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The historical origins of the American Peace Test

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Mann, David Leon, M.A.

University of Nevada, Las Vegas, 1991

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THE HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF THE
AMERICAN PEACE TEST

by
David Mann

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

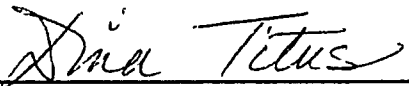
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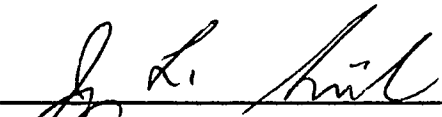
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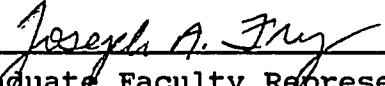
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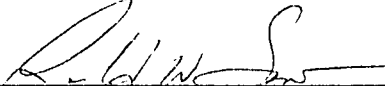
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To Tuawana Miller and Heidi Mann

ABSTRACT

This thesis explains the historical origins of the anti-nuclear protest group, the American Peace Test (APT), which has focused its activities at the Nevada Test Site. This study concludes that interest in direct action was evident during the 1983-1984 Direct Action Framework Period within the Nuclear Weapons FREEZE Campaign. This interest became more tangible with a call to the Nevada Desert Experience (NDE) group in May of 1985 requesting to participate in an action. That interest was then amplified and validated at that August NDE action. The first APT action was then organized for October and November. At the Annual FREEZE Conference, within the momentum of the October action, those interested decided to form their own group. Official formation occurred in January of 1986. The concluding chapter contains a summary of themes found in these origins and information relative to post-formation APT.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Purpose

The objective of this thesis is to explain the historical origins of the anti-nuclear protest group, the American Peace Test (APT). The realization of this objective occurs primarily through the following: First, an introductory chapter is presented which focuses on this study proper, describing such factors as sources of information and scope; second, the theoretical framework, group theory, which encompasses this thesis is explained with special attention given to Robert Dahl's work; third, the story of APT's origin is told through the presentation of relevant information regarding events from 1983 through official formation in January of 1986; fourth, the conclusion is given which summarizes themes found in those origins and also presents information relative to post-formation APT. This study extends the history of the anti-nuclear movement from the point reflected in McCrea and Markle's book titled Minutes to Midnight: Nuclear Weapons Protest in America where the authors write, referring to a FREEZE meeting, " ... the cochair of the convention resigned from the podium in order to launch a new national

organization. The new group, called American Peace Test (APT), planned to disrupt the Nevada Test Site for nuclear weapons."¹ This study relies, primarily, on information gathered through interviews with five of the six founders of APT. This approach takes on added importance as the reader comes to understand an important theme of APT's historical origins: The role of individual conviction and belief regarding nonviolent direct action in relationship to nuclear weapons testing.

Importance

The United States of America has lead the world in all nuclear activities since, and including, their development. In the U.S. democratic political environment, from which related public policy stems, there is one continental test site, the Nevada Test Site, and one international group which primarily focuses on protesting there: APT. This thesis describes and explains its origins. The U.S. democracy depends upon citizen participation for its existence and fulfillment. The prerequisite of meaningful participation is knowledge of one's political environment and the opposing forces which operate therein. Therefore, democracy's existence and

¹Frances B. McCrea and Gerald E. Markle, Minutes to Midnight: Nuclear Weapons Protest in America (Newbury Park, CA.: Sage Publications, Inc., 1989), 130.

fulfillment are enhanced by those participants who possess this knowledge. APT, by existing as a protest group, is a force with goals opposed to public policy. Minutes to Midnight: Nuclear Weapons Protest in America by McCrea and Markle is similar to this study in the respect of presenting the anti-nuclear group origins of SANE and FREEZE. The importance of this thesis is found in the detailed descriptive provision of historical information and explanation which contributes to the body of anti-nuclear history; specifically, extending horizontally the work of McCrea and Markle regarding the APT.

Methodology

The historical method requires the gathering and analysis of available information.

Gathering of Information

The information available regarding APT's historical origins falls into two main categories: Interviews and newspaper articles. APT literature does not provide much history and when it does, it is sketchy, general and nonspecific regarding names.

Although the following indexes and bulletins were checked for any listing under "American Peace Test", only one newspaper article was shown and it was on June 3, 1986, which is outside of the period studied in this

thesis: Los Angeles Times Index: 1985², Los Angeles Times Index: 1986³, The New York Times Index 1985: A Book of Record⁴, The New York Times Index 1986: A Book of Record⁵, Public Affairs Information Service Bulletin 1985 (October 1984-September 1985) Vol. 71⁶, and PAIS Bulletin 1986 Volume 72 October 1985-September 1986.⁷

The newspaper articles analyzed were obtained from a newspaper index of The Las Vegas Review Journal.⁸ The index listed, under the heading "American Peace Test,"

²Deborah A. Harmer, Product Manager, and others, Los Angeles Times Index: 1985 (University Microfilms International, (Volume II, 1985) 1986).

³Jean Julvezan and others, eds., Los Angeles Times Index: 1986 (University Microfilms International, (Volume III, 1986) 1987).

⁴Harvey L. Holmes, Jr. and others, eds., The New York Times Index 1985: A Book of Record (New York: The New York Times Company; Current series, Volume 73, 1986).

⁵Harvey L. Holmes, Jr. and others, eds., The New York Times Index 1986: A Book of Record (New York: The New York Times Company; Current series, Volume 74, 1987).

⁶Lawrence J. Woods and others, eds., Public Affairs Information Service Bulletin 1985 (October 1984-September 1985) Vol. 71 (New York: Public Affairs Information Service, Inc., 1985).

⁷Lawrence J. Woods and others, eds., PAIS Bulletin 1986 Volume 72 October 1985-September 1986 (New York: Public Affairs Information Service, Inc., 1986).

⁸Newspaper Index (Las Vegas Review-Journal January 1983-December 1989) (Copyrighted by LVCCLD, 26 April 1990), 13.

eight articles prior to the group's official formation. All articles were used and are the first eight listed in the bibliography under the heading: Newspaper Articles.

Interviews were requested and granted from five of the six co-founders of APT. They are, in alphabetical order, Peter Bergel, Jessie Cocks, Ted Coran, Jim Driscoll, Nancy Hale and Nancy Heskett. An attempt was made to interview Driscoll. A message was left but he was unavailable.

Analysis

Analysis is separated into two areas: Presentation of origins and interpretation of themes.

The presentation of any history is fraught with the difficulties of obtaining reliable and/or objective information. This occurs because over the passage of time memories dim, events which happen later affect one's perception of earlier events, and information such as protest flyers are simply lost or thrown away. The historian's objective is to present the best reflection of a reality past by applying the best methodology to the best sources.

Interpretation of themes includes first determining what themes existed within APT's historical formation, supporting their inclusion and then interpreting, or making sense of, them in terms of importance.

Definitions

The purpose of this section is to provide three short definitions used throughout this paper.

The term "action" generally refers to an organized group protest. This paper refers primarily to two actions: One in August of 1985 organized by the Nevada Desert Experience (NDE) protest group and the other in October organized by the Nuclear Weapons FREEZE Campaign.

Constant reference is made throughout this paper to the Nevada Test Site which is where two protest actions important to the historical origins of APT occurred. Between the end of World War II and 1951, atomic testing was conducted in the Pacific Ocean.⁹ The first atomic test at the NTS occurred on January 27, 1951.¹⁰ "From 1951 through December 31, 1982, 601 nuclear tests were announced as having been conducted at the Nevada Test Site."¹¹

Finally, references to APT are very nonrestrictive in definition. This was necessitated by the nature of: 1) Studying a developmental period in which, by definition,

⁹Research Division: Legislative Counsel Bureau, Background Paper 83-5: The Nevada Test Site, Stamped "University of Nevada, Las Vegas, AUG 9 1983, Depository Document," Call Number: M29-L52R:7:83-5, p. 2.

¹⁰Ibid., 2-3.

¹¹Ibid., 3.

the group had not yet formed, and 2) APT's protests, organization and history.

Scope and Limitations

This study is limited, as are all histories, by availability of data. Unlike an experiment or observation, the political historian must use what is left from a certain period to study. Michael Affleck's study titled The History and Strategy of the Campaign to End Nuclear Weapons Testing at the Nevada Test Site: 1977 - 1990, although similar to this study in the subject area, focuses on the NDE.¹² The problem of data availability is recognized where Alain Richard, OFM, Pace e Bene co-coordinator, writes that it "... makes the work of research and writing on nonviolent actions very difficult"¹³ Fortunately for this study, the data which are available are of such high quality, coming directly from those who formed the object of this study, that as long as an interpretation of the data is tempered by the knowledge of human tendencies and psychology, then reliability may be accurately determined, especially when combined with third party reports such as newspaper articles, and valid

¹²Michael Affleck, The History and Strategy of the Campaign to End Nuclear Weapons Testing at the Nevada Test Site: 1977 - 1990 (Michael Affleck and Pace e Bene, 1991).

¹³Ibid., i.

conclusions drawn. The focus of this paper is on the presentation and explanation of group history, not on APT's position within the larger political environment nor, on the other end of the spectrum, on individual motivations or psychological explanations. Although any paper attempting to determine APT's historical origins must necessarily consider the physical and political environments, an extensive examination of those areas is outside the scope of this paper. Also outside of the scope of this paper is any examination relating to individual analysis such as a psychological profile of APT leaders or internal group dynamics. The focus of this paper is on the group and its scope is limited to examining the beginnings of APT from a historical perspective.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: GROUP THEORY

The purpose of this chapter is to present the theoretical framework which encompasses this thesis. This will be accomplished by first summarizing the role of theory in political science. Secondly, a review of the literature will be presented which will include a discussion of Robert Dahl's success paradigm with emphasis on the incentive factor which contains special relevance to this thesis. This study finds that an important theme in APT's origins was the strong convictions and beliefs of its participants. As this chapter will reflect, this falls under Dahl's definition of incentive in his success paradigm.¹ Finally, group theory propositions, along with corresponding criticisms from the elitist camp, will be presented with an explanation of their relevance for this study. Understanding the theoretical framework which encompasses this thesis is beneficial from three perspectives: 1) Group theory propositions can provide explanation; 2) theoretical perspective is gained which is

¹Robert A. Dahl, Pluralist Democracy in the United States: Conflict and Consent (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1967), 375.

necessary, in addition to arms control and anti-nuclear history, in understanding the overall perspective of this thesis; and finally, 3) this study's placement in its proper theoretical framework provides a mechanism to interpret the importance of its results.

The Role of Theory in Political Science

The purpose of this section is to briefly present theory's role in political science, its classifications, and criteria by which it may be evaluated so that a better understanding of the more specific group theory may occur. The role of theory in political science is primarily to explain² but theory also guides research, substantiates other theories and facilitates discovery.³ And whether one holds that theory represents reality,⁴ or one is of the instrumentalist school, holding that theory is an instrument for man's use,⁵ explanation remains the function of theory. Theory may be classified as normative

²Eugene J. Meehan, The Theory and Method of Political Analysis (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1965), 128.

