

DIRECT ACTION

WEB
FEATURE

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Pledge of Resistance Handbook

In the early 1980s, direct action in Northern California focused on nuclear issues. As the Reagan regime mounted pressure on liberation movements in Central America, support networks grew up in West Coast cities. Emigres, activists, and faith-based groups came together both to pressure Congress (then nominally controlled by Democrats) and to mount civil disobedience campaigns aimed at disrupting federal policies.

One successful organizing model was the Pledge of Resistance. In the Bay Area and elsewhere, people signed a pledge to commit civil disobedience in the event of US military action in Central America. Thousands of people signed the Pledge, and it may have played a role in preventing direct military action by the US.

Instead, the CIA illegally funded right-wing rebels and hit squads throughout Central America. In Spring 1985, the Pledge called a direct action at the San Francisco Federal Building in protest of US policies. Almost 800 people were arrested, and many more were arrested in related actions during those years.

This handbook, from a 1986 action, includes background and organizing info that is still timely and valuable. Download more direct action handbooks at: DirectAction.org/handbook/

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

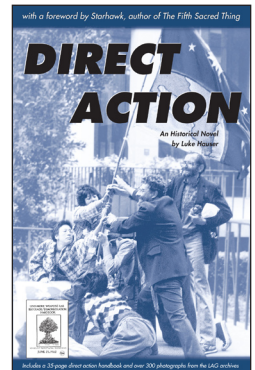


DIRECT ACTION

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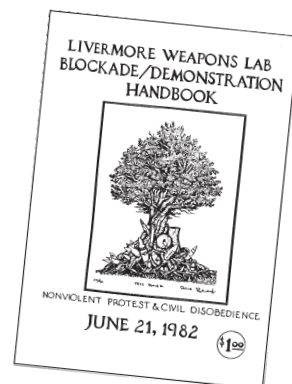


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**A HANDBOOK FOR
NONVIOLENT DIRECT ACTION**

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It is our hope that this handbook will contribute to the growth of our movement and the use of an empowering style of nonviolent direct action as a method to oppose U.S. intervention in the Third World, in ending other injustices and oppressions, and in giving us control over our lives and future.

This handbook was created by the Printed Materials Collective for the June 12 and 13 action. It is a result of the collective efforts of Brook S., David S., George F., Jim D., Joe J., Kate R., Mary K., Missy H., Phoebe F., Robin K., Scott M., Shiela H., Susan Q., and Suzanne M. We are grateful for those who have gone before us, forging a tradition of nonviolent direct action and specifically to previous handbooks for direct actions at Seabrook, Diablo, Livermore, Vandenburg, and Seneca. And thanks for assistance to Adam Kufeld, Central America Research Center, Direct Action Newspaper, Franciscan Affinity Group, Guatemala News and Info. Center, Kieth Holmes, Mt Diablo Peace Center, Nicaraguan Info Center, Processed World and all who contributed photos, art and writing. Cover art by Bob Thawley. Please feel free to use any material in this handbook.

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BACKGROUND

REGIONAL OVERVIEW

The current situation in Central American is a product of the historical interests of European and North American colonists. Colonization by Spain introduced an economy that depended upon slave or near slave labor by Africans and Native-Americans. The export of cheap coffee, spices and sugar to a growing European middle class laid a foundation for an export dependent economy. After the turn of the century, the United States became a major buyer of these commodities, too.

Today U.S. interests in the area continue to dominate the local economies. Many U.S. corporations use the cheaper labor markets of Central America to manufacture their products. We also continue to purchase much of the exported commodities. Oil and shipping are the the primary business concerns, though fruit, sugar, coffee, and cotton are also important.

Strategic interests also shape foreign policy in the region. Two-thirds of our imported oil and nearly half of the U.S. imported goods, pass through the Panama canal or the Gulf of Mexico. U.S. military concern towards the region is a consequence of our government's perception its proximity to our borders and the need to protect business interests. For most of this century the U.S. has actively supported friendly governments in Central America. We have sent troops to Nicaragua and sponsored military takeovers in Guatemala and Nicaragua.

Now we are supporting the military build-up of the region. In El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras the size of regular armed forces has doubled since 1982, reaching a total of 160,000 troops. Even Costa Rica, which has no standing army, has been building up it's national police force. The timing of much of the recent U.S. involvement indicates our government's efforts to break the wave of social and economic change (such as demands for agrarian reform) sweeping the region. In addition to training and supplying Central American armies, the U.S. has carried out nearly continuous military maneuvers in and around Honduras since 1983 to attempt to intimidate the newly (1979) formed democratic government of Nicaragua. Direct U.S. military aid to Central America from 1980 to 1985 totaled \$2.3 billion--ten times the amount spent in the region in the previous thirty years.

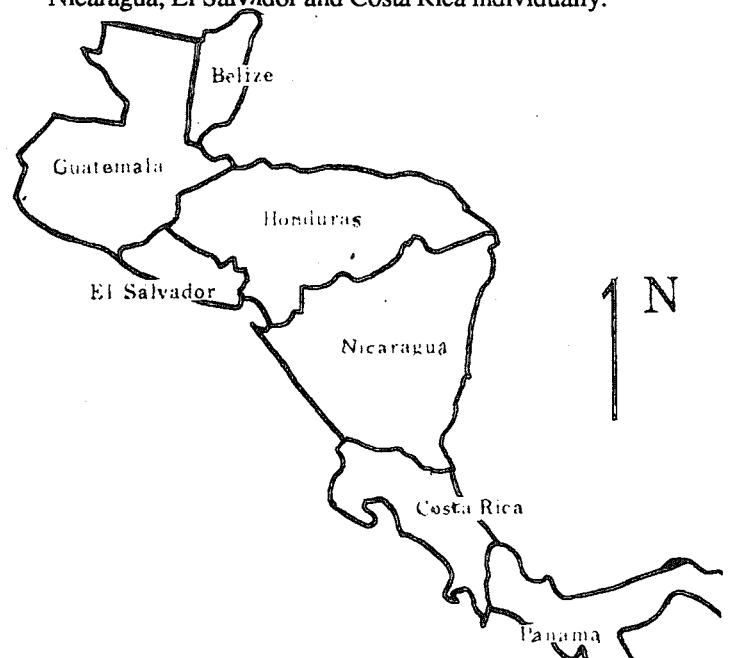
The U.S. military strategy applied in Central America is called "Low-Intensity Conflict" (LIC). LIC employs counter-insurgency tactics, defined by the Pentagon as "a combination of military, para-military, political, economic, psychological, and civic action." U.S. taxpayers pay dearly for this presence in the region--nearly \$9.5 billion of the U.S. federal budget goes to the militarization of Central America.

The number of refugees in Central America testify to the intensity of the conflict in the region. Salvadorans make up the largest number of refugees as the Duarte government

continues the campaign of terror that has been going on since 1979 against the civilian population. Estimates of the number of dead from the death squads there are as high as 60,000. Also, there are many Nicaraguan refugees, who have fled from the U.S. supported Contras attacks on their farms and villages to Costa Rica. And, there are also thousands of Guatemalans in southern Mexico who have fled the conflicts in their homeland.

The U.S. policy has not deterred Latin America from attempting its own solutions to the crises in Central America. The Contadora group--Mexico, Venezuela, Panama and Columbia--has developed a treaty that calls for the withdrawal of all foreign military advisers, free elections, an end to all arms imports, restriction of foreign military exercises, the closure of all foreign military bases, an end to all arms smuggling, and the cessation of support for guerrilla forces in the region. In June of 1986 El Salvador, Costa Rica, Guatemala and Honduras all agreed to sign the Contadora treaty. Nicaragua also agreed to sign. However, the Reagan administration refused to sign even a protocol to the Contadora agreement promising to abide by its provisions, or to make any formal, legal commitment to Contadora. Although our government's low-intensity warfare strategy intends to avoid another Vietnam-like quagmire, increasing tensions in the region and escalating military conflict there make that unfortunate scenario all the more likely.

While the historical and economic situation is similar for the region as a whole, each of the countries has manifested them in ways that are unique. The five articles that follow this one give a brief update for Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Costa Rica individually.



NICARAGUA

As early as summer of 1986, it became clear that Nicaragua has, in a strategic sense, defeated the Contra. "Strategic defeat" means that while the Contra may continue for some time to harass Nicaragua, terrorizing civilians and destroying economic resources, five years of military failure shows they will never overthrow Nicaragua's government. Unfortunately the war goes on anyway.

Revelations from the Iran-Contra scandal have also brought into the open the underhanded and precarious state of Contra backing. Not only are the Contras a U.S. creation, they have received continuous support from the White House even when the aid has been expressly forbidden by Congressional law.

What price has Nicaragua paid for upholding its right to self-determination and maintaining the security of its borders? Over 250,000 people--eight per cent of Nicaragua's population-- have been displaced by Contra attacks. Providing for the basic needs has put a terrific strain on the Nicaraguan economy. The war has also accelerated the natural demographic flow from country to city, so that the capitol, Managua, along with other Nicaraguan cities have many more people living in them than they can possibly be served by urban resources. Food subsidies have disappeared and malnutrition is on the rise again. The government estimates that 10% of the population has lost its newly acquired access to health care as a result of the war.

Perhaps the worst economic result of the war has been currency inflation. In 1984, the cordoba was pegged at 40 to the dollar. By March 1987, the official exchange rate was 2300 to one U.S. dollar and rising. Salaries have gone up too, but not nearly as fast as the cost of living.

In spite of perennial U.S. harassment, Nicaragua has celebrated some real victories in the last year. January 1987 saw the passage of the new Constitution, after a year of energetic public debate. An extraordinary document, it

codifies every Nicaraguan's right to decent housing, a clean environment, health care, education and meaningful work. It recognizes women's rights to land ownership and equal pay for equal work, and mandates an equal sharing between men and women of housework and childcare. The autonomy of the Atlantic coast peoples is guaranteed as well. Its Constitution provides a system of checks and balances between the branches of government, with elections every six years.

For any country where most people make their living by farming, agrarian reform (giving land to the people who work it) must be the heart of any revolution. In 1986, Nicaragua redoubled its land reform efforts, so that in at least one state, Nueva Guinea, every person who wants land to farm now has it.

EL SALVADOR

El Salvador's civil strife has remained unabated throughout this decade. The mass movement against government repression experienced a resurgence in 1984, largely in response to elections held in that year (for the benefit of the American public.) The reforms promised by President Napoleon Duarte have failed to materialize, including a real dialogue toward peace with the guerrilla forces and an end to the bombings and human rights violations.

In January 1986, the broadest and largest labor federation in Salvadoran history was formed, the National Unity of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS). The UNTS represents over 300,000 people in over 90 organizations. This includes workers, peasants, teachers, students, indigenous people, small business owners and religious and human rights groups.

The UNTS and its opposition to Duarte has grown because the war and economic crisis in El Salvador have become intolerable. Unemployment is reaching sixty percent, real income is at the 1960's levels and economic growth is measured with negative figures. In this small country of five million people, over 60,000 people have been killed in the past seven years. The war has driven 25 percent of the



Mothers of the disappeared protesting in El Salvador.

population from its home with 700,000 refugees inside the country and another 500,000 outside of El Salvador's borders. These demographic horrors have been further complicated by the October 1986 earthquake, which killed 2500 people and displaced an additional 200,000 Salvadorans. Many of these have escaped El Salvador's borders only to discover themselves the victims of military conflicts elsewhere.

In the face of accelerating opposition from the mass movement, Duarte has refused to negotiate with the FMLN/FDR, an alliance of guerrilla opposition groups which control one third of the country, and has also instituted austerity measures with wage freezes to maintain the war effort. These actions have essentially eroded his remaining support from the workers and peasants. In January 1987 he called for increased business taxes to finance the war. The right-wing responded with a boycott by its members in the National Assembly, a national business strike that shut all stores and factories for a day and full page newspaper ads calling for Duarte's ousting. The FMLN responded by renewing its call for a government of broad participation and dialogue toward a political solution to the conflict.

The U.S. strategy in El Salvador is not faring well. The Duarte government had been unable to govern or build a base or consensus, the economy is in shambles and the military is unable to contain the FMLN, which has proven to be flexible and counter government moves militarily and politically. Coup rumors abound in San Salvador and Duarte is maintained in power with U.S. economic and military support. As a result, the U.S. must evaluate its strategy. Possible U.S. responses range from increased funding for the war to direct military intervention. As North Americans, we must oppose the U.S. war policy in El Salvador.

GUATEMALA

Guatemala plays two roles in the struggle for control and stability in the region of Central America. One role is having the largest and most populated country, with the most resources and the most developed industrial sector; the other role is played by having the most highly disciplined and efficient army in the region. The United States has a vested interest in calling Guatemala into play on its side of the war with Nicaragua. Officially, Guatemala takes a public stand of "active neutrality" and in support of the Contadora Peace Plan. While the Army maintains that Guatemala's policy could "change if the situation changes," President Vinicio Cerezo is reluctant to draw Guatemala into a conflict which could prove devastating to its economy, already in crisis, and to its own internal security. Evidence of the army re-routing shipments of arms from Portugal to the Contras and collaboration with Contra training in the highlands, challenges Guatemala's neutral position and exposes the weakness of the new presidency against the military and multinational corporations. Vinicio Cerezo is the first elected civilian president since 1955 when the CIA orchestrated invasion overthrew the popularly supported, progressive Arbenz government and brought on decades of military rule.



