Trends in Anti-Nuclear Protests in the United States, 1984–1987

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PREFACE

This report documents the second phase of a two-part investigation of the capabilities of individuals or groups that plausibly might attempt the takeover or theft and misuse of nuclear weapons, materials, or facilities over the next 10 to 15 years.

The report updates previous RAND research on U.S. anti-nuclear protest groups, examines trends in anti-nuclear and related protests, and assesses what these trends imply for the possibility of nuclear terrorism.

The first phase of the study was reported in RAND Note N-2706, *The Threat of Nuclear Terrorism: A Reexamination*, by Peter deLeon and Bruce Hoffman, January 1988. The Note examined motivations that terrorists might have for attacking, sabotaging, or burgling a nuclear target and reviewed possible changes in the conditions that had previously prevented nuclear terrorism.

The full study is summarized in RAND Report R-3618, *Recent Trends and Future Prospects of Terrorism in the United States*, R-3618, by Bruce Hoffman, May 1988.

SUMMARY

This report updates previous RAND research on U.S. anti-nuclear protest groups, examines trends in anti-nuclear and related protests, and assesses what these trends may imply for possible terrorist violence, either by terrorists infiltrating the anti-nuclear movement or violent elements arising within the movement.

Two recent trends in protest activity may signal greater militancy in the movement. First, the number of protesters who are willing to face arrest, fines, and imprisonment has steadily increased over the past four years. In the first eleven months of 1987, nearly 3,000 protesters were arrested for anti-nuclear civil disobedience, compared with 1,056 in 1984. Second, some large, diverse groups of protesters have stretched the ability of their own organizers to control events involving civil disobedience. Consequently, the number of skirmishes between protesters and security personnel has increased. Third, radical environmentalist groups previously uninvolved in anti-nuclear activities have recently organized protests at uranium mines. Regular involvement by such groups in anti-nuclear protests, coupled with the trend toward greater cooperation between peace activists and environmentalists over such issues as uranium mining, nuclear testing, land and sea use, and transport and storage of toxic waste, could signal a more volatile, though not necessarily more violent, future for the anti-nuclear movement.

At the same time, there are several factors that temper these trends. First, groups that engage in civil disobedience are usually screened, trained, and supervised in nonviolent protest by the protest organizers. Most leaders of these groups seem to be not only deeply committed to the principles of nonviolence, but also keenly aware that violence is likely to erode popular support. Second, although the number of arrests has increased dramatically, the number of actual crimes involving destruction of property at or associated with nuclear facilities, has remained constant since 1984 at about five incidents per year. Third, there is little evidence that the more violent radical environmentalists will join the anti-nuclear movement. With the exception of uranium mining in the Grand Canyon, these "ecoteurs" or "ecoguerrillas," as they call themselves, have concentrated on issues and regions that do not bring them into contact with nuclear-related activities; their primary goal is to protect forests, undeveloped land, and endangered species from human encroachment. Fourth, the potentially disastrous consequences of nuclear sabotage may well deter sabotage itself. It is

difficult to imagine a group of even the most radical environmentalists or peace activists contemplating an action so hazardous to the environment and to peace as the theft or detonation of a nuclear device or sabotage of a nuclear facility.

Although several new trends towards militancy have emerged in recent years, the fundamental conclusion reached by Daubert and Moran in their 1985 study[1] still holds: The threat of nuclear terrorism by protest groups in the United States is quite small. Anti-nuclear groups have neither plausible motives nor the capabilities for nuclear terrorism, and even violent related protest groups have demonstrated neither a sustained interest in nuclear issues nor an inclination to employ nuclear threats or terrorism as a tactic.

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[1]Victoria L. Daubert and Sue Ellen Moran, *Origins, Goals, and Tactics of the U.S. Anti-Nuclear Protest Movement,* The RAND Corporation, N-2192-SL, March 1985.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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I. INTRODUCTION

Anti-nuclear protests date back to the very beginning of U.S. nuclear programs. Recently, however, more militant protests at nuclear facilities have raised concerns that elements within the movement may adopt violent, or even terrorist, tactics that would endanger the lives of both employees and protesters, not to mention the general public.

To assess the validity of these concerns, this study examines over 150 incidents that occurred between 1984 and 1987 involving more than 50 anti-nuclear groups as well as some of the current literature produced by protest groups. Militant related protest groups were also studied to determine what effect their interest and involvement in anti-nuclear protest might have. In addition, a conceptual framework developed in earlier RAND research on the question of what might make terrorists "go nuclear"[1] was applied to the question of what might make anti-nuclear activists "go terrorist."

For the purposes of this study, "nuclear terrorism" refers to any deliberate act intended to threaten or harm others through the actual or potential misuse of nuclear devices, materials, or facilities. Within this definition, damaging property in a nuclear facility, such as hammering on missile silos and electronic equipment, does not constitute nuclear terrorism. Criminal acts by disgruntled employees or mentally unstable individuals, for which the motive is not political, but personal, are not considered terrorist acts (as long as the perpetrator does not collaborate with protest groups).

Given the current membership and philosophy of the anti-nuclear movement, its members are not likely to resort to nuclear terrorism. Nevertheless, it is important to study anti-nuclear groups, not only for signs of infiltration by militant activists (a possibility that is of as much concern to the movement's leadership as to the operators of nuclear facilities), but also for shifts in membership, philosophy, and environment that might indicate a greater willingness to commit violent crimes.

This report updates previous RAND research on U.S. anti-nuclear groups, examines trends in anti-nuclear protests, and assesses what

[1]Peter deLeon and Bruce Hoffman, *The Threat of Nuclear Terrorism: A Reexamination*, The RAND Corporation, N-2706, January 1988; Bruce Hoffman, *Terrorism in the United States and the Potential Threat to Nuclear Facilities*, The RAND Corporation, R-3351-DOE, January 1986.

these trends imply for possible terrorist violence in the anti-nuclear movement, either by individuals from other organizations who infiltrate the anti-nuclear movement and use it as a screen or by extremist elements within the movement.

Section II provides background information on and general characteristics of anti-nuclear protest groups, including goals, tactics, and targets. Section III deals with related protest groups, particularly radical ones, that might turn their attention to anti-nuclear issues. Section IV assesses possible future motives for groups or individuals to turn terrorist and examines the capabilities of such groups. The appendix presents a chronology of anti-nuclear incidents, including information on the groups involved, the number of participants, the tactics chosen, and the number of protesters arrested.

II. ANTI-NUCLEAR PROTEST GROUPS

BACKGROUND

Anti-nuclear protest groups developed in a number of ways during the 1980s. At one end of the spectrum are well-established groups, such as SANE and Physicians for Social Responsibility, which have broad agendas for anti-nuclear and anti-war activities, a national network of supporters, and over 30 years of experience. At the other end are groups that form temporarily to fight specific issues. These coalitions usually contain both local and national organizers and both veteran and novice activists. Groups such as the Coalition Organizing Hanford Opposition (COHO), which is composed of anti-nuclear energy groups in the Northwest, or the new Alaska coalition, which opposes the transport of plutonium through Alaska, will probably disperse when they win, lose, or get frustrated. Many of the doctors, lawyers, fishermen, and Eskimos who form the Alaska coalition are first-time activists. Some groups, such as the Clamshell Alliance, which was formed in 1977 to oppose the Seabrook nuclear reactor in New Hampshire, may continue for many years; others may last only for a matter of several months. The Maine Nuclear Referendum Committee, for instance, staged several dramatic events during its unsuccessful 1987 campaign to close the Maine Yankee nuclear powerplant but disbanded soon after it lost the referendum.

There are also dozens of religiously affiliated peace groups; unlike the single-issue protest groups, the religious groups are not likely to disband when an immediate issue is settled. The Sojourners, Pax Christi USA, the Fellowship for Reconciliation, the Jewish Peace Fellowship, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference have extensive channels for communication and fundraising as well as considerable resources of their own.

New groups start in a variety of ways. Some are formed by dissenters from an existing group (e.g., the American Peace Test was started by dissenters from the Nuclear Freeze Campaign); others are spinoffs from established organizations in other countries (e.g., the Fellowship for Reconciliation, Pax Christi USA, U.S. Greens, the Citizen's Party); and some are completely new organizations.

There are anti-nuclear and anti-war groups tailored to every type of protest and protester; they include the National No-Nukes Prison Support Collective, Women Against Military Madness, Women Strike for Peace, Grandparents for Nuclear Disarmament, Mothers Embracing

Disarmament, Tax Resisters League, War Resisters League, Anti-MX Coalition, Professionals' Coalition for Nuclear Arms Control, the Union of Concerned Scientists, the Freeze Political Action Campaign (PAC), the Council for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze, the American Friends Service Committee, and the Livermore Action Group.

Membership in a group may be limited to those who fit the description, such as Grandparents for Nuclear Disarmament or Physicians for Social Responsibility; or it may be open to all who are interested. Since membership tallies may be limited to the core group of activists or may include both demonstrators and passive sympathizers, it is misleading to use such tallies to determine the size of the movement.

Though it is difficult to make an accurate count, overall membership in the anti-nuclear movement has increased perceptibly since the late 1970s. In 1981, there were 50 college peace groups. By 1986, the United Campuses Against Nuclear War had groups on 600 campuses in the United States and Canada. Prior to its merger with the Nuclear Freeze Campaign, SANE claimed over 100,000 members. Adding the Freeze conglomerate of over 2,000 loosely affiliated groups brought the membership up to about 200,000.

GOALS

The anti-nuclear movement is broadly based, comprising over 100 groups that share the basic goals of reducing or eliminating nuclear weapons, nuclear energy, or both. It includes national and local organizations, environmentalists, peace activists, and religious and political leaders. Though anti-nuclear energy and anti-nuclear weapons activists have generally operated separately, there are several reasons for combining them for analysis:

- There is a trend toward cooperation between the two camps on such concerns as storage and transport of radioactive materials and weapons, convertibility of nuclear energy technology and materials to nuclear weapons production, and the purchase and mining of uranium. A group of prominent environmental leaders pledged support for the anti-nuclear movement in 1985, calling nuclear weapons "the ultimate environmental threat."[1] While the number of protests against both nuclear energy and nuclear weapons is still quite small (see Table 1), cooperation among movement leaders is increasing. Moreover, the small number obscures the importance of groups such as Greenpeace

[1] *Washington Post,* July 8, 1985.

and the U.S. Greens, which combine opposition to nuclear energy and nuclear weapons in one policy agenda, but not in one protest. These groups organize activities for one issue or the other, not both. However, Greenpeace and the U.S. Greens are not likely to merge. Some anti-nuclear energy activists support nuclear deterrence, while some anti-nuclear weapons protesters do not mind nuclear energy. Furthermore, each group has criticized the other for either focusing narrowly on the local hazards of nuclear energy at the expense of global concerns or, conversely, for fighting for a nuclear-weapons-free utopia while allowing nuclear energy installations to proliferate.