³Ibid., 129.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

or empirical.⁶ In Robert Dahl's book, A Preface to Democratic Theory (1956), the division between normative and empirical theory was recognized by Jerome G. Kerwin as he wrote in the Foreword, "The Foundation has already presented works on democracy from the point of view of the philosopher and the moralist. ... The Foundation welcomes Professor Dahl's work as representative of the empirical school."⁷ The function of normative theory, primarily, is "...to describe or justify an ideal set of political or social relationships."⁸ Empirical theory results from the existence of empirical evidence, produced from testing, that variables relate to other variables, under specific conditions, in the way predicted.⁹ Empirical theory may be further sub-divided into inductive and deductive theory.¹⁰ Inductive theory is that which is born of

⁶Monte Palmer, Larry Stern, and Charles Gaile, The Interdisciplinary Study of Politics (New York: Harper & Rowe, Publishers, 1974), 6-9.

⁷Robert A. Dahl, A Preface to Democratic Theory (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956), Page iii.

⁸Palmer, Stern and Gaile, 7.

⁹Ibid., 7-8.

¹⁰Ibid., 8.

existent data.¹¹ Deductive theory is that which is produced from reasoning or drawing out hypotheses.¹² Theories may be evaluated by their strength of explanation and usefulness to political science.¹³ Strength of explanation is determined by analysis of "range", the degree of heterogeneity found in the explained data, the explained data's importance, " ... the kind of relationship that it provides between generalizations ... " and verifiableness.¹⁴ Usefulness to political science " ... refers to the assistance that a theory can provide in the discovery and exploration of new fields, new generalizations, new theories, and new points of view."¹⁵ In his book A Preface to Democratic Theory (1956), Dahl wrote, "... there is no democratic theory- there are only democratic theories."¹⁶ Reflected in Dahl's sentence is that it is inappropriate to write of a single theory of political science because there are

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Meehan, 157.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid., 158.

¹⁶Dahl, A Preface to Democratic Theory, 1.

actually many theories and divisions of theory. This book is a collection of essays which give rise to questions which would be answered by an acceptable theory of democracy.¹⁷ Reflected in this book is that there are also many approaches to a given theory where Dahl, writing of democratic theory approaches, presents six: 1) A conditions-oriented theory such as attempting to determine what conditions would best support an objective; 2) if a "maximizing theory" is chosen it could be ethical in nature or neutral; 3) regarding the neutral theory, Dahl writes that it could be axiomatic or empirical; 4) the theory could be operational or non-operational; 5) measurable or non-measurable; and finally, 6) it may be concerned only with "constitutional prerequisites" or "social and psychological conditions."¹⁸ Reflected in this book, which looks at democracy from a large, theoretical perspective, is Dahl's thought regarding the importance of groups wherein he writes that the significance of Constitutional rules is found in the "advantages or handicaps" given to groups to use in the political process.¹⁹ Thus, reflected in this work is

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid., 1-2.

¹⁹Ibid., 137.

that there are many theories, divisions of theory and approaches to theory. One such division in theory is between elitist and pluralist thought. This study is of the origins of a protest group opposed to public policy with the purpose of changing public policy and thus is within the framework of pluralistic thought.

A Review of the Literature

The Process of Government (1908) by Arthur Bentley has been regarded as the "seminal work" for group theory.²⁰ David B. Truman acknowledged the contribution of Bentley to his work, and the emerging field of study, in his preface to the similiarly titled book, The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion (1951).²¹ Sidney Ratner, in his introduction to Bentley's book, Inquiry Into Inquiries: Essays in Social Theory (1954), recognizes the contribution of The Process of Government.²² Ratner wrote that "Bentley developed

²⁰David G. Garson, Political Science Methods (Boston: Holbrook Press, Inc., 1976) 74.

²¹David B. Truman, The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion (New York: Random House, Inc., 1951), ix.

²²Arthur F. Bentley, Inquiry into Inquiries, Edited by Sidney Ratner (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1954), x-xi.

with great power an analysis of 'group interests,' ...
."23 He also wrote, "But Bentley characterizes 'group interests' in terms of the multiple activities and objectives of human beings in contrast to the more static and limited 'interest groups' of conventional contemporary political science."24 Perhaps he was referring to Truman, whose book The Governmental Process had been published just three years before wherein Truman states that partly due to the "bewildering" variety of associations between government and groups that there is " ... no inclusive working conception of the general political role of ... interest groups."25 Truman then writes that his purpose is, " ... a restatement of the role of groups in the political process."26 Reflecting the title of his book and the importance he gives to groups, Truman writes: "We have argued, in fact, that the behaviors that constitute the process of government cannot be adequately understood apart from the groups, especially the organized and potential interest groups, which are

²³Ibid., xi.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Truman, The Governmental Process, vii.

²⁶Ibid., ix.

operative at any point in time."²⁷ Despite his interest in the political process in relationship to the role of interest groups, in his book entitled The Congressional Party (1959) published eight years later, he only casually writes of interest groups and does not devote even a chapter to their effect on Congress.²⁸

In his book entitled Pluralist Democracy in the United States: Conflict and Consent (1967), Robert A. Dahl discusses the factors involved in successfully influencing government.²⁹ He writes that, as other systems do, democracies regulate access to influence and, more than some systems, democracies provide for more influential access but that it is still "obvious" that citizens do not have equal chances of successfully influencing government.³⁰ He lists four factors involved in successfully influencing government: "one's own situation, the situation of one's allies, the situation of one's opponents or potential opponents, and the amount of change

²⁷Ibid., 502.

²⁸David B. Truman, The Congressional Party (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1959).

²⁹Dahl, Pluralist Democracy, 373-379.

³⁰Ibid., 373.

one seeks."³¹

Dahl then subdivides the first factor into three parts: "political resources", "political skills" and "incentives."³² He defines political resources as "... all the means available to you for influencing the behavior of other people."³³ He emphasizes the resources of time, officiality and "legitimate authority."³⁴ In his book After the Revolution?: Authority in a Good Society (1970), Dahl discusses resource inequality, writing, "To the extent that the resources needed to influence people are unequally distributed, the capacity to make personal choices effective is unequally distributed."³⁵ This thought is a logical conclusion of his paradigm. Returning to Pluralist Democracy, Dahl defines political skill "... as a capacity for using one's resources efficiently."³⁶ He makes the point that the

³¹Ibid., 374.

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Robert A. Dahl, After the Revolution?: Authority in a Good Society (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 105.

³⁶Dahl, Pluralist Democracy, 375.

desire to influence government is a factor in influencing the government.³⁷ He also indicates that there is a relationship between the amount of caring and the willingness to invest resources and acquire skills.³⁸ Dahl writes, "Thus, your influence is partly dependent on your goals and estimates of the best strategies for obtaining them."³⁹ For Dahl, incentive is the desire or fuel driving one to attempt to influence as reflected wherein he writes, "We might call this third factor incentives for acquiring political skills and for employing resources to influence the conduct of government."⁴⁰

Turning to the second and third factors, allies and opponents, Dahl writes, "Allies may enable you to multiply resources and skills and hence improve your chances of success. Conversely, the greatest resources, skills, and incentives of your opponents, the worse your prospects are."⁴¹ He does not directly address, however, the notion that although resources will primarily build up

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid.

summarily and skills summarily and by specific contributions, which result in a total greater than the sum of its parts, that incentive can progress in a self-sustaining geometric pattern because of its nature of self-propellence.

Dahl divides the fourth factor, "the amount of change one seeks"⁴², into two parts: "the number of persons who must change their minds, and the difficulty involved in getting them to change their minds."⁴³

Although Dahl has provided an analytical framework, his paradigm opens itself up to the following criticisms which, if implemented, would make it much more useful regarding both explanation and prediction. As much as possible, methods which would allow quantitative analysis (for example, weighting of factors) would be desirable as it would be more specific, measurable and objective.

The division of resources, skills and incentive is a very general representation of the controlled factors involved in the success of a group. If those categories were very specific with a listing of subdivisions and groupings within each category, then usefulness would be enhanced by having more criteria from which to evaluate

⁴²Ibid., 374.

⁴³Ibid., 376.

and predict. For example, resources could be divided into the categories of current assets, long-term assets, revenue production capability, access to research facilities and capacity for the assumption of debt. These divisions could be further subdivided, for example regarding current assets, into cash, receivables and prepaid expenses. These divisions would allow for much more detailed analysis of a group's resources which would provide one with the necessary amount of qualitative information upon which more informed judgements and predictions could be based.

Dahl's paradigm does not take into account the environmental factors outside of the group and the influencee. But intangible, qualitative factors such as the momentum of history, although probably impossible to ever measure, should at least be recognized so that judgements based on data may be tempered with intuition.

Also, he does not account for the type of protest group and its relationship to the other factors. For instance, faith would be considered a primary resource to a faith-based organization while Greenpeace expeditions to save the whales might put a higher premium on boating equipment. The principle in these obvious examples is that weighting of factors would depend on the group type and its objectives.

One may envision Dahl's paradigm expanded into a model with three dimensional matrices of weighted factors spinning in a cyclonic wind of environmental influences which spits out forces in some logical manner that enter the larger environment ruled by principles of group theory producing an effect which political scientists have yet to understand. In his book Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition (1971), Robert A. Dahl is concerned with the question: "Given a regime in which the opponents of the government cannot openly and legally organize into political parties in order to oppose the government in free and fair elections, what conditions favor or impede a transformation into a regime in which they can?"⁴⁴ In sharp contrast to the general presentation of his successful influence paradigm on pages 373-379 of Pluralist Democracy in the United States: Conflict and Consent, Dahl finishes answering the following question⁴⁵, "What circumstances significantly increase the mutual security of government and oppositions and thereby increase the chances of public contestation and

⁴⁴Robert A. Dahl, Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), 1.

⁴⁵Ibid., 208.

polyarchy?"⁴⁶ with a chapter in which he presents a summary⁴⁷ of "seven sets of complex conditions"⁴⁸ which favor polyarchy.⁴⁹ Had Dahl developed his success paradigm to the number of specifics as he did in this chapter, perhaps the model's usefulness would have increased.

One may criticize this paradigm because of its generality, lack of weighting of factors and lack of quantitatively describing the relationships between factors. It is still useful, however, and by examining the parts of this framework, and their interaction, one may come to a better understanding of the complex interrelationships inherent in influencing government. This study shows that the beliefs and convictions of participants were an important theme in the origins of APT. This falls under Dahl's definition of incentive. The participants' incentive i.e., their desire, was to bring about change congruent with their beliefs and convictions. This was the fuel which powered their use of resources and skills. Therein is where the relevance of Dahl's paradigm

⁴⁶Ibid., 16.

⁴⁷Ibid., 202.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid., 203.

lies for this paper, i.e. it is a model which provides a mechanism for gaining perspective. Although understanding the origins of APT would be interesting alone, only through understanding it from a proper perspective is one able to judge the importance of the themes found therein. Besides Dahl's model of succesful influence, several propositions are useful in understanding this study and are presented below.

Group Theory Propositions and Relevance

Making use of the definition of theory's function as one of explanation, this section will present propositions of group theory and their relevance, i.e., how they offer explanation or interpretive help, to this study. The following numbered propositions have been associated with pluralist group theory:⁵⁰

1) As society becomes more complex, it will lead to the government's penetrating further into society, more group involvement from individuals, and a higher probability "that groups will seek government cooperation" to achieve their objectives.⁵¹ Restated in terms of

⁵⁰Garson, 84-85. Garson has this footnoted as follows: "Darryl Baskin, "American Pluralism: Theory, Practice, and Ideology," Journal of Politics 32, no. 1 (February, 1970): 71-95."

