's official estimate that 93% of American males born in 1960 and 1961 registered for the draft last summer, there is reason to believe otherwise. Already, there are hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of objectors. Estimates given by the post offices themselves (according to the Boston Globe), which put the figures at close to 25% non-compliance nationally, confirm the experiences of many anti-draft activists during the registration weeks.

With the war in Vietnam obscured but not entirely forgotten, a new generation of American youth is already opposing the return to the draft. Some activists have taken direct action at post offices (including leafletting, picketing, civil disobedience, etc.). Tens of thousands of young people have registered as war objectors with the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors (CCCO). Uncounted numbers indicated "I am a conscientious objector" or "I am registering under protest" on their Selective Service registration cards—dissents that will be preserved on microfilm until the year 2065. Over 350,000 refused to list their Social Security numbers on the form, feeling this was an invasion of their privacy aimed at identifying others who refused to register. So many young people are already refusing to simply cooperate that any single repressive solution by the government will be difficult.

The anti-draft movement, especially draft counselors, must constantly deal with the dilemmas young people face under the draft law, and balance their compliance against an escalating threat and intimidation by Selective Service. Some people will refuse at registration, others only at induction, or only when inside the military—face to face with the reality of war. Others will apply and serve as conscientious objectors, or may only come to terms with their objections after they are veterans of military service, finally piecing together what they were asked to do. Some may never face military service, but may refuse to pay war taxes or take part in other forms of civil disobedience.

I believe that resistance is a continuum of methods or positions of objection. I believe the most effective form of resistance is finding and drawing that line beyond which one cannot go, saying no, and perhaps most importantly, sticking to it. The courage of some will open the door of realization for others, and the combination of all those various lines drawn will bring a system to its

knees, just as the broad range of dissent to the last draft finally halted inductions because only one out of four ordered would show up. Any single form of resistance would be quickly isolated and much more effectively repressed. The trap, it seems to me, is to begin to divide one form of objection against another.

If the politics of these groups addresses the crucial issues, like economic conscription, the connection between militarism and unemployment, the nature of the military for those inside it, and the use of armed forces for imperialist war, they will serve to include rather than isolate those most in need of support.

All of us who support conscientious objection must not only work to preserve the legal right to object to all war, but must broaden the scope of the rights of conscience. We should currently be speaking and working in favor of legitimizing so-called "selective objection", the right to object to a particular war or type of war. Sixty-eight percent of the current military personnel may be "selective objectors," since they have declared an opposition to fighting in "wars like Vietnam". The objection to war for minority and working people in the United States most often takes this form, especially opposing wars for profit and wars against people of color. Opposition to nuclear wars as too risky or too destructive is another common position. To force the system to recognize that these scruples are as legitimate as those of the committed Quaker or absolute pacifist would clearly cut across class and race lines in broadening the definition of an objection to war. People need a right to refuse not just all war, but any war, any battle within a war, and any order within a battle.

—excerpted from an article for Project STP (R20)

THIS IS JOE... HE'S
A CONSCIENTIOUS
OBJECTOR



SO WE PUT
HIM IN JAIL



HE DOESN'T WANT
TO SHOOT.. HE
DOESN'T WANT TO
KILL..



WHY?



HE DOESN'T
WANT TO DROP
BOMBS..



HE'S A THREAT
TO SOCIETY.