Adam Kufeld

Campeños planting peanuts in El Salvador.

Domestically, the devastating and increasing poverty and landlessness of the Indian majority keep conditions ripe for insurgency and revolution. Counterinsurgency and pacification are the military's answer. As a result, one million of Guatemala's seven million inhabitants have been forced to flee their homes and live as internal refugees. 150,000 have fled Guatemala and live in sub-human conditions in camps in Mexico. The U.S., aware of the threat that exists in Guatemala, provides economic aid for the construction of "model villages" designed after the "strategic hamlets" of Vietnam. The U.S. aid also provides the food the military uses to lure otherwise resistant, but hungry, indians to these communities of control--many built on the ashes of their own villages. Military aid pays for the helicopters, the spare parts, the jeeps and the guns the Army uses to control the countryside.

The Reagan administration has requested \$144.6 million in military and economic aid for Guatemala for 1988/89 and \$40 million in addition to the \$117.6 million Congress has already allocated for 1987. This aid will be both a weapon in the hands of Guatemala's army against its own people, and a bargaining chip for the United States in its battle for compliance on the issue of Nicaragua.

COSTA RICA

Costa Rica has one of the highest national debts in the world--\$4 billion--and an economy which would collapse without continuous aid from the U.S. Costa Rica is the second highest per capita recipient of economic aid after Israel. Since 1979, its traditional exports of bananas, coffee, cocoa, sugar, and beef have significantly decreased. Attempts to implement International Monetary Fund austerity measures have not fared well with most sectors of the population.

The Reagan administration has sought to take advantage of this vulnerability to pressure Costa Rica to collaborate with its anti-Nicaragua policy. American attempts to use Costa Rica as an instrument of U.S. policy are meeting resistance from Costa Rican business and political leaders. They fear that harboring the Contras, as the U.S. would like, will enable a border clash with Nicaragua to develop into the pretext for a large scale U.S. invasion. The realization is that this would be as disastrous for Costa Rica's ruling class interests as it would be for the region as a whole.

The Tower commission report on the Iran-contra scandal revealed that Col. Oliver North threatened to cut-off economic aid to Costa Rica if it did not cooperate with the U.S. It was also revealed that the U.S. built an airfield near Costa Rica's border with Nicaragua and used it on at least one occasion to supply contras in southern Nicaragua. The Costa Rican government originally authorized construction of the base but then closed it down when its purpose was disclosed to the public.

The existence of the airstrip added credibility to the accusation of the Nicaraguan government that Costa Rica permits its territory to be used by the contras. Costa Rican President Arias has responded to Nicaragua with strong criticism of what he claims is a lack of democracy there. However, recently an agreement was reached with Nicaragua to patrol a demilitarized zone along their common border. "Operation Cleanup," began in March by the Costa Rican government, is intended to remove Contras and has already lead to the arrest of seven. Whether this trend will continue (the country has been officially neutral since 1947), and whether Costa Rica will be able to retain its economic ties to the U.S. while asserting its independence in foreign policy, remains to be seen.

HONDURAS

What appears to be a renewed campaign of repression by the military threatens to return the country to the climate of fear experienced under General Gustavo Alvarez from 1981 to 1984. This dynamic, which seems likely to continue in the near future, weakens the already fragile democratic structures, worsens the already impoverished status of most Hondurans. According to one member of the Honduran Human Rights Commission, "Our government is dominated by the military and the American Embassy. Any dissent is labeled 'communism' and is the cause of increasing numbers of disappeared."

In the face of increased American military presence, the outlook for Honduras is not very good. Illiteracy is pegged at 50%, which means 80% of those living in rural areas. The unemployment rate is 32%, with 60% considered underemployed of those who are working. Conditions under which aid is given by the U.S. reinforce agroexport patterns that provide few benefits for the majority of the population. While U.S. aid is deemed substantial, the proportion funneled in the Honduran military has had an extremely adverse effect on any progressive measures attempted by the Honduran people. Projected aid for 1987 is \$247.6 million, with \$88.8 million going to the military in exchange for the right to expand U.S. bases and Contra camps within Honduras' borders.

The primary interest of the United States toward Honduras is to incorporate it into American efforts to overthrow the Nicaraguan Government. The United States has pressured Honduras to harbor and protect the Contras and has pushed Honduras closer to direct confrontation with Nicaragua. In the last nine months, Honduras has lost control of large portions of national territory to Contras who exercise de facto control over the border area. This has lead to the displacement of at least 16,000 Hondurans along the Nicaraguan border. Contra takeover of this area has also put 434 coffee farms into disarray, creating a \$6.5 million loss in potential export.

In March and December 1986, the Honduran military came into direct confrontation with the Nicaraguan Army which had crossed the border into Honduras in pursuit of the Contras in their Honduran sanctuaries. On each occasion U.S. personnel were immediately rushed to Honduras to fly Honduran troops to the border. During the last year there have been demonstrations in Honduras against U.S. and Contra military presence. A Honduran congressional motion to expel the Contras has received broad support across the political spectrum.



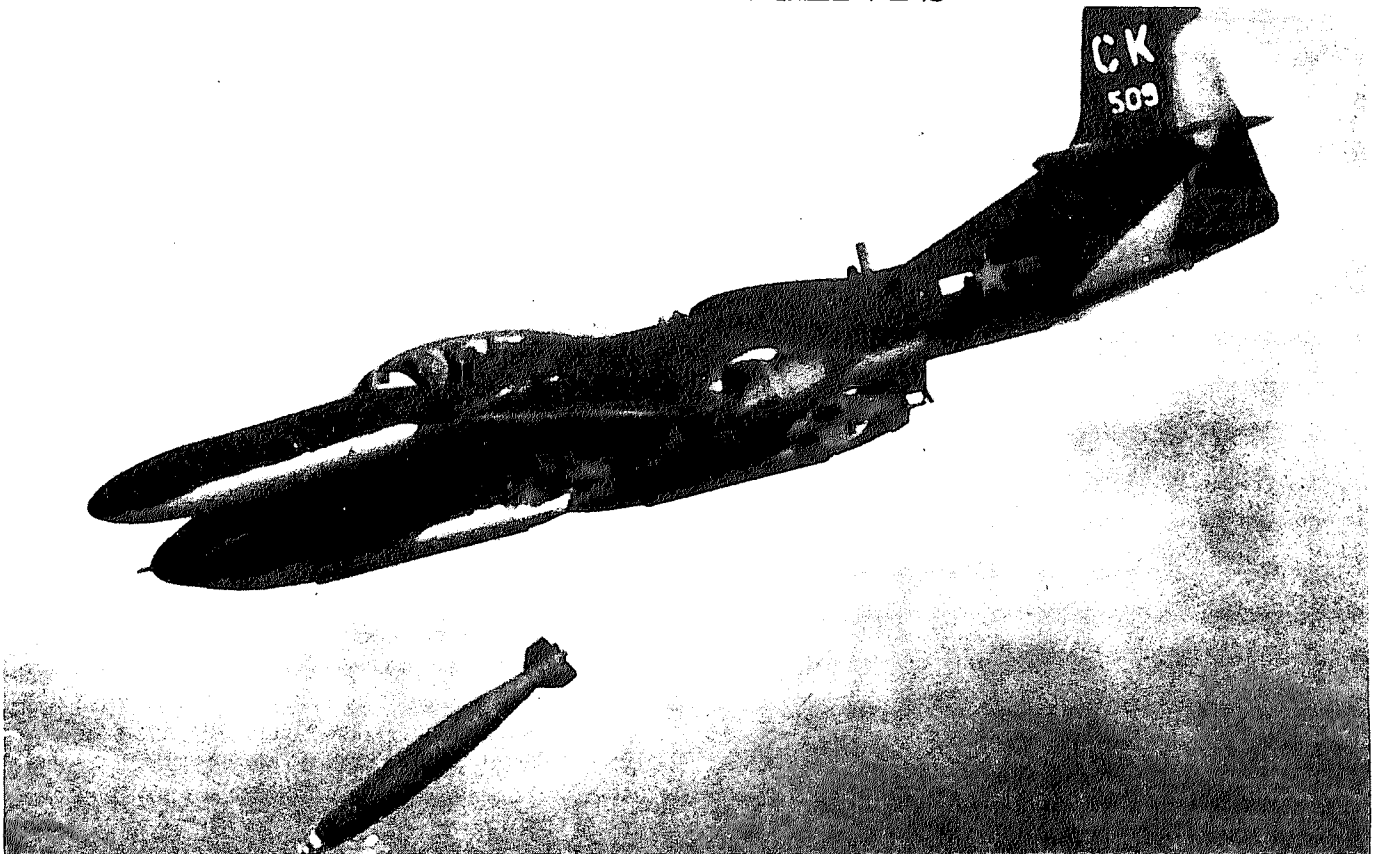
Adam Kufeld

Dr. Francisco Martinez surveys the wreckage of his hospital, destroyed by bombing in March 1985.

CONCORD NAVAL WEAPONS STATION

ARMS SHIPMENTS

USAF photo from Vietnam



The Navy's A-37 drops 500-pound MK-82 bombs over El Salvador.

Concord Naval Weapons Station (CNWS) shipped 80% of the bombs and ammunition used by the U.S. in the Vietnam War. Today CNWS is a major supplier for the U.S. war in Central America.

According to Freedom of Information Act documents obtained by the Bay Area Pledge, one recent shipment from CNWS to El Salvador contained thousands of bombs, white phosphorus rockets, and machine gun bullets worth over \$6 million. Every day an average of seven boxcars loaded with weapons enter and leave CNWS. Some of these weapons go to El Salvador to be used in the most intensive bombing in the history of this hemisphere. Thousands of civilians have been killed or injured by the bombing and hundreds of thousands more have been driven from their homes.

The same weapons shipped from CNWS for the bombing of Vietnam are again being sent from the base for the bombing of El Salvador. These include:

White phosphorus rockets, filled with a chemical that burns through people's flesh to their bones, creating some of the most agonizing injuries in modern warfare.

Fuse extenders to make bombs explode above ground, sending out hot jagged pieces of shrapnel at tremendous speeds. Bombs and fuse extenders can literally tear people to pieces.

Machine gun bullets for a General Electric machine gun that fires so fast (100 bullets a second) that it can cut small trees in half and topple small buildings. One can imagine what it does to frail bodies. These machine guns are mounted on helicopters that have attacked many villages in the Salvadoran countryside.

Documentation of weapons shipments from CNWS to El Salvador have been obtained by Bay Area Pledge through the Freedom of Information Act, and in two cases, from workers who helped ship or unload the weapons. In October 1982 the San Francisco Chronicle published photos of artillery shells and ammunition being unloaded in El Salvador from a ship that had sailed from the CNWS. In May 1984 longshoremen at a port in El Salvador reported that they had unloaded truckloads of bombs and artillery shells from a ship from CNWS.

In 1970 a North Vietnamese delegate to an antiwar conference in Europe approached a college professor from Minneapolis, Minnesota. He held a small object in his hand, and said: "This is an anti-personnel bomb dropped on men women and children in North Vietnam. It was made by the Honeywell Corporation in Minneapolis. Ask the people of your city why they have done this to us. We have done nothing to them."

BACKGROUND AND HISTORY

The Concord Naval Weapons Station (CNWS) is one of the two largest munitions facilities on the West Coast and the major West Coast supply center for ordnance--that is military weapons, ammunition, and associated equipment. The base is composed of two major areas: Port Chicago, the tidal area where ammunition is loaded onto ammunition ships and barges, and the inland Concord area, where most of the ordnance is stored.

During the Vietnam war, the majority of munitions used

in Southeast Asia were shipped from this base. Its origins, however, go back to an earlier war. In 1942, in what was probably the most popular war the United States has fought, our armed forces were fighting in the Pacific and in North Africa. In the Pacific, Guadalcanal Island had been secured, and U.S. forces were advancing upon the Solomon Islands. There was a tremendous need for ammunition, and ships were dispatched as fast as they could be loaded. The ammunition depot at Mare Island was severely strained, and the Navy surveyed the tidal areas for a site for another ammunition loading port.

A site at an old shipyard near the small town of Port Chicago was selected because of its remoteness from major population centers and its accessibility to deep water and to two major railway lines. (At the time only 37,000 lived around the base; today there are over 200,000.) Construction began in February 1942, and the facility began operation in December 1942. It soon became the principal ammunition loading port and storage point for ammunition and high explosives on the Pacific Coast.