⁵¹Ibid., 84.

nuclear public policy, one may propose that as the military function of a society becomes more complex it will lead to the government's penetrating further into that society in terms of a) resources such as required funds, personnel, and testing facilities, b) the expansion of legal issues surrounding nuclear testing and nuclear waste and c) the citizens' rights, such as to be protected from testing if on that philosophical side or the right to national protection through military means if on the other. Also, one might propose that there would be more group involvement from individuals, meaning that groups are more necessary to influence an increasingly larger government; and also that there might be a higher probability that cooperation will be sought from the government by those groups, meaning that since changing public policy is the only way to end testing it will be tried through cooperative means. Elite theorists might argue that, "Modernization leads to the merger of public and private elite interests."⁵² The acceptance of this restated proposition provides an explanation for the increasing penetration into Southern Nevada regarding nuclear issues with the most current being the proposed nuclear waste repository at Yucca Mountain, the fairly

⁵²Ibid., 85.

recent formation of major protest groups in Southern Nevada and the peaceful, cooperative methods of the protesters.

2) Public policy is the result of group opposition, the decision maker's "institutional interests and role perceptions" and "the effect of traditions and potential groups".⁵³ Of course, elitists would hold that, "Public policy is a function of elite bargaining."⁵⁴ Implicit in the first part of this proposition is that groups, through their opposition, may have an effect on public policy. Anti-nuclear groups, by their very existence, reflect the holding of this belief. The acceptance of this proposition explains current public policy in relationship to testing at NTS. One would expect that since there has basically been no group opposition to testing in Southern Nevada, it would continue unimpeded and this has been the case.

3) The success of a group is related to a number of factors, primarily number of "adherents", commitment intensity, "mastery of technique" and resources.⁵⁵ Anti-nuclear protest groups, almost by their very existence,

⁵³Ibid., 84.

⁵⁴Ibid., 85.

⁵⁵Ibid., 84.

believe that their success is partially dependent on their actions; otherwise their goals of influencing policy would be illogical in the face of the counterproposition. But different types of groups believe their success is based on different factors. For instance, to faith-based groups God is a factor in the outcome of nuclear situation whereas more secular groups may wish to concentrate more on obtaining and using resources rather than praying and participating in other religious activities. Even groups which believe their success results from a combination of factors, such as those put forth by Dahl, may lack the technical skills necessary to accumulate and use them to avail. This proposition, if accepted, allows a very general method from which to predict the success of a group or judge its past actions in terms of resource utilization. Elitists would argue that the primary factor in group success is the "correspondence" between the goals of the group and the purposes of the elite.⁵⁶

4) "Political stability rests on this complexity: the counterbalancing of opposing groups, overlapping memberships, consensual acceptance of the basic rules of the game, the incentive the system gives to accommodation

⁵⁶Ibid., 85.

and compromise, and the diffusion of power."⁵⁷ This proposition offers explanation regarding why, in the face of so many groups which oppose current nuclear policy, the U. S. has experienced political stability in this area. The elitist camp would argue that the stability of the political system has as its foundation, symbol manipulation, control of the processes of socialization, control of agencies such as the police and military, and employment or revenue producing activities by elites.⁵⁸ The acceptance of the principle central to this group theory proposition, that the interaction of individuals in the form of groups provides the support for political stability, is partially evident in the concern most anti-nuclear protesters, and protesters in general, have for freedom of expression both in speech and protest. This concern can be seen in the actions of APT regarding its relationships with other protest groups.

5) "The "public interest" is a philosophical category, not a useful political science concept. The social interest can be assessed only through "summing" the often conflicting interests of organized and potential groups. Perpetuation of the system is, in practice, the

⁵⁷Ibid., 84.

⁵⁸Ibid., 85.

dominant characteristic of the political process."⁵⁹ This proposition rejects normative theory regarding the social interest by rejecting that abstract, idealistic concept of social interest as useful to political science. The proposition suggests that the social interest is variable dependent upon a society, its objectives, and the complex relationships among its groups. In terms of the anti-nuclear movement, this proposition suggests that those concerned with arms control and nuclear weapons testing, and oriented towards tangible change, may want to think in terms of group theory instead of abstract ideals. This proposition offers explanation, with a Morgenthauian perspective, regarding why nuclear weapons testing, which by anyone's definition is a negative activity (although a necessary negative activity by many's definition) is engaged in against the social interest of mankind but in the interest of one country as a result of the interaction of groups. On a micro level, this proposition suggests it is not as practical, for those concerned with instituting change, to think in terms of nuclear weapons testing as opposing the social interest as it is to think of current public policy as the social interest which was produced from the interaction of groups. This is because the latter

⁵⁹Ibid., 84.

viewpoint provides one with a more tangible way to proceed to influence. Many would argue, however, that moral values as ends, guidance and criteria from which to judge should be held supreme and, at the very least, should be used in conjunction with the practical viewpoint. The elitist viewpoint would go so far as to argue that: "Normative concerns must be the core of political studies, and system perpetuation as a value has a conservative bias."⁶⁰

6) The interaction of groups to shape society is superior to centralized planning.⁶¹ Elite thought holds that the reliance on the interaction of groups to shape society leads to instability.⁶² The acceptance of this group theory proposition on a micro-level is evidenced in the decentralized decision making of most protest groups. With the rejection of the policy in question often comes the rejection of what is seen as elitist decision making, leading one to question if that is for logical reasons or merely because of association. On a macro level, the acceptance of this proposition is reflected in protest methods. APT protests at the NTS with other groups and in

⁶⁰Ibid., 85.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Ibid.

front of whomever cares to see. This is in contrast to an elitist based strategy which might consist of attempts to influence individuals through letter writing campaigns and similiar endeavors.

In conclusion, this chapter has presented the theoretical framework which encompasses this thesis by summarizing the role of theory in political science, which is generally one of explanation; reviewing group theory literature with emphasis on Dahl's paradigm which is helpful in understanding group success and finally by examining group theory propositions and why they are relevant i.e., how they help to explain this study and its environment. The result of this theoretical framework placement has been the provision of explanation, perspective (especially when combined with the arms control and anti-nuclear history presented in chapter 1) and a method of interpreting the importance of determining the origins of the largest and most persistent anti-nuclear group, APT, at the only continental test site, NTS, in the United States. Those origins are presented next in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER 3

THE HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN PEACE TEST

The historical origins of APT can be found in the activities surrounding the following events and periods: The Direct Action Framework Period, a May 1985 Nuclear Weapons FREEZE Campaign meeting, a Nevada Desert Experience action in August, the period between the NDE action and the first APT action, the first APT action in October and November, the Annual FREEZE Conference held in November and official formation in January of 1986. This chapter is primarily concerned with the activities surrounding those events as they relate to establishing the important themes regarding the origins of APT.

The anti-nuclear movement relative to this study has been intertwined within the more general anti-war sentiments of the Korean Conflict throughout the Vietnam War and Operation Desert Shield. There exists a long history of politics associated with nuclear weapons testing. Two major themes existed in the political environment: First, the theme of continuity¹ and

¹A. Costandina Titus, Bombs in the Backyard: Atomic Testing and American Politics (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1986), xii.

secondly, the theme "... that the federal government has not been alone in understating the real dangers of atomic weapons testing."² The anti-nuclear protest groups are important factors in the politics of nuclear weapons testing and provide contextual perspective in relationship to APT's origins. Important in understanding APT, because of its relationship to the group from which APT was developed, is one such group: SANE. The Provisional Committee to Stop Nuclear Tests was formed in the early summer of 1957.³ In September the group was renamed the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE).⁴ SANE was formed on the principle of liberalism.⁵ It may be partially credited with establishing, in 1961, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and, in 1963, the partial Test Ban Treaty.⁶ The FREEZE merged with SANE in 1987.⁷ Mc Crea and Markle wrote that, "More than any organization in the history of the peace movement, SANE presaged the

²Ibid., xiii.

³McCrea and Markle, 71.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., 86.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid., 90.

Freeze."⁸

As this study indicates, APT grew from the Nuclear Weapons FREEZE Campaign. The FREEZE lasted seven years.⁹ A large, varied social movement began in 1980 with "Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race" by Randall Forsberg.¹⁰ The FREEZE by 1982 had organized well at the grass-roots level, gained national exposure and achieved victories at the polls.¹¹ This was not to last long, however, as by 1986 the FREEZE was sliding downhill: the national staff went from 20 to 6, after only a year and a half in office the Executive Director was fired, and in 1987 the FREEZE merged with SANE.¹²

In May of 1985 the Nuclear Weapons FREEZE Campaign called the Nevada Desert Experience group in Las Vegas and asked for one day of an upcoming August protest to be made "FREEZE Day." This call was important because it connected, through an action at the NTS, the growing desire for direct action by members of the FREEZE Campaign

⁸Ibid., 87.

⁹Ibid., 90.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

with events occurring at the NTS which eventually lead, through a series of events (mainly from May 1985 to January 1986), to the formation of APT. The NDE, which was a factor in APT's origins, is a group based in faith "with Franciscan origins and scriptural values" which has as its objective to stop the testing of nuclear weapons.¹³ Its methods are "prayer, dialog, and nonviolent direct action."¹⁴ In the latter part of the 1970s prayer vigils were held at the NTS.¹⁵ During Lent in 1982 vigils and actions were held by people of religion.¹⁶ Since 1982 thousands have been drawn to NTS to participate in "annual Lenten Desert Experiences."¹⁷ NDE was formed in 1984 and sponsors Hiroshima-Nagasaki commemorations annually and other activities with different groups.¹⁸

Direct Action Framework Period: 1983 and 1984

¹³Nevada Desert Experience: Faith Based Resistance to Nuclear Weapons Testing (Place of publication does not appear: Apparently published by Nevada Desert Experience [dated 1/89]), side 2.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

Nancy Hale, referring to the origins of APT, provides insight into that Direct Action Framework Period as reflected in Appendix 1, Section 1.¹⁹ Hale indicated that the origins of the APT FREEZE movement started approximately two years before the May 1985 Meeting when Nuclear Weapons FREEZE Campaign people along with delegates nationwide requested the formation of a Direct Action Task Force within the FREEZE because, even though many activities were taking place, direct action and civil disobedience were not included.²⁰ Hale said that many were of the opinion that if the situation were as serious as proposed, then people should be offered a larger range of actions.²¹

Nancy Heskett, as indicated in Appendix 1, Section 2, commenting on the origins of APT, explained in more detail how APT grew from the FREEZE Campaign.²² Heskett said the APT originated in the support for stopping the arms

¹⁹Nancy Hale, telephone interview by author, 11 January 1991, Las Vegas, tape recording.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid.

²²Nancy Heskett, telephone interview by author, 13 January 1991, Las Vegas, tape recording.

race that was reflected in the Nuclear Weapons FREEZE Campaign.²³ She said that although participation was expanding, the FREEZE did not seem to be progressing towards realizing its objectives and that she and others were becoming frustrated.²⁴ This frustration gave rise to breaking arms race stoppage into smaller goals, one of which was to end testing.²⁵ Heskett said she views the appearance of APT as developing from the "optimism and purposefulness" surrounding the FREEZE Campaign in relationship to stopping the arms race.²⁶ Heskett said that although there were differences in choice of methods, that was not the case regarding ultimate objectives.²⁷

Hale explained, as reflected in Appendix 1, Section 3, the purpose of the Direct Action Task Force as being to create strategies concerning varying direct action programs which would then be presented, at annual meetings, to the FREEZE Campaign.²⁸ Hale explained that

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Hale.

during that two year period the Direct Action Task Force examined many variations of direct action and civil disobedience and that the favorite choice was to have a program which centered on the NTS.²⁹ Hale said that before the May 1985 Meeting, members of the Task Force had already visited the NTS.³⁰

Hale commented on the relative importance of the May 1985 meeting, as denoted in Appendix 1, Section 4, as she described the telephone call to NDE and having a FREEZE day as "incidental."³¹ She said that regardless of whether it was called FREEZE day, they were going to the NTS to participate in the 40th anniversary of the Hiroshima bombing.³²

As reflected in this section, the Direct Action Framework Period stretched throughout 1983 and 1984 and was characterized by an increase in desire for offering direct action regarding nuclear weapons testing. Reflecting most historical origination, there was no one event or instance from which APT sprang forth; rather, it was the interaction of many influences, characterized by

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid.

several themes, which developed the group. But the Direct Action Framework Period does provide evidence of the first collective actions which can be connected to the eventual formation of APT. Thus, this period is important in understanding APT's origins because it was then that the ideas and desires surfaced which are the foundations of the group's formation. Those ideas and desires became more tangible with the placing of a call to NDE in May of 1985.