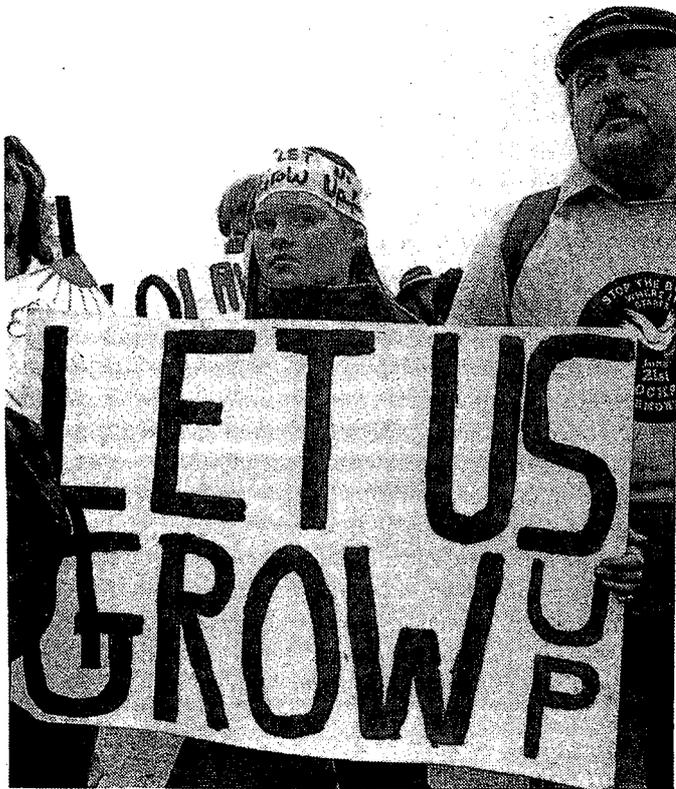


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Selective Service

*We rise from the snow where we've
lain on our backs and flown like children,
from the imprint of perfect wings and cold gowns,
and we stagger together wine-breathed into town
where our people are building
their armies again, short years after
body bags, after burnings. There is a man
I've come to love after thirty, and we have
our rituals of coffee, of airports, regret.
After love we smoke and sleep
with magazines, two shot glasses
and the black and white collapse of hours.
In what time do we live that it is too late
to have children? In what place
that we consider the various ways to leave?
There is no list long enough
for a selective service card shriveling
under a match, the prison that comes of it,
a flag in the wind eaten from its pole
and boys sent back in trash bags.
We'll tell you. You were at that time
learning fractions. We'll tell you
about fractions. Half of us are dead or quiet
or lost. Let them speak for themselves.
We lie down in the fields and leave behind
the corpses of angels.*

by © Carolyn Forché (R21)



YOUNG PEOPLE

by Amy Bomse and Aya de Leon

No one has as much at stake in the disarmament movement as young people. The politicians who control the arms race have been around for a long time, whereas we are just starting out our lives. People under eighteen can't vote, and it doesn't seem fair, considering that it is our future. But not being an "adult" does not mean that we cannot take an effective stand. One thing minors can do is educate themselves. There are many good books on the subject of nuclear weapons and disarmament. However, it is important for us to take action as well. Through going to rallies, and participating in civil disobedience, we can show the world that kids are aware of the problem and want to be part of the solution.

Many questions arise for young people when they consider taking part in some form of direct action, whether it is legal or illegal. From our experiences in anti-nuclear work, here is some of what we learned:

Why should I get involved?

Now, more than ever, it is urgent that everyone get involved in direct action for peace and disarmament. The more money that is invested by the governments in nuclear weapons, the more difficult it will be to get them to disarm. As kids we are affected by the arms race and militarism in many ways, the most obvious of which is the possibility of nuclear holocaust. Another is the draft. All young men, ages 18-21, face a choice of registering for military service, or the possibility of going to prison. Government financial aid is also being withheld from non-registrants. Yet another way is the military budget which steals money from the schools, student loans, and youth employment programs. At this rate, even if nuclear war doesn't cancel our future, what kind of future will we have?

Will it have any effect?

Many people, especially kids, feel helpless and don't get involved in anti-nuclear work. But grassroots movements have a history of reversing injustices. Look at the suffragist movement of the early 1900s which attained the right to vote for women. Or the civil rights movement. As a matter of fact, this country was founded on civil disobedience (the Boston Tea Party). When we have marches or blockade weapons facilities, we get the word out to others, who hopefully will join us, and the more people, the better. As for the politicians, Daniel Ellsberg, a former Pentagon official, now peace activist, puts it this way, "The politicians may not see the light, but they can sure feel the heat."

"When I first told my parents that I was planning to get arrested, they got very upset, and forbade me. Unlike many of my friends' parents, my parents are not involved in peace work, so they didn't understand my involvement. They were also afraid that I would get hurt. It is important that you sit down with your parents, and explain why you want to take part in whatever direct action you plan to participate in. After talking with my parents, they felt better (not great, but better) about what I planned to do. Some parents get involved through their children. Just like kids, adults are often scared, and feel helpless.