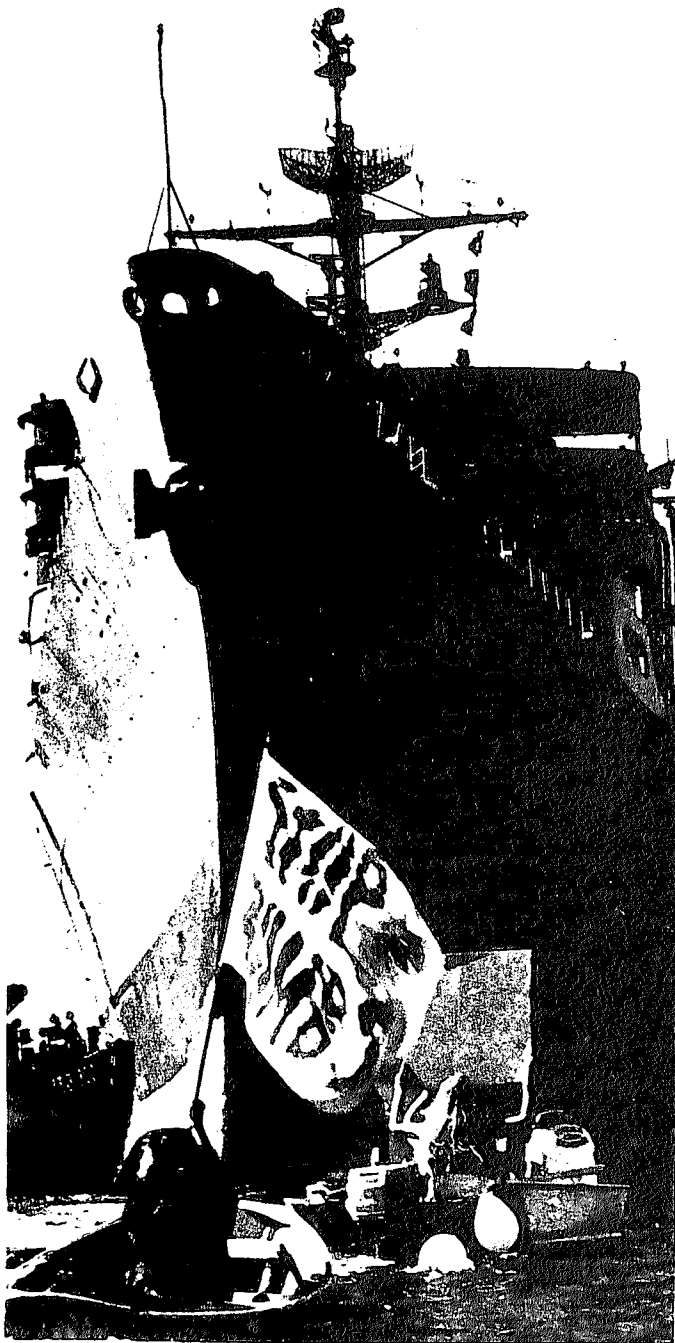
The original 630 acre Port Chicago facility was later expanded with the addition of inland storage areas and the base was renamed. The town of Port Chicago, originally called Bay Point, was founded in the late 1800's as a whistle-stop junction for the Santa Fe and Southern Pacific Railroads. In 1955, the Army-Navy Safety Explosives Board mandated a two-mile safety buffer zone around the Port Chicago piers. Rather than move the base, in 1968 the Navy spent \$20 million to buy the town and evacuate the citizens. Today one is prevented from visiting the former Port Chicago town by armed Marine guards. Boats which approach the port from delta waterways are intercepted by Coast Guard crafts.

Port Chicago today has three piers, numbered 2, 3, and 4. Pier 1 disappeared, along with two 7000 ton ships, in a massive explosion on July 17, 1944. The explosion killed 320 U.S. sailors--most of them Black enlisted men who worked as munitions handlers--shattered windows up to twenty miles away, and caused \$13 million damage. The blast was the worst domestic disaster of the war, and it accounted for more than fifteen percent of all Black naval casualties during World War 2. Not surprisingly, the surviving Black ammunition handlers were fearful of another explosion and refused to return to work. Eventually 50 men were singled out, tried for mutiny, and convicted.

In April of 1973, a train bound for the Concord base exploded in Roseville, injuring 48 people and causing \$10 million damage.

Today the CNWS employs about 1600 people. The annual base payroll totals over \$60 million, and the base spends another \$20 million per year in the local economy.

The CNWS is a major concern to many people today because of its role in shipping arms to Central America.



Karen Engstrom

A Vietnam-era blockade of arms shipments.

LOCAL HAZARDS



Concord Naval Weapons Station (CNWS) is one of the largest nuclear facilities in the country, and the hub of nuclear weapons activity in the Bay Area. In 1980, an investigative report conducted by KQED-TV brought public attention to the fact that nukes are not only stored at Concord, but regularly transported in and out of the base, as well as inspected there. It is also believed that one of the main purposes of the facility is to take care of "sick bombs." The presence of these weapons has been likewise confirmed in a 1985 report by the Institute for Policy Studies, in D.C. In spite of the fact that many CNWS employees have confirmed the handling of nuclear weapons on the base, the Navy continues to refuse either confirmation or denial of their existence.

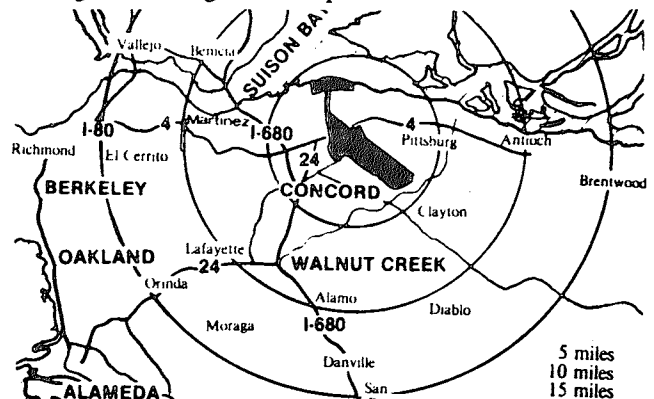
The arsenals found at CNWS include: nuclear bombs for Navy and Marine Corps aircraft, artillery warheads, atomic demolition weapons, and nuclear depth charges. Most of these weapons are stored in a region of CNWS which is code named Alpha Area, also referred to as the "Special Weapons Area." Alpha Area boasts all the standard characteristics of a nuclear storage site--double fencing, 24-hour guard, special lighting--and includes Building 81, and unusually large bunker at least four stories underground with air vents similar to those on buildings which release radioactivity into the atmosphere. A new, \$11 million Alpha Area, began construction in 1980 off the Port Chicago Highway. This project represents a dramatic increase in CNWS's capacity for handling nuclear weapons.

In addition to the threat of nuclear war posed by the presence of nukes, and the danger of being a high priority target, the Concord site is a particular cause for concern. CNWS is situated just east of the Concord Fault, a branch of the Hayward Fault, which is the east branch of the San Andreas. A major quake on any of these faults could trigger an explosion at Concord. The earthquake problem is further compounded by the fact that the station is situated on alluvial material--not on solid bedrock. (Alluvial material responds to earthquake tremors like jello on a vibrating plate). The

combination of a high earthquake probability and enormous concentrations of unstable tritonal (an explosive 30 times more unstable than TNT) are sure invitations to disaster.

Another problem is the transportation of nuclear materials into and around the base with the constant threat of an accident due to human error/neglect or machinery failure. This goes for land transport--almost exclusively by trucks on public highways--as well as sea and helicopter transport of weapons. No weapon is produced to sit at CNWS forever. Eventually it must be moved to a place of strategic importance. The history of accidents at CNWS attests to these factors of fallibility. There have been many potentially disastrous, large scale accidents at CNWS. All of these occurred during the movement of weapons, including within the base itself. The sometimes foggy channels between CNWS and the Golden Gate have been the scene of dozens of collisions and such an accident involving nuclear weapons, with or without an explosion or fire, could contaminate the Bay Area for the conceivable future. The severity factor can be estimated from the July 1944 explosion which killed 373 people and caused damage in twelve towns, as far away as San Francisco. Since then the concentration of explosive power has increased nine fold and the population of Concord and Diablo Valleys has grown five times what it was then.

In addition to potential (though not at all utopian) disasters which may eventuate from the presence of a nuclear arsenal at CNWS, there are currently health and environmental hazards which are daily present. Aqueducts which carry the water supply for a million East Bay residents run right by the bunkers which store the nuclear weapons. Radiation emissions at the station are an everyday occurrence, infecting workers and contaminating the air and water. Furthermore, because the Navy will neither confirm or deny the presence of nuclear materials, there are no evacuation plans for Contra Costa county should a major nuclear accident occur. Unidentified workers--civilian and military--have commented on the poor security measures for handling and transporting nukes at Concord, and one worker now deceased claimed that his cancer was directly related to the atomic exposure he underwent while working in Building 81/the Alpha Area.



Filled in area is Concord Naval Weapons Station/Port Chicago.

INTERVENTION AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS

"We carry on the foreign policy of a nation with global interests and defend them if necessary by conventional (weapons) or theater (nuclear) forces."

Eugene Rostow,
Arms Control

U.S. Director of

Nuclear Weapons for Intervention

Like military aid and advisors, arms sales, and troops, nuclear weapons have often been used as a threat to enforce foreign policy. Every American President since Truman has threatened to use nuclear weapons to resolve an international conflict. During the Vietnam War President Nixon threatened to use nuclear weapons to scare the Viet Cong into surrender. Fortunately the American movement against the Vietnam War was strong enough to discourage such an action.

The U.S. is deploying "Tomahawk" Sea Launched Cruise Missiles in every Navy fleet, bringing every Third World nation within reach of U.S. nuclear weapons. Tomahawk missiles are both nuclear and conventional, and often cannot be distinguished until they explode.

Most U.S. and Soviet interventionary assault forces are trained and equipped with tactical nuclear weapons, and both superpowers store such munitions aboard forward deployed cruisers and aircraft carriers.

Intervention: Flashpoint for Nuclear War

Superpower intervention in localized conflicts in other countries threatens to expand even a small confrontation into a flashpoint for nuclear war. A nuclear war could begin as a small conventional war, and only later escalate into a nuclear exchange. Modern nuclear technology has been directed toward making smaller more limited nuclear weapons for use in the battlefield. With the advent of conventional weapons having the destructive capacity of tactical nuclear warheads, the critical firebreak between nuclear and conventional weapons may disappear entirely. Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger says that "The choice between conventional and nuclear weapons then becomes an essentially practical one."



NEIGHBORING COMMUNITY

The small town of Clyde is located directly adjacent to Concord Naval Weapons Station (CNWS). The Franciscan Affinity Group has been vigiling at CNWS since January 1986. They befriended a Clyde family who they began to talk with. This led to a formal presentation about the June 12 & 13 action by three Franciscan A.G. members and by two Pledge members to a community meeting of Clyde residents. The residents were notified of our general plans for the action and invited to give their responses and concerns. The Bay Area Pledge has decided to seriously consider this input in our decisions as we plan for June 12 & 13. This article was written by a member of the Franciscan Affinity Group from an interview and discussion with a resident of Clyde.

"It's a small town, we like it. Small towns aren't built anymore." -A Clyde Resident.

Clyde, CA, Pop. 400...approximately 1 mi. north of Hwy 4 on Port Chicago Hwy.

The town of Clyde was built in 1917, by Clyde Co. for workers building ships for the Dept. of War (now the Dept. of Defense). The town has always had a precarious relationship with the Dept. of Navy. Many residents fear losing their homes, like residents of Port Chicago did, from an expansion of Concord Naval Weapons Station (CNWS). This is especially true of the seniors in Clyde. They comprise 30 percent of the population (the greatest ratio in Contra Costa County).

Protests at CNWS draw mixed reactions in Clyde. During the Vietnam war there was a strong, sometimes violent reaction to protesters. However, according to a 1984 Clyde survey "townspeople seem generally more tolerant" of protests now. On the issue of protests at the Base, the community is equally divided for and against. One of the key issues is the size of such gatherings. Big is bad and small is good.

The last big demonstration, anti-intervention protest of at least 500 people in 1983, was especially difficult. Residents felt there had been no communication with them, no warning. Completely surprised by the large numbers, the police blocked off Port Chicago Hwy, cutting off Clyde completely. Residents couldn't enter or leave town. That along with the numbers of people, cars, and other circumstances have left townspeople wary of demonstrations, especially if the groups are large and uncommunicative.

There is some community support for non-intervention work, but like any small town there are individual and diverse tendencies. There is a delicate balance.

HISTORY OF RESISTANCE

1944: Munitions Disaster.

After 320 mostly black U.S. sailors were killed in a massive munitions explosion, surviving black munitions handlers refused to return to work. The government singled out and convicted 50 men of mutiny. They received long jail sentences and were released only after a long campaign by the NAACP.

1965-73: Vietnam War.

80% of the bombs and munitions used against Vietnam were shipped from Concord Naval Weapons Station. It became a constant focus of opposition to the Vietnam War, including: marches, vigils (one continued for 3 years), and frequent blocking of trucks and trains with munitions bound for Vietnam.