Meeting: 5/85

Jessie Cocks commented, as exhibited in Appendix 2, Section 1, on the May meeting, wherein she said that the National FREEZE Direct Action Task Force met in May of 1985 in Washington and there was discussion regarding the focusing of attention on the NTS and a comprehensive test ban.³³ Cocks explained that it was decided that NDE would be called and asked if one day could be FREEZE day.³⁴ August eighth was picked and Cocks " ... took it on as a project."³⁵

Coran said NDE was chosen to contact because of the "very definite and specific religious overtones to their

³³Jessie Cocks, interview by author, 28 June 1988, Las Vegas, tape recording.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid.

organizing" and, referring to NDE's Lenten Desert Experience actions, "people of strong religious conscience came primarily and the idea of the peace test test was to do what we could to mainstream that concept of nonviolent direct action."³⁶ He continued, "We turned to the Nevada Desert Experience because they had working logistical knowledge of what it took to organize a rally and direct action 65 miles out in the middle of the dessert."³⁷

The significance of this meeting lies in the telephone call which, at once, both gives tangibility to the ideas and desires which grew during the Direct Action Framework Period and connects those desires more firmly to the NTS. This connection is important because, as this study shows, it is at that August action that great inspiration is found which in large part fuels APT's formation. Individuality as a determinant of receptivity and response to environmental situations could have lead to a completely different outcome had NTS not been chosen. For instance, if the individuals involved had chosen Washington, D.C. at which to protest regarding nuclear testing perhaps the effect on the individuals would not have been the same. Thus, that call was a significant,

³⁶Ted Coran, telephone interview by author, 11 January 1991, Las Vegas, tape recording.

³⁷Ibid.

pivotal point in the direction of APT's development.

Nevada Desert Experience Action: August 5 - 9, 1985

The August 1985 NDE action was the event which inspired the APT. Although the desire for direct action had been growing within the FREEZE Campaign, it was this action which provided the inspiration for Nancy Hale and Jessie Cocks to convince others of what they saw as an opportunity at the NTS. The effects of inspiration were especially apparent, regarding Hale, during the period between the NDE action and the first APT action; and, regarding Cocks, at the November FREEZE Conference. As the history of APT is unraveled, the strong convictions of Cocks and Hale and their effects on others are readily apparent. Their inspiration was found, relating to the NTS and direct action, at this NDE action.

As shown in Appendix 3, Section 1, Hale commented on the August NDE action wherein she explained that daily diversions do not exist in the desert.³⁸ She indicated it provided the experience to combine intellectuality with spirituality and if that experience could be recreated for others, then a successful campaign would be possible.³⁹

Cocks said, as displayed in Appendix 3, Section 2,

³⁸Hale.

³⁹Ibid.

she tried to get FREEZE groups to come to NTS in August.⁴⁰ She explained that on the seventh non-violence training occurred, on the eighth an action took place at which time arrests were made.⁴¹ Cocks said that she and Nancy Hale, while in jail together, spoke of the experience.⁴² Cocks said that Gorbachev had recently made an announcement of a Soviet Union testing moratorium and, "So history was right in front of us and I felt that this was a challenge and a chance to really respond to the call"⁴³ A Las Vegas Review-Journal reporter summed up the preformation events in a July 10, 1988, article.⁴⁴ See Appendix 3, Section 3. In this article Cocks said, "'For me, it was the coming together of my political self and my spiritual self. It was a life-changing experience'".⁴⁵ The importance of this action is reflected in an APT handbook which says origination of

⁴⁰Cocks, 28 June 1988.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Laura Wingard, "Peace activist burned out, decides to retire," Las Vegas Review-Journal, 10 July 1988, 1 (B) and 2 (B), Sunrise Street Edition.

⁴⁵Ibid.

the concept for APT occurred at this action.⁴⁶ See Appendix 3, Section 4.

As reflected in this section, Hale and Cocks found inspiration at the August NDE Action. This inspiration fueled the enthusiasm which, as will be shown, moved others to act in ways which furthered the development of APT. Thus, this action is important in understanding APT's origins because it provided the inspirational experience which fueled and focused the desires for direct action which were evident in the Direct Action Framework Period. As will be shown, events happened quickly after that action, with the formation occurring only 5 months later.

Interim: August 10 - October 17, 1985

The importance of the period between the NDE action and the first APT action lies in three areas: 1) It provides evidence of Hale's convictions and enthusiasm moving others to listen and act (specifically regarding Coran, Bergel and when requesting money from the FREEZE); 2) It is when the idea of a 30-day action (which would eventually develop into the first APT action) occurred; and 3) It provides evidence of Cocks' convictions and enthusiasm moving others to act.

Coran said (see Appendix 4, Section 1) that after the

⁴⁶Reclaim the Test Site: Action Handbook, 1.

NDE action Hale called him and Peter Bergel and they all met.⁴⁷ He described Hale as being "extrememly empowered."⁴⁸ He said that even though they had known her for a lengthy time, they had not seen her like this and that "the force of her convictions" lead them to where they could not summarily dismiss it but needed to hear her.⁴⁹

Coran continued (see Appendix 4, Section 2), describing events leading up to the conception of the idea for the first APT action.⁵⁰ Coran said he was inclined towards direct action to a greater degree than Bergel but that Bergel was convinced also of the neccessity of direct action.⁵¹ Coran said he and Bergel thought of the idea for a 30-day action.⁵² For Bergel's perspective see Appendix 4, Section 3.⁵³

⁴⁷Coran.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Peter Bergel, telephone interview by author, 13 January 1991, Las Vegas, tape recording.

Cocks said (see Appendix 4, Section 4) regarding this interim period that she was very excited about a possible action and that she was working on getting support from the FREEZE for an action.⁵⁴ Hale said (see Appendix 4, Section 5) regarding persuading the FREEZE to grant money for the first APT action that two factors were involved.⁵⁵ First there were intense convictions regarding the action; and secondly, the work of prior periods provided a base for the request.⁵⁶ See Appendix 4, Section 6 for a passage which provides one a sense of strength of conviction.⁵⁷

As indicated in Appendix 4, Section 7, a 1988 newspaper article provides an additional summary.⁵⁸ Written in this article is that \$16,500 were given by the FREEZE for the monthlong NTS action.⁵⁹

First APT Action: October 18 - November 18, 1985

The first APT action was very important for the

⁵⁴Cocks, 28 June 1988.

⁵⁵Hale.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Reclaim the Test Site, 1.

⁵⁸Wingard, 2 (B).

⁵⁹Ibid.

information it provides regarding the historical origins of APT. This information falls into three categories: 1) That the action validated the forming opinions about direct action in relationship to nuclear testing; 2) It provided insight into the ideas which APT held as its goals which were contributions towards: ending nuclear weapons testing, a nuclear weapons testing freeze, controlling or ending the arms race, world public health and, for some, nonviolence in itself; and 3) It provided insight into the ideas which APT held as acceptable in achieving its ideological goals which were as follows: peaceful protest, civil disobedience, contributing to individual experiences through which change may occur, providing an environment for individual choice within the group, direct legal action and finally, persistence.

Although Heskett was not in Nevada for the August NDE action or the first APT action, she commented on her understanding of the relationship between NDE and APT (see Appendix 5, Section 1).⁶⁰ She said from what she heard that APT utilized "the experience and practices of the Nevada Desert Experience."⁶¹ She also said, "My sense of it was the APT represented a secular arm of the same

⁶⁰Heskett.

⁶¹Ibid.

movement"62

Cocks said (see Appendix 5, Section 2) she went to Las Vegas in September and obtained a house and Nancy Hale arrived and the 32 day action occurred at NTS.⁶³ This action was called the American Peace Test.⁶⁴

As shown in Appendix 5, Section 3 Coran, explained that the timing of the first APT action was planned to coincide with the conference of the National Nuclear Weapons FREEZE Campaign where it was hoped the FREEZE would accept direct action as an acceptable method.⁶⁵

Hale said (See Appendix 5, Section 4), commenting on the first APT action, that the confirmation of people believing in it from the start was of primary significance.⁶⁶

Ideological Goals

The first APT action provided insight into the ideas which APT held as its goals which were contributions towards: a nuclear weapons testing freeze or ban,

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Cocks, 28 June 1988.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Coran.

⁶⁶Hale.

controlling or ending the arms race, world public health and nonviolence in and of itself.

A Nuclear Weapons Testing Freeze or Ban

One of the goals of APT was to contribute to a nuclear testing freeze or ban. The two specific goals of a freeze or a ban are not separated because of the practical difficulties regarding the highly subjective nature of attempting to differentiate the intent of someone's words in an article and because the underlying reasoning for holding both as goals is basically the same.

"Nuclear freeze advocates ... "⁶⁷ were the first three words appearing in a Las Vegas newspaper describing those who were to participate in that October APT action. So at the very beginning they were identified with holding the goal of a nuclear weapons testing freeze. Each of the articles in the Las Vegas Review Journal from October 12 through the Final Home Edition on November 26 refer in some way to the fact that the participants were "anti-nuclear." As reflected in Appendix 5, Section 5, the impression provided by the articles regarding the participant's goals in relation to the testing of nuclear weapons may be summed up as ending weapons testing as a

⁶⁷Laura Wingard, "Protests planned at Nevada Test Site," Las Vegas Review-Journal, 12 October 1985, 3 (B) Final Home Edition.

response to the moratorium of the Soviet Union,⁶⁸ institution of a Soviet proposed freeze⁶⁹, and pressuring Reagan into a nuclear testing moratorium.⁷⁰

Controlling or Ending the Arms Race

A logically consistent extension of desiring a nuclear weapons testing freeze or ban is the goal held by APT of contributing to controlling (limiting) or stopping the arms race. These specific goals will not be differentiated for the same reasons provided in the paragraph referring to the goal of a nuclear weapons testing freeze or ban. Although the emphasis of APT was on nuclear weapons testing, the bigger picture of the arms race did not go unnoticed as evidenced by the following quote: "'We see the end to testing as the first step to stopping the arms race,' Browning [Cocks] said."⁷¹

World Public Health

The only evidence in an article during 1985 of world

⁶⁸Wingard, Protests planned, 3 (B).

⁶⁹Associated Press, "Three protesters arrested," Las Vegas Review-Journal, 6 November 1985, 3 (B) Final Home Edition.

⁷⁰Associated Press, "24 arrested at nuke test site," Las Vegas Review-Journal, 19 November 1985, 2 (B) Home Edition.

