



It Won't Be Built!
SEABROOK MAY 24, 1980
OCCUPATION/BLOCKADE
HANDBOOK

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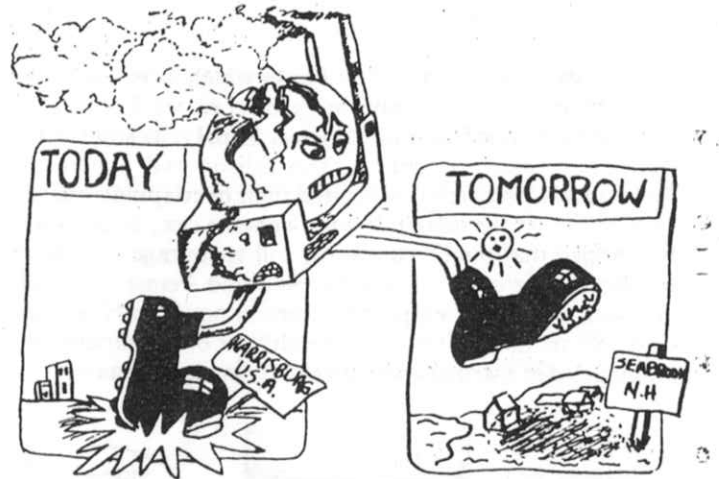
WE ALL LIVE IN SEABROOK

Seabrook has become the focus of this country's first major efforts at stopping construction of a nuclear power plant by direct action. All of us who go to Seabrook this spring must be aware of the significance of our actions, locally and throughout the world. In the last decade we have realized that we all indeed live in the 'global village.' Nothing happens on earth that does not in some way affect all of us. The radiation leaking daily from an operating nuke does not confine itself to a small area; contamination from a meltdown would spread far and wide. The overall 'background' level of radiation in the atmosphere has increased markedly in the last twenty five years and it will continue to do so each time another nuclear generating plant goes on line. All of this affects all of us. The consequences — cancers, genetic damage, birth defects — may not reveal themselves for another 10-30 years, but they are there.

Yet, because Seabrook is almost in our back yard, the implications of any mishap there are all the greater for us. A meltdown there would contaminate an area currently inhabited by four million people. The delicate coastline ecology is not able to withstand any abuse by nuclear power. The water cooling the reactor's core would return to the ocean thirty nine degrees hotter than the ambient temperature; this would effectively choke off nearly all life in the Seabrook marsh. An algae-filled slough would form and remain, stagnant and useless. The people who rely on the region for its fish and shellfish would lose their livelihood. Further, the coastline is riddled with faults. Imagine the dual disaster of an earthquake and a colossal release of radioactive material! None of us, anywhere, is immune from the dangers of the nuclear menace.

Today, construction at Seabrook continues. The Public Service Company of New Hampshire (PSCo) has thus far survived all challenges to its domain; and has benefitted through its sweetheart relationships with both the state and federal governments. Such governmental dinosaurs as the Environmental Protection Agency and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission routinely approve all nuclear plant construction nationwide; they have made no exception at Seabrook. All of this has occurred in the face of unified local opposition: voters have rejected PSCo's appeals for use of local water, special Construction Work in Progress (CWIP) rate surcharges and indeed the very notion of the plant itself.

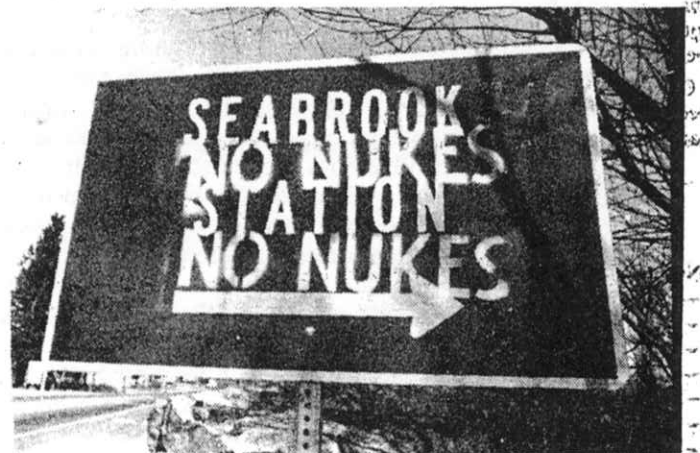
The town of Seabrook has twice voted against the plant, both times before the NRC granted PSCo a construction permit. In the last three years, the nearby towns of Hampton and Hampton Falls have voted against nuclear power as well. On the key issue of home rule, the towns of Kensington, Durham, Rye, Exeter, New Castle, and North Hampton have voted in support of the people of Seabrook. Additionally, Kingston, Epping, Rye, Peterborough, Marlow, Hampton Falls and Seabrook have all gone on record in opposition to the transportation or storage of nuclear materials in their communities. The people of Hampton Falls have also asked for independent monitoring of air-and-water-borne radiation. They have asked for complete evacuation contingency plans in the event of a nuclear mishap. Twenty six towns, including Seabrook, have passed resolutions calling for the CWIP charges to be declared illegal. It has become clear that the will of the people of the seacoast



towns of New Hampshire has been ignored. The citizens of the Seabrook area have watched helplessly as their political power has slid uselessly through their hands. Today, after ten years of rejection of the plant at every juncture, the monster's ugly head continues to rise from the floor of the Seabrook marsh. PSCo and the NRC have effectively stolen a bit of New Hampshire and conspired to erect a machine that will likely kill those who live closest to it, indeed those upon whose land it now sits.

Currently, Public Service Company of New Hampshire is in financial difficulty. Construction has been able to proceed only through use of emergency rate hikes. The 4.8% increase approved in December of 1979 is identical in spirit to CWIP, which was soundly rejected by the people of New Hampshire. Even with this new levy, PSCo stands on shaky ground. It has said publicly that it cannot hope to complete Seabrook construction without additional rate increases of 25%. PSCo is facing bankruptcy. Massachusetts Municipal Wholesale Electric Companies (MMWEC), a consortium of local power utilities which had previously agreed to invest up to \$500 million in Seabrook, has been able to obtain only \$200 million of that money. PSCo is currently trying to peddle an additional 24% of its share in the plant.

Other major local investors are the large commercial banks of New England. The First National Project, a Boston Clamshell task group, has attempted to draw attention to the involvement of the First in the nuclear business. The



First heads up a consortium of banks which have \$125 million helping to keep the Seabrook project afloat. FNB forms a keystone of New England's Nuclear Family; its siblings include Stone and Webster, Boston Edison and Raytheon. They are all closely related through their overlapping boards of directors. In the nuke biz, what benefits one, benefits all. It is hoped that public education will encourage people to withdraw their money from the First and shame the bank into withdrawing its support for nuclear power in New England. We are not fighting just one nuke or one company; we are engaged in a struggle with an entire financial system.



PSCo's death warrant for the seacoast region has been accompanied and fortified by a bill of goods: the claim that New England needs the additional generating capacity. In fact, the plant at Seabrook would serve no economic function except to help the New England utilities maintain their monopoly over electric power production; the electricity is unnecessary. There has been a serious overestimation of the future electric needs of New Hampshire and the New England region as a whole. New England now has a 47% reserve electrical generating capacity. Additional generator construction further enables the utilities to block serious investment in hydro, wind and solar power. PSCo's approach to decentralized power sources is illuminated by its recent decommissioning of 42 hydro-electric facilities in New Hampshire and Maine. The New England River Basins Commission has identified 600 dams within New Hampshire which together could produce as much electricity as would PSCo's share in the Seabrook plant.

We who live in New England must not ignore the overall picture. Seabrook is not a case in isolation; there are similar menaces now operating throughout the northeast. Boston Edison is right now attempting to add a second nuke to the existing Pilgrim I in Plymouth. Scientists have found plutonium in the mussels in Plymouth Harbor. Further down the coast, one finds Millstone I and II, which have proven themselves to be disasters waiting to happen. Long Island Lighting Company (LILCo) is nearly done with its construction of the Shoreham nuke. There are three nuclear power stations operating on the Connecticut River. We in New England have no alternative but to shut them all down. You can run, but you sure can't hide! We are at Seabrook because it stands to all the world as a symbol of the will of the people over the fist of authority.

In October, 1979 thousands of people went to Seabrook to show the state and the profiteers that we are committed to stopping nuclear power before it stops us. The threat of arrest and repression was and will be no deterrent. In several attempts to gain access to the construction site, we met police violence, adverse weather conditions and the occasional frustrations of our own political-process. We learned a lot there and strengthened our resolve to keep the Seabrook area — and the world — safe and free for those who make it their home.

People have been going to Seabrook for years with one common goal: to put an end to construction of the death machine. The people of Seabrook have exhausted every 'legal' avenue open to them. It has become clear that we must take extraordinary steps; due process has gotten us nowhere. This spring we will again attempt to occupy the construction site. We will also blockade the plant gates, allowing access only to ambulances and ourselves. We must make it clear to those who would control our existence that we will no longer stand by and watch them destroy our lives, our future, our planet. We will not let them place profits above the health, safety and lives of the people of the earth. Together we will stop the nukes ourselves.



THE COALITION FOR DIRECT ACTION AT SEABROOK

After the accident at Three Mile Island, a direct action task force was formed within the Clamshell Alliance. Although the idea of direct action had always been part of the Clamshell's overall strategy against nuclear power, TMI made it clear that the time for discussion was past and action could no longer be put off. The Direct Action Task Force served to pull together many people within the Clamshell Alliance, along with people from all over the Northeast who saw the need to act, to seize control of our lives, and to show the politicians and the industry that what they will not do, we would.

Out of this task force grew the Coalition for Direct Action at Seabrook, which acted as a national coalition for many people who believe in taking control "ourselves" and directly confronting nuclear proliferation. In our action, we incorporated our commitment to decentralized planning, the idea of judging our action on the basis of its direct effect on the plant, and our conviction that the State's interest and that of the nuclear industry are identical. Relying on a purely symbolic act, we could never shut the nuke down. We would act ourselves to stop it!

In the course of organizing the Oct. 6 Direct Action Occupation nearly 80 groups came together to form a Direct Action national network. This community which grew out of organizing and direct action at Seabrook continues to function today. The May 24th Direct Action Occupation/Blockade is the next step towards realizing our goal of **SHUTTING IT DOWN OURSELVES.**



COLLECTIVE NON-VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION

Our name states our purpose: we are a coalition for direct action at Seabrook. By direct action we mean acting ourselves to stop construction of the Seabrook plant. We will not appeal to or recognize the legitimacy of state and corporate authority — currently a wealthy white male elite. An action that brings pressure to bear on existing structures to implement change may accomplish a short term goal. But such an action still leaves those structures intact and reinforces our dependence on them. Direct action, on the other hand, empowers those participating while accomplishing a specific goal. For many of us a sense of anger initially compels us to act. How do we translate that anger into constructive action and avoid dissipating it dangerously and futilely? Through the process of shutting down Seabrook we can learn about finding our collective strength and taking back control of many other aspects of our lives.

Issues of how to achieve strength of purpose and control of one's life without in turn becoming an oppressor have been addressed by many feminists and other political theorists. Collective direct action which incorporates decentralized control can give us first hand experience at doing just that. Throughout history people have struggled against constraints imposed by a society that relegates us to categories (whether race, sex, economic standing, sexual preference or others) and then discriminates against us according to those categories. We are all victims of an oppressive society that pits us against each other to prevent our working together to take power into our own hands.

But we can work together to free ourselves. We are starting by taking direct action against the nuclear menace. By occupying the Seabrook site and blockading access to it we can stop construction by our physical presence. That presence is dependent on our individual commitment and our collective strength.

Every week more accidents confront us with the urgency to act. Our sensibilities may soon be dulled by nuclear atrocities: Three Mile Island was followed by Church Rock and the next major disaster may be a total meltdown. In the past the anti-nuclear movement has had to raise public awareness of the dangers of nuclear energy and the centralized control of power. In the last year, however, the political and social crisis developing around the question of energy has accomplished years of educational work. People are more sceptical; many more are angry. The criminal irresponsibility of the government and utilities over the TMI accident was not easily covered up. Former workers at the Hanford, Washington nuclear waste site are coming forward to testify on continual leaks and cracks covered up by officials in the past.

The oil companies' manipulation of the heating oil supply in order to charge exorbitant prices was moderated by a mild winter. But if next winter is colder the fabricated "energy crisis" will leave many people without heat. The worldwide political "crisis" brings our country perilously close to a nuclear war. Clearly we cannot leave control of our lives and future in the hands of profiteers, bureaucrats and politicians.

On Oct. 6th thousands of people came to Seabrook to participate in an attempted occupation. In spite of violence-baiting and distortion of our action on the part of members of the media, many Americans seem to have understood why we were there. N.H. CBS polled southern N.H. residents before Oct. 6th and found that 66% approved of our tactics as well as our intent. Although in October we did not establish ourselves on-site, those of us who participated learned significant lessons about tactics, strategy and working collectively. We are ready to try again with experience and more people.

We feel a plant site occupation with simultaneous blockade is the best form of collective direct action at Seabrook for these reasons: A site occupation/ blockade offers a location where thousands of people can gather to block one aspect of the nuclear system without violence. Further, it graphically puts into focus the question of property versus human rights: Does the energy monopoly have the right to risk our health and well-being for the sake of its profits? In addition it can provide the time and place for us to establish a living example of our desire for a world based on safe, renewable forms of energy. Tactically the occupation and blockade should work well in support of each other. Also, a blockade of the gates to the plant along Rt. 1 will bring direct action into the center of Seabrook and involve more local residents.

We chose the Seabrook site for this occupation not only

because many of us live near it but also because Seabrook has been the point of departure for new phases of the anti-nuclear movement. The Seabrook nukes are the heart of New England utilities' strategy to maintain their monopoly over the production of electricity. Growth in demand for electricity is so low that building the Seabrook nukes will enable utilities to block serious investment in wind and hydro-power, cogeneration and other decentralized sources of electricity which are already economically feasible today. And even if a nuclear moratorium prevents more plants from being started, we will still be left with the burden of Seabrook. But though our first focus is Seabrook we hope the successful stopping of construction there will initiate a direct action anti-nuclear movement across the country so that together we can shut them all down.



Non-Violence

We have chosen to act directly and non-violently to end the violence of nuclear power and the system that fosters it. Our commitment to non-violence in this action means that we carry no weapons and that we refrain from all threats and acts of violence despite provocation. Non-violence does not exclude tactical and logistical planning; this is an integral part of the collective process of preparing ourselves. Non-violence does mean that, though we do not seek to be hurt, we are willing to take risks in order to achieve our goal of shutting down the Seabrook nuke.

The decision to take non-violent direct action is more than a decision to simply refrain from violence. We have chosen to act collectively, relying on our commitment to our goals and to each other, rather than on military strength and leaders. Our non-violence is not a passive thing, nor is it a sign of weakness. It is a way of action both powerful and empowering.

All of us see non-violence as tactically powerful. Many hold non-violence as a moral principle. Though our reasons may differ, we tend to agree on the following:

To the greatest extent possible, we want the methods of our struggle to embody the world we are trying to create, a world of reverence for all life and respect for the individual. **Whatever our political backgrounds, we agree that at this time, non-violent direct action is the best means of eliminating nuclear power.**

Following are some reasons people have chosen non-violence:

- we live in a violent society — not only open political violence and the threat of violence on which the system is based, but also the violence in the media, street and home, which we are trained to accept and even applaud — and in resisting that system, we must resist violence;
- we choose to take the risk of violence on ourselves, rather than attempt to do violence to others;

- the power of the state is based on brute force and economic coercion, while our power is based on the internal strength of individuals acting collectively for something we know to be right — non-violent direct action is on **our** terms rather than those of the police/state ;

- it makes no sense to attack when the state's forces are so much stronger;

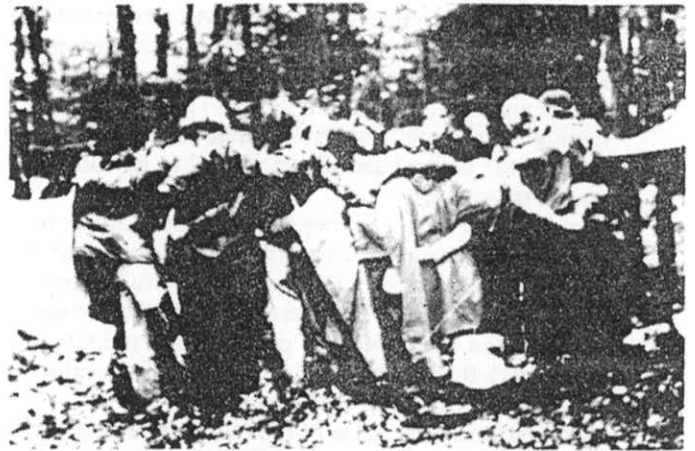
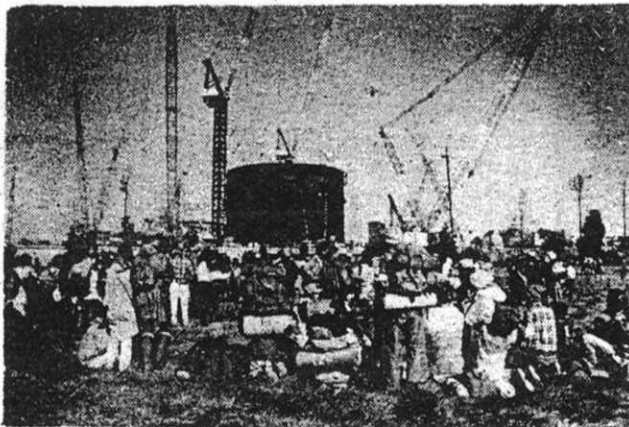
- non-violent tactics, coupled with thorough preparation and trust in each other, can help prevent panic and hysteria in the face of police repression, furthering our chances for success;

- our desire for a world without nuclear power, exploitation and all forms of oppression, leads us to act in a way that is powerful yet does not harm people.

For many, non-violent direct action also includes attempting to communicate with those opposing us. While we recognize and condemn the role played by police and others defending the plant, it is important that we continue to respect them as human beings. This does not mean the police are our friends, or that we are relying on our ability to convince the authorities to cease their attacks. It does mean that we try to take our message to all individuals. (This is **not** negotiating with the authorities. It might include such things as leafletting National Guard barracks.) As the result of anti-nuclear actions at Seabrook, numerous persons can no longer be counted on to defend the plant. Every individual who decides not to support construction of the plant is a cause for celebration.

At the same time, we should not become preoccupied with the personal impression we make on our opponents and observers. Three Mile Island and all the accidents before and since, along with our earlier symbolic protests, have given government, corporate and law enforcement officials ample opportunity to consider the hazards of nuclear power and to oppose its development. We recognize that the shifting sympathies of our opponents will not be a primary means by which we achieve our goals. Our motivation for taking this action is a conviction that **we must stop nuclear power**, that we cannot continue to appeal to those in control to change their minds.

We value human life over private property. It is consistent with our goals and non-violent tactics to remove a fence protecting a piece of property whose very existence threatens **all life**. **Once on-site we may use materials or existing construction to aid in our occupation attempt.** This is not an act of violence. On the contrary, it is a positive step toward transforming a nuke which does violence to life on this planet into a community which meets human needs.



We recognize the possibility that our peaceful actions may be met with violence. But we reject the notion that we are responsible whenever police act violently. Historically, police violence has seldom been a spontaneous response to protestors; rather it has been the result of orders from above, given when the interests the police were protecting were seriously threatened by the popular resistance. For example, in the October, 1979 Seabrook occupation attempt, police arrived on the scene without badges or identification. It seemed quite clear that they had orders to disperse us, and at the very least an understanding that the use of "excessive force" was acceptable. This was the first time an anti-nuclear action in this country has been met with such violent police repression. Despite our inexperience with such situations, we were able to act collectively and non-violently, to help each other and to continue working toward our goals.

There will always be those who tell us that we are weak, or cowards, for choosing non-violence, and those who call us violent, and blame us for any violence which may occur. It is important to remember that we have made a positive choice to act in the way we see as best, and to maintain faith in ourselves, each other and our non-violent actions.



Acting Collectively

The collective nature of the May 24th action demands personal responsibility and commitment to the group while allowing each individual to act creatively at his/her level of ability and choice. In order for us to act together with confidence it is essential that each individual and affinity group:

- be clear beforehand about what they can and will do as part of the action;
- recognize that we depend on each other to follow through on those commitments to the best of our abilities.

Late arrivals to the Coalition should study the nature of the action carefully before choosing whether or not to participate. As a coalition we're planning and preparing for this action with the idea that non-hierarchical relationships and efficient work are not mutually exclusive.

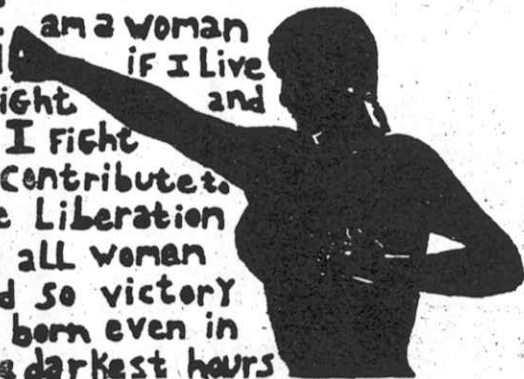
An action on the scale of the planned occupation/blockade allows room for many different kinds of activities to work in support of each other. Fence take-downs and blockading are not the only tasks at hand. Communications, transportation, maintaining the support camp, late arrival preparation sessions, work in the home regions, medical aid, and work connected with the Organizing Community are some other examples of essential work to be done.

But it is important to recognize the greater risks involved for those of us blockading or attempting to take the site. Blockaders and occupiers will rely on other participants for full support of any of their actions consistent with our collective decision.

Finally, the marsh and the plant gate are not appropriate places to air philosophical differences about tactics or non-violence. During the action we need to remember the urgency of our purpose and encourage each other to do our best.

When the ingenuity and determination of each of us works together within the framework of our plan we will certainly be strong enough to blockade and occupy the site.

I am a woman
and if I live
I fight and
if I fight
I contribute
to the liberation
of all women
and so victory
is born even in
the darkest hours



FEMINISM AND DIRECT ACTION



The struggle against sexism and the socialized oppression of women is seen by many feminists as demanding the abolition of patriarchy, including ending domination of women through physical brutality, specialized sexual roles, and the institutionalized acceptance of authority. While we may not all agree on the means and ends of patriarchy, we have found, as many feminists have known for years, that the most effective means of challenging the authority necessary to the nuclear state and the oppression of all people, is through collective direct action. As we act against the nuclear establishment, we are invariably struck by the common principles inherent in both feminism and direct action. The political and social reality of direct action extends far beyond specifically-defined events — it encompasses everything we do, every day of our lives. It demands the liberation of all women and all men through processes which encourage personal autonomy and freedom within the context of collective living and working. It is through feminism and direct action that we maintain the hope of destroying the social and economic inequalities rooted in the authoritarian power-based relationships which foster sexism, nukes, etc.

We must build on the revolutionary capacity of direct action by turning our changes in consciousness into changes in action. Sexism cannot be eliminated simply by ensuring women's participation in a sexist society. Legislation will not transform society in any meaningful way — it only gives women the "right" to participate in the male-dominated hierarchical economy. We need more than inadequate measures of reform which only feebly guarantee the survival of female consciousness and influence. Feminism is a long-term process through which we help each other unlearn passivity and learn instead to take direct control over our own lives and bodies. We do this through the formation of mental and concrete alternatives to the way things are. Direct action which is carried out through non-oppressive structure and process requires changing the way we think, live, and work together. Fighting collectively against the nukes to protect the lives we love is a positive and powerful way of synthesizing the "feminine" and "masculine" into a whole human being — strong and loving, sane and sensitive, productive and playful. Society reinforces persistent polarities between passive and aggressive, work and play, rationality and sensuality. What we are left with is a system which pits us against each other as we struggle to survive the oppression we all feel. We need to challenge these assumptions as directly as we challenge the nukes.

Stopping a nuclear plant takes all of our creative initiative. It takes direct action on the part of unmanipulated and autonomous individuals through collective political confrontation. From this we can build a community of people dedicated to the collective healing of our wounds of oppression which individuals have suffered in isolation for centuries.

DIRECT ACTION IN HISTORY

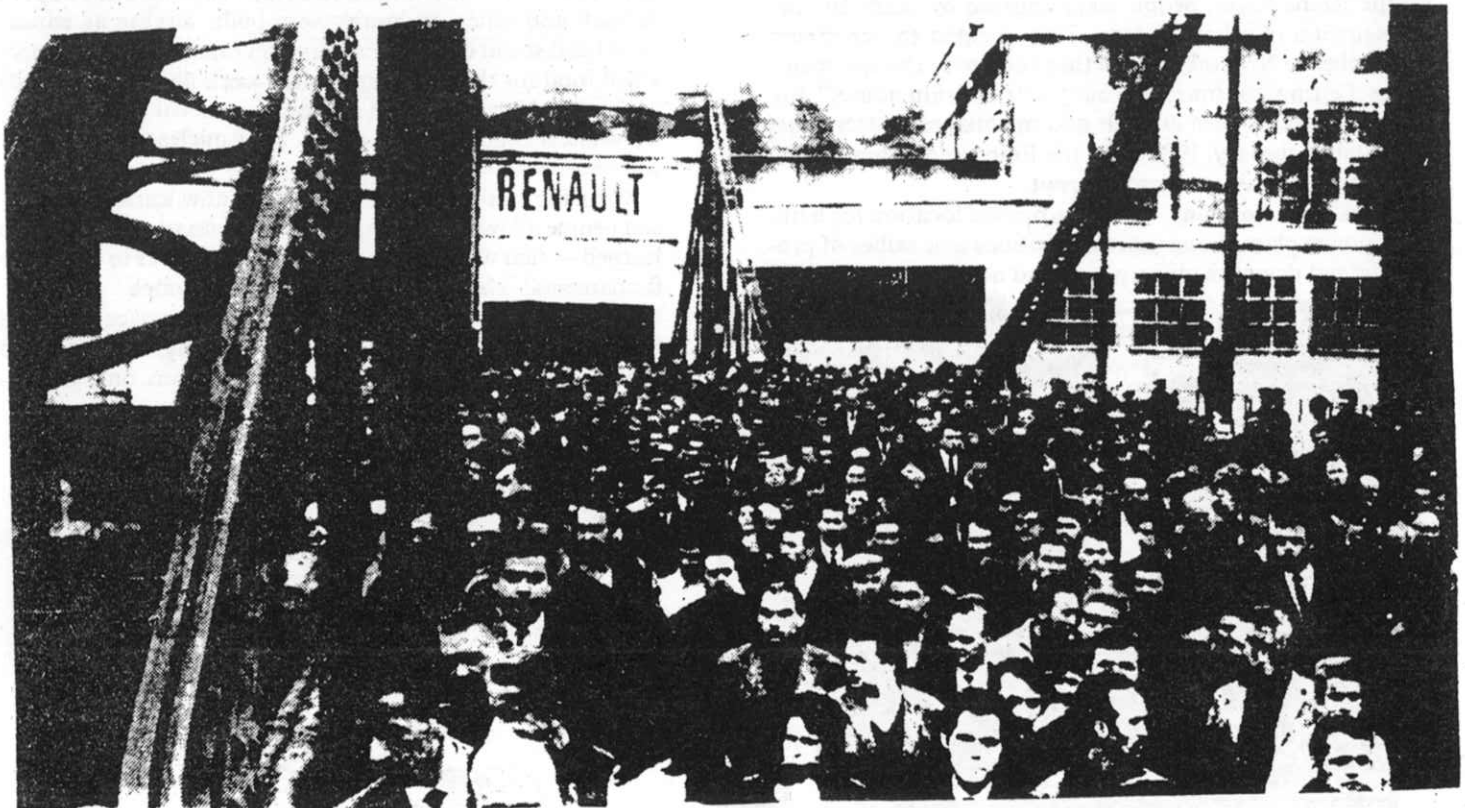
The idea that people can and should act directly on their own behalf is not a new idea. In fact, it happens all the time, usually overlooked or intentionally ignored by establishment journalists and historians. The Diggers of 17th century England, for instance, were starving and ill-housed people who had been deprived of their land and forced into squalid urban slums. Their response was to plant and harvest their own crops illegally on private or government lands — and to organize appropriate defenses. In recent years, the poorer neighborhoods of many New England cities (and elsewhere, too) have been the sites of “eviction blockings” — when someone is threatened with eviction, friends and neighbors gather to physically obstruct or prevent it. In several cities, collectives of people have seized abandoned buildings from their absentee landlords and worked to make them livable. These “squatter” movements have created some of the most developed experiments in community-based self sufficiency, including renewable energy production and inner city farming.

Eviction blocking has also occurred on a wide scale among American farmers. Many farmers were faced with bankruptcy during the Dustbowl era, due to low food prices and low crop yields. Since they had no cash to pay off their mortgages, they were threatened with foreclosure and repossession by the banks. The farmers would sometimes break up the foreclosure auctions, preventing eviction and re-sale. Alternatively, friends of the owner would bid \$1.00 to recover the farm in question. Anyone attempting to bid higher would be silenced, physically if need be. Direct action

coupled with the strength of the farming community prevented or at least delayed the centralization of agriculture in the hands of agribusiness.

In 1937, the Flint, Michigan employees of General Motors invented the sit-down strike. After other tactics in their struggle for union recognition had failed, they voted to occupy the factories, and to live inside until their demand was met. During the sit-down, all strikers met together daily to plan and organize the tasks that had to be done. The sit-downs spread rapidly to other GM plants; with the help of much outside support, the sit-down strikers achieved their goal. Of special interest here is the Women's Emergency Brigade (portrayed in the film “With Babies and Banners”), which was a group of supporters (primarily wives and mothers of the sit-downers) organized especially to defend the occupied factories from police attacks.

Simultaneously with the sit-downs, Spanish workers and peasants, organized by the anarchist-inspired CNT (National Federation of Labor) were taking over their workplaces and running them themselves, without bosses and without the profit motivation. Within two days of the July 19, 1936 fascist *coup*, the streetcars, buses and subways of Barcelona were re-opened under workers' management. Eventually 70% of all enterprises in the province of Catalonia were seized and operated by their employees, including manufacturing, agriculture, and even cinemas and barber-shops! Although they varied widely from industry to industry and place to place, the self-managed enterprises generally established a closer equality of wages and collective decision-making about what to produce and how to produce it. Some groups, especially in the countryside, attempted to live communally, and to abolish money in their regions. In all, millions of people participated in these events.



France, May 1968. Occupied!

Direct action has not always arisen only from the workplace. In 1968 students all over the world occupied their campuses, partly in protest of the Vietnam War. The most active, perhaps, were the French. An almost trivial dispute over dormitory living conditions mushroomed into a movement of occupations in which millions of students, workers, and in fact almost everyone stopped their daily routine, took over the schools and factories (the most natural places to meet, after all) and publicly challenged the necessity of a repressive and alienating society. All of the forces of the establishment, including the trade unions and the Communist and Socialist parties, condemned the occupations, and joined together in a campaign to get people to, above all, go back to work. Eventually they were successful, but the memory and practice of direct action lingers on, reappearing in the most diverse situations.

The Australian dockworkers, for instance, after they had stated their opposition to uranium mining, refused to load uranium into ships bound for other countries. This tactic, called "hot cargo," was also widespread in the Scandinavian countries when dockworkers there, acting in solidarity with the United Farmworkers of America, refused to unload non-union grapes and lettuce. The workers' movement and the environmental movement again found joint expression in the Green Bans. This was the decision by the Australian construction unions not to work on projects that were deemed harmful to the environment. They later expanded the concept to include projects considered undesirable for any reason. Fishermen of the Japanese port of Sasebo, worried about dangers to their livelihood, blockaded a nuclear-powered warship with their fishing boats in an attempt to force the government to move the nuclear facility elsewhere.

In Markolsheim, France, in a region bordering Germany on the Rhine River, people were angered by plans for the construction of a lead factory. They decided to act. From September to November, 1974 they took over the site themselves. During that time, they built a "friendship house," dug wells, brought in farm animals and maintained a stronghold there until February, 1975 when the French government was forced to withdraw the plant's permit.

Wyl, West Germany, was the proposed location for a nuclear power plant. Long years of petitions and rallies of protest did not deter the utility plans, and on February 17, 1975



This sitdown, in March, 1937, at a St. Louis Chevrolet plant, was one of hundreds that month. Workers organized elaborate defenses, food supply, and entertainment as part of the sitdowns.

Japanese women took over the streets to oppose the construction of the Narita airport, near Tokyo. This project was considered threatening to the rural farming population.



construction was to begin. It had to be stopped. Several hundred people went to the site and blocked bulldozers, preventing construction for the day. The police used hoses and arrests to disperse the crowd. But the following week, 28,000 people returned to the site from all over Germany and from the French region of Alsace. They overwhelmed the police, who were forced to withdraw.