- If terrorist extremists were to emerge from either group, an attack on either a nuclear energy or a nuclear weapons installation could provoke the sort of crisis that some terrorists seek. In their 1988 study of hypothetical attacks on nuclear targets, deLeon and Hoffman list several terrorist motives, all of which apply to either type of facility: to generate adverse publicity for the security of the installation; to highlight the dangers of nuclear power to the surrounding area; to create favorable publicity for themselves; to halt work at a facility; to coerce, avenge, or just protest.[2]
- Although the activists themselves rarely mix, the general public, and therefore potential supporters, commonly think of nuclear weapons and nuclear energy as one entity: nuclear power.

Table 1

NUMBER AND TYPE OF PROTESTS IN 1984–1987

Year	Anti-Nuclear Weapons	Anti-Nuclear Energy	Anti-Nuclear Waste	Anti-Nuclear Weapons and Energy	General Anti-war	Total
1984	29	3	—	—	—	32
1985	22	1	2	—	21	46[a]
1986	14	9	1	—	3	27
1987	38	3	—	2	21	64
Total	103	16	3	2	45	169

[a]Sixteen of these events took place on one day under the auspices of No Business As Usual, a militant, anti-establishment spinoff from the Spartacist Youth League.

[2]deLeon and Hoffman, *The Threat of Nuclear Terrorism*, pp. 3–4.

Although the anti-nuclear movement has one basic set of long-term goals, the immediate goals vary from group to group. In general, anti-nuclear energy groups are motivated by their fear of accidents involving nuclear powerplants and the transportation of nuclear materials that could cause tremendous damage, including fatalities, in local communities. They seek the temporary or permanent shutdown of nuclear reactors and an end to the transport and storage of nuclear materials. Environmental groups share these goals, and, in addition, seek to halt uranium mining and to block the construction of nuclear submarine ports. Anti-nuclear weapons groups seek unilateral disarmament measures or moratoriums on testing, deployment, research, or production of nuclear weapons nationally, internationally, or locally.

TACTICS, TARGETS, AND IMPACT

The tactics employed by the anti-nuclear movement are similar to those of the 1960s anti-segregation and anti-war movements. Rallies, sit-ins, marches, music festivals, and prayer vigils are the most common activities. Unlike the earlier protests, however, the new activities are characterized by meticulous planning and promoting and a greater willingness—bordering on eagerness—on the part of mainstream protesters to face arrest for engaging in civil disobedience.

Publicity and Planning

Whereas the demonstrations of the 1960s were characterized by disorganization and spontaneous outbursts, today's anti-nuclear protests are, in the words of one observer, "marketed with a promotional flair befitting Madison Avenue."[3] Organizers provide the media with details of upcoming events and arrange interviews for protest leaders on local television and radio. In fact, several groups, including the Peace Media Project, which comprises eight arms-control groups, assist protesters in designing costly media campaigns that include mass mailings, television commercials, and marches. As a result, today's anti-nuclear activists offer the public a clear, well-packaged, polished message.

Extensive preparations have all but eliminated the spontaneous demonstrations that characterized earlier movements. Candidates for civil disobedience are often screened, trained, and supervised to prevent unendorsed violence. In some cases, they must pledge beforehand to follow the directions of the coordinators and to refrain from insults,

[3] *New York Times,* February 6, 1987.

swearing, threatening gestures, drugs, alcohol, property damage, and attempts to evade the police or resist arrest.

The protests themselves follow a ritualized pattern: A protest generally begins with a peaceful vigil or rally, continues as a march, and climaxes in acts of civil disobedience. Protesters can participate up to the level of activity they choose, then "support" those who continue. At the Nevada Test Site, for example, 300 demonstrators may gather at the site, but only 100 will "cross the line" and face arrest.

Civil Disobedience

Civil disobedience, or, as some religious activists prefer to call it, divine obedience, also generally follows an established routine, on which both protesters and police are well briefed. Organizers inform authorities (as well as the media) of the location of the protest, the numbers of protesters involved, and how protesters will respond to arrest. Officials at the site warn protesters that their actions will result in arrest; protesters are arrested and released on their own recognizance; and the charges are later dropped.

Given this rather harmless routine, one is tempted to dismiss civil disobedience as little more than an expensive irritation. However, there are several trends in this form of protest that might develop into more threatening activity.

First, widespread acceptance of civil disobedience by the public marks a turning point in attitudes toward illegal protest. Civil disobedience was at one time considered too radical for mainstream, middle-class activists. In 1982, only 12 protesters were arrested for civil disobedience at the Nevada Test Site; in 1987, several hundred were arrested in one day. Table 2 illustrates the increase in civil disobedience in 1987, after an earlier decline. University professors, lawyers, religious leaders, elected officials, celebrities, and entire families have been arrested. One organizer of an April 1987 protest against the CIA said, "In some weird way civil disobedience is more respectable than demonstrating."[4] Since the radical is now the norm, what will replace the radical?

Second, when the numbers of people involved in civil disobedience actions were quite small, organizers could screen, rehearse, and supervise participants over the course of several days or weeks. They organized so-called affinity groups to review the philosophy and procedures of civil disobedience and to discuss what to do when confronted by angry employees, military personnel, or police officers. This self-

[4]*In These Times,* May 6–12, 1987.

Table 2

INCIDENTS INVOLVING CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND CRIMINAL DESTRUCTION IN 1984–1987

Year	Civil Disobedience	Criminal Destruction[a]	Number of Arrests	Total
1984	28	5	1,056	32
1985	29	7	1,051	46[b]
1986	20	1	911	27
1987	49	5	2,935	64
Total	126	11	5,953	169

[a]The destruction of property belonging to, or associated with, a nuclear facility, either civilian or military.

[b]Sixteen of these events took place on one day under the auspices of No Business As Usual, a militant, anti-establishment spinoff from the Spartacist Youth League.

regulating mechanism seems to be breaking down, as indicated by the number of skirmishes with police that protest organizers have tried to prevent. Participants often receive instructions only a few hours before the action, if at all.

Moreover, the small percentage of members in nearly every protest group who are prone to violence becomes significant as the number of demonstrators increases. Even 5 people, or 2 percent of a group of 100 demonstrators can cause a great many problems. At a June 1987 Nevada Test Site protest, 106 people were arrested, of whom 15 were "noncooperators" who spent a night in jail and received six months probation. At the August 1987 Rocky Flats protest organized by Shut Down, the 320 who were arrested chose a variety of responses: Some walked peacefully to nearby police buses; some lay limp; some chained themselves to the gates; some vandalized police cars and buses; and one assaulted a police officer.

A third trend could evolve from the lenient attitudes of certain courts toward civil disobedience. If people who engage in civil disobedience are no longer arrested or fined, to reduce the administrative burden on the court system, protesters may escalate their protests. The Nye County District Attorney's decision on April 30, 1987, not to prosecute Nevada Test Site protesters is well-advertised in the anti-nuclear literature (e.g., in the SANE/Freeze pamphlet for their December 13, 1987, civil disobedience action). On the other hand, some protesters may, for philosophical or personal reasons, be content with the act of breaking the law even if they do not receive punish-

ment; in their case, more lenient punishment will not engender more lawbreaking.

Fourth, the decision to cross the line from legal to illegal activity is an important one. An activist who does so usually decides that, having exhausted legal means of protest, he or she has no option other than breaking the law. If someone is willing to cross that line, might he or she be willing to cross another if further frustrated? The answer is probably yes, but not every line. Someone who is willing to blockade a facility will probably be ready to trespass and, possibly, vandalize. Most people, however, will draw their own line far short of life-threatening actions.

Fifth, civil disobedience is a controversial matter in some anti-nuclear groups. Some splinter groups, such as the American Peace Test, which split off from the Nuclear Freeze Campaign in 1986, were created when the majority of the original members would not condone civil disobedience and direct action. If such factions continue to break away, the moderate mainstream in the movement that now sets the nonviolent agenda will probably weaken. Consequently, the movement's leadership is faced with a dilemma: Should it accommodate the radical minority for the sake of group solidarity or reject the radicals and retain popular support?

Sixth, trespassing is a popular form of civil disobedience. In most cases, protesters cross a designated property line into the arms of waiting police. But some groups enter nuclear facilities clandestinely to embarrass security forces (e.g., the Hanford 10 in August 1987); to halt operations (e.g., the groups of Nevada Test Site trespassers); or, in more extreme cases, to damage equipment (e.g., the incidents involving Plowshares and Silo Pruning Hooks). A terrorist infiltrator in a group breaking into restricted areas in nuclear facilities could pose an enormous threat. The normal screening practices of these groups should expose any infiltrators; however, the case of six activists who clandestinely hiked to Ground Zero on the day of a nuclear test at the Nevada Test Site and who met for the first time at the site raises some concern about the ease of infiltration.[5]

Symbolic Actions and Soft Targets

Symbolic actions have become increasingly important to anti-nuclear protesters. Since they cannot break laws that legalize nuclear weapons as, say, an anti-segregationist can by sitting in a "whites only"

[5]Frank Clancy, "Showdown at Ground Zero," *Mother Jones,* November 1986, pp. 39–46.

section, they break other laws by trespassing or blockading to symbolize their disagreement with national defense policies. Symbolic actions have acquired a new character under the auspices of Greenpeace, whose members employ humor, creativity, and daring to attract attention and support. Their "David and Goliath" actions, such as steering a tiny vessel between whales and whaling ships or sailing to a nuclear test site in the South Pacific to frustrate French testing, have enormous symbolic value. However, Greenpeace poses little threat of criminal acts to nuclear facilities. Its members are not only passionately devoted to preserving the environment, but also adamantly nonviolent. Spinoff groups, however, could pose a threat. Paul Watson's Sea Shepherd Conservation Society left Greenpeace in 1977 to pursue more radical activities, but as it turns out, the Sea Shepherds have focused on sinking whaling ships and have not taken up other issues on the Greenpeace agenda.

Nukewatch's Truck Watch, sponsored by The Progressive Foundation, has introduced another new tactic: A network of activists track the deployment and movement of MX missiles as well as the shipment and procurement of nuclear materials in Texas, Tennessee, South Carolina, Colorado, and California. The tactic itself does not pose a threat. But the information that Nukewatch publicizes on the whereabouts of nuclear material and weapons might be useful to others for disrupting or sabotaging shipments. From a practical standpoint, however, saboteurs could probably track shipments themselves and would be neither inspired by nor dependent on Nukewatch information.