⁷¹Wingard, Protests planned, 3 (B).

public health being an ideological goal is found in a November 16 article reporting about six protesters from Utah.⁷² That article establishes, as an ideological goal, contributing towards world public health: (Grady Walker was identified in the article as "...a spokesman for the Salt Lake Freeze... ." ⁷³) The article stated (see Appendix 5, Section 6), "Utah residents were victimized by the atmospheric testing and have a 'unique right to add world public health to the list of reasons why nuclear testing should be ended,' Walker said."⁷⁴

Nonviolence

Although nonviolence may be used as a method, it is most properly categorized as a goal when referring to the origins of the APT. As available in Appendix 5, Section 7, Coran said to Heskett, Hale and Cocks that a goal was to get individuals to see that a conflict resolution method was nonviolent direct action.⁷⁵ And although tracing the entire history of that specific goal is outside of the

⁷²Associated Press, "Utahns protest nuclear testing," Las Vegas Review-Journal, 16 November 1985, 3 (B) Final Home Edition.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Coran.

scope of this paper, see Appendix 5, Section 8 for a section from an APT manual dated January 1987 which provides insight into the concept of nonviolence as it related to APT.⁷⁶

Methods

The first APT action provided insight into the ideas which APT held as acceptable in achieving its ideological goals which were as follows: Peaceful protest, civil disobedience, contributing to individual experiences through which change may occur, providing an environment for individual choice within the group, direct legal action and finally, persistence.

Peaceful Protest

The articles in the Las Vegas Review-Journal from October 12 through the Final Home Edition on November 26, 1985, taken as a whole, indicate that the protesters were peaceful in nature. Representative (see Appendix 5, Section 9) of the peaceful impression provided is the description of demonstrators as peaceful protesters⁷⁷ and of a group of six releasing balloons as a method of

⁷⁶American Peace Test: Nonviolence Trainers' Manual (The American Peace Test [January 1987]), 6.

⁷⁷Wingard, Protests planned, 3 (B).

protest.⁷⁸

Civil Disobedience

See Appendix 5, Section 10 for a passage from a 1987 manual which provides insight into the concept of civil disobedience from a later perspective in which it is written, "Nonviolent civil disobedience has clearly played a leading role in the development of a more just and peaceful society in the US and will continue to do so."⁷⁹

Contributing to Individual Experience Through Which Change May Occur

As shown in Appendix 5, Section 11, there is a passage which reflects at least two themes:⁸⁰ First, there is, in the second sentence, explicit support for the idea of contribution to individual experience through which change may occur being held as a method.⁸¹ Secondly, Cocks' (Browning) description of the desert provides further support of the high degree of enthusiasm

⁷⁸Associated Press, Utahns protest, 3 (B).

⁷⁹Nonviolence Trainers' Manual, 3.

⁸⁰Wingard, Protests planned, 3 (B).

⁸¹Ibid.

she held.⁸²

Providing an Environment Which Allows Individual Choice

As reflected in Appendix 5, Section 12, the first evidence in an article during 1985 of providing an environment which allows individual choice being an ideological method is found in a October 12 article which suggests that an environment existed where participants may have chosen their specific method of protesting.⁸³ Further evidence (see Appendix 5, Section 13) of the existence of an environment which allows individual choice was provided in a November 6 article in which the freedom of individual choice is clearly evident because it reflects that the members were the ones to make a decision regarding protest.⁸⁴

As evidenced in Appendix 5, Section 14, a November 10 article entitled Energy Department cancels protest permits provides evidence of further support of the idea of providing an environment which allows individual choice as it contains reference to decisions being made by "some of

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Associated Press, "Three protesters arrested," Las Vegas Review-Journal, 6 November 1985, 3 (B) Final Home Edition.

the protesters."⁸⁵

Direct Legal Action

As indicated in Appendix 5, Section 15, the only evidence in an article during 1985 of direct legal action being an ideological method is found in a November 12 article.⁸⁶ The article reports of a lawsuit to be filed regarding test site boundaries.⁸⁷

Persistence

Although persistence, in and of itself, is not a method but rather is a description of the manner in which methods are used, it is nonetheless an important characteristic of their methodology. One is provided in Appendix 5, Section 16, in which Cocks refers to the revocation of protest permits, a sense of her desire to persist.⁸⁸ The actions of those referred to in another passage (see Appendix 5, Section 17) provides further

⁸⁵Associated Press, "Energy Department cancels protest permits," Las Vegas Review-Journal, 10 November 1985, 6 (B) Sunrise Home Edition.

⁸⁶Laura Wingard and Associated Press, "Group planning challenge of test site's boundaries," Las Vegas Review-Journal, 12 November 1985, 1 (B) and 5 (B), Final Home Edition.

⁸⁷Ibid.

⁸⁸Associated Press, Energy Department, 6 (B).

evidence of the characteristic of persistence as it reports of protesters being arrested twice.⁸⁹

Annual FREEZE Conference: November 17, 1985

The Annual FREEZE Conference on 11/17/85 was important because it was there that the forces which would eventually become the APT broke away from the FREEZE Campaign. Two themes are present 1) That the idea of direct action was one whose time had come and 2) That Cocks' enthusiasm was important in bringing about the actual parting. Coran described (see Appendix 6, Section 1) Conference events leading up to the conception of forming a group separate from the FREEZE.⁹⁰ He described widespread disappointment and Cocks' enthusiastic manner which provides additional support for the two themes.⁹¹ For Cocks' comments, see Appendix 6, Section 2.⁹² Heskett was a National Chairperson of the FREEZE Campaign at the time of the November FREEZE Conference.⁹³ For

⁸⁹Associated Press, "24 arrested at nuke test site," Las Vegas Review-Journal, 19 November 1985, 2 (B) Home Edition.

⁹⁰Coran.

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹²Cocks, 28 June 1988.

⁹³Heskett.

Heskett's comments on the Conference, see Appendix 6, Sections 3 and 4.⁹⁴ For Hale's comments regarding the November FREEZE Conference, see Appendix 6, Section 5.⁹⁵

APT Formation: January 1986

As evidenced in Appendix 7, Section 1, Cocks commented on the official formation of APT.⁹⁶ Cocks said the APT was formed at a meeting which was held in Las Vegas the first weekend of 1986.⁹⁷ She names the six original staff members as Hale, herself, Heskett, Driscoll, Bergel and Coran.⁹⁸ Regarding staffing, Cocks indicates that with hindsight she would have preferred it be done another way.⁹⁹

Conclusion

The existence of interest in direct action was evident during the Direct Action Framework Period. This became more tangible with a call to the NDE in May of

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵Hale.

⁹⁶Cocks, 28 June 1988.

⁹⁷Ibid.

⁹⁸Ibid.

⁹⁹Ibid.

1985. It was then amplified and validated at an NDE action in August and, fueled by intense conviction, now also coming from experience, was turned into action as the first APT action was organized. Then, at the Annual FREEZE Conference, with the momentum of the October action fresh in their minds, those interested decided to form their own group. Shortly thereafter the preformation period ended in January of 1986 with the official formation.

This chapter has been concerned with presenting support for the conclusion that the historical origins of APT can be found in the activities surrounding the following events: The Direct Action Framework Period, a May 1985 Nuclear Weapons FREEZE Campaign meeting, a NDE action in August, an interim period, the first APT action, the Annual FREEZE Conference in November and official formation in January of 1986. Chapter 4 will be concerned with presenting the themes found in those origins, supporting their inclusion and interpreting their importance.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

The historical origins of APT were presented in Chapter 3. The purpose of this chapter is the presentation of an interpretation of those origins towards the objective of adding further value through understanding. This will be accomplished by searching for themes which existed during that preformation period. The presentation of these themes will include stating the idea, supporting its inclusion as a theme and concluding its importance.

Throughout the preformation events, people were motivated by those who seemed to hold deep personal convictions and beliefs regarding the need for direct action in relationship to nuclear weapons testing. This is seen in the effect Hale's enthusiasm had on Coran and Bergel and again in the situation surrounding Cock's words at the November FREEZE Conference. Those convictions and beliefs fueled and gave impetus to the formation of APT, making this theme one of the most important.

The full utilization of resources is the hallmark of an efficient and productive organization which also applies to protest groups. Through APT's relationship with NDE, APT was able to expose itself to prior knowledge of

protesting at the NTS. This is indicative of resource utilization which is important because it demonstrates that tempering emotion was thoughtful planning.

APT's methods were congruent with its goals. As was shown in Chapter 3, its goals were focused on peace and its methods were peaceful in nature. The importance of this lies in the reflection of conviction. A group which acts quickly, such as rioters, may be very determined but may also be motivated strictly by panic or illogical thinking which seems correct at the time. One would think, however, that a group embarking on a path which they know will take years of persistent work and will possibly never completely bring the achievement of their desired objectives is more determined. This determination is another reflection of deep conviction. A later passage appearing in an APT manual reflected this theme, "When practicing nonviolence the means must be consistent with the ends."¹

There was a prior existence of interest in direct action relating to nuclear weapons testing. The existence of the Direct Action Task Force and relatively quick official formation only two months after the FREEZE Conference both point to that conclusion. This is

¹Nonviolence Trainers' Manual, 11.

important because it supports the idea that APT was formed not of quick emotion but rather preexisting thought fueled by conviction.

Individual experience was a theme found in both the goal of nonviolence and the methods of contributing to individual experiences and providing an individual choice within the group. It was also evident in the experiences of Cocks and Hale. This emphasis would have seemed to be well placed since the desert, where the center of protest was, required individual effort even to get there and once there does not offer much except the possibility of personal experience unlike protesting in a populated area which might have more media coverage, exposure to opposition, distractions such as entertainment or restaurants, and interaction with a larger number of borderline protesters who simply are not serious enough for a journey into the desert.

APT's presence was one of strength throughout the entire preformation period. This is evidenced in their splitting from the FREEZE Campaign. Even the name, "Direct Action Task Force" evokes thoughts of a group ready for action. One can see the strength of determination in the following quote referring to the revocation of protest permits:

'It's really not going to change our plans much,'

said Cocks-Browning. 'We're not going to stop going to the test site by any means.'²

This theme is important because strength shown through speech and action is a reflection of conviction and as the origins have been presented one can see how those convictions fueled the formation.

APT was not formed of forces centered in Southern Nevada. None of the cofounders was living in Nevada. The only cofounder to originally move to Las Vegas was Jessie Cocks who was from Pennsylvania.³ That APT, or a similar group, was not formed of local sources is further support of the idea that, " ... Nevadans have consistently supported the test site since its opening."⁴

The desert served a dual role in APT's formation. It was an obstacle which presented logistical problems. The practical difficulties encountered in protesting in the desert would have necessitated a bigger personal benefit in terms of the individual's experience in order to make protesting worthwhile for the individual. The other role the desert played was to help provide the experience which would make it worthwhile. Refer to Hale's quote in

²Associated Press, Energy Department, 6 (B).

³Cocks, 28 June 1988.

⁴Titus, 100.

Appendix 3, Section 1 for a comment on the desert. Thus the desert presented obstacles while at the same time providing incentive to overcome those obstacles.

