

# DIRECT ACTION

WEB  
FEATURE

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## Livermore Lab 1982 Handbook

After a successful 1981 protest that derailed the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant for several years, anti-nuke activists in California turned their attention to the nuclear arms race that was exploding under the new Reagan regime.

Two federally-funded weapons labs — Livermore Lab near San Francisco, and Los Alamos Lab in New Mexico — design virtually all nuclear weapons systems the U.S. has ever developed. Both weapons labs are technically operated by the University of California, with offices in Berkeley and Oakland.

In June 1982, after a nine-month organizing campaign, 1300 people were arrested in a nonviolent blockade of Livermore Lab. Protesters spent 2-3 days in jail and made the previously secretive weapons lab front page news. The story of this and subsequent actions, resulting in thousands of arrests, form the narrative of *Direct Action: An Historical Novel* by Luke Hauser.

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

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



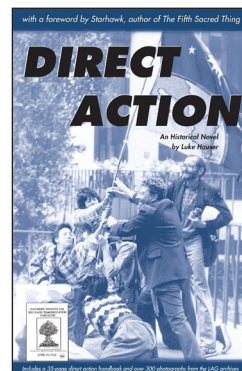
## DIRECT ACTION

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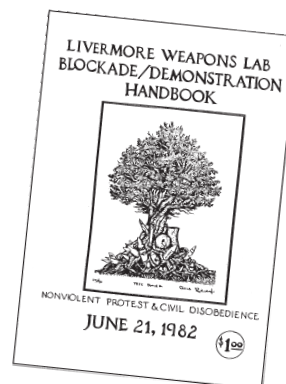


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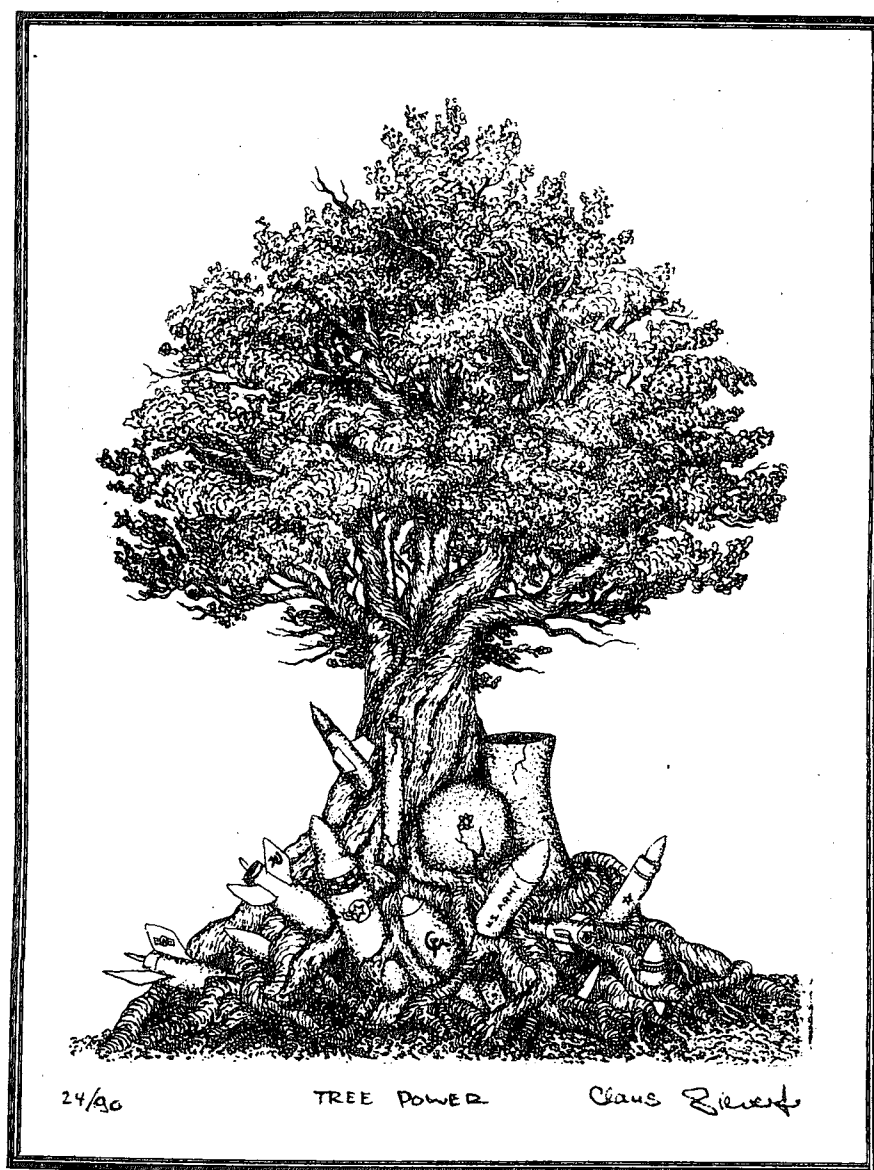
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# LIVERMORE WEAPONS LAB BLOCKADE/DEMONSTRATION HANDBOOK



NONVIOLENT PROTEST & CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

JUNE 21, 1982

\$1<sup>00</sup>

This Handbook was originally conceived as an eight page supplement to the Diablo Blockade Handbook. We realized that it was important to have the excellent section from the Diablo Handbook on process and the background material in one place. We experienced both the stress of what seemed the impossible task of producing a 64-page booklet in four weeks and the excitement of working collectively, learning new skills and information, and creating something we think will be useful.

As we write this, we can't see past punctuation and column inches. We can't wait to read it.

This big job in such a short time couldn't have been done without the work of all the individuals and collectives who contributed articles and labor. The material compiled here sometimes reflects the perspectives of those who wrote the articles, sometimes our collective editorial decisions, and sometimes the wealth of ideas which remain to be written. (Add your own pages.)

We particularly want to acknowledge the Livermore Action Group Education Collective, which kept churning out articles irrepressibly, and the Diablo Handbook Collective, from which we took the nonviolence, consensus, and affinity group sections.

In fact, this Handbook is just the youngest descendant in a long line of partial plagiarism of thoughts and graphics which were lifted from the Diablo Handbook, which were lifted from the Pentagon '80 Handbook, which were lifted from the Seabrook May 24 Handbook... which were lifted from the mythical, primordial anti-nuclear Handbook. Wherefore and whereas we offer and authorize anyone to use anything from this Handbook.

We gratefully acknowledge the following people for much and many kinds of help: Giorgia, Susan, Darren, Bob, Claus, Ron, Lee, Eric, Bill, Chuck, Renate, Marie, Steve, Tim, Aya, Amy, Ken, Joe, Barbara, Eldred, Bette, Michael, Sue, Crystal, Eric, Marleen, Steve, Laurie, Dave, Philip, Allison, Larry, Rachel, the Malcontents, Anna, Janet, Printing by Waller Press, Osha, Gaby, and much thanks to Mim Hawley for wordprocessing.



From all the chaos, we have organized this material into three sections: BACKGROUND on the labs, PROCESS for the action, and THE BLOCKADE ITSELF. This Handbook can be used as a source of education about the labs, for the necessary information for the June action, and as an illustration of our process.

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



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# STATEMENT of PURPOSE

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

\*\*\*\*\*

As a first step to this end we call for a halt to the design, development, and testing of all nuclear weapons, particularly first-strike weapons. The recent thrust in the U.S. to develop first-strike capability is currently the most serious obstacle to arms control negotiations. At the same time these weapons add nothing to our ability to defend ourselves.

\*\*\*\*\*

To achieve this goal we plan to focus national attention on the role of the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory and the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory in the development of a first-strike capability so that pressure may be brought to bear on the American government by its citizens to convert the facilities to the research and development of alternative energy sources.

\*\*\*\*\*

Conversion of the weapons labs would halt the development of destabilizing first-strike nuclear weapons systems and it would put us in a much better position to negotiate for arms reduction without endangering national security. At the same time it would force the government to seek positive alternatives to the use of the nuclear threat as a means of working toward world order.

## GOALS OF THE ACTION

The Livermore Action Group recognizes that people will participate in this action for a variety of reasons. It is not necessary that you take part for all of the following reasons: it is not meant to discourage participation by some that do not personally accept a particular goal. Nor is it an exhaustive list meant to exclude anyone from participating if his/her individual goals are not listed. This summary of goals is intended to help you clarify your own reasons for taking part, by making the necessary connections between the lab, the nuclear arms race, and its threat to peace.

1. To focus public attention on the role of the lab in the arms race and militarism;
2. To stress the importance of conversion of the lab to productive, peaceful use;
3. To disrupt "business as usual" at the lab, to slow down the development of first-strike and other nuclear weapons;
4. To urge weapons-related employees to reconsider their role in nuclear proliferation;
5. To assert the right and capability of ordinary citizens to express their objections to present foreign policy and to threat of nuclear war;
6. To make clear to administrators that they will have to arrest this country's own citizens if they insist on continuing on the path of destruction;
7. To show solidarity with European and world peace and disarmament movements;
8. To call attention to the vested interests which oppose disarmament and pour money into nuclear weapons instead of needed social welfare programs.

# STATEMENT OF SOLIDARITY

We see ourselves as part of a growing worldwide movement seeking to restrain the superpowers from their drift toward nuclear confrontation. We express solidarity with other groups working to the same end.

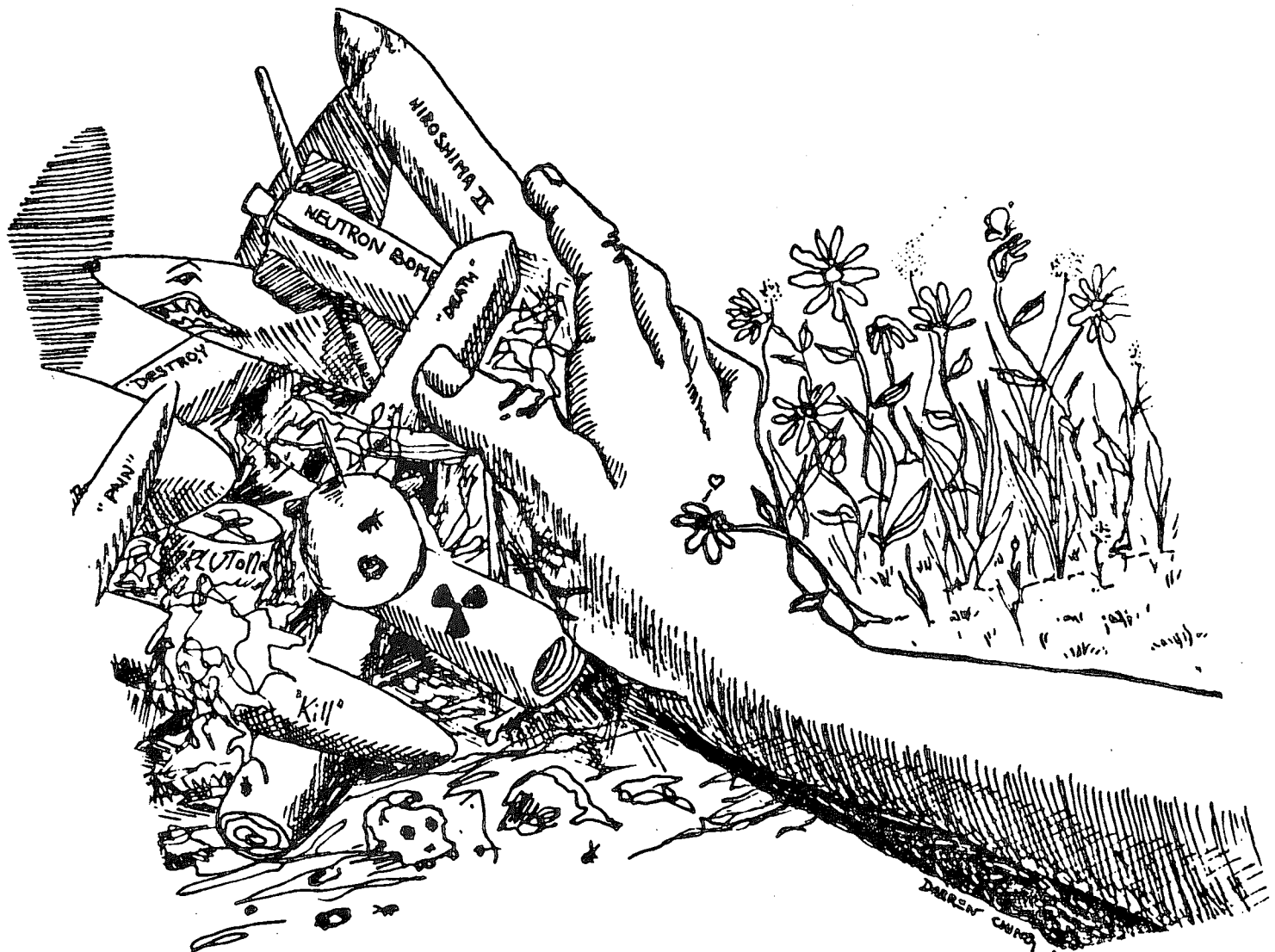
We express solidarity with the first victims of atomic weapons in Hiroshima and Nagasaki who are working to keep that memory alive so that it will never happen again.

We express solidarity with the Pacific Island Peoples, victims of Livermore's H-bomb testing, who are working toward a nuclear-free Pacific.

We express solidarity with the European disarmament movement who are protesting the deployment of Pershing II and Cruise Missiles, and the neutron bomb, all developed at Livermore. These weapons threaten the survival of European peoples.

We express solidarity with the people of the U.S., especially the poor and disadvantaged, who are victims of exorbitant military spending.

We express solidarity with the employees of Livermore Lab and the residents of Livermore who suffer radiation-related health risks.



# INTRODUCTION

The Livermore Action Group proposes conversion of our nation's two nuclear weapons design laboratories to productive, peaceful use, as a first step toward nuclear disarmament. Such a conversion would bring a halt to the design, development, and testing of all nuclear weapons. The Livermore Action Group affirms that this unilateral initiative would create a better environment for negotiations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. toward bilateral reductions in the production and testing of nuclear weapons.

The University of California manages the nuclear weapons design labs at Livermore, California, and Los Alamos, New Mexico. Conversion of the weapons labs would effectively stop the U.S. pursuit of a first-strike capability. Currently, the most formidable obstacle to arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union is America's thrust to develop a "disarming first-strike" capability. Some of the main proponents of first-strike weaponry are the self-proclaimed "impartial experts" at the labs. Scientists at the weapons labs first conceived of these weapons and brought them into early stages of development long before the defense community and our allies in Europe were ready to think in terms of counterforce-first-strike and first-use nuclear strategy. They also took the initiative in educating the Pentagon and the armed services about the possibility of a new "limited" nuclear war strategy, and lobbied aggressively at the Capitol in congressional subcommittees for a change to a more offensive "war fighting" capability.

The ongoing activities at the nuclear weapons design labs are critical to the development of the U.S. first-strike capability. At present, the warheads for the highly accurate, first-strike nuclear weapons such as the Trident, Cruise and the MX are in final stages of development at Livermore. The Livermore Laboratory is also developing three different models of the first-use neutron bomb, which has the potential of greatly increasing the possibility of "limited use" of nuclear weapons. In addition, the weapons design labs are unique in the entire nuclear weapons complex in that they supervise all stages of nuclear weapons design, development, testing, production, deployment, stockpile reliability assessment, and retirement. The ongoing nonnuclear testing and assessment of the reliability of the nuclear stockpile is essential for building the confidence necessary for launching an all-out first strike. The weapons labs also conduct underground nuclear weapons tests at the Nevada Test Site. Without these tests, the development of new and more destructive nuclear weapons systems would end. Bringing a halt to the nuclear weapons tests alone would provide an effective and verifiable substitute for the SALT II negotiations that have been scrapped by the Reagan administration. Conversion

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

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

We do not for a moment put the entire blame for the nuclear arms race on the weapons design labs. Such an analysis would constitute a gross misunderstanding of the pervasiveness of militarism in America. Militarism is deeply rooted in many long-standing foreign and domestic policies. We will not purge ourselves of militarism without major economic and political change. But we live in a time of crisis. Unless the development of first-strike nuclear weaponry is stopped in the next few years, the chance that nuclear weapons will be used will be greatly increased. The nuclear weapons policies of the Reagan administration are genocidal and suicidal. These policies, combined with the increase in research and development of advanced nuclear weapons technology, make a nuclear holocaust virtually unavoidable. We therefore approach the Reagan administration and the weapons labs precisely in the way we would approach someone about to commit homicide or suicide — we would attempt to restrain the individual by removing the weapon. Times of crisis call for a dramatic and articulate response. We must say NO to first-strike where it begins — at the nuclear weapons design labs. And we must make our stand loud and clear. A demonstration and blockade at the Livermore lab offers us such an opportunity.

We do not expect to stop the work at Livermore for more than a few hours or a few days, depending on the number of demonstrators. However, we do expect to focus national attention on Livermore and the dangerous first-strike nuclear weapons policies of the Reagan administration. We expect to make it very clear that we will no longer stand idly by while this administration prepares for global destruction. This nuclear acceleration will not continue without this government having to arrest large numbers of its own citizens. We are hopeful that when we converge on Livermore to make a stand against first-strike that we will be one step closer to disarmament. Stop the bomb where it starts! ●



## INTRODUCTION TO BACKGROUND MATERIAL

This section of the handbook is intended to provide a minimum basic introduction to our reasons for attempting to convert LLNL to peaceful use. We have neither the time nor the space to prepare a thorough and systematic account of a very complicated subject. We have put together several articles on important aspects of the subject prepared by the Livermore Action Group education workgroup. These articles were written by individuals and were not consensed to by L.A.G. Their purpose is to acquaint readers of this handbook with a few basic facts and opinions about the Livermore Lab and its relationship to us and our world, and to encourage further study of and action against this monster in our midst. If you are interested in more information please contact the Livermore Action Group Education Collective.

# LIVERMORE LAB

## History of Lab: from Prototype to Protest

1943 - Los Alamos Scientific Lab established in New Mexico to produce world's first atomic bomb. University of California began management of nuclear weapons research.

1945 - July - First atomic bomb exploded in New Mexico.

August - Atomic bombs produced by Los Alamos dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, killing 300,000 people.

Late 1940's - Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) formed. AEC served as a "civilian" cover for nuclear weapons development, although all decisions about nuclear weapons were made by the military. Many atomic scientists, repulsed by the effects of the weapons they produced, refused to work on the hydrogen bomb.

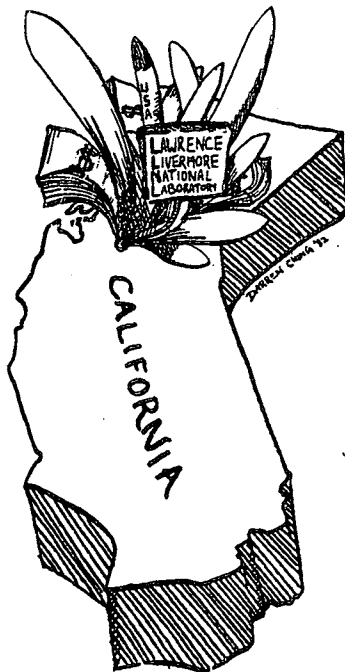
1952 - Lawrence Livermore Lab established 40 miles east of San Francisco to compete with Los Alamos and speed up development of the world's first hydrogen bomb.

1954 - First hydrogen bomb tested.

1950's - Atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons in Nevada and the South Pacific by the two weapons labs. Evidence of serious health threats from fallout result in worldwide movement for a complete ban on nuclear weapons testing. Weapons labs lobbied vigorously against any ban on testing. Movement co-opted by partial test ban on atmospheric tests. Testing continued underground, movement died down; and thousands of people contracted cancer and leukemia in Nevada and Utah from fallout. Many died.

1963 - Fewer protests against nuclear weapons after partial test ban, due both to partial ban and to shift of progressive movement toward civil rights and anti-Vietnam war movements. Livermore and Los Alamos continued development of strategic nuclear weapons such as land-based and submarine-launched missiles.

1970 - Thousands demonstrated on University of California campuses against U.C. management of Livermore and Los Alamos labs, in context of protests on many campuses against university research for the war in Vietnam. U.C. appointed Zimmer Committee to make recommendations on U.C.-labs relationship.



*"In my view, no one will win a nuclear war."*

*Harold Brown,  
former Secretary of Defense*

1971 - Zimmer Committee found U.C. had almost no influence on the weapons labs, and recommended continued management only if major changes were made. Majority of U.C. faculty voted to support the Zimmer Committee, and voted for severance of U.C.'s ties.

1972 - Protests against weapons labs declined along with rest of anti-war movement. to 1976 - U.C. continued quiet management of the labs, implementing almost none of the Zimmer Committee's recommendations. By 1975, with the end of the Vietnam war, part of the peace movement began a focus on local military facilities, calling for their conversions to peaceful uses.

Fall, 1976 - U.C. Nuclear Weapons Labs Conversion Project formed as a coalition of Bay Area peace and student groups. Conversion Project formed to challenge the University of California's renewal of its 5-year contract to manage the weapons labs. Conversion Project called for opening up of contract renewal process and for a clause in contract urging conversion of the labs to peaceful purposes.

1977 - U.C. Regents renewed contract ahead of schedule, meeting none of the Conversion Project's demands, but agreeing to a full-scale review of the U.C.-labs relationship. The review committee (called the Gerbeding Committee after the chairperson) was set up only after a sit-in by Project members in U.C. President Saxon's office. Conversion Project set as its major goals: the conversion of the weapons labs to peaceful purposes, an end to use of radioactive substances at the lab, and full debate about the labs and the University.

1978 - Spring - Gerbeding Committee released report recommending continued U.C. management; Conversion Project issued its own report blasting the University, and the labs.

Six Conversion Project members acquitted for sitting-in at President Saxon's office in a call for public debate. U.C. subsequently sponsored a debate on U.C. labs issues on different campuses.

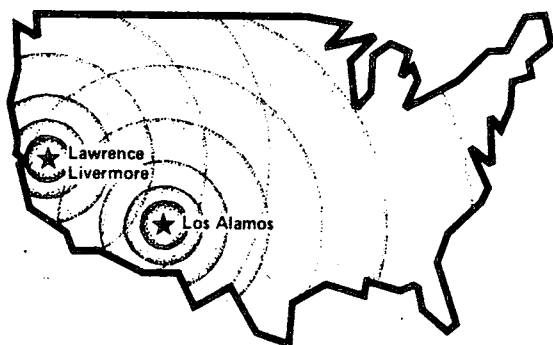
Summer - Conversion Project launched "monitoring" effort to obtain unclassified information on the labs weapons work. U.C. and labs refused such information. Conversion Project released studies detailing and criticizing the labs' promotion of the neutron bomb and the military uses of laser fusion research.



Fall - Demonstration on U.C. campuses called for a public hearing on the labs issue.

Conversion Project was instrumental in founding the Nuclear Weapons Facilities Task Force, tying together nuclear weapons facilities groups nation-wide. The Task Force was influential in formulating the idea of a nuclear weapons freeze.

1979 - February - 400 people attended Regent's hearing on the weapons labs. Ellsberg, nuclear test victims testified, one calling the Regents "murderers." Regents did not respond to testimony. Conversion Project called for severance of ties between U.C. and the weapons labs. Department of Energy became concerned about controversy over weapons labs and appointed special committee to study whether U.C. should continue to be lab manager.



April - Conversion Project challenged draft environmental impact statement for Livermore Lab, resulting in final report being delayed.

Conversion Project issued 40-page conversion study showing how Livermore scientists and facilities could be used for alternative energy research instead of nuclear weapons (see article "Converting the Labs.")

May - D.O.E. committee recommended U.C. continue management of the labs but expressed fears that protests would not go away.

4,000 people demonstrated at Livermore May 5 (in the rain) in the largest demonstration ever held at the lab. 800 people took part in a teach-in the following day at U.C. Berkeley.

Governor Brown introduced motion for severance of U.C.'s tie to the weapons labs at May Regents meeting.

July - For the first time in the history of the weapons labs, the Regents voted on whether or not to continue U.C. management. By a vote of 15-8, the Regents voted to continue.

October, November - Conversion Project and Abalone Alliance held 50 "Forums for a Nuclear-Free Future" at campuses around California.

1980 - January - Livermore experienced the worst earthquake in its history, 5.5 on the Richter scale. Radioactive tritium was released. 7,100 employees evacuated; repair bill over \$17 million. Earthquake led to intensified concern about radiation hazards at Livermore; calls by Governor Brown and 5 local congresspeople for removal of plutonium from the lab.

April - Two "glovebox" accidents contaminated Bldg. 332 with plutonium. Bldg. 332 was shut down for several months. DOE ruled "serious negligence" involved.

3-year State Department of Health study revealed rates of melanoma skin cancer at Livermore 5 times what they should be. Two survivors of melanoma victims filed suit. Lab claimed increased cancer rate due to employees' "jogging around the lab on their lunch hour."

Conversion Project filed suit against Livermore to gain equal access to the LLL Visitors' Center and auditorium to present viewpoints critical of the arms race. All previous requests had been denied. As a result of the suit, the Conversion Project was given permission to have literature in the Visitors' Center, but not to have programs there: one-time only use of the auditorium. Livermore is appealing the suit.