1969: Port Chicago Community Evicted.

Port Chicago was a small town community of 3350. In 1969 the government forced the residents to move, to create a two mile "safety zone" around the munitions docks, despite opposition from the townspeople and numerous safety hazards which remain.

1973-75: Conversion.

The Citizens Committee for Naval Weapons Conversion alerted community residents to the many serious safety hazards of the Weapons Station and its role in supplying the Vietnam War. They made an extensively detailed proposal to build a



Chip Scheuer

A 1983 blockade of Concord Naval Weapons Station.

1700 person model community in its place. There was some support from city governments and county agencies for the plan.

1979-83: Nuclear Weapons.

Concord Naval Weapons Station is one of the largest nuclear facilities in the country. It became a target of protest for the disarmament movement, including: marches, rallies, vigils (one continued for a year), and civil disobedience.

1983- : Central America.

The Port Chicago Coalition organized a campaign against arms shipments to El Salvador involving people from the anti-intervention and disarmament movements. Hundreds participated in civil disobedience and one march included 4,000 people. Also the Peace Navy, in small boats, carried out several protests and blockades of ships with munitions bound for El Salvador.

Since January of 1986 the Franciscan Affinity Group has sponsored frequent vigils and leafletting, weekly prayer meetings involving the local community, a two month relay fast, and a trailer home establishing a residence in adjacent Clyde.

Peace in Central America, a Contra Costa anti-intervention group, gathered 34,000 signatures of county voters to place an initiative on the November 1986 county ballot. The initiative called for an end to arms shipments from the county to Central America and for the U.S. government to stop all aid to Central America, until there is a regionally negotiated peace settlement. The initiative received a majority of votes in the cities of Richmond, El Cerrito, San Pablo, Pittsburg, and Hercules. Countywide 47% voted for the initiative.

The Mount Diablo Peace Center was instrumental in this and other peace efforts at Concord Naval Weapons Station and in Contra Costa County since the anti-Vietnam War movement. They have supported the June 12 & 13 action.



Photo from Diablo Beacon.

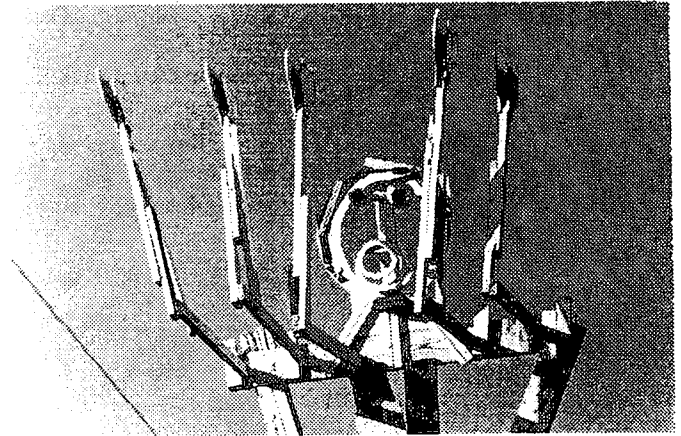
Fall 1966 demonstration at Concord Naval Weapons Station, protesting arms shipments to Southeast Asia.

A WAR WE CAN'T AFFORD

Opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America serves our own best interests as well as those of the Central American people. Reagan's military budget is sapping our economy, dictating massive cuts in services we need most. Furthermore, the effects of both the militarism and the human needs cut-backs combine to widen the gaps which already exist in this country along the lines of race, class, sex, age, etc. Each day that the war continues we must count our own losses both in dollars and social cohesion. Neither we, nor the people of Central America can afford to let this war continue.

The money which the U.S. spends waging war in Central America is just a small portion of the total military budget, yet these figures alone are staggering when we think of what they could provide us here at home. Each day \$1.5 million

Harvin Collins



U.S. dollars go to arm the Duarte government against the people of El Salvador, resulting in massive bombings of the countryside which have displaced hundreds of thousands. Just imagine the number of homeless people here in this country who could be sheltered with that money. Mission Safe, an Oakland shelter which houses and feeds 60 people a day operates on a budget of less than \$310,000 per year. 1500 such shelters could be supported with the money currently being used to drive Salvadorans from their homes.

Likewise in Nicaragua, the U.S. is spending \$100 million a year in overt aid to the Contras (not to mention the covert aid channeled through the CIA, Iran arms deals, Israel, etc.). This money is being used by the Contras to terrorize and disrupt the Nicaraguan people's best efforts to create a just society. Favorite Contra targets include schools, clinics, and childcare centers. Here in the Bay Area the cost of full time childcare averages \$3600 per year. The \$100 million spent each year to destroy childcare centers in Nicaragua could be used to care for 28,000 pre-school children in the U.S.

The Pentagon would have us believe that it is more important for us to destroy homes and childcare centers in Central America than it is to provide these things for ourselves. Despite the constant propaganda to this effect, most Americans do not agree. Polls show that close to 2/3 of U.S. voters are against military aid to the Contras. Nevertheless, such aid continues--against our own wishes.

The average wage earner in this country, earning approximately \$15,000 per year, pays \$1,700 in federal income taxes, \$1,070 of which goes to pay for the war. Such a taxpayer probably pays more for the military than he or she does for groceries! As military spending increases year after year, federal funding for human services continues to be cut. These spending priorities hurt all of us, but are most devastating for the poor, people of color, women, the elderly, etc. We know who ends up sacrificing for a military economy and who ends up even wealthier in the process; and we know it is the poor and people of color who will be driven to the battlefield when U.S. troops become actively engaged in Central America. Our work against U.S. intervention and militarism is part of our own struggle for social and economic justice here at home. It is a struggle we can't afford to lose.



Adam Kufeld

Government soldier surveys a textile factory occupied by protesting workers in El Salvador.

RACISM



George Ballis

The U.S. anti-war movement has challenged militarism by making peace and disarmament pressing issues for millions of Americans. We want the peace movement to be as powerful and effective as possible. In order for this to happen, it must focus on racism and economic injustice as well as militarism and intervention..

We believe it is essential for everyone who is serious about stopping the war machine and establishing a real peace to understand the racist nature of war. When we expand our view of U.S. intervention abroad to include the domestic impact, it becomes clear that the Reagan Administration's war in Central America is being fought against the people of the United States as well. The helicopters, bombs and advisors sent to El Salvador, Guatemala and the Contras, are bought with money robbed from social services here at home. Who is most affected by these cutbacks? The poor, people of color, women, children, the elderly, etc...

Some concrete examples:

As unemployment skyrockets for black teenagers, less and less money goes to civilian job training and placement and the budget for military recruitment grows. Hence the "economic draft" draws young men and women of color into the preparations for a possible invasion of Central America.

As U.S. supported governments drive hundreds of thousands from their homes in El Salvador and Guatemala, these groups of refugees are scapegoated here in the U.S. and are attacked with repressive measures. The Simpson-Rodino immigration Law of 1986 threatens the livelihood and cultural integrity of Latinos and Asians in this country, whether or not they have legal documentation. The English Only initiative, also passed in 1986, clearly intends to disenfranchise California's growing Latino population.

As the Reagan Administration cuts away at the hard won labor rights of U.S. citizens, the military clears the way for multinational expansion in Central America, where the wages

average from two to four dollars a day, thus increasing corporate flight and unemployment here at home.

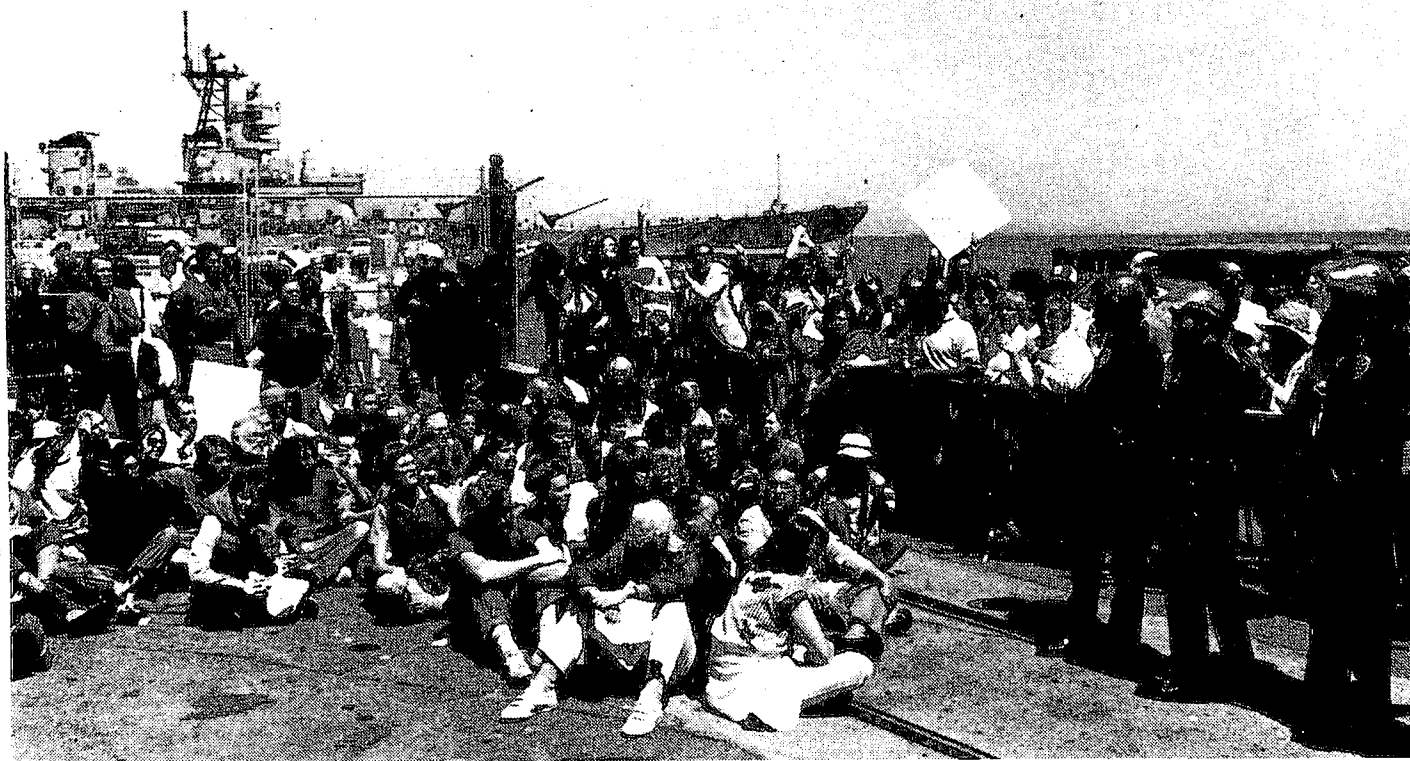
Racism has helped shape U.S. foreign policy since the beginnings of the nation's history. The ability of a people to wage war or conquer another people depends on racial and cultural stereotyping to instill "enemy thinking" in the populace. By promoting dehumanizing stereotypes on a mass level, war makers have fanned the flames of racism necessary to justify oppression at home and intervention abroad. Ironically, this racist propaganda which targets people of color, also undermines the interests of white working people and has led to the deaths of tens of thousands of white combatants in U.S. wars of aggression.

The struggle for peace and against intervention takes place in many different forms and within many communities. The struggle for better education and employment opportunities for black youth, demands for remuneration for Japanese victims of internment, the fight for Native American sovereignty at Big Mountain, and the struggle for immigrant and refugee rights, all contribute, along with anti-intervention organizing, to the overall movement for peace and justice.

By recognizing, affirming and building on the connections between our struggles, we will strengthen our movement as a whole. That is why those in power want to keep the movements for peace and disarmament separate from the movements for racial and economic justice. And that is why a united stand against racism and for peace is so important now.



Lucia Vernarelli



USS Missouri action, San Francisco, June 1986.

THE PLEDGE OF RESISTANCE

The Pledge of Resistance is a commitment to join with others in nonviolent opposition to the U.S. war in Central America.

The Pledge community includes more than 80,000 people across the United States who have taken the Pledge of Resistance. As the war has widened, many have honored their pledge by participating in nonviolent direct action--and by preparing to respond if necessary to a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua or other major escalation.

The Pledge of Resistance seeks to end U.S. intervention in Central America through nonviolent action. We work toward: preventing or halting a full-scale U.S. invasion or other major escalations in the region; ending all U.S. aid to the Contras; ending U.S. aid to El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras; withdrawing U.S. troops from the area, and a peaceful settlement to conflicts of the region.

Through nonviolent direct action, the Pledge seeks to:

- Directly resist the war at appropriate federal, military or corporate facilities.
- Make this hidden war visible to the U.S. public.
- Appeal to the hearts and consciences of the American public to stop this violence.
- Provide people with a means of publicly withdrawing their consent from these wars and of working toward its peaceful resolution.

Nationally, the Pledge has responded to every major escalation of the wars in Central America since 1984,

contributing to a growing awareness and building a strong, broadly-based resistance to this conflict.