In order to gain insight into what has happened with APT since January 1986, Debra Richardson, APT National Council Representative, was interviewed on February 20, 1991.⁵ Referring to the theme that during the preformation period people were motivated by those who seemed to hold deep personal convictions and beliefs Richardson said, as indicated in Appendix 8, Section 2, that she believes it has changed since then and that as opposed to being moved by another's deep convictions the experience itself has become the primary affective factor.⁶ Richardson predicted (see Appendix 8, Section 3) an expansion of their network because of a larger need for it outside of the testing issue.⁷ As referenced in Appendix 8, Section 4, during the interview Richardson referred to the theme of full utilization of resources.⁸ She said APT is expanding regarding its relationships with

⁵Debra Richardson, interview by author, 20 February 1991, Las Vegas, tape recording.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

other groups and work at other facilities but indicated resources such as equipment and funding are lacking.⁹ Referring to efficient utilization of resources in the future, Richardson said (Appendix 8, Section 5) there is a direct relationship between number of actions and amount of funding and she indicated that APT will be more active regarding actions.¹⁰ As shown in Appendix 8, Section 6 Richardson, referring to the theme of method congruity with goals, said that congruity does exist and she sees the continuation of that in the future.¹¹ She said that APT input comes from outside of Southern Nevada.¹² See Appendix 8, Section 7 for exact wording. Now that America is at war she said she hoped APT would be used as a nonviolence trainer network (see Appendix 8, Section 8).¹³

Referring to events since January 1986 Richardson explained (see Appendix 8, Section 9) the evolution of APT

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

into a decentralized organization.¹⁴ Richardson said, referring to other local groups with overlapping membership, that APT, NDE and Citizen Alert all serve a purpose.¹⁵ See Appendix 8, Section 10 for a more detailed explanation. Finally (see Appendix 8, Section 11) referring to other, new or different themes in the post-formation period and the future that she has not already addressed in the interview, Richardson said that actions had evolved towards constituency group participation and APT was growing towards an international focus.¹⁶

The importance of understanding the historical origins of APT lies in the useful information it provides a participant in a democracy which is found in the following themes: motivation occurring through personal conviction and belief, association with NDE, congruency of methods with goals, the prior existence of interest in direct action, individual experience, the strong presence of APT, role of forces outside of Southern Nevada and the influence of the desert. The most important underlying theme is that an environment existed such that in January of 1986 the desires of many to have direct action in

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid.

relationship to nuclear testing, which had formed within the Nuclear Weapons FREEZE Campaign and was given fuel and direction primarily from the experiences of Hale and Cocks, materialized into a group which would, in an area historically in support of the NTS, later organize the "Largest Civil Resistance in U.S. History"¹⁷ during which 2,065 arrests occurred.¹⁸ In support of the idea that the organization was inspired and fueled by the strong convictions of its participants is the following quote wherein Heskett refers to the official formation:

... We had nothing. We had no money. We had no staff. We had no organization. All we had were the people we knew in the FREEZE Campaign and the people we knew in other political organizations around the country. And we just had complete faith that we could do this. And that's what we started with: complete faith, which helped ...¹⁹

¹⁷"Largest Civil Resistance in U.S. History," Test Banner, April 1988, 1.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Heskett.

APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEWS: DIRECT ACTION FRAMEWORK PERIOD:

1983 AND 1984

Section 1:

But the real roots in the FREEZE movement of the American Peace Test started almost two years before that [May 1985 Meeting] when different people from the Nuclear Weapons FREEZE Campaign, different delegates from around the Country, started asking for there to be a Direct Action Task Force in the FREEZE. Because there were a lot of different kinds of activites going on but direct action and civil disobedience weren't part of them. And a lot of people held the opinion that if the threat of nuclear war was as serious and basically as terrifying as we were making it out to be, that we ought to offer people the option of taking a whole range of different kinds of actions.¹

Section 2:

... the APT grew directly out of the ground swell of support for ending the arms race that was represented by the Nuclear Weapons FREEZE Campaign. As the FREEZE Campaign began it had this enormous expansion of participation [from] people all over the country and didn't seem to be moving closer to achieving its goals. I was very involved in the FREEZE in the beginning so I was feeling the frustration like everybody else. As that happened, some of us within [the] FREEZE said, 'Let's break our goal down into smaller parts and work on these independently, one by one.' The part that I advocated and a number of other people, as well, that we begin with, was ending testing When Gorbachev announced the moratorium of Soviet testing it became clear to a number of us, including most of the people who founded the APT, that this was the next logical step for all of these grass roots people, who were involved in the FREEZE Campaign, to take to move toward our larger goal And so I see the emergence of the APT as coming directly from the sense of optimism and purposefulness that the FREEZE Campaign created around the country around the possibility of ending the arms race.

¹Hale.

So even though there were some differences of how we were to go about it I don't see that there was actually a disjuncture between the APT and the FREEZE Campaign. ... nor do I think that the APT superseded the FREEZE Campaign. I felt at the time, and even more strongly now, that the APT was moving in a particular direction directly out of the bosom of the FREEZE Campaign without alienation between the two organizations.²

Section 3:

The Direct Action Task Force ... had funding from the FREEZE Campaign ... to bring the members of the Task Force together for them to strategize different kinds of direct action plans to present to the FREEZE Campaign at its annual meetings. In those two years the Direct Action Task Force looked at a lot of different kinds of direct action and civil disobedience and the number one top priority plan that it came up with was going to Nevada and setting up some sort of action in Nevada, having a campaign that was focused on the Nevada Test Site. Members of the Direct Action Task Force went to Nevada and looked at the Test Site long before that May [19]85 [meeting].³

Section 4:

But calling Nevada Desert Experience and having one day be FREEZE day ... was really incidental. The plans for the Campaign, two years of work of the Direct Action Task Force and a lot of other delegates ... had been working on this for two years. So, the fact that the FREEZE Campaign decided one day in Nevada was not that phenomenal, in my opinion. That's not that it didn't happen But we were [going to] go and take part in the 40th anniversary of the bombings of Hiroshima on August 6th in Nevada anyway whether they had called it a FREEZE day or not.⁴

²Heskett.

³Hale.

⁴Ibid.

APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEWS: MEETING: MAY 1985

Section 1:

... we [the National FREEZE Direct Action Task Force] had a meeting in Washington in May [1985] and we were talking about trying to get FREEZE groups to focus some attention on the Nevada Test Site and the [idea of a] comprehensive test ban. So we decided to call the Nevada Desert Experience and ask if we could have one of the days between the sixth or the fifth and the ninth of August be FREEZE day. So we picked August eighth and I ... took it on as a project.¹

¹Cocks, 28 June 1988.

APPENDIX 3

INTERVIEWS: NEVADA DESERT EXPERIENCE ACTION: AUGUST 1985

Section 1:

... one of the things that happen when you go out onto the desert, and this has certainly been true throughout history ... [with] its basis in all kinds of religions, teachings and thinkers, so I don't mean for this [to] be unique to us at all, but you go out onto the desert and ... all the other day to day buffers you have ... in your life get stripped away. That was exactly what happened there. So it was [the] kick that we needed to take our intellectual understanding of what the Nevada Test Site was and then it combined with a spiritual intuitive realization that if we could bring people out into the desert, to that desert with the information we have and recreate for them the experience of being and, ... no matter how many people you're out there with you're all alone because the desert's so huge and the question of nuclear weapons testing and the implications of nuclear weapons is so huge, that you really face it by yourself. If we could combine those two things, that intellectual understanding and our ability to strategically think of the campaign, along with the spiritual power of being in the desert we knew that we would have a campaign that would work.¹

Section 2:

So I took it on to make up a flyer with an old post card, which is a actual photograph of people watching an atmospheric test, and called it 'Freeze Day' and tried to get FREEZE groups out to the Test Site in August. So several of us came out in August. Not a huge amount of FREEZE people. And during our action: We had non-violence training on the seventh, we did an action on the eighth, got arrested, went to jail it was during that time, through that experience and the time in jail, that my friend Nancy Hale, who was also on the Direct Action Task Force ... we were in jail talking about what an amazing experience this was and how we've got to get more people out here to this desert to get some of the passion to work to stop

¹Hale.

testing. And at the same time, a couple days before, Gorbachev had just announced the moratorium of testing in the Soviet Union. So history was right in front of us and I felt that this was a challenge and a chance to really respond to the call²

Section 3:

Cocks, 38, first came to Nevada in August 1985 to join a protest to mark the 40th anniversary of the United States dropping atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

At the time, she was working from her home in West Chester, Pa., for the National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign.

'I came expecting to watch, but I got completely taken by the experience,' Cocks said.

She wound up being arrested for misdemeanor trespassing and was sentenced to 24 hours in a Nye County jail. She served her time with Nancy Hale, a friend and colleague from the freeze campaign.

'We considered ourselves old callous organizers,' Cocks said. But Hale and Cocks were so moved by protesting at the border of the Rhode Island-sized test site that they wound up spending their time in jail plotting a way to bring more peace protesters to the place where U.S. nuclear weapons are detonated underground.

'For me, it was the coming together of my political self and my spiritual self. It was a life-changing experience,' Cocks said.³

Section 4:

The concept for the American Peace Test originated in 1985 when several members of the Nuclear Weapons FREEZE Campaign's Direct Action Task Force participated in the August Desert Witness, a four-day civil resistance action at the Nevada Test Site.⁴

²Cocks, 28 June 1988.

³Wingard, Peace activist burned out, 1 (B) and 2 (B).

⁴Reclaim the Test Site, 1.

APPENDIX 4

INTERVIEWS: INTERIM PERIOD

Section 1:

And she [Hale] called us [Peter Bergel and Ted Coran] up and she came up to our office and the three of us sat down. She had just come back with a full dose of the desert and was extremely empowered in terms of what she wanted to do, very clear in thinking as to what needed to happen. We had known Nancy for a long time and had never seen her like this and sort of the force of her convictions as to what happened to her was a very large part of what we saw and said something really is special here we need to hear this and just not dismiss it out of hand.¹

Section 2:

I was much more inclined toward direct action at the time than Peter was. It was a little harder of a sell for Peter but even so he was convinced that this was what needed to happen. So after that Peter and I and another friend of ours who hadn't been down to the desert. His name was Chuck Johnson. Who was sort of peripherally involved in the American Peace Test early on but was a very strong Oregon organizer. The three of us went out to the beach and spent a weekend out at the coast. And Peter and I with some help of Chuck, I remember sitting up on top of a very tall bluff looking out over the ocean and talking for a good 7 or 8 hours in terms of just how we could really bring all of this about and that was when Peter and I conceived of the 30-day action and called up Nancy, she thought it was a great idea. And within about a week we began organizing it.²

Section 3:

¹Coran.

²Ibid.

Official formation succeeded the first APT demonstration The way that happened from my perspective was that Nancy Hale and Ted and I had been discussing movement options; strategic options for quite awhile. We had several conversations; the three of us and various other participants ... and we hadn't really come up with any conclusions, any really good ideas about which direction to go. And then after the Nevada Desert Experience action that brought Nancy and Jessie and Jim together in the summer of 1985 and after the Gorbachev initiative ... the peace movement seemed paralyzed by that and nobody seemed to be doing anything about it. And so Nancy having come back from this action called Ted and me up and said, 'I want to talk to you right away. I think that maybe we've got something going here. That maybe this is the answer.' And so we actually went down to Eugene that very evening and had a very intense and exciting conversation with her about this and agreed that it was a good plan to have a ... action at the Test Site just preceeding the summit³

Section 4:

So when I got home to Pennsylvania, right after that action, I took a proposal down to the National FREEZE in Washington and talked to ... some of the key staff. And I was completely excited and jazzed and said, 'We have got to do this. This is incredible. You know this happened, that happened. I went out there as an organizer expecting to watch how it worked and I was completely involved. It was a life changing experience. ...' I mean I was so excited I couldn't see straight. And I said, 'I'm willing to go out there, and not be paid to go out there, to pull off an action this fall as an action of the National FREEZE Campaign.' And to date you see, the FREEZE hadn't endorsed people doing civil disobedience under the name of the National FREEZE Campaign. So, I knew that this was a little bit pushing their agenda by trying to get them to endorse an action and finance an action that involved non-violent civil resistance. So I got on the executive committee agenda later that August in 85. ... So it took a lot of work but they agreed to it which I was actually surprised because a lot of people at that point were still terrified what would

³Bergel.

happen when people did civil resistance and how it would effect the organization's name and reputation.⁴

Section 5:

... there was a passion for that campaign. We believed in what we were doing so strongly that we probably, on some levels, could have convinced people to do almost anything because of the level of conviction we had at that point. But we also [had] a huge amount of ground work under us. The FREEZE Campaign had voted several years in a row to consider the [direct action] kind of campaign. It had always been a very close vote so the people who were sort of controlling the budget understood that as a matter of fact pretty close to 50% ... were in support of the direct action campaign. So it wasn't so much that at that moment we came up with this wild new idea then went for it as [much as it was that] we finally focused it in enough and gave it enough definition to where the money came through after several years of mulling it over and talking about direct action.⁵

Section 6:

Inspired and empowered, they organized a month-long presence at the Test Site urging the U.S. to join the unilateral Soviet testing moratorium which began August 1. Over 500 people from 28 states made the journey to the Test Site and participated in daily demonstrations during the month prior to the November summit. One hundred and thirteen of them were arrested for trespass.⁶

Section 7:

Cocks and Hale helped persuade the National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign to give them \$16,500 to put on a monthlong test site protest.