A bustling "village" was maintained there for more than a year. The Wyl Wald Volkshule (the Wyl Woods People's School) and other structures were built, serving as educational and social centers. Farming on (and off) the site provided food for the occupiers. After work and on weekends people would gather on the site to discuss local issues and offer whatever support they could. That nuclear power plant was never built.

We in the anti-nuclear movement are now learning the lesson people all over the world, in many situations, have also learned — that we can depend only on ourselves to make the fundamental changes necessary to guarantee our own health and safety, and further to guarantee peace and well being for all. We know now that petitioning, lawsuits, and symbolic actions don't work. October 6th was only the beginning. Let's get on with it!



AFFINITY GROUPS, PREPARATION AND CLUSTERS



Why prepare affinity groups for the action? Using an affinity group structure to mobilize a large action, we address a major drawback of 'mass' political organizations in our experience. The giant anti-nuclear rallies of 1979 did not differ from society at-large in their fundamental disempowerment of participants. We form affinity groups to combat the alienation of the system we live in, transforming individual powerlessness into the possibility of direct action. People express their opinions, emotions and goals best in small groups of trusted friends. The commitment of these individuals to each other can create a real unity among a large number of affinity groups, unlike the top-down unity of a centralized party or bureaucracy. Spokespeople from affinity groups meet to coordinate their group's feelings and actions into a collective whole (see DECISION MAKING). With this structure, we are working to build new anti-authoritarian forms of human organization.

Preparation brings people together to participate in the action, but it does not provide a ready-made commitment to May 24th. It does start affinity groups on a trajectory of **self-preparation** which is the essence of their effective participation in the action. The idea of an organization based on decentralized political collectives was first practiced by the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI) of affinity groups in pre-Civil War Spain. In the late 1930's, affinity groups and production collectives successfully fought to remove communities, factories and farms from central government control. In the anti-nuclear movement, affinity groups form from like-minded people who may share a common interest, place of work or residence. Or they may only have come to the same preparation session — the affinity is based on more than circumstantial factors, and some groups formed spontaneously in this way have remained together through several actions. While they form around a commitment to a particular action, they often take on the life of on-going organizing collectives which address more local needs. New cooperative and non-sexist relationships can develop among members as they educate themselves and their communities about the dangers of nuclear power, demonstrate alternative energy sources under community control, and organize clusters of new groups for upcoming actions. Spontaneous and visible local pickets, sit-ins and merry pranks against outposts of the nuclear/oil industry and its allies are ideal for developing the essential skills for actions on a larger scale.

Many affinity groups have disbanded after large actions, which reflects the superficial degree of participation that we have achieved up to now. But CDAS contact groups are ongoing in those areas where the concept of direct action has taken root in local projects. We have chosen Seabrook as our focus because of its symbolic and real significance to the nuclear industry, but we are also engaged in confronting oppression in all aspects of our lives. While the threat of police violence at Seabrook is a powerful and concrete image of our need for collective action and cooperative support, the daily violence of radiation and of private property must be countered in the same way. Direct action is the initial goal for affinity groups working to de-mystify the power behind social life; it leads to the more important result of defeating that power behind nuclear power and replacing it by the self-determination of all peoples.

Confronting Our Own Oppression In Affinity Groups

In preparing ourselves to act against the nuclear state, we should start by examining our links to other struggles against oppression by sex and sexual preference, age, race and class. Past anti-nuclear rallies and actions have seen bad feelings and threats/acts of violence against gays, blacks and women. It is not a matter of "crowd control" at huge spectator events, but of raising our own consciousness to prevent abuses and strengthen cooperative relations. Part of our process must be to call each other out on these issues because these, no less than private property and nukes, are forms of violence. To free society from nukes we must free the enslaved minds that created them. We can begin by accepting a responsibility to change ourselves.

In our affinity groups we must recognize the existence of these problems and give time to consider our feelings and the connections between them and the nuclear industry. Within regions we can form support groups to share experiences of oppression and liberation. A safe place to shed alienation helps us deepen our unity with others. We must bring up our position in the Coalition at large, and in our living and working spaces.

Before we reach Seabrook, we can start to build our community if we learn the need to recognize our own needs and reach out to fill the needs of others, respect and trust each other despite differences, initiate and resolve creative conflict. Anti-nuclear direct action is one variety of self-empowering struggle that challenges all forms of oppression.



Members of a Spanish Civil War ag

Organizing Affinity Groups for May 24th

The following outlines our usual method for preparing people for direct action. It is based on our experiences before October 6th and on several critiques and evaluations of our preparations; clearly the regions will adapt it depending on the size of the region, urban or rural character, distance from New England, time before May 24th, etc. Those interested in doing preparation work are welcome at the Coalition-wide workshops for skills-sharing and new information, to be held March 1-2 and April 19-20 (locations to be announced). participating groups from October 6th should review the new tactics/strategy for May 24th and actively form clusters in their areas.

Public orientations, if well publicised by posters, public service announcements and leafletting, can be educational and bring many people into the action. Scheduling these meetings regularly is helpful in large communities. If orientation and political discussions are conducted in large open meetings first, preparation sessions which follow can be completed in three hours. **Resources:** speakers for each topic, films or slide shows, leaflets and **HANDBOOKS** to be sold with a percentage supporting the regional organization. There are slide shows and a film of October 6th, as well as the Why! film "Better Active Today Than Radioactive Tomorrow" available (one slide show from L.I. Clamshell, the rest from Boston CDAS).

Issues to be covered:

- introduction to CDAS
- the case against the Seabrook nukes
- explanation of direct action
- political necessity of direct action
- description of October 6th and review of major strategy additions for May 24th
- outline of tasks before, during and after May 24th, and the different levels of commitment involved.

Things to accomplish:

- sale of handbooks
- sign-up of interested people for preparation sessions scheduled at different times. Anyone who **might** be a blockader, occupier, support camp person or ongoing regional organizer should choose a session and give their name and phone number. A 30 person per session maximum is suggested, with two preparers facilitating. **EVERYONE SHOULD READ THE HANDBOOK CAREFULLY BEFORE THEIR SESSION.**

Affinity group formation/preparation sessions use the handbook as the basic tool. The sessions are not lectures, but preparers should begin with an outline of the three major topics and then keep the group to about one hour for each, depending on their needs. Longer sessions give the impression that meeting endurance is our goal. Groups have to develop these topics in their own meetings, and preparers can follow up the group's progress. The most important section is the description of the action itself. The collective effort of our action depends on each affinity group thoroughly understanding it and working out their tactics and understanding their emotional responses. On October 6th we learned the necessity for groups to work well together, make quick choices and function in clusters. Role playing, when treated seriously and pragmatically, can raise the realities of action situations and problems of tactical coordination as well as emotional aspects. Preparers should assist people in deciding their degree of commitment as they learn the whole action, not scare them into peripheral roles by painting isolated risks. By joining any part of the action, groups affirm their agreement with previous Coalition decisions, and are encouraged to participate as fully as possible in the work and decisions that determine the shape of the action from then on.

Resources: 2 preparers, handbooks, large maps.

Topics to be covered:

The nature of affinity groups

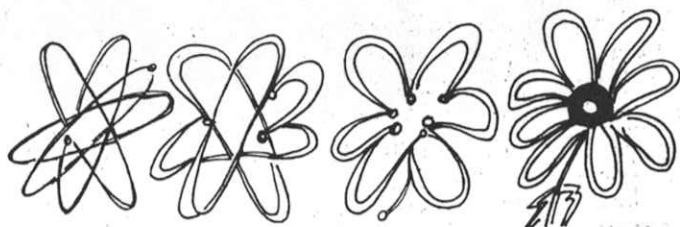
- role of affinity groups in anti-nuclear actions and as potential ongoing sociopolitical collectives
- collectivity, coordination, mutual support, sharing of responsibility and risk
- non-authoritarian, non-sexist working relationships
- decision making process (role play a quick group brainstorm), review spokes' role in the cluster/region, begin to pre-set contingencies during the action

The action

- goals and intentions
- collective strategy
- fence take-down and blockade tactics
- the threat of police violence, individual fears and the protective function of the group; the creative and empowering potential of confrontation
- non-violent and collective responses to violence
- role play of a confrontation (based on experience), followed by a critical evaluation
- clarification of roles (time commitments, levels of risk)
- necessary equipment and supplies

Getting involved (after dividing meeting into affinity groups)

- description of May 24th task groups and contacts
- exchange names and phone numbers of members
- set time and place of next meeting
- brainstorm of the group's goals in the action and the work in organizing the region
- address group's responsibilities (transportation to Seabrook, equipment and supplies, medic, support, regional spoke, contact for updates from regional mailing, etc).



WHAT WE CAN'T
DO ALONE
WE CAN DO
TOGETHER



Cluster formation

As October 6th approached, it became clear that single affinity groups could not act strategically, given the dense groupings of occupiers necessary to implement our collective tactics. Also, it proved impossible to conduct Coalition-wide meetings by affinity groups spokes without paralysis. Therefore clusters need to form from 5-10 affinity groups or 75-100 people on the basis of agreed-to roles and levels of commitment to the action, and also to empower (rotating) spokes to represent the cluster during the action. Some people believe that the best clusters contain one or two groups of long experience and several newer groups (especially those formed within a month of the action). Others feel that they want to cluster only with "old timers" so that the lowest common denominator is consistently high. Groups from small regions may need to come to New England up to a week before the action to form *ad hoc* clusters and practice tactical coordination. The Seabrook CDAS organizing community will help to prepare individuals and groups who arrive early.

Resources: actual equipment, real fences to practice on, protective clothing and boots for maneuvers.

Practice of coordinated tactics:

- fence take-down
- "layering" (see THE ACTION)
- blockading/barricading
- non-violent collective responses
- rescue of others from police
- quick tactical choices

Review and allotment of organizational tasks:

- transportation
- gathering equipment and supplies
- staging grounds
- support task force drawn from each affinity group
- medical task force from each affinity group
- coordination with other clusters (if any) in the region

Decision making:

- level of commitment and fears/intentions of different groups
- quick decisions and contingencies

Questions for Affinity Groups to Answer (Add Your Own)

THE POLITICS OF DIRECT ACTION

What course has the anti-nuclear struggle taken up to now and what alternative strategies are there to direct action?

What is the political value of confrontation as opposed to persuasion?

How does this difference affect the way we organize ourselves?

What compels us to create new groupings to be effective?

COLLECTIVITY AND NON-VIOLENCE

Are police required to arrest us when we encounter them? What are the constraints on police violence? Can our actions diminish their violent potential?

What are the causes of frustration and panic? Of clarity and strength? When confronted with acts of violence, what is our responsibility to intervene to minimize them? If someone is being seriously hurt? What will we do if we detect individuals or groups that seem to be acting to sabotage meetings/actions of the larger group?

What do we consider the behavior of a provocateur? What is the effect of rumors and hysteria?

How will we act when reaching a line of police? What kind of line? What are the relative merits of chanting and singing?

What forms of action are possible only in large, dense groupings? What events undermine our concentrations of people? What dangers do we run close together, scattered or isolated? What is the role of the affinity group or cluster in maintaining spatial collectivity?

How can we resist arrest/removal non-violently?

What barricade and vehicle tactics will best protect the blockade? What differences in protective strategy are necessary for stationary people?

How will we respond to selective arrests in progress? Completed?

How is a hostile worker different from a national guardsman/state trooper?

If a public road is part of the access route of police or workers, should it be blockaded in the same way as a plant gate?

COALITION BUILDING AND AFFINITY GROUP GATHERING

How can people with different levels of commitment work together?

What are our personal politics, and can an affinity or larger group take a political position?

For what purposes does our affinity group exist apart from Seabrook?

Are there groups in our community which would support or join us? What constituency of people's interests can we address, in raising the larger issues of direct action?

What local agents of the oil/nuclear industry are appropriate targets for small scale direct actions/educational events?

Can we arrange to be in Seabrook a week before the action, or join the Seabrook occupation community even earlier? (See COMMUNITY)

Are there friends with special skills and resources like doctors and welding equipment that could be in Seabrook with us? (See SUPPORT)

Can we be responsible to our whole cluster or region for a simple project like latrines, water purification, garbage recycling or crisis counseling?

THE ACTION

We learned a great deal about anti-nuclear direct action on Oct. 6, even though we didn't permanently stop construction of the Seabrook nukes. We worked together in large numbers to end the nuclear menace ourselves, rather than giving over more control of our lives to the energy monopolies and the state. We proved the anti-nuclear movement can act directly against nuclear plants and remain non-violent in the face of police repression. At times we were unable to act in a totally coordinated fashion, and yet we managed to delay construction and avoid mass arrests. Several thousand people from diverse locations and backgrounds joined together in spirit and action, with the common goal of occupying the plant. We made some mistakes, particularly in our decision making, our communications and in maintaining total collectivity. And now, we're learning and mobilizing for May 24th.

Our aim is to non-violently and collectively end construction of the Seabrook nuclear plants by occupying and blockading the site beginning on May 24th. We'll be doing this by taking down the fences in order to physically occupy the plant, and blockading gates to prevent all traffic, except ambulances, from moving in or out, and if need be, by non-violently resisting arrest.

We are going to Seabrook to prevent the construction of a dangerous product of the American corporate system. The state is protecting the property of that system at the expense of human lives. We will not give over more control to the authorities by negotiating. Instead, we will take direct action, that is, closing down the Seabrook nukes ourselves.

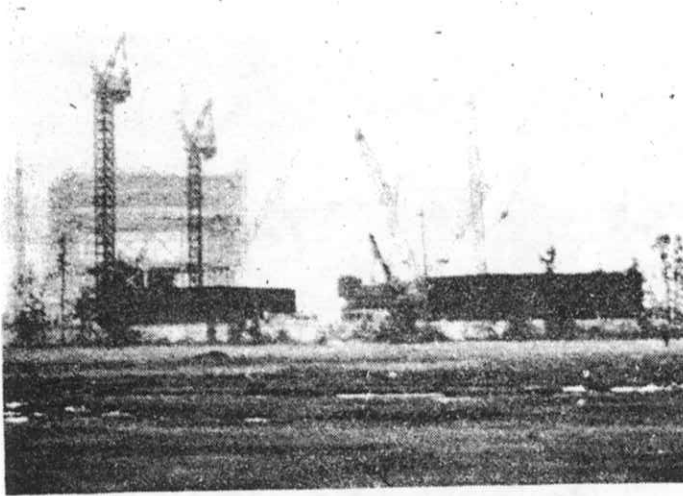
In the past, civil disobedience demonstrations organized by the anti-nuclear movement had as their main purpose the raising of the nuclear issue in the minds of the public. The arrest of hundreds of persons was the central element of these actions. Oct. 6th, though unsuccessful in actually occupying the plant, was a departure from civil disobedience because we were primarily learning how to work together to end nuclear power, rather than appealing to the system and its authorities. The fact that a great deal of media attention, both good and bad, was given to our action is secondary to empowering ourselves to make changes.

On May 24th, our success will not be measured in terms of symbolic value, media impact, nor numbers of arrests. **Our success will be apparent by the extent we can effectively, non-violently, and collectively block construction at Seabrook and build a direct action movement against nuclear power and the social, economic and political systems that produce it.**

Our determination to shut down Seabrook, representing hundreds of millions of dollars in investments, will be met by a higher level of opposition by the authorities than past anti-nuclear actions. This opposition may take the form of intimidation of individuals, violence-baiting in the media to discredit the action, offers of deals or negotiations, disruption of staging and assembly, infiltration, and physical repression. We can face this barrage if everyone, every affinity group, and every regional group takes responsibility for developing our strengths: solidarity, early preparations, and assembling large concentrated numbers. **The key to a non-violent and effective action is in our ability to forge a coordinated organization rather than lapsing into symbolic or diffuse actions and tactics.**

The strategy and framework of the action is an attempt to preserve initiative and variety in a coordinated fashion. Regional groups will make decisions about transportation,

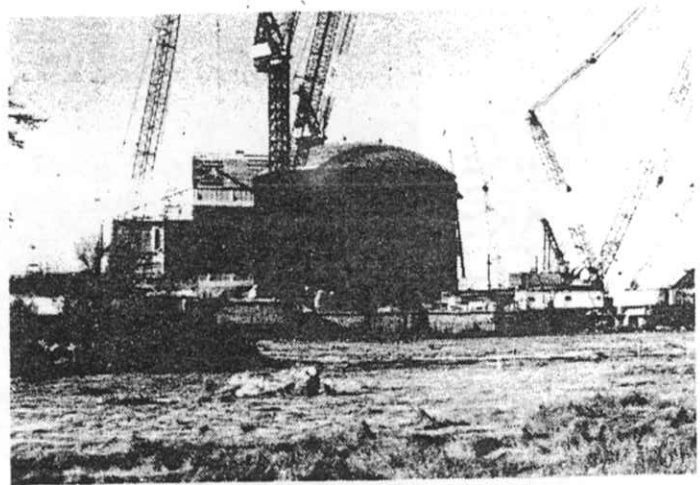




7/79

WE WON'T COLLABORATE IN OUR OWN DESTRUCTION ANY LONGER!

2/80



staging and assembly, as well as destinations and activities. The decisions of regional groups will be coordinated at the Coalition meetings so that **we will concentrate our occupation strength against adjoining sections of the site simultaneously with our pressure at the gates by blockade.**

Throughout the planning of the action, various roles and tasks will be delineated to enable greater numbers of participants with various desires and commitments to participate: medics, drivers, blockaders, occupiers, support teams, communications, and more. We're planning an ongoing organizing community in the area, to work and prepare for May 24th, and to be ready to **initiate a continuing siege should our first attempt be repulsed.** Other supplementary activities with the specific purpose of aiding the Occupation and Blockade may be considered by the Coalition. All of us should consider how we might make our best contribution to the action.

Transportation, Staging, Assembly

Regional groups should develop their own means of transportation (and contingencies in case of disruption) for arrival into the Mass/NH Seacoast area. It will be best, if groups can send a representative or group in advance (as some groups did for Oct. 6th) to participate in completion of preparations and coordination. Groups traveling great distances should try to arrange for their own housing or camping. If this is impossible there will be some camping available for one week before the action but this might be limited.

Donations of land for Staging by NH and Mass. residents have been a graphic statement of solidarity of the local opposition to nuclear power. As in the past, numerous offers have again come from residents for the May 24th direct action. This donated land and any other land we can acquire within walking distance will be our primary staging areas. Each regional group will have a designated camping area.

Recognizing the vulnerability of an action absolutely dependent on the availability of land offered by one or two dozen local residents, back-up staging arrangements are also being prepared. These would be lands within one hour's drive

of the site, with vehicles ready to drive us to **Assembly Points** within walking distance (see maps). Assembly Points are not camping areas, but simply public or semi-public (like wide shoulders connected to vacant fields) spots where we could meet each other in large numbers before approaching the site. Each regional group should have 2 or 3 options for Assembly Points and finalize the choice near the day of the action.

Exact locations for Primary Staging, Back-up Staging, and Assembly Point Options will be coordinated by the Coalition's Logistical Task Force and by regional representatives at Coalition meetings.

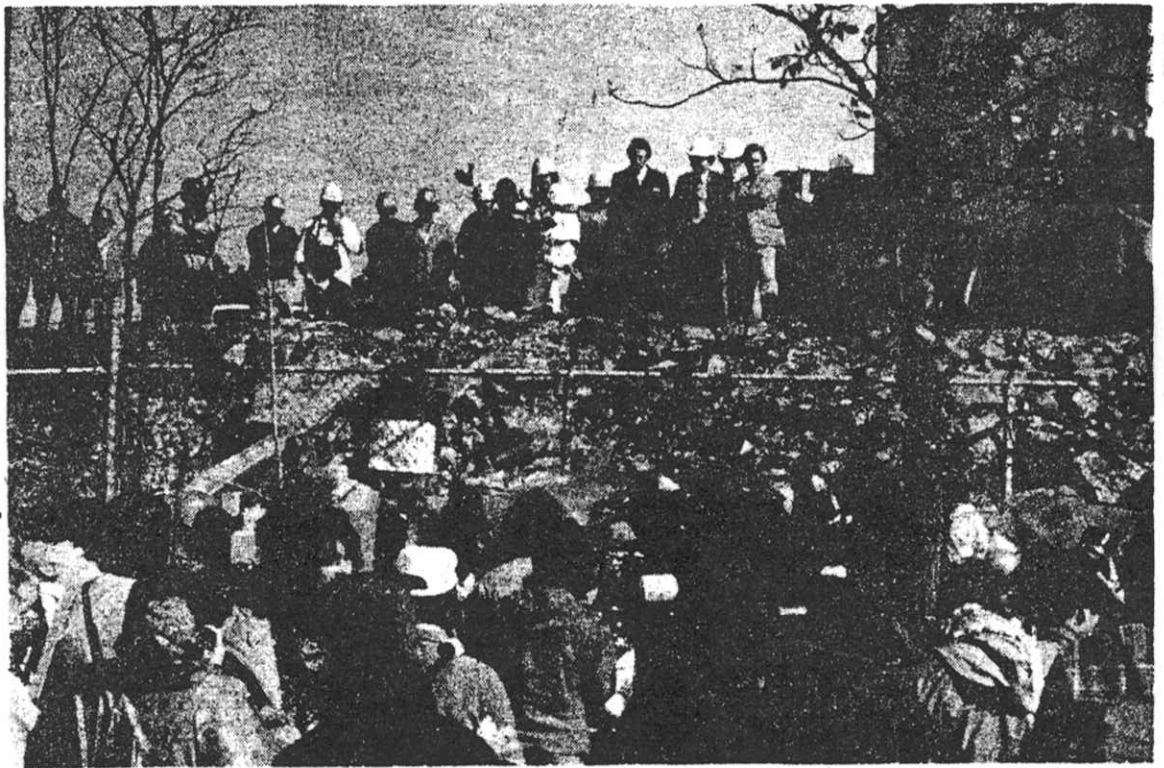
Timing of the action on the weekend of May 24th is still under consideration by the Coalition. Members have pointed out the exhaustion and confusion of initiating the action early in the morning, when some groups have only just arrived, as happened in October. And we'll need time to review strategy and integrate new groups into clusters of a.g.'s (see Affinity Groups). **We have agreed that all participants and support groups should be in the area and ready by May 24th.**

Approaches to the Site

Staging areas will be situated to the North, West, and South, corresponding to the land approaches to the site. **Depending on our numbers, large approach groups composed of regional groups containing numerous affinity groups (i.e. many hundreds of people in each approach) will move towards the site from the areas.** Groups staging from a given area are responsible for establishing routes to their section of the site perimeter, either along the fences or at particular gates. It is quite likely the police may roadblock certain roads and each group should tour the area in advance and prepare a quick method for changing the route or devise a non-violent means by which to cross or by-pass police lines. This might be done by a rapid decision process, on the spot, by prearranging tactics or alternative routes, or by delegating a route tactical team.

WHICH
SIDE
ARE
YOU
ON?

10/6/79
South
Perimeter



Occupation

The overall strategy for Occupation is a mass fence take-down along whole sections of the perimeter, allowing large numbers of people to move onto the site simultaneously. This coordinated fence removal and entry is necessary to avoid subjecting individuals to possible police violence, and to give us all the benefit of our simultaneous presence around the site. By approaching many parts of the site perimeter we'll force the police to spread themselves out. Mass fence take-down can occur at those places along the fence where the police have been unable to maintain concentrated numbers.

This general strategy was not fully carried out on October 6th because of some basic problems. We were unfamiliar with police confrontation tactics at a plant site. The terrain was difficult. There was a widespread lack of understanding of the basic strategy. We mixed participants who were working on fence take-down tactics with those who weren't. And each of these problems lead to varied amounts of disunity in our ranks.

The results in October were diffuse, un-coordinated fence approaches. In fact, we never approached the fence in more than 3 places, and seldom did we act repeatedly. This allowed the police to leave most of the perimeter unguarded. They concentrated their numbers and multiplied their effectiveness because they only had to deal with a few approaches of short duration.

Since we are committed to remaining non-violent, our options are somewhat defined once we are in confrontation with the police. **We must consider creative tactics which can minimize the possibility of violence in confrontation and still allow us to be effective.**

One useful tactic for actual fence take-down is the "layering" of participants according to the tasks they'd like to do at a level of confrontation they're willing to be in. This tactic built up our confidence to act on October 6th in one section of the South Approach and was used as a model for the

Batch Plant approach on Sunday (see the chronology). One way to use "layering:"

Standing back from the fence a good number of yards, we form a continuous line parallel to the fence at least 10 people deep. Those carrying shielding materials like plastic or wood for mace and those with fence take-down equipment make up the front line. Right behind them should be a second line of 'fencers' ready to replace the first group then medics, communications crews, supply carriers and everyone else. We all should wear protective clothing, particularly those closest to the fence. All of us begin to move simultaneously, removing the fence along the perimeter, and in readiness to move onto the site. We should be ready to repeat the approach if we can't immediately move on so the police are constantly spread out.

Clusters should be alert for opportunities that might require spontaneous initiative within the basic concept of aiding large numbers of us to move onto the site.

When our actions become more effective the police may try to intimidate the majority of occupiers by selective brutality against a few of us. Their aim is to force us to retreat. Once they can get the whole group moving, they'll continue aggressively forcing people back. A smaller number of police will then be able to keep us moving while extra police are dispatched elsewhere. **We can diminish the effectiveness of a police assault on us by acting as a group and maneuvering around them, making tactical retreats and rapidly regrouping or holding our ground.** Standing front lines capable of withstanding violence or collectively sitting down are ways to alter a confrontation and prevent a rout. Group rescues should be made of anyone who becomes isolated or singled out. **Whatever our tactics, the longer we can resist one group of police, the better the chances of other occupiers being successful by spreading the authorities out.**

We should take special precautions to prevent anyone from being isolated by forming tight "cells" of 2 or 3 of us

within an affinity group. This can also aid in rescues. On October 6th at one point the police came through gates on the marsh we had left deserted. They attacked two occupiers who were separated from their group. First a few of us and then many linked arms, formed an arc and chanted — expressing our determination and reliance on each other — and then we advanced towards the police. They stopped their brutality and withdrew. The two occupiers safely rejoined us. (For more information see NON-VIOLENT RESPONSES).

We may discover that the authorities have added to existing fencing. Barricades of razor sharp concertina wire, or coiled barbed wire may be set up at a distance in front of chain link fencing to create a buffer zone for the authorities. These can be set up overnight. Coiled wire barricades can be carefully cut with wire cutters or trampled to the ground by throwing wood planking across to compress it.

We'll zone the fence perimeter by regions to help everyone find people they know in the event of chaotic dispersal during approach (see map for color zones). Clusters should try to remain together at all times! Regions should designate regroupment spots away from the fence.

Timing of our initial fence approaches will be established at a later date.


Once on site we'll be using existing materials and construction to aid our occupation and blockade by barricading gates and roads and building shelters (see DIGGING IN). Regional groups should decide in advance what tasks various affinity groups want to work on on-site to turn the Seabrook nukes into a place that places people and their needs over profits and corporate property. Tasks include: food and water, barricade construction, sentry duty, sanitation, shelter, information center, and fun.



Batch 10/7/79
Plant



The fence at Seabrook (as of this writing) is a 6 to 8 foot chain link topped with 3 strands of barbed wire in an outward overhang. On October 6th the bottom was re-inforced in places with interwoven chain link to prevent our lifting it up. Each region should have adequate amounts of tools (we were greatly under-equipped in October) for taking down the fence. We found that 18" bolt cutters were the minimum effective size, and that grappling hooks with ropes or chains were by far the most effective.

S. Access Rd. 


USM Co.


TOWN DUMP, CLEARED AREA

9/79

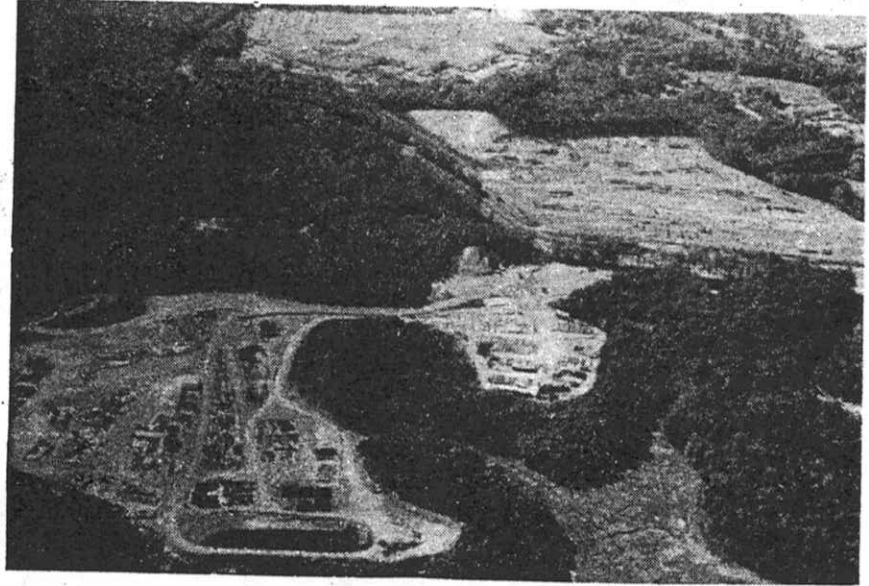
S. South RR. Tracks 

October 6th

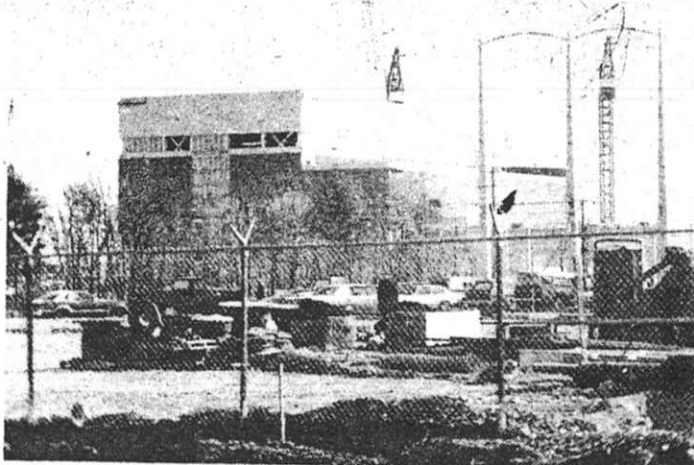
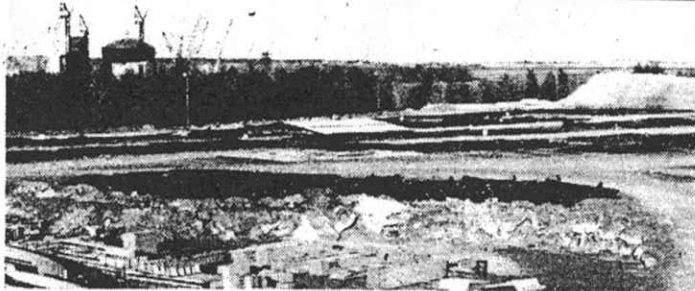
South Staging Area 

Cleared area 

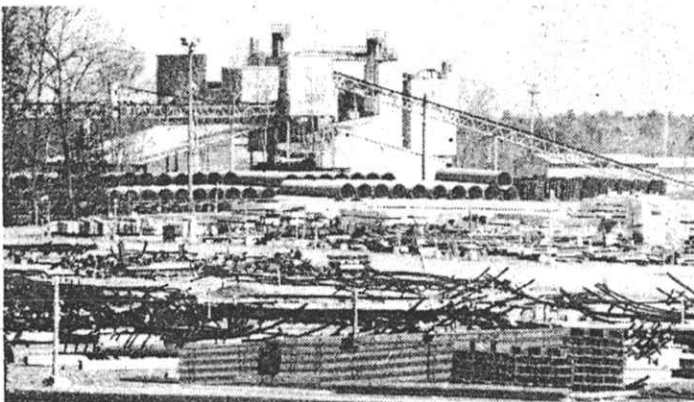
Cleared area 2/80



Batch plant
Visitor's Center



345 KV Termination area, North 2/80



Batch Plant/Storage 2/80

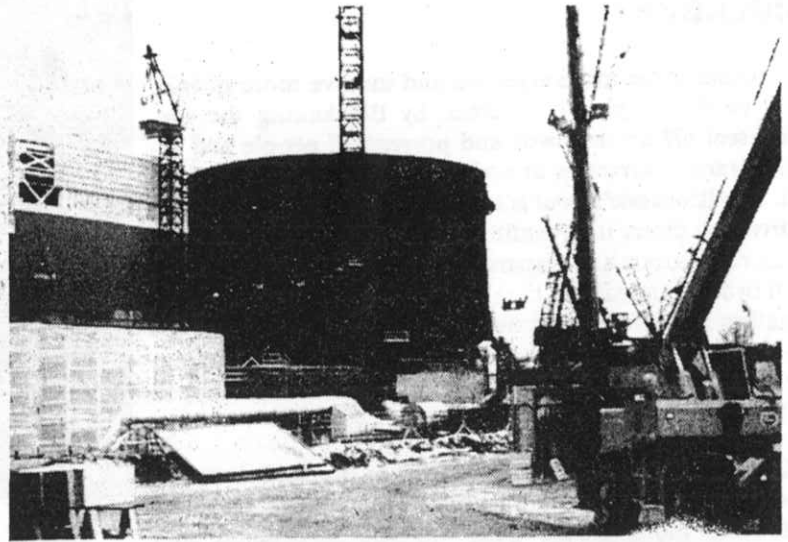
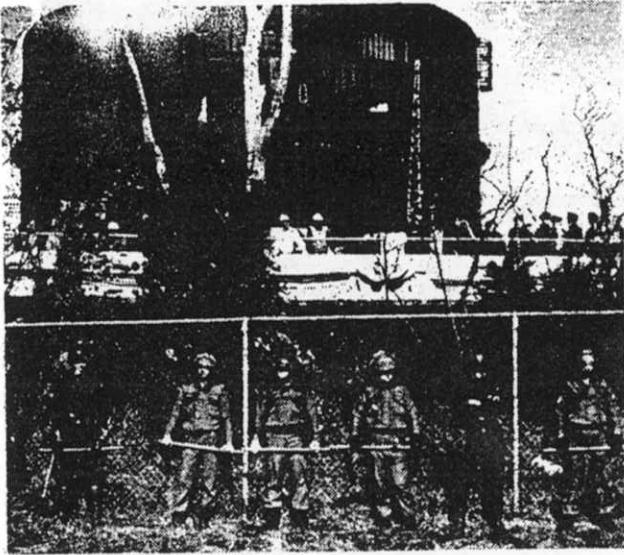
Occupation Destinations

There are three priority levels for areas which can be occupied in order to block further construction of the plant: (see map).