In over 400 local Pledge communities across the United States, nonviolent action has taken many forms. Pledge actions include congressional lobbying campaigns, letter-writing, vigils, leafletting and demonstrations. In addition, over 5,000 people have been guided by conscience to engage in acts of nonviolent civil disobedience resulting in their arrest.

Locally, the Bay Area Pledge has over 8,000 members and has been active since 1984. We have organized numerous actions to resist the war. These have included demonstrations and civil disobedience actions at the Federal Building in San Francisco and military recruiting centers; marches to the CIA office, the Presidio Army Base and the U.S.S. Missouri; vigils, and a blood bag drive for Nicaragua.

The Bay Area Pledge of Resistance is a network of individuals, affinity groups, religious, peace and Central America solidarity organizations. The Working Council is our main decision making body and is made up of individuals active in the Pledge, representatives of affinity groups, organizations and working collectives. Any Pledge signer is welcome to attend these meetings. (Working Collectives take on particular projects or responsibilities within the Pledge.) There is also a paid staff whose responsibilities range from fundraising, and volunteer coordination to community organizing projects and activities.

WORKING TOGETHER

ACTION DECISION MAKING

The decision making process and organization structure for the June 12 & 13 action is:

1) Affinity Groups: Affinity groups are the basic planning and decision-making bodies for the action. Each affinity group should aim for self-sufficiency, taking care of its own planning, support and well-being.

2) Spokescouncil meetings: Each affinity group participating in civil disobedience should delegate one or more spokespeople to the two spokescouncils to carry their opinions, plans and proposals to the spokescouncil; and to bring back all decisions, proposals, issues and information. The spokescouncils will make decisions concerning jail solidarity demands and tactics, and coordinate civil disobedience plans of the affinity groups. Through this affinity group structure hundreds of people can affect the course of the action.

The spokescouncil meetings are:

Saturday, May 9, 12 noon at the Urban Life Center, 1101 O'Farrell Street at Franklin in San Francisco;

Saturday, May 30, 12 noon at the Friends Church, 1600 Sacramento at Vine in Berkeley.

3) Working Collectives: Working collectives carry out the responsibilities for the June action, such as: outreach, printed materials, media, legal, etc.

4) June Action Meetings: This is where the larger decisions about the action are made, and the projects and budgets of collectives are approved. It meets the second and fourth Wednesday of each month.

Call the Bay Area Pledge of Resistance or your local contact for more information or to get involved in any collectives, meetings, or affinity groups.

CONSENSUS

The Pledge of Resistance has agreed to use consensus process as a decision making method in all meetings for this action. For this reason, affinity groups should know how to use the consensus process. The following is a brief overview and "how to" recipe.

Consensus is not so much a decision-making process as a thinking process--the collective thinking process of the group mind. It is a way to consider problems, not just a way to choose between alternative courses of action. And, the stronger a group is as an entity in itself, the better consensus works. Consensus process can further the bonding of a group, and affirm each member's value above the importance of any single issue.*

When consensus works well, it becomes a creative process. The group examines all facets of an issue, without polarizing into opposing positions. The group mind augments the perspectives of individuals, who value each other's opinions and welcome each other's challenges. Aspects of an idea that one person might miss are seen by others. Proposals synthesize previous discussion, and then are further refined until the best possible plan is made.

Forming the consensus proposal: After discussing various viewpoints, 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 can ask if there are any reservations or objections to it. If there are no objections, there can be a call for consensus. If there are still no objections, then after moment of silence you have your decision. Of course, now, you have to put it into action.

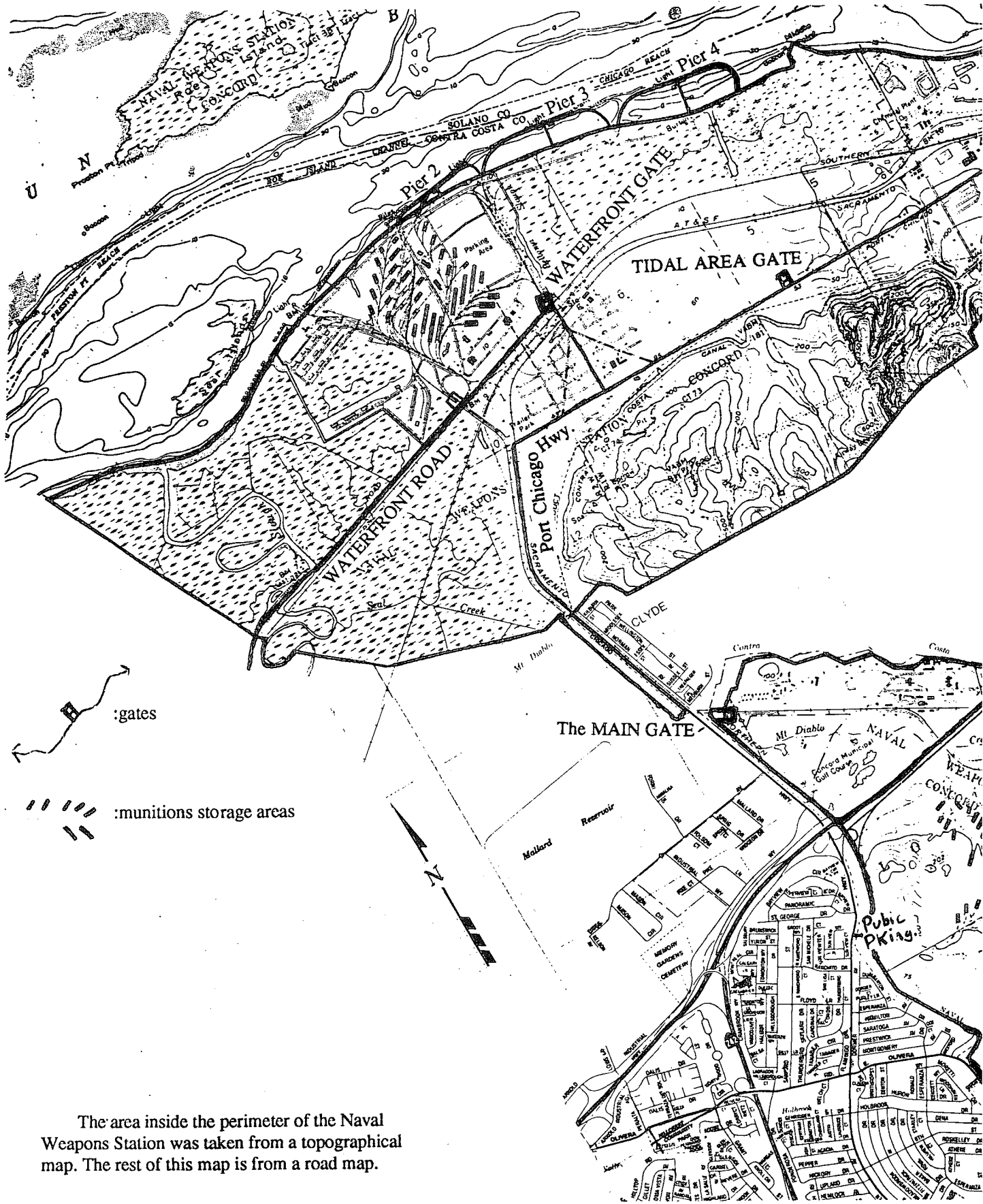
Once consensus does appear to have been reached, it

(continued on page 16)

Adam Kufeld



MAP OF CONCORD NA



The area inside the perimeter of the Naval Weapons Station was taken from a topographical map. The rest of this map is from a road map.

VAL WEAPONS STATION



CONSENSUS

(Continued from page 13)

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 no new consensus can be reached, the group stays with whatever the previous decision was on the subject, or does nothing if that is applicable. Major philosophical or moral questions that will come up with each affinity group will have to be worked through.

Those people who do object to a proposal can express it in one of several ways:

---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.") One person can block his or her affinity group's action, but it takes a whole affinity group to block an action of the spokescouncil. When considering a block, it is wise to consider the diversity of the group, and not prevent something just because you wouldn't do it. Often people do seemingly opposing things, because of the same strong moral convictions.

---Withdrawing for 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 "lukewarm" consensus, and it is just as desirable as a lukewarm beer or a lukewarm bath.

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

It is worth explaining the role of facilitator in a consensus meeting: The facilitator is one of several roles that can help consensus decision making run smoothly. The facilitator watches the content of the meeting and aids the group in defining decisions that need to be made. This may include helping to formulate an agenda beforehand, or helping the group formulate it. A facilitator calls on speakers, keeps the meeting moving and focused, and equalizes participation by drawing out quiet people and limiting talkers. A good facilitator will help bring out all viewpoints, synthesize differences and look for underlying agreements. She/he tests for consensus, restating proposals and formalizing decisions. Facilitators help direct the process of the meeting, not its content. Facilitators never make decisions for the group, letting someone else facilitate when they feel the need to speak out.

Experiment with facilitation in your affinity group's

Keith Holmes



meetings. A good facilitator will watch the spirit of the group, and keeping this spirit in mind will vary the formality of the facilitation to suit the group and its goals. Some of the most useful tools for good meetings are: go-rounds (everybody in turn comments on a particular topic), small groups (breaking down into smaller groups to discuss particularly complicated or difficult topics so that everyone has a chance to express themselves), and feeling sharing (often in small groups, to diffuse emotions after a particularly difficult topic or meeting).

Consensus is not always the most effective decision-making process. Some specific situations to look for alternative methods are:

When There Is No Group Mind:

When deep divisions exist within a group, and members don't value the group's bonding over their individual plans or desires, it's important to realize why we're working together in the first place.

When There Are No Good Choices:

Consensus process can help a group find the best possible solution to a problem--but it is not an effective way to make an either-or choice between two evils, for members will never be able to agree which is worse.

When a group gets completely bogged down trying to make a decision, stop for a moment and consider: Are we blocked because we are given an intolerable situation? Are we being given the illusion, but not the reality, of choice? Might our most empowering act be to refuse to participate in this farce?

When the Issue Is Trivial:

I have known groups to devote half an hour to trying to decide by consensus whether to take forty minutes or a full hour for lunch. Remember, consensus is a thinking process--when there is nothing to think about, flip a coin.

When the Group Has Insufficient Information:

When you're lost in the hills, and no-one knows the way home, you cannot figure out how to get there by consensus. Send out scouts. Another useful question to ask when consensus bogs down is: "Do we have the information we need to solve this problem? Can we get it?"

*Parts of Consensus (c.) Miriam Simos, used by Permission.

AFFINITY GROUPS

An affinity group is usually composed of 5-20 people who have organized themselves at a nonviolent direct action preparation, through a local Pledge or anti-intervention group, or just because they are friends. While some affinity groups will come together for just the June 12 and 13 action, we encourage others to continue doing anti-intervention work, and other actions together.

Affinity groups provide a source of support and a sense of community for their members. Feelings of being isolated or alienated from the demonstration, the movement, or the world in general can be lessened or alleviated through the love and trust that develop when an affinity group works, plays and relates together over a period of time. By generating familiarity and trust, the affinity group structure can make it difficult for provocateurs or undercover agents to infiltrate or disrupt activities. What makes more sense than a small group of friends who share an "affinity" working together?

Affinity groups are the basic planning and decision-making bodies for the action. Each affinity group is responsible for planning and carrying out its participation in the action. Representatives (spokespeople) from each affinity group will come together in two spokescouncils prior to the action to coordinate action plans, and decide on a jail solidarity strategy. This spokesperson is responsible for carrying their group's opinions, plans, and proposals to the spokescouncil and for reporting back to their group all decisions, proposals, and information from the spokescouncil.

Each affinity group aims for self sufficiency around the action. Within each affinity group individuals will need to take on, share or rotate responsibilities for:

--Support: each affinity group needs to have at least one

person doing support.

--Spokesperson/s: to carry decisions, proposals and information to and from the spokescouncils.

--Contact Person: to receive mailings and phone calls about the action and to communicate these to the rest of their group. Call the Bay Area Pledge with your contact person's name as soon as your affinity group forms.

--Some affinity groups also choose to have their own medic/first aid person, legal person, and media spokesperson.

Affinity groups should meet regularly, or at least several times before the action to build community, organize responsibilities, plan their action and jail solidarity, and have a good time being together. Also if there is energy an affinity group can visit the site of the action, roleplay its action plan, do outreach or fundraising for the action, or form a 'cluster' with other affinity groups.

HOW TO JOIN AN AFFINITY GROUP

People are encouraged to initiate affinity groups themselves with their friends or people in their neighborhood; or with others who share your interests, issues or identity, such as people in your church, workplace, school, or organizations. If you want to join or form an affinity group, ask around, announce it at meetings and gatherings, in newsletters, and put up notices. Don't be afraid to ask or keep at it!

The Bay Area Pledge will facilitate people forming affinity groups by holding nonviolent direct action preparations where people can meet each other. Or else call the Pledge office-- there may be special affinity group formation sessions prior to the action.