Although it is too early to draw definitive conclusions, the November 28, 1987, bomb at the Lawrence Livermore Laboratories probably does not represent a new tactic. Nuclear facilities have been the targets of many bombs and bomb threats in the past 20 years. These bombs and threats have been the symbolic actions of nuclear protesters or disgruntled employees, not terrorists. They are usually directed toward soft targets that require minimal technical expertise and pose little risk to the perpetrator.[6] Based on available information, the November 28 bombing incident falls into the symbolic category: low risk, soft target, and minimal technical expertise. In itself, it posed little threat to the facility, but there is serious concern about whether this action might represent the beginning of a new series of bombs, bomb threats, or violent protest at the Livermore Laboratories.

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[6]Peter deLeon, Brian Jenkins, Konrad Kellen, and Joseph Krofcheck, *Attributes of Potential Criminal Adversaries of U.S. Nuclear Programs,* The RAND Corporation, R-2225-SL, February 1978, pp. 23–25.

The possibility of a trend toward nonsymbolic attacks on soft or easy targets raises concern about trucks and trains carrying nuclear weapons or materials across the country, since they are both easy to track and susceptible to attack. University nuclear research facilities and the new Ground Wave Emergency Network (GWEN) are also soft targets. The GWEN towers and wires are designed to withstand the electromagnetic pulse from a nuclear blast, and protests have already taken place in Maine, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Arizona, and Oregon—all states that will host part of GWEN.

III. RELATED PROTEST GROUPS

This section briefly outlines the goals, membership, tactics, and targets of three related protest groups that are either noted for their militant activities or potentially likely to join the anti-nuclear movement.

EARTH FIRST!

The Earth First! movement, or EF! (the group insists on the exclamation point), is a self-described "militant, no compromise environmentalist movement." Its members pride themselves on pursuing their goals without going through the courts, the Congress, or corporations. When their moderate methods (i.e., demonstration and civil disobedience) fail, they turn to direct action and sabotage. The most radical elements in the movement call themselves ecoteurs, ecodefenders, earth warriors, or ecoguerrillas.

It is difficult to estimate the size of the movement, since EF! tries to minimize contact with and among members engaged in illegal activities and does not have membership lists, formal leaders, or annual meetings. The *EF! Journal* claims 10,000 subscribers, but a more realistic number would be about 2,000 active sympathizers and 200 activists.

The movement's tactics, called "monkeywrenching," consist of the environmental sabotage, or "ecotage," made popular by author and EF! member Edward Abbey. Activities include toppling power lines and billboards, spiking trees to sabotage logging, and tampering with construction equipment and off-road recreational vehicles. Monkeywrenching is outlined in a 190-page manual published by the group.[1]

The ecoteurs are clearly willing to endanger human lives. Although they claim their actions are directed against equipment, not people, tree spiking has seriously injured several logging company employees. In fact, some EF! members recently vowed "life threatening" protests against mining and logging on public lands.[2] The EF! actions are well planned and well executed. The monkeywrenching manual indicates that the ecoteurs have a high level of technical skill. They are well informed on police tactics, resources, and limitations. For the most part, they have eluded the police.

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[1]Dave Foreman (ed.), *Ecodefense: A Field Guide to Monkeywrenching*, Tucson, Ariz.: Earth First! Books, 1985.

[2]*U.S. News & World Report*, December 30, 1985–January 6, 1986.

The EF! movement opposes damming rivers, logging in virgin forests, strip mining, and, most relevant to this study, nuclear power. It has, however, been relatively inactive against nuclear power. The issues that drive the ecoteurs are land use, power lines and towers, uranium mining, transport of nuclear weapons or materials, and the impact of nuclear programs on the wilderness. Ecoteurs have demonstrated their willingness and ability to sabotage transport equipment and have staged protests against uranium mining. (In July 1987, 21 EF! members were arrested at a Grand Canyon uranium mine protest.) However, it is important to distinguish between participation in occasional anti-nuclear protests and active membership in the movement. At the Grand Canyon protest, for example, the issue EF! highlighted was not nuclear power, but land use and the preservation of wildlife. The EF! members are unlikely to care about environmental issues that do not have an immediate impact on the remote areas in which they live, such as homeporting for nuclear submarines or missile deployments outside their communities.

ANTI-WAR GROUPS

Anti-war protesters are not primarily anti-nuclear, but they are closely linked to the anti-nuclear movement. In fact, their membership, philosophy, and tactics overlap with those of anti-nuclear groups. The main difference is that anti-war groups oppose *all* war and *all* defense spending. Anti-nuclear protesters do not necessarily reject the need to prepare for or fight a war. Indeed, they may support defense spending, but only for conventional defense. But anti-war and anti-nuclear activists do participate in each other's demonstrations and recruit each other's supporters. Although they are the most likely of the related protest groups to join the anti-nuclear movement, their membership will have little effect in terms of militancy.

The most prominent anti-war groups are the anti-Contra organizations such as Pledge of Resistance, the Nicaragua Network, Mobilization for Survival, and the Nuremberg Actions Committee. Of these, only the Nuremberg Actions Committee has staged organized protests that have turned violent, and the violence occurred under unusual circumstances, as described below.

The name Nuremberg Actions Committee refers to the group's philosophy that people are not only obliged to protest national policies that violate international law, but are also justified in breaking national laws to do so. The group has sponsored protests and civil disobedience outside the Concord Naval Weapons Station where

founder Brian Willson lost his legs in a well-publicized incident involving a Navy train in September 1987. Despite the Nuremberg Actions Committee's commitment to nonviolence, as well as pleas from rally organizers and Brian Willson himself, several violent outbursts occurred during protests following his accident. Eventually, the protest organizers, many of whom recall the counterproductive violence of 1960s demonstrations, successfully restrained their younger, more militant colleagues.

ANTI-ABORTION GROUPS

Anti-abortionists seem to be the least likely protesters to join the anti-nuclear movement, though the involvement of anti-abortion extremists might have the greatest impact on tactics. The anti-abortion movement contains radical factions that have engaged in terrorist activities described by Hoffman in two recent studies on terrorism in the United States.[3] In fact, radical anti-abortionists were responsible for more terrorist activity in the United States in 1985 and 1986 than any other terrorist groups (48 percent of the incidents in 1985 and 29 percent in 1986).

Concern that anti-abortion groups will "go nuclear" has arisen because of recent attempts by Catholic leaders to make the anti-nuclear and anti-abortion issues inseparable from defense of human life. In this, they have had limited success: In North Carolina, a group called ProLifers for Survival recently formed to organize nonviolent protest against abortion and nuclear arms. Five people were arrested during demonstrations at a 1985 protest against nuclear weapons and abortion led by a radical Christian organization, the Sojourners. The well-known Reverend Daniel Berrigan has also tried to link the two issues. Nevertheless, anti-abortionists are unlikely to persuade the majority of anti-nuclear activists to join protests against abortions. Most anti-nuclear activists, except for some of the Catholic ones, take a liberal, pro-choice stance on abortion. Should those Catholic leaders who are trying to mobilize anti-nuclear protesters to protest abortion inadvertently rally fanatics in the anti-abortion movement to protest nuclear weapons, however, the result could be an increase in violence in anti-nuclear protests.

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[3]Hoffman, *Terrorism in the United States and the Potential Threat to Nuclear Facilities*; Hoffman, *Recent Trends and Future Prospects of Terrorism in the United States.*

IV. PROSPECTS FOR NUCLEAR TERRORISM[1]

Nuclear terrorism, if not committed by a lunatic,[2] presupposes that (1) there are terrorists who are willing and committed to taking great risks for high stakes, (2) those terrorists have certain technical skills, and (3) they have extremely compelling motives.

TERRORIST CHARACTERISTICS

Personality. Dedicated terrorists to not develop overnight; it takes time to become a terrorist.[3] Most terrorists are relatively intelligent individuals who have taken the time to understand, evaluate, then reject the existing order and have decided to act according to their own vision of the right order. Terrorists adopt causes or beliefs for which they are willing to risk everything. They usually believe that many others are equally committed to their cause but will only spring into action when motivated by the "vanguard." Mass anti-nuclear demonstrations may well reinforce the assumption of anti-nuclear terrorists that they enjoy popular support. However, not every person whose personality fits this description will become a terrorist, and even fewer will become nuclear terrorists.

Skills. In addition to a strong sense of mission, anti-nuclear terrorists would require special skills.[4] At a minimum, they would require the ability to handle firearms and explosives and knowledge of surveillance and evasion techniques. If possible, they should also have access

[1]This section draws heavily on past RAND research on terrorist motivations and intentions. See Konrad Kellen, *Terrorists—What Are They Like? How Some Terrorists Describe Their World and Actions*, N-1300-SL, November 1979; Konrad Kellen, *On Terrorists and Terrorism*, N-1942-RC, December 1982; deLeon and Hoffman, *The Threat of Nuclear Terrorism*; Hoffman, *Terrorism in the United States and the Potential Threat to Nuclear Facilities*; see also deLeon et al., *Attributes of Potential Criminal Adversaries of U.S. Nuclear Programs*, in which the authors examine 45 task force crimes, 34 terrorist assaults, 75 commando raids, 40 cases of industrial sabotage, and assorted symbolic bombings and nuclear related crimes to identify possible future threats to U.S. nuclear facilities and to assist in the design of security systems.

[2]Although lunatics may pose the most likely threat of a crime involving a nuclear device or facility, it is impossible to say anything meaningful about the likelihood of such an occurrence. Moreover, it is more useful to try to understand the mindset of a politically motivated terrorist than that of a lunatic.

[3]Kellen, *On Terrorists and Terrorism.*

[4]deLeon et al., *Attributes of Potential Criminal Adversaries of U.S. Nuclear Programs*, pp. 32–38.

to inside information. For more elaborate operations than, say, car bombings, lobbing explosives, or sabotaging shipments of weapons or materials, they would need more sophisticated skills and equipment, e.g., some knowledge of nuclear operations and characteristics, automatic weapons, hand grenades, high explosives, hand tools, and motor vehicles.

To cover their activities, potential terrorists might try to infiltrate an anti-nuclear protest group that has experience in breaking into nuclear facilities. Such infiltration would have two advantages: The terrorists would have the cover of a group that is accepted by the movement (e.g., Plowshares), and their "startup costs" would be significantly lower.

TERRORIST MOTIVES

Nuclear terrorism might be attempted to generate adverse publicity for nuclear authorities, to generate publicity for the terrorists, to halt operations, to cause panic, to obtain the release of fellow terrorists, to avenge the deaths of comrades, or just to protest.[5] Such motives are examined below in relation to current trends in protest activities to assess what would have to change to motivate terrorist attacks.