Forty people arrested in sit-ins at U.C. Berkeley to protest U.C. management of the labs. Arrests included Daniel Berrigan, Robert McAfee Brown, Pat Ellsberg, and Daniel Ellsberg.

Livermore Lab recruiters greeted by protests at Cornell, Stanford, University of Wisconsin, and in Vancouver, British Columbia.

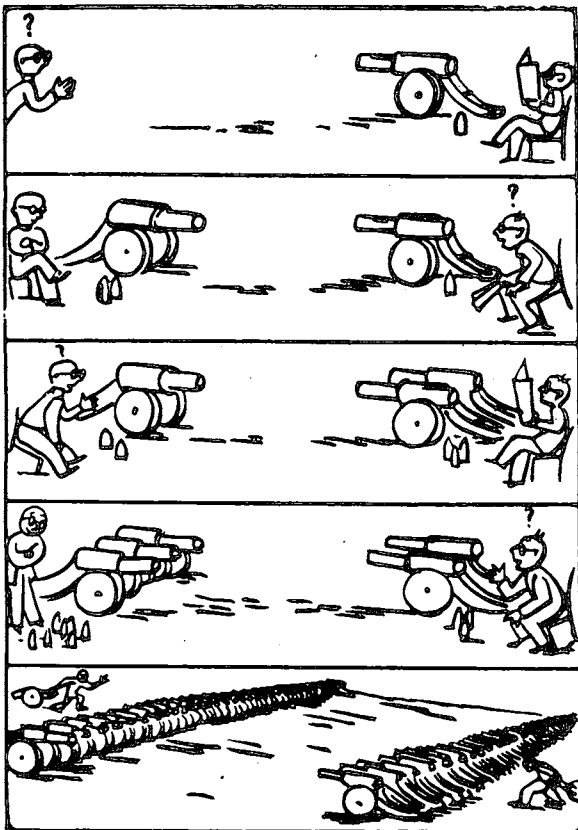
U.C. Berkeley faculty, after major debates, voted 55% to 45% for continued U.C. management of the labs.

Summer - The Conversion Project hosted two forums held in Livermore on the arms race and earthquake hazards at Livermore.

Conversion Project-initiated "Survival Summer" did major national organizing around issues of the draft, the arms race, energy policy, and domestic priorities. Organizers in 50 cities, and 2,000 people trained as organizers.

September - U.C. Regents voted 15-5 to open negotiations with the Department of Energy on a new management contract for the weapons labs. This vote is tied to new oversight bodies which promise even less control by U.C. over the labs.

November - Conversion Project sued 7 Regents for conflicts of interest with the labs. Many sit on the boards of corporations that do business with DDE or the labs. If the suit wins, the votes of those Regents on weapons lab matters will be nullified. Forum entitled "National Insecurity" held at Livermore Lab auditorium, featuring arms race critics Seymour Melman and



Weapons do not make us secure.  
Нам мир оружие не обеспечит

Rear Admiral Gene R. LaRocque. This forum, which resulted from a lawsuit by the Conversion Project, is the only time that arms race critics have been allowed to present their viewpoints within the lab.

1981 - January - Ronald Reagan takes charge of the nation's 30,000 nuclear warheads and the largest arms buildup in history. Conversion Project demonstrated in solidarity with testing victims in Utah and Nevada on the 30th anniversary of the first nuclear weapons test by the weapons labs in Nevada.

April - 500 demonstrated at Livermore and the Concord Naval Weapons Station.

May - U.C. issues report calling for more weapons development at the labs. "Arms control" conference at Livermore. Weapons designers and Reagan Administration officials meet. Reagan arms control negotiator Paul Nitze calls for arms control in "10 years... after we have built up our forces." U.C. Regents tried to rush approval for management contract with less than 10 days' notice. Stopped by protest.

June - Livermore Lab received 19% increase in its weapons budget. U.C. Regents finalized contract for another 5 years of management of the labs, through 1987. 300 demonstrated and L.A. police called out when Regents were forced from the room by demonstrators. Severance clauses in contract leave open the possibility that continued protests may achieve severance before the end of the contract.

Summer - Conversion Project suffered decline in response to Regents' vote, with confusion on how to effectively respond to the Reagan offensive.

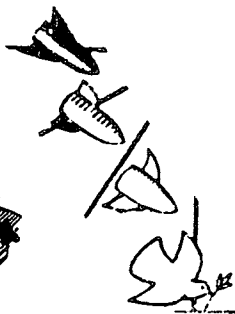
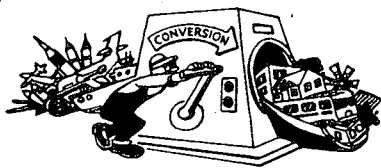
October - Livermore Action Group (L.A.G.) formed to organize non-violent direct action at Livermore Lab.

1982 - February - 170 people arrested on February 1 at Livermore in the first of a planned series of blockades at the Lab.

March - 31 people arrested on March 1 at Livermore in a blockade organized by local churchpeople and students at Graduate Theological Union Seminary.

May 10 - Mothers' Day Action at Livermore.

# conversion



In April, 1979, The U.C. Nuclear Weapons Labs Conversion Project issued a conversion study for Livermore Lab. The following is a summary of the Conversion Project's 40-page Conversion Study entitled "Shaping Alternatives for LLL - A Preliminary Analysis." Full copies of the study are available for \$2.50 from the Labs Project, 3126 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, CA 94703.

Conversion of military facilities and defense industries is not a new idea. Other plants, often with the assistance of the federal government, have pursued conversion options when the government cut funds for military work. Such experiences show that converting LLL to alternative energy work is possible. A commitment to such work would provide more jobs per dollar to the community — jobs that would be less environmentally hazardous, too.

## One Conversion Possibility: Alternate Energy Research

LLL is the world's largest research laboratory, with the world's biggest computer complex and some of the most skilled scientific and engineering talent in the country. As such, the lab is urgently needed to begin research and development of alternate energy sources for the Department of Energy. Two 1978 studies, conducted by the General Accounting Office and the President's office of Science and Technology, have strongly criticized DOE for its over-emphasis on nuclear research. We think the time is right for the lab to make the change to this kind of work.

Specifically, we call for the laboratory to utilize its resources and talent to solve the following problems in alternative energy development:

- Finding new materials for photovoltaic (solar) cells;
- developing new ways of making fuels from biomass;
- reducing the cost of extracting hydrogen from water;
- developing ways to use hydrogen as a fuel;
- finding better means for energy storage and transfer;
- improving the safety and reliability of wind energy systems;
- developing cheaper, more efficient fuels for transportation;

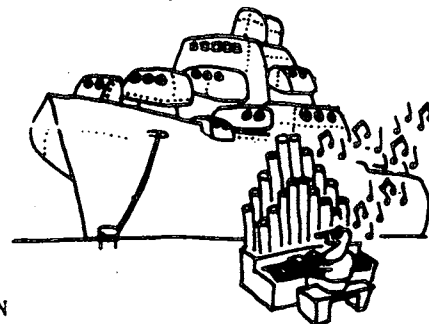
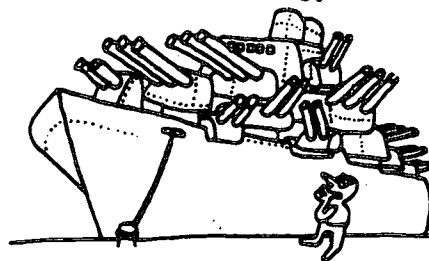
- developing computer modeling for integrated alternative energy systems for cities, homes, and industry.

## The Impact of Conversion on LLL

Lab employees, scientists, and concerned citizens have suggested that LLL's national security mission should focus on research that could lead to renewable, non-nuclear energy sources. Conversion of Livermore to such work is clearly desirable, and, we believe, technically possible. Of the 6,900 employees at LLL, 2,400 work as scientists and engineers, and 3,000 are technicians and craftspeople. The remaining 1,500 function as administrative and support personnel. The LLL 1978 Institutional Plan states, "Together, these groups represent broad expertise across nearly the whole spectrum of research." The Institutional Plan also contains a chart that shows that seven out of nine areas of technical expertise within the defense Program are transferable to other non-defense programs.

Conversion is often more politically difficult than technically unfeasible. Resistance by lab management and pro-military forces, in the society at large as well as in the Pentagon and the Department of Energy, is intense. The involvement of all of us — lab employees and concerned citizens — in making Livermore a leading alternative energy research facility is the only way to overcome these political obstacles.

All of us need to study the issues and make informed judgments concerning the economic and environmental questions involved in choosing our energy future. We will continue to resist and oppose the continued research and development of nuclear weapons by this or any other nation as we work to convert Livermore. We strive to make concrete a possible vision of our future — a vision that can shape new solutions to the arms race and new solutions to the energy crisis. ●



CONVERSION

# ORIGINS of the LIVERMORE ACTION GROUP

*"The power of an aroused public is unbeatable.  
Vietnam and Watergate proved that"*

*Dr. Helen Caldicott*

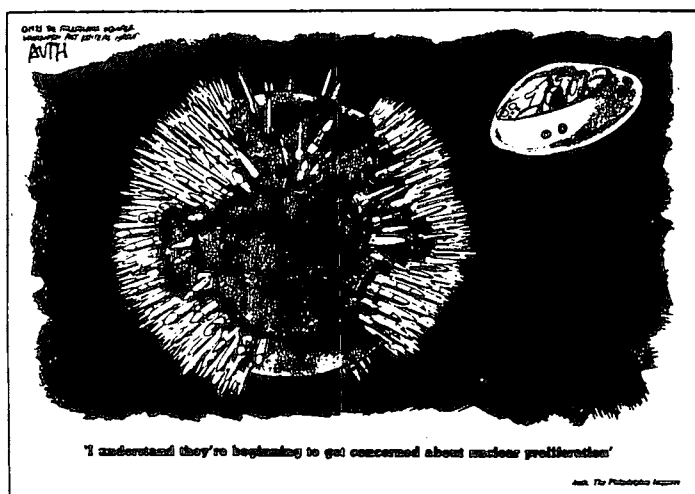
In the history of the opposition to nuclear weapons design labs, June 19th, 1981, is a day to remember. The protestors were seated cross-legged in a hallway of the Los Angeles Civic Center. On one side was an angry crowd of over 200 University of California students and peace activists. On the other stood scores of U.C. and L.A. police in full riot gear, their shiny boots, sticks, and guns only an arm's reach away, and police dogs waiting around the corner. Beyond the police, behind closed doors, the U.C. Regents were holding a "public" meeting. Public outrage against their vote to renew a five-year contract for U.C. management of the weapons labs forced them to meet behind closed doors. After minimal testimony and even less discussion, at a meeting called months ahead of schedule, they proceeded to vote. They dismissed five years of controversy and hard work in just a few minutes.

The U.C. Regents voted to continue five more years of nuclear weapons research and development; five critical years of first-strike and tactical nuclear weapons development. They denied us a small request (small relative to the enormity of the problem of disarmament); to sever the ties between the University and the weapons labs. The campaign for severance, organized by the U.C. Nuclear Weapons Labs Conversion Project, was conceived as a minimal, first objective in a projected long struggle to convert the labs to peaceful uses. In one swift, underhanded, undemocratic, bureaucratic move, they washed all these efforts down the drain. The cover of legitimacy provided them by the University of California, the secrecy that isolates them from public review, and their autonomy, which gives them special privilege at the Capitol, puts them beyond public reach and insulates them from public debate. The people who make the critical decisions are part of the elite who have a vested interest in the ongoing arms race.

For many, this event became a turning point. It became evident to those working in opposition to the labs that other means of protest would be necessary before real change would come about. Democratic appeals, lawsuits, and attempts to begin a dialogue with officials at the lab were simply not productive. It is in the context of this long struggle that massive nonviolent direct action against the labs, such as the one now being planned by the Livermore Action Group, became our only viable alternative. From that point on, many people devoted their energy to organizing such a movement.

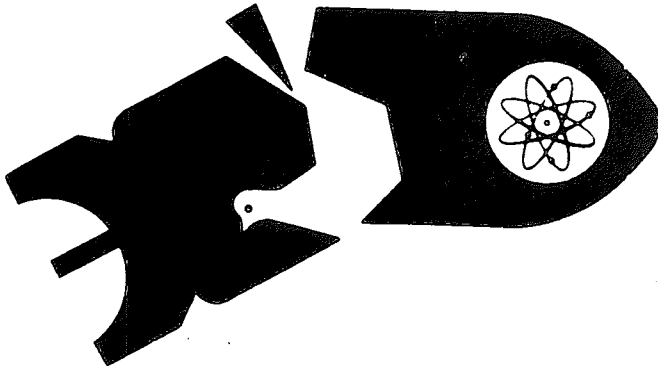
This was all happening at the same time that Diablo Canyon was licensed to begin testing. Several people interested in organizing against the weapons labs participated in the Diablo Blockade. The jail experience proved to be an ideal opportunity for outreach and organizing. Once the word got out, people started coming out of the woodwork. What was mistaken for apathy was actually a feeling of frustration that the current forms of protest were not appropriate for the nuclear crisis. The idea of nonviolent civil disobedience at the Livermore Lab became attractive because it offered a more dramatic and empowering avenue of protest than marches and rallies. A blockade of Livermore promised to build a community of resistance and yet avoid the violent confusion of many 1960's demonstrations. A blockade addressed the problem that the electoral process did not — the opportunity to express dissent to the nuclear buildup.

By November, two groups emerged in the Livermore Action Group. One group was determined to blockade as soon as possible, and their efforts culminated in the February 1, 1982 blockade, when 170 were arrested at the gates of Livermore. The other group was interested in building an organization that would organize a massive demonstration and blockade, possibly by several thousand people. With your help, this will become a reality on June 21st 1982. ●



"In terms of the safety of the American people it is obvious to me that we are much less safe today than we were before these wretched weapons ever came into existence."

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dean Rusk,  
Former Secretary of  
State, 1974



### WHAT'S IN A NAME?

The Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, founded in 1952, was first called the University of California Radiation Laboratory, affectionately known as the "Rad Lab." When Ernest O. Lawrence, one of the founders of the lab, died, the name was changed to the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory. In 1980, Congress added the word "national" to the weapons labs' names, changing them to the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory and the Los Alamos National Scientific Laboratory. They made the change in response to the U.C. Weapons Labs Conversion Project's wide use of the terms "U.C.'s weapons labs" and "our nation's weapons design labs." Congressional hawks wanted to make sure we knew these weren't U.C.'s or California's or "our" labs, but "national" labs. They went further, adding the following language to the 1980 Department of Energy authorization bill: "The recent efforts by some individuals within the University of California system to influence the roles and missions of the weapons labs have been disruptive and may prove to be counterproductive to the national interest." We take that as a compliment.

Recently Molly Lawrence, the widow of Ernest O. Lawrence, wrote a letter to U.C. Berkeley Chancellor I. Michael Heyman saying that she is "not happy" that her husband's name has been associated with the nuclear weapons research laboratory. "I'm mainly concerned with the nuclear weapons buildup," she said in a telephone interview. "I thoroughly disapprove of it, and a great educational institution like this has no business in that," she added, referring to U.C.'s management of the labs. "I just don't think there's any hope for mankind if we don't limit these weapons, and hopefully get rid of them." We hope that soon the labs will be referred to as the "former nuclear weapon design labs." ●



"Nothing is more needed in Washington than a rebuke to those who are not pressing actively and energetically for arms control"

John Kenneth Galbraith



Drawing by Andrew Costa, aged 8.



# The Most Dangerous Game

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.'

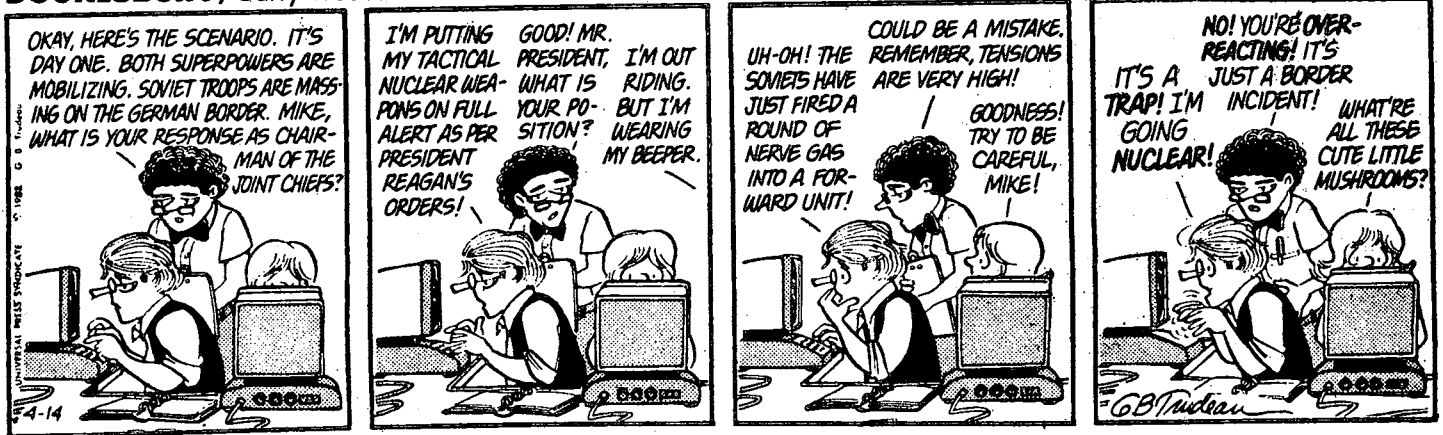
Then the 'red' team responds in kind, and before long the fighting escalates...

There was usually nobody left when we got through.

—Herbert Scoville, Arms Control Association



## DOONESBURY / Garry Trudeau



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. We teach children to play games as one way of learning how to eventually interact in adult life. As adults, we play games with each other at times when a "serious" approach is uncomfortable. 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, realistic, and believable than any previous war game. JANUS is the most sophisticated two-sided interactive combat-simulation computer program for modeling an integrated battlefield. An integrated battlefield 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, the 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 Roman mythology, Janus was the guardian of portals and the patron of beginnings and endings. If, as many experts agree, a "limited" nuclear war will very likely not remain limited, the Livermore's JANUS could very well be the beginning of the end. These people are playing with our lives.

When our children play with toys that can hurt them we take the toys away.

Take the toys away from the boys. ●

# The Ivory Tower is a Bomb

## THE U.C. CONNECTION

The University of California's name and seal are on every nuclear warhead ever developed by the United States. Not many people are aware that a major purpose of the University has been to administer the Livermore and Los Alamos weapons labs from the time they were both founded.

Officially, U.C. operates the labs under five-year contracts with the Department of Energy (DOE), which owns the labs and provides most of the funding. But despite its official capacity as the labs' administrator, the University exercises no control or influence over the direction or work of the labs. Rather, it has provided an academic cover — a "cloak of legitimacy" — for secret nuclear weapons research.

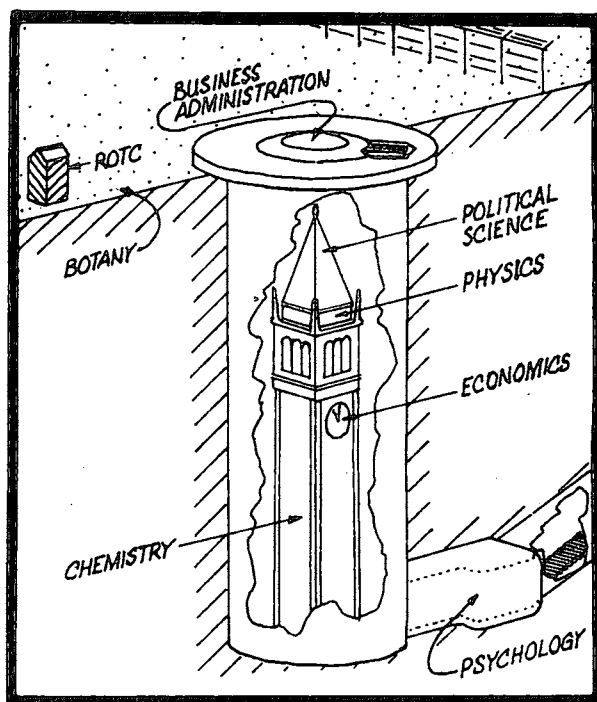
U.C.'s contractual duties and power are quite limited, with the major responsibilities being the selection of lab directors and management of the personnel program, since everyone who works at the labs is officially a U.C. employee. But the DOE has veto power over the appointment of lab directors, thus limiting further U.C.'s influence. And in recent years, Livermore Lab employees have complained bitterly about personnel practices, moving them to organize and push for collective bargaining rights.

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

The University plays no role in determining what work goes on at the labs, including the weapons work. "The labs get their marching orders from Washington," noted Los Alamos assistant director Ed Hammel. "U.C. understands that and interferes with the program not at all."

Rather, the University plays a benevolent and protective role: on the one hand providing its good name, academic excellence, and "objectivity" to attract both capable scientists and ample government funding; and on the other hand assuming no role at all in oversight or direction, allowing the labs almost total freedom and autonomy.

The major benefits to the labs from the University connection, according to Hammel, are "prestige," in that the U.C. name helps "in the recruitment and retention of scientific personnel;" and "independence," in that the laboratory staff "enjoys a much greater degree of freedom in its interactions with government officials than would be



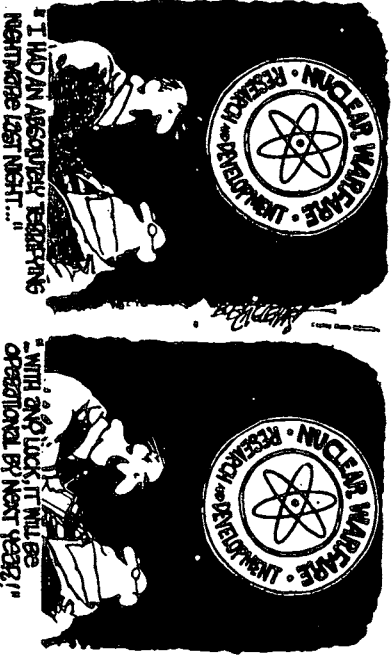
the case were they under some government or industrial management." It is precisely this "independence" that has enabled lab officials to exercise powerful influence on weapons policies.

For more than two years the U.C. Weapons Labs Conversion Project pressured the University to take an active stand in favor of converting the labs and opening them up to public review. The Conversion Project resisted for that time the call for severance, except as a last resort, since our goal is not simply to purify the University but to confront directly the threat posed by continued nuclear weapons research. By early 1979, it was quite clear that the University would not exert even the most minimal amount of control or influence over the labs needed to make them accountable. Rather, the University appears interested only in maintaining the status quo at the labs under the guise of exercising some control. Their defense is that they are doing a "public service" in the "national interest." But by playing the silent partner in this arrangement, the University continues to add legitimacy to the deadly arms race and the secrecy surrounding it, thus committing a grave DISSERVICE to the nation.

Severing the University from the labs will, of course, not change the priorities at the labs. But it would remove a certain prestige from the weapons work, might make the recruiting of lab personnel more difficult, and would be an important statement about the arms race — hopefully setting the stage for a broader public discussion about the danger of continuing nuclear weapons development. ●

"There can be no winner in a nuclear war. And yet, there's been more and more talk of it, more and more emphasis being placed on it. [Building up of nuclear stockpiles is] a terrible waste, a terrible danger, [that] needs to be brought to a halt."

Robert McNamara,  
former Defense Secretary



### FIRST-STRIKE WEAPONS DESIGNED AT LIVERMORE

This chart gives a brief overview of four of the new generation of nuclear weapons - vastly more accurate and efficient than those we have now - currently in the final stages of development at Livermore.

The money required to provide adequate food, water, education, health and housing for everyone in the world has been estimated at \$17 billion a year. It is a huge sum of money ... about as much as the world spends on arms every two weeks.



THE WEAPON	DESCRIPTION	SPECIAL FEATURES	DANGERS	MAIN CONTRACTORS	COST
TRIDENT	Nuclear Powered Sub-marine, 2 football fields in length, 5 stories high. Armed with Trident I and II missiles.	Subs are invulnerable to attack, able to strike within a few feet of any target at any point over half the earth's surface.	Extreme accuracy and high explosive power enable it to attack hardened silos transforming subs from retaliatory into offensive weapon.	General Dynamics Lockheed Westinghouse RCA IBM	\$1.3 billion each
M-X	Land-based ICBM, armed with 10-14 independently targeted warheads.	Extreme accuracy, can hit within 100 feet of target after traveling 8,000 miles.	Accuracy gives it the potential to destroy Soviet ICBMs, making it a first-strike weapon. Could force Soviets to put their missiles on hair-trigger launch on warning status.	Martin Marietta Boeing Northrup United Technologies	\$34 billion
CRUISE	Small, subsonic, pilot-less airplane, 14-20 feet long. Can be launched from land, sea, or air.	Flies at tree-top level, eluding radar. Able to carry large warheads to within 100 ft. of target.	Based in Europe, can strike in a few minutes without warning, adding instability. Small, therefore hard to verify for arms control.	Boeing General Dynamics McDonnell Douglas Williams Research Corp.	\$1 million each
NEUTRON BOMB	Kills mainly by radiation blast effect shielded to minimize property destruction.	Designed as a first-use weapon for the battlefield against conventional forces. Destroys everything within 500 yards and most people within 1 mile.	This first-use weapon makes "limited" nuclear war more thinkable.	- -	\$1 million each

# Livermore Lab: lobbyist for WAR

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## THE NEUTRON BOMB: BROUGHT TO YOU BY THE LAWRENCE LIVERMORE NATIONAL LABORATORY

On June 24, 1977, when the neutron bomb exploded on the pages of the Washington Post, the fact that funding was being appropriated for its production came as a surprise not only to most of Congress and the American public, but also to the President himself, Jimmy Carter, who had been in office for six months. How was it possible for the neutron bomb to get all the way from conception, design, and development to production without Congress, the President, and the American public being informed? We have the neutron bomb not because the Pentagon ordered it or because Congress felt it was necessary, but because the weapons labs conceived it and aggressively promoted it over a period of years. Labs officials themselves admit that they took the initiative to develop and promote tactical nuclear weaponry independent of the will of Congress and the Pentagon. They lobbied aggressively in Congressional subcommittees and educated the armed services and the Pentagon extensively about possible uses. After a long, secret campaign, acceptance for the neutron bomb finally grew, and production was secretly approved by President Ford, who was only minimally briefed shortly before he left office. None of this would have become public knowledge if the declassification office of the Energy Research and Development Agency (now the DOE) had not failed to delete the term "enhanced radiation" while declassifying the appropriations bill for Congress in 1977. This term tipped off Walter Pincus of The Washington Post, who spilled the story.

Such abrogation of democratic review is routine at the weapons labs. Secrecy maintained under the guise of "National Security" is a serious threat to the integrity of the American democratic process. The effectiveness of democracy is contingent on a well-informed public. This secret work at the weapons labs must stop before it destroys us all. ●



# Livermore Lab: lobbyist for WAR

## LIVERMORE LAB OPPOSES A NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY

"The Comprehensive Test Ban is America's longest unfulfilled business in the arms race. It is the most dramatic symbol of the major powers' readiness to end the arms race. And, to a greater degree than is generally recognized, it may be in the end one of the most useful arms control agreements."

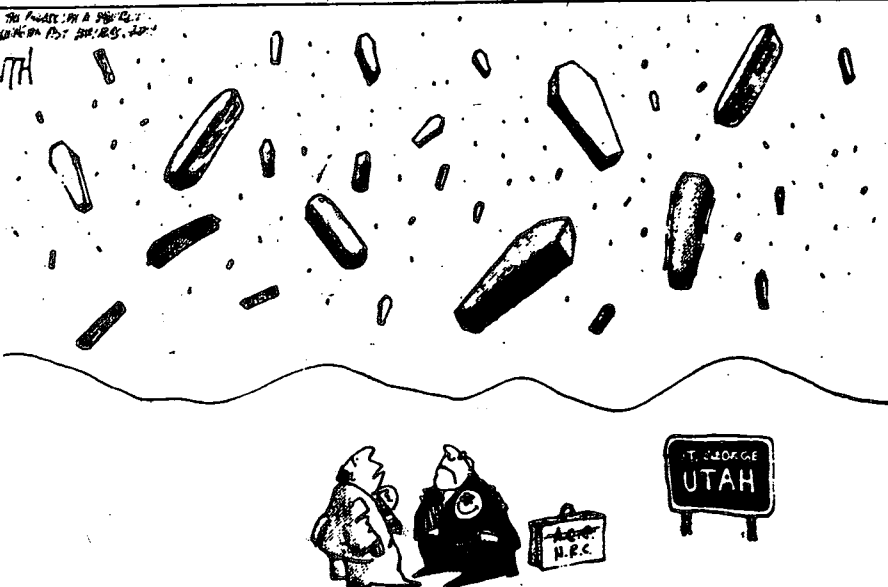
— Federation of American Scientists,  
Editorial, June, 1978

"I believe a nuclear test ban treaty is not in the interest of the United States."

— Roger Batzel, Livermore Lab  
Director, 1980

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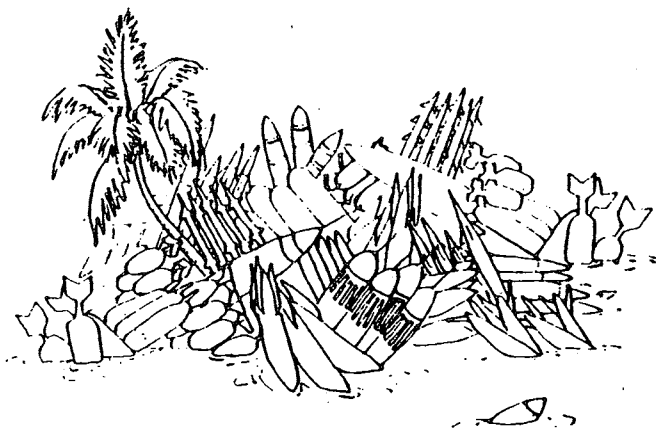


"Not to worry . . . just a little fallout from our 'fifties weapons tests.'"

A Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) would bring to a halt all nuclear weapons testing by those nations party to the treaty. This would effectively slow or totally stop the development of new and more sophisticated nuclear warheads. A total ban on nuclear testing has been on the international agenda since the late 1950's when atmospheric testing caused great global concern. A limited treaty was signed in 1963 by the U.S., the U.S.S.R., and Great Britain banning aboveground testing. The most recent attempt to secure a CTBT banning all testing took place under the Carter Administration, which began formal negotiations with Britain and the Soviet Union in October, 1977. Although a number of observers believe that basic agreement was reached on a treaty, political considerations, primarily intense pressure from forces in this country opposed to the treaty, held up formal agreement.

Contrary to their public relations propaganda, the nuclear weapons design labs do much more than simply develop and test nuclear warheads and fill orders for the Pentagon. They are in fact one of the most active and powerful political forces in this country driving the arms race forward. Only one example among many is their ongoing lobby against the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. Livermore Lab officials have a long history of opposing proposals to end or limit nuclear testing. It is primarily their opposition to a comprehensive nuclear test ban, in conjunction with their allies in the Departments of Energy and Defense, that has held up

agreement on the CTBT for over 20 years. If there had been a CTBT in the early 1960's, virtually none of the nuclear missiles on either side would now exist. ●



Andrew Thomas



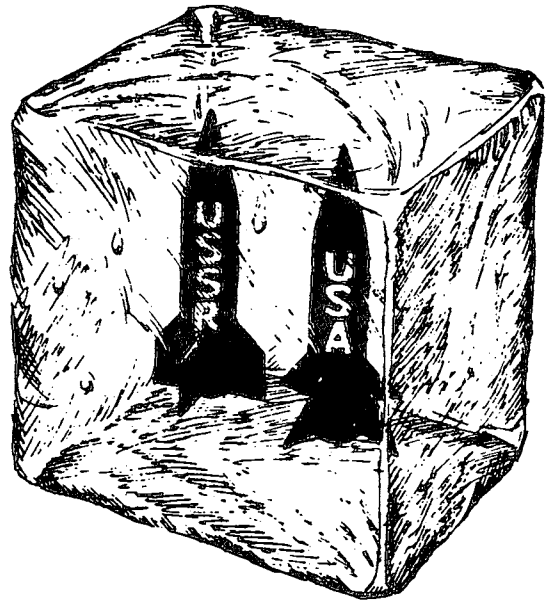
# Livermore Lab: lobbyist for WAR

## LIVERMORE LAB LOBBIES AGAINST THE FREEZE INITIATIVE

The weapons labs are the most powerful lobbyists in the country against arms control treaties and for new weapons systems. They were instrumental in defeating the negotiations for a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTB) in the early 1960's and late 1970's. In the 1970's, the lab lobbied for production of the neutron bomb, which was deployed last year.

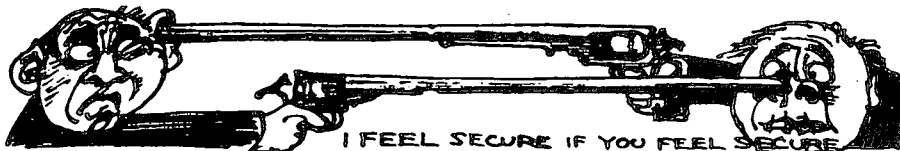
Now, the Livermore Lab is lobbying against the California Nuclear Weapons Freeze Initiative. They have developed a slide show against the Freeze, which they will show to anyone who is interested. They have significantly expanded their public speakers program, and have engaged in a number of recent debates on the Freeze. Some lab officials who formerly were willing to talk about the weapons labs themselves, now only want to debate about the Freeze. They have set up many visual displays on the Freeze at Bay Area libraries and colleges.

Livermore Lab's basic argument against the Freeze is the same as Ronald Reagan's, and is echoed by U.C. President Saxon. "If you want disarmament, oppose the Freeze," in the words of one LLL scientist. Livermore argues that a Freeze now, with the Soviets "ahead," would create an unstable situation, and might actually lead to nuclear war. We need time, the lab says, to develop the new generation of (first-strike) weapons, and then, with these "bargaining chips," we can negotiate real arms reductions. This self-serving argument merely justifies continued weapons work by Livermore Laboratory, with no guarantee that there would ever be any nuclear arms "reductions" (after increases). The first-strike weapons under development by the labs now represent the most destabilizing development in many years, and could result in a nuclear war if deployed.



Livermore Laboratory's opposition to the Freeze recalls the 1976 California Nuclear Safeguards Initiative, which attempted to mandate safety standards for nuclear power plants. The initiative was defeated largely because university scientists with connections to the nuclear power industry opposed the initiative under the cover of being "impartial experts" on nuclear power.

U.C. President David Saxon adds a new wrinkle to opposition to the Freeze by arguing that continued nuclear weapons development by the labs is necessary to develop expertise in monitoring arms control treaties when "decades from now" there is an end to the arms race. "Paradoxically, the best guarantee of eventual disarmament is the continued operation of our nation's nuclear weapons laboratories," says Saxon. ●



*"We have gone on piling weapon upon weapon... like men in a dream, like lemmings heading for the sea."*

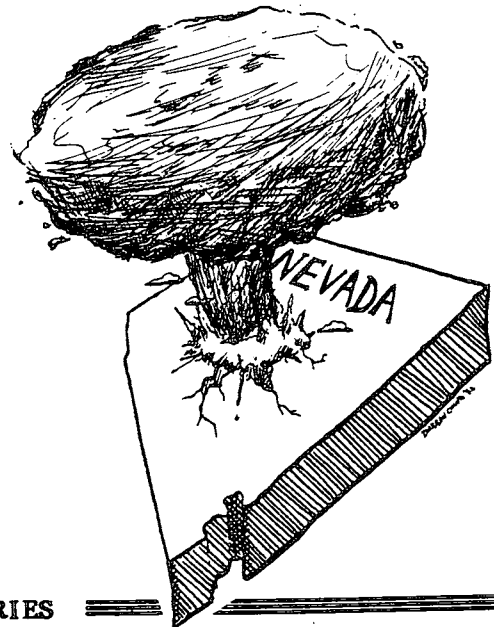
George Kennan  
Former Ambassador to Moscow

## Why are we bombing Nevada?

The nuclear weapons design labs, Livermore Laboratory in particular, and the University of California also need to be held accountable for the ongoing health and safety and environmental risks involved in nuclear weapons testing at the Nevada Test Site (NTS). The NTS, 65 miles northwest of Las Vegas, covers an area of 1,350 square miles in the Nevada desert, and employs more than 6,000 workers. The test site has been used to test nuclear devices since January 27th, 1951. As of June 30, 1979, 537 "announced" tests had taken place at the NTS. During 1980, there were 17 "announced" underground nuclear tests (14 U.S. and 3 British). President Reagan plans to double the number of tests.

This ongoing research and development kills people. The Livermore Lab, involved in every aspect of nuclear weapons technology, and instrumental in every major advance in nuclear weapons technology, is particularly responsible for the thousands of test victims. Even conservative government estimates reveal that nuclear testing has killed between 35,000 and 65,000 adults and approximately 100,000 children. Throughout the history of testing in Nevada, the weapons labs and the government have knowingly doused thousands of American citizens with radioactive fallout from both aboveground and underground tests. At least 41 of the 441 so-called "safe" underground tests have leaked large

amounts of hazardous radiation into the atmosphere, some equivalent to the amount of radiation released by the Hiroshima bomb. The most recent leak was in September of 1980. These tests have left behind a trail of thousands of victims — hundreds of whom have filed legal suits against the government totalling \$1 billion in damages. The Lab, the Department of Energy, and other government officials have repeatedly understated or ignored and even falsified the health and safety risks for the test site workers and surrounding communities. This "invisible violence" against our own citizens reflects the willingness of this government to "stop at nothing" to achieve its aims. ●



### SANDIA LABORATORIES

Sandia Laboratories, operated by Western Electric Co. (a subsidiary of American Telephone & Telegraph Co.), is the engineering arm of the nuclear weapons research and development program. With a 1979-80 budget of \$477 million and a workforce of about 7,500, it is comparable in size to the Livermore and Los Alamos labs. Headquartered at Kirtland Air Force Base in Albuquerque, New Mexico, with branch laboratories at Livermore and in southern Nevada, its mission is to design the non-nuclear portions of nuclear weapons systems. About three-fourths of its budget is allocated to weapons design.

As an early spin-off from the wartime Los Alamos lab, Sandia has pioneered in (and lobbied heavily for) new applications of nuclear weapons. Its innovations include such developments as "terradynamic" warheads which can penetrate deep into the earth to destroy underground targets and create landslides, and "permissive action links" which allegedly prevent unauthorized or accidental use of nuclear weapons, thus encouraging their wider deployment.

Sandia oversees and maintains the nuclear weapons stockpile from manufacture to retirement. It handles "quality control," making sure that each weapon component meets specifications. It teaches military personnel how to use and maintain nuclear weapons. With the Los Alamos and Livermore labs, it is extensively involved in satellite and laser warfare research.

The laboratory's dedication to nuclear weapons growth was once expressed by an engineer, Garry Brown, who operates a video console on which new uses for atomic warheads are conceptualized. "We're trying to make assessments of what a future conflict might be like," Brown told an interviewer. "We hope war-gaming will help identify fruitful exploratory development projects for the laboratory."

Conveniently Located Across the Street from LLNL

## Health and Safety at the Labs

Contrary to official proclamations, the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory (LLNL) is extremely unsafe, a deadly hazard to all in and around the facilities. The Lab is run by people who are aware of the dangers and have withheld critical information from the Department of Energy (DOE), from most of their employees, and from the public in general.

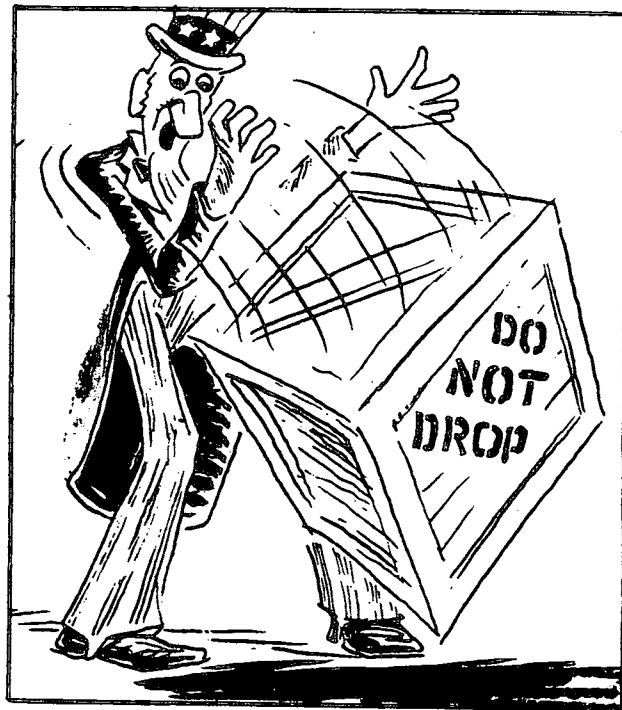
This attitude on the part of LLNL persists, despite a history at the Lab of routine emissions of extremely toxic substances, earthquakes, frequent accidents (human or mechanical), increased cancer rates, and a rapid decrease in employee morale.

The Environmental Impact Statement, prepared in 1978 by the DOE for LLNL admitted to "routine and unavoidable emissions" of radioactive substances, including plutonium, curium, uranium, and tritium. (For example, 3,000 to 5,000 curies of tritium are released into the atmosphere each year from Livermore Lab. A curie is the unit used in measuring radioactivity.)

The DOE Environmental Impact Statement also reported a history of 17 accidents involving radioactive and toxic substances. One example is the August 1970 release of 300,000 curies of tritium from the Lab because of a mechanical malfunction. Since one branch of the South Bay Aqueduct runs unprotected, 100 to 200 yards from LLNL, it can be assumed that some of the tritium entered the water. The EPA states that 20,000 trillionths of one curie per gallon is a safe drinking level. However, a Lab spokesman stated that it cannot be assumed that tritium entered the water because monitoring by federal, state, county, and Lawrence experts showed no contamination of water, food, or vegetation!

### Earthquakes

On January 24, 1980, LLNL experienced the worst earthquake in its history. This quake, which measured 5.5 on the Richter scale and which was centered 12 miles northwest of LLNL on the recently discovered "Greenville" fault, created a \$2.5 million repair bill and a LLNL request for an additional \$1.5 million for "safety improvement."



If the shock waves from this quake had been centered directly on Building 332, which contains almost 500 pounds of plutonium, there could have been very serious structural damage and subsequent release of plutonium from the containers. Since plutonium burns on contact with air, there was an excellent chance of a disastrous fire. The smoke from the fire — containing extremely toxic plutonium, one of the most dangerous cancer-inducing agents known to humankind — would be spread by the wind.

Experts say that only one pound of plutonium, evenly divided, would be enough to induce carcinoma of the lungs in every human being on earth. An earthquake-fire at LLNL could liberate hundreds of pounds of plutonium in a lethal cloud.

"The LLNL plutonium accident is ready to happen," says Friends of the Earth attorney Andrew Baldwin. "According to John Gofman, former Biomedical Director at LLNL and Professor Emeritus of medical physics at U.C. Berkeley, such an accident could cause thousands or millions of lung cancer deaths in residents of California, and could render much of the State uninhabitable for hundreds or thousands of years."

Structural engineer John Rutherford has testified in many hearings, stating, "The design and construction of Building 332 does not meet State requirements for either hospital or school structures." In January of 1982, at a public hearing in Livermore, he urged an "independent review panel" to supply more data on surface faulting near LLNL.

Friends of the Earth attorneys also testified at the hearing. They stated, "The Livermore Valley is a quagmire of active earthquake faults. There are 13, and several faults run right through the LLNL site." An earthquake generating moderate ground movement (.5g) under Building 332 would cause considerable damage. Seismologists and geologists have pointed out that there could be surface ruptures underneath the building itself, in which case no building could withstand the effect. The government simply doesn't care."

On January 14, 1982, the "independent review panel" members denied that there is evidence to indicate surface faulting and stated that .5g to .8g were unrealistic ground acceleration figures. They concluded that Building 332 could withstand a moderate earthquake. The panel's final report was released by the DOE office in Oakland on April 5, 1982, with yet another conclusion — that Building 332 could withstand, without any collapse, a major earthquake. This sounds like the Diablo Canyon scandal all over again!

With enormous risk to everyone, Building 332, containing 500 pounds of plutonium and located between two faults which run through the Lab area, continues to be used for experiments because the DOE is exempt from regulation and oversight by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration.

#### Workers' Health and Safety

Given the DOE's standards for safety, how do Lab employees feel about the security of their environment? A recent interview with a safety officer, who was in Building 332 during the January, 1980 quake, revealed that more than half of the employees have left (transferred out or quit) the building since the quake, among them the safety officer. This rapid turnover of personnel suggests a growing feeling of employee mistrust of management and subsequent low morale among employees in the past two years. There have been a growing number of law suits (24) against LLNL, by employees and their survivors.

A three-year Department of Health Services study, released in April, 1980, indicated that during the period 1972-1977, LLNL employees contracted melanoma, a form of skin cancer, at a rate five times higher than residents of surrounding communities. Although melanoma normally ranks as the tenth most common cancer, it was the most frequently diagnosed malignancy at LLNL during the study period. Dr. Donald Austin, Chief of the State Tumor Registry, concluded that "there was apparently some health hazard associated with employment at the Lab."

*"We've had several incidents where nuclear weapons have literally fallen out of airplanes, literally just fallen through the bomb bays."*

*Rear Admiral Gene R. LaRocque  
U.S. Navy (retired)*



The DOE's response to this was summed up in a memo sent to all Lab employees which stated, "If you are concerned about skin cancer, stay out of the sun."

Families of two melanoma victims have filed suit, charging that the Lab misrepresented the health risks of radioactivity and were negligent in handling radioactive materials. In October, 1980, the family of Michael Atencio, a 57-year-old electroplater, filed suit. He had worked at LLNL for 14 years before his death, due to cancer of the pancreas, on October 23, 1979. The suit, according to attorney Wes Wagnon of San Francisco, is the result of mounting evidence in health studies linking low-level radiation exposure to various cancers. A central issue in the legal battle is what level of radiation is safe. The Lab continues to maintain, despite compelling evidence to the contrary, that there are safe levels of exposure.

The fact is that radiation, no matter how low the level, could be causing cancer in the area, states Dr. Carl Johnson, director of the Jefferson County (Colorado) Health Department, home of the Rock Flats Nuclear facility. In April, 1979, he testified that Livermore is ten years behind Denver in evaluating health hazards from nuclear facilities, but that it could catch up within six months by using new testing procedures. He recommended surface dust studies, rather than core samples of agricultural dirt. By testing surface dust rather than soil in the Rocky Flats area, he found plutonium levels as much as 285 times greater can be detected.

Since then, the U.C. Nuclear Weapons Lab Conversion Project has addressed numerous requests to the State of California, asking that surface dust sampling be done. The Health Services Department refused, choosing instead to use only the DOE core sampling method.

In July of 1981, Rep. Pat Schroeder (D-Colo.) released a General Accounting Office report that charged the DOE with failing to meet adequate health and safety standards at its nuclear facilities. The report stated that the DOE relies too heavily on data supplied by its operating contractors. In the case of LLNL, the contractor is the University of California. The GAO report asserted that it is a conflict of interest to have the same agency in charge of productivity and worker safety.

Building 332 was completely shut down for several months following two glovebox (plutonium container) accidents which contaminated lab rooms in April, 1980. The DOE has spent over half a million dollars to clean up the spills, one of which released three micrograms (300,000 picocuries) into the atmosphere. Lab spokesman Jeff Garberson said, "The release was a very minor amount and posed absolutely no danger to anyone." However, Dr. Carl Johnson, who has studied Rocky Flats workers, has determined that 400 picocuries could cause permanent chromosome damage in a worker. He states, "40 picocuries is too much for someone in the general public. A single plutonium particle of respirable size could exceed 40 picocuries."

A DOE investigation into the accident revealed many layers of negligence, including inadequate safety surveillance, inappropriate valves, poorly designed air filters, and an employee turnover rate of 50-70% since January 1980 at the plutonium building.

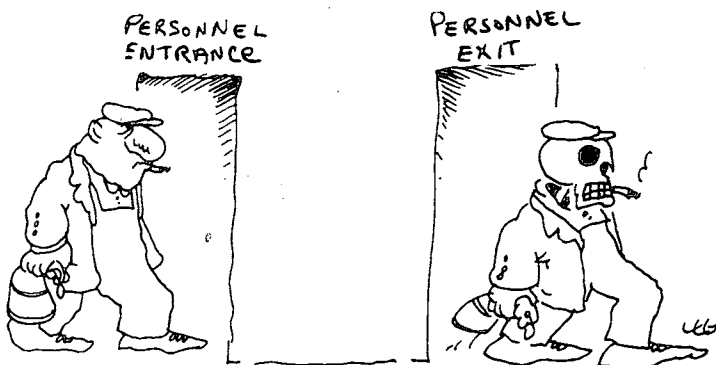
There are many other cases, most of them never reported outside the Lab. From 1972 to 1976, ten employees suffered dangerous levels of exposure to benzene in Building 345. They suffered lowered vital capacity and many filed Workmen's Compensation claims for time lost from their jobs. Lab management contested all claims, charging that the illnesses were not work-related. One employee was so ill that he requested a transfer from the building. The Lab denied the request and it took the intervention of Congressman Fortney Stark to have the sick man moved. Even though they denied any health risks, the Lab saw fit to completely re-vamp the ventilation systems in Building 345 in 1976.

In 1980 a Lab technician filed for Workman's Compensation. The basis for his claim was degenerative lung disease which was work-related, according to U.C. Medical Center doctors. The Lab fought his claim with tactics of employee harassment that included phone tapping and filing of false information to the Compensation Board. In

1981 he won a judgment requiring LLNL to pay all of his medical expenses.

The innumerable health and safety problems at LLNL clearly reveal the colossal irresponsibility on the part of Lab management. They obviously risk the lives of employees, the community, and four-and-a-half million people in the Bay Area with contamination of air, soil, water, and vegetation.

We live in fear, not only of the possibility of nuclear war, but of what could happen at the Lab in the event of another earthquake, not to mention the "routine" releases and frequent accidents involving uncontrolled releases of extremely toxic and radioactive substances. No one really knows the outcome of these dangers; will we be faced with higher cancer rates and unknown threats against succeeding generations? The spin-off from the Lab's design of first-strike weapons is a first-strike against the environment. It began 30 years ago and is daily taking place in the continuing deterioration of the environment in and around the Livermore area. ●



#### 15 CONTAMINATED BY PLUTONIUM AT LOS ALAMOS

Last year 15 people were contaminated by radioactive plutonium at Los Alamos National Laboratory because the plutonium was mislabeled and was mistakenly opened and handled in an area not designed for handling plutonium. A contaminated worker then spread radioactive plutonium out of the laboratory to a van and residences. The worker failed to monitor his radioactivity level while working with the mislabeled plutonium, and the health technician failed to notice a rise in background radiation on an instrument near the contaminated area.





# The

# BOMB

## WHAT IT WOULD BE LIKE

What is the purpose of calculating just what the consequences of a nuclear war would be? Is it not enough to realize that nuclear war results in unbelievable suffering and destruction? No, it is not enough — we must be well informed to deal with this future. To ignore the reality of holocaust is to surrender to psychic numbing, which produces disabling cynicism and despair. By having a clear understanding of nuclear annihilation, we are able to pass this knowledge on to others, to stop absurd suggestions of the survivability of a nuclear war (including discussions of civil defense and the time required for economic recovery after a nuclear war). Finally, in knowing the future that nuclear war would bring, we are compelled to act.

Many detailed accounts and studies of the consequences of nuclear war have been published. The circles of destruction emanating from a nuclear holocaust continue to expand as more is understood. At first the consequences were conceived in terms of human casualties and the disruption of the economy; they were imagined as having the same outcome as a conventional war. It is now clear, although still difficult to accept, that a nation subjected to nuclear war would cease to exist, and that much of life would be threatened with extinction.

In an all-out nuclear war, man-made structures and the living environment would be blown, burned, or irradiated away. The overkill capacity of nuclear arsenals ensures that much of the land area of the United States or the Soviet Union would be subject to primary effects of the weapons, even in the event of a pre-emptive strike from the "defending" side.

From the time of the explosions until a few weeks later when local fallout would have subsided,



'GREAT NEWS! WE'VE INFLICTED UNACCEPTABLE DAMAGE ON THE OTHER SIDE.'

By Art for the Philadelphia Inquirer

*"The survivors will envy the dead."*

*Nikita Krushchev*

well over half of the human population in the country would have died. These deaths would be due to the immediate effects of the bombs, which include intense radiation from the blast itself, the shock wave and its destruction of buildings, the fireball and subsequent firestorms, and radioactive fallout. Those unfortunate enough to survive the primary effects would be confronted with millions of rotting corpses in a devastated landscape, and a virtual absence of access to water, food, clothing, shelter, and medical services. Because of the susceptibility of the immune system to radiation, those who had survived sub-lethal exposures to radiation would have reduced body defenses against disease. This would set the stage for rampant epidemics. Starvation would stalk any remaining living beings.

People are social creatures. Culture creates the form and content of our lives. This human content is just as essential to life and well-being as food, shelter, and clothing. The severe shock and distress thrust upon people deprived of their familiar social environments, which has happened in wars and human dislocations in the past, would be magnified many times in a nuclear holocaust. Pockets of cultural normalcy and sanity would not exist.

After the immediate and local effects, there would be three significant worldwide effects of a nuclear war. First, radioactive material blown into the stratosphere during the explosions would circulate throughout the globe and gradually fall back to earth. This would cause genetic mutations and cancers in organisms on both land and sea, lasting for many human generations. Second, the enormous volume of particulate material blown into the stratosphere would deflect some solar heat from the earth's surface. Cooled by just a few degrees, the climate would change, and global vegetation, including agriculture, would be drastically altered. Finally, the layer of ozone in the upper atmosphere, which protects earthly life from harmful ultraviolet radiation, would be reduced 30 to 70 percent. It is increasingly evident that only some types of organisms could tolerate this environment; the others would become extinct.

Technical details and a broad discussion of the consequences of nuclear war may be found in an article by Herbert Abrams and William Von Kaenel in the New England Journal of Medicine, Nov. 12, 1981, and in a series of three articles by Jonathan Schell in the New Yorker, Feb. 1, 8, and 15, 1982. ●

# CALL TO MUTINY

by Daniel Ellsberg Excerpts\*

The notion common to nearly all Americans that "no nuclear weapons have been used since Nagasaki" is mistaken. It is not the case that U.S. nuclear weapons have simply piled up over the years - we have over 30,000 of them now, after dismantling many thousands of obsolete ones - unused and unusable, save for the single function of deterring their use against us by the Soviets. Again and again, generally in secret from the American public, U.S. 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....

...The most recent of these [ultimatums was made by] outgoing Secretary of Defense Harold Brown [who] told interviewers in January, 1981, and President Ronald Reagan reiterated in February [1981] using the same words - that what will keep Russia out of northern Iran and other parts of the Middle East in the 1980's is "the risk of World War III."...

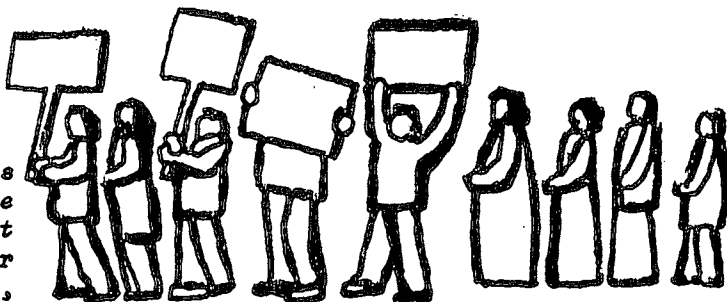
...It is not the Russians but the rest of us who need to learn the... hidden realities of the nuclear dimension to U.S. foreign policy. Here, briefly listed, are most of the actual nuclear crises that can now be documented from memoirs or other public sources (in most cases after long periods of secrecy;...)

\*Truman's deployment of B-29's, officially described as "atomic-capable, to bases in Britain and Germany at the outset of the Berlin Blockade, June 1948.

\*Truman's press conference warning that nuclear weapons were under consideration, the day after marines were surrounded by Chinese Communist troops at the Chosin Reservoir, Korea, November 30, 1950.



\*Protest and Survive, ed. by E.P. Thompson and Dan Smith.  
Monthly Review Press, 1981.



\*Eisenhower's secret nuclear threats against China, to force and maintain a settlement in Korea, 1953.

\*Secretary of State Dulles' secret offer to Prime Minister Bidault of three tactical nuclear weapons in 1954 to relieve the French troops besieged by the Indochinese at Dienbienphu.

\*Eisenhower's secret directive to the Joint Chiefs during the "Lebanon Crisis" in 1958 to prepare to use nuclear weapons, if necessary, to prevent an Iraqi move into the oilfields of Kuwait.

\*Eisenhower's secret directive to the Joint Chiefs in 1958 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.

\*The Berlin crisis, 1961.

\*The Cuban Missile crisis, 1962.

\*Numerous 'shows of nuclear force' involving demonstrative deployments or alerts - deliberately visible to adversaries and intended as a 'nuclear signal' - of forces with a designated role in U.S. plans for strategic nuclear war.

\*Much public discussion, in newspapers and in the Senate, of (true) reports that the White House had been advised of the possible necessity of nuclear weapons to defend marines surrounded at Khe Sanh, Vietnam, 1968.

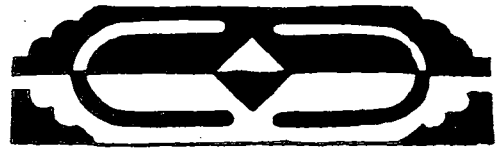
\*Nixon's secret threats of massive escalation, including possible use of nuclear weapons, conveyed to the North Vietnamese by Henry Kissinger, 1969-72.

\*The Carter Doctrine on the Middle East (January, 1980) as explained by Defense Secretary Harold Brown, Assistant Secretary of State William Dyess, and other spokesmen, reaffirmed, in essence, by President Reagan in 1981....

...In none of these cases, any more than in 1945, was there apprehension among U.S. officials that nuclear war might be initiated by an adversary or needed urgent deterring. In most of them, just as against Japan, the aim was to coerce in urgent circumstances a much weaker opponent that possessed no nuclear weapons at all. In the remaining cases the object - already important in August 1945 - was to intimidate the Soviet Union in an otherwise non-nuclear conflict....

...For most of two decades, it is now clear, the Soviets chose not to seriously challenge what amounted to U.S. strategic monopoly. But the cost to U.S. security interests of using that monopoly repeatedly... was to discredit Khrushchev's reliance on cheap bluffs and to help him lose his job. Brezhnev, displacing Khrushchev in 1964, seems to have promised the Soviet military to spend whatever it would take to eliminate inferiority. The Soviets proceeded to outspend the U.S. in the seventies, as they finally duplicated the huge investments in strategic capabilities that the U.S. had made in the fifties and sixties. In the course of the decade, they succeeded in buying "rough equivalence," or parity, thus drastically eroding the credibility of the U.S. first strike threat, and along with it, the credibility of threats to escalate lesser levels of conflict if necessary to avoid tactical defeat or stalemate.

Americans are now being mobilized for a massive attempt to buy back these two lost pillars of U.S. foreign policy. The damaged credibility is to be partially restored by adding to our sizeable (and unique) anti-submarine capability the highly precise counter-force capabilities for a disarming first strike against landbased forces represented by the MX, Trident II, Pershing, and cruise missiles (with antiballistic missile systems and civil defense as logical and likely complements, when the public is ready.) So far [July, 1981] Congress is not balking at a projected price tag of several hundred billion dollars, even though the significant superiority sought (under the consciously deceptive public slogan of 'avoiding inferiority') seems most unlikely to be achieved, in face of the evident Soviet determination to deny it.

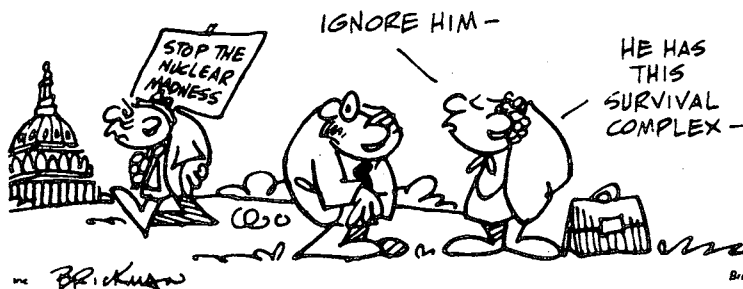


Meanwhile, as the Nixon, Carter, and Reagan examples demonstrate, presidents continue to issue threats of U.S. nuclear initiatives, even in the era of superpower parity that has lasted now about a dozen years....

...Their [Carter and Reagan's] policy cannot safely be regarded by the Russians, or anyone else, as mainly bluff. To make first-use warnings in a world so loaded with nuclear weapons that both threaten and invite preemption is really to play Russian roulette, with a gun pointed at the heads of all our children. It was thirty years ago that their White House predecessors pioneered an essentially terrorist strategy based on threats of regional genocide: the indiscriminate, massive slaughter of innocents foreseeable even in the most "limited" one-sided nuclear war. Their own current pursuit of superiority - in the face of present parity and of Soviet efforts to maintain it - is intended to prolong that strategy into an era when such threats are vastly more dangerous than before: likely now to be suicidal as well as genocidal, yet more likely to be challenged, and then, to be carried out. For their deliberate arms policies are... making it likely that sooner or later... a U.S. president will turn a non-nuclear conflict into a nuclear one, or a local nuclear exchange into a global one....

...We all live in Guyana now, and there is no place to run to. From Utah to Norway to east of the Urals, we must take our stand where we live, and act to protect our home and our family: the earth and all living beings. The slogan of the Dutch Interchurch Council (IKV) - 'Rid the earth of nuclear weapons; let it begin in Holland' - can inspire the commitments of individuals and communities in the superpowers and other countries of the world: "Let it begin here, now, with us."

Americans resisting 'symbolic' draft registration, sitting on railroad tracks at Rocky Flats, [blockading the Livermore Weapons Design Lab, and hundreds of thousands of] European marchers are saying with their presence on the road what the mothers and fathers at Jonestown waited too long to say, what they should have said when the cyanide shipments first arrived or at the first rehearsals for murder and suicide: "No! Not our children! This is craziness; we won't be part of it." It is none too soon to be saying this to the President/Prime Minister/Chairmen Jim Jones's of the world; nor is it, yet, too late. It is mutiny time in Jonestown: the revolt of the hostages. ●



UNITED NATIONS  
GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 1653 (XVI)  
ON THE PROHIBITION OF NUCLEAR WARFARE  
1961

The General Assembly...

Believing that the use of weapons of mass destruction, such as nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, is a direct negation of the high ideals and objectives which the United Nations has been established to achieve through the protection of succeeding generations from the scourge of war and through the preservation and promotion of their cultures,

1. 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 the peoples of the world not involved in such a war will be subjected to all the evils generated by the use of such weapons;

(d) Any State using nuclear and 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 a crime against mankind and civilization;

This resolution was passed by more than two-thirds of its membership. The United States voted against it in the General Assembly and has opposed efforts to withdraw legitimacy from nuclear weapons.

Unlike the Soviet Union and China, who have frequently announced their own intention never to use nuclear weapons in a first-use situation, the United States consistently threatens to respond to a non-nuclear provocation with nuclear weapons.

The first-use and first-strike nuclear weapons that are being developed at Livermore and Los Alamos are in direct violation of international law.



This list of equivalencies was taken from an Op Ed article by Seymour Melman in the July 26, 1981, *New York Times*.

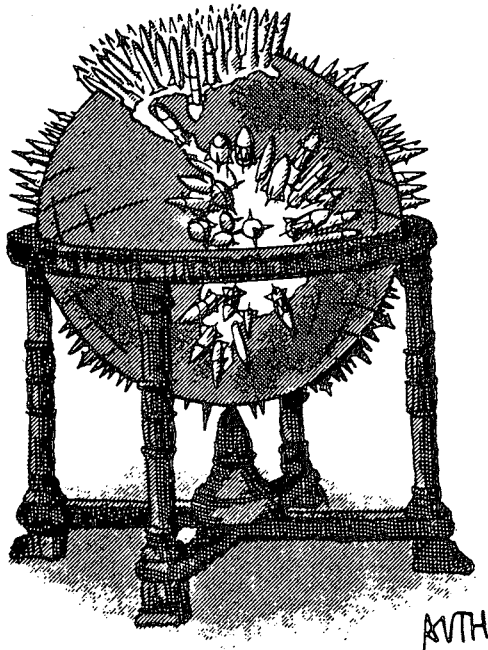
## Guns or Butter?

Seven percent of military outlays from 1981-1986	= \$100 billion =	cost of rehabilitating the U.S. steel industry to be most efficient in world
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 overrun on Navy's submarine, frigate, and destroyer programs	= \$ 42 billion =	for California, a 10-year investment to spur solar energy for space-, water-, and industrial-process heating; creating 376,000 new jobs and lead to vast fuel savings
sixty-three percent of cost overruns on 50 current major weapons systems in 1981	= \$110 billion =	20 year cost of solar devices and energy-conservation equipment in commercial buildings, saving 3.7 million barrels of oil per day
cruise missile program	= \$ 11 billion =	cost of bringing the annual rate of investment in public works to the 1965 level
one B-1 bomber	= \$400 million =	cost of rebuilding Cleveland's water-supply system
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
Navy's F-18 fighter program	= \$ 34 billion =	cost of modernizing America's machine-tool stock to bring it to the average level of Japan's
two nuclear-powered aircraft carriers	= \$ 5.8 billion =	cost of converting 77 oil using power plants to coal saving 350,000 barrels of oil a day
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
one F-15A airplane	= \$ 29 million =	cost of training 200 engineers to design and produce electric trolleys
46 Army tanks	= \$120 million =	500 top-quality city buses
1981 cost overrun on Navy frigates	= \$ 5 billion =	minimum additional annual investment needed to prevent water pollution in the U.S. from exceeding present standards
5 B-1 bombers	= \$ 2 billion =	cost of dredging 6 harbors to handle 150,000-ton cargo vessels
1981 cost overruns on tank program	= \$ 13 billion =	shortfall of capital needed for maintaining water supplies of 150 cities for 20 years
initial cost of MX system	= \$ 34 billion =	cost of comprehensive 10-year energy-efficiency effort to save 25-50% of U.S. oil imports
reactivating two WW II battle-ships	= \$376 million =	cut in energy-conservation investment for 1981-82
1981 cost overrun on Navy's F-18 aircraft program	= \$26.4 billion =	cost of electrifying 55,000 miles of railroad, and cost of new locomotives
nuclear warheads program for 1981	= \$ 5 billion =	rehabilitating New York City's sewer system
1981 cost overrun of Army's UH-60A helicopter program	= \$ 4.7 billion =	annual cost of restoring New York City's roads, bridges, aqueducts, subways and buses

## U.S. MILITARISM: THE WAR AT HOME AND ABROAD

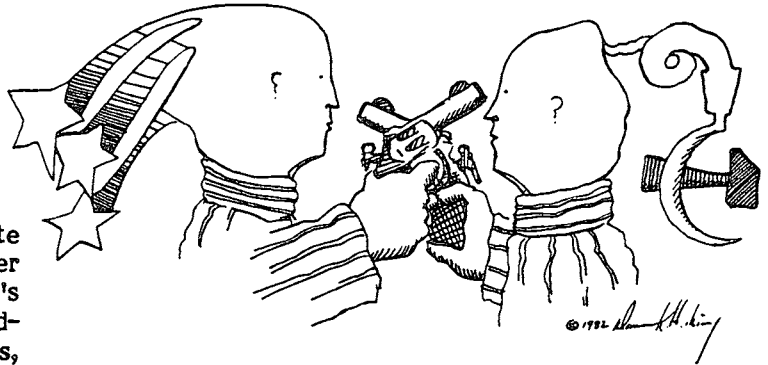
*Many people opposed to nuclear weapons see the problem as a symptom of a pervasive militarism in American policy with far-reaching implications for all world citizens. The following article is one such analysis.*

The U.S. is at war. It has been in a state of war or war preparedness uninterruptedly for over four decades. Soon the Reagan administration's yearly military spending will surpass the peak budget of the Vietnam war. Over the next four years, the projected spending is officially \$1.5 trillion (semi-officially \$2.3 trillion, if the Joint Chiefs of Staff cost overrun estimates are included.)



Where is the money going? Primarily (nearly 85%), it is going to conventional military forces. This includes the 10,000 troops of the Rapid Deployment Force. It includes a vastly expanded navy and air force to support future interventionary projects. It includes \$10 billion for just one tank program! Only 15% of the budget is slated for building 17,000 new nuclear warheads and their delivery systems, which will provide the ultimate nuclear cover for the use of conventional arms.

What is the cause of this massive expansion, which began in the late Carter years? It cannot be explained solely in terms of competition with the Soviet Union. Many experts agree that the U.S. and the Soviets have maintained rough parity for over a decade. Primarily, this military buildup is due to the loss of the overwhelming political and economic world dominance of the U.S. government and corporations, which characterized the 1950's through the early 1970's.



This abrupt change in U.S. policy parallels exactly the successful upsurge in third world struggles for self-determination. Since 1975, over a dozen third world nations have seen successful liberation struggles in which elites subservient to U.S. corporate interests were replaced by more popular governments. To maintain their profits, U.S. multinationals have become increasingly dependent upon cheap labor and natural resources controlled by repressive governments in South Africa, Taiwan, the Philippines, Central America, South Korea, Malaysia, and other "democratic" allies. As these governments are increasingly threatened by internal dissent and opposition, U.S. corporations and the local elites they support depend upon U.S. power to maintain their privileged positions. At the same time, Japanese and European economies have begun to pose serious threats to the dominance of the world economy by U.S. corporations.

The Reagan administration, like others before it, is responding to these threats with its immense political, economic, and military resources. Particularly ominous is its reliance on military aid to repressive regimes, its massive buildup of conventional military forces, and its development of ever more sophisticated nuclear weaponry.

The U.S. military gives military aid to the right-wing oligarchical junta in El Salvador, and a \$20 million CIA program to destabilize (i.e. overthrow, as in Chile) the popular Nicaraguan government. Reagan has made new military overtures to South Africa and Argentina, and has also made attempts to overturn congressional bans against U.S. intervention in Angola. He has given military aid to the dictatorships of Morocco and Indonesia as they attempt to conquer countries newly liberated from European colonialism (Western Sahara and East Timor, respectively.) When all else fails, the Rapid Deployment Force stands ready.

Finally, to prevent opposition to U.S. suppression of third world struggles, there is the nuclear umbrella. The success of third world movements for self-determination has proven that American conventional forces alone are insufficient. Continued American control over third world resources rests ultimately upon the availability of the ultimate response of nuclear escalation. Only with a clear first-strike capability can the U.S. practice unilateral intervention in the third world, by threatening any opposition with an unanswerable nuclear attack. At the same time, the nuclear buildup in Western Europe is an attempt to reassert U.S. political dominance over its allies.

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

A massive transfer of wealth is underway from poor and working people to the military-industrial complex. Corporate taxes have been drastically reduced, while basic social programs — Aid to Families with Dependent Children, pre-natal care and



nutritional aid, food stamps, student college loans, social security, occupational safety and health, environmental and consumer protection — are slashed, if not eliminated. Government actions against the air traffic controllers endorse a massive expansion of union busting. The failure of the ERA, the rejection of affirmative action, and the weakening of the Voting Rights Act show the abandonment of any commitment to social equality. To save the economy, Reagan proposes to "colonialize" U.S. cities. He wants to establish "free trade" zones, where corporate taxes will be further reduced, to restrict union rights, to remove minimum wage laws, and to weaken environmental and health legislation. These actions are all designed to redirect funds to corporate profits and to the military buildup needed to sustain them.

Simultaneously, Reagan is attacking our basic rights and abilities to respond to these atrocities. New legislation restricts the Freedom of Information Act, to once again provide for government by secrecy. The CIA and the FBI have been given broad mandates to spy on Americans, yet new laws will protect them from public scrutiny by making it illegal to expose agents, even if no classified information is involved. Senate Bill 163 makes anti-draft counselling and protests at nuclear power plants, draft centers, or other military installations illegal. This bill also broadly redefines the meaning of conspiracy, outlawing organizations such as the Livermore Action Group. And of course there is the draft.

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



# Arms for Peace Arms for War

*In Building 332 at the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory..., scientists are quietly experimenting with a nuclear alchemy intended to transform spent nuclear fuel from power plants into the atomic age equivalent of gold -- pure plutonium for nuclear weapons.*

New York Times, September, 1981

The announcement of the Laser Isotope Separation Project, developed in secret by Department of Energy (DOE) staff, was a reversal of 40 years of U.S. policy which preached strict separation of commercial reactors and military programs. This plutonium alchemy is of terrifying significance: it could hasten the conversion of the world's nuclear power reactors into bomb factories.

Ronald Reagan wants to add 17,000 nuclear warheads to the U.S. arsenal; MX and cruise missiles, Trident submarine rockets, Pershing II's, and many tactical delivery systems.

Like a wizened old cowboy about to play his last poker game, Reagan wants to bring as many bargaining chips as he can to his proposed (but unscheduled) Strategic Arms Reduction talks. 17,000 new "poker chips" means a 50% increase in U.S. arms. That requires a hell of a lot of plutonium-239.

In Building 332 they're making Reagan's plans possible. The Department of Energy plans to spend \$560 million by 1989 to design and construct a Laser Isotope Separation plant capable of extracting several tons of plutonium per year from nuclear power wastes. The government would buy and reprocess spent fuel rods from commercial nuclear reactors capable of producing 10,000 warheads.

"There are so many advantages to reprocessing," says former dentist James Edwards, now Reagan's Secretary of Energy. "One of the advantages, for example, is that we are going to be needing some more plutonium for our weapons program, and the best way I can see to get that plutonium is to solve your waste problem. Reprocess it, pull out the plutonium."

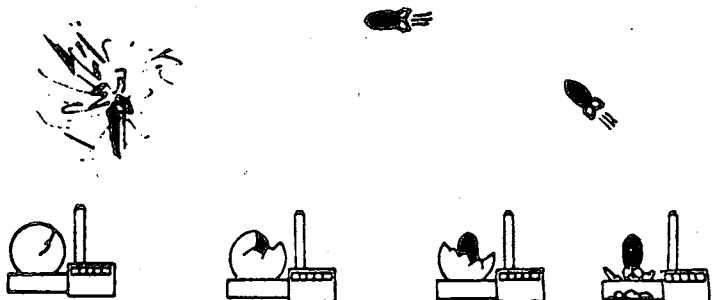
While the plan to reprocess domestic reactor waste came as no surprise to the military community, it was a shock to the rest of the nation and the world. The U.S. nuclear energy programs and nuclear weapons development have always been two sides of the same coin. Weapons labs officials themselves admit this. The LLNL Institutional Plan 1978-1984 states:

*The various weapons and energy programs at the Laboratory [LLNL] depend in large part on the same underlying scientific disciplines, engineering disciplines, and Laboratory capabilities. This synergism between the weapons and energy programs is an asset to both. We continue to put major emphasis on the nuclear weapons program due to its great importance to national security.*

And Herbert York, former director of Livermore, links them in the following way:

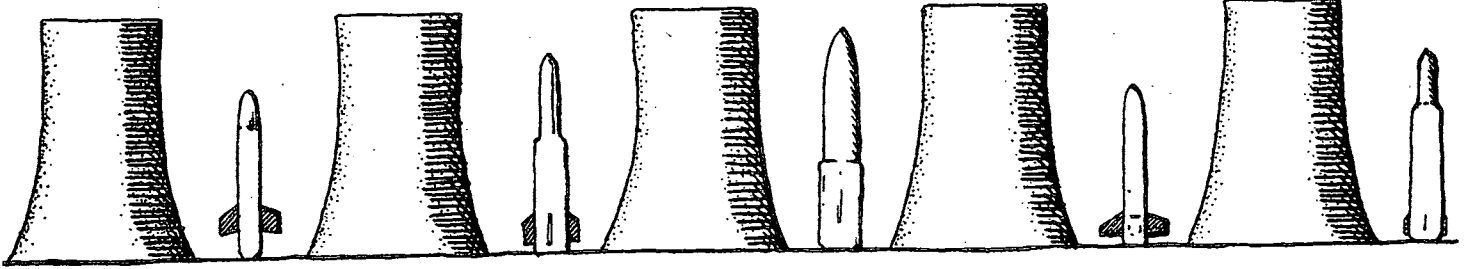
*The mere existence of the military aspect has helped to generate public backing, particularly of a fiscal kind, for research and development in support of the peaceful aspect. And conversely, the very existence of the peaceful atom has served to justify nuclear technology in the minds of many who would be repelled by it if it could only be used for destroying and killing. Thus, the peaceful atom has helped to garner a broader political acceptance for the nuclear bomb than the latter would have received solely on its merits.*

After walking a tightrope for four decades, nuclear energy policy has lost even the appearance of balance: we are staggering along a tightwire, afflicted with vertigo, or already falling. Our Department of Energy, meant to provide us with sources of energy, is dominated by military priorities. An unsigned internal DOE memo, leaked to the Baltimore Sun, reported that:



"The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything except our way of thinking."

Albert Einstein



Recent emphasis upon increased nuclear weapons has pressured DOE Labs to reduce or cancel programs in solar energy development and energy conservation technologies.... The Department of Energy is now spending the largest portion of its budget on nuclear weapons systems that we urgently hope will never be used.

Senator Gary Hart wrote:

The very consideration of such a plan undermines the historical basic assumption of the Atoms for Peace Program: that a clear distinction exists between the military and commercial applications of nuclear technology.

### Proliferation

The implications of Reagan's plan for the rest of the world are cataclysmic. Even before the technology of Laser Isotope Separation arrives in other nations, its development by the U.S. does immense damage. Non-proliferation advocate Paul Leventhal says:

[This plan] would render meaningless efforts by the U.S. to dissuade foreign governments from using their nuclear facilities to provide a weapons option.... [This would] destroy the basic principle that civilian nuclear materials and facilities never be used for military purposes - the very foundation of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and the safeguards system of the International Atomic Energy Agency. If the United States abandons this principle, the entire international non-proliferation structure is vulnerable to collapse like a house of cards.

The U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency commissioned a report which concluded:

It is difficult to prevent nuclear weapons and promote peaceful uses, because the material is often the same in both cases. It is only the motivation that is different. In this atmosphere, safeguards will become increasingly irrelevant.

Amory Lovins, member of the U.S. Department of Energy and Research Advisory Board, wrote in Energy/War: Breaking the Nuclear Link:

Every form of every fissionable material in every nuclear fuel cycle can be used to make military bombs, either on its own or in combination with other ingredients made widely and innocently available by nuclear power.... None is beyond the reach of any government or of some technically informed amateurs.

Victor Gilinsky, Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) member says:

Should the owner [of a nuclear reactor] decide, for whatever reason, on a sudden move to appropriate the material for illicit purposes, the time between diversion of plutonium and complete weapons can be sharply reduced to what might be a matter of weeks, or conceivably days. Under these circumstances, even if it were assumed that IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] inspection and monitoring systems were improved, it is hard to imagine that an international reaction could be mustered before the assembly of nuclear weapons was complete."

There are forty nations owning a total of 170-plus research reactors. Every one of these nations is expected to join the "nuclear club" by 1990. This includes Taiwan, Brazil, Iran, Iraq, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Zaire, and Chile. Much closer to joining the club are Libya, South Africa, and Argentina.

Khadafy has said that in the future, "atomic weapons will be like traditional ones, possessed by every state according to its potential. We will have our share of this new weapon."

### Weapons or Power. Nuclear is Nuclear!

Civilian and military nuclear programs are so clearly linked that BOTH together must become political targets. They are inseparable. There's only one response: NO!

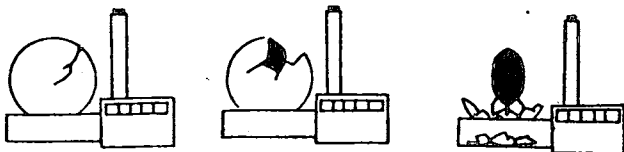
In light of the new Laser Isotope Separation program, U.S. civilian reactors take on a new significance. Robert Alvarez of the Environmental Policy Center says:

*Mining weapons-grade plutonium from civilian reactor fuel will radically alter the nature of the U.S. nuclear power industry. Since commercial reactors would be providing strategic nuclear materials, the Department of Energy weapons program may have to assume title over spent fuel."*

The day may come when reactor "waste" becomes the desirable end product, and electricity a mere by-product. Energy-rich Iraq's nuclear technology is an example of this.

D.O.E. control over commercial reactors would automatically mean less oversight by the NRC, the public, and the press. There would be greater secrecy, for reasons of "national security," rendering the Freedom of Information Act and the National Environmental Protection Act ineffective.

Reagan has pledged to make the U.S. weapons program a "stable market" for commercial spent fuel, while providing for his new warheads. Income from the weapons program would prop up the nuclear power industry and insulate it and the utilities from the laws of the marketplace and the will of the voting, rate-paying public. Our efforts must be to destabilize this new market for spent reactor fuel; we need no new weapons, and we can't accept the logic that building up an arsenal will eventually reduce it.



Unless the LLNL Isotope Separation Program, and other weapons programs, can be stopped and converted to alternative energy research and development, nuclear power and nuclear weaponry, intimately linked, will take us with them. Herbert York, former director of Livermore, sums it up:

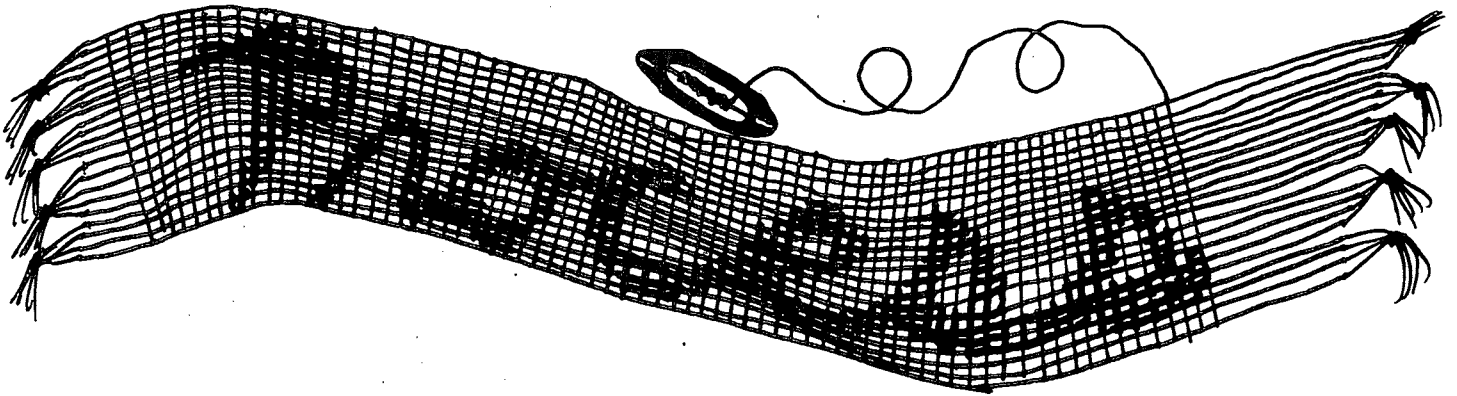
*Yes, nuclear energy and nuclear weapons are inevitably linked, this linkage means that in pondering the question of the value of nuclear power, one must not omit from the calculations the facts that nuclear energy has to date killed something like 200,000 people and that the current "balance of terror" has been created by placing something like 500,000 human lives ...in hostage to the sanity and good sense of political leaders in other countries. The unhappy fact is that the bright side of nuclear energy remains tightly linked to its dark side, and calculations and estimates of the social, economic, and political benefits of nuclear power must not continue to ignore this linkage." ●*



...THEN CAME "ATOMS FOR PEACE"

*"And is not peace, in the last analysis, basically a matter of human rights - the right to live out our lives without fear of devastation, the right to breathe air as nature provided it, the right of future generations to a healthy existence?"*

*John F. Kennedy, 1963*



# non-VIOLENCE

## GUIDELINES FOR NONVIOLENCE

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

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

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

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

### In Favor of Change

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

### In Opposition to Change

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

# HISTORY OF NON-VIOLENT MASS ACTION

The use of non-violence runs throughout history. However, the fusion of organized mass struggle and non-violence is relatively new. India's struggle for complete independence from the British Empire included a number of spectacular non-violent campaigns. Perhaps the most notable was the year-long Salt campaign in which 100,000 Indians were jailed. This led to the breaking of the British monopoly on the sale of salt.

In the early 1900's, the women's suffrage movements in the U.S. and Great Britain employed various non-violent tactics including mass marches and demonstrations, hunger strikes, ongoing vigils, civil disobedience, filling the jails, noncooperation, boycotts and constant disruption of business as usual. Persistent pressure forced the passage of bills giving women the right to vote by the mid-1920's.

Labor movements in this country and around the world have used non-violent action with striking effectiveness. The Industrial Workers of the World (Wobblies) in the pre-World War I period held a number of general strikes in the Northwest which radically changed the power and consciousness of labor and organized free speech confrontations in Spokane, San Diego and Fresno, among other places.

In 1937, the Flint, Michigan employees of General Motors invented the sit-down strike. After other tactics in their struggle for union recognition had failed, they voted to occupy the factories and to live inside until their demand was met. During the sit-down, all strikers met together daily to plan and organize the tasks that had to be done. The sit-downs spread rapidly to other GM plants; with the help of much outside support, the sit-down strikers achieved their goal.

The Australian dockworkers, after they had stated their opposition to uranium mining, refused to load uranium into ships bound for other countries.

In Poland, hundreds of thousands of striking workers paralyzed the economy in an attempt to force major concessions from the government, such as free trade unions and lifting censorship curbs.



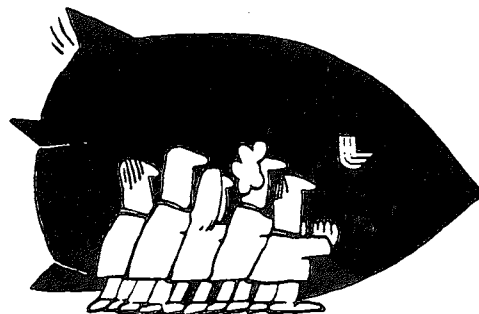
Non-violent tactics played a pivotal role in the struggle against the Vietnam War, in radicalizing public opinion and forcing the American withdrawal. These tactics included draft card burnings, draft file destruction, sit-ins, blocking induction centers, draft and tax resistance and mass demonstrations by up to a million people.

Using mass non-violent action, the civil rights movement changed the face of the South. The Congress of Racial Equality initiated modern non-violent action for civil rights with sit-ins and a freedom ride in the 1940's. The successful 1956 Montgomery bus boycott electrified the nation. Then, the early 1960's exploded with non-violent action: sit-ins at lunch

counters and other facilities, freedom rides to the South, the non-violent battle against segregation in Birmingham, Alabama and the 1963 March on Washington, which drew 250,000 participants.

In the current anti-nuclear and environmental struggles, non-violent direct action has been a major element of campaigns waged by citizen resistance. Fisherfolk of the Japanese port of Sasebo, worried about dangers to their health and livelihood, blockaded a leaking nuclear-powered ship with their fishing boats to prevent it from docking in port. The ship was turned away and eventually forced into premature decommissioning.

In Markolsheim, France, people were angered by plans for the construction of a lead factory. From September to November 1974 they took over the site — building a friendship house, digging wells, and bringing farm animals until February 1975, when the French government was forced to withdraw the plant's permit.



Why!, West Germany was the proposed location for a nuclear power plant. Long years of petitions and rallies of protest did not deter the utility and on February 17, 1976, construction was to begin. Several hundred people went to the site and blocked bulldozers, preventing construction for the day. The police used hoses and arrests to disperse the crowd. But the following week, 28,000 people returned to the site from all over Germany, France, and Switzerland. The police, in the presence of so many people, withdrew.

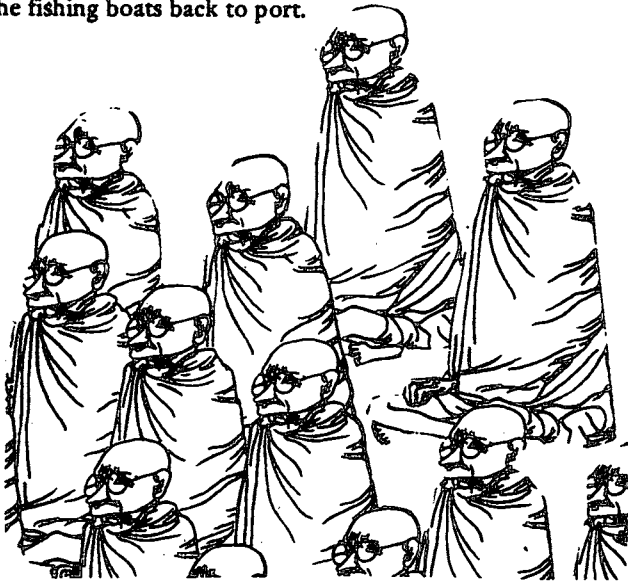
A bustling "village" was maintained there for more than a year. Farming on and off the site provided food for the occupiers. Thirty-five neighboring villages took one week turns at maintaining the presence. An emergency alert system utilizing church bells, phones, and sirens was created to bring more people to the site should the police threaten to intervene. It was said that within 24 hours 10,000 people could be gathered in such a situation. The government backed down at the end of 1976 and delayed construction of the plant for the foreseeable future.

In May of 1980 several thousand Germans occupied the construction site of a waste storage facility near Gorleben. An antinuclear village on the model of Why! was built and dubbed "The Free Republic of Wendland".

The community was brought to an end after a month when 10,000 police cleared out the 2000 Wendlanders and razed the village to the ground. The struggle against Gorleben continues.

Since the mid-seventies, tens of thousands have participated in non-violent mass actions directed against U.S. nuclear power and weapons plants including Diablo Canyon, Seabrook, Trojan, Rocky Flats, Comanche Peak and the Pentagon. These actions have proven to be effective and instrumental in raising consciousness, delaying construction or implementation of policy, as well as empowering their participants to join other social change movements.

Conscious non-violent action is perhaps not limited to our species. In early 1980 thousands of dolphins gathered to resist their own slaughter by Japanese fisherfolk and forced the fishing boats back to port.



## Dynamics of NonViolence

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

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

Potentially, everyone can act to stop nukes, because ordinary people have power. In 1977, 47 people committed civil disobedience at Diablo; the next year, ten times that



many risked arrest. By acting we gain momentum — and this momentum creates grave problems for the authorities. As we gain and keep people through good process and commitment, we enlarge our choices of non-violent strategies — and limit the authorities' choices in the process.

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

## RESPONSES TO VIOLENCE

Non-violence is not a guarantee that the authorities won't use violence. The civil rights movement in the U.S., the struggle against the British in India, and the women's suffrage struggles in the U.S. and England clearly show this.

If they do respond with violence, how does one remain non-violent in the face of riot(ing) police? The first thing is maintaining human contact with the potential assailant — whether it's a policeman, a policewoman, a counter-demons-

trator, or an angry participant from "our" side. Body language is very important: keeping your hands open and at your sides, maintaining an attentive but non-aggressive stance, making predictable movements, and especially making eye contact with your opponent.



Also very important is calmly explaining why you are there, and if possible, getting the other person to respond. In some situations, listening rather than talking may help prevent conflicts from erupting. People who are angry — and this applies to meetings as well as to actions and demonstrations — do not always want to be argued with; sometimes they just need to release their feelings.

The Rocky Flats Handbook adds, "An important attitude to develop which helps to resolve conflicts is that each person, no matter how much you disagree with them, has some good in them, and probably has a part of the truth. Respect for her/him as a person can help prevent the escalation of a verbal conflict to a physical one. Cultivating this attitude may also help you keep control over your own feelings and to maintain your non-violence".

It is crucial that affinity groups discuss, and role play, responses to potentially violent situations. For instance, an a.g. can physically surround someone being assaulted, while continuing to talk, distract, or calm the attacker. Active non-violent responses such as this are, after all, the same idea as the entire blockade, which is intervening against the corporate violence of nuclear power. This firm, collective and yet non-violent response to violence isn't restricted to one blockade, just as people's empowerment isn't restricted to one issue. For example, a California a.g. in Boston was on its way home from dinner when they came upon a large man hitting and choking a woman outside the restaurant. As one of the people there relates it:

*"Instinctively we felt that we couldn't just let this happen — so we surrounded the man, who began simultaneously to threaten us and "explain" himself. By remaining calm and yet firm, by asking questions and allowing him to expend his rage, and yet by forcing him to deal with the truth: 'you have no right to hit her!' we defused the situation. In the meantime, one of the other women in the group pulled the woman aside to see if we could help her. She thanked us but also asked us to go, saying 'I'm all right now, really'. Afterwards we formed a circle, paradoxically feeling the power of our actions and sensing the need for doing so much more. Individually, none of us probably could have acted; together we acted instinctively, overcoming our fears, gaining power."*

There's a story they tell about a woman being chased by a violent policeman at one anti-nuke demonstration. As he was about to catch her, she suddenly stopped to face him and said, "I'm your daughter!" He froze.

We can show the police (among others) another model of human nature, people who are acting for nature and themselves, and this process encourages our opponents' doubts about the rightness of their actions. We can also bring about mutual respect. At another action, the police attacked four affinity groups approaching the site from the west. Those who ran not only got beaten more often, but they also accomplished nothing. Some groups linked arms and faced the police, talking to them as they jabbed and poked the protesters away from the plant. "Run, you bastards", the cops said. "Go on, run!" "We aren't going to run, officers," was the reply. Step by step, jab by jab, the police "gained" a few hundred feet; as they did their anger dissipated as the protesters talked to them. The police "charge" slowed to a walk and finally petered out altogether. With the protesters right behind them, the police returned to the nuke.

In a non-violent action, then, we bring many pressures to bear on our opponent — as well as maintain more collective control over our own responses to their threats.

An integral part of this is establishing the right "feeling" during an action. Many people comment on the extraordinary tone of non-violent actions. It comes from the fact that the participants are *centered and clear* about what they are doing; about what they risk and what they can gain. Gandhi referred to this as *Satyagraha*. *Satya* is truth, but the truth that implies love and human dignity; *agraha* is firmness, the force felt by both actors and opponents when truth and love are acted on. Don't look at this "tone" as something imposed by leaders or committees in order to have discipline; rather it emerges freely when, by acting, people take back some control over their lives.



Note

Police are trained to use holds and blows that can break bones or sprain joints when they feel it is appropriate. You should be aware of this when you are intimately resisting an officer non-violently. You will have to be the one to decide



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



## the Politics of NonViolence

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

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

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

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

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

## emotional and Verbal Violence and the role of Anger

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

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

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

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

## THE CONDOR

Once upon a midnight dreary, while I pondered, weak and weary,  
Over pamphlets, books, and posters all about atomic war --  
While I nodded, nearly napping, suddenly there came a tapping,  
As of some one gently rapping, at my condominium's door.  
"It's some canvasser," I muttered, "tapping at my condo's door --  
Only this and nothing more."

And the senseless, sad, uncertain falling of earth's final curtain,  
Chilled me -- filled me with fantastic terrors never felt before;  
So that now, to still the beating of my heart, I eat repeating:  
"It's some canvasser out pleading money at my condo's door --  
Some late canvasser out pleading money at my condo's door;  
This is it and nothing more."

Presently my soul grew stronger: hesitating then no longer,  
"Sir," said I, "or Madam, truly your forgiveness I implore;  
But the fact is I was napping, and so gently you came rapping,  
And so faintly you came tapping, tapping at my condo's door,  
That I scarce was sure I heard you" -- here I opened wide the door: --  
Darkness there and nothing more.

Deep into that darkness peering, long I stood there wondering, fearing,  
Doubting, dreaming dreams no mortals ever dared to dream before;  
But the silence was unbroken, and the stillness gave no token,  
And the only word there spoken was the whispered: "Livermore."  
And the only sound -- repeated once again -- was: "Livermore."  
Merely this and nothing more.

Suddenly there came a shudder, when, with fuse and flubbing flutter,  
In there flapped a fateful Condor of endangered species lore.  
Then, this bedraggled bird beguiling my sad fancy into smiling,  
I stood and mused a while and asked its name and closed the door:  
"Tell me your name and where you're from -- what reason brings you to my door."  
Quoth the Condor, "Livermore."

Much I marvelled this ungainly fowl to hear discourse so plainly,  
Though its answer little meaning -- little relevancy bore;  
Then into my bombay sinking, I betook myself to linking  
Event unto event and thinking what this sorry bird so sore --  
That this grim, ungainly, ghastly, gaunt, dicheneled bird so dour  
Meant in croaking, "Livermore."

Thus I eat engaged in guessing, but no syllable expressing  
To the fowl whose fiery eyes now burned into my bosom's core;  
This and more I eat divining, with my head at ease reclining  
On my violet, vinyl lining -- and then I heard a roar!  
My lights and tv stopped their shining: "Oh, what has caused that roar?"  
Quoth the Condor, "Livermore."



Then I thought the air grew thicker, winds were blowing harder, quicker,  
Dogs were howling, cats were yowling as they never had before.  
When the midnight sky was brightened like the midday sunlight heightened,  
My body tightened. Frightened, I was spun and flung upon the floor.  
How I screamed out in my horror: "Is this -- Is this nuclear war?"  
Quoth the Condor, "Livermore."

"Prophet," said I, "thing of evil! -- prophet still if bird or devil,  
Tell me whether holocaust or shether meltdown of a core.  
Is the world completely blown and are we too now all alone,  
Or is there someone I can phone -- oh, please tell me I implore!  
Tell this soul, sorrow laden, what all's radiating, I implore!"  
Quoth the Condor, "Livermore."

"Be that word our sign of parting, bird or fiend," I shrieked, upstarting.  
In perspiration I awakened. All was as it was before.  
But now I know they are designing clouds with radiation lining  
That will leave no life-spark shining, and the earth will be no more.  
Left behind, this sign reminds me -- a Condor's feather on the floor --  
It says, "Close Livermore --  
or live no more."

M.A. Quest

E.A. Poe

# working together



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

Feminism stresses the need to actively oppose the forces which threaten life. The Seabrook May 24th Handbook explains:

*Feminism is a long term process through which we help each other unlearn passivity and learn instead to take control of our own lives and bodies.... [Acting] collectively against the nukes to protect the lives we love is a positive and powerful way of synthesizing the 'masculine' and 'feminine' into a whole human being -- strong and loving, sane and sensitive, productive and playful. Society reinforces persistent polarities between passive and aggressive, work and play, rationality and sensuality. What we are left with is a system which pits us against each other as we struggle to survive.... We need to challenge these assumptions as directly as we challenge the nukes.*

The process by which we challenge oppression is indeed difficult. There are many feelings and emotions that confuse us as we try to dismantle the power dynamic which is oppression. Oppression is a result of fear — fear of those with power or fear of losing power.



One means of combatting oppression is through the use of violence. Most feminists, however, reject that approach. Many of us see anger as a step on the path to violence and we therefore consider our anger to be negative and detrimental to our struggle. But anger should not be confused with aggression. Acknowledging our anger is necessary in order to break out of the cycle of distrust and violence. It is the catalyst by which we are mobilized to action. We must, however, choose to respond to our anger in a way that supports our ultimate goals of cooperation and liberation, for it is dangerously easy to fall back into a cycle of violence. If we never come to terms with our anger, we eliminate the chance to confront our fears, and instead perpetuate them.

In opposing the hierarchy that supports nuclear weapons, we challenge a hierarchy similar to — and in some cases the same as — that which supports the oppression of women. Women have historically been treated as men's property, to be used and abused, and to be kept in a position of powerlessness. Our present male-dominated society, or patriarchy, encourages the importance of this power over others, as reflective of self-worth. The egos of our political "leaders" are inflated by declared superiority over other countries and governments, and by systematic oppression of women, people of color, and the poor. Our "leaders" take their power for granted and feel justified in using violence when it is denied or threatened. Women and nature have been victims of this oppression; rape of women and rape of the earth have long been accepted by those in power, because their power is supported by the existence of rape.

The outrage that feminists feel at the violation of women's bodies and psyches is directed at the foundations of our society which encourage and depend upon hierarchical power and domination. Our anger at the threat of nuclear war, the destruction of life, must be channelled in the same direction. The men in power must see the effects of their actions and must understand that we will not stand by and be passive participants in our own destruction. As Susan Griffin wrote in Woman and Nature:

*We say he should have known his action would have consequences. We say our judgment was that when she raised that rifle, looking through the sight at him, and fired, she was acting out of what had gone on before. We say every act comes back on itself. There are consequences. You cannot cut the trees from the mountainside without a flood.... We say if you change the course of this river you change the shape of the whole place. And we say that what she did then could not be separated from what she held sacred in herself, what she had felt when he did that to her, what we hold sacred to ourselves, what we feel we could not go on without, and we say if this river leaves this place, nothing will grow and the mountain will crumble away, and we say what he did to her could not be separated from... what he felt was right to do to her.... And you cannot divert this river. We say look how the water flows from this place and returns as rainfall, everything returns, we say, and one thing follows another.... We are all a part of this motion, we say, and the way of the river is sacred, and this grove of trees is sacred, and we ourselves, we tell you, are sacred.*



The patriarchy has isolated itself from both women and nature. In their fervor to protect their present positions, those in power have lost sight of the future and of respect for life. Feminism, however, is a life-affirming philosophy. Feminism is in harmony with people and the natural world, and is thus a basis for the struggle to protect life and to prevent a nuclear holocaust.

Feminist philosophy recognizes the need to not only redistribute power, but to redefine it — power as inner strength, a sense of self not dependent on control or domination of another. Feminist philosophy envisions a society based on support and cooperation — not on fear, intimidation, and violence. The recognition that these societal goals and priorities must also exist in our process makes feminist analysis an integral part of anti-nuclear protests. We recognize that our means will influence our ends.

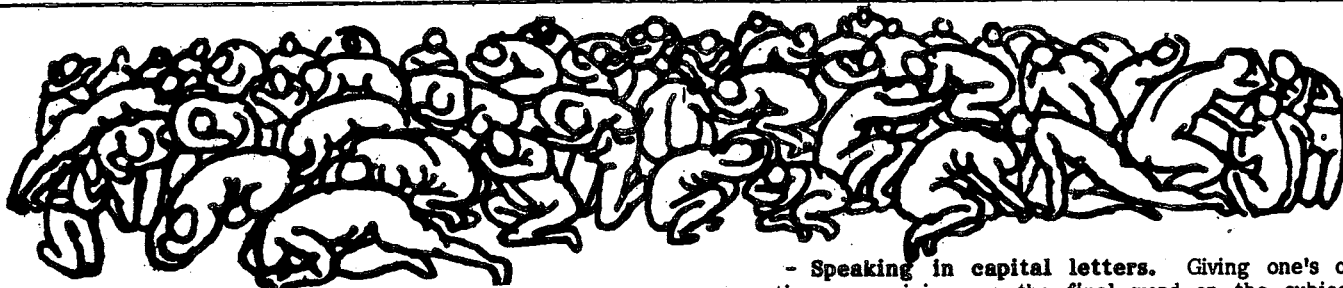


Jani Mazur

The anti-nuclear movement uses feminist processes in emphasizing synthesis (consensus), resisting adversarial thinking, rejecting hierarchies, and in dealing with emotions as well as "facts." In this regard, the movement can serve as a feminist vision for change. We are attempting to live our goals instead of just working for them. But it is often a difficult process.

The following section from the "Pentagon '80 Action Handbook" provides a detailed description of the numerous sexist modes of behavior people slip into during group interactions. It is an important step in beginning to name and overcome all the things which keep people from coming together in non-oppressive and empowering ways at meetings and in the larger movement for social change. ●

# OVERCOMING MASCULINE OPPRESSION



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

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

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

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

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

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

- **Hogging the show.** Talking too much, too long and too loud.
- **Problem solver.** Continually giving the answer or solution before others have had much chance to contribute.

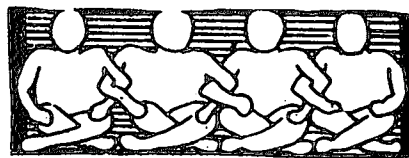
- **Speaking in capital letters.** Giving one's own solutions or opinions as the final word on the subject, often aggravated by tone of voice and body posture.
- **Defensiveness.** Responding to every contrary opinion as though it were a personal attack.
- **Nitpicking.** Pointing out minor flaws in statements of others and stating the exception to every generality.
- **Restating.** Especially what has just been said by a non-dominant person.
- **Attention seeking.** Using all sorts of dramatics to get the spotlight.
- **Task and content focus.** To the exclusion of nurturing individuals or the group through attention to process and form.
- **Putdowns and one-upmanship.** "I used to believe that, but now..." or "How can you possibly say that?"
- **Negativism.** Finding something wrong or problematical in everything.
- **Focus transfer.** Transferring the focus of the discussion to one's own pet issues in order to give one's own pet raps.
- **Residual office holder.** Hanging on to formal powerful positions.
- **Self-listening.** Formulating a response after the first few sentences, not listening to anything from that point on and leaping in at the first pause.
- **Inflexibility and dogmatism.** Taking a last stand for one's position on even minor items.
- **Avoiding feelings.** Intellectualizing, withdrawing into passivity or making jokes when it's time to share personal feelings.
- **Condescension and paternalism.** "Now, do any women have something to add?"
- **Being "on the make".** Using sexuality to manipulate people.
- **Seeking attention and support from women while competing with men.**
- **Running the show.** Continually taking charge of tasks before others have a chance to volunteer.
- **Pack ratitis.** Protectively storing key group information for one's own use and benefit.
- **Speaking for others.** "A lot of us think that we should..." or "What so and so really meant was..."

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

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

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

# AFFINITY GROUPS



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

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

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

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

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

Principles of Unity. Simply put, principles of unity are a set of starting agreements for affinity groups. Every affinity group must decide within itself how it will make decisions and what it wants to do. This process starts when the AG forms. For example, if an affinity group is forming to take part in the Diablo blockade/encampment, it will have to reach consensus on the Non-violent Code. Later it

will decide what role it wants to play in the action and what legal stance to take. If a new person asks to join that affinity group, they can find out what the group believes in and what they plan to do, and decide if they can share it. Some groups ask that all members share a commitment to feminism, for example, or to non-violence as a way of life. Others, who have specifically formed to do the blockade/encampment, might have less sweeping agreements.

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



AFFINITY GROUP SUPPORT

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

- Collect a list of people that the members of the a.g. want as contacts in case of injury or arrest.
- Hold money for emergencies and the unlikely need of bail.
- Take care of blockaders' cars, personal belongings, I.D.'s, etc.
- Help the a.g. by providing physical and moral support.
- Keep in touch with the protesters for as long as possible, knowing their arrest strategies (going limp, non-cooperation, etc.) and being prepared to follow police buses to jail if necessary, as was the case in '78.
- Keep track of where each member of the a.g. is jailed, greet them when free.
- Support on the home front: plants, animals, kids, jobs, etc.

# CONSENSUS

What is Consensus? Consensus is a process for group decision-making. It is a method by which an entire group of people can come to an agreement. The input and ideas of all participants are gathered and synthesized to arrive at a final decision acceptable to all. Through consensus, we are not only working to achieve better solutions, but also to promote the growth of community and trust.

**Consensus vs. Voting:** Voting is a means by which we choose one alternative from several. Consensus, on the other hand, is a process of synthesizing many diverse elements together.

Voting is a win or lose model, in which people are more often concerned with the numbers it takes to "win" than with the issue itself. Voting does not take into account individual feelings or needs. In essence, it is a quantitative, rather than qualitative, method of decision-making.

With Consensus people can and should work through differences together and synthesize seemingly contradictory ideas. We believe that people are able to talk peacefully about their differences and reach a mutually satisfactory position. It is possible for one person's insights or strongly held beliefs to sway the whole group. No ideas are lost, each member's input is valued as part of the solution.

**Abalone Alliance and Consensus:** It is for all the above reasons that the Abalone Alliance has structured its decision-making process on both pure and modified forms of consensus. Throughout the blockade/encampment, all decisions will be made on this basis; it is crucial that all participants understand consensus, and how to use it in their affinity groups and in spokescouncils.

**Nuts and Bolts of Consensus:** Consensus does not mean that everyone thinks that the decision made is necessarily the best one possible, or even that they are sure it will work. What it does mean is that in coming to that decision, no one felt that his/her position on the matter was misunderstood or that it wasn't given a proper hearing. It also means that the final decision doesn't violate someone's fundamental moral values, for if it did they would be obligated to block consensus. Hope-

## Attitudes and behavior which help a group reach consensus:

- Responsibility: Participants are responsible for voicing their opinions, participating in the discussion, and actively implementing the agreement.
- Self-discipline: Blocking consensus should only be done for principled objections. Object clearly, to the point, and without put-downs or excessive speeches. Participate in finding an alternative solution.
- Respect: Respect others and trust them to make responsible input.
- Cooperation: Look for areas of agreement and common ground, and build on them. Avoid competitive, right/wrong, win/lose thinking.
- Struggle: Use clear means of disagreement — no put-downs. Use disagreements and arguments to learn, grow, and change. Work hard to build unity in the group, but not at the expense of the individuals who are its members.

fully, everyone will think it's the best decision; this often happens because, when it works, collective intelligence does come up with better solutions than could individuals. But, it may occasionally not, and then the decision may just be the one supported by the most people. Those who object can do one of several things:

- Non-support ("I don't see the need for this, but I'll go along.")
- Reservations ("I think this may be a mistake but I can live with it.")
- Standing aside ("I personally can't do this, but I won't stop others from doing it.")
- Blocking ("I cannot support this or allow the group to support this. It is immoral.")
- Withdrawing from the group.

Obviously, if many people express non-support or reservations, stand aside or leave the group, it may not be a viable decision even if no one directly blocks it. This is what is known as a "lukewarm" consensus and it is just as desirable as a lukewarm beer or a lukewarm bath.

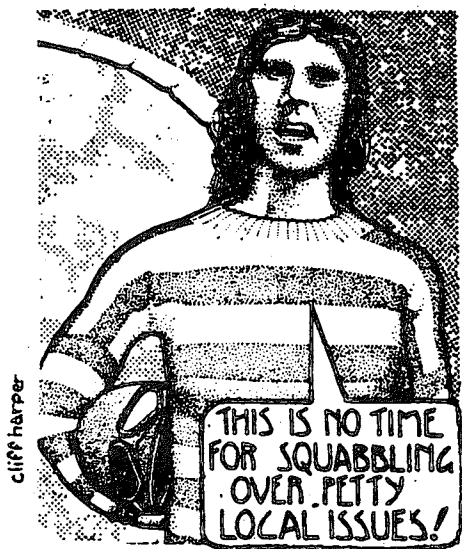
**Forming the Consensus Proposal:** During discussion a proposal for resolution is put forward. It is amended and modified through more discussion, or withdrawn if it seems to be a dead end. When a proposal seems to be well understood by everyone, and there are no new changes asked for, the facilitator(s) can ask if there are any objections or reservations to it. If there are no objections, there can be a call for consensus. If there are still no objections, then after a moment of silence you have your decision. Only the beginning, of course, now you have to carry it through.

Once consensus does appear to have been reached, it really helps to have someone repeat the decision to the group so everyone is clear on what has been decided.





If consensus is blocked and now new consensus can be reached, the group stays with whatever the previous decision was on the subject, or does nothing if that is applicable. Major philosophical or moral questions that will come up with each affinity group will have to be worked through as soon as the group forms. (See "Principles of Unity" in the "Affinity Group" section.)



The fundamental right of consensus is for all people to be able to express themselves in their own words and of their own will. The fundamental responsibility of consensus is to assure others of their right to speak and be heard. Coercion and trade-offs are replaced with creative alternatives, and compromise with synthesis.

**Roles in a Consensus Meeting:** There are several roles which, if filled, can help consensus decision-making run smoothly. The *facilitator* (or *co-facilitators*) aids the group in defining decisions that need to be made, helps them through the stages of reaching an agreement, keeps the meeting moving, focuses discussion to the point at hand, makes sure everyone has the opportunity to participate, and formulates and tests to see if consensus has been reached. Facilitators help to direct the process of the meeting, not its content. They never make decisions for the group. If a facilitator feels too emotionally involved in an issue or discussion and cannot remain neutral in behavior, if not in attitude, then s/he should ask someone to take over the task of facilitation for that agenda item.

A *vibes-watcher* is someone besides the facilitator who watches and comments on individual and group feelings and patterns of participation. Vibes-watchers need to be especially tuned in to the sexism of group dynamics.

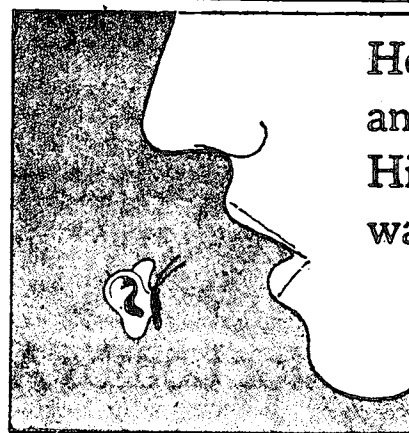
A *recorder* can take notes on the meeting, especially of decisions made and means of implementation and a *time-keeper* keeps things going on schedule so that each agenda item can be covered in the time allotted for it (if discussion runs over the time for an item, the group may or may not decide to contract for more time to finish up).

Even though individuals take on these roles, all participants in a meeting should be aware of and involved in the issues, process, and feelings of the group, and should share their individual expertise in helping the group run smoothly and reach a decision. This is especially true when it comes to finding compromise agreements to seemingly contradictory positions.

**Consensus and Action:** The goal of every decision-making process is not just to decide on a solution, but also to carry out that plan of action. Without subsequent action, decisions are totally meaningless. This is often overlooked. It seems that a person's commitment to any decision is in proportion to their sense of participation in that decision. Consensus attempts to involve all members of a group, not just the "leaders".

Consensus clearly takes more time than a simple vote. But the added time can be viewed in relation to the increased understanding each member of the group will have about the issue and the increased probability of the decision being carried out; longer decision time but shorter implementation time.

Most deadlock situations are, however, mixed up with emotions. If the root of someone's objections to a proposal is really their personal dislike for the proponent(s), then hopes for resolution are virtually nil until these personal issues are addressed. For consensus to work, the group must be able to identify and work out emotional problems and feelings.



**Spokescouncils:** When operating in a large group, each affinity group selects one person to act as their spokesperson. These "spokes" carry affinity groups' opinions and proposals to spokespersons of all the affinity groups' reps; they are not empowered to make any final decisions without first consulting their affinity groups (unless it is a pre-determined empowered spokesperson). Spokes do try to consolidate, synthesize, and iron out differences between proposals so as to create a proposal(s) agreeable to all. Information is then relayed back to the affinity groups by spokes, the issues at hand reconsidered, and a new position (or perhaps the same old one) is reached. These positions are once again brought to the spokesperson. If consensus is reached, great. If not, the process may be repeated again or the group may decide to return to the previously agreed upon position. ●

# the BLOCKADE scenario

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

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

## Coordination Among Affinity Groups

To coordinate affinity group participation and decision-making for the blockade, there will be regular Spokes Council meetings, comprised of a spoke from each affinity group. As affinity groups form, they may send a spoke to these council meetings to express the concerns of their group, exchange information, and discuss proposals for the action. Spokes will then go back to their affinity groups to discuss the proposals in depth and return to the council with their affinity group's concerns and decisions.

The blockade preparation collective is responsible for developing the framework for the blockade. The collective will provide a communications system at the lab, transportation, medics, check-in for blockaders and other requirements for the blockade. The blockade collective will facilitate arrangements for the regular Spokes Council meetings so that affinity groups can be coordinated.

Affinity groups will be as autonomous as possible within the guidelines of the action. Many decisions will be up to each affinity group to make: such as, whether to go limp or cooperate as a group or individually; planning a special project to illustrate their concerns; and where and how to blockade. There will be some aspects of basic strategy and coordination that the Spokes Council will propose to the affinity groups. Some of the Spokes Council suggestions might include whether to extend the blockade for more than one day, whether one region or interest group might take responsibility for one gate, or other strategies that require coordination.

By this process of affinity group Spokes Council meetings, people involved in the blockade will better know what to expect and have control over the decisions that directly affect them.

## Support Demonstration

The support demonstration is a critical component of the action; it will increase our impact and provide a sense of solidarity for the people blockading.

There will be precautions taken to reduce the chance that demonstrators will be arrested with the blockaders. To facilitate this, we ask that all supporters observe the action guidelines to ensure that the tone of the action remains peaceful and to protect blockaders and other supporters from potential police violence. While it is not necessary for supporters to be in affinity groups, it is encouraged so that people feel a sense of community and a connection to the action.

We hope that many people will come to the demonstration to join the millions of concerned people worldwide in their call for peace.

## If you are thinking about Blockading

If you are planning or considering to blockade June 21st, please send in your name and your affinity group name (if you already have one.) We will send you notices, minutes, and updates of Spokes Council meetings. ● Livermore Action Group  
3126 Shattuck Berkeley, CA 94703 ph. (415) 644-2023



# What You Need to Bring

Assume that you'll be spending the whole day at or around the Lab gates, so bring enough food and water to meet your needs. There is a possibility that the blockade will last more than one day, but chances are that affinity groups will get arrested on the first day that they blockade. In the event that some people do spend more than one day there, support people should have access to additional food. Livermore, however, is not a remote area, so a quick trip into town could easily alleviate any shortages. When wrapping your food, remember that litter should be kept to a minimum. Consider using reusable plastic bags.

It is a good idea to eat a nutritious breakfast in the morning before the blockade.

Livermore is usually very hot and sunny in the summer, so come prepared to soak up some of that safe solar energy. Sun screen and other protection such as sunglasses, a visor or a hat are suggested. It does get cool in the evenings, however, and you might spend quite a lot of time outdoors at the site, either at the blockade or in holding areas after arrest.

It's important to dress appropriately for the weather, but it should also be kept in mind that your clothing should protect you, especially if you plan to go limp when arrested and might be dragged. For instance, it's a good idea to wear shoes instead of sandals.

Medics will be present to take care of medical needs, but it will be simpler if a support person in each affinity group takes responsibility for some first aid, such as supplying band-aids and aspirin.

Anyone with special medical or dietary needs should carefully consider how his/her condition is controlled and how it is affected by the stress and excitement of participation. If you have a special condition, make sure other blockaders and support people in your affinity group know about it. Support people can carry needed supplies. You should wear a medical tag stating chronic illness to facilitate bringing necessary medical supplies through the arrest/jailing process.

If at all possible, blockaders should avoid wearing contact lenses. Jewelry should also be left at home. If someone from each affinity group brings some toilet paper and chapstick it might make things a lot easier.

Once an affinity group starts to blockade, it is a good idea for support people to take from

blockaders any possessions which blockaders do not want to risk losing. Food, water, and protective clothing should be kept by blockaders in case they are kept in holding areas for a long time.

We don't know whether the experiences at Santa Rita jail will be the same for those arrested on June 21 as they were for the February 1 blockaders, especially if there are many more people arrested on June 21. The experience of the February 1 blockaders was that everything was taken from them and returned later. If you want to try bringing a toothbrush, comb, etc., it couldn't hurt and possibly you'll be able to bring them into jail with you. If not, the jail will eventually issue these items to you. The experience on February 1 was that any money blockaders brought with them was taken and returned later with everything else. If you want to be able to buy things at the jail commissary, such as socks, paper, pens, etc., arrange to have support people place money directly into your account. This can be done at the jail visitors' office.

Please REMEMBER: Do not bring alcohol or drugs. This is very important to the safety of the entire group. Remember that this may be a tense situation and we should try to remain calm and flexible throughout.



Spending an extended period of time in the sun, heat, crowds, etc. could affect some of us adversely, so here are some remedies that might come in handy:

**Headache:** Two aspirin with water might really help you enjoy the day a little more. Take Tylenol if you tend to have stomach problems.

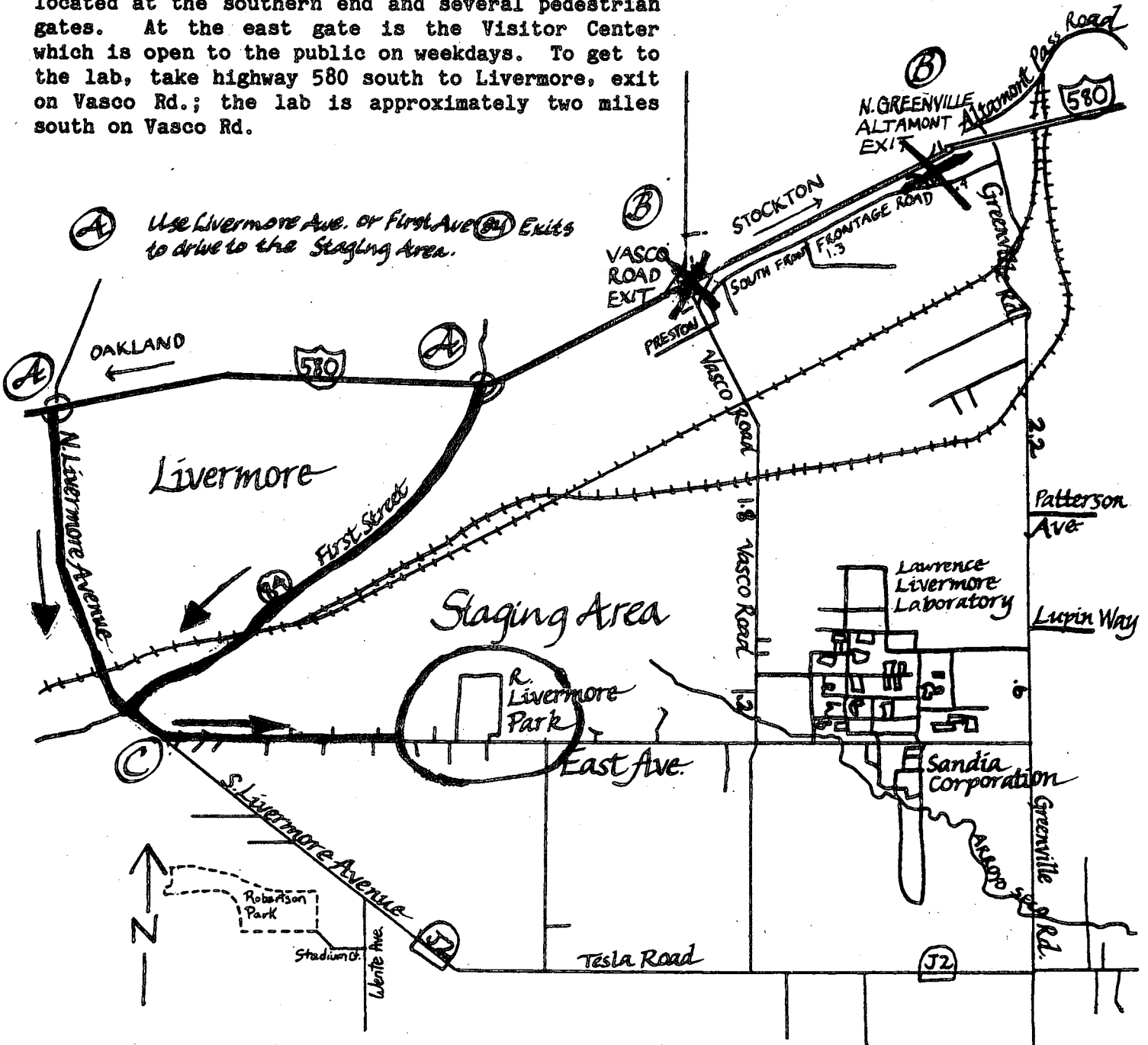
**Sun Stroke:** (hot, dry skin; rapid, strong pulse) Lie down, head elevated, in a shady place, loosen clothing, cool skin with wet rags.

**Heat Exhaustion:** (cold, moist skin; weak pulse) Lie down, head low, keep warm, drink hot fruit juices, coffee, tea, soup, salt, and water. ●

The Livermore Weapons Lab is located 33 miles southeast of Oakland in the Livermore Valley. The lab is about one mile east of the town of Livermore. It is a large (several square miles) complex of buildings and open fields surrounded by a chain link fence. There are four main vehicle gates located at the southern end and several pedestrian gates. At the east gate is the Visitor Center which is open to the public on weekdays. To get to the lab, take highway 580 south to Livermore, exit on Vasco Rd.; the lab is approximately two miles south on Vasco Rd.

# area

ⓑ After the first drive, cars should not use these exits because we expect traffic jams.

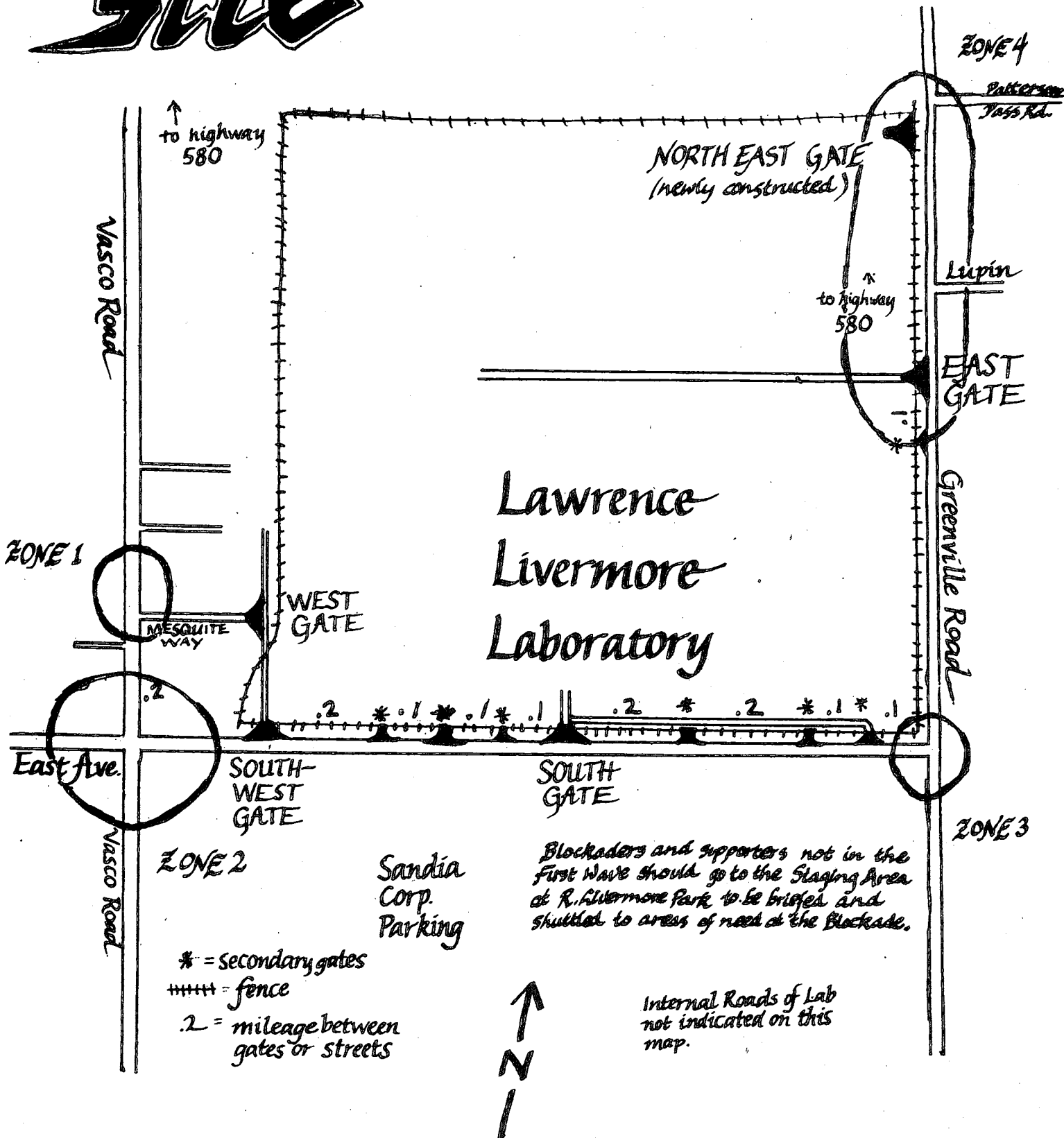


0 1/2 mile 1 mile

+++++ = railroad

ⓒ Monitors with signs at intersection of Livermore and East Aves. will direct traffic to the Staging Area. If there will be parking at Robertson Park, monitors will direct cars there please watch for them.

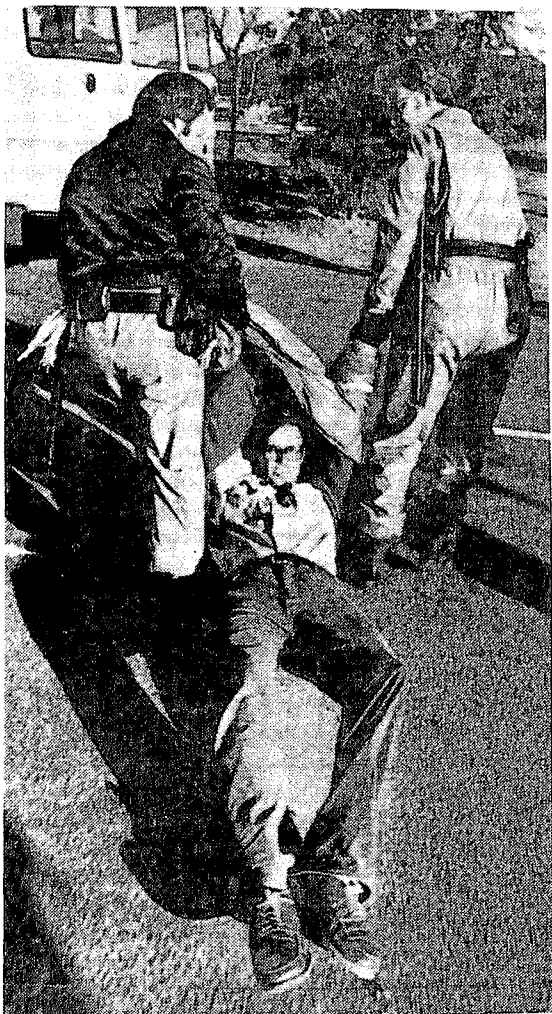
# Site



## GOING LIMP

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

- Your attitude toward the police is very important. Try to make eye contact and communicate verbally with the person arresting you. You are less likely to get hurt by someone who sees you as a calm, sensible human being.
- Try and situate yourself in such a way that if you are dragged, you are dragged on your back and heels, instead of on your stomach and knees.
- While linking arms with other members of your affinity group feels good to you, police have the tendency to view such acts as defiance, and are more likely to respond with force.



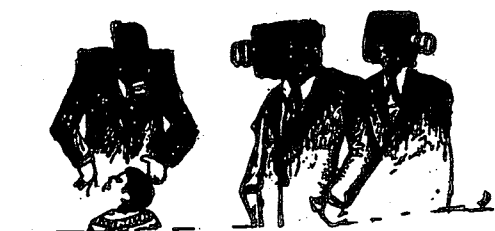
## MACE, DOGS, AND TEAR GAS

We don't expect the authorities to use dogs, or tear gas, or mace, all of which are dispersal tactics which could disrupt the blockade without arrests. However, they are a possibility. Our effectiveness in dealing with them is entirely dependent on our nonviolence and on how well we communicate with the police. The following is a brief discussion of these dispersal techniques so that we won't run in fear or react with panic.

**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, particular the eyes. Mace victims should be removed from the area and wash their eyes 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. An important thing to remember is that mace and tear gas will affect a whole area, and the authorities will not want to expose the lab workers. Therefore, blockaders should be sure that they are blockading workers.

**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.



## MEDIA

As a participant in the blockade of Livermore Labs, there is a good chance that you will run into members of the press. While there will be a media collective to issue press releases and do press conferences and interviews, any one of us may be approached by a reporter or a camera crew during the action.

Good relations with the press are crucial for accurate coverage of our action. If a reporter approaches you, try not to be shy. Try to explain our actions simply and directly. If asked what you are doing, a simple answer might be to say that you are there to disrupt business as usual at Livermore, and to focus the public's attention on the nuclear arms race. Don't try to answer questions you are unsure of; just refer the reporter to someone who can. Also, it's a good idea to emphasize that you are speaking for yourself, not for the entire group.

It is frequently the case that in actions like this one, the media will want to focus on the dramatic confrontations (police arresting protesters, etc.) rather than on why we are taking action. If possible, steer conversations to the real issues at hand — the ever-accelerating arms race, the possibility of nuclear war, the need to divert military spending into funding for human needs. Also, it is

better that participants not speculate as to how many demonstrators are expected. We could be surprised either way, but over-estimating in advance can hurt press coverage.

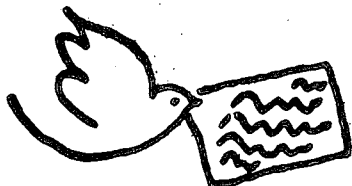
It is often hard to react naturally to the media, especially if it's your first experience dealing with reporters, T.V. cameras, etc. Affinity groups may want to role play being interviewed. Take turns asking and answering questions, then evaluate the interviews and try to come up with some good ideas for dealing with the real thing.

Remember, the reporters pointing those microphones and cameras at you are people doing their jobs. Asking them how they feel about the arms race, the threat of nuclear war, and non-violent direct action is a good way of breaking through the professional aura that surrounds the press in general. You will find that we do have some friends there.

Still, even the most sympathetic reporters must answer to editors and publishers who directly serve their corporate owners. An ever-increasing portion of radio and television stations, newspapers, magazines, movies, and book publishers are owned by multinational corporations. A high percentage of these corporations also profit substantially from military contracts, and play a direct role in the arms race. It would be a mistake to assume that these parent companies only look at the profit sheets of the media they own; you can be sure that they keep tabs on the stories as well.

So the media will be our friend and foe. As a wise old bird once said, "The media is like an amplifier — it broadcasts your message more loudly, but it usually distorts it, too." ●

## housing . . .



All those who can provide or are in need of housing for any of the dates listed below are urged to fill in the appropriate form. (Food arrangements should be made directly with your "host family.")

Please note that the dates listed below (June 11 to 24) include the June 12th U.N. Action in San Francisco.

### HOUSING NEEDED

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone ( ) \_\_\_\_\_

1. Number of people needing housing: \_\_\_\_\_
2. Type of accommodations preferred (bed, floor, camping space); List in order of preference \_\_\_\_\_
3. Dates needed: \_\_\_\_\_
4. Do you prefer accommodation with . . . ?  
Females only \_\_\_\_\_ Males only \_\_\_\_\_ Don't care \_\_\_\_\_
5. Will you want to bring . . . ? Tobacco \_\_\_\_\_ Pets \_\_\_\_\_  
Children (ages) \_\_\_\_\_  
Do you need an accommodation that is wheelchair accessible? \_\_\_\_\_

Return this form with a stamped, self-addressed envelope to: J.C. Sweeney, 2617 College Ave. #1, Berkeley, CA. Questions? Please call (415) 843-3861 or (415) 524-1298

E.B.A.N.G. Housing Committee



## THE LIVERMORE COMMUNITY

The Livermore Liaison Collective formed because of the Livermore Action Group's desire to communicate our purpose, concerns, and goals to a community largely supported by LLNL salaries. Initially, there was a discouraging lack of support for our blockade strategy. After much discussion and explanation with several members of the community involved in the Nuclear Freeze campaign, we did have supporters from both the Livermore and Pleasanton communities at the Lab on February 1, and at subsequent blockades. Unfortunately, those in the valley that do support our strategy are not numerous. They are working amongst a community that thrives because of the Lab, and therefore feels threatened by our activities.

Constructive dialogue with the people in the community and the Lab employees is a critical component to a nonviolent civil disobedience. We

recognize the vast resources and potential of the Lab's employees. We must convey that we don't wish to destroy the Lab and rob the employees of their jobs. Rather, we want the Lab to pursue work on peaceful projects. This point is essential to emphasize in talking with Lab workers and their families.

Our sensitivity to the community will aid our supporters in Livermore in their difficult task of helping us explain why weapons work at the Lab is counter-productive to human survival.

Some of the activities that have taken place in the valley include: showings of the Last Epidemic; a dialogue within the religious community; and leaf-letting at the Labs. We encourage others to join us in speaking and opening the barrier of communication and fear that the Lab has created against us. ●

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### JUNE 12TH - JUNE 21ST: A WEEK OF ACTIVITIES IN THE BAY AREA AGAINST WAR AND THE PREPARATION FOR WAR

In June, the Second United Nations General Assembly Special Session on Disarmament will focus world attention on the great issues of war and peace. A cry of protest from the streets of our cities must join the voices raised in that session against the drift toward war and nuclear holocaust.

There will be a massive rally in New York on June 12th and another in San Francisco Civic Center on the same day. We in the Bay Area must work to make that rally an historic event.

The period between the rally on the 12th and the blockade on the 21st is dedicated to education, mutual support, exchange of ideas, and protest against the subordination of human needs to the inhuman ends of the arms race. People from the entire western United States will converge on San Francisco for the June 12th rally, stay for a week and a day, and participate in the blockade and demonstration at Livermore on the 21st. Many groups in the Bay Area will be organizing activities for the intervening period around their particular area of concern. We feel that this extended period of activities will mark an enormous leap forward in the "life" work we are all engaged in. ●

All those who can provide or are in need of housing for any of the dates listed below are urged to fill in the appropriate form. (Food arrangements should be made directly with your "host family.")

Please note that the dates listed below (June 11 to 24) include the June 12th U.N. Action in San Francisco.

#### HOUSING TO PROVIDE

Name \_\_\_\_\_

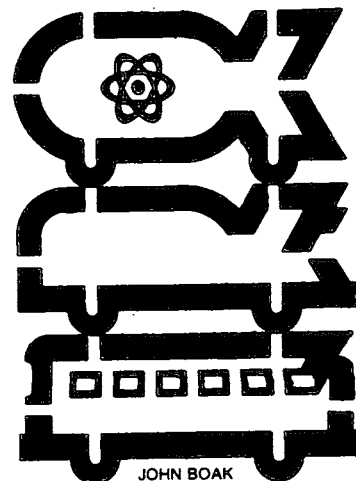
Address \_\_\_\_\_

Phone ( ) \_\_\_\_\_

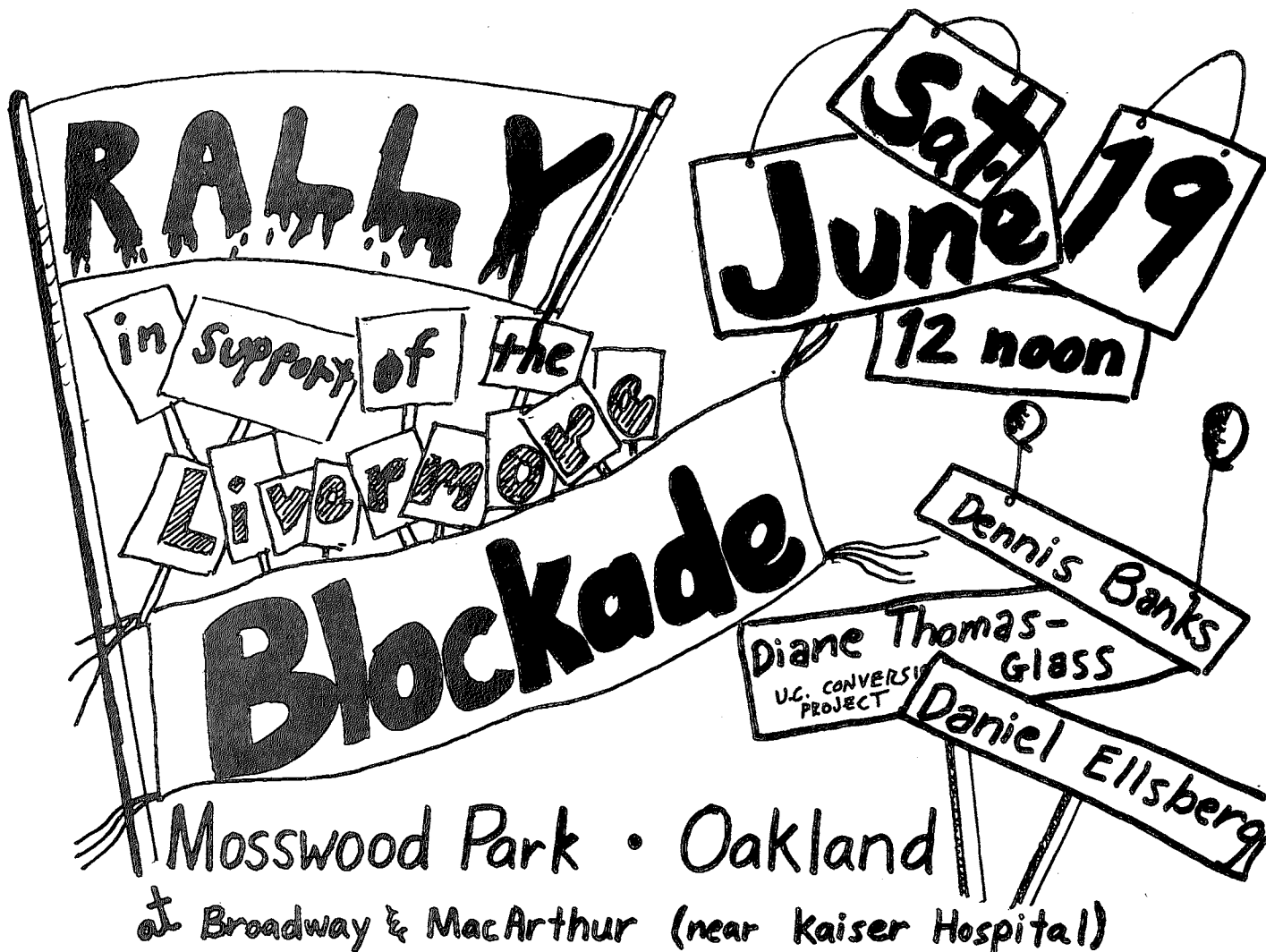
1. Number of people you can accommodate: \_\_\_\_\_
  2. Type of accommodations (bed, floor, camping space): \_\_\_\_\_
  3. Dates available (from June 11 to June 24): \_\_\_\_\_
  4. Would you prefer as guests . . . ?  
Females only ☐ Males only ☐ Don't care ☐
  5. Do you mind . . . ?  
Tobacco ☐ Children ☐ Pets ☐
- Are your accommodations wheelchair accessible? \_\_\_\_\_

Return this form with a stamped, self-addressed envelope to: J.C. Sweeney, 2617 College Ave. #1,  
Berkeley, CA. Questions? Please call (415) 843-3861 or (415) 524-1296  
E.B.A.N.G. Housing Committee

## ...housing



JOHN BOAK



*"We must expect that when war breaks out again we will use the weapons available. I think we'll destroy ourselves. I'm not proud of the part I played."*

*Admiral Hyman Rickover  
January 28, 1982*

#### MARCH TO LIVERMORE

The walk from Berkeley to Livermore that preceded the February 1st blockade proved such a success in dramatizing concern about nuclear war preparation that the Bombs Away affinity group has taken on the responsibility of organizing a much more ambitious march from San Francisco to the Livermore Labs in conjunction with the other June events, leading up the planned mass civil disobedience of June 21st.

Walkers will set off from the June 12th disarmament rally in the San Francisco Civic Center and proceed down Mission Street. The first night will be spent in a church facility close to the Alameda County line. On Sunday the marchers will take their message down El Camino Real through the northern half of San Mateo County. Monday

will involve a lunch stop and demonstration in front of the County Courthouse in Redwood City and an early evening rally in front of the Palo Alto City Hall. Tuesday, marchers will proceed through defense-dependent Silicon Valley to the University of Santa Clara. A rally at San Jose State University will greet the marchers Wednesday around noon. They will then turn north, arriving in Milpitas or Fremont by sunset. Thursday will take the trekkers to St. Clements Catholic Church in Hayward. On Friday, the march will turn east, cross the coastal range, and proceed across the wide Livermore Valley to the South Gate of the Lab. Adherence to the L.A.G. nonviolence guidelines is mandatory for all who participate.

Please call Garry (Oakland) at 655-1262, or Bob (S.F.) at 864-1792, or Joe (S.F.) at 285-8729 if you wish to help out or need detailed information. ●

# LEGAL

Our approach to the legal system is up to us. We retain as much power as we refuse to relinquish to the government - city, state, or federal.

The criminal "justice" systems functions to alienate and isolate the accused individual, to destroy one's power and purposefulness, and to weave a web of confusion and mystification around any legal proceedings. If we are well prepared for our contact with this system, we can limit the effect it has upon us, both personally and politically. Bail solidarity, non-cooperation, and other forms of resistance can be used to reaffirm our position that we are not criminals and that we are taking positive steps toward freeing the world of nuclear terror.

The decisions we make are political. The reaction of the government to what we are doing, to what we stand for, will also be political. We can have quite an impact on what happens to us in jail, in court, and during processing if we are prepared.

The police may separate us from each other, breaking up affinity groups and possibly isolating individuals. In order to maintain our spirits and effectiveness, we must develop an ability to deal with the legal system, while trusting in the solidarity of other demonstrators. Solidarity is more a state of mind that unites us through a long struggle than a specific course of action that everyone follows. Solidarity does not demand that everyone make the same choice in every situation. It is our dedication to support one another and to pursue our common goals at all times, to the best of our ability.

## LEGAL HISTORY OF LIVERMORE LABORATORY ACTIONS

Protest demonstrations began in the late 1950's, organized by the Quakers against weapons development at Livermore. In 1979 there were six arrests at a July 4 blockade at the Livermore Lab.

At the Livermore Action Group's first non-violent blockade on February 1, 1982, 170 adults and seven juveniles were arrested. Adults were charged with blocking a public right of way. One hundred sixty-seven persons pled "guilty" or "nolo contendere" (no contest) and were offered by the judge the optional sentence of a \$210 fine, or ten days in jail or seven days of community service. Twenty-seven chose jail time; the others chose community service. Three persons pled "not guilty" and are awaiting trial.

On March 1, 1982, 31 persons were arrested in an action originating in the religious community and comprised primarily of ministers and theological students. They too were charged with blocking a public right of way. Twenty-nine persons pled "nolo contendere." Four chose jail time, 23 chose community service, two chose to pay the fine, and two pled "not guilty" and are awaiting trial. One person who climbed over a fence and entered a building was charged with trespass and served 20 days in jail.

On April 1, 1982, six adults and one juvenile were arrested and charged with blocking a public right-of-way. The adults pled "nolo contendere" and chose seven days of community service.



## POSSIBLE CHARGES

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

**602K & L Trespass:** Peaceable but wrongful entry on land of another; a misdemeanor punishable by up to 6 months and/or \$500. 602K is entering upon posted and/or fenced property. 602L is refusing to leave.

**626.6 - Entry by non-student or non-employee on facility controlled by Board of Regents in a manner which appears likely to interfere with peaceful conduct of activities carried on by the facility; misdemeanor.** 1st offense: up to 6 months and/or \$500. 2nd offense: not less than 10 days or more than 6 months, plus possible \$500 fine. 3rd offense: not less than 90 days or more than 6 months, plus possible \$500 fine. Second and third offenders are not eligible for release on probation or any other basis until the minimum has been served in jail.

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

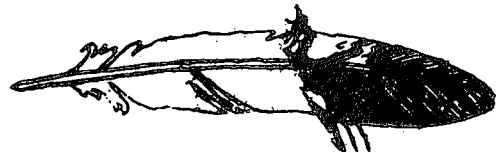
**182 - Conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor:** Felony punishable by up to five years in jail.

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

Under the California penal code, it is possible to receive the maximum sentence for two separate misdemeanors if they are considered either separate actions or having separate victims. The district attorney may also charge two offenses in the alternative, meaning you must enter a plea to one of them and the other one will be dropped. Besides the provisions of 626.6, the court may choose to impose harsher bail and sentences on repeat offenders of other sections; however, it is unusual for someone to receive the maximum penalty.

In addition to or in lieu of state charges, the Federal government claims criminal jurisdiction under the Energy Research and Development Act administered by the Department of Energy. There may be other Federal laws which apply, but signs at all Livermore gates refer to Section 229, Criminal Trespass. This law applies only to those who enter through the gate or over the fence without permission. The offense is a misdemeanor punishable by a \$500 fine or one year in Federal penitentiary.

Criminal charges are not the only measures the courts may take against you as a participant in the blockade. An injunction may be issued ordering demonstrators to refrain from blockading. It is unlikely that this will happen unless an extremely large number of blockaders assemble as was the case at Diablo Canyon. Injunctions may be either civil or criminal. Violation of either type results in a contempt of court charge. Civil violations are punishable by five days and \$500 fine, while criminal violations are punishable by six months and \$500.



Juveniles will not be subject to any of the criminal charges listed in this section. Instead, they will be charged under the California Welfare and Institutions Code which is similar to the adult code. Any action taken against a juvenile under this code does not constitute a criminal record. After arrest, juveniles will be isolated from adult blockaders and taken to juvenile hall. In past actions, juveniles were immediately released to a designated adult. To facilitate this, Livermore Action Group requires that all juvenile blockaders carry a notarized permission slip signed by their parent or guardian which states that the juvenile is not a runaway and authorizes release to a designated adult(s).



Photo: Betty Lee

**THE LEGAL PROCESS**  
(partially adapted from the Diablo Canyon Handbook)

1) Preparation for possible arrest:

- Attend one of the many nonviolent training sessions offered by L.A.G. with your affinity group if you have not previously done so.
- Prepare yourself for the experience of jail by talking with those who have experienced civil disobedience and arrest.
- Carry NO weapons or contraband into the action. Prescriptions should be in original containers only. Carry prescription orders with you as identification and to facilitate having prescription drugs brought into jail.
- Make sure support people have necessary information about you (name, who to contact, your birthdate, special needs you have for getting things into jail and jail account, etc.)
- Keep 20 cents for a phone call in jail. Any more money than that will be useless to you in jail.

2) The warning: Police order you to leave. This is the last opportunity to opt out. In a situation of mass arrests, it is sometimes difficult to get away at this point.

3) The arrest: There are several options (up to the individual, but affinity groups should know who among them is doing what): (a) walking with the officer in an effort to communicate with him/her; (b) going "limp" or non-cooperating in another nonviolent manner.



In either case, you may be handcuffed. Any active resistance or interference with someone else's arrest can lead to additional charges and personal injury.

Police are not required to read you the Miranda Rights unless they are questioning you. You have the right to remain silent. Men and women may be separated at the time of arrest into separate buses. Write down the details of your arrest as soon as possible. Record the time and place of the arrest for possible trial use later, as well as the name and badge numbers of the arresting officer. You are a witness; what you remember may be valuable to someone in court later.

You are also entitled to confer with a lawyer at any time before you say anything or agree to anything. Don't be afraid to ask for someone on the legal team if you are confused or need clarification on the process.

4) Booking: You will probably go through a booking procedure, either at the lab compound or at the jail. You will then be asked to show picture ID, address, Social Security number, etc. How much information you give and the accuracy with which you give it is up to you. Some activists carry no identification and/or refuse to answer objectionable questions. Refusal to supply the requested information slows the whole process down considerably, which may or may not be desirable for the group as a whole. At booking you will be given a preliminary set of charges which are not final, but may be changed at the time of arraignment.

5) Opportunity to "cite out": Once you are in jail waiting for arraignment, authorities may offer to let you go if you sign a citation release form promising that you will appear in court at the appointed time for arraignment. This is called being released on O.R. (own recognizance). Failure to appear results in a bench warrant being issued on you.

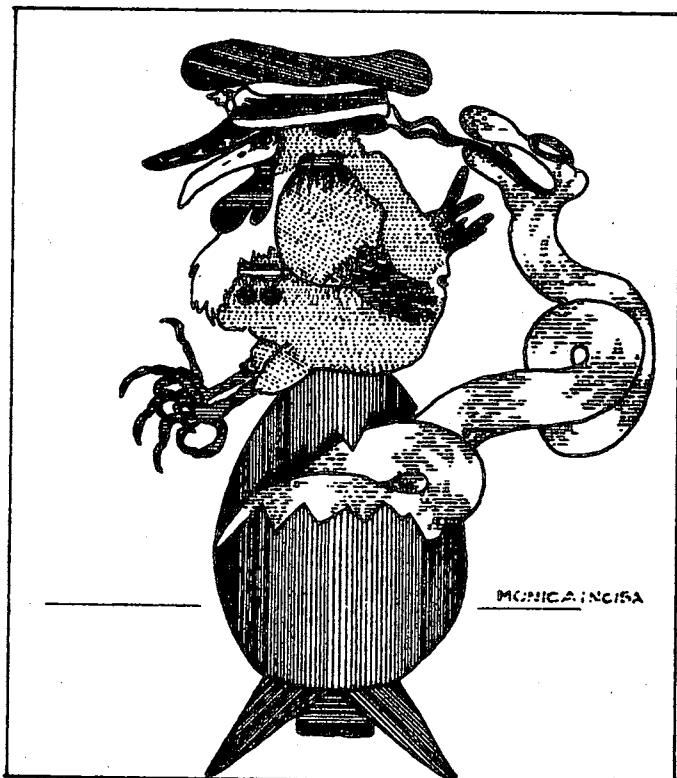
The Sheriff's Department prefers to release prisoners on O.R. because it is less burdensome on the jail system, both financially and in terms of personnel. Because the option of citing out tends to split up the group solidarity and make second-time offenders more visible, the individual decision to cite out should be carefully considered. Furthermore, protesters who cite out may be assigned individual or small group court dates. In any case, their arraignments will be separate from those who remain in jail.

6) Arraignment: This is an appearance before the judge in which the charges will be read to you, and you will be asked to enter a plea to them. You will not be alone in the courtroom. Other protesters (or maybe all of them) will be there with you, and lawyers for the action will be present. You are entitled to legal counsel before you plead. If you are confused about the charges or how you want to plead, request that the judge grant you time to consult with one of the lawyers. This can usually be arranged on the spot.

If you as a group disagree with the way the court wants to arraign you, there are ways of expressing your views through non-cooperation with court procedures (e.g., muteness, refusal to enter a plea, to stand up in court, to speak to the judge as a symbol of court authority). These measures should be carefully considered because they may result in contempt of court charges. Nevertheless, you as a group may want to take the risk for tactical objectives. It can be effective in getting what you want, but it is a gamble.

You have a right to be arraigned within 48 hours of your arrest, not including weekends or holidays. At Diablo, this was ignored. Motions for dismissal of charges based on this point were denied. The number arrested plays an important role in how soon the arraignments will take place. Blockaders in the past have demanded a mass arraignment as a means of assuring equal treatment, but it is up to the judge to grant it.

- 7) Pleas: Defendants have the option of pleading not guilty, guilty, or nolo contendere (no contest) during the arraignment. A "not guilty" plea always results in a trial. You have a right to be tried by a jury, a right to call your own witnesses and a right to cross-examine government witnesses. The state has the burden of proving your legal guilt at trial



A nolo plea has the same effect as a guilty plea for purposes of sentencing. Unlike a guilty plea, it does not admit culpability. Nolo contendere simply means that the defendant does not contest the facts as alleged in the charging document. Further, a nolo plea is not evidence of guilt in the remote possibility of a civil suit against the group for money damages.

After a guilty or nolo plea, the judge will ask whether you prefer to be sentenced immediately or reappear in court at a later date. Most defendants elect immediate sentencing to avoid the possibility of unequal treatment.

- 8) Bail: At arraignment or before, the judge will set bail or offer to release you on your own recognizance (O.R.). Bail is money (or sometimes property) that you must put up to be released from custody. It guarantees your later appearance in court; if you show up you will get it back. If you plead not guilty or if you choose to postpone pleading or sentencing, the judge will set bail or offer O.R. You may decline to accept it in which case you will be returned to jail to await your next court date.

Refusal of bail has been a general commitment of Livermore blockaders in the past. Such bail solidarity is one means of assuring equal treatment to everyone, including repeat offenders, organizers, and perhaps non-cooperators. Most importantly, it unifies the group into a powerful negotiating bloc in jail and in court.

- 9) Trials: The decision to follow through with a not guilty plea is essentially a political one. You must determine whether a trial is consistent with the objectives of the action, and whether it is the best alternative for you personally. A trial involves a major commitment of your time, energy, and money. It could tie you up in the court system for months.

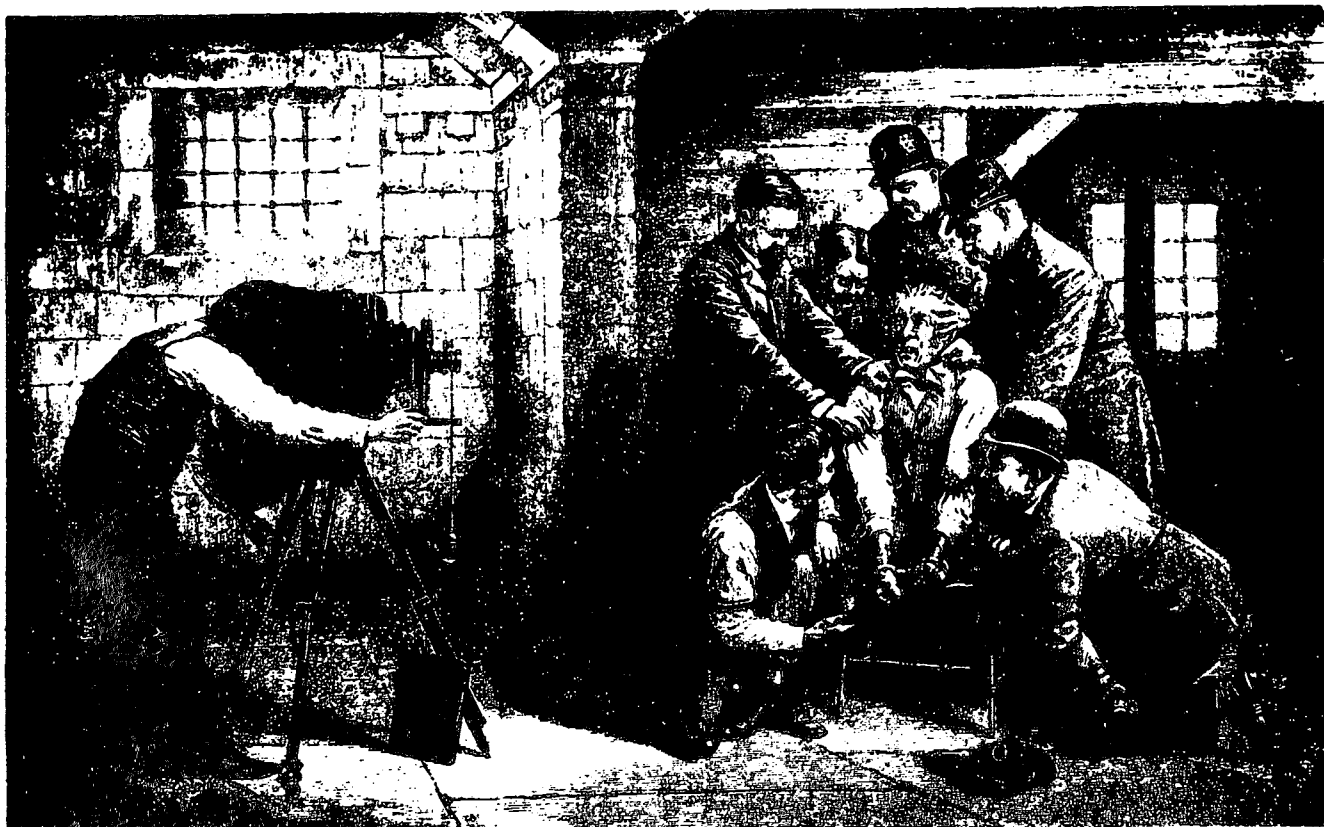
The L.A.G. legal collective is working to make available the broadest range of legal options to blockaders, but our resources are limited. We are currently operating on the assumption that the majority of blockaders will choose to plead nolo and be sentenced right away. This has been the pattern developed in past actions. For those who wish to plead not guilty, legal workers will offer workshops on how to represent oneself in court (Pro per). Pro per manuals are available from the National Lawyers Guild in San Francisco ([415] 285-5066) and Abalone Alliance ([415] 543-3910). The L.A.G. legal team is willing to advise those wishing to go this route.

We are also contacting lawyers who would be interested in representing groups of defendants at trial around political defenses such as the "defense of necessity." It would be advantageous to you and helpful to the legal team if you would notify them as soon as you have decided to plead not guilty, especially if you would like representation.

Affinity group members should begin discussing now, and should decide prior to the action, what their relationship to the legal system will be (e.g., whether they will accept O.R., how they will plead, etc.).

- 10) Sentencing: Sentencing is discretionary with the judge up to the statutory maximum. In lieu of jail or fines, the judge may offer probation, suspended sentence, or several days of community service through the Volunteer Bureau in your home county. L.A.G. blockaders have consistently refused to accept fines, probation, or suspended sentences. Their opposition to fines arises out of recognition that a vast majority of low-income defendants have no choice but to serve time in jail.

Probation and suspended sentences are usually rejected for tactical reasons: Probation carries a condition that you will refrain from further acts of civil disobedience throughout the prescribed period. If you blockade again after receiving a suspended sentence, you will be immediately sentenced with a harsher penalty based on both incidents of civil disobedience. ●







### JUVENILES: JOIN US

We encourage all juveniles to join us in the upcoming blockade, and assure them that they will not be the only minors. However, there are some guidelines that juveniles must follow when participating in civil disobedience.

The major differences for juveniles are the legalities. People under 18 will need a printed permission slip, signed by their parent or legal guardian. The purpose of the permission slip is to tell the police that we are not runaways and to authorize someone to pick us up at the juvenile hall. Forms can be obtained from the L.A.G. office.

In past actions, punishment of arrested minors has been light. At the February 1 blockade of Livermore, eight juveniles were arrested. Upon arriving at Juvenile Hall they were immediately released to a designated adult. We are certain that juveniles will be separated from the adults.

These guidelines understood, there is no reason not to blockade. We as juveniles have grown up under the threat of nuclear war. No one under 18 has had a nuclear free past; we have a right to a nuclear free future. Through blockading the lab, we can show the people in power that what they are doing is not all right with us, and that we will not sit passively and let them ruin our world. ●

By Life Squad (all kids affinity group).

For more information on juveniles, see the "Legal" section.

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# JAIL

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## DOING YOUR TIME IN SOLIDARITY

Experience at Diablo Canyon and past Livermore blockades has shown that what we do following our arrest has a powerful effect on the nature of our treatment in jail and on our sentence. Just as we are able to influence the behavior of the police by how we demonstrate and exercise civil disobedience, so are we able to influence our guards and judges. The key is to: (1) follow through with the affinity group process, (2) adhere to the non-violence guidelines, and (3) exercise jail solidarity. Jail will not be a picnic, but it has been for most blockaders an enriching and empowering experience. Due to the projected size of the June 21st blockade, it is likely that all arrested will be jailed en masse, except that men and women will be segregated. Blockaders will probably be separate from the rest of the inmates.

Even though you will probably be in jail with your friends, the experience will be difficult and emotionally painful. The incarceration experience of those who blockaded Diablo may differ significantly from what you will encounter at Santa Rita. As a temporary resident there, you can expect:

1. You may be denied bathing privileges for several days.
2. You may be detained outdoors for many long hours in excessively hot or rainy weather.
3. Telephones may not be easily accessible.
4. Visitors may have great difficulty getting in to see you.
5. You may be strip-searched.
6. You will be constantly "jacked around."
7. It will be difficult for support persons to get books and other items to you.
8. You will not be entitled to keep personal property in the jail. Items brought to you there will not leave with you.
9. You may not be popular with other inmates, particularly if you accept preferential treatment from the authorities.
10. You will finally appreciate the play, Waiting for Godot.



Do not expect the guards to be sympathetic to your political concerns, although some of them probably are. They will not understand the consensus process or the spirit of solidarity. To some extent, they are intimidated by both, so you may use them effectively to "short-circuit" their dehumanizing methods. 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, although at least they get paid. They expect the worst 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. Keep expecting that they should act with respect and compassion and you may be surprised by the results. Perhaps you will surprise them in 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.

You may be permitted to purchase items like shampoo, cigarettes, and candy at the jail commissary twice a week. In order to take advantage of this opportunity, you must have a small amount of cash deposited for you at the jail. Money in your pockets at the time of arrest will not be available for this purpose. A support person can deposit money for you after you have been booked if he/she has been supplied with your name and birthdate ahead of time. If you do not leave these two bits of information, you cannot receive books or supplies, either. ●

## GUIDELINES FOR DOING JAIL TIME

**Calmness:** Our experience with solidarity shows that we don't have to panic if the guards make unexpected demands. Insist on time for consensus if necessary. On the other hand, if the request is reasonable, like a bed check for example, there is no need to provoke the guards.

**Orderliness:** It is empowering to take over the custodial function of our part of the jail. At Diablo we adapted "This land is my land" to "This jail is my jail."

**Activity:** Time in jail can be used for creative development of skills — giving workshops in whatever you have to share, staging talent shows, keeping a journal, or writing letters.

**Communication:** Large mass meetings, being difficult to facilitate, become frustrating and should be used only to make announcements and exchange information. Discussion proceeds best within affinity groups and the AG Spokes Council.

**Keep track of each other:** Make sure that everyone who was arrested is together and all those with special problems are taken care of. Keep a list by AG of who was arrested and in what order. Every AG should call the legal collective to inform them of who was arrested and where they are held.

**Be supportive:** You can encourage people to take part in activities or circles or meetings, but don't force them. We are a diverse group of people and everyone does their jail time their own way. Keep in touch and be sensitive.

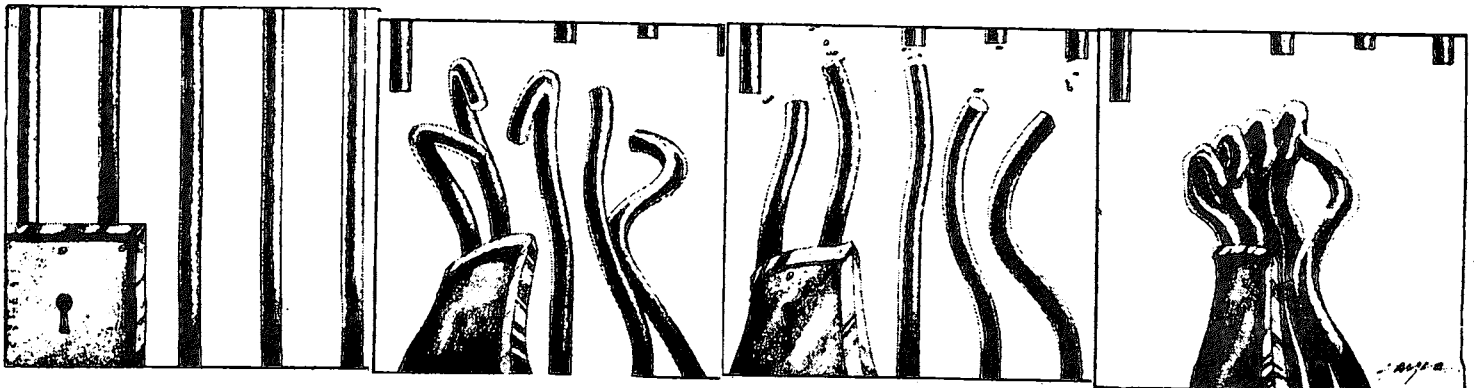
**Use of the Legal team:** Our attorneys cannot make our decisions for us. Avoid thinking of them as leaders. They are most useful as advisors, negotiators, and messengers. Only we have the power and capacity to decide which of the options are best for us.

**Be skeptical of rumors:** They are a real source of needless confusion and division. ●

## SUGGESTIONS FOR JAIL SOLIDARITY

Following are suggestions for jail solidarity which will be discussed by the Affinity Group Spokes Council, as strategy to be used at the June 21 Blockade. They are not meant to be so inflexible as to ignore individual needs and therefore discourage potential blockaders from participating. However, we do recognize that in our solidarity lies our strength and our bargaining power with the legal system.

1. Before arraignment, accept no citations or own recognizance (O.R.) releases.
2. At arraignment, accept no fines, bail, probation, or suspended sentences.
3. Demand equal treatment for all (including repeat offenders, but not those with violations/charges due to parking tickets or disregarding the guidelines for nonviolence.)
4. Demand mass arraignment.



## SOLIDARITY

Jail solidarity has been very successful in past actions. The power of solidarity lies in two basic facts: (1) In a mass arrest situation the authorities need our cooperation to process us. (2) It is expensive for the County to keep us in jail; thus we have great collective bargaining power. Jail solidarity is an empowering strategy which may be exercised by blockaders. This handbook can only give history and suggestions.

### Some History

At the Diablo Canyon blockade in September, 1981, blockaders were taken to arraignment regardless of their date of arrest, forcing many blockaders to await arraignment longer than necessary. They responded by having everyone refuse to go to arraignment unless it be in order of arrest. After two buses went practically empty to an impatient court, the authorities were forced to accept this reasonable demand.

At Livermore in February, 1982, booking was in a cold, crowded compound with inadequate water and toilet facilities. As the situations became more uncomfortable, the blockaders refused to be booked until they were brought to Santa Rita's regular facilities. After some negotiations, the demands for a reasonable booking procedure were met. The blockaders insisted on mass arraignment, equal sentencing for all, and no fines. In court, Judge John Lewis said that he wanted to impose a fine but since they had said they would stay in jail rather than pay a fine, he said he had no choice but to offer community service as a sentence.

The lesson is that if we resolve to non-cooperate peacefully, or to stay in jail, we have great bargaining power. They can't afford to keep us in jail if we remain united.

### Personal exemptions to solidarity

Jail solidarity should not be coercive. If you must get out of jail to keep your job or to take care of your family, you are not breaking solidarity by citing out or taking O.R. release. The use of jail solidarity must not deter people from blockading. However, if you cite out you are at the convenience of the court and are not assured that your sentence will be the same as the sentence for those who exercise collective bargaining. At Livermore in February those who cited out did get the same sentence. ●

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*"Indeed, I think that people want peace so much that one of these days governments had better get out of their way and let them have it."*

*Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1959*

## SOLIDARITY DEMANDS

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

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

**Equal treatment for all.** The authorities know the power of our unity and may try to divide us. No one should be singled out and subjected to harsher treatment or kept out of communication with the whole group. Everyone should receive the same sentence.

**Communication with lawyers and between men and women blockaders** is difficult but extremely important.

**People with medical or other needs** must be given treatment or medication for whatever their condition requires.

**Mass arraignment.** This is the only way we can know for sure that our sentence demands are being met, so we can respond appropriately.

In the past we have not exercised solidarity with people who have disregarded the nonviolence guidelines or otherwise taken actions which lead to additional charges or bail. Where there is a discrepancy between the authority's and the individual's story, it is suggested that the group decide whether to maintain jail solidarity with that individual.

We have not maintained jail solidarity with people who have outstanding warrants which they neglected to clear up. (Pay your parking tickets!)

### How to exercise solidarity if our demands are not met.

Regarding jail conditions or procedures: Tactics can involve any of the following (keeping in mind the nonviolence guidelines): not responding to your name or everyone becoming Karen Silkwood or Edward Teller; all sitting or lying down; or milling about, quietly chanting. Hopefully it will not be necessary, but in more extreme cases we can refuse food or discard clothing for blankets.

Regarding sentence demands: The most powerful tactic is to communicate to the judge and DA that if our demands are not met, we will all plead not guilty, ask for individual jury trials, and not waive our right to a speedy trial.

**Don't abuse Solidarity:** Its use in trivial matters minimizes its impact. Save it for what really matters. ●



You can't stop the spirit

You can't stop the spirit  
She's like a mountain  
Old and strong  
She goes on, and on and on...

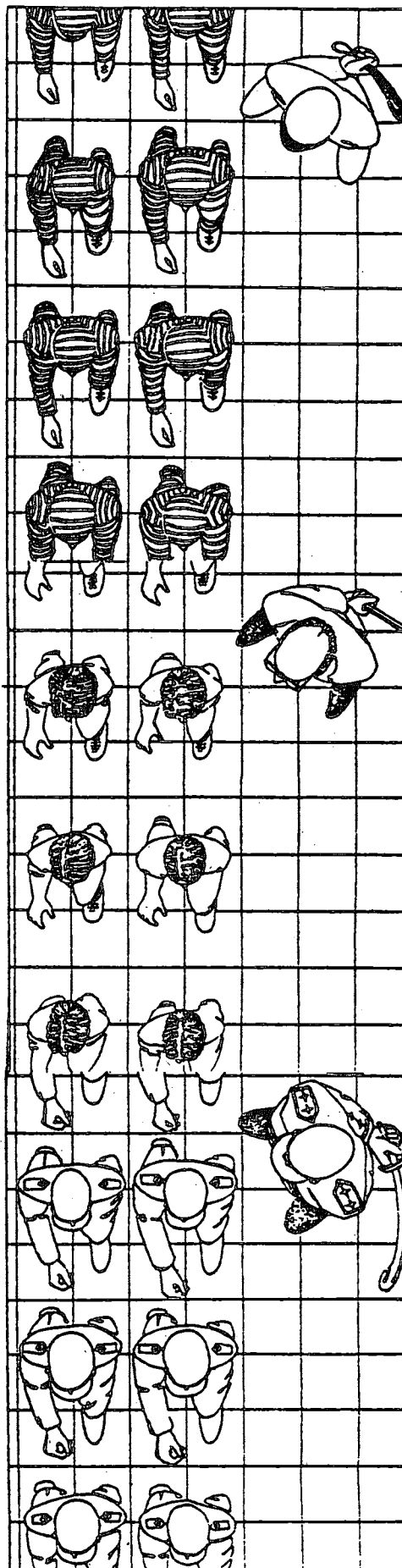
**Some Thoughts on Santa Rita Jail  
After Being Arrested at the February 1  
Blockade Of Livermore**

by Eric

I was depressed and withdrawn the two days we were in Santa Rita. It was only several days later that I began to sort out the source of my feelings. For one thing, to think of the rest of the prisoners having to exist in those conditions — large, ugly barracks, bad food, few amenities — I realized that we were there by choice. Our group of men was mostly White, whereas the rest of the population was mostly Black or Latino. When the guards marched us to "chow," small groups of prisoners would stand by the fences and watch. Some of them wondered how we'd gotten sandals. The guard explained they weren't allowed to have sandals and were hoping they could get them when we left. A few inmates yelled out, "Right on, protesters. Tell 'em how it is in here when you get out." I hope that sense of brotherhood is still there when we come back.

Maybe in our affinity groups we could talk about relating to the other prisoners. One thing that was evident during our stay was that we'd gotten special privileges. The sandals were one example. Another was the food. We all thought it was pretty shitty, standard jail slop. But one of the inmates we talked to told us the food got better when we arrived — they never had steak for lunch (we had Salisbury steak, a lot of which was thrown out, since many of us were vegetarians).

We should be careful when we go to jail to realize our presence affects people who haven't made the choice to be there. Try a little dialogue with your fellow inmates. And next time I'm there, I'll try to get a discussion group going instead of withdrawing. They can jail our bodies but our spirit remains free.



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