USS Missouri, June 1986. Keith Holmes



SUPPORT

Many of the people who join affinity groups aren't going to commit civil disobedience. When we choose not to be arrested, we are called "Support". Support people are the backbone of an action; it is because of our support people that we can maintain our solidarity when in jail, knowing that there are people on the outside who are watching out for us. Without the assurance of knowing that the details of our lives are being cared for, we could not commit to staying. They often make it possible for those who are getting arrested to participate. All affinity groups should have one or more support people.

It is the folks doing support who follow the movements of people in jail as they are moved through the legal system. Often, we are called upon to take messages to families and friends, to tell employers or co-workers that someone won't be in to work or to provide rides for arrestees who are being released. We might watch pets or homes. Once, at Livermore, a monitor was snatched by the police from the crowd and arrested. He was completely unprepared to go to jail. His car had been parked in a zone where it would have been towed at the end of the day. Fortunately, another support person in his affinity group got a few friends together and had the car pushed to a safe spot until he could get back to it. The support person also removed all the valuables from the car. A message was forwarded to the monitor in jail that all was safe. In my experience, there are always tasks that come up in the middle of an action that need attending. We count on support people to do them.

Some support people may not be in affinity groups. They are the people who help keep an action going. They may be monitors, assist the legal collective, or staff information tables. There are always a myriad of tasks that must be done.

INFORMATION FOR SUPPORTERS

Here is a checklist for people doing support. Some items are essential (provide transportation home) while others are less so (providing munchies for those just released)--use your discretion.

Before the action:

1. Get important information for each demonstrator: name, address, phone number, birthdate (many jails keep track of people by birthdate), aliases, special medical or legal needs, relevant plans (e.g. non-cooperation, staying in jail until trial), people to be notified, tasks to be done (e.g. plant watering, childcare).
2. Assemble supplies: extra house and car keys, eyeglasses, contact lenses and lens supplies, prescription medications (in their original bottles), underwear, paperback books, writing supplies, pieces of identification.
3. Have about \$5 cash on hand for each person's commissary account and know where to get at least \$100 cash emergency bail for one person.
4. Agree on a time the demonstrator can reach you by



telephone.

5. Provide quality time to discuss the decision to commit civil disobedience.

At the time of the action:

1. Arrange for transportation, water, and food.
2. Be present to provide hugs and cheers.
3. Take charge of possessions unloaded at the last moment by the demonstrator.
4. Record details or take photographs of the arrest, especially if there are unusual circumstances (e.g. excessive force, injuries, failure to give a warning).
5. Follow the bus to see where the demonstrators will be held.
6. Be certain the demonstrator's car is not left where it will be towed.

While the demonstrator is in jail:

1. Provide emotional nurture: send letters, news clippings; try to visit. (Check policy with jail.) Be a good listener on the phone.
2. Provide for physical needs. Put money in the commissary account. Check jail policy as to other items, e.g. prescription medicines, reading materials.

3. Perform agreed upon tasks.
4. Make sure action is publicized in the media.
5. Be present at any court proceedings to show public support and to provide personal emotional support. Bring demonstrator's I.D. to court with you.

When the demonstrator is released:

1. Arrange for transportation home. Processing-out can take a long time and may occur at odd hours of the night far from public transportation.

2. Have good food and munchies on hand.
3. Provide hugs and kisses and quality time to discuss the experience.

For the next action:

1. Organize a central support collective to facilitate the above.
2. If you decide to commit civil disobedience, rotate responsibilities so that someone you supported now supports you.

WHAT TO BRING

Assume you'll be spending the whole day around the Weapons Station, so bring plenty of water and nutritious food to meet your needs. It is a good idea to get a full night's sleep and to eat a good breakfast before the action.

Contra Costa County is usually very hot and sunny in the summer. Sunscreen and other protection like a visor, hat or sunglasses are important. It could get cool in the evening and you could spend a lot of time outdoors, either at the action or in holding areas after arrest.

It is important to dress for the weather, but you should keep in mind to wear clothing that will protect you, especially if you may go limp when arrested--for example, wearing shoes instead of sandals.

When an affinity group enters a potential arrest situation, the support people should take any possessions the group members don't want to risk losing. Food, water and protective clothing should be kept in case you are kept in holding areas for a long time.

You may have all your possessions taken from you when you enter jail. You will probably get them back when you leave, but this has not always been the case. Bring change for

phone calls from the jail.

It's a good idea for a support person in each affinity group to take responsibility for some first aid; they should bring along: gauze, adhesive tape, band aids, tylenol or aspirin, a squeeze bottle of water (to flush out mace in eyes, etc.), disinfectant, a clean dry cloth, scissors, additional sunscreen, etc.

Anyone with special medical or dietary needs should carefully consider how his/her condition is affected by the stress and excitement of participation. If you have a special condition, make sure some other participants and support people 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.

Please REMEMBER: Don't bring drugs or alcohol. This is very important for the safety of the whole group, and we'll count on folks to control themselves in this respect. Don't bring your dog. Please respect the land and the local community--don't leave any litter or garbage.

Adam Kufeld



NONVIOLENT ACTION

When we in the peace movement commit ourselves to nonviolent campaigns, we set in motion a two-fold dynamic. First we begin to change ourselves. As we confront corporate lies, hold nonviolence 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 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 nonviolence 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 clues of violence. But when we refuse to give those clues, 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: nonviolent rules. Violence is a relationship--when we act differently, when we combine nonviolence with determination, when we treat them as potential allies or intimates, we open them, and ourselves, to change.



The conventional view of political power sees people as dependent on the good will 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 themselves in their positions in order to wield the self-same power.

The theory of active nonviolence proposes a different analysis: that the government depends on people and that political power is variable, even fragile, always dependent on the cooperation 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, nonviolent action is not passive, nor is it a naive belief in converting those in positions of power, nor is it a "safe" method of protest, immune from repression. Rather, it is based on a different understanding of where people's power really lies. By acting disobediently, people learn to withhold, rather than surrender, their cooperation. This recognizes the individual's discovery of self-respect is tied to the recognition that one's own assistance makes the unjust situation possible. When a group of people recognizes 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 armor. 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 nonviolence campaign stands its ground 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.

NONVIOLENT ACTION GUIDELINES

The Bay Area Pledge of Resistance nonviolent action guidelines are basic agreements. Made by all participants in our actions, they are not philosophical/political requirements placed upon us. The guidelines act as a basis for trust among participants who, for the most part, have met only for a particular action.

The Pledge of Resistance requires that all participants in this action agree and adhere to the nonviolent action guidelines, so that people will know what to expect of each other.

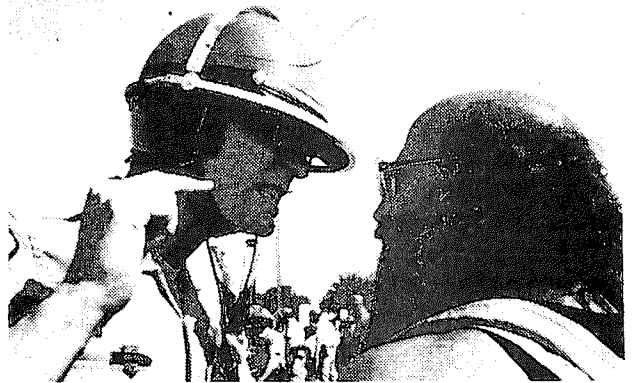
GUIDELINES FOR NONVIOLENT ACTION

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.

The Pledge of Resistance adopted its guidelines from the Livermore Action Group and the Abalone Alliance where the guidelines were a traditional part of the direct action anti-nuclear and disarmament movements. Within the Livermore

Action Group there was much discussion about modifying the guidelines. There was a proposal to change the first point of the guidelines, however, no consensus was reached. The original guidelines remain intact. In order to convey this discussion, which continues, we have reprinted two brief statements reflecting the discussion within L.A.G.

Janet Delaney



Livermore, June 1983.

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 nonviolent 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 this change hope this discussion can continue in a productive way.

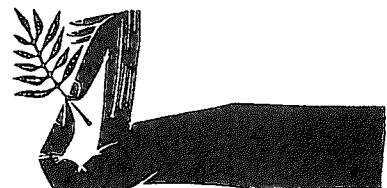
In Opposition to Change

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.

Keith Holmes



Federal Building, Spring 1985.



ACTION SCENARIO

Within the nonviolent action guidelines agreed to for this action, each affinity group will decide what it will do-- either by itself or in a "cluster" with other affinity groups. The nature and success of the action is up to the creativity and inspiration of affinity groups.

Two spokescouncil meetings on May 9th and 30th will provide an opportunity for affinity groups to share plans and ideas and to join together around common plans. Decisions about jail solidarity demands and tactics will also be decided at these meetings. The Spokescouncils will be made up of "spokespeople" from each affinity group participating in the action. (See Action Decision Making, p. 13 for more information on Spokescouncils.)

The article "Site Logistics" provides some logistical information on Concord Naval Weapons Station to assist you in choosing the type, site and time of your action. You can refer to the map on page 14 and 15. We hope to provide some additional information at the Spokescouncils. Also affinity groups are encouraged to visit the site before the action. The Scenario /Logistics Collective for the June 12 & 13 action has come up with the following list of different types of possible actions that groups can consider:

1)**BLOCKADING:** Blocking entrance gates to prevent or disrupt civilian workers and military personnel from entering the Weapons Station and carrying out the work necessary for the shipment of munitions to Central America. (See "Gates and Fences".)

2)**BACKCOUNTRY:** Trespassing onto Weapons Station property to disrupt or prevent the work inside the weapons station (our very presence, being a breach of security, will do this); and/or to communicate with the civilian workers and military people inside the base; and/or to challenge the federal government's use of the land.

3)**BLOCKADING TRAINS AND TRUCKS:** In the 1960's and early 70's many people blocked trucks and trains laden with bombs, napalm and ammunition headed for Vietnam. Because the trains and trucks are unpredictable and infrequent, these blockades often took place within the context of overnight or multiple day vigils. Munitions are brought into the Weapons Station mostly by truck, but some by train and are transported within the base and to the docks to be shipped.

4) **SEA ACTION:** Doing an action by sea, in a boat, could involve trespassing into Navy waters, bannered docks, blocking ships, dropping people off on shore, etc... It could also involve legal actions such as carrying banners and signs on your boat or supporting others who are resisting arrest.

The Bay area Peace Navy will be protesting at sea during the June 12 & 13 action. They are a group of small and medium sized boat owners and friends who have demonstrated their opposition to intervention and war since 1983 when they blockaded a weapons laden ship leaving Concord Naval



Weapons Station for El Salvador.

Doing a sea action involves a great deal of safety precautions and preparation. The Peace Navy has expressed a willingness to assist and support others in sea actions on June 12 & 13. Call (415) 398-1201 for more information.

It can be very helpful to consider and clarify your own, and your affinity group's, goals and motivations for participating in this nonviolent direct action. This can help you to decide what type and style of action can best fulfill these goals. It is also important to appreciate the diversity of our movement and to respect the reasons and actions of others which may be different from your own.

SITE LOGISTICS

LOCATION:

Concord Naval Weapons Station /Port Chicago is 35 miles northeast of San Francisco. From the Bay Area take 580 E. to 4 W. (Arnold Industrial Hwy) to Port Chicago Hwy. Port Chicago Hwy goes right to the main gate and on to Waterfront Road.

SIZE:

The base covers 13,000 acres, including 150 buildings and 200 ammunition magazines. It is divided into the "Tidal Area" (Port Chicago) and the "Inland Area" (Concord Naval Weapons Station), which are physically distinct (see map). The Tidal Area "has a segregation facility for sorting returned ordnance, railroad and truck classification yards, and three...piers capable of berthing six large cargo ships simultaneously. The Inland Area consists of administration buildings, military barracks, storage magazines, and extensive and modern guided missile facilities." Much of the land in the hills among the bunkers is leased for grazing, a wild life preserve, and an experimental tree farm.

PERSONNEL:

The base employs 1,700 civilians, about 850 of whom are members of the American Federation of Government Employees Local 1931 (AFL-CIO). In addition, 300 or so Marines are permanently assigned to the base, mostly for security. 900 Naval Reservists spend two weeks there during the year. Most of the civil service employees work Monday-Friday; on a normal day traffic flows heavily between 7:00 and 8:30. Most of the on- and off-loading of cargo is done by outside dockworkers, who are not ILWU members. Only military ships are loaded by Navy employees.

There is some officers housing (34 families) on base, and barracks for single enlisted Navy & Marine Corps personnel. Most personnel live off-base; there is a Navy Community Center on Hamilton Avenue.

BRASS:

Since 1983 the Commander of the base has been Capt. G. Glenn Mays, apparently a career administrator. The Executive Office, Commander Oliver G. Everett, has studied at both the Navy Nuclear Power School and the Naval Guided Missile School. He came to Concord in 1982 after 10 years in Washington. The highest ranking officer at CNWS is Marine Barracks Commanding Officer Lt. Col. John Horvatic. A veteran of Vietnam, the Philippines and Okinawa, he recently served overseas with the Third Force Service Support Group.