First priority: The core construction area. This contains the construction of both reactor units and vital auxiliary buildings and structures, plus construction offices and equipment, and warehouses for supplies and necessary components. Occupying key sections of this zone is the best place to prevent construction because it would be extremely difficult or impossible to work around us. The marsh land surrounding this area is more difficult to maneuver in than other sections, however it does present a large open perimeter with pockets of wooded land.

Second priority: Non-core, on-site areas. If guards ring the core area fence arm-to-arm, or their dispersal methods make this part of the site unreachable, we should try to occupy other on-site areas vital to construction. These areas are more concentrated geographically than third priority areas and so would be easier to hold. Their disadvantage however is that in some cases work could continue around us. In addition, second priority areas offer another approach to the core construction zone.

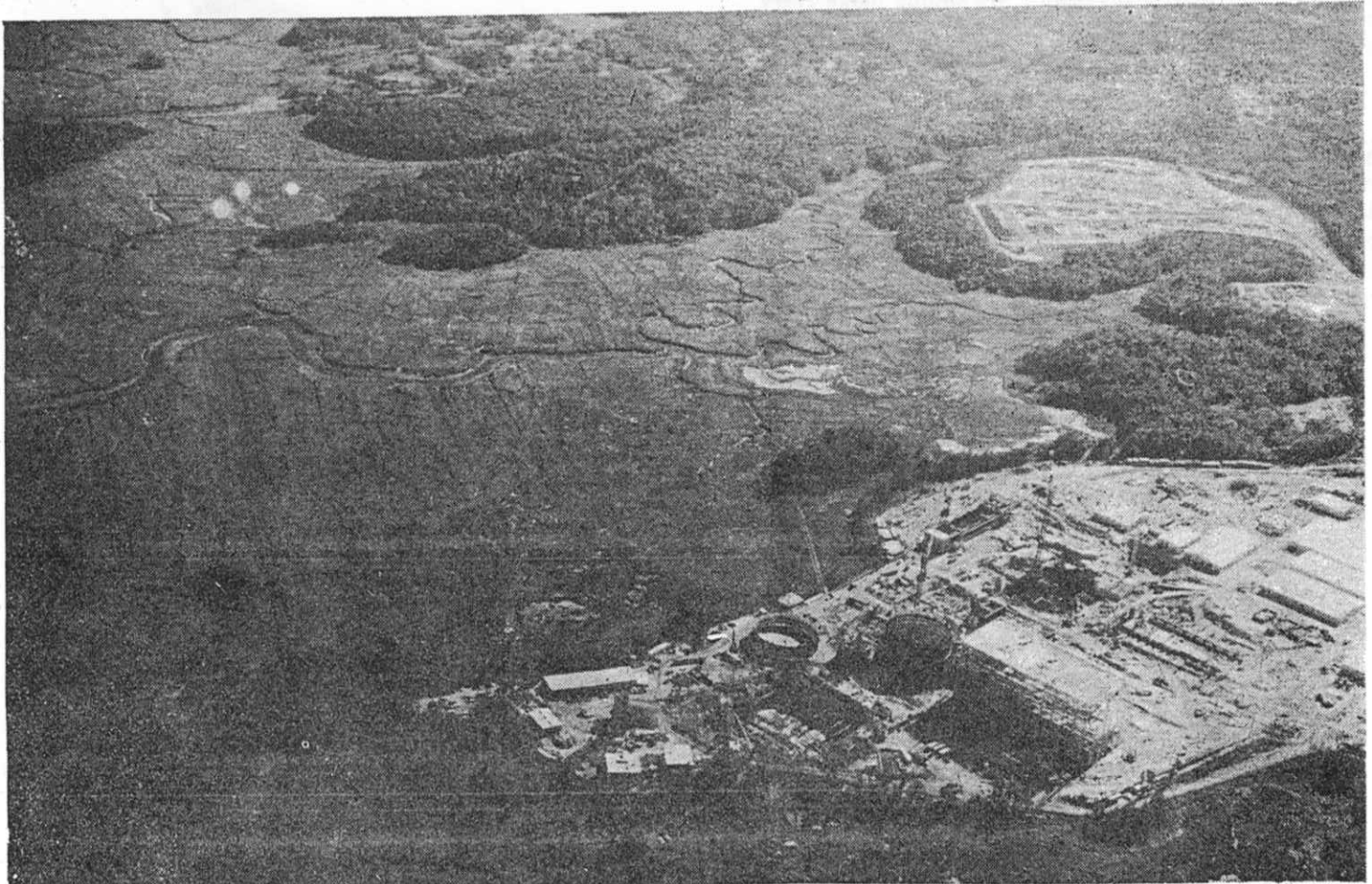
Third Priority: Off-site access blockade. If guards ring the entire perimeter arm-to-arm, occupation groups should join the Blockade efforts, but remain prepared to resume Occupation attempts at another point. Options for new Occupation attempts and co-ordination with the Blockade will be developed in the Coalition meetings. Which approach groups (N,S, or W) will be moving towards which destinations on-site will be co-ordinated at Coalition meetings before the action.



(left) Guards, troopers, in front of fence and 15' Seawall. Though only 300 yards wide, the Seawall is supposed to fend off that "1-in-a-100 year storm." 10/6/79 (right) What they're protecting: Unit #1 construction, with turbine building -now enclosed- to its rear left. 1/80

Canal End of Farm Lane

Cleared area



Eastern tip

Unit #1

CORE CONSTRUCTION AREA: LOOKING SOUTH 9/79

Blockade

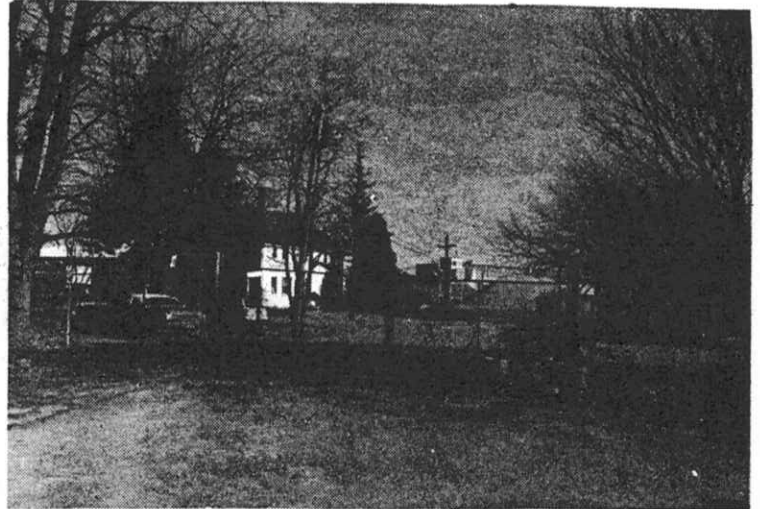
In order to be more effective and involve more people, we'll be diversifying our tactics by Blockading the site. We'll seal off access roads and prevent all people and vehicles (except ourselves or ambulances) from moving in or out. The Blockade's goal is to halt construction by our collective and direct intervention. If necessary we'll non-violently resist arrest and dispersal.

In order to maximize the diversion benefits that the Occupation and Blockade have for each other and to insure co-ordination and clarity within each part of the action, the **Blockade and Occupation will occur simultaneously** in different parts of the site perimeter.

The three main roadways that must be blockaded are the North Gate, the Rocks Rd. gate, and the South Gate all of which are along Route One. We will co-ordinate any blockade at the railroad gates on the North and South with the Occupation groups (see map).

Blockade tactics might include barricade construction (old cars, wood), linking arms, "layering" of Blockaders (see Occupation tactics), use of shielding materials like plastic or wood, chains to lock gates, driving spikes into or removing the pavement to make it impassable to vehicles, tactical retreats and re-advancing. We should make every effort to be creative and effective while minimizing the use of our bodies. All power to the imagination!

The Blockade effort should be able to prevent police shift changes, make arrests of the Occupiers undesirable (vehicles would be paralyzed) and effectively close the plant as a working entity. This will mean blocking workers' access in order to stop construction of the plant. We'll inform workers through leafletting in advance of our intentions and goals, as well as inviting them to call in sick or

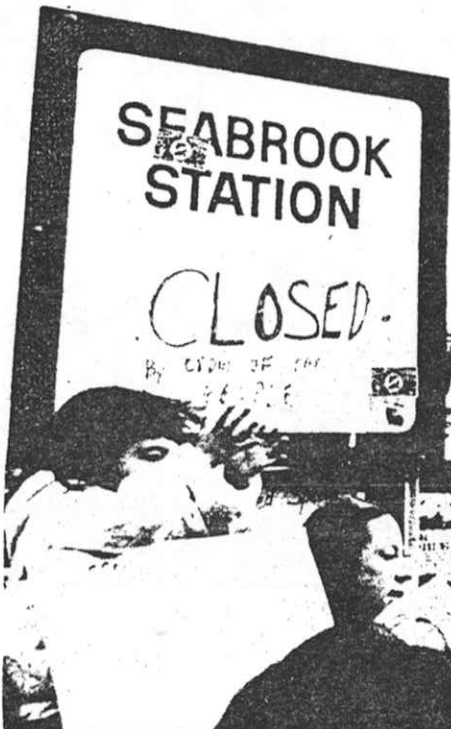
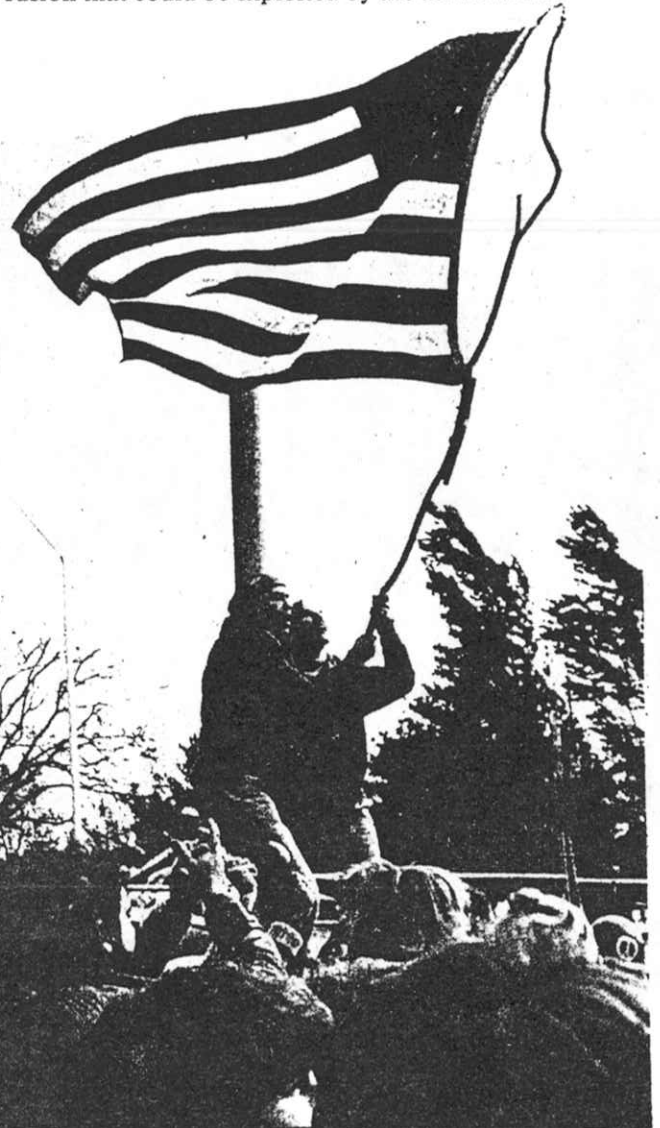


Rocks Rd. Gate 2/80

join us. (See Workers at Seabrook).

The Coalition does not regard the Blockade as entailing less risk than the Occupation part of the action.

Should the opportunity arise to attempt Occupation from the gates (see Priorities and Destinations), everyone should concentrate on co-ordinating tactics to avoid confusion that could be exploited by the authorities.



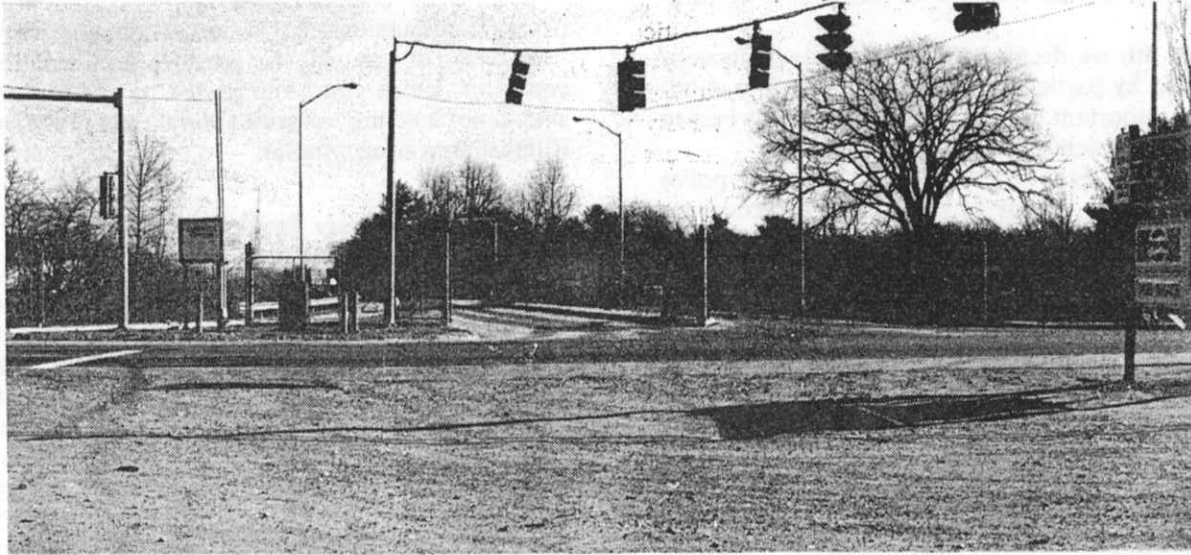


10/7/79 ...On to the Gates



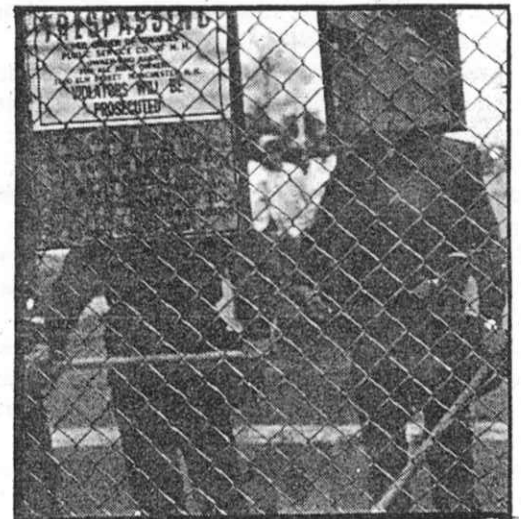
Worker's shift change, South Gate 2/80

North Gate, Rt. 1 2/80



South Gate, Rts. 1 & 107 2/80

10/7/79



North Gate

Equipment

A variety of materials will be of tactical importance:

- wood for marsh crossings (planks)
- plywood for shielding
- grappling hooks and ropes/chains
- chains and locks for gates police may use in addition to main gates
- protective clothing like helmets, gas masks, goggles
- large bolt cutters
- plastic sheets for water and mace shielding
- barricade materials like old cars, etc.
- this handbook and maps
- a song in your heart and a smile on your lips

Communications

Communications are complex for large actions because someone has to formulate the message and someone has to receive and distribute it. What they do to formulate, transmit, and receive is sometimes beyond the control of most participants, especially in high-pressure situations and can result in mistrust of the message or suspicions of infiltration.

On October 6th we decided that if the overall strategy was understood by participants, we only needed to delineate what was important to communicate, and how best to make the procedure democratic:

Flags were used to signal access gained, offensive police tactics, mass arrests, change in priority, and tactical retreat;

Sounds made by everyone upon arrival at fence or changing priority;

Runners relayed information around the entire area.

Walkie-talkies were not included in this 'official' system (except through the Medical Support groups who were autonomous) because of their highly centralized nature and because of the ease with which the authorities could intercept messages — long before most occupiers would have heard them. (This did happen on Oct. 6th when individuals brought walkie-talkies; someone was observed transmitting the proceedings of Sunday's Strategy meetings. Assuming it was friendly communication to our Support camp, our plans were monitored by the authorities before spokes had gone back to their groups.)

Anyone who participated in the October action knows our communication didn't work. To a great extent our system was not well communicated in advance: hardly any collective yelling occurred, and no one brought noise-makers for the sound signals. Flags were unobservable if they were present at all. Runners were our only continuous method, but were everchanging, and often burst into meetings with "urgent" but usually unverifiable messages from other groups.

Communications will be further developed by the Coalition but all participants must consider the task at hand: Creation of a communication system that is relatively reliable, trustworthy and undisruptable by the authorities, and that we, as participants, can have some control over. Stay tuned!



Decision Making

(for a full discussion see Decision Making section)

In terms of strategy, for safety's sake and to prevent confusion which can be exploited by the authorities **we should not hold any co-ordination meetings anywhere there is impending confrontation** — on the marsh, at the gates, etc.

Forthcoming Information

This overview of the action is the foundation of the May 24th Occupation/Blockade. **It is necessary that we establish these prior agreements so that all groups can organize in confidence that we're all acting to enhance each other's work and bring the action to life.** It's the responsibility of Coalition groups to transmit any further refinements to everyone who plans to participate. October 6th supplements were poorly distributed so we're developing a mailing list as well as improving distribution prior to the action. Keep in contact with your local Coalition group or see back cover.

Regional Group Action Checklist

- Transportation to Seabrook area. Back-up?
- Housing/camping in advance for representative/whole group. With friends? Need space?
- Approach group (N, W, S, etc)
- Determine in advance which affinity groups will be participating in Blockade, which in Occupation.
- Staging and back-up (contact Coalition for information).
- Assembly point options.
- Route options to site.
- Fence zone. Regroupment area. On-site destinations (if occupying).
- Blockade which gate?
- Action tasks: Preparers, medics, fencers, equipment crews, support teams, etc.
- Equipment: tools, clothing, supplies.
- Communications (contact Coalition).
- Decision Making (contact Coalition).
- Obtain supplements.

DIGGING IN

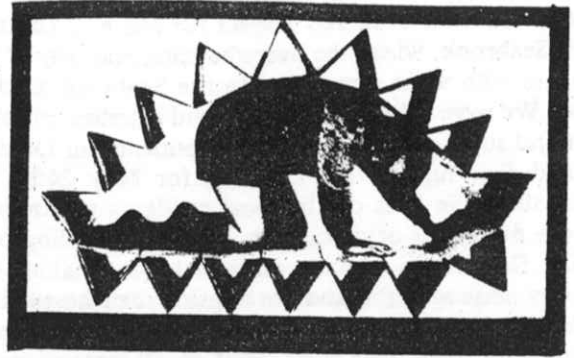
A Broader Definition of Community

Before our October 6th occupation attempt, we had envisioned the occupation community being set up once we had occupied the site. Our experiences have now taught us that the community is born and begins to develop as soon as we arrive in Seabrook, and that it will continue to exist as long as necessary to achieve our goal.

The occupation community is not limited to one location, the Seabrook construction site, but can come into existence and serve important functions in several locations before and after the action. The various regional base camps or staging areas, the support campsite, the Organizing Community, and our supporters in Seabrook also make up our occupation community along with the construction site itself, and one or more of these off-site bases will certainly continue to operate even after the site is occupied. A strong community will enable us to regroup and make repeat attempt(s) if we are unable to occupy the site on the first attempt, and also to prepare and mobilize reinforcements throughout the summer, if necessary.

The community is not just limited to the occupiers themselves. Affinity group support people, local supporters, regional support networks, and friends and sympathizers among the general public are all integral to the success of the action. The occupation of the site will depend on the ability of all the members of the occupation community to unite in one coordinated action, or combination of actions.

We learnt from October 6th that good communications and coordination are essential if we are to act collectively and be effective. Communication between regional staging areas, the Organizing Community, and between Occupiers and support is necessary to prevent a chaotic situation where each group acts on its own. In October, we found that runners and bicycle messengers were the quickest and most reliable means of communication among these



groups. We also saw that communication and coordination became difficult when campsites and staging areas were long distances away from each other.

The precise locations of the off-site staging areas and campsites will be announced when they have been secured. The different approaches are expected to have their own staging areas, and affinity group support people may be camping at their regional staging areas or in a separate support campsite. It is also important to set up an off-site camp which can be established before May 24th and can continue to exist as long as necessary.

This site may or may not be identical with the support campsite or one of the staging areas. The more sites we have to maintain simultaneously, the more potential security, transportation and communication/coordination problems we may have, and the more kitchen and medical facilities we have to set up. However, if communication is good and the regions are strong and self-sufficient, there may be no problems at all.

Maintaining the security of our campsites proved to be a problem last October. Not enough people volunteered to perform this vital task, which was almost entirely carried out by support people, even at staging areas. This year we recommend that every region give thought and volunteers to security. A reliable group doing security will be particularly important at night, and at campsites which are occupied throughout the action.

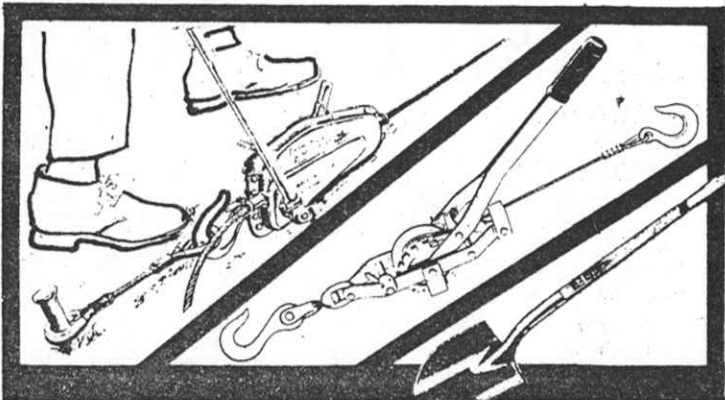


Barricades on-site on south access road 10/7/79

It is very important that the entire occupation community show consideration and respect for our host community of Seabrook, where the overwhelming majority of the locals are with us in opposition to the Seabrook nuclear station. We were offered land, food and supplies, physical and moral support from many local residents for October 6th, and that support is increasing for May 24th. We should allow the lives of the local residents to continue with the minimum of disruption, by not trampling over peoples' flowerbeds, parking on their lawns, making unnecessary noise at night, and not abusing their hospitality. We should also make an effort to maintain good communication with them, seek their input on all matters which affect them, and give them every opportunity to get involved in and feel a part of the occupation community, if they so desire.

On October 6th, most of the occupiers arrived at their staging areas on the day or night before, and we had no opportunity to develop a sense of ourselves as a group before the action began. This year we plan to establish our community before May 24th, to give us some time to determine who we are and where we all are, to start to generate some collective spirit, to restate and affirm our agreements and plans, and to test our agreed-upon decision-making process in our large numbers.

In working to build a community in which all the member groups and individuals are constantly striving to work together to carry out a collective action, to take initiative for themselves in accordance with the needs of the group and to take responsibility for themselves, rather than waiting to be given their marching orders, we will be starting to create the structure for a new society, while engaged in dismantling the skeletons of the old. Collectivity is not something which just happens; we are not taught to think and act collectively in this society, but to look out for our own individual interests at the expense of others, and to fulfill our own personal desires. The occupation will not be a holiday camp. We must always keep in mind that we are not merely trying to set up a model community for its own sake, but are doing everything we're doing with the primary purpose of taking back the Seabrook nuclear site and putting a permanent halt to construction.



Much of the next section, **Digging In**, can apply to the occupation community both on- and off-site. It lays out some basic principles, and presents practical considerations and information for the physical needs of the community.

Digging In

Plans for our community at Seabrook will have to remain flexible. Our situation will vary greatly depending on which part of the site we are blockading or occupying, our numbers, the reaction of the authorities, the weather, and the materials available to us. We must be prepared to improvise, to cooperate, to make contingency plans and to act accordingly. Perhaps to start with we should not bring a large amount of heavy expensive equipment which could be confiscated or bulldozed, but use light recycled materials and bring some essential tools and supplies which can be used for a variety of purposes, like plastic sheeting, rope, chain, and rain ponchos. In the event of a blockade, large heavy objects as well as the tools necessary to secure our position on the pavement would be useful. Barricades to prevent passage of vehicles and to protect against police instigated attack, can also function as shelters at night.



More supplies and equipment can be sent by the support system as needed, and larger community structures for group meetings, childcare, medical and kitchen use can be set up. Further survival, restoration, and education projects will be shaped according to our needs and resources. Some of the most common and useful building materials are 2x4's, assorted lumber, pipes, hoses, 55 gallon drums (check contents before using), cyclone fencing, insulating material for warm and cold, and various fiber boards for soundproofing. When we get on the site our immediate tasks will be to secure our position there and set up a camp. Next we will have to make sure our basic needs are met: water, fire, and a roof over our heads. After these are taken care of, we can take inventory of our skills and supplies, undertake longer-term projects, set up communication on-site and to the Blockaders and outside supporters, as well as making arrangements for reinforcements (both of supplies and people) to be sent as necessary.

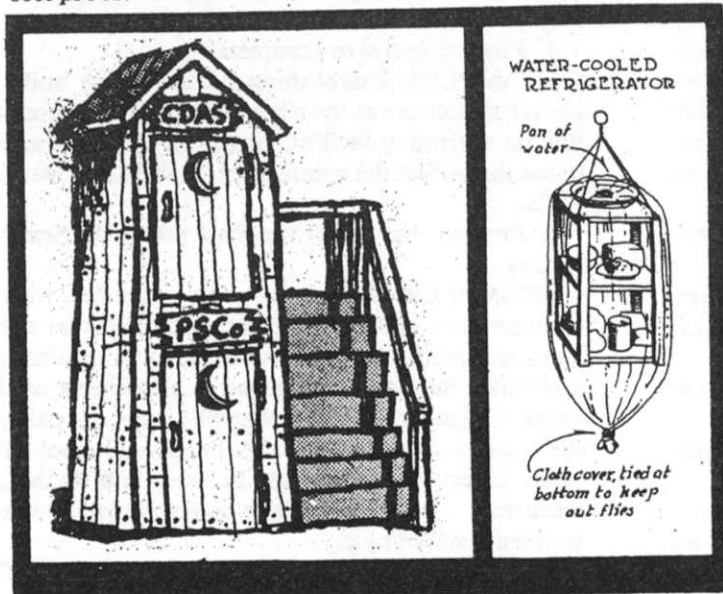
Remember our aim is to non-violently and collectively end construction at Seabrook by occupying and blocking the site. The following section lays out some basic principles for a strong base camp wherever it is located.

Making Camp

We should set up camp so as to protect ourselves from removal and arrest. If we camp in a circular shape, tents for sleeping and the childcare center can be placed in the middle, ringed by the community center, kitchen and medical tent, and look-out people can cover the outskirts. We can also use heavy objects to ring the campsite, blocking avenues of arrest and protecting sleeping occupiers. People guarding the perimeter of the site should be able to communicate with each other, and we should decide on an emergency alert system and rehearse it, so that we can mobilize quickly and without panic at any time.

Meeting places secure from both police attack and helicopter surveillance and noise should be found. If possible keep them far away from sleeping areas, so that people resting are not disturbed, as well as our local supporters who have generously donated their land or facilities.

Affinity groups should be responsible for their own shelter — for warm and waterproof clothes, sleeping bags and tents. Simple, makeshift tents can be improvised with plastic sheeting, tarps, rain ponchos, some rope and a few stakes. Any extra supplies such as these will always be useful for many purposes. The medical tent can also be set up right away, and a work group can begin to choose sites for digging latrines, which due to warm weather should be insect proof.

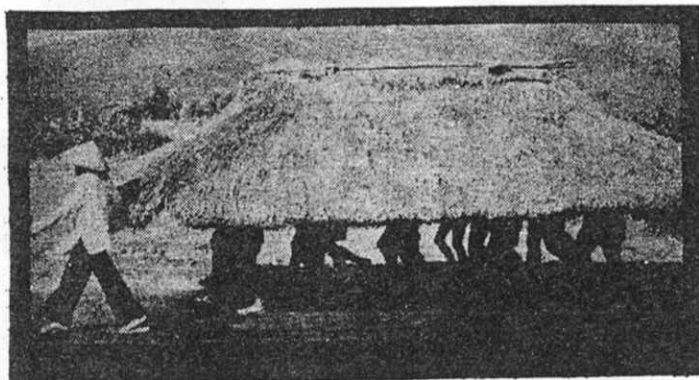


Affinity groups should bring their own, limited supplies of drinking water, and use it sparingly. As soon as possible, we will try to arrange for more water to be brought to the site. Nevertheless, we should look towards self-sufficiency and bring prefabricated parts for several simple solar stills.

When we are fairly sure of our position we can get together our skilled people and set up a task force to coordinate the construction of larger structures and longer-term construction projects. We will need a large camp center for nighttime meetings and educational workshops.

A tipi may be large enough for a childrens' center, medical can probably use a large army tent, and the kitchen may just need a frame covered with a tarp for shelter from wind and rain.

Protection from the sun during the midday can conserve water and keep us cool-headed, and ready for action with thought.



Regional recycling centers can cut the amount of waste that we produce, and if we keep throwaway items to a minimum (no styrofoam cups, please), we will be able to leave with everything that we brought, when our job is done.

In order to conserve fuel and minimize the danger of fires or explosions, we should keep our cookstoves and cooking pits in one area and cook communally and in large quantities. We should also limit the number of campfires; at least one campfire can be kept going all night, for people taking all-night shifts and for warmth. The look-out people, the medical tent and the community center will need hurricane lamps or Coleman lanterns, and every affinity group should have at least one flashlight. We can use modified 55-gallon drums for wood cookstoves and water heaters, as well as camping cookstoves, but again we shall have to bring in fresh supplies of fuel periodically. We can work towards self-sufficiency by constructing hayboxes and solar ovens.

Since it will be spring, with warm and wet weather, attention should be paid to the insect problem and keeping food dry and cool. Some medical supplies are susceptible to damage in these conditions.

As with water, affinity groups will have their own supplies for a short time, and the staples can be pooled at the kitchen. Every affinity group should try to set up a re-supply system with its hometown co-op, and we shall be working on a coordinated system of food support through the regional co-op structure.

More information on this system will be available in the coming months. Clusters should start stockpiling non-perishable food and supplies now, as on October 6th donations did not arrive for a few days.

Several New Hampshire marsh plants are edible, but some are poisonous, so DON'T eat (or touch) anything which you haven't positively identified. Information about wild foods of New England will be available on the site. Sprouts are a good source of essential B vitamins and Vitamin C. We may be able to grow some food. Organic material can be used to make compost piles, and the compost could be used for fertilizer in our community gardens.



The Ongoing Organizing Community

To aid our Direct Action against the Seabrook plant, the Coalition has established a task force to develop an ongoing Organizing Community to work and prepare for the Occupation. It will also mobilize large numbers of activists in Seabrook to begin self-reliance projects both for ourselves and for the residents of Seabrook.