"Friends are another group of people from whom you may get either support or disapproval. Since I got involved with politics, I seem to have less in common with some of my old friends. But at the same time, I made many new friends through my work. Often, when one person in a group of friends gets involved, it starts a chain reaction, and before you know it everyone is involved in peace work. It may take time for your parents and friends to understand what you're doing, but you should not let their negative reactions deter you from becoming active."

— Amy Bomse

In closing we would like to say that there is hope. In the face of all these ominous facts and figures one can get to feeling small and helpless. Especially kids, who have been told from the day they were born that we can't make a difference until we're "adults". But Ronald Reagan and all his talk about "limited nuclear war" has shocked a lot of people into action and the anti-nuclear movement is growing like crazy. And now more and more kids are joining. That's the wonder of working for peace, there are millions of others working for peace too. Although the world is closer than ever to disaster, we are a lot better off than the kids in the 1950's and 60's. They hid under their desks in mock air raids, and stocked shelters with canned goods. Kids were just as scared then but they could not get information or take any kind of action, so they just sat terrified and hoped. We, however, have a chance to change things. It is a big responsibility, making this earth safe for future generations, but it is one that we inherited from the adults. We can't do it alone, but together we can do anything.

See also the article in "Planning, Legal Section, about minors (page 43).



STREET PREACHING

by Mernie King

To many the admonition to love our enemies is believable only as long as the enemies are general and unspecified. But when the enemies are identified as Russians, Iranians, Cubans, or whomever the government names as its adversaries, the statement becomes outrageous. "Love your enemies" is admired as the word of the Lord until it is suggested that it means you can't simultaneously love your enemies and plot their annihilation with nuclear weapons.

Witnessing at a nuclear facility is one way of insisting that the gospel is neither an abstraction nor historically irrelevant.

Whether at the gate of a bomber base, at a submarine station, or in front of a congressional office, being at a nuclear facility can provide Christians with the occasion to share the power and meaning of early apostolic faith. It is rather like the street preaching of the first century in downtown Rome.

Jesus was attacked and persecuted because he was viewed as a threat to the very heart of political and economic power. By calling on people to transfer their primary loyalty to his kingdom, Jesus was competing for the hearts and minds of the people. He was challenging normal political authority by calling into question the most basic of its assumptions.

Going to nuclear weapons facilities is one important way for our churches to break out of their comfortable social and political environment to know firsthand the struggle of faith that engages the world.

These nuclear facilities are our Auschwitz and our Dachau. While millions of innocent people were murdered at Auschwitz and Dachau, the death of many millions more is being prepared for by the production and deployment of U.S. nuclear weapons. If we had lived in Hitler's Germany, how would we have responded to the extermination policies and the ovens of Auschwitz? The contemporary counterpart to that faith question is how we will respond to the present nuclear crisis. Would we have intervened at Auschwitz crying, "No, this can't go on!"? Will we interrupt business as usual at Rocky Flats, missile sites, or federal buildings crying, "In the name of God, stop!"?

Christians should go to nuclear weapons facilities simply because it is right and follows from our faith. But politically and economically the effect could also be cumulatively substantial. What if all over the country groups began to show up at places associated in any way with the bomb — each week a few more until the nation really began to notice?

Courageous people must lead the country to withdraw its support from the arms race and thus undermine the whole nuclear weapons system. By adding a strong dose of Biblical peace, justice, and social vision to the political environment, Christians can make a vital contribution.

— excerpted from a chapter in *Waging Peace*, ed. Jim Wallis, 1982. (R22)

PEACE CAMPS

by Jean Hutchinson and Joe Peacock

On September 5, 1981, a small group calling itself "Women for Life on Earth" decided to help increase public awareness of nuclear war by maintaining a permanent presence outside the main gate to the Greenham Common Air Base in Britain, a designated site for NATO cruise missiles. By the end of July, 1982, there were more than twelve such "peace camps" in Britain, and the phenomenon is rapidly spreading to other parts of Europe. The idea of peace camps, a spontaneous and fundamentally grassroots movement, has captured the imagination of the European peace movement.