The demonstration - dubbed the 'American Peace Test' - began on Oct. 18, 1985. The goal of the

⁴Cocks, 28 June 1988.

⁵Hale.

⁶Reclaim the Test Site, 1.

organizers was to have the United States join the Soviets in the nuclear testing moratorium they started on Aug. 6, 1985. The United States never agreed to the test ban and the Soviets eventually resumed testing.

Even so, by the time the protest ended, 113 trespassing arrests had been made by Nye County sheriff's deputies and more than 400 anti-nuclear activists from 28 states had been drawn to the test site.

Cocks and others became convinced that civil disobedience at the test site was a key to achieving a ban on nuclear testing and they founded a group called the American Peace Test in January 1986.⁷

⁷Wingard, 2 (B).

APPENDIX 5

INTERVIEWS: FIRST APT ACTION: OCTOBER 18, 1985 -
NOVEMBER 18, 1985

Section 1:

... from what I heard of those actions that were in October and November my sense [was] that the APT drew very heavily on the experience and practices of the Nevada Desert Experience without copying and being exactly the same as those experiences, that there was a feeling of camaraderie and cooperation between Nancy and Jessie, when they were out there in Nevada, and the people from the Nevada Desert Experience. ... My sense of it was the APT represented a secular arm of the same movement¹

Section 2:

So I went out [to Las Vegas] and got a house in September. Nancy Hale came down from Oregon with a bunch of volunteers and we had this 32 day action at the test site. ... And that was sponsored by the FREEZE Campaign but the action was called American Peace Test.²

Section 3:

The other thing about the timeline was it was designed to coincide exactly with the National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Conference where we were hoping to get the National Nuclear Weapons FREEZE Campaign to go ahead and completely sanction direct action as an acceptable tactic and pull it into its body of previously acceptable tactics ... add into that, nonviolent direct action I think was an extremely important, sort

¹Heskett.

²Cocks, 28 June 1988.

of watershed point for the peace movement.³

Section 4:

... the most significant thing about that [first APT action] was that people believed in it from the beginning which was a confirmation to us ...⁴

Section 5:

We're trying to stop weapons testing in response to the Soviet Union's moratorium on testing ...⁵

... [an activist] said he and other protesters want the United States to agree to a freeze in nuclear weapons testing proposed by the Soviet Union.⁶

The protests at the Nevada site were designed to pressure President Reagan into calling a moratorium in nuclear testing, and coincided with the start of the summit talks in Geneva this week.⁷

Section 6:

Walker said Utah residents who lived downwind from atmospheric testing in the 1950s and 1960s consider a test ban 'a bold and historic public health initiative.'

Utah residents were victimized by the atmospheric testing and have a 'unique right to add world public health to the list of reasons why nuclear testing should be ended,' Walker said.

'An end to testing would mean an end to the

³Coran.

⁴Hale.

⁵Wingard, Protests planned, 3 (B).

⁶Associated Press, Three protesters arrested, 3 (B).

⁷Associated Press, 24 arrested at nuke test site, 2 (B).

radioactive pollution from atomic tests which threatens the health and safety of all persons,' Walker said.

Although all nuclear testing is now conducted underground, Walker said public health remains an issue because radioactive gases from tests are sometimes vented into the atmosphere.⁸

Section 7:

I know that if you asked ... of Nancy Heskett and Nancy Hale and Jessie Cocks an additional goal was the inclusion in people's daily thinking of the power of nonviolent direct action. It was a goal. ... to get people to think that that was a way to resolve conflict.⁹

Section 8:

In order to make the most effective use of nonviolence, APT organizers have studied the experiences of past nonviolent campaigns. Based on this study, as well as on our own experience, we have developed the following principles for our organization.

1. All activities must be strictly nonviolent in action and tone. The attitude conveyed through words, symbols, and action should be one of openness, love, and respect towards all people encountered.
2. All participants must undergo APT-oriented nonviolence training.
3. No property will be damaged.
4. All activities must be open and public, not secret.
5. No participants will bring or use any illegal drugs or alcohol.
6. All participants must freely accept the legal consequences of their actions and must not seek to evade these consequences beyond legitimate legal recourse.
7. All participants must agree to follow the

⁸Ibid.

⁹Coran.

directions of the decision-making body. In the event of a serious disagreement participants agree to remove themselves from the action.¹⁰

Section 9:

Most of the demonstrators will peacefully protest at the site ...¹¹

The six protesters carried a cluster of balloons, one marked for each year since testing began at the Nevada site in 1951. After a spokesman read a brief statement, the balloons were released into the air to demonstrate that they, like radiation from testing, 'go where the wind goes.'¹²

Section 10:

The American Peace Test recognizes that no major social change movement has ever succeeded in this country without civil disobedience playing a significant role in its activities. The American revolution, the abolition of slavery, labor organizing, women's suffrage, the civil rights movement, the campaign to end the Vietnam War, and the opposition to nuclear power all employed civil disobedience as an important and often central tactic. Nonviolent civil disobedience has clearly played a leading role in the development of a more just and peaceful society in the US and will continue to do so.¹³

Section 11:

'It's a peace test for America,' said Browning. 'Our hope is that these people coming to the test site will have a strong enough experience that they will apply pressure to the administration, Congress and Reagan to

¹⁰Nonviolence Trainers' Manual, 6.

¹¹Wingard, Protests planned, 3 (B).

¹²Associated Press, Utahns protest, 3 (B).

¹³Nonviolence Trainers' Manual, 3.

demand a stop to nuclear testing. It's a test for Americans.

'This is to inspire and motivate people to sink their teeth into the issue.'

Browning and Nancy Hale of Eugene, Ore., sunk their teeth deeper into the issue after they were arrested during the August protests at the Nevada Test Site. The experience was the catalyst behind them convincing the Nuclear Freeze Campaign to sponsor the month of demonstrations.

'We saw a life death parable out there,' Browning said. 'There is this albatross of death represented by the testing. But then there is the desert just teeming with nature, with flowers and wildlife all around.'

By bringing nuclear freeze supporters from throughout the country to the site, Hale said, 'We let the testing question come home for people. We won't have a unified political message until people realize the testing goes on here.'¹⁴

Section 12:

Most of the demonstrators will peacefully protest at the site, abiding by U.S. Department of Energy guidelines for protestors. However, Browning said, some will engage in civil disobedience by trespassing beyond DOE boundaries and will likely be arrested for the activity.¹⁵

Section 13:

Those arrested Tuesday were part of a 12-member delegation from Ohio who traveled to the site to be a part of the American Peace Test, organized by the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign of Washington, D.C.

Mick Latkovich, a Cleveland, Ohio, activist, said three members of his organization decided to commit 'civil disobedience' by walking over the boundary at the site.¹⁶

Section 14:

¹⁴Wingard, Protests planned, 3 (B).

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Associated Press, Three protesters arrested, 3 (B).

Miller said the DOE issued permits for five demonstrations at an area halfway between the gate to the site and U.S. 95 with the understanding that protesters who wanted to be arrested would submit to arrest in an orderly manner.

But he said demonstrators have recently been climbing the fence from the BLM property at various points to be arrested, causing problems for the Nye County Sheriff's Department officers and site security guards who have to chase them down.

Cocks-Browning said the change in tactics came about because some of the protesters thought they could 'make a better statement' by forcing officers to chase them instead of simply walking over a line into the waiting arms of the deputies.¹⁷

Section 15:

A lawsuit challenging the boundaries set up by the Department of Energy to keep anti-nuclear protesters off the Nevada Test Site should be filed in U.S. District Court within the next two weeks, a Las Vegas attorney said Monday.

Albert Marquis, representing the American Peace Test, a group engaged in a monthlong protest at the weapons testing site 65 miles northwest of Las Vegas, said the DOE places 'far greater restrictions on them (anti-nuclear demonstrators) than on the general public.'¹⁸

Although the monthlong protest is due to end Nov. 18, Marquis said he will likely ask for a preliminary injunction on behalf of the American Peace Test and future protesters. He said he will claim that the DOE trespassing boundaries are arbitrary and are an 'undue and unreasonable infringement on the First Amendment.'¹⁹

Section 16:

¹⁷Associated Press, Energy Department cancels, 6 (B).

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

'It's really not going to change our plans much,' said Cocks-Browning. 'We're not going to stop going to the test site by any means.'²⁰

Section 17:

Three protesters were arrested twice when they crossed a boundary line, signed citations agreeing to appear in court, then crossed onto the test site a second time, said Department of Energy spokesman Barbara Yoerg.²¹

²⁰Associated Press, Energy Department, 6 (B).

²¹Associated Press, 24 arrested at nuke test site, 2 (B).