Furthermore, this Organizing Community, by establishing itself either on PSCo land, or public/private land in front of staging areas, will test the waters of repression, giving its members experience in collective non-violent defense before the actual occupation. On May 24th, the Organizing Community will aid the occupation in all possible ways. In the event of an initial failure to occupy we will return to the community and immediately call for a second attempt as soon as possible.

The Organizing Community will have four main purposes:

1. Prepare participants in all phases of mass non-violent direct action and build skills to become a community on the nuke site.
2. Do local organizing, encouraging local involvement in the occupation.
3. Provide a base for scouting and surveillance of police and PSCo activities.
4. Taking up the challenge of pro-alternatives direct action by building a living model of the values to which we aspire instead of simply trafficking in abstractions. Pro-alternatives should benefit ourselves and the residents of Seabrook.

Once the site is Occupied, the Organizing Community and all its projects will be transferred on to the site for the benefit of all. However, prior to this, especially if it is built on PSCo property, one of its most important aspects will be to give occupiers organizational experience in high pressure situations. We will probably have to deal with police harassment and be capable of responding in firm non-violent ways that don't include arrest. It is therefore extremely

important that people get involved in the work of the Projects Task Force well in advance of May and begin to organize the human and material resources for desired projects in their own region. Contact the Task Force through the CDAS office.

Community Projects

Several kinds of projects will be going on the in the Organizing Community, making up a program designed to benefit the occupiers, the local residents and at the same time furthering our goal of shutting down the plant permanently.

1. Projects useful to occupiers.

EXAMPLES: Establishing workshops to build needed items for later use at the site blockade and occupation, setting up a printing facility, classes to educate ourselves on issues that affect the community, sharing and learning new skills.

2. Projects that are of practical use to the Seabrook residents.

EXAMPLES: Workshops to help save fuel with hands-on experience with building and installing solar collectors, weatherstripping doors and windows, and insulating floors and walls. Supporting ongoing local projects of the residents. Organizing services that will help to repair some of the damage done by PSCo. A Peoples' School where the many aspects of the nuclear industry and its dangers are discussed, as well as positive help to overcome the many problems caused by it.

3. Projects that help build support for the Occupation/Blockade.

EXAMPLES: Medical and legal clinics by medical/legal support people. Preparation sessions for local residents to participate in the Occupation/Blockade. Workshops where workers can see the same skills they possess put to beneficial use in a collective environment.

4. Projects that provide a living model of the values and mode of social/political order we desire.

EXAMPLES: Anything that puts government and corporate authorities out of business. Reporting real news over pirate radio stations. Holding nightly free feasts. Sponsoring alternative cultural events.

SUPPORT

Support people are those who are in agreement and solidarity with the Occupation/Blockade, but whose job, family, health, or other commitments do not allow them to take the time or risk of actually blockading or occupying. Support people may or may not be part of an affinity group, although they are encouraged to attend a preparation session for the occupation so they may fully understand the nature of the action, and determine for themselves how they can best participate. The main purpose of support is to ensure the success of the occupation attempts and the blockade by organizing and working on a range of activities designed to protect and support the people at the fences and gates of the nuclear plant.

Support works on several different levels. Support work ranges from office staffing, leafletting, and fundraising in home regions to tasks based in Seabrook which are every bit as risky and physically demanding as attempting to occupy. Support begins at the affinity group level. Every a.g. should have one or more members who, for various reasons, are unable to occupy and who will choose to be support people. A.G. support people have many different responsibilities to their group: to drive the group to Seabrook, park the vehicle(s) and hold their keys, have phone nos. of family and friends, hold or have access to bail money and identification, maintain contacts with the home community, and organize or participate in support actions in Seabrook. Last October, many support people camped with their groups at the staging areas and some even accompanied their groups onto the marsh and the site, carrying packs, helping protect them from mace, and sometimes even deciding to participate in fence take-down.

Both a.g.s and regions should be as self-sufficient as possible. This means that each region should arrive in Seabrook with enough support people to take care of its basic needs at its staging areas — setting up a kitchen, medical tent and latrines, taking security shifts and guarding supplies. Each region should also have one or more support people back at home who can receive messages from Seabrook, continue to prepare and send new occupiers, collect and send more food and supplies if needed, and get the word out about support actions and the progress of the Occupation/Blockade.

In addition to a.g. and regional support, there are overall support functions which are better done centrally than by region, and a.g. support people should expect to give time to these central, common functions. Once the Occupation/Blockade is underway, people are in large groups, their needs are similar, and it makes sense to provide support for them as a group. Transportation shuttles, organizing and participating in support actions, bulk-buying of food, running ongoing preparation sessions in the seacoast area, are all central functions. Further, some support tasks which are more appropriately and easily performed by local residents will be taken care of in the seacoast area itself.

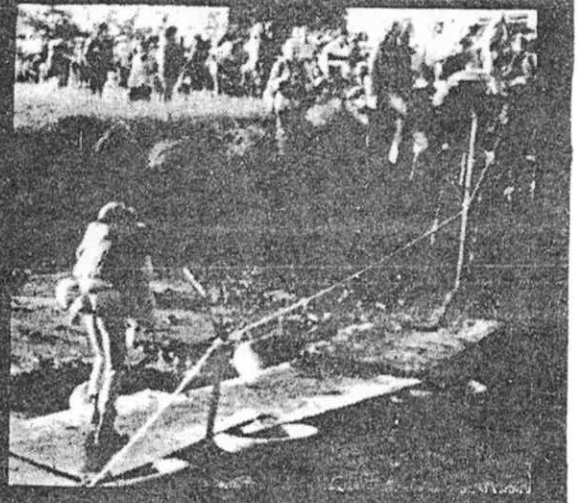
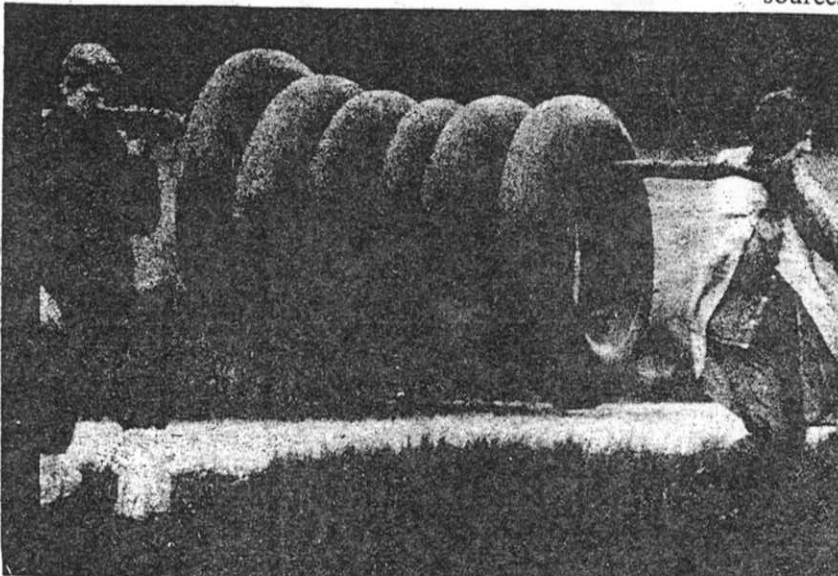
Functions of Support (partial listing)

- Transportation of people and supplies
- Guarding parking areas
- Food collecting and donating
- Security at campsites
- Media work
- Running on-going preparation sessions
- Organizing and participating in support actions such as pickets, mill-ins and rallies at home and at Seabrook
- Legal (see separate section)
- Leafletting, informing and involving new people
- Childcare
- Office staffing
- Fund-raising
- Medical (see separate section)
- Helping run staging campsites

This great diversity of support work should not divert energy or resources from the occupiers or blockaders themselves. The attempt to Occupy/Blockade the site is the action's central focus, and all support actions should be strictly practical and be directed towards that focus.

How to Get Involved In Support

If you would like to learn more about the action, and get more involved, contact your local CDAS member group and attend a preparation session. After doing so, you might decide to join or form an affinity group and actually occupy or blockade. If not, you may wish to join an a.g. as a support person and work closely with the group, and/or go to separate support meetings which should start up at least a few months before May 24th. (You should choose an area of support work based on the needs of your region and group, your personal inclinations, health, time, resources and skills.

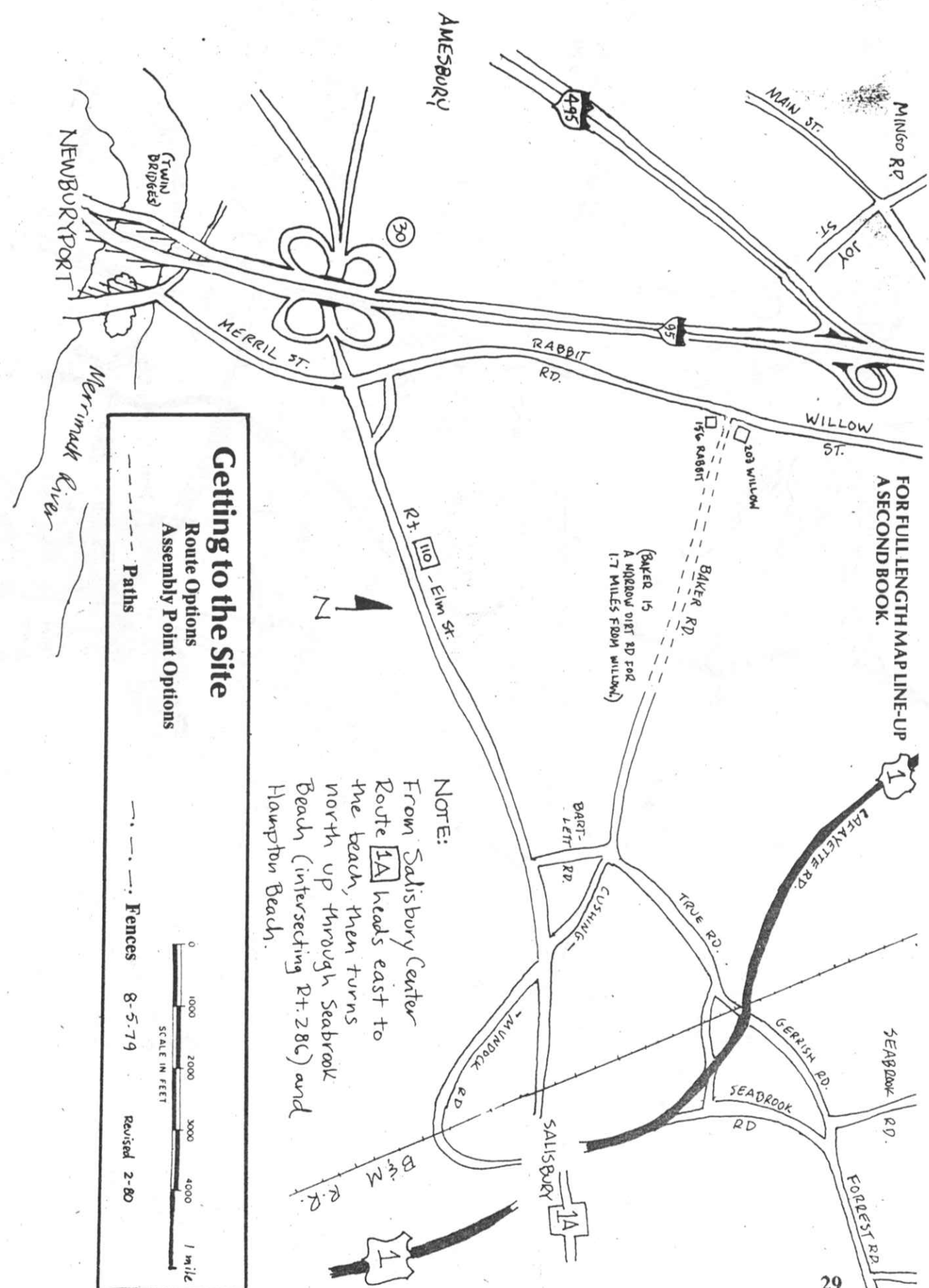


ASSEMBLY POINT OPTIONS

- Places where vehicles can be driven through, stopping to drop off people — some could be used as parking areas or cars could be left on sides of the road if necessary.
- Public or near public — clover leafs, empty land, shoulders of roads, parks.
- Access to roads, intersections, trails towards site. Access around possible police roadblocks.
- Large enough to hold thousands of people.
- Regions are encouraged to examine potential assembly points in advance and/or to look for other areas usable as assembly points which are not listed here.

Assembly Points — North to South

- 1) Hampton Beach State Park. Capacity 2,500 (this one is quite far from the site).
- 2) Playground at Winnacunnet (Rt. 101 E) and Locke Roads. Capacity 500.
- 3) Gravel pit (adjacent to fenced school and baseball diamond). Capacity thousands.
- 4 & 5) Exeter-Hampton Expressway junction with US 1. Exit ramps in this clover leaf complex have 10-15 ft. wide grassy shoulders. Easy access to B&M railroad right-of-way. Capacity (entire clover leaf) thousands.
- 6) Field inside clover leaf on US 1, across road from U-Come-See craft shop. Capacity 500.
- 7) Grassy shoulders along south side of Exeter-Hampton x-way, from clover leaf to Towle Farm Rd. Capacity 3-5,000.
- 8) Grassy shoulders along north side of Exeter-Hampton x-way, plus large adjoining field. Capacity over 5,000.
- 9) Wide grassy shoulders (20-30 ft.) both sides Towle Farm Rd. from E-H x-way to I-95. Capacity 2,000.
- 10) Field at intersection of Drakeside and Towle Farm Roads. Capacity 1,000.
- 11) Field between I-95 and Drakeside Rd. Accessible from both roads. Capacity thousands.
- 12) Fields on west side of US 1 near Riverview Antiques. Capacity thousands.
- 13) Service road along I-95, north of and connecting to Rt. 88 — broken down fence. Capacity 1000.
- 14) Hampton Commons — intersection Rt. 1 & 88. Capacity 1000.
- 15) Shoulders off I-95 (east side) north of Paiges Lane; paths to Dodge Rd. and Paiges Lane.
- 16) South Rd. and Stard Rd. intersection west of I-95.
- 17) Trails from I-95 to Dodge Rd., just north of Well-Pro Shoe; south of Paiges Lane.
- 18) Large fields of land for sale, and shoulders, both sides of Rt. 1 at Brimmers Lane. Landmark: Elegant Farmers
- 19) Park and field at Dearborn and Cove. West of Rt. 1. Capacity 2,000.
- 20) Shopping center — Shop & Save — east of Rt. 1, adjacent to north Access Road. 5,000.
- 21) Route 107 entrance (only) to South I-95.
- 22) Open fields along Stard Road north of Rt. 107.
- 23) Service road south of Rt. 107 and north of Mass.-N.H. state border — open fields and vacant lots. Capacity 1000.
- 24) Rest area off I-95 south bound — paths to Locust Rd. capacity 2,000.
- 25) Open fields along east and west Locust Rd.
- 26) North-bound I-95 rest area — paths to Pine St., Timber Court Drive and Rt. 1 (McDonalds). 5-10,000.
- 27) Rt. 1 and Walnut St. (tall steepled white church). Capacity hundreds.
- 28) Rt. 1 and 286 intersection — large open spaces; adjacent to land for sale (7 acres). Landmark: liquor store.
- 29) The loop (near Marigold Ballroom) — exit ramp from I-95 to Main St. in Salisbury. Capacity thousands.
- 30) 4-way clover leaf exit off I-95 to Rt. 110 in Salisbury.
- 31) Toll road (I-95) extension near Main St. Shoulders, empty lots and abandoned gas station. Capacity 2-3,000.
- 32) Seabrook Elementary School large playing fields around school. Capacity 5,000 plus.
- 33) Fenced ball field. Capacity thousands. Next to unfenced parking area. Capacity 500 plus.
- 34) Wide grassy shoulders both sides of Rt. 286 from Washington St. east. 3-5,000.



FOR FULL LENGTH MAP LINE-UP
A SECOND BOOK.

Getting to the Site

Route Options
Assembly Point Options

Paths

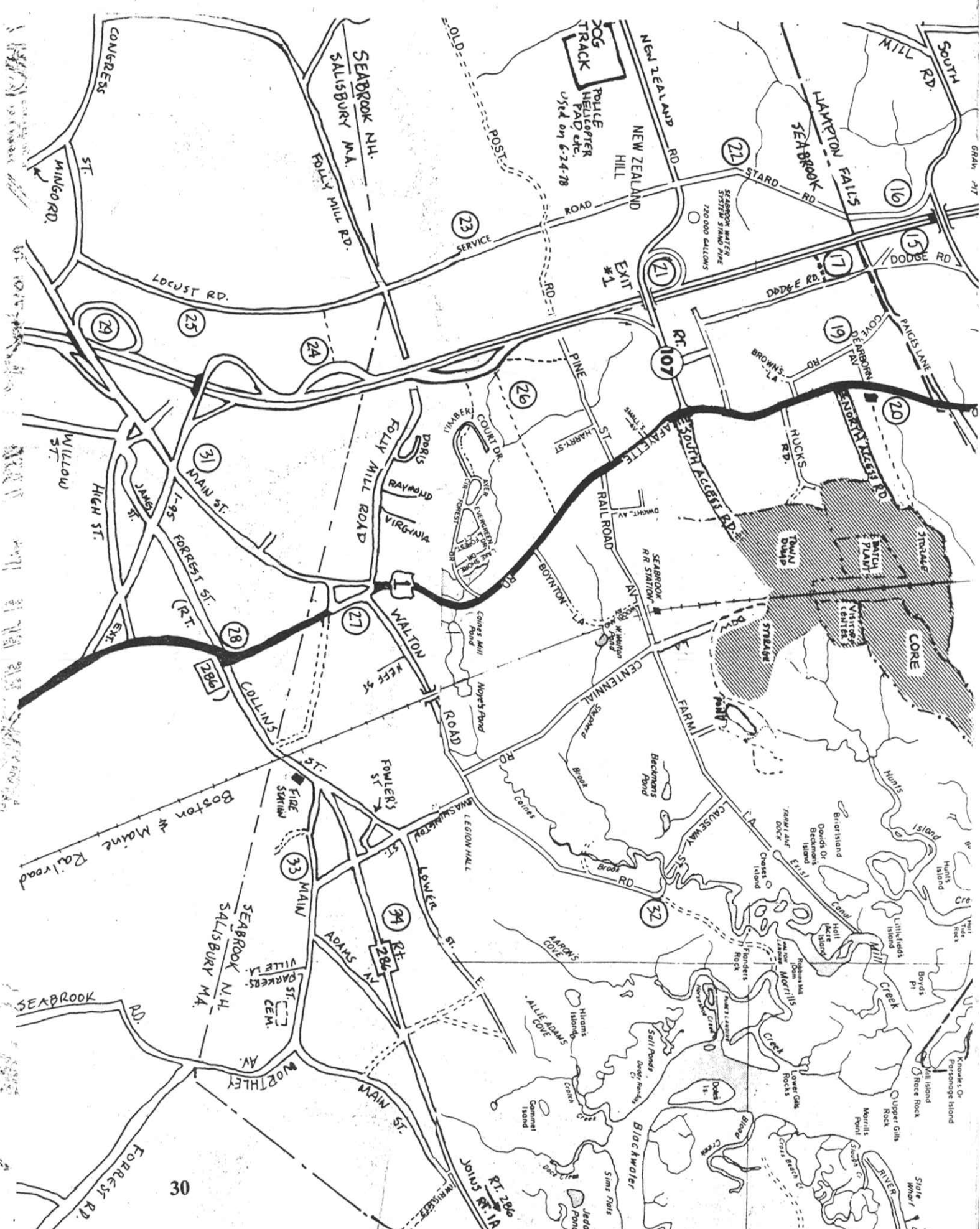
Fences

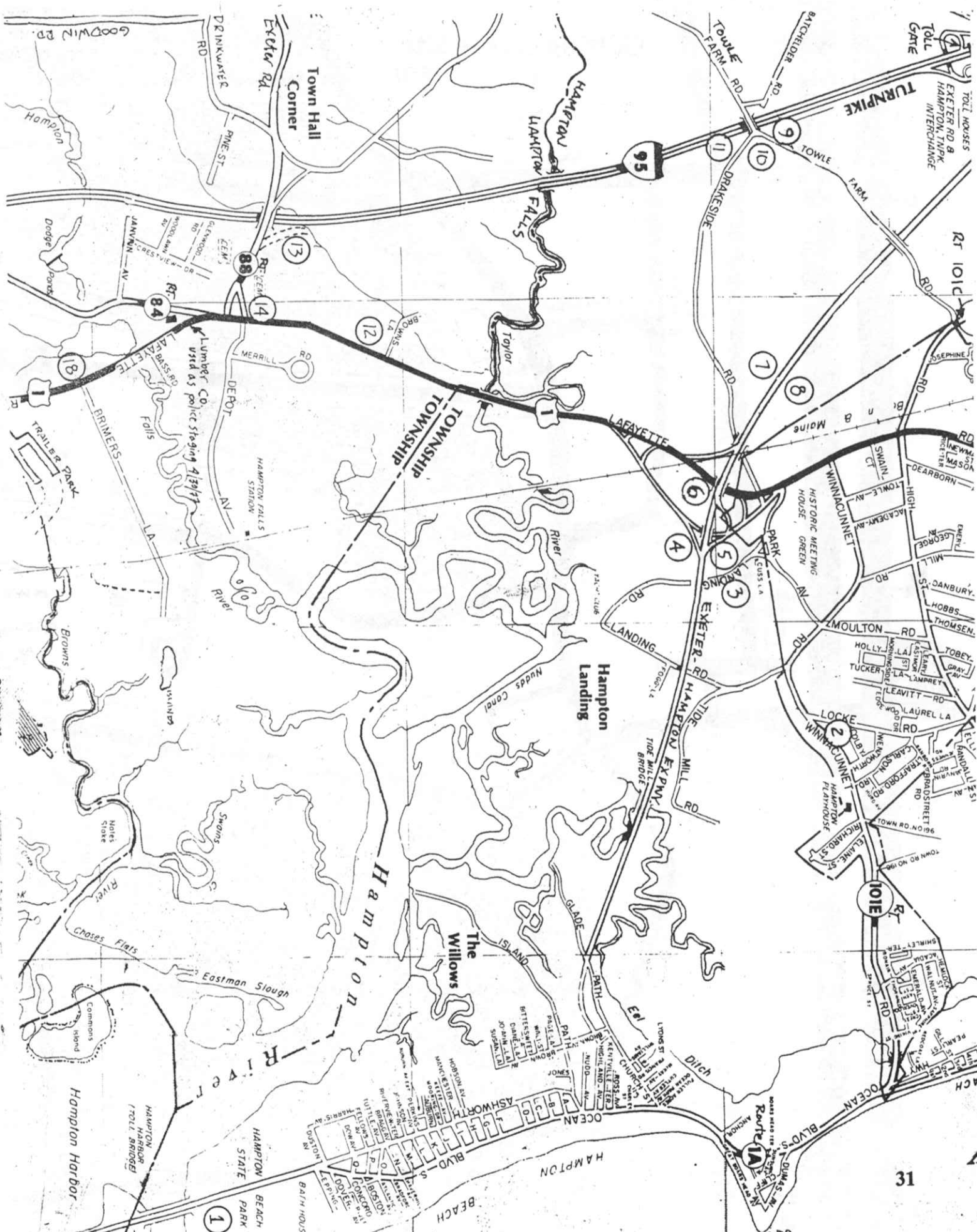
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Revised 2-80



NOTE:
From Salisbury Center
Route 1A heads east to
the beach, then turns
north up through Seabrook
Beach (intersecting Rt. 286) and
Hampton Beach.





Getting on the Site



8-79
2-80

BRIMMER'S LANE

PAIGES LA.

TRAILER PARK

DEARBORN

SHOP & SAVE

NORTH ACCE

GOVERNOR

FIELD

RODGE RD

BROWN LA.

ROCKS RD.

Welpro Shoe Co.

USM Inc.

SOUTH ACCESS RD.

RT. 107

US ROUTE 1

PINE ST.

RAILROAD AVE.

DUNKIN DONUTS

DOW LANE

CENTRAL RD.

TRAILS FROM I-95 REST AREA

SCALE 0

1/4

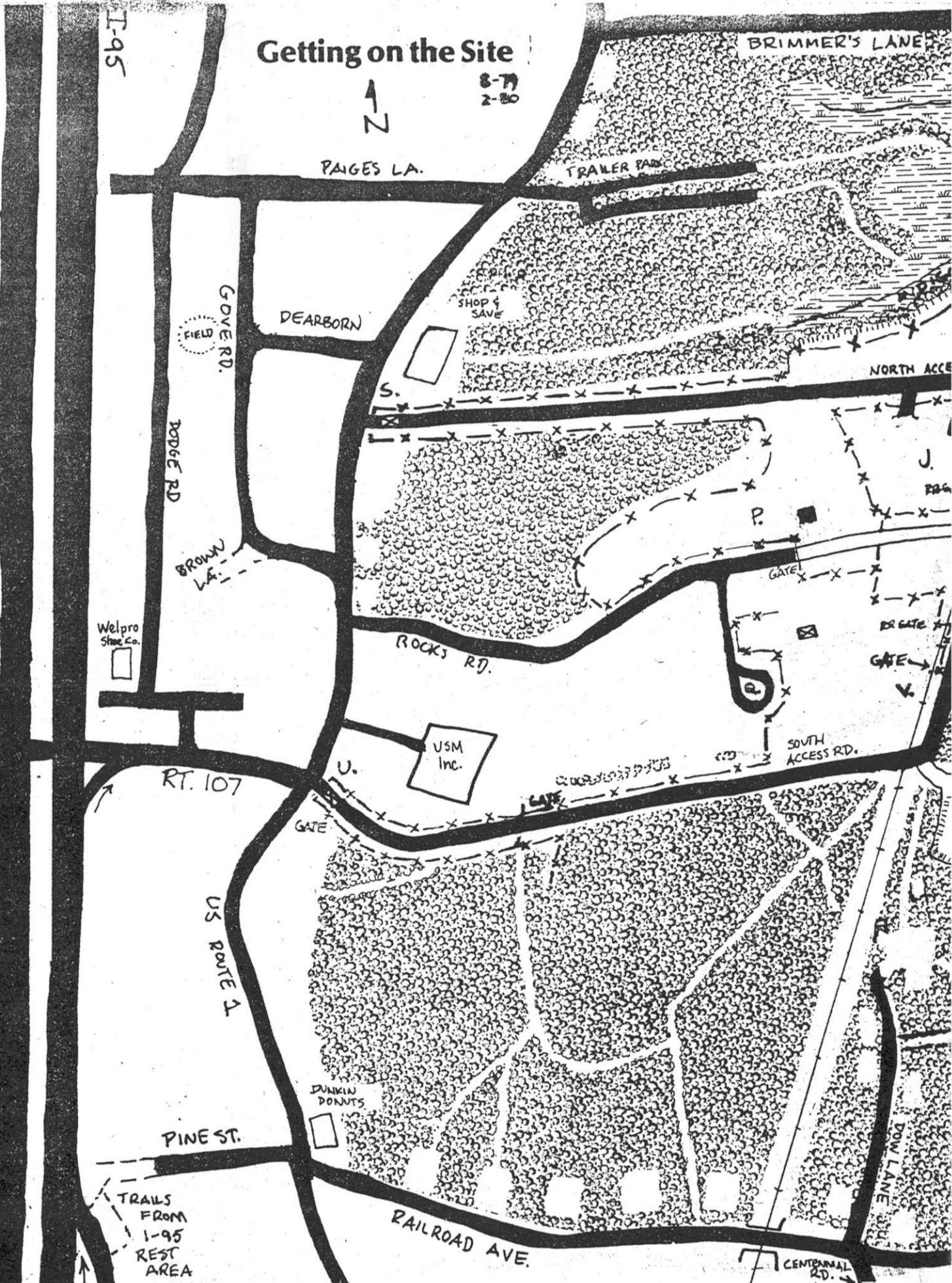
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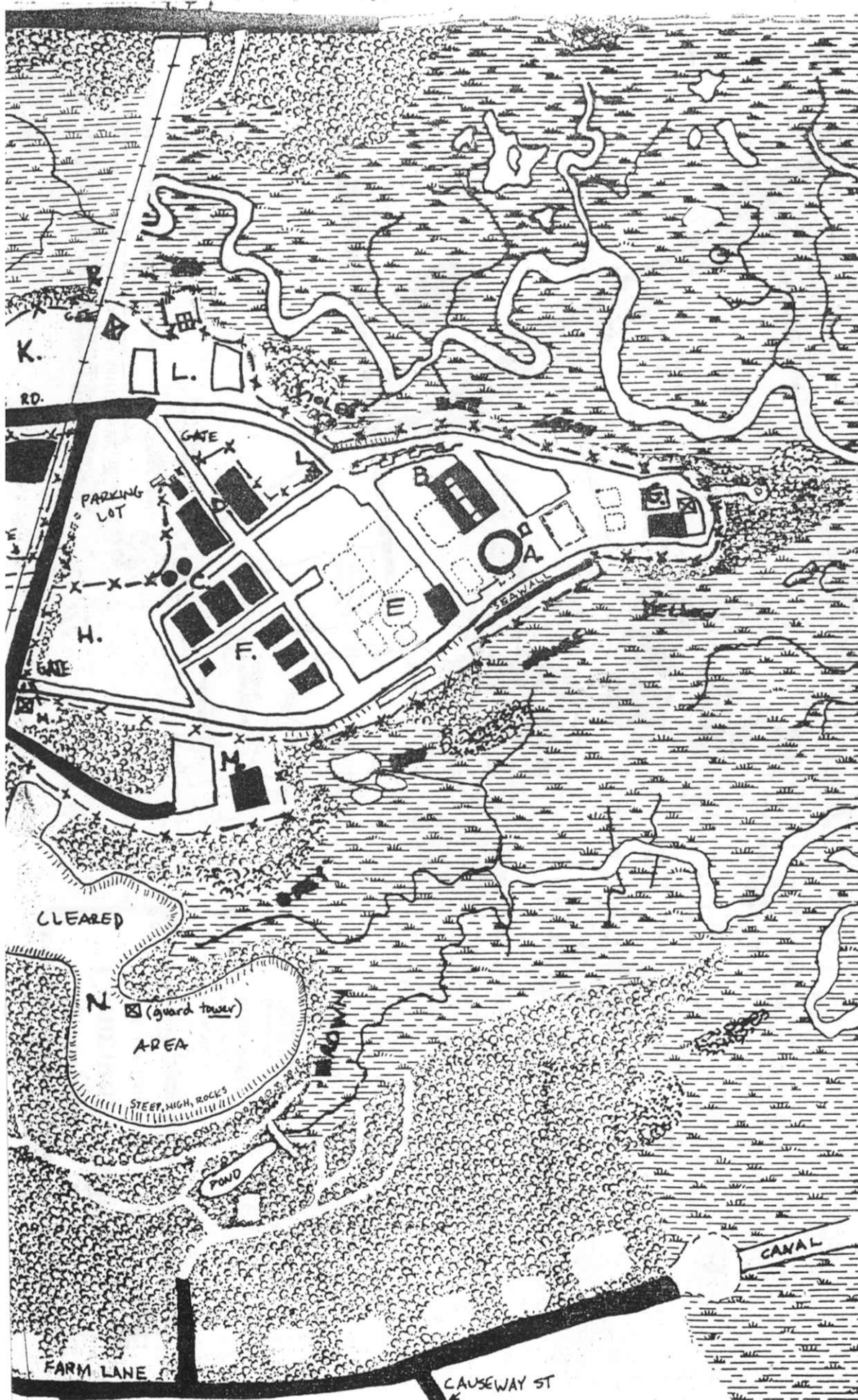
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EXIT #1





DESTINATION OPTIONS (see text):

FIRST PRIORITY:

- A. Unit #1 containment construction. Rust colored steel circular structures.
- B. Unit #1 Turbine. Tall concrete pedestal with condensers (steel) in place. White steel superstructure.
- C. Warehouses: yellow siding and water tanks, blue and white.
- D. Administrative Offices, Change House, Security Building: yellow siding.
- E. Unit #2 construction. CAUTION: deep pit excavation. Also concrete forms and construction trailers.
- F. Pipe, welding, Electrical shops: yellow siding.
- G. Hoist tower, steel. And Johnson's Junction, yellow siding. First Aid station within.
- H. Lumber, Cable Storage.