Desperation and Frustration

Desperation may fuel radicalism. A group may become desperate because of erosion of support, the prospect of obscurity, or police crackdowns on its activities. Frustration can also breed desperation and radicalism. Most progressive movements have, at some point, contained a radical faction that became frustrated with moderate means that achieve little progress toward the group's goals. The political environment can also generate frustration and desperation. Acute frustration is most likely in political systems that do not allow protest groups to influence either the formulation or implementation of policy. In his study of anti-nuclear movements in the United States, Sweden, France, and West Germany, Kitschelt argues that the strategy and tactics anti-nuclear protesters select are determined partly by the political structure.[6] If the system provides limited opportunities to affect policymaking, protesters adopt confrontational strategies (as happened,

[5]See deLeon et al., *The Threat of Nuclear Terrorism.*

[6]Herbert P. Kitschelt, "Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-nuclear Movements in Four Democracies," *British Political Science,* Vol. 16, January 1986, pp. 57–85.

e.g., in West Germany). If the system is responsive, they are more likely to work through legitimate channels. The American system provides numerous opportunities to influence policy, which in part explains why U.S. protest groups have adopted less radical strategies than their European counterparts.

Fanatical Zeal

Fanaticism that results in terrorism seems to find its most fertile ground in right-wing movements, such as the anti-abortionists who bomb abortion clinics and the white supremacists who assassinated an outspoken Jewish radio broadcaster. But these right-wing extremists (e.g., the Aryan Nations, the White Patriot Party, the Arizona Patriots, and Posse Comitatus)[7] have not demonstrated an interest in nuclear power, either as a new cause or as a means of furthering their own causes. White supremacists might "go nuclear" if they decided to pursue their stated desire to rid the United States of large numbers of people. However, this is highly implausible, since nuclear terrorism is an inappropriate means to such goals as outlawing abortion and dominating or eliminating non-Aryans.

Reputation

Credibility is extremely important to protest groups, particularly new ones. A radical group that breaks off from a larger protest organization needs to establish its own reputation. It may want to begin with a bang, so to speak, to gain the attention of the authorities, the public, and the group from which it defected. Or an established group may want to bolster its reputation and force policymakers to take it seriously. The EF! literature, for instance, contains many statements such as: "What makes us different [from other protest groups] is that we have the teeth of monkeywrenching to back up our work."[8]

Ecotage is an important part of the EF! reputation; the more spectacular the action, the more spectacular the reputation. EF! activists are particularly concerned with showing their adversaries (loggers, truckers, the forest service) that they are not a bunch of flowery environmentalists. They sabotage trucks, use hunting rifles, and call themselves ecoguerrillas and earth warriors. They compare themselves with the Resistance fighters of World War II and equate environmental damage with the Holocaust and other war crimes. "I don't see much

[7]See Hoffman, *Terrorism in the United States.*

[8] *Los Angeles Times,* November 29, 1987.

difference between bombing a city and clear-cutting an old growth forest," said one EF! member.[9] To EF!, the only difference is the species of the victims.

Although these statements indicate a disturbing mindset, there is an important check against nuclear terrorism in the EF! philosophy: As radical environmentalists, they are unlikely to risk harm to the environment by attacking a nuclear facility that might release radioactive materials. Moreover, their current activities do not bring them into contact with nuclear programs, installations, or protests.

Following the European Example

American protest groups tend to follow the example of the more militant European anti-nuclear movement. The anti-nuclear movement came to life again in the United States after hundreds of thousands of Europeans marched through their capitals in 1984 to protest the intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles. But U.S. groups have followed the Europeans' lead only to a point. Again, the differences between the political systems of the Europeans and the Americans help explain why.

Highly centralized political systems, such as those in Germany and France, leave little opportunity for protesters to influence the policy agenda or the decisionmaking process.[10] This forces them to confront the system from the outside. The barriers to protesters' entry into politics also provide an incentive to reject and at least try to overthrow the system. American protesters, on the other hand, have easier access to political parties, legislative bodies, and elected officials. They can, to some extent, influence the policymaking process. If they fail there, they still have an opportunity to delay the implementation of a policy. The Clamshell Alliance, for instance, was able to block the opening of the Seabrook nuclear powerplant by lobbying local authorities to withhold approval of emergency evacuation plans, without which the facility could not operate.

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[9]Ibid.

[10]Kitschelt, "Political Opportunity Structures," pp. 70–71.

V. CONCLUSION

Although several new trends toward militancy have emerged since the early 1980s, the threat of nuclear terrorism by anti-nuclear protest groups in the United States is extremely small. Within the existing movement, there are no signs that groups or individuals might turn to terrorist violence. There are indications of increased militancy, and these are important to follow, but militancy—even militancy erupting into sporadic violence—is not necessarily part of a continuum with terrorism at the end of the line.

Radical related protest groups perhaps pose a greater, though still quite small, threat of terrorism. Radical environmentalists could become involved in a limited way in the anti-nuclear movement; however, they are very unlikely to endanger the environment or themselves with nuclear terrorism. Anti-abortionists and white supremacists are even less likely to join anti-nuclear protests, although their involvement could effect, or would signal, radical changes in philosophy and tactics. In sum, anti-nuclear groups have shown neither the motives nor the capabilities for nuclear terrorism; and related violent protest groups have demonstrated neither a sustained interest in nuclear issues nor an inclination to use nuclear threats or terrorism as a tactic.

The most likely threat of an attack arises from some as-yet-unknown or nonexistent group, a disgruntled employee, or a mentally unbalanced fanatic. Clearly, such threats are impossible to predict or prevent.

However, there are several trends and signals of interest that might be indicative of future threats:

- *Active participation by radical environmentalists in the anti-nuclear movement.* One must be careful to distinguish, however, between appearances at a few protests and serious commitment to the anti-nuclear movement.
- *Developments in civil disobedience.* Not only are more people participating in civil disobedience, protests are escalating from passive actions (sit-ins, lie-ins, blockades) to active ones (trespassing, resisting arrest) and from civil disobedience to direct action (usually clandestine and mildly destructive).
- *Growing militancy.* There is evidence of increasing militancy at demonstrations, particularly those that involve civil disobedience.

- *The effort of some U.S. Catholic bishops to link anti-nuclear and anti-abortion issues as one pro-life cause.* Successfully linking these issues could have a significant impact, because there already exists an extreme faction in the anti-abortion movement that has employed terrorist tactics.
- *Lighter sentences for civil disobedience and minor direct actions.* Protesters may respond to the use of the justification defense for nuclear crimes, which led to the acquittal of two Plowshares activists, by risking more severe convictions for more serious crimes. (The Silo Pruning Hooks, for example, were the first American civilians to be charged and convicted in peacetime with sabotage, rather than trespassing and destruction of government property.)

Short of an actual anti-nuclear attack, a radical protest group could terrorize the public without physically threatening or harming anyone. For example, an extremist might issue a series of well-publicized, but false, bomb threats against a nuclear facility or claim to have built a nuclear device or smuggled one into the country. Raising the spectre of a nuclear disaster for a public already saturated with film and television depictions of terrorist attacks as well as nuclear accidents could generate tremendous public anxiety as well as substantial opposition to the nuclear industry. The tactic of generating phantom attacks has several attractions: It is relatively easy to execute and extremely effective in arousing public concern, and it demonstrates the vulnerability of nuclear facilities to an actual attack. Such fear-induced opposition would pose an enormous public relations challenge to officials involved in nuclear-related activities.

Appendix

CHRONOLOGY OF ANTI-NUCLEAR AND RELATED PROTESTS: 1984-1987

1984

Location/Event: San Luis Obispo, CA. 2 days of peaceful protests at Diablo Canyon nuclear powerplant against licensing of plant.
Date: January 12 and 13, 1984
Group: Abalone Alliance
Participants: 12
Goal: Anti-nuclear energy
Tactic: Protest and civil disobedience (trespassing)
Punishment/Outcome: 5 arrested for trespassing.

Location/Event: Wintersburg, AZ. 22 cables sliced at Palo Verde nuclear powerplant.
Date: February 8, 1984
Goal: Anti-nuclear energy
Tactic: Civil disobedience and vandalism.

Location/Event: El Toro, CA. Protesters tried to block buses transporting 200 defense contractors and military officials from hotel to classified conference at El Toro Marine Corps Station.
Date: February 15, 1984
Group: Orange County Alliance for Survival and the L.A. Catholic Worker
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience (blockade).

Location/Event: Nampa, ID. 7 protesters, including an Episcopal priest and 2 nuns, crossed a designated boundary to try to stop shipments of Trident submarine weapons; 33 others blocked railroad tracks for 2-1/2 hours. Hundreds lined track.
Date: February 24, 1984
Participants: Approximately 200
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience and protest
Punishment/Outcome: 7 arrested and released.

Location/Event: Evendale, OH. Demonstration at General Electric jet engine factory.
Date: April 18, 1984
Group: Ohio Nuclear Weapons Awareness Group
Participants: 12
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience (blockade)
Punishment/Outcome: 7 arrested.

Location/Event: Livermore Laboratories, CA. Demonstration outside the facilities to block the road.
Date: April 18, 1984
Group: Livermore Action Group
Participants: 100
Tactic: Civil disobedience (blockade)
Punishment/Outcome: 37 arrested.

Location/Event: Orlando, FL. 8 Plowshares activists broke into Martin Marietta facility, hammered and poured blood on Pershing II missile components and a Patriot missile launcher.
Date: April 22, 1984 (Easter)
Group: Plowshares
Participants: 8
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Destruction
Punishment/Outcome: Served 1–2 years. Swedish member deported after serving 1 year, remaining members on probation until 1991.
Comments: Not allowed to present justification defense.

Location/Event: Walled Lake, MI. 2 anti-nuclear protesters carried banner up driveway of Williams International plant where cruise missile engines are made.
Date: Early 1984
Participants: 2
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Symbolic
Punishment/Outcome: Acquitted of conspiracy charges in June 1984.

Location/Event: Rome, NY. Sit-in at Griffiss AFB in support of the Griffiss Plowshares, the 7 activists who damaged B-52 bombers at Griffiss AFB in November, 1983.
Date: June 4, 1984
Participants: 74

Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 74 arrested.

Location/Event: Walled Lake, MI. 5 protesters jailed for trespassing at Williams International, maker of cruise missile engines.
Date: June, 1984
Participants: 5
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: Jailed for 5 weeks; charges were eventually dropped.

Location/Event: Rock Island Arsenal, IL. Protesters blockaded 3 bridges to prevent access to facility.
Date: June 5, 1984
Participants: 400
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience (blockade)
Punishment/Outcome: 170 arrested.

Location/Event: Wilmington, MA. 350 peace activists trespassed at an AVCO facility and were met by 70 state and local police and 11 guard dogs.
Date: June 18, 1984
Group: New England Campaign to Stop the Euromissiles
Participants: 350
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 71 arrested, 3 with dog bites.
Comments: Incident was criticized by other peace groups who felt AVCO workers were put in an awkward position.

Location/Event: Rocky Flats, CO. 7 activists arrested when they held Palm Sunday services at plant.
Date: July 15, 1984
Participants: 7
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 7 arrested and jailed for several days.

Location/Event: Scottsdale, AZ. 2 demonstrators poured blood on their hands on the lawn of Motorola Company to protest Motorola's involvement in Pershing missile production.

Date: July 16, 1984
Participants: 2
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience and symbollic protest
Punishment/Outcome: 2 arrested and released.

Location/Event: Tucson, AZ. Davis Monthan AFB. 9 protesters blocked entrance.
Date: July 16, 1984
Group: Cruise Resistance Coalition
Participants: 9
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 9 arrested for obstructing traffic.

Location/Event: San Francisco, CA. Protesters blocked traffic near Moscone Center, site of Democratic National Convention.
Date: July 16, 1984
Group: Livermore Action Group and others
Participants: 115
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience.

Location/Event: Romulus, NY. 40 protesters trespassed at depot used for nuclear weapons storage.
Date: July 16, 1984
Group: Women for the Future of Peace and Justice
Participants: 45
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 16 arrested, including 1 counterdemonstrator.

Location/Event: Monte Rio, CA. Members of the Abalone Alliance and the Livermore Action Group blocked entrance to Bohemian Grove club, a conservative all-male club to which Reagan belongs, to protest the club members' connections to the nuclear weapons industry.
Date: July 22, 1984
Group: Abalone and Livermore Action Group
Participants: 150
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 50 arrested.

Location/Event: Nukewatch's nationwide Truckwatch beginning at Pantex Weapons Assembly Plant in Amarillo, TX, and continuing throughout the country. Nukewatch itself is based in Madison, WI. In some cases, the activists were prevented from following the trucks by law enforcement officers.
Date: August 1984
Group: Nukewatch (part of the Progressive Foundation)
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Rooted in nonviolence, attract public attention.

Location/Event: Offutt AFB, NE. Trespassing by 146 protesters at SAC.
Date: August 7, 1984
Participants: 146
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 146 detained.

Location/Event: Pentagon. Mock die-in by 50 demonstrators.
Date: August 7, 1984
Participants: 50
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Symbolic, die-in.

Location/Event: Sperry plant in Eagen, MI. 2 activists, dressed as quality control inspectors, entered Sperry plant, hammered and poured blood on 2 prototype computers that provide guidance and navigation information for Trident submarines. $30,000 worth of destruction.
Date: August 10, 1984
Group: Plowshares
Participants: 2
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Destruction
Punishment/Outcome: Convicted of destruction of government property; received 6 months probation; released in 1984.
Comments: Allowed to present justification defense.

Location/Event: Dallas, TX. Demonstrators conducted "die-in" at headquarters of cruise missile manufacturer, harrassed shoppers, disrupted banks and other businesses, burned American flag.
Date: August 23, 1984
Group: Corporate War Chest Tour
Participants: 99

Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons, anti-establishment
Tactic: Civil disobedience, vandalism.

Location/Event: Brattleboro, VT. Bush heckled by anti-nuclear demonstrators.
Date: September 20, 1984
Participants: 200
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Heckling, disruption.

Location/Event: Livermore Laboratories, CA. Protesters blocked entrance to employees. The car window of one of the laboratory workers was smashed.
Date: September 24, 1984
Group: Livermore Action Group
Participants: 300
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience (blockade and trespass)
Punishment/Outcome: 107 arrested, 3 of whom were apprehended after climbing fence at a lab test site about 15 miles away.

Location/Event: Cambridge, MA. Protesters blocked workers at Draper Labs.
Date: September 24, 1984
Participants: 52
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 52 arrested.

Location/Event: Kingston, RI. 5 activists entered Quonset Point facility, hammered and poured blood on 6 Trident II missile tubes.
Date: October 1, 1984
Group: Plowshares
Participants: 5
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Destruction
Punishment/Outcome: Sentenced to 1 year (10/85); 1 person released after 6 months, 3 released after 10 months; 1 served 1-year sentence for refusal to disclose who drove them to base.
Comments: Allowed expert witnesses at trial.

Location/Event: Washington, DC. 3 protesters blocked security gate and released cockroaches at White House.

Date: October 12, 1984
Group: Community for Creative Non-Violence
Participants: 3
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 3 arrested.

Location/Event: Whiteman AFB, MO. 4 Silo Pruning Hooks members damage missile silos with sledgehammers and jackhammers.
Date: November 1984
Group: Silo Pruning Hooks
Participants: 4
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Destruction
Punishment/Outcome: Convicted by jury of sabotaging the national defense and destruction of government property; 2 activists were sentenced to 18 years, 1 was sentenced to 10 years, and 1 was sentenced to 8 years.
Comments: The name of group comes from Book of Isaiah: "They shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks."

Location/Event: Walled Lake, MI. 13 blocked gate at Williams International Corporation.
Date: December 13, 1984
Participants: 13
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Sit-in at gate at closing time—civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 13 arrested, 8 released, 5 held for refusing to promise not to picket again.

1985

Location/Event: Groton, CT. Picketing and sit-in in front of General Dynamics computer center, which supports submarines at Groton Naval Base. Workers had to climb over demonstrators to enter facility.
Date: January 1985
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Protest, sit-in, blockade.

Location/Event: Whiteman AFB, MO. 1 Plowshares activist damaged lid of missile silo and some electrical boxes with hammer and

chisel, poured blood, and sprayed paint at Whiteman AFB in Knobnoster, Missouri.
Date: February 19, 1985
Group: Plowshares
Participants: 1
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Destruction
Punishment/Outcome: Sentenced to 8 years in prison, 5 years probation in November 1985. Sentence reduced in September 1986; released after 19 months.
Comments: Not allowed to present justification defense in trial.

Location/Event: Bangor, WA. Blockade on tracks of train carrying nuclear weapons to Trident submarine base.
Date: February 22, 1985
Participants: 19
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience, blockade
Punishment/Outcome: 19 arrested, convicted of conspiracy to commit trespass.
Comments: Trial witnesses included Daniel Ellsberg and a former employee of the Strategic Weapons Facility.

Location/Event: Walled Lake, MI. 3 anti-nuclear protesters destroy property at Williams International plant where cruise missile engines are made.
Date: Early 1985
Participants: 3
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Destruction
Punishment/Outcome: Acquitted in March 1985 for malicious destruction of property.

Location/Event: Seabrook Nuclear Powerplant, NH.
Date: April 1, 1985
Group: Whitecrow Affinity Group
Participants: 13
Goal: Anti-nuclear energy
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 13 arrested and convicted of trespassing.
Comments: Not allowed to present justification defense.

Location/Event: Livermore Laboratories, CA. Demonstration and civil disobedience.

Date: April 5, 1985
Group: Livermore Action Group
Participants: 500
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience and demonstration
Punishment/Outcome: 5 arrested.

Location/Event: Nukewatch's nationwide network of activists, called Truckwatch, tracks trucks carrying nuclear weapons across the country. Nukewatch is based in Madison, WI, and operates throughout the United States.
Date: April 1985
Group: Nukewatch
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Convoy to attract public attention.

Location/Event: Kingston, RI. 6 Plowshares activists entered Quonset Point plant, hammered and poured blood on 3 Trident missile tubes.
Date: April 18, 1985
Group: Plowshares
Participants: 6
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Destruction
Punishment/Outcome: Sentenced to 3 years, given a 1-year suspended sentence (with credit for time served) and 2 years probation; 3 members appealed.
Comments: Not allowed to present justification defense in trial.

Location/Event: San Francisco, CA. Demonstration and march against Reagan administration policies.
Date: April 20, 1985
Group: Coalition of groups
Participants: 20,000 to 50,000
Goal: Anti-Reagan, anti-nuclear weapons, anti-Contra aid
Tactic: Demonstration and march.

Location/Event: Washington, DC. Demonstration, march, rally, included civil disobedience outside White House.
Date: April 20, 1985
Group: Coalition of groups
Participants: 15,000 to 50,000
Goal: Anti-Reagan, anti-nuclear weapons, anti-Contra aid

Tactic: March, rally, and civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 312 arrested.

Location/Event: Los Angeles, CA. Rally and march.
Date: April 20, 1985
Group: Coalition of groups
Participants: 3,000 to 6,000
Goal: Anti-Reagan, anti-nuclear, anti-Contra aid
Tactic: March and rally.

Location/Event: San Francisco, CA. As part of all-day protest against nuclear weapons, war, and the establishment, 200 protesters blocked morning rush-hour traffic on Bay Bridge, disrupted financial district, marched to IRS and CIA buildings and FEMA and Bechtel headquarters, and staged several die-ins at busy intersections.
Date: April 29, 1985
Group: No Business As Usual
Participants: 200
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience, vandalism, march
Punishment/Outcome: 41 arrested (17 booked on charges from rioting to assaulting police officers).
Comments: Their slogans included "Smash the State, No more war" and "Eat the rich."

Location/Event: Occidental, CA. March by student protesters.
Date: April 29, 1985
Group: No Business As Usual
Participants: 300
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: March.

Location/Event: Santa Cruz, CA. Demonstrators distributed leaflets, protested and marched in radiation suits.
Date: April 29, 1985
Group: No Business As Usual
Participants: 10
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Leaflets, march, disruption.

Location/Event: Berkeley, CA. Berkeley High School teach-in by 50 teachers.
Date: April 29, 1985

Group: No Business As Usual
Participants: 500
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Teach-in.

Location/Event: Los Angeles, CA. Die-ins, leafletting, harrass military recruiting offices.
Date: April 29, 1985
Group: No Business As Usual
Participants: 100
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Die-ins, protests.

Location/Event: Seattle, WA. Group formed human chain around Federal building, marched, staged die-in, blocked traffic.
Date: April 29, 1985
Group: No Business As Usual
Participants: 100
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience, march, die-in
Punishment/Outcome: 3 arrested for vandalism.

Location/Event: Chicago, IL. Die-ins, civil disobedience.
Date: April 29, 1985
Group: No Business As Usual
Participants: 200
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 40 arrested.

Location/Event: New York, NY. Die-ins, protest at Union Carbide, Riverside Research Institute, and Soviet consulate. A few protesters hurled eggs at an Army Recruiting Center.
Date: April 29, 1985
Group: No Business As Usual
Participants: 300
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Die-ins, protest, march.

Location/Event: Washington, DC. Die-ins, protest at NASA, American Securities Bank, Air and Space Museum.
Date: April 29, 1985
Group: No Business As Usual

Participants: 100
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Die-ins, protest, march
Punishment/Outcome: 1 arrested for vandalism.

Location/Event: Cleveland, OH.
Date: April 29, 1985
Group: No Business As Usual
Participants: 30
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Die-in and march
Punishment/Outcome: 4 arrested for disorderly conduct.

Location/Event: Oberlin College, OH.
Date: April 29, 1985
Group: No Business As Usual
Participants: 150
Goal: Anti-war
Tactic: Peaceful protest.

Location/Event: Kent State, OH.
Date: April 29, 1985
Group: No Business As Usual
Goal: Anti-war
Tactic: Civil disobedience, protest
Punishment/Outcome: 2 arrested for assault and resisting arrest.

Location/Event: Boston, MA. March, protest at Draper Labs and M.I.T.
Date: April 29, 1985
Group: No Business As Usual
Participants: 20
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: March, rally.

Location/Event: Atlanta, GA. Die-ins, march, rally.
Date: April 29, 1985
Group: No Business As Usual
Participants: 50
Goal: Anti-war
Tactic: March, rally, die-in.

Location/Event: Burlington, VT. Demonstration in front of federal building, General Electric plant, and occupied offices of senator.
Date: April 29, 1985
Group: No Business As Usual
Goal: Anti-war
Tactic: Demonstration, civil disobedience.

Location/Event: Portland, OR. Blocked traffic, marched, staged die-ins.
Date: April 29, 1985
Group: No Business As Usual
Goal: Anti-war
Tactic: Civil disobedience, blockade, march, die-in
Punishment/Outcome: 3 arrested.

Location/Event: On the upper peninsula in North East Michigan. Peace activist sawed pole carrying Navy's Extremely Low Frequency (ELF) transmitter antenna used for Command, Control and Communications for submarines.
Date: May 28, 1985
Group: Plowshares
Participants: 1
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Destruction
Punishment/Outcome: Convicted of malicious destruction of property. In September 1985, sentenced to 15 days and 2 years probation.

Location/Event: Romulus, NY. 46 peace activists scaled fence at Seneca Army Depot.
Date: July 7, 1985
Group: Women's Encampment for Future of Peace and Justice
Participants: 280
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 46 arrested.

Location/Event: Amarillo, TX. Dismantled railroad track leading from USDOE's Pantex Weapons Assembly Plant.
Date: July 15, 1985
Group: Plowshares
Participants: 1
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Destruction

Punishment/Outcome: Charged with and convicted of wrecking trains and destroying national defense materials; sentenced to 2 years.
Comments: One banner read: "Pantex = Auschwitz, Stop the Trains."

Location/Event: Umatilla, OR. Greenpeace members blocked truck carrying radioactive wastes across bridge between Oregon and Washington.
Date: July 29, 1985
Group: Greenpeace
Goal: Anti-nuclear waste
Tactic: Civil disobedience, blockade
Punishment/Outcome: 15 arrested.

Location/Event: Amarillo, TX. Protesters, including Ed Asner, camp outside Pantex Weapons Assembly Plant to commemorate Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
Date: August 1985
Group: Coalition including Mobilization for Survival
Participants: 300
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Protest.

Location/Event: Washington, DC. Protesters wrapped 15 miles of cloth around Pentagon, the Capitol, and the Ellipse.
Date: August 4, 1985
Group: "The Ribbon"
Participants: 15,000
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Symbolic.

Location/Event: Peace tour featuring A-bomb survivors and activists from the United States and Japan stopped in 75 towns and cities in the United States.
Date: August 1985
Group: Mobilization for Survival
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Tour punctuated by rallies at every stop.

Location/Event: Los Angeles, CA. 15-mile vigil featuring human chain and including symposia, art exhibits, religious services.
Date: August 1985
Participants: 3,000

Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Protest, vigil, religious activities.

Location/Event: La Crosse, WI. 2,000 lanterns sent floating down the Mississippi River.
Date: August 1985
Group: Coalition including Physicians for Social Responsibility
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Symbolic.

Location/Event: Chicago, IL. Lanterns lit at site of first man-made nuclear reactor.
Date: August 1985
Group: Coalition including Physicians for Social Responsibility
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Symbolic.

Location/Event: San Diego, CA. 10,000 march in "Walk for Peace."
Date: August 6, 1985
Group: Mothers Embracing Nuclear Disarmament
Participants: 10,000
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: March.

Location/Event: Nellis AFB, NV. Vigil and civil disobedience at the Nevada Test Site. Vigil included Daniel Ellsberg.
Date: August 9, 1985
Group: Desert Witness and Mobilization for Survival
Participants: 172
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Vigil and civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 119 arrested.

Location/Event: International Shadow project painted approximately 125,000 human silhouettes in 326 countries.
Date: August 1985
Group: International Shadow Project
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Symbolic
Punishment/Outcome: Approximately 300 arrested.

Location/Event: Hanford, WA. 18 arrested for blocking traffic.
Date: August 9, 1985

Group: Seattle Non-Violent Action Group
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 18 arrested; 12 refused to give their names.

Location/Event: Livermore Laboratories, CA. Blocked intersection, held religious services.
Date: August 9, 1985
Group: Mobilization for Survival
Participants: 100
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience, blockade (caused 2 accidents)
Punishment/Outcome: 100 arrested.

Location/Event: Chequamegon National Forest, WI. Draft resister and peace worker sawed holes in poles for the Navy's Extremely Low Frequency (ELF) network.
Date: August 14, 1985
Group: Plowshares
Participants: 1
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Destruction
Punishment/Outcome: Sentenced to 5 months in jail, given a 3-year suspended sentence with 3 years probation. Refused to pay $4,775 restitution, therefore serving 3 years. Due for release after 16 months in August 1987.

Location/Event: Glen Avon, CA, to Washington, DC. Truck laden with toxic wastes driven across country in symbolic gesture. Started in Glen Avon, CA, and drove east to Washington DC.
Date: September 3, 1985
Group: "Stringfellow Special"
Goal: Anti-nuclear waste
Tactic: Symbolic.

Location/Event: Denver, CO. 2 protesters entered Martin Marietta plant intending to disarm components of MX with hammers and blood. When they were unable to penetrate the restricted area, they poured blood on windows overlooking work area.
Date: September 27, 1985
Group: Plowshares
Participants: 2
Tactic: Intended destruction, but only achieved symbolic tactics

Punishment/Outcome: Sentenced to 2 months.
Comments: Not allowed to present justification defense.

Location/Event: Rock Island, IL. Protesters blocked all roads to U.S. Army arsenal to prevent access by employees.
Date: October 21, 1985
Group: Project Disarm (included No Parasan, Chicago Women's Group, Disarm Now Action Group, and other war resistance groups)
Participants: 400
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience, blockade
Punishment/Outcome: 127 arrested.
Comments: Groups planned logistics for blockade for 5 months; protesters punctured tires of 14 police cars and painted several wind shields. Unlike most civil disobedience actions, they did not give police prior notification.

1986

Location/Event: Whiteman AFB, MO. Plowshares members enter 2 Minutemen II missile silos and damage them with sledgehammers and blood.
Date: March 28, 1986
Group: Plowshares
Participants: 6
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Destruction
Punishment/Outcome: Refused to pay fine; sentenced to 7–8 years in September, 1986.
Comments: 18th action since 1980; filmed by Mike Wallace for "60 Minutes."

Location/Event: Great Peace March from Los Angeles to New York City to Washington, DC.
Date: March to November 1986
Group: David Mixner
Participants: Approximately 2,000
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: March
Comments: Celebrity support—Madonna, Paul Newman, Barbra Streisand, Kenny Loggins. March had organizational and financial problems.

Location/Event: Nellis AFB, NV. Greenpeace members invaded Nevada Test Site, temporarily postponing the "Mighty Oak" test.
Date: April 8, 1986
Group: Greenpeace
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 82 arrested; 1 group of protesters avoided capture for 4 days.

Location/Event: Wintersburg, AZ. Palo Verde nuclear plant transmission lines knocked out at 3 different places.
Date: May 14, 1986
Participants: At least 3
Goal: Anti-nuclear energy
Tactic: Vandalism
Comments: Caused short circuit just before planned resumption of tests at plant's reactor, which delayed the tests; saboteurs appeared to have inside information.

Location/Event: Seabrook, NH. 74 protesters arrested at sit-in.
Date: May 24, 1986
Group: Clamshell Alliance
Goal: Anti-nuclear energy
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 74 arrested and released.

Location/Event: Nellis AFB, NV. Demonstration and civil disobedience action at Nevada Test Site intended to spark nationwide protests.
Date: May 31–June 2, 1986
Group: American Peace Test, National Freeze Campaign
Participants: 700
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 149 arrested.

Location/Event: State of Maine. Referendum campaign. 60,000 signatures collected in 1 day for petition for referendum to shut down Maine Yankee nuclear plant.
Date: Spring 1986
Group: Maine's Citizens Against Nuclear Trash (CANT)
Goal: Anti-nuclear energy
Tactic: Petition, referendum.

Location/Event: Nellis AFB, NV. Trespassing at Nevada Test Site to halt testing.
Date: June 1986
Group: Beagles
Participants: 6
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 6 arrested and released on bail.

Location/Event: San Francisco, CA. Blockade and protest at the U.S.S. *Missouri*; crew unable to disembark.
Date: June 30, 1986
Group: Pledge of Resistance
Participants: 3,000
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience and protest; protesters ripped down fences and had a few skirmishes with police.
Punishment/Outcome: 125 arrested (35 stayed in jail).

Location/Event: Seabrook, NH. As an anti-nuclear energy activist ended a 2-week fast, 15 protesters arrested for blocking Seabrook gate.
Date: July 11, 1986
Group: Clamshell Alliance
Goal: Anti-nuclear energy
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 15 arrested.

Location/Event: Painting of shadows on pavement in the U.S. and Japan to commemorate Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
Date: August 6, 1986
Group: International Shadow Project
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Symbolic.

Location/Event: Seabrook, NH. Protesters blocked gate for 3 hours.
Date: August 8, 1986
Goal: Anti-nuclear energy
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 99 adults, 11 juveniles arrested.
Comments: More than 2,100 arrests in 24 protests since 1976.

Location/Event: Seabrook, NH. 200 anti-nuclear energy demonstrators delayed hearings on proposal to load nuclear fuel for a low-power test of Seabrook reactor.
Date: September 29, 1986
Group: Clamshell Alliance
Goal: Anti-nuclear energy
Tactic: Disruption.

Location/Event: Nellis AFB, NV. Protest and civil disobedience at Nevada Test Site.
Date: September 30, 1986
Participants: 500
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Protest and civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 139 arrested.

Location/Event: Nellis AFB, NV. Anti-nuclear protesters entered Nevada Test Site and delayed test.
Date: October 16, 1986
Participants: 6
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 6 arrested.

Location/Event: Portland, OR, and Vancouver, WA. Rallies against nuclear waste.
Date: October 25, 1986
Goal: Anti-nuclear waste
Tactic: Rally.

Location/Event: Bangor, WA. 29 protesters crossed security line at Trident base.
Date: October 27, 1986
Participants: 30+
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 29 arrested for trespassing, including 5 religious leaders.

Location/Event: Washington, DC. Protesters, including Philip Berrigan, stage sit-in at a Pentagon entrance.
Date: December 30, 1986
Group: Atlantic Life Community

Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience, sit-in.

Location/Event: Brattleboro, VT. No Nukes Strategy Conference.
Date: December 6–7, 1986
Group: Clamshell Alliance and Vermont Green Mountain Alliance
Participants: 70
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Planning session
Comments: Future tactics proposed: (1) increase activity in electoral/legislative process; (2) expand direct actions against Seabrook.

Location/Event: Washington, DC. Protesters block entrances to DOE offices, delaying 3,000 workers for 2 hours. Protesters included Daniel Ellsberg.
Date: November 17, 1986
Group: American Peace Test and American Friends Service Committee
Participants: 139
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 139 arrested.

Location/Event: Nellis AFB, NV. Protesters blocked entrance to workers at Nevada Test Site.
Date: November 17, 1986
Group: American Peace Test
Participants: 100
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 70 arrested, including Martin Sheen.

Location/Event: Nazareth to Bethlehem, PA. 27th annual peace witness walk.
Date: December 13, 1986
Group: U.S. Peace Section, The Mennonite Central Committee
Goal: Nonviolence (peace)
Tactic: 10-mile walk
Comments: Proclaimed an official event by mayors of both towns; started during Vietnam.

Location/Event: Hurlburt Field, FL. Demonstration and counter-demonstration.

Date: December 13, 1986
Group: Pledge of Resistance; Air Commando Association organized counterdemonstration. The Air Commando Association comprises retired soldiers' families and local citizens.
Participants: 200
Goal: Anti-Contras
Tactic: Civil disobedience and protest
Punishment/Outcome: 11 detained.

Location/Event: Groton, CT. Protest against the Trident submarine.
Date: December 14, 1986
Group: Coalition to Stop Trident
Participants: 400
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 58 arrested.

Location/Event: Seabrook, NH. Sit-in at Seabrook Nuclear Powerplant.
Date: 1986
Group: Clamshell Alliance
Participants: 110
Goal: Anti-nuclear energy
Tactic: Sit-in/civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 110 arrested.

1987

Location/Event: Washington, DC. 1 anti-war activist threw blood on White House, 5 arrested at demonstration outside White House.
Date: January 1, 1987
Group: Atlantic Life Community
Participants: 5
Goal: Anti-war
Tactic: Civil disobedience, vandalism
Punishment/Outcome: 5 arrested.

Location/Event: Willow Grove Naval Air Station, PA. 4 Plowshare members, including 2 priests, damage aircraft with hammers. $300,000 in damage.
Date: January 9, 1987

Group: Epiphany Plowshares
Participants: 4
Goal: Anti-war
Tactic: Damage airplanes and helicopters with sledgehammers and wire cutters
Punishment/Outcome: Charged with 3 felonies and 1 misdemeanor.
Comments: Group included 2 priests.

Location/Event: Cape Canaveral, FL. Protesters attempted to disrupt testing of Trident II missiles.
Date: Jaunary 10 and 13, 1987
Participants: 75
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 26 arrested.

Location/Event: Cape Canaveral, FL. Protesters attempted to disrupt testing of Trident II missiles.
Date: January 16, 1987
Participants: 25
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 19 arrested.
Comments: One protester suffered a seizure.

Location/Event: Cape Canaveral, FL. Demonstrators climbed fences after 6-hour rally and march.
Date: January 18, 1987
Participants: 4,500
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Rally, march, civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 138 arrested, including 83-year-old Benjamin Spock.

Location/Event: Nellis AFB, NV. Blockade and trespassing at Nevada Test Site to commemorate the 36th anniversary of the first nuclear test at the Site.
Date: January 27, 1987
Participants: 200
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience (blockade, trespass)
Punishment/Outcome: 72 arrested, including Martin Sheen.

Location/Event: Washington, DC. Protesters, including Daniel Ellsberg, marched outside DOE headquarters.
Date: January 27, 1987
Participants: 50
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: March.

Location/Event: Nellis AFB, NV. Protesters enter Nevada Test Site to try to halt testing.
Date: February 2, 1987
Participants: 4
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 4 arrested.

Location/Event: Nellis AFB, NV. Protesters, including 6 members of Congress, mark the first test of 1987 at the Nevada Test Site. Test was conducted 1 day ahead of schedule to preempt protests.
Date: February 5, 1987
Group: Greenpeace, American Peace Test, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Peace Committee of American Public Health Association.
Participants: 2,000
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 438 arrested, including Carl Sagan, Martin Sheen, Kris Kristofferson, and Robert Blake. 5 protesters charged with resisting arrest.

Location/Event: Van Nuys Airport, CA. Protest against use of Air National Guard Base for missions to Central America.
Date: February 8, 1987
Participants: 300
Goal: Anti-Central American policy
Tactic: Protest.

Location/Event: Nellis AFB, NV. Civil disobedience at Nevada Test Site.
Date: February 1987
Participants: 1,500
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 438 arrested on public nuisance charges.

Location/Event: Washington, DC. Protest in front of White House called "National Mobilization for Justice and Peace in Central America and Southern Africa."
Date: April 25, 1987
Group: Mobilization for Survival
Participants: 100,000, including 25,000 unionists.
Goal: Anti-war, anti-Contras
Tactic: March and civil disobedience.

Location/Event: San Luis Obispo, CA. Trespassing and sit-in at Diablo Canyon nuclear powerplant to commemorate 1-year anniversary of Chernobyl accident.
Date: April 26, 1987
Participants: 14
Goal: Anti-nuclear energy
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 14 arrested.

Location/Event: Hanford, WA. Protesters entered Hanford nuclear facility with mops and buckets, wearing radiation suits on the 1-year anniversary of Chernobyl accident. 250 Hanford employees staged counterprotest.
Date: April 26, 1987
Group: Coalition Organizing Hanford Opposition
Participants: 11 protesters entered the facility, 200 gathered to protest.
Goal: Anti-nuclear energy
Tactic: Symbolic, civil disobedience and protest
Punishment/Outcome: 11 arrested (trespass), sentenced to 90 days (88 days suspended), fined $500. Those who refused to pay served 90 days.

Location/Event: Langley, VA. Protesters arrested outside CIA headquarters.
Date: April 27, 1987
Participants: 450
Goal: Anti-war
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 450 arrested.

Location/Event: Washington, DC. 400 protesters lobbied Congressmen to oppose aid to the Contras.
Date: April 27, 1987

Group: Mobilization for Survival
Participants: 400
Goal: Anti-Contras
Tactic: Lobbying.

Location/Event: Nellis AFB, NV. Protesters commemorate the 4th anniversary of the Catholic Bishops' Letter on War and Peace with civil disobedience at the Nevada Test Site.
Date: May 5, 1987
Group: Pax Christi USA
Participants: 98
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 98 arrested.

Location/Event: Nellis AFB, NV. A larger number than expected turned out at the Nevada Test Site to protest nuclear testing after the Nye County District Attorney announced that trespassers will no longer be prosecuted.
Date: May 9, 1987
Participants: 2,000
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience.

Location/Event: Vandenberg AFB, CA. Single protester entered facility and damaged NAVSTAR computer equipment.
Date: June 2, 1987
Participants: 1
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Destruction
Punishment/Outcome: Protester not caught at the time. Turned herself in the next day. Case still pending.
Comments: Not allowed to present justification defense.

Location/Event: Washington, DC. "Test Ban Caravan" rally.
Date: June 8 and 9, 1987
Group: Coalition including American Peace Test, SANE/Freeze, Physicians for Social Responsibility.
Participants: Approximately 250, including Casey Kasem.
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Rallies, civil disobedience training, civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 106 arrested, including 15 noncooperators who spent a night in jail and received 6 months probation.

Comments: Rally permit revoked, demonstrators arrested for protesting without a permit.

Location/Event: Concord Naval Weapons Station, CA. Protesters blocked munitions train.
Date: June 10, 1987
Goal: Anti-Contra, anti-war
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: Unknown number of arrests.

Location/Event: Concord Naval Weapons Station, CA. 1,000 demonstrators protest aid to El Salvador.
Date: June 13 and 14, 1987
Group: Pledge of Resistance
Participants: 1,000
Goal: Anti-arms to El Salavador
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 245 arrested, including Alice Walker.

Location/Event: Nellis AFB, NV. Civil disobedience at the Nevada Test Site.
Date: June 21, 1987
Participants 157
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 157 arrests, including Santa Monica Mayor James Conn and 6 other West Los Angeles officials.

Location/Event: Riverside Research Institute, New York, NY. A group of protesters, including Martin Sheen and Daniel Berrigan, entered Institute.
Date: July 7, 1987
Participants: 21
Goal: Anti-SDI
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 21 arrested.
Comments: Martin Sheen's 7th arrest in 1987.

Location/Event: Grand Canyon Uranium Mine, AZ. One group of protesters provided diversion by climbing a fence while another group entered facilities and chained themselves to equipment. Halted mining operations temporarily.
Date: July 13, 1987

Group: Earth First!
Participants: Approximately 100
Goal: Anti-nuclear energy
Tactic: Civil disobedience, direct action.
Punishment/Outcome: 21 arrested; spent 3 days in jail.
Comments: Affinity groups organized to prepare for action. Organizers planned powerful visual images for media, such as wearing radiation suits and animal costumes. Prided themselves on shutting down facility: "Far more impressive than many urban acts of civil disobedience where an arbitrary line is crossed merely to make a symbolic point."

Location/Event: Concord Naval Weapons Station, CA. 3 days of protests including blocking the entrance and chaining themselves to the gates.
Date: July 27–30, 1987
Participants: 3,000
Goal: Anti-aid to El Salvador
Tactic: March and civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: On July 27, 104 arrested for blockade and released.

Location/Event: Van Nuys Airport, CA. Protest against use of Air National Guard Base for missions in Central America.
Date: August 4, 1987
Group: Pledge of Resistance
Participants: 250
Goal: Anti-Contra
Tactic: Civil disobedience and protest
Punishment/Outcome: 34 arrested.

Location/Event: Whiteman AFB, MO. 2 Plowshares members arrested at Minuteman II missile silo. Hammered and poured blood on silo lid. Minimal damage.
Date: August 5, 1987
Group: Transfiguration Plowshares
Participants: 2
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Destruction
Punishment/Outcome: 2 arrested.

Location/Event: Hanford, WA. Protesters blockade and trespass at Hanford nuclear facility.

Date: August 6, 1987
Group: Coalition Organizing Hanford Opposition
Participants: 24
Goal: Anti-nuclear energy
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 24 arrested (10 for trespassing, 14 for blockading). Several protesters who refused to give their names were jailed.

Location/Event: Nellis AFB, NV. Civil disobedience at the Nevada Test Site.
Date: August 6, 1987
Participants: 110
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 110 arrested, 7 jailed.

Location/Event: Washington, DC. Blockade at Pentagon subway station, including Philip Berrigan, followed by die-in in front of Pentagon.
Date: August 6, 1987
Participants: 50
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 10 arrested.

Location/Event: Weymouth Naval Air Station, MA. Protesters covered helicopters with blood and dented a P-3 Orion plane with a hammer.
Date: August 6, 1987
Participants: 3
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Destruction
Punishment/Outcome: 3 arrested.

Location/Event: Princeton, NJ. Silhouettes painted on streets, rally.
Date: August 6, 1987
Group: Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament
Participants: 40
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Symbolic vandalism, rally.

Location/Event: Harrisburg, PA. Protesters released balloons reading "No More Nuclear Victims" near Three Mile Island.
Date: August 6, 1987
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Symbolic.

Location/Event: Oak Ridge, TN. March from American Museum of Science and Energy to DOE plant where uranium for Hiroshima bomb was produced.
Date: August 6, 1987
Participants: 100
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: March.

Location/Event: South Dakota. Peace and Justice Center organized 45-mile caravan to military communications site for prayer vigil.
Date: August 6, 1987
Group: Peace and Justice Center
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Caravan and prayer service.

Location/Event: Kansas City, MO. 20 "peace walkers" gathered at Bendix plant to begin 60-mile protest march to Whiteman AFB.
Date: August 6, 1987
Goal: Anti-war
Tactic: March.

Location/Event: Nellis AFB, NV. Protest and civil disobedience at Nevada Test Site.
Date: August 6, 1987
Participants: Several hundred, including Cesar Chavez
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Protest and civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 228 arrested.

Location/Event: Rocky Flats, CO. Music performance during Action Week Festival ended by police after noise complaints. Crowd of anti-nuclear weapons supporters and activists reacted angrily.
Date: August 7, 1987
Group: SHUT DOWN
Participants: 3
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Shutdown of music festival led to skirmishes between activists and police

Punishment/Outcome: 3 arrested for obstructing police, resisting arrest, and second-degree assault.

Location/Event: Richland, WA. Protest in the lobby of DOE and Westinghouse offices.
Date: August 8, 1987
Group: Coalition Organizing Hanford Opposition
Participants: 70
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons and energy
Tactic: March and civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 14 arrested.

Location/Event: Newington, NH. Protesters against nuclear weapons demonstrated outside the air force base from which flights left for Hiroshima and Nagasaki. 2 protesters threw ashes on monument outside the base.
Date: August 9, 1987
Group: Mobilization for Survival
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 5 arrests.

Location/Event: Amarillo, TX. Protesters erect barricade in front of Pantex Weapons Assembly Plant. Set up "peace camp."
Date: August 9, 1987
Group: The Red River Peace Network
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience.

Location/Event: Omaha, NE. Demonstration at Offutt AFB (SAC) gates.
Date: August 9, 1987
Participants: 150
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Protest and civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 27 arrested.

Location/Event: Rocky Flats, CO. Blockade to commemorate Nagasaki bomb.
Date: August 9, 1987
Group: SHUT DOWN
Participants: 320
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience

Punishment/Outcome: 320 arrested (15–20 people treated for sprains, abrasions, bruises; one officer was kicked in the face, another suffered a knee injury).
Comments: Largest demonstration at Rocky Flats since 1979.

Location/Event: Bangor, WA. Trident Submarine Base. March and civil disobedience.
Date: August 9, 1987
Group: Puget Sound Agape
Participants: 22
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: March and civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 22 arrested.

Location/Event: Suitland, MD. Demonstration at Smithsonian Institute Annex, where airplane that dropped Hiroshima bomb is displayed.
Date: August 9, 1987
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Protest.

Location/Event: Langley, VA. Protesters block entrance to CIA headquarters.
Date: August 26, 1987
Goal: Anti-military
Tactic: Blockade
Comments: Protesters included Daniel and Patrick Berrigan and former CIA official John Stockwell.

Location/Event: Concord Naval Weapons Station, CA. Protest and sit-in to stop munitions trains to Central America. One protester hit by train and lost both legs.
Date: September 1, 1987
Group: Coalition including Pledge of Resistance, Veterans Peace Action Teams, CISPES, Nicaragua Network, SANE/Freeze, and Veteran Citizens Fast for Life and Peace (kickoff day of 40-day protest fast)
Participants: 25
Goal: Anti-Contra, anti-war
Tactic: Civil disobedience.

Location/Event: Concord Naval Weapons Station, CA. Protest in response to previous day's accident.
Date: September 2, 1987

Group: Coalition including Veteran Citizens Fast for Life and Peace, Pledge of Resistance, Veterans Peace Action Teams, CISPES, Nicaragua Network, and SANE/Freeze.
Participants: 50, including Daniel Ellsberg and Alice Walker
Goal: Anti-Contra, anti-war
Tactic: Protest, civil disobedience.

Location/Event: Concord Naval Weapons Station, CA. Protesters block munitions track leaving the weapons station.
Date: September 3, 1987
Group: Coalition including Veteran Citizens Fast for Life and Peace, Pledge of Resistance, Veterans Peace Action Teams, CISPES, Nicaragua Network, and SANE/Freeze.
Goal: Anti-Contra, anti-war
Tactic: Civil disobedience.

Location/Event: University of California, Berkeley, CA. 400 people storm ROTC building to protest September 1 accident at Concord Naval Weapons Station.
Date: September 3, 1987
Participants: 400
Goal: Anti-Contra, anti-military
Tactic: Civil disobedience and vandalism
Comments: Broke windows and spray painted anti-military slogans inside.

Location/Event: Concord Naval Weapons Station, CA. Rosario Murillo (wife of Daniel Ortega) spoke at protest against aid to the Contras. Later she visited Brian Willson in the hospital.
Date: September 5, 1987
Participants: 600
Goal: Anti-Contra, anti-war
Tactic: Rally, civil disobedience and vandalism
Comments: Jesse Jackson also spoke, and Joan Baez sang. A group of demonstrators tore up part of railroad track despite the Nuremberg Action campaign's commitment to nonviolence and pleas from rally organizers and Brian Willson.

Location/Event: Seal Beach Naval Weapons Station, CA. Protesters blocked entrance to protest U.S. involvement in Central America. Small group of counter-demonstrators shouted "traitors."
Date: September 29, 1987
Participants: 200

Goal: Anti-Central American policy
Tactic: Civil disobedience and protest
Punishment/Outcome: 66 arrested.

Location/Event: Salt Lake City, UT. 250 march to protest aid to the Contras and nuclear weapons. Rallies included religious speakers.
Date: October 24, 1987
Group: Utah's Interfaith Peacemaking Resource Center
Participants: 250
Goal: Anti-Contra and nuclear weapons
Tactic: March and rally.

Location/Event: Bangor Naval Submarine Base, WA. Civil disobedience following rally and all-night candlelight vigil of singing and praying.
Date: October 26, 1987
Participants: 400 at rally, 28 protesters continued with vigil and civil disobedience
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience and vigil
Punishment/Outcome: 28 arrested.

Location/Event: Groton, CT. Blockade at Electric Boat shipyard to prevent employees from entering. Commemorating Cuban missile crisis.
Date: October 26, 1987
Group: Coalition to Stop Trident
Participants: 82
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 82 arrested.

Location/Event: Concord Naval Weapons Station, CA. 21 protesters trespass a half mile into station following sit-in on the tracks.
Date: October 28, 1987
Participants: 21
Goal: Anti-Contra, anti-war
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 21 arrested, including Martin Sheen; several arrested for resisting arrest.
Comments: Brian Willson attended but did not trespass.

Location/Event: Staten Island, NY. Rally to protest Navy's plan to construct nuclear port on Staten Island. Rally included performance by Pete Seeger.
Date: November 1, 1987
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Rally.

Location/Event: Washington, DC. Protesters stage mock meltdown at Nuclear Regulatory Commission entrance on the 13th anniversary of death of Karen Silkwood.
Date: November 14, 1987
Goal: Anti-nuclear energy
Tactic: Rally and civil disobedience.
Punishment/Outcome: 15 arrested.

Location/Event: Concord Naval Weapons Station, CA.
Date: November 14, 1987
Group: Pledge of Resistance, CISPES
Participants: 800
Goal: Anti-war
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 4 arrested.

Location/Event: Concord Naval Weapons Station, CA. Protesters blocked train tracks.
Date: November 19, 1987
Participants: 11
Goal: Anti-war
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 11 arrested.

Location/Event: Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, CA. Bomb exploded under a car parked in the laboratory's lot causing dozens of windows of the laboratory to explode.
Date: November 28, 1987
Group: Nuclear Liberation Front claimed responsibility in a phone call to the Associated Press by a man identifying himself as "Oppie."
Goal: Anti-nuclear
Tactic: Bomb
Comments: The phone caller claimed that he and his friend, the "Plutonium Kid," had carried out the bombing as members of the Oppenheimer Brigade of the Nuclear Liberation Front, and said more attacks were planned.

Location/Event: Staten Island, NY. Trespassing to protest construction of Navyport. Protesters scaled fence surrounding Staten Island, NY, Navyport and declared it a nuclear-free zone.
Date: December 6, 1987
Goal: Anti-nuclear
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: Unknown number of arrests.

Location/Event: Nellis AFB, NV. Civil disobedience at the Nevada Test Site.
Date: December 13, 1987
Participants: 160
Goal: Anti-nuclear weapons
Tactic: Civil disobedience
Punishment/Outcome: 160 arrests, including Santa Monica Mayor James Conn, Irvine Mayor Larry Agran, and several other West Los Angeles officials. Protesters received citations and were released.

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