Many of the people who have started peace camps have not usually done so out of any well articulated strategy. Rather, they are people who have allowed themselves to be so touched by the reality and the possibility of nuclear war that they feel compelled to commit themselves in a more total and permanent way to the effort for peace. Those who set up peace camps along the perimeters of military bases do so out of the same desire to transform evil into good. This may be thought of as wishful thinking since their presence does not immediately eliminate the nuclear weapons that lay inside these military bases, but it is a sign which reveals that the transformation of evil into good is already happening. Those who start these peace camps are moved by a vision of a new life which is supplanting the old.

In peace camps, the strength of this new life is felt everywhere. Living close to the earth, yet often less than one hundred meters from the weapons of death, the situation in which we all live becomes very clear. At Molesworth (U.K.), campers planted a garden of vegetables, trees and flowers on the land of the military base, then saw it plowed over by the Ministry of Defense. Here was a small-scale example of the life and death drama of our times. We live in a society which rapes the earth and wastes its natural resources in order to build weapons of destruction: life being replaced by death. In this context, peace camps represent the will for life—a will which grows stronger every day.

Peace camps remind us that peacemaking must happen first at the local level. By providing a local focus for such work, they are often a source of empowerment. Say the women of Waddington peace camp, "By bringing the subject down to a personal level we hope to break through the emotional block that people have erected around nuclear weapons." Peace camps are also a vehicle for involving local people in peace work. The mainstay of a peace camp's existence is the involvement of neighbours and concerned citizens, who provide material support for the camp and assist with its educational efforts toward the local community.

The focus of peace camps is seldom limited to the danger of nuclear war, but more often includes a condemnation of all forms of violence. In explaining their choice of a site for a peace camp, the founders of the women's peace camp at Soesterberg, the Netherlands, said, "We have settled at a location where the violence is most visible in our society." This perspective has led most peace camps to consciously adopt nonviolence as a foundation for their work, and to organize regular non-violence training courses and seminars. This is very important for the following reason: It will help lead the European peace movement, like the American civil rights movement, toward the adoption of nonviolence as an alternative to military defense. Civil disobedience is becoming an increasingly familiar feature of life at peace camps. In December of 1982, 2000 women blockaded Greenham Common Air Base after 20,000 had encircled the 10-mile perimeter fence for nearly 24 hours. Another action, which has become one of the great success stories of the British peace movement, resulted in the halting of the construction of a nuclear fall-out shelter in Bridgend, Wales. Not long afterward, the project was completely abandoned.

The explosion of energy witnessed in the rapid growth of peace camps is evidence of a new commitment and inspiration in the peace movement. The campaign against cruise, Trident and all kinds of nuclear weapons is getting stronger because many people have made it their full-time business.

Disarmament Campaigns 9-82, Netherlands (R23)



Netty van Hoorn

GLOSSARY

abrogate—to cancel or repeal by authority; annul.

agribusiness—the vast and integrated complex of large-scale agriculture concerns, from production to distribution.

anti-ballistic missile system, ABM—a group of devices which are used to protect an area from attack by destroying enemy missiles as they fall from space, before they can explode.

arraignment—see LEGAL section.

atomic bombs—see nuclear bomb.

atmospheric testing—a test explosion of a nuclear bomb in the air rather than underground or under water.

ballistics—the science dealing with the motion of a missile in flight.

ballistic missile—a long-range missile that is guided by pre-set mechanisms in the first part of its flight, but is a free falling object as it approaches its target.

Ballistic Missile Defense—new term for anti-ballistic missile system. See ABM.

breeder reactor—a nuclear reactor that, in addition to generating atomic energy, creates additional fuel by producing more fissionable material than it consumes.

capital—accumulated wealth; especially, goods used for the production of yet more goods.

cd—civil disobedience. See below.

cite out—to sign a citation notice which gives immediate release from jail in return for a promise to appear in court on a certain date.

civil disobedience—See article “CD—Why It’s Our Choice”.

classism—See article “Confronting Classism”.

client regime—a state or government which is dominated by a more powerful state.

colonialism—the act of a powerful nation whereby it forces another *culture* to accept its direct rule in order to gain control of natural resources and cheap/slave labor.

consensus—a form of decision-making process. See article.

cruise missile—a pilotless jet airplane that is a guided missile whose flight path remains within the earth’s atmosphere.

deployment—to station or put in place in accordance with a plan.