SECOND PRIORITY:

- J. Concrete batch plant: tall structure.
- K. Steel Fabrication and storage area.
- L. 345 KV termination area (weather tower, sewage treatment lagoon) and gates to core area.
- M. Visitors' Center and gates to core.
- N. Storage.
- P. Storage, Employment office
- q. I own Dump, Storage

THIRD PRIORITY:

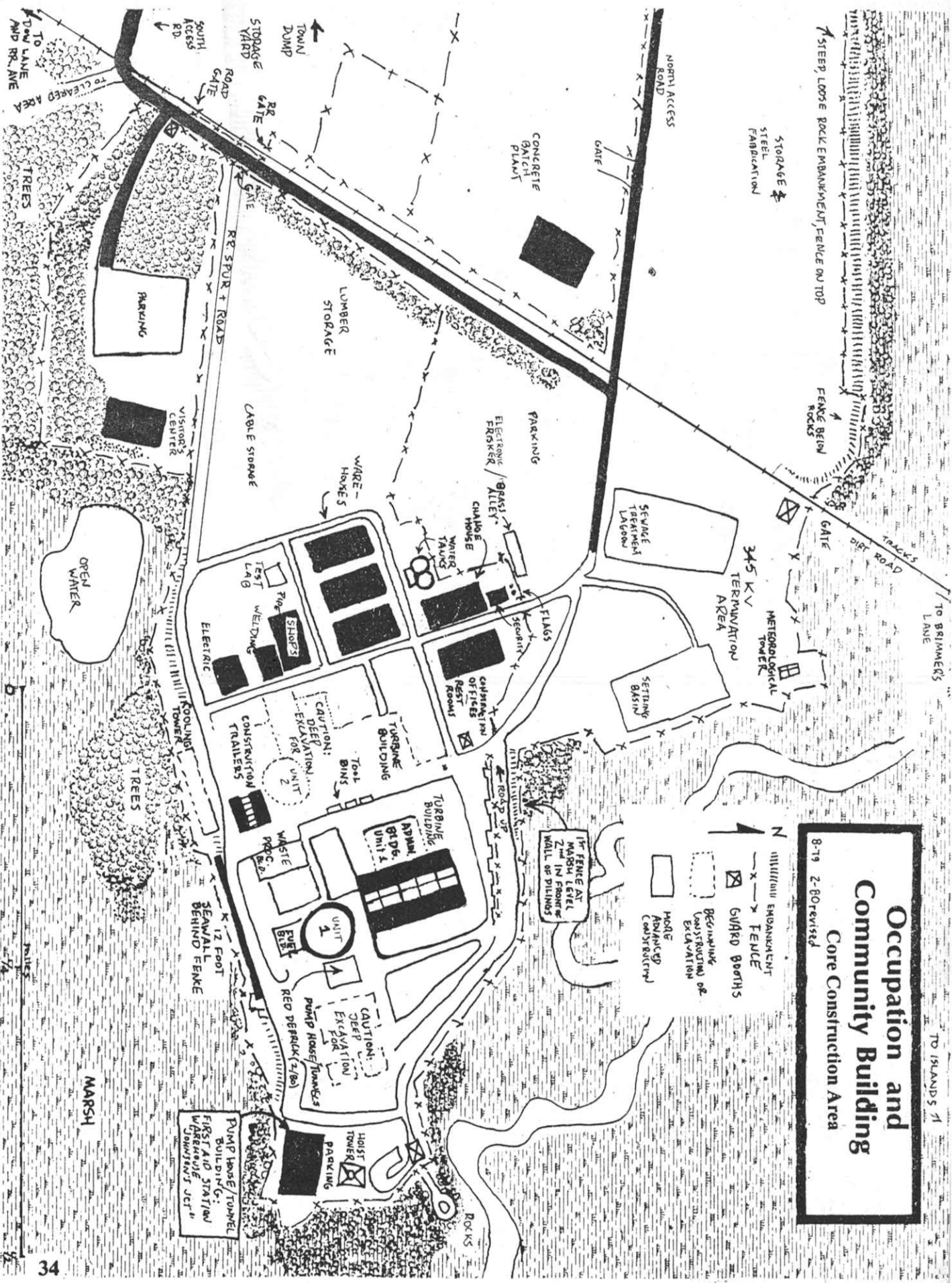
- R. North RR gate
- S. North main gate
- T. Rocks Road gate
- U. South main gate
- V. South RR gate

COLOURS = REGIONAL FENCE ZONES
 ||||| = EMBANKMENT

Occupation and Community Building

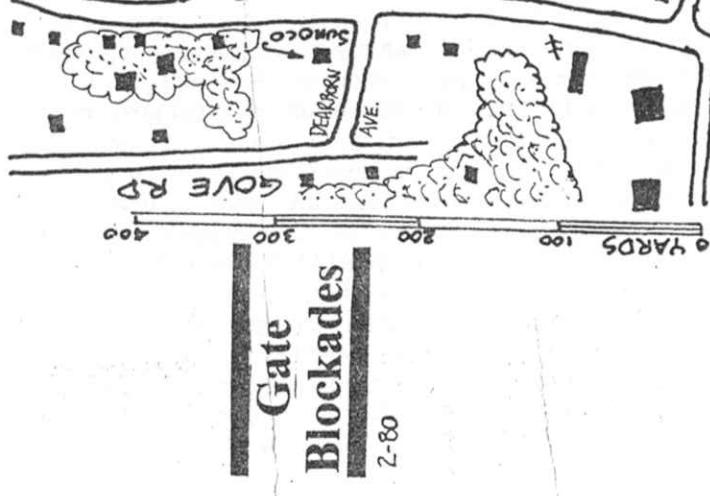
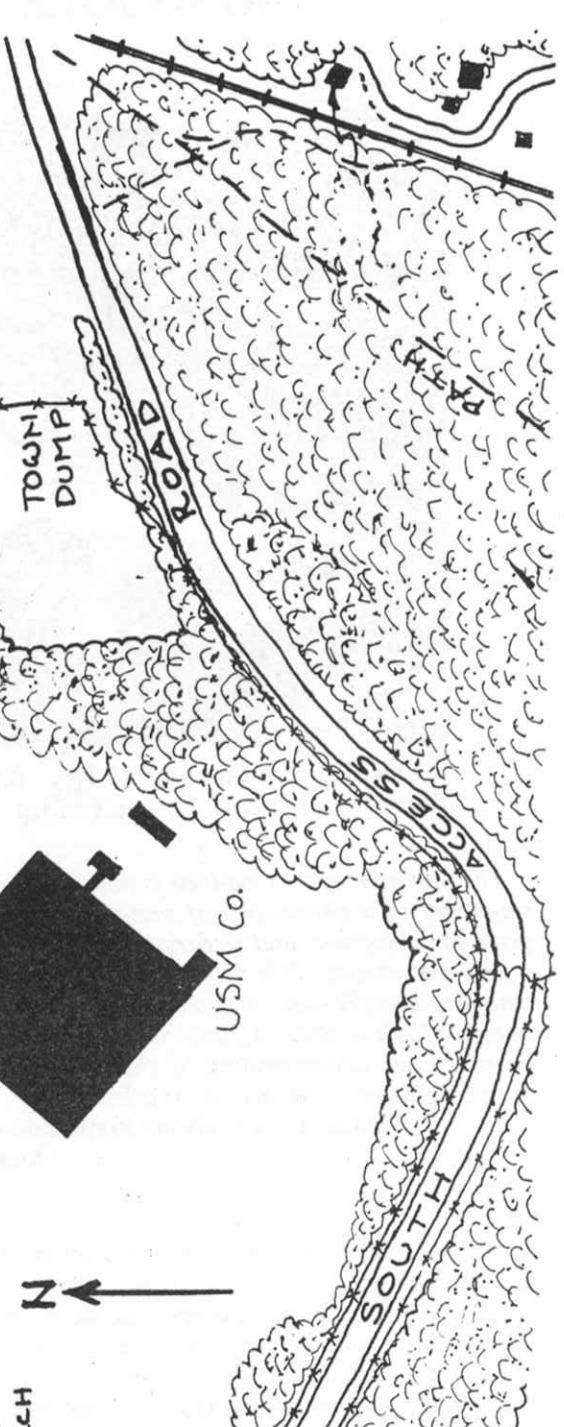
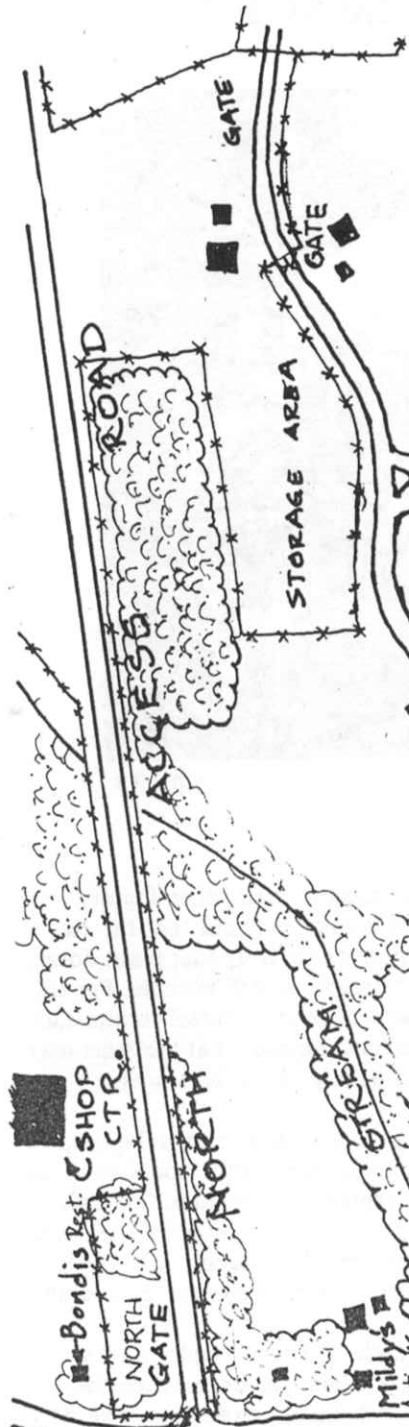
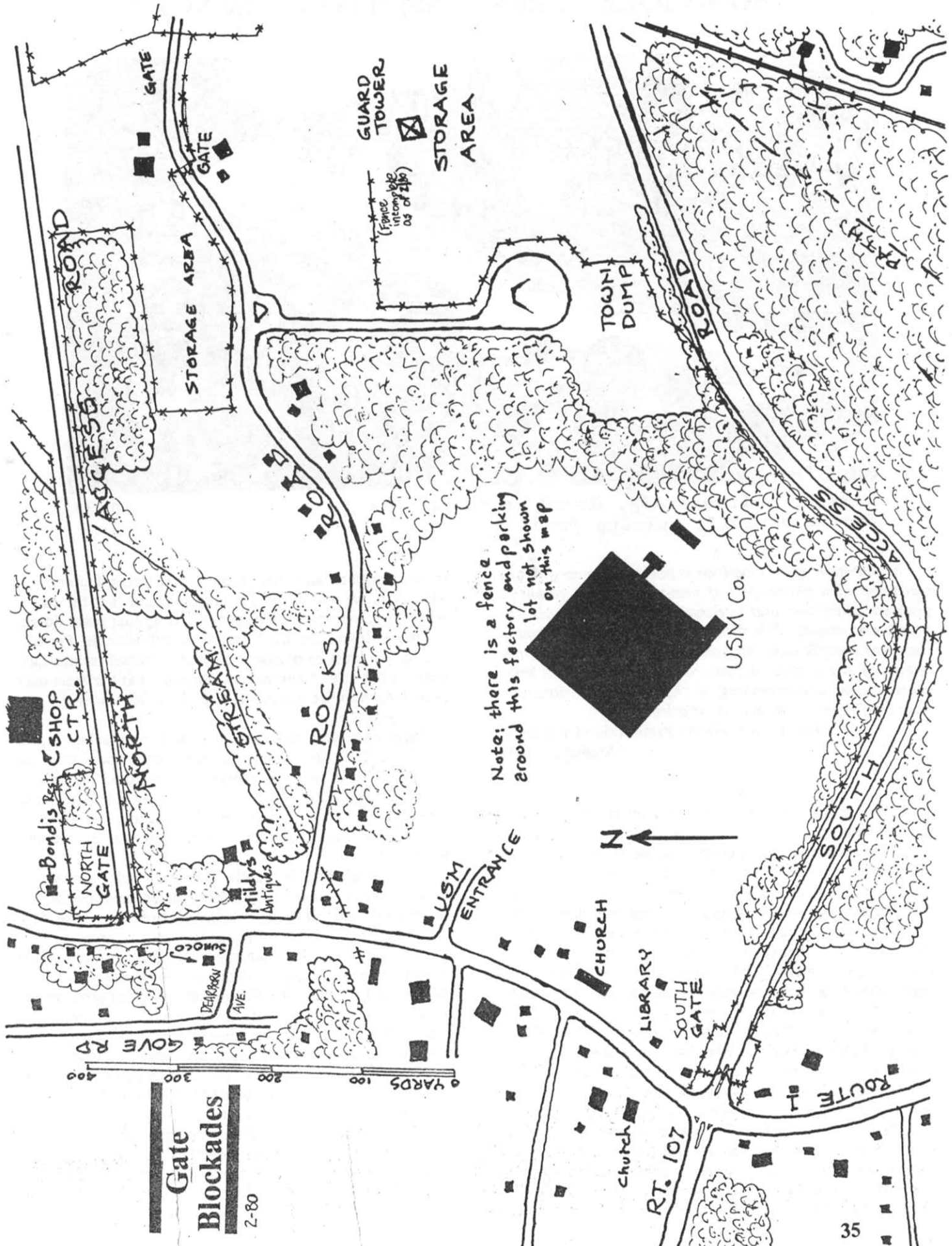
Core Construction Area

8-79 2-80-revised



- ▨ EMBANKMENT
- x- FENCE
- ☒ SW/RO BOOTH
- ▭ RETURNING CONSTRUCTION OF EXCAVATION
- ▭ MOBILE ADVANCED CONSTRUCTION

1" FENCE AT MARSH LEVEL 2" IN FRONT OF WALL OF BUILDINGS



Note: there is a fence around this factory and parking lot not shown on this map



NON-VIOLENT RESPONSES TO VIOLENCE



Working collectively, an ag protects itself from mace while cutting fence

10/79

The intention of the Coalition is not to come up with one statement of a philosophy of non-violence but rather to generate discussion and understanding of our goals and possible strategies. This discussion, along with communication of specific ideas and plans, is vital to the collective nature of our action. Affinity Groups and clusters must share a clear understanding of their own intentions and have confidence in the actions of others.

**Boston Affinity Group Preparation Committee
August 26, 1979**

In this occupation non-violent conduct includes refraining from all threats or acts of violence towards individuals, despite provocation. Having or using weapons violates the nature of the action; implements needed to gain access to the site or build once there such as ladders, shovels, and wire cutters and grappling hooks are not considered weapons, and will not be used as such. Implicit in the nature of this action is the belief that human life is more important than private property. The Seabrook nuke represents private property at its most violent. As we saw last March, and continue to see almost weekly, accidents will happen. The ultimate accident, a melt-down, would kill 70,000 people. We who will act on May 24th to close the Seabrook Station know that **not** occupying that plant, and thereby allowing the radioactive poisoning of the earth to continue, is violence; removing an inanimate physical barrier is not.

Although the May 24th Occupation/Blockade will be accomplished using non-violent means, by acting directly we will be seriously challenging the authority and control of the State and its agents. The reason that the authorities chose to be violent on October 6th had more to do with

these intentions and their success than other factors. On May 24th, we will need to recognize again that the closer we come to our eventual goal of shutting that plant down, the more violent the State's response will become. For this reason, we must be prepared to protect ourselves and each other in the face of any violent response that the State may choose to mobilize against us (e.g. dogs, high pressure water, gases, etc.)

While we respect those opposing us as human beings, we will steadfastly resist them in their institutional roles as agents of an impersonal repressive structure. Though in one sense police forces sent against us may only "be doing their job," they have also, by showing up that day for duty, chosen sides on the nuclear question before the world.

The Occupation/Blockade attempt undoubtedly involves risks for participants. Each person must decide for her/himself what level of risk they are ready to take. October 6th made clear the type of situations we must be prepared to deal with. We can expect the police to hide their badges while using mace, clubs and high pressure water. We will not retaliate, but will collectively resist arrest or removal by every non-violent means available. Some of the main tactics we expect the State to use and some possible ideas for non-violent responses are described below. Remember that it is up to you to use your imagination. **NON-VIOLENCE DOES NOT EQUAL PASSIVITY.** It does not mean that property comes over people. Rather, non-violence requires us to seize and change the very nature of that property which threatens the health, safety and well-being of people. We must strengthen our commitment to remaining non-violent in spite of any significant provocation that might take place on May 24th.

Mace and Gas

Mace

Chemical mace is packaged in a projector or streamer that looks like a black or olive drab spray can. It is dispensed by aerosol and is designed for use against an individual. It will irritate a localized area for a long time if not treated. A person who is "maced" feels an immediate burning or stinging in the exposed area, usually in the eyes or face.

Mace was the primary agent used by the authorities on October 6th. We think that different strengths of mace were used in different circumstances. Goggles which protect the eyes might be the best device to prevent the incapacitation that results from mace. Some people used full face plastic shields to their advantage. Another option is to cover the filter of your gas mask with a hollow cylinder of plastic to stop the mace from penetrating the filter. Be careful not to block off the filter entirely as that could lead to a lack of air.

The major short term effects of mace are stinging and involuntary closing of eyes. When mace is heavily used in an area, it permeates the air, and can sting the eyes of all people in the vicinity. It obviously behaves like any other gas, and it is therefore best to be upwind from those using it. Another tactic that worked well on October 6th was for affinity groups to use large sheets of plastic to block mace at the fences. Obviously, plywood would also be effective for this purpose.

Mace's long-term effects are not well known, but the chemical has been banned in New York and outlawed in many European countries due to possible long term effects. People who are victims of especially heavy macing should be removed from the area, and treated by washing their eyes with 5% Boric Acid Solution. Affinity groups and clusters should practice this type of procedure, and designate replacements for people who will be at the fence ahead of time. Anyone maced heavily should have an eye examination as soon as possible, and a follow-up visit one year later.

Teargas

Several types of tear-gas may be used against us during our approach to the site. Gas may be dispensed by helicopter, by exploding or burning grenades or canisters (thrown by hand or launched by shotgun). It can be deployed in a continuous emission by a "Pepper fogger" or in spray form (as in chemical mace) discharged from tear-gas batons, pen-type tear-gas projectors and miniature tear-gas pistols.

Types of tear-gas agents:

CN (Chloracetophene)

This is the preferred type of tear-gas currently in use by the authorities. It was the only gas used against on October 6th. It has an odor similar to apple blossoms and causes a burning sensation on the skin and mucous areas of the mouth and nose. CN causes intense tearing and irritation to the eyes. All of these effects usually disappear within a few minutes after the individual is removed from the area of gas concentration. Treatment is simple and includes exposure to clean air currents, washing the face and eyes in plain water or bathing them in a mild salt water solution.

In open field conditions, where CN is normally used there is little need to be concerned about damaging or serious toxic after-effects from exposure to gas.

CS (Orthochlorobenzalmalonitrile)

This is a much more potent agent than CN. Generally treatment for exposure to CS is the same as for CN and its non-toxic after-effects disappear in a similar manner. CS is normally used when the authorities feel the need for a stronger show of force after the milder CN has failed.



DM (Diphenylaminachlorasine)

This is also known as "sickening" or "vomiting" gas. It is usually used in combination with CN, as DM requires a period of time to take effect, while the CN can simultaneously produce a more immediate reaction. Nausea gas is a clear, odorless and colorless gas. It is dispensed in small canisters. When it lands it lets off a small puff of smoke and then there is nothing. You may think it is a dud — it isn't! The effects of it are intense vomiting, which can tear the lining of the stomach, and intense diarrhea, which can cause rectal bleeding. (Eating beforehand helps protect the stomach during vomiting.) It upsets your judgement. It can cause asthma to become worse. Don't use your gas mask for nausea gas. The gas is absorbed through the skin, which means you don't have to inhale it to be affected by it. You can choke on your own vomit if you wear a mask. There is no treatment; just get out of the area as quickly as possible. DM is capable of poisoning water and open foodstuffs in the affected area. Only foods in sealed metal containers are safe from contamination. To our knowledge this gas has rarely been used in this country against civilians.

All of the above tear gas agents can be either in a persistent or a non-persistent form.

The non-persistent forms (which include all the liquid tear-gas vapors or forms generated by burning or combustion type grenade) remain effective in the open for a period of about 10 minutes or less. Persistent agents (in the form of micropulverized tear-gas powder) remain effective in excess of 10 minutes. Micropulverized tear-gas powder will settle to the ground and become reactivated when the air is stirred up by walking over the area.

Response to Mace and Gas

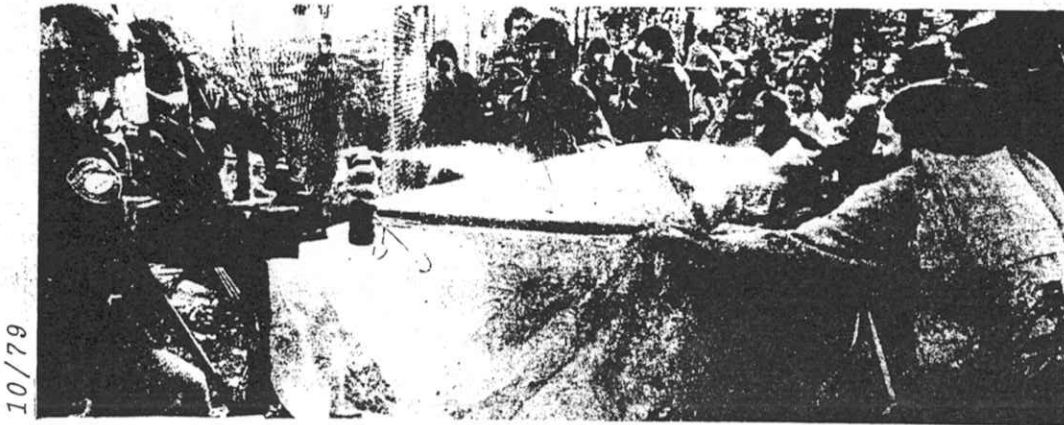
To avoid the effects of tear-gas, swiftly move out of the direction of the gas flow. Tear gas will flow in the direction of the wind and also tends to flow down hill. Although in demonstrations in the past individuals have successfully thrown tear-gas canisters away from the occupiers, the prudence of this practice should be questioned. **WARNING: Burning-type tear-gas canisters may become hot enough to burn if touched.** Blast or bursting type grenades may shatter when the detonating charge goes off, creating the danger of injury from flying shrapnel.

Attempts to avoid the gas cloud may be hindered by the use of invisible tear-gas agents now available to the police.

In all cases, however, the intent of the police in using any of the above-mentioned tear-gas agents is to create a panic amongst the individuals within the group in order to

disperse and destroy any collective efforts. Although our instinctive responses may be to run (under normal conditions this may be the best response) we may be under conditions which make running very dangerous. In large crowds running can cause panic. Also, we may find ourselves on rough terrain which could create hazards. Move from gassed areas in large groups to a safe distance upwind; when gas has subsided continue to move forward in a large group. Flags can be used to indicate the wind direction when invisible gasses are used.

Skin should be protected from exposure to gas. A long-sleeved shirt or turtleneck sweater, and long trousers which cover arms and legs should be worn. Cuffs on both shirts and trousers can be tightened by tape or elastic bands. Gloves should be worn to protect the hands. A good pair of snug-fitting goggles or diving mask should be worn to protect the eyes. All holes and air vents must be taped to prevent gas from leaking through.



Treatment for Mace/Gas



Mace: The person affected should be sitting or lying on the ground. Tilt his/her head to one side, and wash out the eye closest to the ground with 5% Boric Acid solution. A squeeze bottle with a narrow stream is most effective. Tilt the head in the other direction and repeat. Also, wash off the person's face or hands if they are burning. 5% Boric Acid is the most effective agent in all cases. **Remember: talk to the person and reassure him/her as you administer the treatment.** This can prevent panic and speed recovery. Don't rub your eyes if maced.

Gas: For CN gas simply remove the person from the area to an open place upwind from the gas. Discomfort should end in 10-20 minutes. Eyes can be washed as with mace if they burn. If the person's nose is burning, blowing it is the best solution. Gas's most serious effect is probably that it causes a burning sensation, feeling of suffocation, and tightness in the chest. This creates a feeling of panic. Reassure the person by talking.

For Both: For severe or prolonged effects, complications or contamination of wounds, obtain qualified medical assistance as soon as possible. Both mace and gas can cause allergic reactions such as redness and puffing of the skin in the affected area. This condition should be treated by a physician as soon as it appears.

Treating a mace victim. Squeeze bottle would have been easier.

Instructions for CHEMICAL MACE® Brand Non-Lethal Weapons MK-V Model

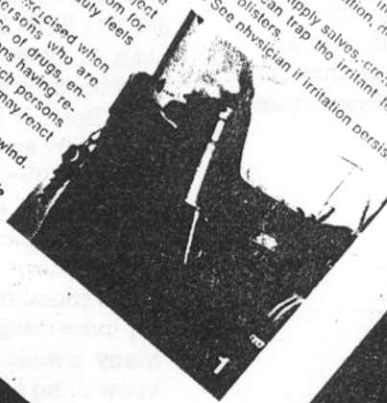
WARNING:
The MK-V CHEMICAL MACE® aerosol tear gas projector is a weapon. The MK-V weapon is for use only by Police and other authorized law enforcement or security personnel. Contents may cause severe injury unless used according to these instructions and the directions contained in the Police Chemical Agent's Manual published by the I.A.C.F. Although, when properly used, it is less likely to cause injury than conventional weapons, it should be used only in situations where a weapon is justified and necessary.

First Aid:

1. Remove contact lenses and contaminated clothing.
2. Flush contaminated areas with large quantities of cold water or a dilute baking soda solution and expose to fresh air as soon as possible after use. Caution: Failure to follow this instruction may result in severe skin irritation, depigmentation or other skin injury.
3. Do not apply salves, creams, ointments or lotions which can trap the irritant tear gas causing skin blisters.
4. See physician if irritation persists.

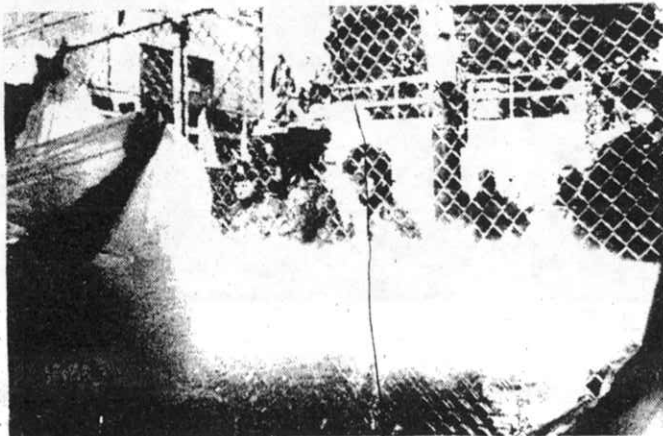
Precautions That Should Be Taken to Minimize Risk of Injury:

1. Use short, one-second bursts (bursts of longer duration seldom increases effectiveness but does increase the possibility of injury).
2. Do not use the MK-V at any distance less than three feet and do not aim directly at eyes (continuous threat of serious injury or death). At distances less than five feet, use at least above indicated distances. Use at less than above indicated distances requires that the subject be taken to the hospital emergency room for such treatment as the doctor on duty feels necessary.
3. Extreme caution should be exercised when using the MK-V against persons who are intoxicated, demoted, or other persons having reduced sensitivity to tear gas. If such persons are not disabled with the MK-V, they may react with violence.
4. Shield face and eyes when firing into a wind.



Smith & Wesson / General Ordnance Equipment Co.
A RANDOLPH PORTS COMPANY
P.O. BOX 11211, Freeport Road, Pittsburgh, Penn.
CHEMICAL MACE®, MACE®, CHEMICAL BATON®,
PEPPER FOG® and STAR-TRON® are the trademarks

High Pressure Water



High pressure water has been used in the past by the authorities as a technique for dispersing large crowds of people. In Europe, special water cannons have been used. In the US fire hoses attached to pumping engines are more commonly used. Such water is sprayed in a large volume at extremely high pressure — a pressure high enough to move you back along the ground if you are sitting alone, or to break your neck or extremities if you are hit by the water stream face forward. It is important that all of these vulnerable areas be protected. When faced with a blast of water, the most protective posture involves sitting on the ground, your back to the stream, and your head tucked in your chest. This position will keep the spine curved as well as the abdomen and head shielded. Wearing backpacks, loose fitting clothing, or any extraneous straps may catch the stream of water, and should be avoided. If you have a backpack on, take it off and lay it down beside you, and then assume the protective position.

10/79

Rain gear should be worn to remain as dry as possible. It may also be helpful to duck behind already existing barricades for protection, such as concrete walls, buildings, etc. However, do not seek shelter in or behind anything which could become dislodged by a water stream, as you could be hit and harmed by flying materials.

On Oct. 6th occupiers were sprayed with low pressure water. This consisted of a normal firehouse which quickly sprang leaks, mostly bothering other police. Since we all had rain gear due to inclement weather, this water was not a serious problem. However, high pressure water could be planned for May 24th.

If confronted with water hoses in an open area before we are on the site, there is no reason to make ourselves stationary targets. Move away from the water stream if at all possible. If on the site with a large group of people or in an enclosed area, moving away from the water may be impossible. In the case of high pressure hoses, huddling together in the protective posture, with the largest and strongest members of the group on the outside of the huddle will help to protect the greatest number of people. It would be good to have long sheets of plastic to repel the water. Sheets of plastic should be pulled over as many people as possible. Plastic sheets are light enough to hold onto and will not become a projectile if one's grip is lost and they are propelled by water. 5-6 mil. plastic from a hardware store is a good thickness.



Dogs

Dogs may be trained for various purposes: to hold an individual or group in check, to lunge for and to damage the extremities, or to attack with the intent to kill. It is virtually impossible to ascertain what a dog has been trained to do by looking at the animal.

Extreme caution must be used when confronted by an attack dog. The most important thing to do when faced by a dog is to **REMAIN CALM AND DON'T MOVE**. Make no sudden movements, as dogs are trained to respond to fast motion, and to individuals attempting to run away. It may be wise, in case a dog is trained to go for hands or feet, to very slowly attempt to place your hands behind your back, as well as to keep those portions of your body well covered by heavy gloves, socks and shoes, or even to have some cloth wrapping around them. On Oct. 6th we saw that dogs tended to go for implements held in peoples' hands, like wire cutters, grappling hooks, etc. . . **UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD ANYONE ATTEMPT TO RUN FROM AN ATTACK DOG**. They are faster than humans and are provoked by fast movement. Remember that attack dogs are weapons under the control of an officer. It is pointless to try to pacify the dog. If confronted by an unleashed dog, make verbal and eye contact with the officer commanding the animal.

Regardless of training, once a dog has hold of any part of a body, they do not let go until commanded to do so by their master.

We found on Oct. 6th that these dogs were trained to go for loose things, i.e. ponchos, coats, packs, etc. Many people came away with frayed ponchos, but we know of no actual dog bites.

Gas Masks:

Gas masks were used very effectively on October 6th. It seems that just having them decreased the ability of the police to use tear gas against us. It is therefore important for us to again acquire gas masks. They are available for \$5-10 from some surplus stores, and the Coalition will probably again attempt to acquire them in bulk. You should replace the activated charcoal filter before the action if possible to assure it works. They can be tested by using ammonia. If you can smell the ammonia **strongly**, your mask is not working.

One problem that we did not plan for on Oct. 6th was the confiscation of gas masks that occurred. People should plan for this problem by keeping their masks in pouches and hidden when near police.



10/79

....Don't get separated from the group

Police

The role of the police and national guard at the occupation is to defend, with force, corporate property and state authority. Their role is therefore inherently repressive. As they are agents of the state, it is clear that they have been chosen for their obedience and in addition have been given extensive training. It is therefore unrealistic to expect that they can be won over to support our occupation attempt during the action. The most effective time to do outreach to state police and national guard is undoubtedly before the action. Those who have interest in this project should begin their efforts now.

The police are dependent on their salaries. If they do not follow orders, they will probably lose their jobs. Therefore, the most concrete way that these people can express their support for our occupation is by not coming to Seabrook on May 24th.

During the Oct. 6th Direct Action we found that police and national guard were ordered to disperse us rather than arrest us. The police used such tactics as mace, water, tear gas and clubs to disperse us. On Oct. 6th we demonstrated our ability to non-violently, collectively resist arrest in the isolated instances when arrest was attempted. At one point on Saturday, on the South marsh a woman was grabbed by four or five state troopers. They attempted to drag her towards the fence, where she would be arrested. Approximately 100 occupiers surrounded the police, and chanted



such old favorites as "Let her go, let her go" and "It won't be built" etc. Some of us got close enough to grab the woman, and the police let go, and retreated. We will need to role play and learn to better use these types of tactics against the police. This type of resistance reinforces our ability to act collectively together against the state.