APPENDIX 6

INTERVIEWS: ANNUAL FREEZE CONFERENCE: NOVEMBER 17, 1985

Section 1:

The FREEZE Strategy was proposed. Everything was approved by the FREEZE Strategy except the portion of the strategy that was presented by the Direct Action Task Force, and that was Nancy Hale and Jessie Cocks. It was a very close vote. There were about two hundred and twenty voting members. I remember it splitting about 111 to a hundred and nine. It was extremely close. We were all extremely disappointed. We had just come from the desert. We knew what was going on there. We wanted the FREEZE to pull this into itself. We thought it would help the organization. They turned it down. We were all very disappointed. With the exception of Jessie Cocks. She got extremely excited. She went upstairs to a hotel room and called a meeting of anyone who wanted to come and basically the idea of the meeting was, 'If they don't want to do it, we'll do it.' All six of us [Bergel, Cocks, Coran, Driscoll, Hale, and Heskett] went there [Chris Brown and others were also there]. Jessie was a very charismatic person We all went in there kind of expecting to lick our wounds and just kind of moan. Jessie said, 'No, we're not going to let this die. We know it's important. If they don't want to do it we'll go ahead and form our own organization.' And we did. And that's when we conceived of actually being a separate entity.¹

Section 2:

So the second to last day of the action, that weekend, was the Annual FREEZE Conference. So we flew into Chicago for that conference and I gave a presentation about the American Peace test and what had happened and Nancy gave a presentation about why we need to do civil resistance and work from a point of non-

¹Coran.

violence. And there was a big vote and the vote came down it was the equivalent to like 52 to 48. 52 against the freeze doing civil resistance, 48 for it and it was a very heavy vote. People looked like their best friend had died because people who personally felt non-violent direct action is a good thing to do were torn because they were still believing the myth that if we got enough white middle and upper class people to support a freeze that we would achieve an end to the arms race. Which I think is absolute bullshit to be quite honest with you. But anyway some people were still functioning based on that premise which I think is a myth. So people were really depressed. So I was amazed. So I stood up and I said, 'folks this is not the end to direct action or a presence at the test site. Anybody that wants to meet with me that's interested in talking about what we have to do to continue a presence there we have [a] room to caucus in.' ... So [in] that caucus there was a lot of interest in continuing the presence and maybe forming another organization based on non-violent direct action²

Section 3:

... I knew that those of us who would be involved in the APT action were deeply committed to continuing that work and so by the time I got to the conference in Chicago I knew two things: One was that I was going to have to leave my position as chair of the FREEZE Campaign, for a variety of reasons, and the other was that I was very committed to continuing the civil disobedience work that we had begun at the Nevada Test Site. And also I felt that it was important to expand that work to include people who lived far away from the test site and couldn't get there When I got to the conference the political dynamics within the FREEZE Campaign and between the FREEZE Campaign and the APT were such that I very early on abandoned my role as taking responsibility for managing the conference as one of the chairs. I mean, I really did not do my job. Because I couldn't do it. I just could not stand in front of the conference and give the appearance of feeling good about what was happening. So that was very difficult for my fellow co-chairs because I ... put a bigger burden on them. But a

²Cocks, 28 June 1988.

number of us started leaving during the conference about the second day to talk about continuing with the work of the APT and about the possibility of starting another organization.³

Section 4:

Some of us had considerable reluctance about starting what could be considered a competitive organization.⁴

Section 5:

Those people [not supporting direct action and civil disobedience within the FREEZE] basically at that conference in November won out. They had won out before but we had the action under our belts and that gave us just enough confidence. Instead of saying, 'Oh, okay we'll take it back to the drawing board and we'll work on it again until next year' to say 'take it or leave it this year, either you go with us and include this campaign as part of the FREEZE' and literally within minutes of the final vote on the floor which was very close ... a huge number of delegates left the conference floor and went into another room and planned how to go forward with the direct action campaign.⁵

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Hale.

APPENDIX 7

INTERVIEWS: APT FORMATION: JANUARY 1986

Section 1:

So then we had a meeting the first weekend in January of [19]86 here in [Las] Vegas and that's when we formed APT as a national organization. And when we were talking about who would be staff Nancy Hale and myself and Nancy Heskett in Pennsylvania and Jim Driscoll.I was the only one that would go to Vegas so I moved out ... because it was essential that we had staff in Vegas. So I came out ... and at that point Nancy and I were called national co-coordinators. And then Peter Bergel and Ted Coran wanted to be staff and so then said, 'Well, let's have a clearing house in Salem, Oregon since that's where we are and we won't move to Nevada.' See nobody else would go to Nevada. Which in hind sight was stupid of us to say, 'Oh, okay, because you want to be a staff person and you want to stay where you live that's okay.' I mean we should have put out job descriptions and put out job openings and had a bigger staff here. And then Jim Driscoll was a fund raiser out of Arizona. So that was the kind of beginning staff of the organization.¹

¹Cocks, 28 June 1988.

APPENDIX 8

INTERVIEW: POST FORMATION APT

Section 1:

'It's really not going to change our plans much,' said Cocks-Browning. 'We're not going to stop going to the test site by any means.'¹

Section 2:

I think that may have changed somewhat in that during the formation period it was a very small group of people, and so the gatherings were small and that there was more one-on-one contact. Individuals could feel and hear the energies of those individuals that were so motivated to be some of the first ones taking that step over the lines. What has happened since that time is that it really has multiplied. And we find year after year people come back because they have heard about the moving experience that they had at the test site. And I hear more about the overall experience versus another persons deep conviction changing them It becomes more of the overall experience now rather than an experience you have meeting an individual, that's swaying you. So I think ... that has changed. Its more the experience, it's because of those individuals that began it, but it's really grown²

Section 3:

I do, especially in light of the war. I think we're going to see a return to direct action. Already we've seen this year the number of direct action, civil resistance actions happening have just gone through the ceiling at this point I think that nonviolence will certainly become a larger issue as we see the anti-war movement grow. ... that is really our foundation [that] ... nonviolent civil resistance is a tool. So I see that our network will expand and grow because there will be a bigger need for it in all

¹Associated Press, Energy Department, 6 (B).

²Richardson.

aspects of the peace movement outside of the testing as well. And I think we'll be called out to help in these other areas such as the anti-war movement through nonviolence³

Section 4:

... there certainly has been a strengthening in the networks within those people that work around the nuclear facilities. The testing site is just one of many weapons facilities and I think we have forged new connections with other groups [so] that we're no longer just an isolated pocket at the Test Site. We're ... just beginning to see the direct connections linking the testing to these other ... facilities and these other groups. So I think that we will be better utilizing each others movements and supporting each others actions at each site. Instead of drawing everybody here to the Test Site, I see that American Peace Test may now be at a point where they may actually switch and begin calling people to other sites as well, for direct action. Being efficient aside from human [resources] and technology, financially American Peace Test still has a hard time investing in a equipment such as computers and programs and fax machines and things that allows us to keep up with the outside world. And sometimes I think we aren't as efficient as we could be because we're lacking in the funding because we are so purely grass roots. That we're lacking in funding to keep up efficiently with technology and where that can put us.⁴

Section 5:

... we need to begin long term strategy planning, not just one year but five years, begin looking at our strategies in five year periods. Financially, resources come in when you're active. If you're not active with actions or activities happening your funding base drops off. ... just up until the last year we've had one major event a year and that was pretty much it. This last year we've changed our strategy and we had about three other activities going

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

on and we've seen a much higher funding base. We've spent more money because we've been having more activities ... our funding cycle has not had the drop off it's had in the past. So I think we're on the right track by getting more involved in the sponsoring [of] actions more frequently.⁵

Section 6:

... we've condensed our purpose of statement. For a period of time, it ... started growing. We had [a] one-through-seven purpose statement and it is now down to three. ... yes there is a congruity and I see that continuing and that if anything it's becoming more exact and tighter, that nonviolence is an integral part of our programming [and] that nonviolence is not just in an action but in your everyday life and you can't expect to change the world if we can't change ourselves and change the patterns that ... we've been acculturated into which is violence.⁶

Section 7:

This is something we still face today and that is that APT still is an outsider group. ... our makeup is still of people that come from outside of Las Vegas. We still have a very, very, very small percentage of active constituents in Nevada or Southern Nevada. The Shoshone from Northern Nevada have increased their participation and organizing efforts. ... but for the general populace of Las Vegas it still remains fairly silent in our activities.⁷

Section 8:

I would hope that we would be utilized as a network of nonviolence trainers. That people will come to our actions. That they will be able to make the connection between nuclear testing and the war. That they will see our actions as a period of time to come and really

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

focus on nonviolence: Nonviolence civil resistance as a tool and to utilize that time period to participate in trainings or to train to become a trainer, to go back to their communities and become nonviolence trainers, which would feed into the anti-war efforts.⁸

Section 9:

... there has been a three part change. ... there is the original formation, a handful of individuals who made the decisions on how the actions would take place That progressed to where there then was the nucleus, the staff of people, what was created was for decision making and process and structure, a steering committee which would guide that staff in its decision making throughout the year became sort of the checks and balances on what decisions the staff made. And the Steering Committee became the face of the regional ... representation around the country. ... at a body-of-the-whole meeting in 1989 there was a decision made ... to change once again the process and the decision making. [The] Steering Committee then was transformed into what is now called the National Council. Like the Steering Committee we attempt to be a face that's geographically diverse, nationally, but there's no longer a paid staff in Las Vegas to govern. So what the National Council now does is that it oversees the implementation of all the decisions made at the body-of-the-whole meeting. At our body-of-the-whole meeting, our annual meeting, we make out a strategy and a timeline for the next year's events. And it is the responsibility of that Council to make sure that is implemented. ... The Las Vegas group, while it makes some decisions without having to go to the Council ... [has] very limited decision making capabilities and we are on the National Council ourselves. We send one representative to the Council as well. ... I don't know how to describe how we've [Las Vegas location] changed face other than we're no longer the decision-making body. We are as all other. We have truly become a decentralized organization where there is no more pull or weight for any regional group. It becomes the National Council now and Vegas doesn't make decisions that the rest of the group or

⁸Ibid.

that the National Council is not a part of.⁹

Section 10:

As far as overlapping here locally with the interests of other groups that share the same interests as we do on the testing issue: Nevada Desert Experience. They, like American Peace Test, are directly focused on the nuclear testing. Their ultimate goal we share and that is a comprehensive test ban treaty. Our constituencies are different and I think there is a need for both of our roles. Nevada Desert Experience serves the faith-based community, those people who are very committed to God American Peace Test, our constituency is a bit more diverse. We have people of faith as well but our face goes outside of that. We have atomic veterans. We have native Americans. We're just a little bit more widespread. There's not that limiting factor of being faith-based. So I think we actually complement each other. There's a place for everybody between the two groups. Citizen Alert ... is not completely focused on the testing issue as APT or NDE. They are involved more on motivating the community to become involved in the political processes by which we can go about shutting down the Test Site: Public hearings, reading all the literature, the books, the volumes that come out of the Department of Energy, And that's an important role too because we're not as focused on the political means or the political spectrum of testing. Although we look at the political effects, we're more into ... doing the direct action to stop the testing, and nonviolence as an issue, than the actual political veins that you can move through to stop the testing. So I think there's a complement there as well. There always needs to be a push on the legislative or the political end, ... I think Citizen Alert serves that purpose,¹⁰

Section 11:

Post-formation. Right after APT began ... there was generally one direct-action, mass-action proposal. In other words, people agreed on one action that they would do uniformly together or that would be the mass action leaving room for people to continue with their

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

own individual actions but there would always be just sort of one large action whether it was lining up hand in hand and crossing over at the same time or a single line procession down over the cattle guard. ... coming up in this [April] action, what I've seen in our planning is that now we're seeing specific constituents, the native people, the atomic veterans, each doing mass direct action of their own. So we're going [to] have huge, large direct actions unified simultaneously ... that are more constituency. ... The atomic veterans may do one large action on one day and you may see the artists on another day. ... So we're seeing more activity and more responsibility for their actions and what they do during our time period, during our actions, more initiative by constituencies. So that the American Peace Test becomes all of those. ... That's [international involvement] the other thing that has changed dramatically since the formation of APT in 86. ... So now we have on a global level grass roots movements that we are now connecting with, French Polynesians and the Tahitians, the Japanese. ... In 1986 we didn't have any information about Soviet testing and very limited information about French testing. Today in 1991 due to technology and computer conference networks and just information opening up, of course Glastnost in the Soviet Union, we're seeing the people connecting. We're getting information across to each other and just in January last month there was the official formation of the Global Anti-Nuclear Alliance which APT was instrumental in fostering along with ... [others]. So there's been a big change in that we're no longer nationally focused we're now internationally focused on the testing issue. And that's been a big change.¹¹

Section 12:

... We had nothing. We had no money. We had no staff. We had no organization. All we had were the people we knew in the FREEZE Campaign and the people we knew in other political organizations around the country. And we just had complete faith that we could do this. And that's what we started with: complete faith, which helped ...¹²

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Heskett.

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