deterrence—a policy of maintaining vast military strength in order to discourage an enemy from attacking.

empowering—(empowerment), giving power to a single member of an affinity group so that that person can act for the group in a spokes council; to give a person a sense of capability or worth.

expansionism—a policy of a state whereby it gains control of new territory for its empire by political and/or military means.

facilitator—a person who guides in the consensus process.

first-strike—a surprise, precision “knock-out punch”, where an aggressor seeks to destroy its enemy’s military ability to mount a counterattack. See article.

hegemony—leadership, predominant influence, esp. of a government or state.

hierarchical—social organization in which power is distributed unevenly, according to military, political, economic, sexual or other ranking; “from the top down”.

holocaust—thorough destruction; holocaust has come to describe the totality of the mad terror unleashed on European Jews by the Nazis from 1932-1945.

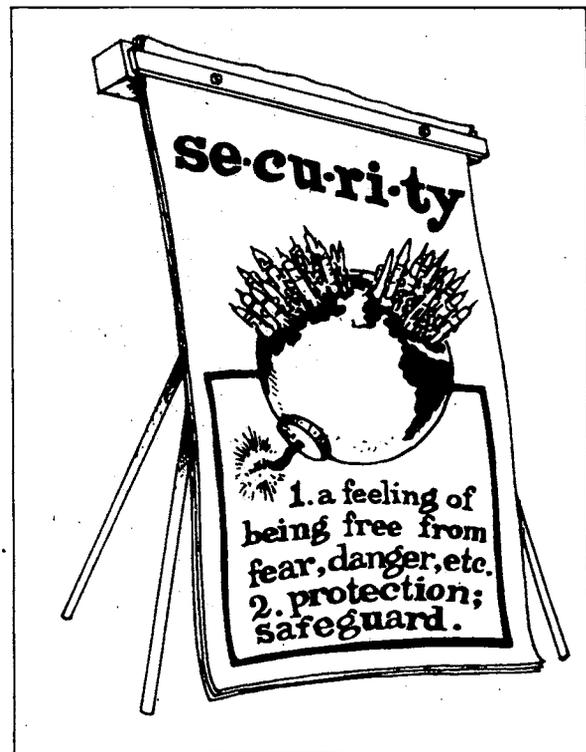
homophobia—see article.

hydrogen bomb—see nuclear bomb.

intelligence gathering—the act of a state to gain information, usually by secretive means, on various groups or other nations it wants to keep tabs on.

kiloton—the explosive force of 1000 tons of TNT: a unit for measuring the power of thermonuclear weapons.

laser—a. light amplification by stimulated emission of radiation; b. a highly concentrated beam of light that can perform various medical, industrial, scientific, or military tasks.



liaison teams—groups that coordinate activities; also, act as go-betweens for different groups.

logistics—having to do with procuring, maintaining, and transporting material, personnel, and facilities.

long-range missiles—this refers to Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles

megaton—the nuclear explosive force equal to one million tons of TNT. A thousand kilotons.

medium-range missiles—missiles designed to span the length of Europe, that could be used in various nuclear war-fighting schemes; examples: Soviet SS-20 and U.S. Pershing II.

monitor—see article.

moratorium—a suspension of activity.

MX—Missile Experimental. An ICBM carrying multiple individually-targeted re-entry vehicles fitted with nuclear warheads. They have an accuracy of 600 feet after a flight of 6000 miles. A first-strike weapon.

NATO—North Atlantic Treaty Organization; political, economic, and military alliance between the U.S. and most Western European nations.

neutron bomb—see nuclear bomb.

non-proliferation treaty—an agreement signed in 1968 between the U.S. and the USSR designed to prevent the non-nuclear nations from developing nuclear bombs.

nonviolence—see section.

nuclear bomb—bomb made of nuclear materials. There are basically two types: **Atomic Fission Bomb**—“A” bomb; this was the first type of nuclear bomb. It works by the special packing of highly refined radioactive material into a warhead and surrounding it with TNT—when the TNT explodes, it violently compresses the radioactive material, causing a rapid chain reaction in which the nuclei of the material split, releasing fantastic amounts of energy. **Hydrogen Fusion Bomb**—“H” bomb; developed in the early 50’s, uses the force of a fission explosion to fuse together hydrogen atoms, producing chain reactions similar to those of a star, resulting in much greater yields of energy than an A bomb.

nuclear fission—see nuclear bomb.

nuclear enrichment—enriched nuclear fuel is uranium that has been modified by increasing the concentration of the fissionable isotope uranium-235.