Generally we found that the best general tactic for dealing with the police was to remain in a large concentrated group and move around or quickly away from the police. In order to move together we need to form clusters and regions as affinity groups are not large enough for



these types of coordinated actions. Police often attempted to confiscate personal property during the October 6th actions. Even medics had gas masks taken away while treating people. **All gas masks and other tools should be kept out of the view of police at all times.**

Running away from police is an instinctive response, but should be avoided as it may tend to cause panic and the breakdown of the group. This will only aid the police in their attempts to disperse us.

Remember, the authorities are banking on their ability to destroy our action by transforming our unified effort into an ineffectual, chaotic mob. Therefore emphasis should be placed on forming circular tight groupings, which contain enough numbers to ensure safety yet mobile enough to move swiftly in response to the approach of the police, dogs, gas, etc. Stronger individuals with adequate protective clothing may be placed on the outside of each group to protect those less able to tolerate physical abuse. Each group should coordinate its maneuvers with the larger body.

If individuals do get isolated from groups, the best idea is to move swiftly back towards groups of occupiers. If attacked by police before this can be accomplished, a defensive posture can be assumed. This involves tucking your head and knees into your chest, and placing your hands behind your head. This position will keep your spine bent as well as your head and abdomen shielded. This could minimize injury, however it was found to be fairly ineffective on Oct. 6th. We cannot stress enough the necessity of acting together as affinity groups, clusters and regions.



10/79

Collectivity and Non-violence

Our experience on October 6th showed us that we are likely to be forced to deal directly with police. We made many mistakes during the October 6th action. Among them:

- We allowed ourselves to be panicked and therefore dispersed by very small numbers of police.

- Many participants were confused about the exact nature of the action.

- We had no cooperative strategy to deal with direct police contact outside the fence. Even though we claimed we would be persistent in our occupation attempts, most people were discouraged and dispersed quickly.

- We were unprepared for the vigorous and violent response of police to our non-violent action.

We suggest affinity groups and clusters discuss these problems, and how they plan to respond to direct contact with police. To help with these problems we urge more realistic role plays, including the tactics in this and other sections of the Handbook on a cluster or perhaps regional basis, more protective clothing including goggles for mace, helmets and perhaps newspaper pads for especially vulnerable individuals. The idea of using shields against clubs and mace is also a possibility (see Action section).

The crux of our non-violent defense still lies in our ability to use our collectivity and our mass numbers. On October 6th, our collectivity broke down; some people were motivated to isolated, individualistic actions against the plant. It is important to realize that these individual acts are purely symbolic and dangerous. Such acts have no potential to actually shut down the plant, only a large number of acts coordinated together will shut down the plant.

Everyone sharing common goals and tactics, and being better equipped both to deal with police and to take down the fences will help foster collectivity. Regions should meet independently many times before the action. At those regional meetings the group as a whole should forge an understanding among each other as to the nature of our action on May 24th. Spending time together is the first step in developing trust with each other. People who plan to join the Occupation/Blockade should understand that it is a potentially long term commitment, and that we actually intend to use the tactics outlined in other sections of this handbook. We need to all go to Seabrook with the same goal and tactics in mind on May 24th.

Summary: Strategies for Dealing With Police

- Layering — The differentiation of tasks by the position of individuals in the group in relation to the fence.
- Tight, solid groups.
- Move around police and regroup — remember to always move towards the fence if possible.
- Cells of two to three people — these people are responsible for one another and watch out for each other.
- Protective clothing — helmets, goggles, gas masks, pads, shields, etc.
- Rescue tactics.
- Link arms to resist arrest.
- Stop buses that might try to take us away — surround them, let air out of tires; etc.

THE WORKERS AT SEABROOK

The May 24th Occupation/Blockade will probably bring us into direct contact with Seabrook construction workers, both before and during the action. Therefore, it is important for everyone participating to understand their special position and the past history of our contact with them. Many of us who are taking off from our jobs and losing pay to participate in anti-nuclear action share similar risks with the Seabrook workers. We share the daily humiliation of poor working conditions, harassment from bosses and inflated prices that plague our everyday lives. And we and our families especially share the risks of cancer, leukemia or sudden death from a nuclear catastrophe if the Seabrook nukes are ever completed.

The peculiar political situation of the Seabrook workers today is largely a backlash from the construction boom of the 1960's. As New England's demand for new highways, office buildings, etc. became saturated by the early seventies, the construction industry became severely depressed, with unemployment among building trade workers in some areas reaching 50%. By 1976, construction contractors and trade unionists alike had come to count on Seabrook, the largest construction project in New England, as their best relief from the endless spiral of inflation and recession.

As opposition to nuclear power has increased, nuclear workers have come under increasing pressure from management to blame the anti-nuclear movement for their economic woes. They have been targeted by pro-nuclear groups such as the US Labor Party, a rabidly right-wing organization with branches all across the US, Canada and Europe, while the nuclear industry quietly whittles away at their rights as union workers to strike and to file grievances against unsafe working conditions.

Since Three Mile Island, nuclear workers have begun to increasingly trace their grievances to their source and question their bosses' pro-nuclear propaganda. An increasing number of workers have come to question what they are building, and to decry the fact that unemployment is often their only alternative. They are arguing that nuclear construction is not even a temporary solution to local unemployment; a great deal of the work is done by specialized nuclear professionals who travel from site to site as they are needed. As a result, there has been a great deal of resistance by nuclear workers, both in construction and in plant maintenance:

- The carpenters at Seabrook staged an extended strike for higher wages last summer, severely crippling construction for several weeks.

- Nuclear maintenance workers across the country have begun to refuse orders to enter high radiation areas with minimal protection.

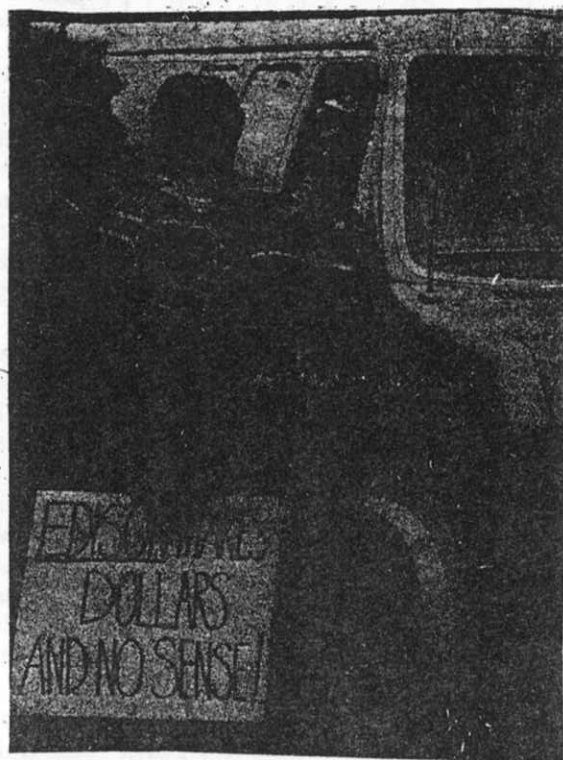
- 150 laborers at the Pilgrim nuke in Plymouth, Mass., honored a picket line set up by members of Boston Clamshell and the Pilgrim Alliance to protest their union's alleged assignment to a disproportionate share of high radiation jobs. They accused Boston Edison of granting many of their usual less hazardous jobs to higher-skilled nuclear specialists.

- At least two acts of suspected sabotage have been reported at Seabrook, involving major damage to cranes in-

involved in power line placement and in cooling tunnel excavation. Similar direct action by nuclear workers have been reported at other nuclear sites, as well as operating plants.

- Workers at several nuke sites have refused offers of overtime pay and stayed home during anti-nuclear demonstrations.

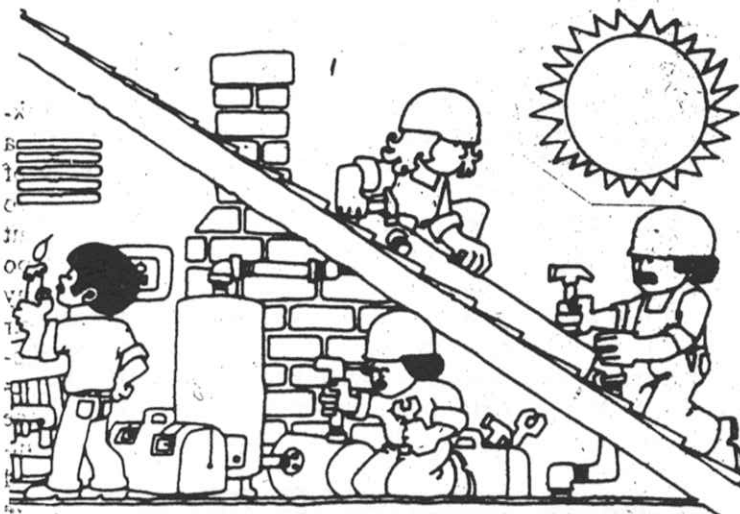
These incidents do not imply overt anti-nuclear sentiments on the part of the workers involved, but reveal a strong, growing resentment against the conditions of nuclear work. They bring home the simple fact that the workers at a nuclear plant can shut it down themselves any time they choose.



*Pilgrim Workers Talk With
Anti-Nuke Demonstrators 2/80*

The working conditions at the Pilgrim nuke have helped the workers there to see through the management's lies. Many of the refueling workers there are receiving between 100 and 200 millirems of radiation every week, whereas members of the general public cannot receive more than 500 millirems in a year. The laborers successfully resisted the company's efforts to break their union through firings and by labelling the workers as "security risks" for associating with anti-nukers. Workers of all trades are angry that radiation work is their only alternative to the unemployment line. Our on-going discussions have made it clear how much we have in common.

Some construction unions have become aware of the great job-producing potential of conservation and renewable energy sources. Studies have shown that almost six times as many workers would be employed in a solar-based energy industry as are presently engaged in nuclear



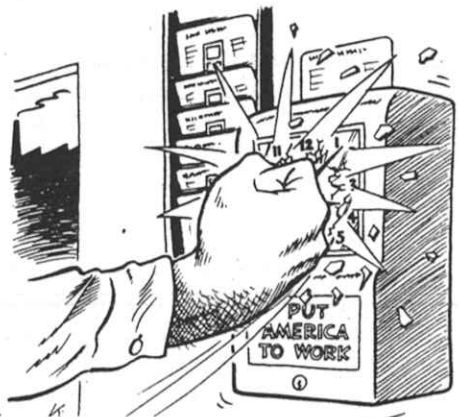
assault on our primary campground two days before the occupation never materialized, and US Labor Party leaflets, carrying absurd picket signs such as "Nuclear plants are better built than Jane Fonda" and "Kennedy finances nuclear terrorists" were received rather coldly. (They did, however, manage to intimidate several of our local supporters and gain state-wide publicity for their laughable slanders.) Such efforts might be more successful this time, as our Blockade seeks to directly obstruct traffic at the plant gates. Our only recourse is to step up regular, organized, Coalition-wide leafletting at the plant gates to explain our action, its non-violent character and the urgency of stopping Seabrook. We hope that a significant number of plant workers will stay home for the duration of the action. Invite them to call in sick or join us.

and fossil fuel-related work. The Machinists and Sheet Metal Workers, among others, are involved in active lobbying for increased solar development; however, few alternative jobs are presently available, as renewable energy sources remain relatively unattractive for the large energy monopolies. Again, nuclear workers remain trapped by the whims of the corporate state. If we are not extremely sensitive to their peculiar needs, our action could easily become the object of their frustrations.

Present Coalition members have been active in outreach to Seabrook workers since the spring of 1978. A majority of the workers have consistently been rather open and interested in our leaflets, while others have been cold or outwardly hostile. Many of the more temporary workers, mostly laborers hired from within about a 100 mile radius of the plant, have become increasingly receptive, especially since Three Mile Island. The most hostile reactions have come from the nuclear specialists, many of whom are permanent employees of large high-technology construction contractors such as Perrini and Morrison-Knudsen. Some are active in pro-nuclear right-wing organizations.

Before October 6th, the workers apparently resisted a major effort by pro-nuclear forces to organize them against our occupation attempt. A threatened company-inspired

Unfortunately, there is no way we can completely dismiss the risk of a confrontation organized by pro-nuclear agents at the plant gates. Several reactionary vigilante-type organizations claim to be active in New Hampshire, and they are likely to be aided by nuclear industry officials,



who must protect the billion dollars they have already spent on Seabrook. This is similar to the common management tactic of hiring scabs to interfere with strikes and ongoing union struggles, often by violent means. In Germany, hired thugs have been found posing as plant workers at anti-nuclear demonstrations, and on at least one occasion, a Seabrook security official dressed in overalls was described by the news media as a "worker" trying to attack Clamshell demonstrators.

Confrontations at the plant gates are to be avoided, as they would simply serve the interests of the PSCo agents that would be trying to provoke them. Blockaders should form tight circles, wear protective clothing and refuse to retaliate if provoked. If we are able to build large, immovable barricades at the gates, it might be best for the bulk of blockaders to try to simply move away from potential confrontations. We will try to take a stance of active solidarity with the workers, understanding that we have much more in common with them than anyone has with their bosses. Labor songs and signs of support from unions around New England could prove helpful, as would strong statements of our demand for safe, stable, community-based jobs at union wages for the workers that will be displaced from Seabrook when construction is stopped.



DECISION MAKING

CDAS meetings rotate around the Northeast and are usually held on Sundays. They may be as often as every week as the action nears. Meetings and decisionmaking are open to all. As our meetings become larger we will eventually move to some form of representational decision-making (i.e. affinity group spokes or cluster spokes). Proposals to the body should be submitted one week prior to the meeting. An agenda review committee composed of representatives from each region meets before the meeting to establish the agenda and arrange for facilitators, notetakers, timekeepers, etc. At the outset of the meeting the agenda is approved, then previous decisions are reported and new proposals presented. Workshops are held on various proposals and/or issues followed by group discussion. At the end of discussion the facilitators ask for a general agreement before calling for a 75% majority vote. There are alternative processes for reaching a decision if the 75% vote fails. Most of the work of the Coalition is done not in large meetings but in regional and Coalition-wide task forces.

Affinity Groups

Through each individual's understanding of the needs of the group, a collective cohesion can develop for which effective decision-making is a natural process. But the reality of building a massive action for May 24th is that many affinity groups will form in a matter of days before the action. Some collective unity may be unattainable, though the group will be united through common goals (i.e. Occupying/Blockading) and the need to support each other in the face of police repression (violence), confusion, fear and/or hesitation about moving forward.

Affinity Group Process

Affinity groups are autonomous; it is up to each group to choose a process that works. The spirit of the affinity group lies not in its process of decisionmaking but in its result — all members working together toward a common goal. Consensus is generally considered to be a viable and desirable alternative to majority rule within a small group because everyone has a voice in the decision. Ideally there is no dissatisfied minority being overruled. Following any necessary discussion, if there are no objections to accepting a proposal, it is adopted by consensus. Any member may block the group's adoption of a proposal but the choice of an individual to block consensus is a great responsibility. An objection may be made without blocking the decision, by agreeing to the proposal with stated reservations. Or, an individual may choose to step aside and not participate in an action that the group decides to take. There are many groups who feel that consensus is impractical and that they need not agree on everything to work together. Some of these groups use simple majority rule or some other majority as a process, others simply break down responsibilities amongst the members. Because of the undesirability of an affinity group splitting up during the action, it is necessary to emphasize the need for prior decisions and commitments.

One situation groups often encounter with decisionmaking occurs when the process — the act of trying to reach a decision — becomes more important than the content of the discussion and the **need** to make a decision. It helps to listen carefully, avoid repetition, and try not to speak out of turn or interrupt. Another problem occurs when too much time and energy is spent on minor details. One way to deal with this is by delegating responsibility within your group. Besides the obvious functions such as food, equipment, and first aid, individuals or small groups can be responsible for strategy, media, being spokes, keeping the group together, fence cutting, etc. For quick decision-making, a vote can be taken or someone can be designated to make certain specific decisions. The point is that **you've got to be able to make decisions and you won't always have a lot of time for discussions**. Remember that whatever process you decide to use to make decisions it will only work if everyone in the group wants it to.

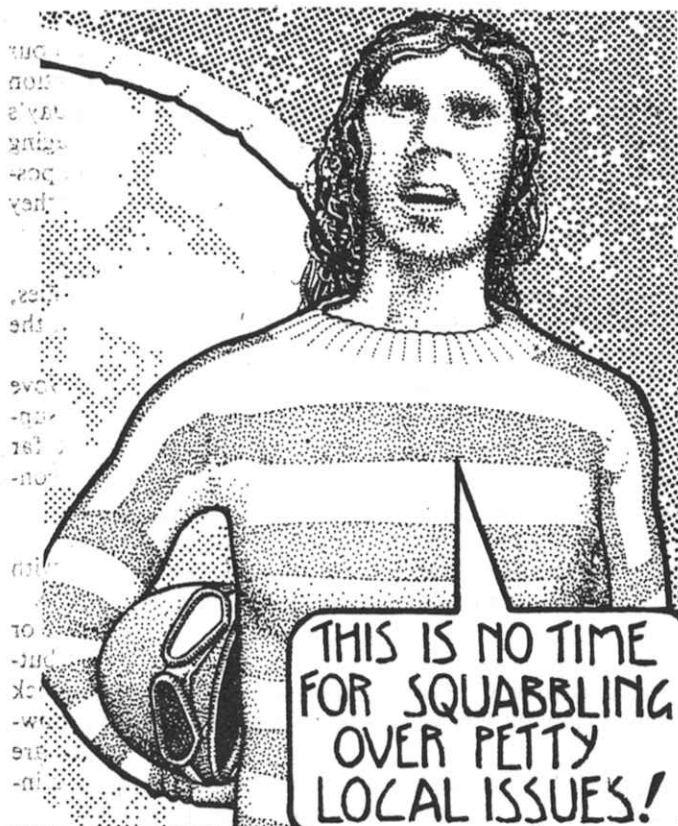
Previous Decisions and Collective Responsibility OR Just When You Thought It Was Safe to Go Back Into the Marsh. . . .

When an affinity group prepares for May 24th it should first come to an agreement on its common goals and then decide how it will reach them together. An affinity group must be flexible; consider all the possibilities beforehand. People in the group need to know each other and where they stand and hopefully agree on most actions (and reactions) they will take. Otherwise the commitment of the group as a **whole will break down**. It is imperative that the affinity group ask and answer questions **beforehand**: what type of stance will you adopt? Will you hold your ground when police march on you? Where, if at all, do you draw the line? If you can't answer such questions ahead of time you certainly won't be able to do so in the midst of confrontation. On the marsh or in the Blockade, **you** are responsible for yourself; your affinity group as a whole is responsible for its **collective** self. The outcome of this action depends upon each person and group knowing why they're there, what they hope to accomplish and how much they're willing to give up for that.

Occupiers, especially those who get involved just prior to May 24th, must realize that in the months before the action the Coalition is in the process of making many important decisions regarding the nature of the action. It's up to every local group to keep updated on these decisions as they're made and participate in them as long as they are able. It should be realized that these decisions are also commitments to other participants in the action who are acting on the basis of these agreements.

Shortly before the October 6th action, the Coalition had come to many agreements on what would happen there. Strategy was based on priorities as outlined in the handbook with allowance that changing conditions would indicate the need to change priorities.

It was decided that in a critical moment we might withdraw for quick votes on previously agreed-upon questions. On the South, one affinity group was designated to call out



these questions for the vote. Spokes meetings were supposed to take place at certain times (and in fact took place much of the time). North-South representatives would meet to coordinate strategy by also answering a previously agreed-upon set of questions. Had we succeeded in gaining access and getting on the site a General Assembly was to take place with one spoke per affinity group and a 75% vote to make decisions. It is generally agreed that the main reason why these processes weren't adhered to on October 6th was because too many people were unaware of just what these processes were or even that they existed. Decisions must be made known to all participants and processes for decisionmaking must be well-circulated at the site, and **beforehand**.

A coordinated collective campaign depends upon knowledge of and commitment to these prior decisions. For example, if it is agreed upon that everyone will act at 8:00 AM, a meeting should not be called at 7:00 (or 7:59) to decide what time to act. This happened on October 6th. If a time is agreed upon, we must realize the importance of carrying out that agreement in the spirit of collective action and in solidarity with other affinity groups we can't even see (like those on the other side of the site). We must stick to previous decisions.

For the occupation, there should be no meetings on the marsh. In many respects a meeting is a cop-out, a retreat, avoiding a confrontation you decided to carry out. A decision to meet would be a decision not to act. We must know beforehand that we are going to act, we are attempting to occupy the plant. We know what to expect: lines of police inside or outside the fence with gas, Mace and clubs. If the situation is so severe or unexpected that we don't know how to deal with it, the best action may be to retreat and regroup. In the Blockade we will not be able to give up our

positions in order to meet. Again, commitment must be defined ahead of time. We know that we have to hold our position to effectively Blockade, to keep the authorities out, to stop Seabrook, nuclear power and eventually all forms of human oppression.

Between now and May 24th, affinity groups should be forming themselves into regions and clusters with representatives so that they will be familiar with one another before the action and will work together more effectively.

No Leaders/No Followers

Often in a group, especially a new one, dominant personalities will arise. We must always share our experiences and we must realize that some people will have more information in a given area to contribute to the group.

But few people born and raised in this country have much experience in taking full responsibility for their actions, even in the routine of daily life, no less in taking **collective** responsibility for the actions of a group. In a high pressure situation, there is a strong tendency for people to fall back on their habits of subservience and of looking to authority figures within the group for guidance. Those who see in themselves the tendency to take control of others must control themselves. Others must be assertive, making sure they get an equal input. It is important though, to distinguish between subservience and **agreement** based on reason. Let us all be students of each other and set examples for each other.

It is important to distinguish between **leaders** and the option of having **tactical coordination**. Should we decide to delegate this responsibility some issues we will have to resolve are: accountability, definition of roles and how this would help or hinder the group's ability to take action.

Large Meetings

Meetings of clusters, approaches or all the approaches during the action will consist of affinity group or cluster spokes. Obviously we all can't meet together easily. Each affinity group must choose its own rep, either a permanent one or some form of rotation from one person to another. A spoke represents the affinity group's sentiments and may be empowered to make some, all or no decisions for the group.

Large group dynamics is a very different situation from affinity group interaction. It's comparable to the affinity group that has just come together, in that we are all there with common goals, but beyond that our ideas may diverge greatly. The process is more formal in the large group. Speakers must impose time limits on themselves and speak only when recognized. Facilitators will often take a more active role in keeping order, synthesizing ideas and forcing us to make decisions. Obviously the facilitators must be aware of the Coalition process and all previous decisions. It is their job to help steer us toward common goals. To build an effective action and an effective direct action movement it is our job to reach agreement by considering the needs of other groups and being willing to compromise on our positions. Just as individuals gain strength through cooperation in affinity groups by agreeing on a common strategy, affinity groups (through spokes) gain strength through the collective action of their clusters.

WHAT TO BRING

People going to either the blockade or the occupation will need to take approximately the same materials with them to Seabrook. However, those taking part in the blockade will need to carry the bulk of their supplies with them to the gates of the plant, while those entering the plant and building a community on-site should leave all, except their "entrance tools" and one day's food and water, back at the staging grounds with a support person. Maneuverability is a crucial asset to those going on-site so they must take special care to eliminate heavy and bulky items.

We should all bring a sleeping bag (down filled bags are useless when wet) or bedroll with some sort of pad (i.e. foam) underneath to help insulate it from the ground. The weather on the Seacoast in late May is usually quite hot, so people should be prepared to deal with the heat and sun. Sturdy boots, light wool socks, work gloves, lightweight long pants and some sort of headwear to protect you from the sun would come in very handy. A poncho and perhaps a warm wool sweater should be brought to cope with the possibility of rain and chilly temperature at night.

The following personal items would all prove useful for this action, though we should look towards sharing where possible: toilet paper (though we hope to have access to toilets on-site, toilet paper could be a problem), extra tampons, SUNSCREEN, SUNGLASSES, toothbrush/paste, towel, chapstick, a wide brimmed hat (preferably white), underwater swimming goggles, writing materials, a large spoon and bowl, flashlight, matches, a tent or tarp, nylon rope, reading materials and of course this handbook. Materials labeled with name, address and affinity group will have a better chance of being recovered if they are lost.

Affinity Group Needs

Once on the site many people will be involved in the building of viable shelters from the materials available.

Nevertheless, each affinity group should bring its own temporary shelter. An inexpensive "tent" can be constructed by fastening two ponchos of the same type along their edge. This new seam can be placed over a ridgeline or upon two poles for a 2-3 person tent. A third poncho could be attached at the bottom edges to form a floor.

If you're taking part in the blockade, there's a chance you'll be living on asphalt so you won't be able to drive stakes into the ground for your shelter.

Each a.g. should also bring cooking utensils, either a stove or a grating for a fire (wood will be scarce though there is some scrap construction wood around). While we are using local residents land for staging there should be no fires except one communal one.

Other needs are rope, first aid supplies (see medical section), needles and thread, shovels, trash bags, a repair kit with pliers, heavy tape, safety pins, glue, nails, and any other materials necessary for their part in building an ongoing community should all be brought to our staging area. All of these materials can be brought on-site once our presence there is established. However, at least three pairs of 18" (or larger) fence cutters per affinity group and a few lines of strong nylon rope with grappling hooks attached to wire or chain leaders should be brought to facilitate our entrance onto the site. These should be all guarded as the police may try to steal these from us as they tried October 6th.

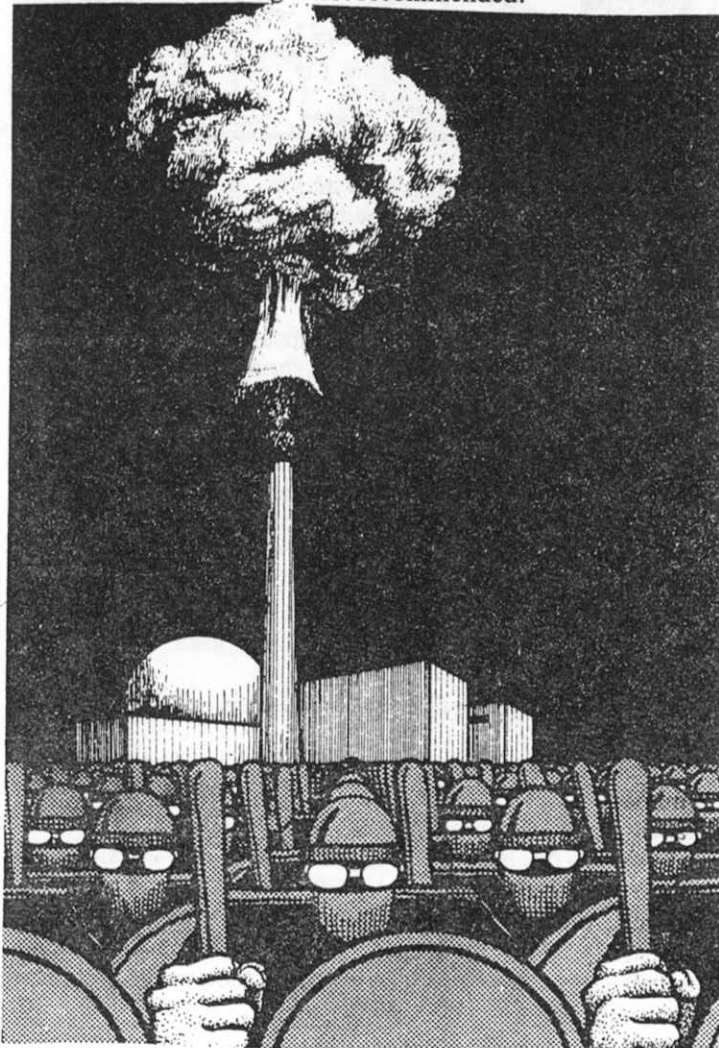
Food

For the start of our community we will need to meet our food needs ourselves. A.g.'s should come to the action with a 7 day supply of food. However, all but one day's food should be left with a support person or at the staging grounds. A.g.'s and regions might choose from these possible methods of moving those supplies and food that they deemed to be of immediate necessity:

- carry everything at once as individuals;
- have certain groups or individuals carry supplies, while other groups with lighter packs are working on the fence;
- leave supplies on marsh fields or in woods. Move through the fence, some of us return to pick up the supplies once we're on the site. These should be kept far enough away from fences to avoid contamination or confiscation;
- roll on supply wagons later.

As for water, each individual should carry a gallon with them initially — there is water on-site that we plan to use.

All food should be non-perishable and easy to store or pack. Foods such as dried fruits, nuts, seeds, peanut butter, dark breads, vegetables, hard cheese, relatively quick cooking grains and beans, granola, gorp, salami, powdered milk, fresh fruit, peas and sprouting containers are good items. Be aware of the fact that salt and sugar increase thirst. Fasting is not recommended.



MEDICAL INFORMATION

Direct action means **taking control ourselves**, and medical matters should be no different. Society teaches us dependence, teaches us to capitulate to a medical elite. Doctors and the corporate executives who profit from our disease want us to be dependent on them. If the medical field becomes de-mystified, the profiteers who depend on us for their free rides will be displaced. To prevent this they have a special language, and systems designed to keep the knowledge and profits in the hands of a few.

Our approach to medical matters is designed to share and decentralize medical knowledge. We will need to be dependent on each other, not anyone else. Some occupiers will have more formal training than others, and will be available to act as resource people, yet our approach will be to share and build confidence rather than dominate. The first step in this process will begin months before the action. Each occupier must take personal responsibility for his/her health and well being.



- Think about the May 24th action. Are you mentally and physically prepared to use the tactics outlined in this handbook? Do you understand and have you role-played the tactics described in the **Action and Non-violent Responses** section?

- Do you have chronic medical problems such as diabetes, asthma, epilepsy? If so, you should think about being the support person for your group. Remember that you could hold up a whole cluster or even region if you have an episode during the action. The number of medics and their ability to treat such conditions is limited.

- Have you taken part in a training session by your affinity group medic? Everyone at the site should be trained in the rudiments of first aid such as how to stop bleeding, irrigate maced eyes, recognize serious problems, etc.

- Does your affinity group have the supplies outlined in this section?

- Try to get enough sleep and good food in the weeks before the action.

There are several good books about first aid and general medical stuff for the untrained. Among the best are: *The Well Body Book*, *Our Bodies Ourselves*, *Where There Are No Doctors* (especially good), *Bare Foot Doctors*, and the *Red Cross Advanced First Aid Manual*. All occupiers should read one of these manuals before going to Seabrook. We highly recommend that people spend at least one affinity group meeting before the action specifically on medical training and discussion.

Personal Equipment

You should wear sturdy, well-fitting and broken-in boots to avoid blisters. The weather is so variable on the seacoast in May that it is difficult to know how to dress, but it probably makes sense to wear a T-shirt with a thin wool shirt that can be removed if it becomes too hot. Also bring a light sweater. **DON'T FORGET RAIN GEAR.** A whole body suit is best as we will probably encounter water hoses again.

If needed you should have your medication and a **medic alert tag** if you have any medical problems.

Other Personal Needs

- Squeeze bottle with 5% Boric acid solution
- Mole skin
- Pocket knife
- Tampons
- Chapstick
- Sun screen
- Extra pair of glasses

DO NOT WEAR CONTACT LENSES TO THE ACTION! When tear gas is released it can seep under lenses and in some cases actually be absorbed by the lenses. This can severely **damage your eyes**, besides rendering the lenses unusable.

Heat Problems

Remember that since it might be very hot, heat stroke and heat exhaustion are potential problems. Heat exhaustion is simply getting very hot. Your skin turns red, and you sweat a lot. Heat stroke is much more dangerous. Your temperature rises, your skin turns white, and you don't sweat. This condition should be treated immediately, as it is a very serious problem. Most good first aid books have chapters on these problems. **EVERYONE IN EACH AFFINITY GROUP SHOULD KNOW ALL THE SIGNS OF THESE PROBLEMS, AND HOW TO TREAT THEM.**

Affinity Group Medics

Each affinity group should have at least one person who is prepared in first aid. This person (or persons) will be available to the affinity group, as well as to surrounding occupiers to give advice and assistance if an occupier(s) requires minimal medical attention. Someone who has completed a Red Cross Advanced First Aid course is a good choice for affinity group medic. For affinity groups who have no members trained in first aid, the Coalition for Direct Action will be holding regional medic preparation sessions in first aid skills. (Contact local regions for schedule and information.)

In an action such as the one planned for October 6th, much of our success will depend on each occupier's ability to take care of her/himself and the people around her/him. For this reason, prepared affinity groups are strongly urged to discuss medical needs, and to have individual affinity group medical preparations (led by the medic or other knowledgeable members), thereby spreading first aid skills throughout the body of occupiers.

Each affinity group medic should talk to the a.g. members and keep a list of the following information:

- 1) Who in the group has special medical problems and what to do for them;
- 2) The names and telephone numbers of the local hospitals:

- Anna Jaques Hospital (approx. 10 miles from site)
Highland Ave.
Newburyport, Mass.
(617)462-6601
- Exeter Hospital (approx. 12 miles from site)
10 Buzell Ave.
Exeter, N.H.
(603)778-7311
- Portsmouth Hospital (approx. 15 miles from site)
Junkins Ave.
Portsmouth, N.H.
(603)436-5110

If you cannot get to the medical van and are facing a true medical emergency, you may try calling an ambulance:

- Seabrook Fire Dept. (has an ambulance service)
(603)474-2611
- EMT Ambulance Service, Exeter, N.H.
(603)772-5912

Below is a list of other supplies suggested for affinity group medics. These could be carried individually wrapped in zip lock bags (to keep them organized and dry) or in a large tupperware container or tackle box. The compartment or day pack in which they are stored should be clearly marked with a large red cross for quick access.

Affinity group medic supplies:

- 2 ace bandages 3"x5 yds.
- 2 triangular bandages
- 2 sterile gauze pads 2"x2"
- 2 sterile gauze pads 4"x4"
- 1 roll of adhesive tape (1"x5yds. 2-3"x5-10yds.)
- 6 antacid tablets (e.g. maalox)
- tweezers
- 1 roll kling or kerlex
- 1 bottle aspirin
- flashlight
- 1 bottle antiseptic
- 1 bottle of eyewash
- 1 penknife or single edged razor blade
- 1 tube zinc oxide
- 1 bottle salt tablets
- boric acid solution or sodium bisulfate for eyewash
- water purification tablets

Each affinity group medic should wear a watch with a second hand and a red cross arm band. Also, each affinity group should consider purchasing an advanced first aid

manual (available from the local Red Cross). This should be carried by the a.g. medic.

Regional Group Medic

Each region is strongly urged to seek out such skilled "emergency medical" people as EMT's, registered nurses, LPNs and physician's assistants, and to organize a regional medical group as such regions see fit. This group of people should be easily identifiable and easily accessible in the case of a true medical emergency.

In addition to carrying some or all of the previously listed supplies, regional medical group members should try to carry:

- 1) inflatable or portable splints
- 2) a blood pressure cuff and stethoscope
- 3) airways
- 4) such medicines as kaopectate, milk of magnesia, etc., for systemic complaints.

Further, each region's medical group should brainstorm, in advance, ways in which to utilize equipment (already on the site) as medical supplies (e.g. boards or branches for splints, making cravats out of old tarps, clothes, etc.).

Note: There is a medical locker, presumably full of supplies, on the site. This also could be utilized when searching for supplies.

Medical Task Force

This group will serve as "core medical." A van with equipment such as backboards, etc., will be kept here with highly prepared medical personnel (possibly an MD.) Their location will be decided and announced as the action approaches.



"First we have to convince the people that good health isn't everything."

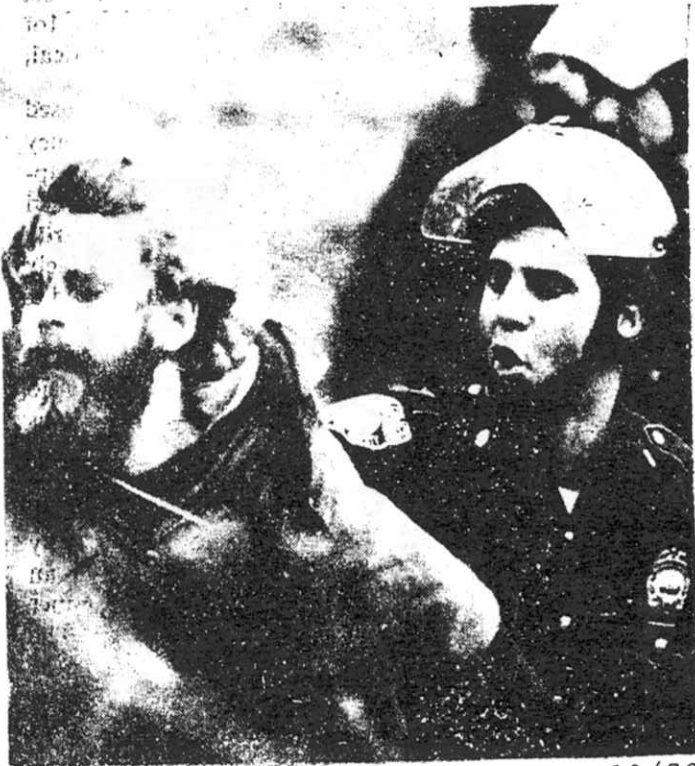
LEGAL INFORMATION

"Government being instituted for the common benefit, protection and security of the whole community and not for the private interest of any one person, family or class of people, therefore whenever the ends of government are perverted and public liberty manifestly endangered and all other means of redress are ineffectual, the people may and of right ought to reform the old or establish a new government. The doctrine of nonresistance against arbitrary power and oppression is absurd and destructive of the good and happiness of humankind."

— New Hampshire Constitution
Part I, Article X.

As far as the police/state authorities are concerned, the act of occupying and blockading the Seabrook nuke is illegal. The way the authorities choose to respond to our actions cannot be predicted with any certainty, though they do have several options. As the state learned from the April 1977 action at Seabrook, arresting, confining and trying large numbers of people places an incredible strain upon the financial and judicial resources of the state. Furthermore, on October 6th the collective initiative of occupiers, and our stated intent to non-violently resist arrest, compelled the state to seriously evaluate their options. As a result, the state chose to respond to our occupation attempt by using violent and indiscriminate dispersal tactics including mace, clubs, dogs, gas and water hoses.

In addition to citizen votes and legislation action, the struggle against the Seabrook nuke has included numerous efforts to put nuclear power on trial. Most notably, on appeal to the New Hampshire Supreme Court, a Seabrook defendant attempted to argue the defense and necessity of



his actions on the basis of a statute known as competing harms (nuclear power being a far greater harm than the act of criminal trespass). To no one's surprise, this appeal failed. The legal system, along with the threat of force and economic deprivation, is one of the principle means by which the state enforces its support of the private wealth behind the nuclear industry. We cannot expect the state to respect our political analysis of their "authority" and our consequent decision to resist arrest.

In the event of mass arrests, we have more strength as the courts and jails feel the pressure of our numbers. The strategy we use towards the legal system, as the logical extension of our direct action against the plant, **remains in our own hands**. There are several forms of resistance we can use including bail solidarity, non-cooperation and the demand for unconditional release. In this way, we reaffirm our position that the real crime is the Seabrook nuke and that we will continue, until we succeed, to invoke our right to resist the laws which protect private property/interests at the cost of human life.

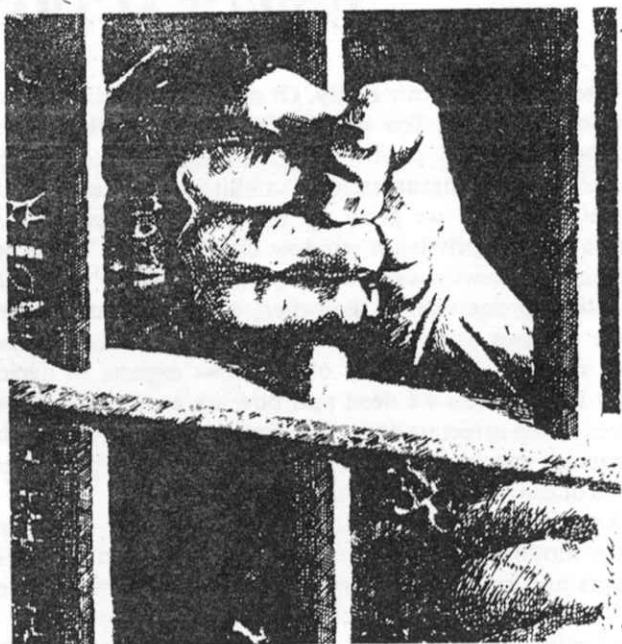
While we must each make our own decision about how to deal with the legal system, we should remember that the decision to go to trial is a political one, not legal. We draw our strength from the collective intent of our actions, and we have only as much power as we refuse to give up. We should not relinquish it voluntarily! The following is intended to give occupiers and blockaders a sense of the New Hampshire legal system, as well as some of the possible legal ramifications of our action.

New Hampshire Legal System

If arrested for a misdemeanor in New Hampshire you are tried before a judge (not a jury) in District Court. If convicted you have the automatic right of appeal to the Superior Court. This appeal vacates the District Court decision and gives the defendant the right to an entirely new trial with the option of a trial by jury. This leads to a new verdict and perhaps a new sentence, up to the statutory maximum. Further appeals to the New Hampshire Supreme Court and the federal courts are possible, but may be extremely costly and time consuming. There is no time limit by which the state must call the case into Superior Court.

Legal Past History

Since 1976, more than 2500 people have been arrested for demonstrating against Seabrook. Almost all the cases that have been appealed have been dismissed, including those who appealed their criminal trespass charges from the August 1976 and April 1977 actions. People who took part in the Clamshell wave actions in the summer and fall of 1978 and the blockade of the reactor pressure vessel in March 1979, have either had their cases dismissed on technicalities or have been found guilty and received suspended sentences and \$100 fines. Some had the \$100 fines suspended as well. Of over 3000 occupiers participating in the October 6th occupation attempt, 22 were arrested and charged with either criminal mischief or criminal trespass. Of these, some were again dismissed on technicalities, but most were found guilty and received suspended sentences and suspended \$100 fines.



Possible Charges, Booking, Arraignment

Victims of racism, sexism and classism incarcerated in the country's prisons bear compelling witness to the fact that the state has the power to charge people with whatever "crime" it wants. Some possible charges include:

- Criminal trespass (misdemeanor): maximum penalty is 1 year in jail and \$1000 fine.
- Disorderly conduct (misdemeanor): maximum penalty is 1 year in jail and \$1000 fine.
- Resisting arrest (misdemeanor): maximum penalty is 1 year in jail and \$1000 fine.
- Criminal mischief (misdemeanor or felony): maximum penalty is 1-7 years in jail and up to \$500 fine.
- Felony riot charge (class B felony): maximum penalty is 7 years in jail and \$5000 fine. Defined as "tumultuous conduct" which "causes public alarm" and leads to substantial property damage or physical injury.

One possible strategy for the state in attempting to discourage anti-nuclear direct action would be the selective arrest and prosecution of a small group of demonstrators. Federal and state riot or conspiracy charges would be extremely difficult to prove, and a trial would be costly for the state. It might also provide a public forum for the debate on nuclear power which the state and industry are certainly anxious to avoid. The Coalition stands in solidarity with its members should something like this occur. In the past, however, most demonstrators have been charged with either criminal trespass or criminal mischief. Sentences and fines imposed are cited in the previous section on legal history.

You will be asked your name, address, social security number, etc. You will also be photographed and finger-

printed. If you are not booked, it is not a legal arrest. (You are not required to give **all** information requested — consult with legal support for what is required.)

Arraignment takes place before a judge. You are entitled to legal counsel at arraignment, either of your own choosing or court appointed counsel if you are indigent (provably poor). You will be asked to make a plea, guilty, not guilty or nolo contendere (meaning "I do not contest the facts, but call attention to extenuating circumstances.") If you refuse to plea or enter a "creative plea" (such as "I plead for my children" or "I plead for an end to nuclear power"), the judge must enter a not guilty plea on your behalf. If the plea is not guilty, you may be assigned a district court date; if the plea is guilty or nolo contendere you may be sentenced immediately without trial, or a sentencing date may be set. Bail, PR (personal recognizance), or PR bond (which does not require the posting of cash payment, but makes you liable for the set amount if you fail to appear as ordered) will be set by the judge at this time. Those who in some way do not cooperate with arraignment or other court appearances may be held in contempt.

Bail, PR, Unconditional Release/Pre-Trial Detention

In the case of mass arrest, if we don't pay bail, we can expect to spend at least one night in jail. Many of the 1977 people were held by the state in National Guard armories for two weeks, in solidarity until release on PR for everyone was granted. There are basically three options once we are charged:

(1) Bail — we are released from jail until trial dates on the **condition** that we be identified and pay money ("bail" — a security deposit) to the state. In the past, bail was set at either \$100 or \$200 for first offenders and \$500 for multiple offenders. Some folks for personal, medical, work, or other reasons may choose to bail out.

2) Personal Recognizance (PR) — we are released from jail until trial dates without payment of bail money on the condition that we be identified and promise to appear on our trial dates. In the past, many people refused release until everyone was offered PR. **This bail solidarity** was done in order to prevent the state from selectively holding multiple offenders or out-of-staters on bail and to force PR release for everyone.

3) Unconditional Release — we are released from jail with no bail, no record, no charges, no trial date, and no fines. Though legally the state could hold us for 6 months if we don't accept a conditional release (bail or PR), incarceration of thousands would prove to be an unmanageable problem for the state. We can probably only win a quick unconditional release if large numbers of us in solidarity demand it. In fact, demonstrators arrested during an action against the Vermont Yankee nuke in September 1979 did win their demand for unconditional release. The Coalition adopted the demand for unconditional release as its primary legal strategy in the event of mass arrests during the October 6th occupation attempt, and has adopted it for May 24th as well.

Trial

The decision to go to trial or to appeal a lower court ruling in the case of conviction is a political one. It is not likely that you will succeed in putting nukes on trial as the threats of contempt of court are made punitively whenever an attempt to raise the issues is made. Therefore, evaluate your goals and consider how your trial will further these goals when making your decision. Once a trial date is set you are required to appear. If you default, you will forfeit your bail/bond and a bench warrant for your arrest will be issued.

Children and Minors

The decision to bring children is one that should be made between parents and child. It is possible that people who bring children to this Occupation/Blockade could be charged under the following statute: (N.H. Statute 639:3) "Endangering the welfare of a child under 18," which is a misdemeanor. Families receiving state assistance may be particularly vulnerable. Occupiers/Blockaders may be held separately, released immediately or released only in the custody of parents or authorized temporary in-state guardians. Be aware that children arrested may face Juvenile Court proceedings, or the families of minors may be subject to further legal entanglements.

No Negotiations With Authorities

On May 24th citizens from all across New England and the country will non-violently occupy and blockade the Seabrook nuclear construction site. Our opposition to the continued construction of the plant is unconditional and cannot be compromised. We believe that the best means for placing control of energy back into the community is through non-violent collective direct action. **We will not be co-opted by negotiations** — we will stop Seabrook ourselves by occupying and blockading the site. Therefore, one letter will be sent to the state and corporate authorities stating: "We are irrevocably committed to stopping construction of the Seabrook station and transforming the site to meet real human needs. We will non-violently occupy and blockade the site to achieve our goals. (Signed) The Coalition for Direct Action at Seabrook." The only negotiations that can take place are on-site with all those occupiers who want to take part being present.

Legal Support

The Coalition for Direct Action at Seabrook cannot provide legal counsel or financial assistance in individual cases. A legal committee will be constituted to help us develop a collective legal strategy, as well as to offer information, resources and advice.

A *Pro Se Defense Manual* (defending yourself) is available through the various Clamshell offices. This manual was written by a group of lawyers active in the anti-nuclear movement. It is quite comprehensible and is periodically updated to include lessons from trials across the country. It is important to realize that individuals must be responsible for following through with their own legal matters once they have decided to go through the legal system. All members of the legal committee understand our policy of non-negotiation and agree to act accordingly.

DIRECT ACTION

Media as a corporate entity. Of all the institutions of contemporary society, few benefit from popular illusions of independence and public service as do the media. The 'benefits' of communications satellites are presented as self-evident, and we grow up under the impression that media are our privileged window on the world. While admitting that news coverage of a particular 'story' MAY BE 'slanted' to one side or the other, we have come to view these excesses as roughly balancing out, whereas in fact they keep us at the mercy of the news experts to decide what information we need and how we are to view those issues which affect us daily. We are trained to overlook the corporate nature of the news media and their role as servants of the monopoly capitalist status quo.

An ever-increasing portion of television and radio stations, motion picture companies, weekly magazines, daily papers and book publishers are owned and actively controlled by the multinational conglomerates. It would be a fatal mistake to imagine that the only concern of the parent companies is efficiency and profitability in the media they own. The three major broadcast networks are all industrial subsidiaries with conflicts of interest in a large fraction of the day's headlines. Many 'independent' stations are owned by or affiliated with Westinghouse, the leading designer/builder of nuclear reactors, or with RKO General, part of General Tire and Rubber, a major military contractor. Gulf and Western, Litton and ITT have been buying up small entertainment and publishing companies for years. More and more newspapers come under one of the large chains such as Hearst and Gannett. 25 such chains account for 52% of daily circulation.

The political consequences of this control have been seen in the past decade, from the cover-up of the 1970 'secret bombing' of Cambodia to the recently orchestrated anti-Iranian hysteria. WBZ-TV, the Boston affiliate of Westinghouse, ran Three Mile Island stories behind other news on their prime time broadcasts. More subtle and harmful is the media's role of reinforcing our position of powerlessness in society. Sensational and trivialized news reduces readers and watchers to mere passive spectators in the arena of World Events. We combat this escapist commodity structure when we start acting for ourselves, but we must recognize that this cannot appear in the existing media in any systematic way.

Media In the Social Change Movement

Many anti-nuclear actions are intended primarily to gain publicity for issues, even at the expense of our own ideas about those issues. This is the only sense in which Three Mile Island can be regarded as 'accomplishing the movements goals for us.' Getting **anything** on TV, preferably with quotably spectacular turnout figures, is often considered a goal in itself. It is clear that the media can be one useful source of publicity for an action or a campaign, but they will never tell our story for us. They cover celebrities instead of issues, events instead of ideas, and 'factions' instead of social movements. A direct action movement will only **grow** through contacts among people in their own

AND THE MEDIA

Doonesbury



communities, on a day-to-day basis; it can never be produced like the 'groundswells' of public opinion created around candidates and foreign 'enemies.' We must rely on the leaflets, journals and other channels which we develop and control.

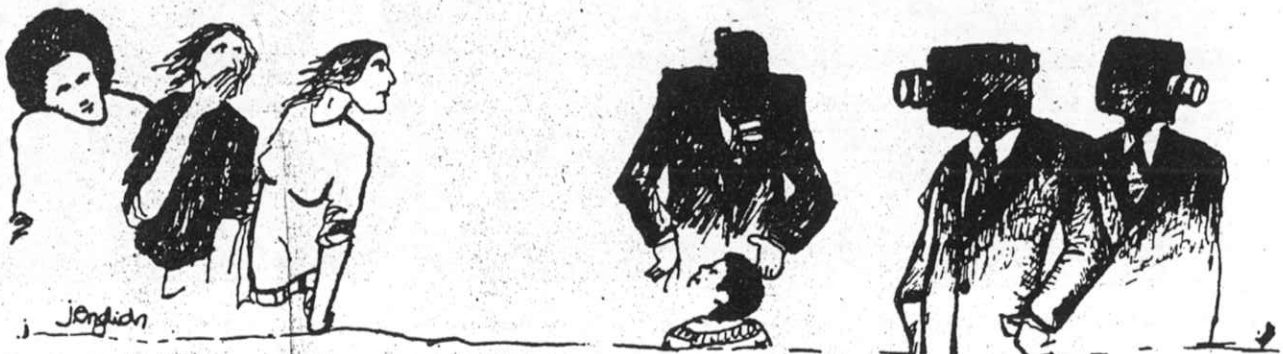
Unfortunately, most people will rely on the mass media for their first contact with anti-nuclear actions. Organizing groups therefore need to develop working relationships with reporters assigned to cover our action. Local media committees should find out from experience (or ask other activists in town) which reporters are fair or sympathetic, knowledgeable and outright hostile. Remember, however, that even the most sympathetic reporters answer to editors and publishers who directly serve their corporate owners. This fact applies even to most of the so-called 'alternative' media.

Getting Our Message Out

Before October 6th, we tried to maintain a distinction between sympathetic, 'movement' journals/stations and the media establishment. With the former we would hold full and spontaneous interviews (in pairs to check misquoting nonetheless); the rest would have only our press statements and monthly question-answer news conferences to work with. We assumed that the big timers would take seriously **what** we intended, but not **why**, and that friendly reporters would at least transmit our motivations to the progressive audiences they serve. But none of the straight reporters wanted to hear our statements at the conferences. And when self-proclaimed anti-nuclear sympathizers Honda and Fayden began an open attack, the previously standoffish movement press repeated their slanders uncritically, and even played them up as an opposition press would (straight media on the other hand downplayed this infighting until the last minute) and made up quotes to fit our 'black sheep' image. Meanwhile local and conservative

papers had discovered the 'split in Clamshell,' which had already been a primary concern for many underinformed activists. To their credit, however, local papers such as the *Manchester Union Leader* never forgot about New Hampshire police preparations and strategy sessions between the Governor and Attorney General. The national media rely on stringers in each state and on the news wires, so that 'faction' stories were everywhere the biggest counterorganizing force. Coalition members were transformed from occupiers into rumor chasers and rebutters.

At Seabrook, the smooth national reporters already had their headlines written except for "Assault Fails" vs. "Succeeds." Many of them were suddenly jolted back to earth by a dose of mace on the marsh. Thus a few good stories resulted from their sharing our risks and our perception of the state as the plant's defender. The state has resolved to get PSCO to allow reporters inside the site in May, to avoid precisely this 'structural sympathy effect.' No one can guarantee how our words will be transmitted — we should have stopped trying to use big media as a conduit to the people when they consistently ignored our statements up to the action. But those rare reporters willing to come as genuine participants tend to be trustworthy; some regions will probably encourage sympathetic reporters to join affinity groups. Others will restrict them to background sessions planned for **groups** of reporters; they may or may not be granted personal interviews depending on the willingness of Coalition people to deal with them. Some will abuse our time, and others will try to understand. News conferences will be held with adequate question and answer time, but background sessions should be off-the-record discussions to work out problems in groups. This as well as our basic agreement against photographing or recording Coalition meetings, is not meant as a barrier to productive relationships with reporters, but rather is an



attempt to deal with those who are not essentially part of the Coalition in a context where the nature of the media does not make us into adversaries. The Coalition media center near our staging ground will take up these background sessions as the action begins. **The Coalition will continue to limit media access to our campsite and meetings, in the awareness that a press identity is historically a cover for police agents.** We hope that the press will respect our need for privacy and free expression. We can implement these media policies by articulating it coherently to each other and to the media workers we encounter; it is based on our experience and not on animosity.

Past Problems With the Media and Solutions to Consider

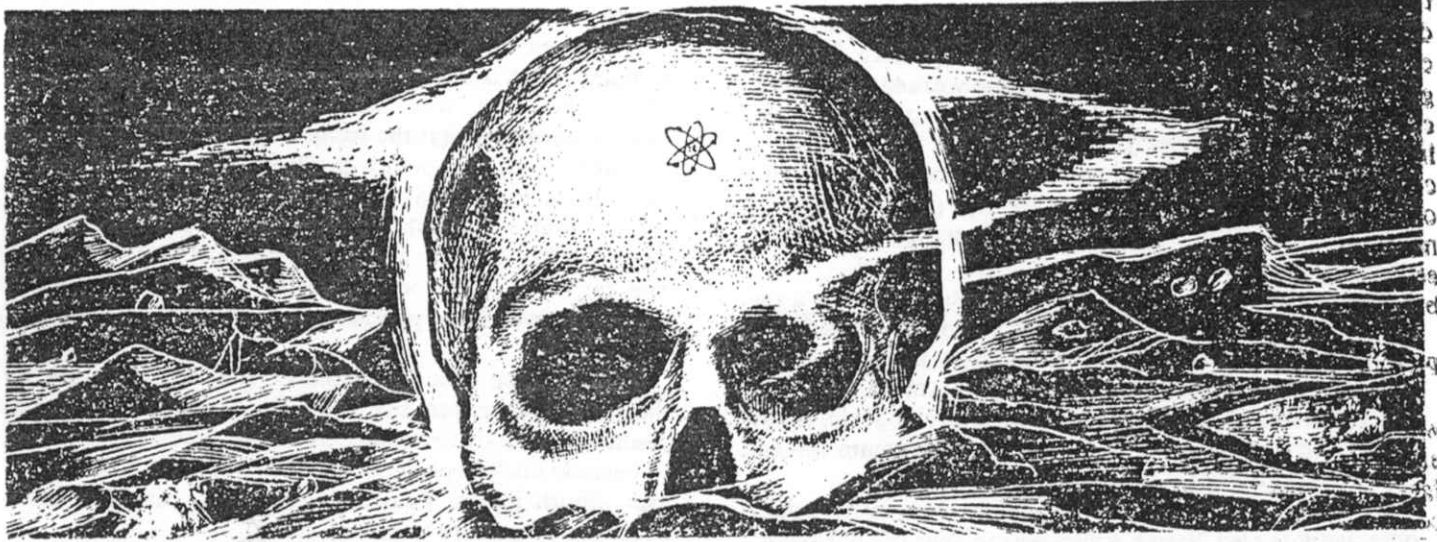
Statements of our numbers were always manipulated: when we say that we need, expect or hope for x-thousand, and don't get that many occupiers/blockaders, they say we failed. If we're conservative, they use the number out of context to belittle our significance. The issue of endorsement also has two pitfalls: they will act as if we are illegitimate without the non-endorsers of May 24th, and they will characterize those who join the Coalition as extremists. Remind them that we have been endorsed by the Clamshell Alliance, and the the January 6th Congress approved principles of unity as a result of abuses before October 6th. They will single out individuals who are hostile to them and attribute damaging statements to them as 'leaders' of the Coalition. Let them know how we feel about media stars and how collective decisions are made. They do not expect their constituency to understand political discussions. In order to label us they will engage in drawn out sophistic discussions especially in phone inter-

views. Stress the basic meanings and agreements found in Coalition statements, constantly defining our terms for their benefit: affinity group, preparation, non-violence, direct action. Don't let them paint us as fanatical and isolated violators of private property: the State Police have stolen from us on private land, corrupt officials have given land to PSCo, and sold most of the formerly town lands on which the plant is being built for less than \$40 an acre. The company has stolen water from the town, closed a right of way contrary to agreement, ignored town votes and engaged in property destruction. Decline to speak to those reporters who do not respect us, or preferably refer them to the background sessions we will hold; there they will not be able to manipulate the situation, with other press present as a control.

Prepare each other to answer media questions in role plays. Tape our own interviews (members of the Seabrook Local Alliance do) and news conferences (and let them know they're on record). Review your local coverage and criticize hatchet jobs. Develop good relations with sympathetic writers. Present our words directly, in live feeds: call-in shows, untaped, unedited interviews, and direct submissions of text. Reach people in outlying areas through classified notices in anti-nuke and progressive journals. Standardized articles that describe the action, our need for human resources and donations, and the direct action debate should be sent widely around. Recognizing the controlled nature of the media we can sometimes still get our own words out for free. But that is only the first step in educating and activating each other into a 'network' which will not reduce us to commodity-oriented news.



A newsman holds up his press credentials as a state trooper sprays him with mace at Seabrook demonstration.



THE NUCLEAR MENACE

Plant Safety

The accident at the Three Mile Island nuclear power station makes it more apparent than ever that nuclear power is a technology that can only end in its own destruction. The government and industry claims that NO ONE died as a result of TMI, yet NO ONE knows how much radioactivity was released at TMI. Monitoring became impossible as radiation levels went off the scale. Recently a couple who live three miles from TMI sued Met Ed Company, claiming that the accident caused the stillborn death of their child. A Three Mile Island type accident was estimated to occur only once in 10 million reactor years. The nuclear industry's public relation campaign was so successful that before Harrisburg, only a minority of people seriously questioned the myth of "safe" nuclear power. However, the entire history of nuclear power has been marked by "small" accidents and routine releases of radiation into the air and water.

In fact, last year's worst accident was not at TMI. At Church Rock, New Mexico a dam full of uranium tailings burst and sent 100 million gallons of radioactive liquid and 100 tons of tailings solids into the Rio Puerco river. The burst contaminated water and cattle grazing nearby as well as hundreds of Navajos living on the reservation.

The industry continues to tell us that nuclear power is safe despite that fact that up to 3,000 people may develop cancer from radioactivity received from Three Mile Island, and this isn't the worst imaginable accident. Such an accident could, according to the government's own studies, kill 45,000 people, injure another 100,000, cause \$17 billion in property damage and contaminate an area the size of Pennsylvania.

Recently, NRC officials decided that all earthquake stress designs on all nuclear plants needed to be reviewed after finding an error in computer calculations at Seabrook. Apparently, someone made a mistake.

"Low" Level Radiation

Every study of the dangers of low level radiation has come to the same conclusion — any amount of radiation, no matter how small, will increase your chances of getting cancer and of having deformed children. Nuclear power

plants, as part of their planned operation, routinely release 28 different radioactive substances presenting health hazards that are far more subtle than a nuclear meltdown.

Studies done on nuclear workers at the government's Hanford, Washington facility and at the Portsmouth Naval Yard have shown that it takes far less radiation than previously thought to induce cancer. Hanford workers had increased cancer rates and they had received less than 1/10th of the "permissible" dose of radiation!

Waste Disposal and the Nuclear Fuel Cycle

The dangers of nuclear energy do not start and stop at the reactor site. The nuclear industry mines, mills, enriches, ships and attempts to dispose of radioactive wastes. Each year, a nuclear reactor the size of the Seabrook plant would produce as much high-level waste as 2,000 Hiroshima-sized atomic bombs. These wastes include strontium and cesium which must be stored for 600 to 1000 years. They also contain plutonium, the most deadly substance known. One millionth of a gram is all that is needed to cause lung cancer, not much considering a large reactor produces 500 pounds yearly. This radioactive poison must first be transported, and there are currently two transportation accidents each week. An *Argo Merchant* of plutonium would wipe out life in the hemisphere. This deadly garbage also must be stored perfectly, for periods up to 500,000 years. So far no plan has been devised for this perfect storage. In Hanford, Washington over 500,000 gallons of wastes have leaked from storage tanks made of steel. In fact, every attempt at waste storage has failed. In Lyons, Kansas the AEC attempt to store wastes in salt beds failed miserably, yet now the DOE wants to use salt beds at their Carlsbad, New Mexico Waste Isolation Pilot Plant (WIPP) on an even larger scale than was ever envisioned in Kansas. Does it make sense to produce tons and tons of plutonium when we have no way to store it?

The Mining and Milling of uranium is an insult to the health of all living things

25 Navajo uranium miners have died of lung cancer due to their exposure to radioactivity in the uranium mining.

operations in Red Rock Valley in northeastern Arizona. Another 20 miners are now dying of lung cancer. It is estimated that 70 of the 100 Navajos who worked at the Red Rock uranium mines will eventually die of lung cancer and other related respiratory diseases.

According to the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, "Uranium mining and milling are the most significant sources of radiation exposure to the public from the entire nuclear fuel cycle."

When uranium is mined from the ground, it emits a radioactive gas called Radon 222 which is often inhaled into the lungs of the miners. After four days, it converts into Lead 210 which remains radioactive for more than 100 years. Because radiation in the body is carcinogenic, it has been discovered that up to 20 percent of uranium miners die of lung cancer over a 20 year period of time.

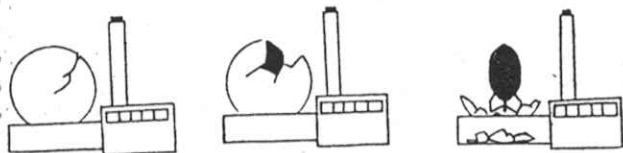
The accident at the Church Rock uranium tailings dam once again forced Native Americans to bear the burden of the nuclear industry. Navajo and Hopi people had to cope with the contamination of their water source and cattle as well as the danger to themselves. They complained of being kept in "the dark" after the dam burst.

Economics

Nuclear power is as dangerous to us economically as it is medically. Once heralded as a source of energy "too cheap to meter," nuclear power is now the most expensive form of generating electricity. Nuclear construction costs have skyrocketed — climbing ten times faster than the price of food. The Seabrook nuke has risen in price from the original estimate of \$973 million to the current "guestimate" of a staggering \$3 billion. That averages out to over \$12,000 per New Hampshire household. Operation and maintenance costs have correspondingly been rising 20% per year. In Massachusetts it has been estimated that if half of the money of the proposed Pilgrim II nuke were used to better insulate homes, 77 trillion BTU's would be saved, which is five times the amount that Pilgrim II would produce.

The National Science Foundation has published a detailed study showing that by 1986 nuclear power will cost \$48.10 per megawatt/hour while solar conversion plants will produce a megawatt/hour for \$30.60 — a 36% savings. This did not include the "hidden" cost of waste disposal, decommissioning or the clean-up for a Harrisburg-type accident. And who will pay for the Harrisburgs? We the ratepayers, that's who!