TRAINS:

In addition to the seven munitions ships homeported there, the CNWS boasts of its 100 miles of railroad track and 450 rail cars. Ammunition and other cargo is moved between the two portions of the station by the Navy's Public Works Dept. by train or truck. Neighbors of the base have told us that transport by train often happens between 10 p.m. and 2 a.m. on the tracks across from the Main Gate. Most of the cargo comes "into" the base by truck.



GATES AND FENCES

"Individuals having a legitimate need for entry and a definite destination" are admitted via 5 gates (see map):

The MAIN GATE, on Port Chicago Hwy by the town of Clyde is open and guarded 24 hours, 7 days a week. "All visitors must enter here."

WILLOW PASS ROAD GATE: open 6-9:15 a.m., 11 a.m.-1 p.m., and 2:30-6 p.m. M-F. Most administrative civilian employees use this gate.

BAILEY ROAD GATE: open the same hours as Willow Pass. Trucks go through here, as well as maintenance, construction, and military staff. Train tracks cross nearby.

TIDAL AREA GATE: (off Nichols Rd.) open 6 a.m.-6 p.m. M-F. Goes to docks and storage areas.

TIDAL AREA GATE, PT. CHICAGO: (on Waterfront Road) "Restricted Area; special vehicle pass needed". Open 24 hr., 7 days. Civilians loading, working on ships, or storage enter here. From the gate you can see a building where the dockworkers gather before work.

During a previous blockade we learned that there are many other small gates normally unused which can be opened if necessary. A total blockade is therefore difficult.

Each gate is set back from the road and Navy property is demarcated by the proverbial line painted on the road. The roads narrow as they approach the gate. Sometimes they have allowed blockades in the road but threatened immediate arrest for crossing the line.

The entire perimeter is surrounded by barbed wire fence. The inland area is hilly in places, without much vegetation. The dock area is completely flat with almost no cover and many streams, some passable. Some storage areas are heavily guarded with wire, walls and water. In parts of the Inland Area bunkers are clearly visible from the road.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS:

Alpha Area, located off Port Chicago Hwy. is a high security facility where nuclear weapons are believed to be stored. It has double fencing, special lighting, 24 hour armed marine guards, and warning signs on the inside fence saying: "Use of Deadly Force Authorized".

POLICE JURISDICTION:

Police

Authority at Concord is confusing (see map for detail). Basically, the California Highway Patrol controls the road and makes arrests of blockaders outside the magic line. The Concord Police have jurisdiction over the base itself, though the Federal Govt. "could" claim it if it chose. There are always Marines present at demonstrations. Usually trespassers are taken into custody by Marines but turned over to the Concord Police for booking on state charges. So far this has applied to both "technical trespassers" (crossing the line) and infiltration on the base. The Contra Costa County Sheriffs' Department patrols the unincorporated areas surrounding CNWS, including Clyde and Clyde Park adjacent to the Main Gate. They are present during large actions to back up the CHP and take people to jail.

LEGAL

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.

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” system functions to alienate and isolate the accused individual, to destroy one’s power and purposefulness, and to weave a web of confusion and mystification around any legal proceedings.

Based on past experience, we expect those arrested for civil disobedience to receive state charges, although it is legally possible for the federal government to claim jurisdiction. The federal legal process differs only slightly, so we are only covering the legal process and possible charges at the state level.

What follows is a step-by-step guide to the legal process with a brief discussion of the choices at each step.

THE LEGAL PROCESS

Warning

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

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

Arrest

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

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

Booking

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

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

Arraignment

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

CHOICES: **Guilty** — you will be sentenced now. **No Contest/Nolo Contendere** (“Nolo”) — this means you do not challenge the charges, and is treated the same as a



Guilty plea. Not Guilty or Creative Plea — you wish to challenge the charges brought against you. The judge will set a trial date and choose whether to release you on **O.R.** (Own Recognizance — your verbal promise to show up for your trial), set **Bail or Bond** (a monetary or physical security put up to “insure” your appearance on the trial date) or (rarely) require you to **Remain in Custody** until the trial date. It is up to you to accept or not accept O.R., Bail, or Bond as offered by the judge and you can choose to remain in custody until the trial date.

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

Trial

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

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

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

Not Guilty — You are free to go out and celebrate.

Guilty — judge will then sentence you.

Sentencing

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

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

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

POSSIBLE STATE CHARGES

1. Penal Code (P.C.) 647: Blocking a right of way.
2. P.C. 602 K & L: Trespass
3. P.C. 148: Resisting Arrest
4. P.C. 243: Battery
5. Various Traffic INFRACTIONS (Vehicle Code)
 - (a) Jaywalking;
 - (b) Disorderly Conduct
 - (c) Obstructing Traffic.

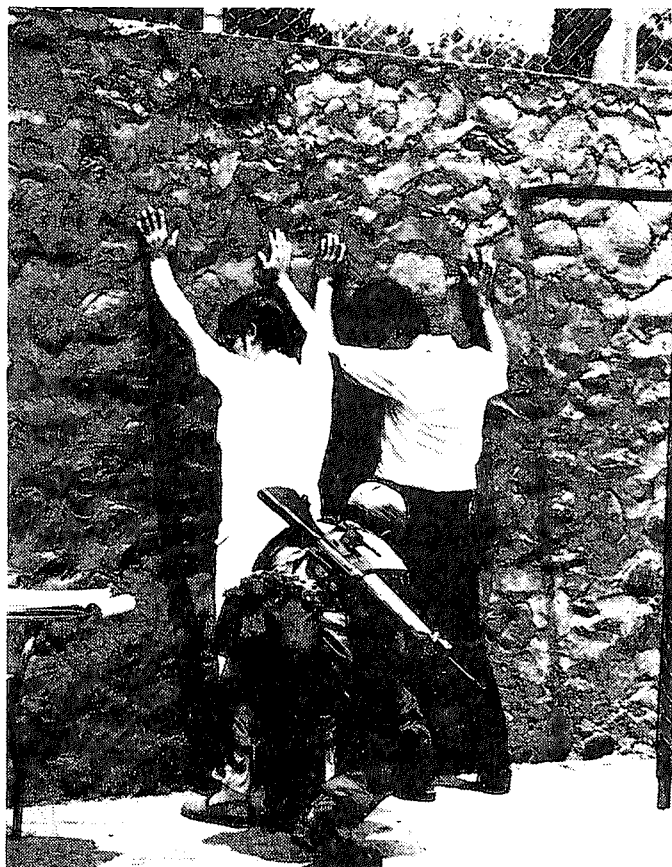
Juveniles are NOT subject to above charges; instead, they will be charged under California Institution and Welfare Codes.

NO NAMES / FALSE NAMES

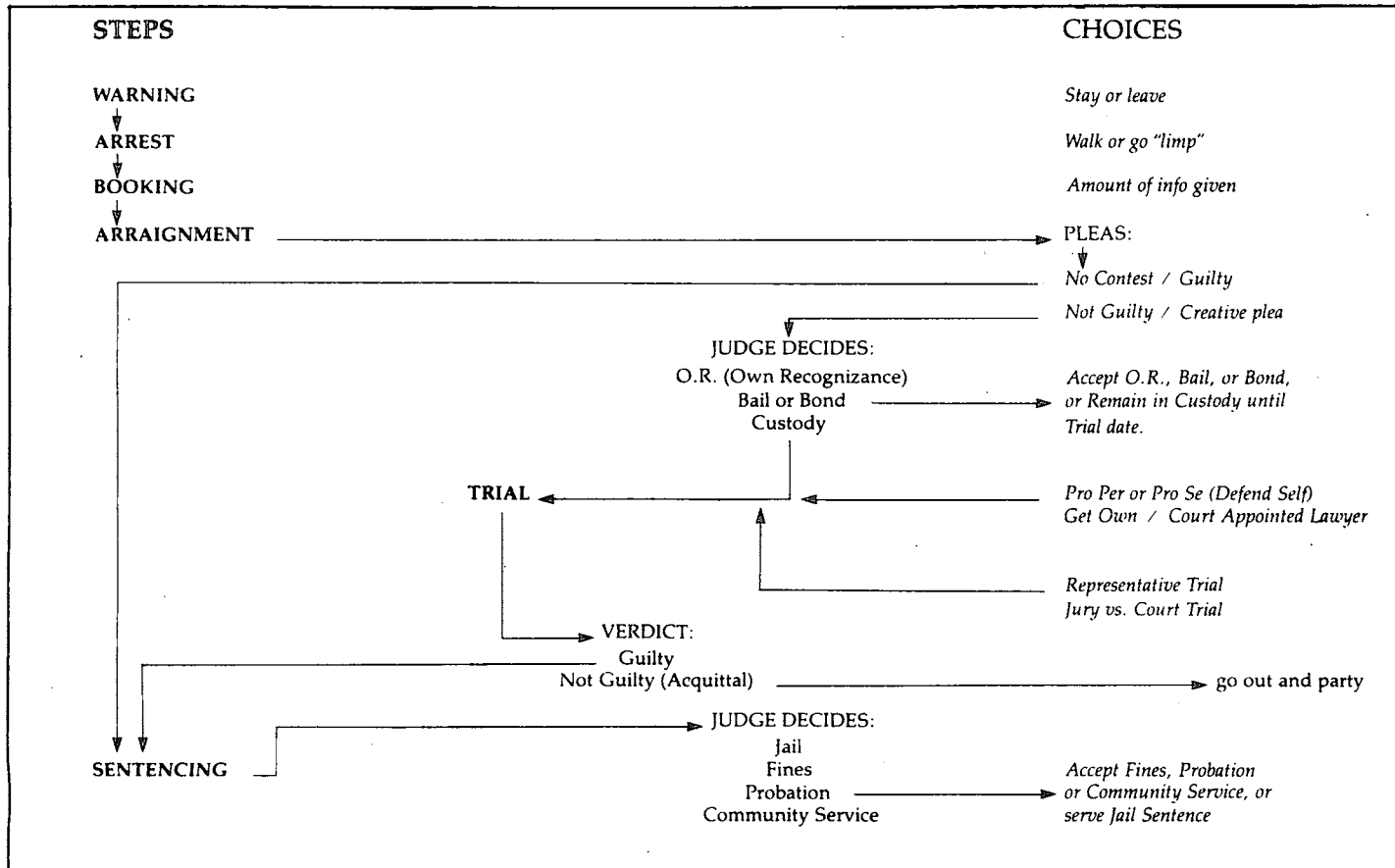
If you don't give a name, you'll be booked as a "Doe" and before being released from custody, you'll have to give a name. If you give a false name, it is possible that you could face additional charges.

LEGAL TEAM

There is a 'legal team' of lawyers and legal workers who will help us during the June 12 and 13 action. They will assist us by providing legal information and communicating between men and women and any other separate groups in jail, between those in jail and the authorities/court, and between arrestees and supporters.



Government soldier stops and searches civilians--El Salvador.



JAIL SOLIDARITY

Through jail solidarity we take power in a situation designed to make us powerless. We do this by making our decisions as a group, by acting in harmony with each other, and by committing ourselves to safeguard each other's well being. Jail solidarity has been used very effectively in the civil rights, anti-nuclear power and disarmament movements.

The power of solidarity lies in three basic facts: 1) In a mass arrest situation the authorities need our cooperation to process us--from booking to jail to court. 2) It is very expensive to keep us in jail 3) There is little room for us in an already overcrowded prison system; thus we have great collective bargaining power. Additionally, public support and pressure to release us can place even more pressure on authorities.



Martin E. Klimek

Arrestees being transported by bus.

WHY JAIL SOLIDARITY?

- To insure that all who participate in our action are protected from discriminatory treatment.
- To get our court appearances and sentencing over with quickly, freeing us for work or other actions.
- To make it possible for those from other areas to participate in civil disobedience without having to return for future court dates.
- To serve our time in jail and face court together with the strength of a group, rather than as separate individuals.
- To extend the action, keeping the attention of the public and the media, and demonstrating a strong commitment to affecting change.

For these reasons and more, jail solidarity strengthens our movement and gives us a greater sense of community.

SOLIDARITY DEMANDS

Here are some goals for which solidarity has been used, but they are not the only ones that can be considered:

- Equal and fair treatment for everyone in jail and in sentencing. No one should be singled out and subjected to

harsher treatment, even those with previous arrests, publicly known organizers, and non-cooperators. Everyone should receive the same sentence for similar acts.

--No isolation of individuals or parts of the group.

--Communication with the legal team and through them, between women and men and any other separated groups.

--No sentences of fines and probation; or at least the option of serving our own sentence in jail (see Sentencing and Pleas below).

--Mass arraignment in the largest groups possible. This way we know for sure that our sentence demands are being met, and thus can respond appropriately.

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

SOLIDARITY TACTICS

If we resolve to non-cooperate peacefully or to stay in jail we have great bargaining power. Here are some of the ways we can nonviolently use our solidarity to achieve our demands:

--refusing "cite outs", also called citation releases. In most actions individuals are offered a chance to sign a citation release, which is a promise to appear at a later date for arraignment. We have usually recommended refusing this privilege, because the presence of our physical bodies in jail is the greatest leverage we have on the system. If we cite out and come back for arraignments separately, we have no way of assuring that all of us will receive equal sentences.