REFERENCES



Oooooooooooooo!

orbital ABM Systems—orbiting spacecraft capable of destroying ballistic missiles.

OR—to be released on one's own recognizance.

outreach—to contact people of the community involved, in a positive manner, to win them over to our purposes.

PAC—Political Action Committee, usually formed by a labor union, corporation, or other special interest to financially influence elections.

Pershing II—a new medium-range missile scheduled to be deployed in Europe in 1983. It is a first-strike weapon (see article).

pre-emptive strike—a surprise all-out strike on an enemy's military forces before they can be mobilized against you.

proliferation—the spread of nuclear weapons to countries that do not yet have a nuclear capability.

scenario—a description of a sample real-life unfolding of events under a particular set of circumstances; the proposed "plot" of an action.

seismographic—referring to the recording of a movement of the earth from earthquakes and man-made tremors (bomb tests, etc.).

space laser—a narrow concentrated beam of light traveling between earth and space satellites, and from one space satellite to another, then down to submarines. Unlike radio waves, laser waves can penetrate water.

SS-20 missile—new-generation Soviet medium-range missile with a large throw weight (lifting power), currently deployed on their western border and aimed toward Europe.

strategic—strategic nuclear weapons are long range systems, i.e., B-52 bombers, ICBMs, that are for use in an all-out first strike or retaliatory attack.

tactical—tactical nuclear weapons are those, usually of short range, which are designed to knock out military targets in a "limited" nuclear war. The distinction between tactical and strategic is often highly questionable.

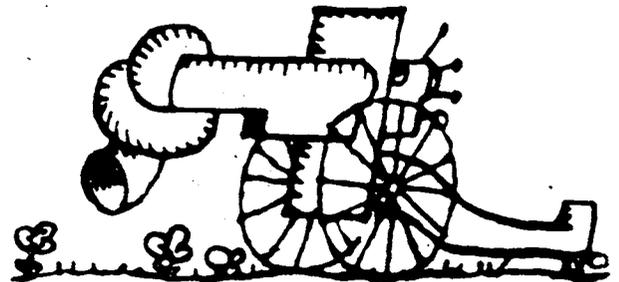
thermonuclear reaction—a reaction in which two or more light nuclei are fused together through high temperatures, causing a sudden release of energy.

trans-national corporation—a corporation whose structure and interests span country boundaries.

Trident—a Trident submarine is the latest U.S. sub, nearly as long as 2 football fields! Each Trident sub is eventually slated to carry 24 Trident II long-range missiles with each missile carrying up to 17 highly accurate warheads.

work-to-rule—a form of protest in which workers follow all orders and regulations completely, without using their own judgement as they usually do to resolve conflicting rules or take customary short cuts.

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MORTALITY RATES IN FOUR WARS

	Military Deaths	Civilian Deaths
WORLD WAR I	95%	5%
WORLD WAR II	52%	48%
WAR IN KOREA	16%	84%
WAR IN VIETNAM	8%	92%



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5. **Dollars and Sense**, 38 Union Square, Rm. 14, Somerville, Mass. 02143. Looks at U.S. economy from socialist perspective.
6. **Fellowship**, P.O. Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960. Magazine of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.
7. **Gay Community News**, 167 Tremont St., Boston, Mass. 02111. Newsweekly on the lesbian/gay experience in U.S.
8. **Guardian**, 33 West 17th St., NY NY 10011. Independent radical newsweekly.
9. **In These Times**, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave, Chicago, Ill. 60622. Independent socialist newsweekly.
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19. **Radical America**, 38 Union Square, Somerville, Mass. 02143 Bi-monthly journal on American politics.
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22. **WIN Magazine**, 326 Livingston St., Brooklyn, NY 11217. News about peace and freedom through nonviolent action.



FILMS

Reel Change: A Guide to Social Issue Films, edited by Patrica Peyton, 1979. Available from "The Film Fund", P.O. Box 909, San Francisco, CA 94103.

This book lists hundreds of social issue films. A number of distributors specialize in progressive films. Call or write to them for their complete catalogs/lists. Or try your local library.

Here are a few distributors:

1. Media Network Information Center, 208 West 13th St., NY, NY 10011, (212) 620-0877
2. NARMIC (National Action/Research on the Military-Industrial Complex), 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, Penn. 19102, (215) 241-7000
3. Green Mountain Post Films, Box 177, Montague, Mass. 01351, (413) 863-4754
4. Third World Newsreel, 26 West 29th St., NY, NY 10011, (212) 243-2310
5. Resolution Films, 630 Natoma St., San Francisco, CA 94103, (415) 621-6196
6. New Times Films, Inc., 1501 Broadway, Suite 1904, NY, NY 10036, (212) 921-7020
7. Bullfrog Films, Oley, Penn. 19547, (215) 779-8226

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1. Citizens Energy Project, 1413 K St. N.W., 8th Floor, Washington, D.C. 20005, (202) 783-0452

Blacks:

2. NAACP, 1790 Broadway, NY, NY 10019, (212) 245-2100
3. National Black United Front, 415 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11217, (212) 234-1264

Disabled Persons:

4. American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities 1200 15th St. N.W. Washington, D.C. 20005 (202) 785-4265

Disarmament

5. American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), 1501 Cherry St. Philadelphia, Pa. 19102 (215) 241-7000
6. Center for Development Policy 418 10th St. S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003 (202) 547-6406
7. Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC), 198 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y. 10038, (212) 964-6730
8. Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 4144 Lindell Blvd. #404, St. Louis, Mo. 63108 (314) 533-1169
9. Mobilization for Survival, 853 Broadway #2109, N.Y., N.Y. 10003, (212) 533-0008
10. Nuclear Information and Resource Center, 1536 16 St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 (800) 424-2477
11. NukeWatch, 315 West Gorham St., Madison, Wisconsin 53703, (608) 256-4146.
12. War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette St., N.Y., N.Y. 10012, (212) 228-0450
13. War Resisters League—West, 85 Carl St., San Francisco (415) 731-1220
14. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19107 (215) 563-7110
15. Women's Pentagon Action, 339 Lafayette St., N.Y., N.Y. 10012, (212) 254-4961.

Draft/military

16. Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors (CCCO) 2208 South St. Philadelphia, Pa. 19146 (215) 545-4626
17. Committee Against Registration and the Draft 201 Massachusetts Ave. N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002 (202) 547-4340
18. National Resistance Committee P.O. Box 42488 San Francisco, Ca. 94142 (415) 524-4778

Economics and Foreign Policy

19. Union of Radical Political Economists 41 Union Square West, Rm. 901 NY, NY 10003 (212) 691-5722
20. Institute for Policy Studies 1901 Q St. N.W. Washington, D.C. 20009 (202) 234-9382

Native American

21. International Indian Treaty Council Treaty Council News 330 Ellis St. #418 San Francisco, Ca. 94102 (415) 441-7841

Older People

22. Grey Panthers, 3700 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104 (215) 382-3300

Progressive Scientists

23. Physicians for Social Responsibility 639 Massachusetts Ave. Cambridge, Mass. 02138 (617) 491-2754
24. Union of Concerned Scientists 1208 Massachusetts Ave. Cambridge, Mass. 02138 (617) 547-5552

Environment

25. Friends of the Earth 1045 Sansome St. San Francisco, Ca. 94111 (415) 433-7373

Food

26. Institute for Food and Development Policy 2588 Mission St. San Francisco, Ca. 94110 (415) 648-6090

Gay Rights

27. National Gay Task Force 80 Fifth Ave. NY, NY 10011 (212) 741-5800

Group Process

28. Movement for a New Society 4722 Baltimore Ave. Philadelphia, Pa. 19143 (215) 724-1464

Legal Services

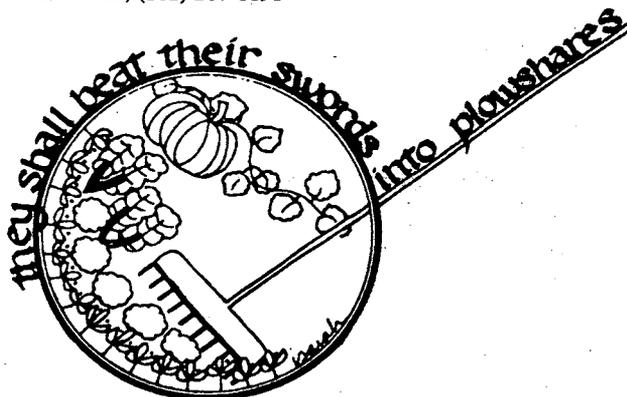
29. National Lawyers Guild 853 Broadway, Rm. 1705 NY, NY 10003 (212) 260-1360

Veterans

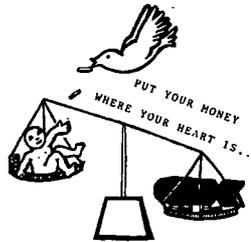
30. Citizen Soldier, 175 Fifth Ave., Suite 1010, N.Y., N.Y. 10010
31. National Association of Atomic Vets, 1109 Franklin St., Burlington, Iowa 52601, (319) 753-6112

Women

32. National Organization for Women (NOW), 425 13th St., NW, Rm. 1048, Washington, D.C. 20004, (202) 628-3197
33. Reproductive Rights National Network, 41 Union Square West, N.Y., N.Y. 10003, (212) 267-8891



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LAG is also publishing a local supplement to the International Day handbook, which contains specific information for people interested in participating in the Livermore Lab blockade planned for June 20, 1983. The supplement can also serve as a sample to groups in other areas who want to produce their own local supplement to help organize International Day actions.

An action bulletin, available from Livermore Action Group, provides updates on actions planned all over the world on International Day. Using this information in press releases about your local action will draw connections among all the actions.

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TO THE PEOPLE OF THE USA AND THE SOVIET UNION

ОБРАЩЕНИЕ К НАРОДАМ СССР И США

The nuclear armaments race between the USA and the USSR is a race towards death. Peace will not be secured by a balance of power on a still higher level. The vicious escalation of nuclear arms inevitably leads to a common Holocaust. By irresponsibility, miscalculation or accident.

We only have one world and to save it we must have courage to face the danger — we must have courage to be afraid — courage to act.

Hundreds of thousands are demonstrating in London, in Bonn, in Paris, in Brussels, in Rome to show their fear. The European peace-movements refuse to accept a Europe saturated with nuclear warheads, — more than 10.000 tactical ones, thousands of intermediate range rockets.

We protest against the planned deployment of even more nuclear weapons, the Pershing-II and the cruise missiles, — against the dangerous illusion that a nuclear war can be limited to Europe, — against the latest leads from the Reagan administration: the neutron bomb, and the plan for firing a nuclear device for demonstrative purposes.

We protest against the massive build up of SS-20 missiles, — against the sending of a Soviet submarine, possibly armed with nuclear weapons, into Swedish territory, hampering efforts to establish nuclear free zones.

We believe that after the first nuclear bomb has been fired, nothing can stop the destruction of the world.

We do not believe that we have to arm to be able to disarm.

We do not accept the insane logic which says that a nuclear bomb in the East justifies one in the West, or vice versa. Massmurder can never be justified.

We demand sincere negotiations and disarmaments NOW!

We protest against the enormous waste of resources for military purposes, when millions of people all over the world are starving.

The survival of mankind is too important to be left to the politicians alone. Support your local peace-movement, or start one!

Express your demands for nuclear disarmament to your neighbours, your church, your union, your representative in Congress or in the Supreme Soviet.



Гонка ядерных вооружений — гонка к смерти. Мир не обеспечивается балансом сил на растущем уровне. Безумное наращивание вооружения ядерного оружия обязательно ведёт к общей гибели. Из-за неотвечтвенности, неправильного расчёта или случайности.

Есть только одна Земля, чтобы спасти её требуется мужество осознать опасность — требуется мужество мужество показать свою боязнь — требуется мужество приступить к действию.

Сотни тысяч демонстрируют в Лондоне, в Бонне, в Париже, в Брюсселе, в Риме — и тем самым показывают свою боязнь. Европейское движение мира отвергает насыщение Европы атомными боеголовками — более 10.000 тактических, тысячами ракет среднего радиуса действия.

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