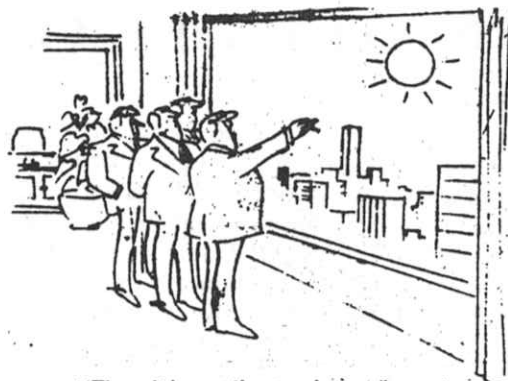
As for the most important economic issue — how many jobs will it produce, nuclear power once again loses. The combination of solar energy and conservation produces six times as many jobs as nuclear development. A Senate subcommittee on energy recently has estimated that if we were to switch from nuclear to solar the net result would be 3 million additional jobs.



Nuclear Proliferation

Nuclear power plants produce the deadly garbage of plutonium, which is also the raw material of an atomic bomb. Theodore Taylor, who has designed more A-bombs than anyone alive says that the technology to allow an amateur to make an atomic bomb is available in unclassified literature. In fact, in 1976 a Princeton University senior designed an atomic bomb 1/3rd as powerful as the one detonated at Hiroshima to demonstrate that if he could design one, terrorists could too. The nuclear industry has already misplaced over 8,000 pounds of bomb grade uranium and plutonium.

There will be enough fissionable material in transit by the year 2000 to produce 250,000 bombs. This material could be stolen by terrorists, criminals or countries hoping to become nuclear powers. The idea of South Africa, Taiwan, South Korea, Pakistan, Israel, etc., having atomic bombs is, at the very least, unsettling.



"There it is, gentlemen. Just crying out to be exploited."

Alternatives

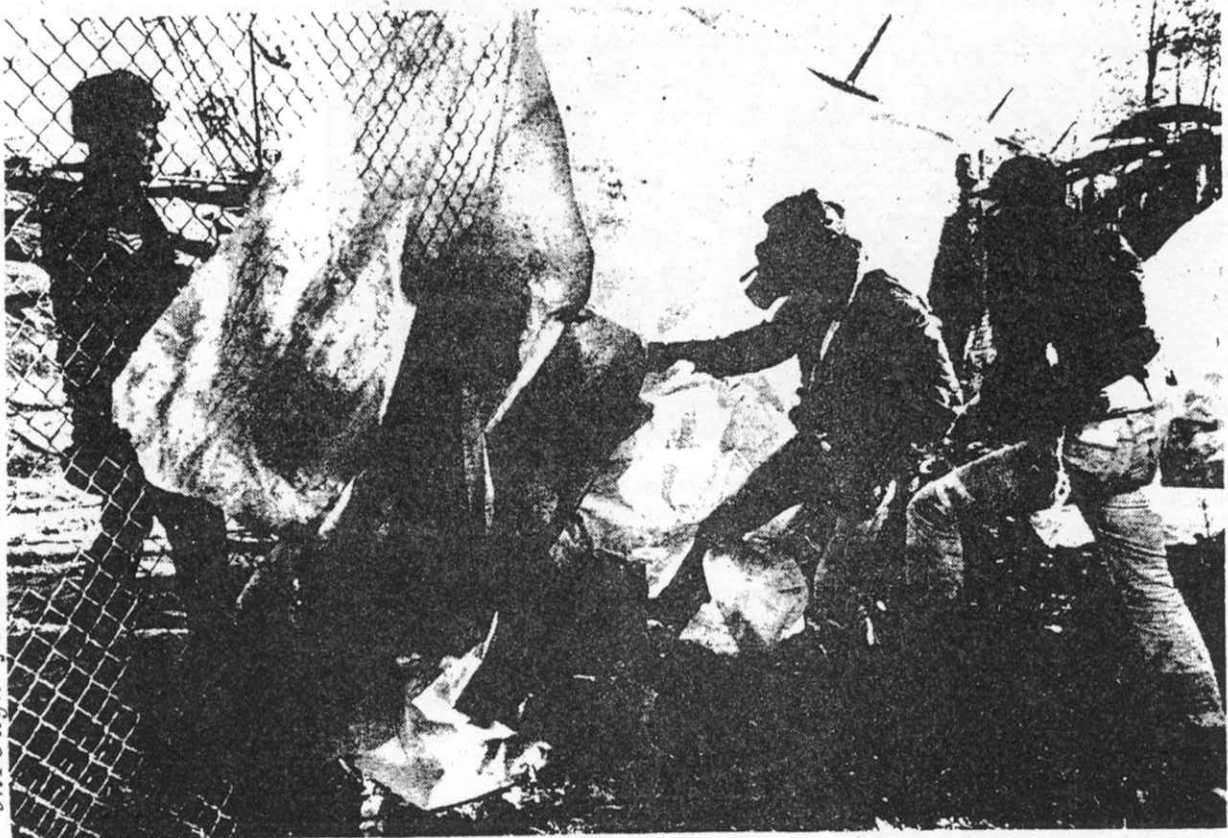
We do not need dangerous and expensive nuclear plants to supply us with electricity. Despite the large energy corporations' claims to the contrary, clean renewable energy sources are available today. By retrofitting our buildings we could save far more energy by the year 1990 than even a vastly accelerated nuclear program could produce. The American Institute of Architects has estimated that we could save 4-6 billion barrels of oil per year by 1990 (which is more oil than we currently import) if we were to redesign our buildings to be more energy efficient. Besides being six to ten times less expensive than producing an equivalent amount of energy, a massive retrofitting program such as this would create 2-3 million new jobs. Conservation does not mean turning down our thermostats or doing the wash by hand. Rather, it means making the necessary technological changes to make the industry energy efficient.

Solar heat is ready today — it is not only technologically feasible, it is also economically desirable. The Massachusetts Energy Policy Office has calculated that if half of the buildings in Massachusetts switched to solar hot water by 1995, we would save 600 million barrels of oil each year as well as \$480 million. This would also create 32,000 additional jobs.

Other forms of clean, renewable energy, such as hydro (the utilities have been shutting down small hydro plants all over New England), wind, wood and tidal are uniquely suited to New England's environment. These energy sources can be used in a decentralized manner, enabling us to control our own energy supplies and our lives.

DIRECT ACTION AT SEABROOK

South marsh 10/6/79-Occupiers attempt to gain access to the site by cutting through fence.



ABOUT THE CHRONOLOGY:

Intensive organizing for October 6th began immediately after the inception of the Coalition for Direct Action at Seabrook, in July. Task groups were set up in every region to handle Logistics, Media, Publicity, Fundraising, Medical, Legal, Preparations and Support. These groups were increasingly coordinated on a Coalition-wide level as the action neared. Many affinity groups were set up in Seabrook weeks before the action growing food, digging latrines, and generally preparing the campsites. Within weeks of October

6th, Support went from a small number of people trying to deal with the complexities of aiding the occupiers, to literally thousands of people providing food, clothing, shelter, transportation as well as participating in the functions of Media, Communications, Preparations, Medical and Legal during the action. This chronology that follows deals strictly with the Action but also reflects all the organization that preceded and went on during October 6th. Although input from many regions went into this chronology, we realize it is not complete.

October Action Chronology

CHRONOLOGY:

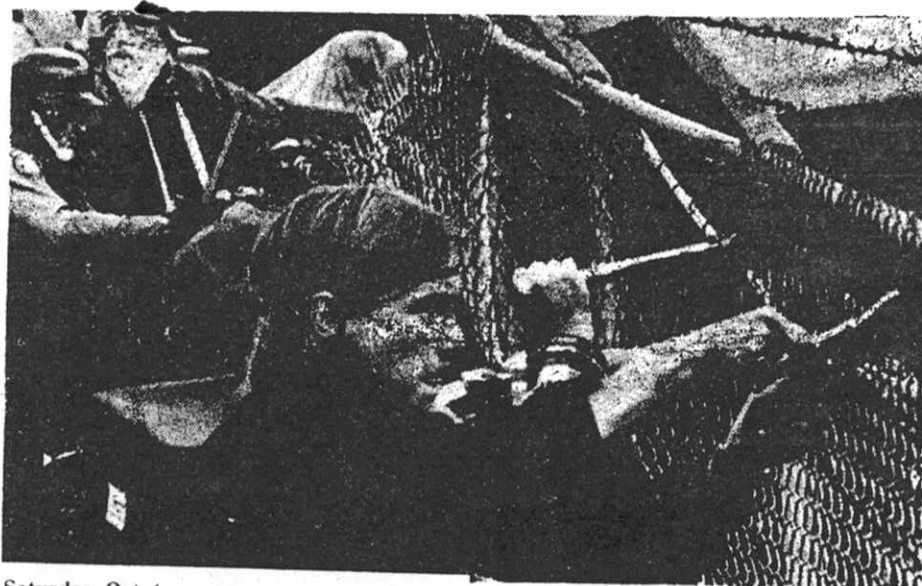
Friday, Oct. 5

All day is a day of groups gathering around Seabrook in their approach areas. The South approach (which includes Concord, Boston, Cape Cod, Islands, South Shore, the Western States and other clusters) started arriving in the morning. The final set up at the primary staging area (Tony's) is completed by morning as well as the secondary staging/support campsite on Willow St. in Salisbury. There is a minimal set-up of the North-west cluster (including New York, Pennsylvania, Washington, D.C., Ohio and other clusters) at the Danville campsite which is about one mile west

of Seabrook. The North approach (including Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Maine and other clusters) establishes staging areas on the islands in the marsh. The main contingent of occupiers doesn't begin arriving until Friday evening. A convoy is set up near Lechmere Station in Cambridge around 6:30 p.m. Around 7:45 p.m. the convoy begins to leave. The three buses and approximately 75 cars immediately fragment into small groups of cars despite plans to stick to a convoy the whole trip. The first cars arrive between 9:00-9:30 p.m. at Dow and Centennial



with Seabrook police directing traffic but not interfering with the occupiers. For those who arrive unprepared, preparation sessions are already being held at Tony's. At 12:30 a.m. in the evening, a contingent of half a dozen people come to Tony's from the Danville staging area, claiming to represent the strong feelings of the majority. This group tells the support coordinators on the south that the north-west was about to decide not to attempt entry onto the site on Oct. 6. They suggest that the south should change its plans accordingly. A contingent from Tony's goes to the Danville campsite to check it out, discovering it's a false alarm.



Saturday, Oct. 6

3:00-3:30 a.m. South

Occupiers begin to ready themselves for their walk through the woods to the edge of the marsh. A discussion from the night before concerning the use of balloons and kites continues between the people who have purchased them and the Newburyport people, who decide they will withdraw from the action if helium balloons and kites are used as a deterrent to helicopters.

The people who arranged for the balloons agree to withdraw them once they understand Newburyport's fear of causing a helicopter crash. As people move out to the marsh, some head out Dow Lane while others use trails through the woods along the southern side of the rock pile.

4:30-5:00 a.m. North-west

About 300-400 people in two caravans leave the Danville campsite driving through Exeter to Rts. 1 and 107, then up Rt. 1 to Brimmer's Lane. As the night before, there exist no roadblocks or police harassment and the occupiers are dropped off at Brimmer's Lane and begin their walk down to the marsh.

6:30 a.m. North-west

The occupiers arrive from Danville and march down to the end of Brimmer's Lane to meet with the North approach. The scheduled meeting doesn't materialize apparently because the islands (North) groups have already headed across the marsh. A meeting is then held among the North-west groups because scouts report that the trails from Brimmer's Lane to the North marsh, which were part of the planned route, are flooded. Two alternative routes are discussed:

1. Down the B&M tracks, or
2. Back out Brimmer's Lane and in through the woods behind the trailer park.

5:45 a.m.

Low tide.

6:00-6:30 a.m. South

At about 6:00 a.m. occupiers arrive at the edge of the marsh and wait for daylight. When daylight comes, people begin the march across the marsh, with a front line group moving a 30 foot portable bridge across Hunt's Island Creek along with planks placed across the creek's narrow end. The movement across the marsh goes smoothly.

7:00 a.m. North-west

People begin leaving the meeting and head down the tracks toward the site, because the meeting can't come to any agreement on a route. One New York/Long Island group decides to head out Brimmer's Lane and go join the South approach. By about 7:15 a.m. the meeting ends, with the rest of the North-west heading by various routes towards the North steel yard on the site in a diversionary tactic (the original "Newburyport plan.")

6:30 a.m. North

The 400-500 occupiers on the islands hold a meeting and decide to move toward the site with the designated bridge people laying inner tube bridges across Brown's River. By 7:30 a.m., when everyone is across the river, they decide to have another meeting. When it becomes apparent that people are unable to agree on what to do, some people leave to join those on the South marsh.

8:30 a.m.

Some Parks Dept. people come up to Brown's River in boats, with one officer holding a knife. When some occupiers stand on the bridges, the officers retreat, returning later and puncturing some of the inner tubes. Around 9:00 a.m. people start going up close to the fence, singing and chanting. One person climbs over the fence and is arrested. Others attempt to pull the fence but their ropes are too weak and break.

10:00-12:00 a.m.

State troopers come out from behind the fence and take a Maine flag and throw an American flag to the ground. Then the cops retreat back on the site, the Maine flag is returned later. While some occupiers continue to sing and chant around the fence, others go to the North-west to do diversionary tactics while others break for lunch.

7:00 a.m. South

The first groups of occupiers arrive at the clump of trees along the plant's perimeter, west of the Seawall (between red and orange fence zones in the handbook map). This is the final assembly area, and we wait for everyone to gather.

7:45 a.m.

A spokes meeting convenes by the trees to decide the exact fence take-down tactics. It is decided that people will not move onto the site if the fence is taken down unless everyone or large numbers could move on at that place and time. Helicopters hover very low to the ground (down to 25 or 30 feet) making it hard to hear. State police are present in small numbers along the fence, a few having police dogs on leashes.

Boston had originally planned to spread along the fence east of the seawall (yellow zone). They decide at the spokes meeting to go to the fence in 3 or 4 'clumps' of 400-500 occupiers each. The western area cluster had decided Friday night to cut down fence in the area to the west of the clump of trees (red zone).

8:00 a.m.

Several people by the west of the seawall inform the police they want to be arrested and intend to climb over the fence. As they climb the fence the police smash their fingers with clubs and mace them. Medics communicate the use of mace to the rest of the southern occupiers.

We receive word, via a runner, that the north will not be ready to cut the fence until 8:30 a.m.

8:30-9:00 a.m. North-west

About 60-100 people approach the site from this direction, the others from Danville have joined the North or South approaches. When we arrive at the B&M gates on the northern side of the site, only 4 or 5 police are present, but soon a line of more than 20 is formed behind the gate. A bus is pulled up behind them. The police chain the gate shut.

South

The Western States Cluster (100-200 people) with a few Boston affinity groups begins cutting the fence to the west of the clump of trees. The state police don't react at first, but then start macing. A rope is attached with carabiners to the chain link and 4-5 sections of fence are pulled down to a 45 degree angle. One cop finally gets a knife

and cuts the rope. After the police begin coming outside the fence in large numbers, the western cluster moves towards the visitor center to divert the police. As the tide starts coming up (after 11:00 a.m.) we head for the clump of trees to regroup with the rest of the South.

Other 'clumps' of affinity groups head east after much delay, people who approach the fence are yelled at by those who hang back: "Pull back, pull back," and are told by many to take off their gas masks because it is too provocative. An additional bus of guardsmen arrives at the east end of the seawall.

9:00-11:30 a.m.

Another spokes' meeting then takes place to the east of the seawall to decide how to cut the fence together. This meeting decides that everyone should line up affinity group by affinity group along the fence, people with masks and fence cutting tools at the front, along with others to hold up plastic sheets on sticks to deflect the mace. At the fence the police jab their riot sticks through the chain link fence. Mace fired over the plastic began to hit people in the back of the line. These approaches are repeated several times.

During one approach the police throw out a couple of gas canisters in our midst. Because many of us have gas masks on and the guardsmen at the fence do not, we cut a lot of clips from the fence at this time. One canister is thrown back onto the site, gassing Atty. Gen. Rath who was watching from a distance. The wind blew most of the gas back onto the site, leading to cheers and chants of "Wind Power!" After the gassing, state troopers come outside the fence from a gate east of us, grabbing gas masks and tools. One cop throws a woman to the ground after trying to get her gas mask. Eight police surround this woman with clubs out, but hundreds of us then form a semi-circle around them, chanting "It won't be built!" The police withdraw behind the fence.

A water tank truck and pump is then used to hose us near the seawall but the pressure is so low we deflect the water with plastic sheets, or simply stand. With the police coming outside the fence in larger numbers, and the tide coming up, and many people already back in our regroupment area (the clump of trees), the rest of us head over there as well, to wait out the tide and discuss our plans.

North-west

Some people begin cutting fence to the west of the gate along the steel yard, as well as doing diversionary tactics. Three or four buses of cops arrive at the yard. Pairs of national guardsmen and troopers come outside the fence. Some people have their packs stolen by state troopers, but get them back later by asking a worker at the plant to hand them back over the fence. The police begin kicking rocks down the rockpile along the steel yard at us when we try to approach the fence.

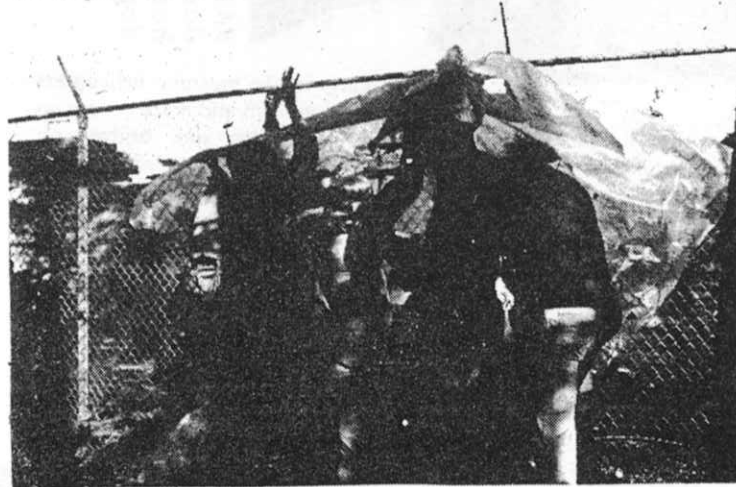
12 Noon South

After these attempts to cut the fence there is a general retreat to the clump of trees. The tide is coming up quickly at this point, and by 1 p.m. the only dry area is the wooded area itself. People hang around, eating, some staying near the fence talking to the police. At 1:00 p.m. a spokes meeting takes place at the top of the knoll. Ocean Thunder affinity group has just gone around the meeting to collect a tally of groups, asking the questions: "Do you want to retreat for the day? Do you want to continue

at first priority? People are in disagreement. Many groups had already been filtering back to Tony's by that time. A count was taken at the meeting, in which spokes voted for each member of their affinity group. The count was: 310 to continue with first priority, moving west as the day goes on (i.e. towards second priority); 340 want to back to Tony's immediately and 150 abstained. An alternative proposal to hold hands and ring the site is presented.

2:00 p.m.

Police, around half a dozen, start coming across to the clump of trees, taking away tools, masks, and approach to about 50 yards from the meeting. At the meeting there is disagreement about whether to continue the meeting or take some action in response to the police. The police do shove some people who are situated on the marsh between the knoll and the fence, and move some into a place where they are cut off from the knoll. Police leave the area when many people start to gather around, singing or watching. As the police move back to the



South marsh 10/6/79
Occupiers at the fence
protect themselves from
mace by using plastic
sheeting.

fence someone says, "Look, they're ringing the fence already." Three or four medics start holding hands and shout out to the others, "Join us." Initially a few police protest to the initiators, but the ring snowballs so quickly they give up and go back to the fence. The entire ring extends from around the clump to trees on the south to the area above the B&M tracks on the North. People sing, chant, have individual talks with guards, workers and police.

3:30-4:30 p.m.

The ring breaks up and people go back to the campsites.

All Day Saturday — Main Access Gate

People (non-occupiers) start arriving for the informal picket at around 7:00 a.m. By 8:00 a.m. there are 300-400 people at the main gate, as well as crowds walking up and down Rt. 1.

Saturday Evening — South

A spokes meeting begins at 8:00 p.m. with the understanding that the pre-selected delegates will meet with delegates from the north at 10:00 p.m. in the South campground (Tony's). The spokes meeting centers around whether to occupy first priority or not on Sunday. From that point discussion proceeds to 3 points:

- to do symbolic action;
- to occupy a second priority;
- to occupy a third priority place.

By 10:00 p.m. when delegates from the north arrive to talk about and coordinate the next day's actions, the spokes meeting is in confusion. No resolution is seen and after the meeting the North's spokes go back to their campground saying that they'll meet in the morning to find out what was decided. The spokes meeting ends inconclusively and decides to meet the next morning. Word of this is sent to the North.

Sunday Oct. 7 — 8:00 a.m.

The idea of coming to a collective solution about what to do is discussed among people from Newburyport, SCANN, and Boston affinity groups. A unified proposal of going up

the south access road is worked out for presentation to the spokes meeting.

9:30 a.m.

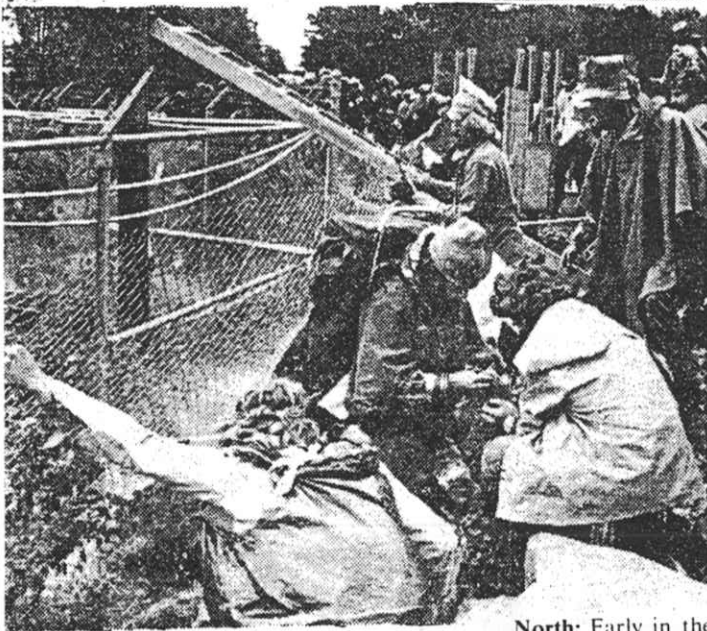
The spokes meeting convenes. A committee of the pre-chosen delegates from the evening meetings draw up a plan for the day. This was arrived at after a debate on the need for tactical leadership. What was decided was that this committee would draw up the plan, but not give orders throughout the action itself.

The Plan:

Occupiers would line up in the woods on the other side of the railroad tracks, in a wide column parallel to the south access road. Cutters, rope holders, plastic sheet people would be in front, the rest of their affinity groups behind them. SCANN would take the left (west flank); former northern groups would take the center so the flanks would advance; and Eastern Mass. groups would take the right flank. Occupiers would march over the storage area and attempt to take down the fence at the batch plant and the western side of the core construction zone by the visitors center. If repelled, occupiers would attempt to block the south access road. Regroupment would be down the railroad tracks.



*Batch plant 10/7/79
Police race to stop
further fence take-
down.*



*Batch plant 10/7/79
Occupiers use grappling
hooks to successfully take
down section of fence.*

fence cutting as a diversionary action. They are faced with about 50-100 police across the North side. Small groups of state troopers do sweeps through the North woods, confiscating gas masks and pushing people into the marsh.

2:30 — 5:00 p.m.

Groups gather at the main gate and are sprayed with chemical-laced water and occasionally mace. Traffic is blocked on Rt. 1 for at least two hours, until 4:30 p.m. when the Seabrook Police, with the help of some demonstrators, open up one lane for traffic. A spokes meeting at 8:00 p.m. at Tony's is announced, so most people go back to the South campsite while 50-100 stay at the main gate all night.

8:00 p.m.

Spokes meeting. After some discussion on decision making, proposals for further actions are put forth.

- stop;
- go to the jails and express solidarity with the 21 people arrested;
- go out on the marsh and take down fences;
- go to the main gates;
- march around the site and meet up at the main gate again.

Nothing concerning the next day's activities is resolved, so another meeting is set for 9:00 a.m. Monday. Small groups go out during the night and do their actions. The lack of police harassment at night is noted.

The Action — 1:30 p.m.

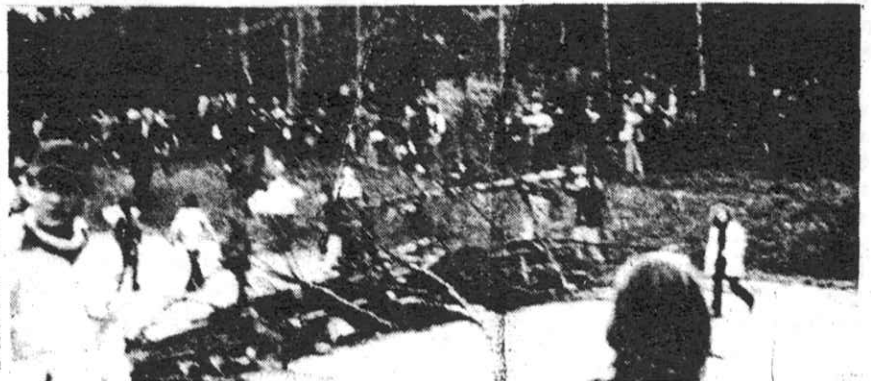
South: The march to the site happens quickly. Large pieces of metal and equipment are in the storage area splitting up our wide lines, and forcing us into various groups. A few groups attempt a fence pull-down at approximately the same moment. Most police are situated to the east of the lines, at the gate by the south access road. As we march closer they run towards us. More busloads of police arrive about the same time that we start to take down the fences. Police stomp over the fence that was pulled down and begin pushing us back, macing most of us, tearing off gas masks and beating a number of people. Medics treating gas victims are maced themselves. While this happening, others are building barricades along the area of the south access road that we had crossed, bringing dead wood and trees onto the road. Using their mace and clubs, the police begin another push, driving us back into the woods, and then back onto the tracks. It begins to rain and groups start going back down the railroad tracks. Most people end up at the main gate while others go back to Tony's.

*South Access Rd.
10/7/79-Barricades
built on Rd.*

North: Early in the morning helicopters with police come down and mace people on the marsh. They also sink bridges on Brown's river and puncture inner tubes, forcing people to swim to dry land.

At around 1:30 p.m., the same time the South is beginning its march up the tracks, about 30-50 people sit down in front of the gate at the North railroad to do C.D. About the same number of police come up and mace them.

At the same time, scattered small groups, totalling about 200 people from New York and Rhode Island attempt intermittent



North gate 10/7/79-Sunday eve. occupiers and non-occupiers join together.



Monday, October 8

South at 10:00 p.m.

Another spokes meeting. A compromise solution is proposed:

- some will go to the jail;
- some will go to the fences and will cut or walk around;
- some will go to the main gate;
- everyone will meet at 1:00 p.m. at the main gate and join the mass picket.

Picketing at the main gate begins at 8:00 a.m. and continues all day, punctuated by random macing of groups and individuals by the state police. One contingent who had taken down sections of the fence the night before at the Visitor's Center bring it to the main gate.

3:00 p.m.

A spokes meeting at Mildy's antiques decide on a press statement (paraphrased): "Whatever happens tomorrow, we will be back in the spring. We've shown we can act directly, and non-violently, and we've stopped construction for three days."

4:45 p.m.

A dozen or so people chain themselves to the gate and are maced. At 5:00 p.m. the picket ends for the day with a moment of silence and linking arms.

5:15 p.m.

The press statement is read over a loudspeaker at the north gate.

Evening South

Occupiers are asked to move their tents as far away from the PSCo border on Tony's land as possible. State police had been around earlier in the day asking neighbors how many children were around. A neighbor finds out through Rath's assistant that the State Police had contemplated moving on to (trespassing on) Tony's land in a raid but then withdrew the idea.

One spokes meeting began at 8:00 p.m. It was agreed to do no more actions against the plant on Tuesday. It was felt that we had a strong 3-day action and didn't want our numbers to wither into insignificance. A small number of affinity groups decided on

an action at the Court House the next day. At one point it was decided that there weren't enough people at the meeting to do this in the name of the Coalition. People feel okay about this, and agree to simply do the action.

Tuesday, October 9

Around 9:00 a.m., 300 or so people arrive at Hampton District Courthouse. At 10:00 a.m. while the defendants are being arraigned, protestors inside the Courthouse link arms and ask "either arrest us all or let the defendants go." Police drag out the defendants. Those outside surround the Courthouse and chant. At 11:00 a.m. the defen-

dants are moved to a new, secret location amidst protestors blocking them outside. Police push people aside, injuring several. Air is let out of the tires of State Police cars. After learning that the arraignments will take place at the Portsmouth Armory, the protestors arrive. The defendants ask that they cease their attempts to block their removal. People mostly stay outside and sing. After the defendants are released following arraignment, everyone returns to Tony's to pack, clean up and go home to organize for next spring.

-End of chronology-

The Coalition Since October 6th

CDAS Since October 6th

After the October 6th Action, Coalition members returned to their home regions and spent the next few weeks evaluating the action. The Coalition came together again as a body in the November 3rd and 4th CDAS meeting at Brandeis University. The first day of the meeting was used as a forum for a discussion and evaluation of October 6th. Coalition members discussed views on what was seen as the problems and successes of the action and made recommendations for the future spring direct action. Subsequently, agreement was reached on the nature of the next direct action, which took the form of an occupation/blockade. May 24th, 1980 was the beginning date agreed upon.

The Coalition meets about every two weeks at different locations. Since the October 6th action, the Coalition has continued to function as a vital organization. Large numbers of affinity groups, most of which sprang up around the action itself remain active and involved in Coalition and local work. Various task groups in each region have been set up to handle and coordinate Publicity and Education, Preparations, Logistics and Strategy, Non-violent Workshops, Media and Fundraising.

After seeking general agreement, decisions are made at Coalition meetings by a 75% majority vote. Coalition meetings are open to all who have an interest in participating in the May 24th action. An appeal for endorsements from anti-nuclear groups, as well as an invitation to participate in the action, is extended by all Coalition members.

JOIN US!

The first steps for people wanting to get involved are making contact with others like them, forming or becoming part of a local organizing committee, attending preparation sessions and becoming part of an affinity group. After that there are many things you might consider doing:

- Conduct preparation sessions for others in your area: help other local organizing committees and affinity groups form; participate in regional CDAS meetings and in meetings devoted to particular aspects of the action that you are interested in.

- Publicize some local meetings so others can become involved in the action.

- Review the logistical information the Coalition has about the Seabrook site.

- Role play occupation/blockade scenarios in large groups.

- Publicize the action, the dangers of nuclear power, the alternatives, your local utilities' interest in Seabrook and other nukes, and similar issues through posters, canvassing, open meetings, or whatever else you see needs to be done.

- Raise money for the action.

If you can you may choose to:

- Try to scout out the Seabrook site.

- Participate in CDAS-wide task groups (Logistics, Preparation, Media).

Regions

Regions are expected to do as much preparation as possible for the action by themselves, while still coordinating their activities with other regions where useful. Further preparations for the action could include:

- Making an inventory of vehicles available to the regions and developing transportation plans.

- Formation of a local logistics committee.

- Stockpiling of food, water containers, construction materials and tools (plentiful tools for fence take-down are essential).

- Formation of local (regional) medical support group.

Regions may choose to send representatives to the CDAS decision-making body. Those regions far away are encouraged to keep in touch by mail.

We are planning for a long stay but we don't expect everyone to be able to make an indefinite commitment to stay on the site. In the first several days large numbers will be crucial in establishing our presence on the site and in building our community there. Even if you can only come for a few days we urge you to participate on May 24th. Some people will have responsibilities which prevent them from giving more than a day or a week to the action and others may be reluctant to undertake the risks involved in securing the site. Regions should consider various ways of integrating everyone possible into the action. One way to do this would be to encourage people to commit themselves to spending some number of weeks on the site during the summer. It is of course vital to bring as many people as

possible to the site during the first days of the occupation/blockade.

Most likely you will want to form a regional support group composed of people who cannot or will not directly participate in the action but want to be of help. Such a group is important for a number of reasons to:

- Maintain reliable contact between your area and those of you who are on the site.

- Coordinate travel to and from the site.

- Disseminate accurate information about the status of the occupation/blockade.

- Be there to mobilize support in case of an emergency.

- Help move supplies to those on the site.

- Help in case there are arrests.

- Organize support rallies.

- Fundraising.

It might be helpful to start forming this group early on. Small regions shouldn't feel that inability to handle all support activities should preclude them from participation in the action as they can cooperate with other larger regions.



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