--Refusing to give identifying information (name, address, etc.).

--Refusing food.

--Refusing to participate in the jail routine.

--Refusing to walk

--Singing, dancing or praying.

--Refusing arraignment. We can refuse to move to the court until assured by our own legal team that our demands have been met. We can remain silent or refuse to enter a plea at the



Ted Sahl

These people did not give names at booking--Vandenberg 1983.

arraignment if our demands are not being met.

--Pleading not guilty, demanding an individual jury trial, and not waiving our right to a speedy trial. This powerful bargaining tactic pressures the court into granting our sentencing demands.

SENTENCING AND PLEAS

In past actions paying bail or fines, or accepting probation have been discouraged. Paying bail or fines puts money back into an unjust system and drains the limited funds and resources of the movement. Through bail and fines the judicial system discriminates against lower-income peoples and divides groups. Those who have money get out and those who don't stay in. Probation gives the court system the right to interfere with our lives for many months, and makes us liable for longer sentences should we be arrested for civil disobedience in its duration. This creates problems for individuals as well as creating a possible excuse for different treatment of people in future actions. Naturally, people who have different needs and responsibilities from most of the group, may find it necessary, on occasion, to pay bail.

When our demands have been met or we have negotiated an acceptable compromise, people will plead "no contest" or even "guilty" (see LEGAL section for more info.)

The decision to plead not guilty is also a political one. Keep in mind what you are trying to achieve and evaluate whether legal proceedings will advance these goals. Decide whether the time, money and energy invested in the trial would be better spent elsewhere.

PLAN AHEAD

For jail solidarity to be effective, decisions about demands and tactics must be made, to the greatest extent possible, before reaching jail. Your affinity group should discuss these decisions, and send a spokesperson with their ideas and plans to the pre-action spokescouncil meetings on May 9 & 30. The spokescouncil meetings will try to decide on common solidarity tactics.

For jail solidarity to work, people must be willing to stay in jail. Everyone participating should plan to be able to stay in jail at least several days, if necessary, and it is always safest to generously overestimate.

EXCEPTIONS

The use of jail solidarity should not deter anyone from participating in the action. Those who chose not to be part of jail solidarity are still encouraged to participate in the civil disobedience. People who must leave jail because of outside

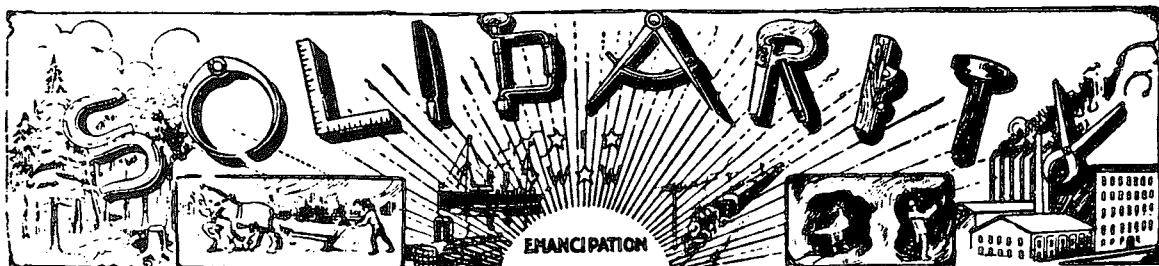


commitments or personal reasons are not breaking solidarity. Pressure, guilt, and coercion for everyone to do the same thing is counter to the spirit of solidarity. The strength of solidarity comes from the free agreement of everyone who takes part in it. Because of the divisiveness within the group it can cause, solidarity has not been kept, in the past, with those who disregard the nonviolence guidelines or those with outstanding warrants (pay your parking tickets).

USING SOLIDARITY

Solidarity differs in degrees and types. On some issues the whole group may reach consensus. In other cases one or more affinity groups may act autonomously. Keep others informed of your plans. Remember that civil disobedience is a form of non-cooperation, and it is good to respect the acts of conscience and non-cooperation of others.

When consensus on solidarity gets difficult, remember that our tactics are means for achieving our demands, not ends in themselves. We cannot always achieve all of our demands, so it is good to act with a strength that is also flexible. Using solidarity for trivial matters can minimize its impact, but underestimating the group's power can lead to fear and hastily considered actions.



1913 I.W.O. newspaper masthead.

JAIL TIME

Going to jail triggers lots of feelings: from exhilaration to intense anxiety and powerlessness, and from introspection to wide-open curiosity. Our anxiety will be easier to handle if we know what to expect, whether we are alone or with friends.

Part of the authorities' mode is being arbitrary; this is to remind us it is they who are in control. They control the things we may need: access to showers, phones, blankets, medicine, exercise areas, visitor access, commissary or personal property. Any of these may be denied us without reason, or because of the sudden overcrowding we bring. We may be strip-searched. Some or even many of the guards may move and speak roughly with us. We may wish to surprise them by acknowledging their humanity, although they seem unable to do so with us.

Although this is unlikely, sometimes we find ourselves mixed in among the general population. If by oneself, it can take a couple of days to find one or two people to relate to. The waves we make loom large without our support structure at hand. We can be respectful of other jail residents and their tensions, i.e. from pending trials, intimidations, poor food quality, etc. Things we have may be stolen from us, particularly by short-timers. Long-timers tend to look out for each other over the long haul. One benefit of jail is its educational aspect; it can be fascinating to hear the stories of those who end up in our jails.

I found it useful to remember that the action continues after our arrests--it's not over until everyone's out of jail. In jail during meetings, I have found myself too exhausted to participate during some parts, and irresistibly involved during other parts. The anxiety from both known and unknown factors, is wearing.

My first time in jail, I worried about the opinion of my family, and about getting work with an arrest and conviction on record. Members of my affinity group told me about the varying outcomes with their parents and I felt less alone. They also told me that employers ask people to report convictions more serious than felony misdemeanors for most (private sector, non-security related) jobs. Did I feel better! Now I spend more time sorting out how long it is possible for me to stay in jail if it seems advantageous to the group's solidarity, and checking up on individuals who may appear to be treated differently or separated out from the others.

If we aren't caught up by our fears, we'll see that others have anxieties of their own. These can be managed by gathering information, or failing that, by group exercises such as sharing feelings, or breathing deeply. Sometimes people appoint a "vibes watcher" during a meeting to watch for misdirected tension and to call it to the attention of the group.

The hours in jail can be short or long. People play games and share songs or rounds like: "You Can't Forbid Me Everything". Jail can be a chance for women to network with women and men with men. In go-rounds; people answer questions like, "How did you get politicized?" or "How did you come to feminism (or if you didn't...)" and folks really get to learn about each other. People even hold workshops.

People come to jail out of concern for the world and the lack of change. Some come to be counted in media accounts, some come because they've been pressing for change harder than the system will take. Some come as a result of expressing their frustration and anger. In jail we know we have done as much as we know how to do, for awhile, and we are together, forging the time for ourselves.

Marvin Collins



BUT WE LIVE

by S.H.

(Written by an inmate at Contra Costa County Jail)

But we live through smoking tailpipes, police sirens, fire sirens...
but we live through loneliness, sadness, but we live through happiness, togetherness,
but we live through the court system, jails, we live through lightness, darkness,
we live through the wonders of our minds. But we live striving for the things we want and the things we need. And we live on love.

Marvin Collins



STRIKE

by Gianconda Belli
Nicaragua

I want a strike where we all go out.
A strike of shoulders, legs, hair,
a strike born in every body.

I want a strike

of workers	of doves
of drivers	of flowers
of technicians	of children
of doctors	of women

I want a big strike
that goes beyond love.
A strike where everything is shut down.
the watch the factories
the nursery the colleges
the bus the hospitals
the highway the harbors

A strike of eyes, hands, and kisses.
A strike where breathing is banned,
a strike where silence is born
in order to hear
the departing footsteps of the tyrant.

translated by Jack Hirshman



David Haug

Bay Area artists create an installation
at Emeryville mudflats protesting Bay
Area involvement in the war in Central
America.

ACT

by Roque Dalton
El Salvador

In the name of those washing others' clothes
(and expelling others' filth from the whiteness)

In the name of those caring for others' kids
(and selling their strength
in the form of maternal love and humiliations)

In the name of those living in another's house
(which isn't even an amiable womb but a tomb or jail)

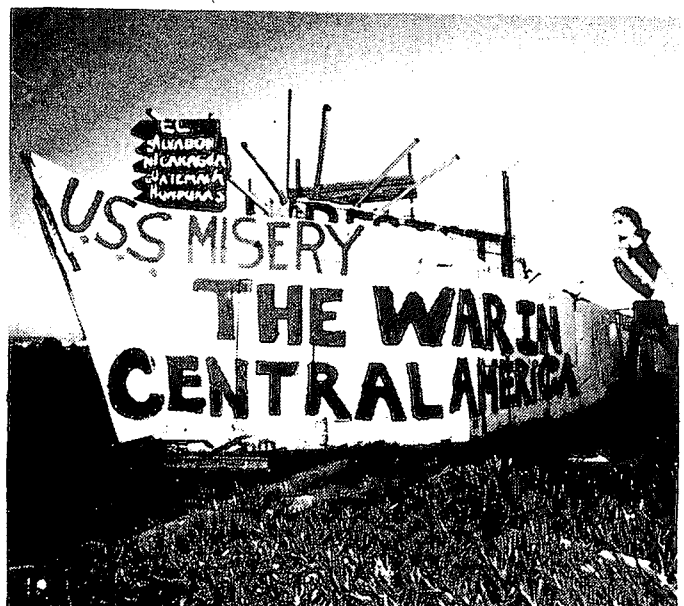
In the name of those eating others' crumbs
(and chewing them in fact with the feeling of a thief)

In the name of those living on others' land
(the houses and factories and shops
streets cities and towns
rivers lakes volcanoes and mountains
always belonging to others
and that's why the cops and the guards are there
guarding them against us)

In the name of those who have nothing but
hunger exploitation disease
a thirst for justice and water
persecutions and condemnations
loneliness abandonment oppression death

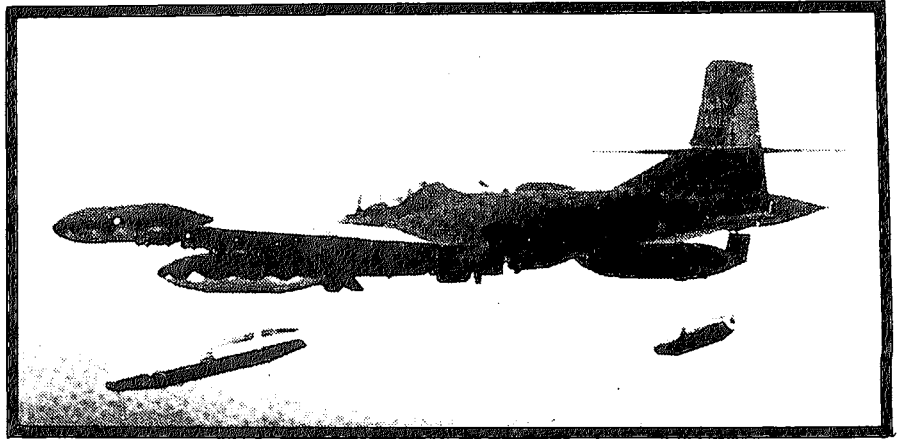
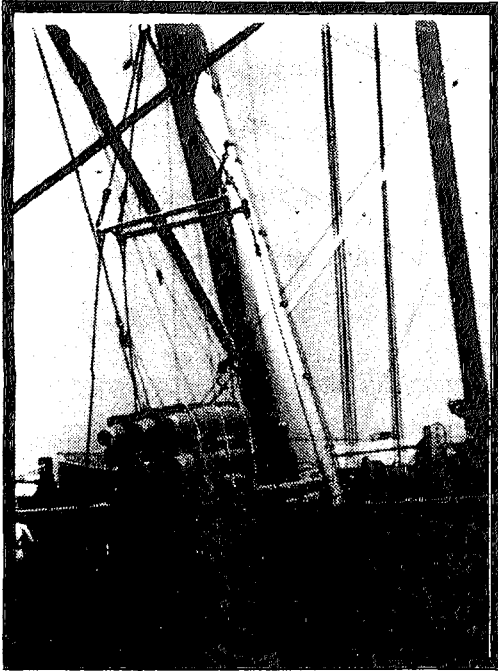
I accuse private property
of depriving us of everything

translated by David Volpenestra



Harvin Collins

Stop Arms Shipments to Central America!



Bombs and white phosphorus rockets are stored, loaded (left) and shipped from Concord Naval Weapons Station to El Salvador where they are dropped on the civilian population (above), killing families, destroying homes (below) and villages. This is just a part, supplied by Concord Naval Weapons Station/Port Chicago, of the U.S. military aid which fuels our government's war against people in Central America. Won't you help us stop it?



Join us; call or write:
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In your area contact: