The war in Indochina may be over within 6 months. Or it may continue with ever-increasing ferocity for 4 more years. What happens in this country in the next three and a half months will make the difference. If the American public is sufficiently aroused on the war issue, it can accomplish the end to the war by January. For the Nixon Administration will either have to accomplish a genuine peace or it will be voted out of office. So the question for those of us who have been struggling against the war for many years is simply: what more can we do to help arouse the American public about the war in the next three and a half months?

At present the Nixon Administration shows no indication of having decided to end the war. It continues to maintain
the Thieu government in Saigon and shows no indication of being willing to negotiate a genuine coalition government which would include all political elements in South Vietnam. At the same time, the Nixon administration has intensified and escalated the criminal bombing of North Vietnam, including the bombing of the dikes and civilian centers. The Nixon administration's escalation since April has meant more aircraft carriers, more B-52s, more bases in Thailand, more destroyers, in short, more destructive power than even at the so-called "height" of the war in '67 - '69. The policy is one of using the maximum military force to destroy the will of the Vietnamese to fight. Although the Pentagon Papers revealed that such bombing only increases the resolve of the Vietnamese to fight, the Nixon administration is intensifying the senseless bombing beyond all previous levels.

Although the Nixon administration's policy is one of continued and expanded military force, it has managed to fool much of the American public into believing that it genuinely wants peace. The illusion that the war is winding down has been created by the Nixon Administration through manipulation or concealment of information about the war and through emphasis on selected statistics. As well, some dramatic diplomatic initiatives by the Nixon Administration have also created the illusion of an early end to the war.
But the war has not ended. The export of death to Indochina has increased. Yet the reality of the automated air war - the senseless slaughter of hundreds of Indochinese each day from the air and sea, the mindless use of napalm and anti-personnel weapons is seemingly removed from the American consciousness.

Any strategy to help end the war with actions of the peace movement must include the attempt to dramatize to the American public the contradiction between the words of peace uttered by the Administration and the actions which they are engaged in. Somehow public focus must be placed on the reality of the daily export of death from this country to Indochina. Previously, when draftees were being sent to Vietnam, actions at draft boards and induction centers were entirely appropriate. But the war has changed. Bombs are being shipped to Indochina, not men.

The aim of the People's Blockade is to make the export of bombs and hence the continuing slaughter in Indochina VISIBLE. People's Blockades are attempts to make the prosecution of the war more difficult for the Nixon administration - both morally and politically. They involve actions where unarmed people place their bodies between the instruments of death (ammunition ships, trains, trucks, aircraft carriers, etc.) and their objective - the people of Indochina.
By doing so it raises difficulties for the administration. The government would prefer to have its warmaking continue silently and anonymously. With persons putting themselves in the path of that war-making, the government must do its war-making in public. It must admit to the public that in order to continue killing Indochinese it must physically brutalize or arrest its own citizens.

Although it is through the American electoral process that the future of the people of Indochina will be determined in the next few months, that does not mean that activity directly related to conventional electoral politics will be the only factors which determine the outcome of the elections. Certainly some people who have associated with the peace movement should be willing to help ring doorbells and lick envelopes for genuine peace candidates. Certainly some people should be willing to confront the war criminals running for re-election in Miami and elsewhere. At the same time it is critically important that resistance actions against the war itself like the People's Blockade be continued by the peace movement. That same movement must now be willing to keep up the pressure against the war so that ending the war is a critical issue in November.

We cannot underestimate how important an immediate end to the war in Indochina is to the movements for peace and social justice in this country. For if, as a result of the pressure
generated by the American people, the U.S. government must abandon its imperialistic aims in Indochina, we may be more hopeful that the same pressure can be used successfully against imperialistic ventures elsewhere. At the same time, an end to the war in Indochina would make it more possible to concentrate our energies on the struggles against racism, poverty, and corporate power in this country. So it is critical that the war be ended now. It is critical that all those who are interested in genuine social change in this country join together in various ways in the next few months to put an end to the slaughter in Indochina. The People's Blockade is one of those ways that can help to stop the war. This manual is meant to help those interested in developing a People's Blockade to create them as powerfully and effectively as possible.
what is the
people's
blockade?

The People's Blockade is:

putting our bodies between the bombs and the Vietnamese people;
speaking truth to power;
non-violent direct action.

In the early 1940's there were a few instances of Europeans
lying down on railroad tracks to prevent Jews from being taken
to concentration camps. We can only imagine what impact there would have been if thousands of people had taken such action instead of just a few dozen.

Our government has unleashed the most awesome air power in history against the Indochinese people -- an armada of ships including eight aircraft carriers in the Tonkin Gulf regularly shell and destroy Vietnamese lands and people; while more than 200 of the huge B-52 bombers rain terror everywhere. These immoral and illegal acts perpetuated by our government are blatant violation of U.S. law. The Geneva protocols and the Nuremberg statutes prohibit these acts and enjoin citizens who are aware that their government is in violation of these laws to take action to disassociate themselves from such war crimes. In 1944, Pres. Roosevelt in a statement to the German people on war crimes, called upon every German to take action which would show that they disassociate themselves from the war crimes that their government was committing and, moreover, to keep a record of evidence "that one day will be used to convict the guilty."

The People's Blockade is:

not allowing the ships of death and the trains of death to leave our country anonymously;

canoes in a harbor blocking the route of passage for the aircraft carriers, the destroyers, the ships that carry ammunition to Vietnam;
sitting down on railroad tracks that carry destruction for the Indochinese;
supporting GIs who also want to resist the death machine.

At first it may seem ridiculous -- six tiny canoes versus a giant aircraft carrier the size of more than three football fields. But, it is just this contrast that gives power to our action. Greg Holloway wrote of the People's Blockade in Bangor, Wash. "...the important point is not whether any rag-tag 'People's Blockade' could actually obstruct naval operations -- rather like David and Goliath with David wearing a blindfold. But, what is important is that right now the Mohawk is en route to Thailand with B-52 bombloads, the S.S. Hastings will follow the Mohawk, while we here in the U.S.A. have the luxury of enjoying the Seattle sunshine, the cargo these ships carry will be shredding the bodies of the Vietnamese people."

The People's Blockade is:
the individual conscience confronting the war machine, and the Executive branch of our government which is in such clear moral and constitutional violation of the law.

The People' Blockade is:
non-violent resistance. For two years now polls have been telling us that more than 73% of the American people, our
people want the war over. We look at the NARMIC Automated Air War Slide Show and become overwhelmed by our inability to stop the horror we see. And we struggle on many levels. And so, resistance spreads in pockets across the country.

and **The People's Blockade is:**

people willing to take direct risks, secure in the rightness of their action. Obstructing the death that is exported to Indochina, from all places where death is packaged and shipped. We will be taking a new degree of responsibility for our actions. Aggressive and militant, we stand for the forces of life rather than of death.
targets

how to pick one

As we write and define and think the PEOPLE'S BLOCKADE begins to take shape. Walter Cronkite described one of the first sea blockades on national news as a "non-violent blockade of an ammunition ship by land and sea." It makes good sense that a target relate directly to the shipping of men and munitions to Indochina, which would mean that a military shipping terminal would make a clearer target than a factory making component parts for bombs. The inaccessibility of ammunition depots is deliberate, the government does its best to keep them out of sight, by shipping at unscheduled times, etc. Remember though, that an ammunition depot comes equipped with gates, roads and/or railroad tracks leading in and out of them and are all good sites for a non-violent blockade.

researching a target

Try to get as much information as possible about your target without getting bogged down in research and paper. Some of the best leads have come through the grapevine. Following is a list of major military sea terminals currently being used for shipments of munitions and weapons to Southeast Asia:
sea targets

Earle Naval Ammunition Depot, Leonardo, N.J.
Army's Sunnypoint Military Ocean Terminal, Southport, N.C.
Naval Weapons Stations, Concord (Port Chicago), Calif.
Naval Ammunition Depot, Bangor, Washington
Military Ocean Terminal, Bayonne, N.J.
Naval Weapons Station, Yorktown, Va.
Naval Weapons Station, Charleston, S.C.
Naval Weapons Station, Seal Beach, Calif.
Long Beach Naval Shipyard & Naval Station, Long Beach, Calif.

The Coast Guard is responsible for movements in and out of ports. Check with them for movements of ships and times. The Military Sealift Command (MSC) is the Navy's Executive Agency that manages the sea transportation ("sealift") for the Department of Defense. Regional MSC offices may give information on ships in the area. The Maritime union and stevedore associations may give leads on ships going to Southeast Asia. Scout around a port or terminal for special loading facilities, long piers in the water, isolated piers, military piers. You could even try the Federal Maritime Commission in Washington (202/393-3111). Local G.I. Projects, G.I. coffee houses, counseling services and national G.I. offices (see resource list) can often supply the most up-to-date and immediate intelligence on movements.

In picking a target for a sea action consider: what sort of community support could be expected, accessibility of
getting warm bodies and boats to that area, possible marinas or other launching sites for boats engaging in the blockade action.

land targets

Talking about PEOPLE'S BLOCKADES it seemed logical that a blockade action should include all ports that export death to Indochina -- sea, rail and air ports.

There are many land-locked ammunition depots across the country that have rail lines leading in and out of them. In Portland, Oregon people are planning a blockade of Hermitson Ammunition Depot, which is the shipment point for ammunition going to Bangor, Washington. There are too many "land targets" to attempt to list here, and besides we don't even
know them all, but below is a listing of some major arsenals across the country:

Hermitson, Oregon
Rocky Mountain Arsenal, Colorado
Crane, Indiana
Rock Island Arsenal, Illinois
Joliet Army Ammunition Plant, Illinois
Picatinny Arsenal, New Jersey
Edgewood Arsenal, New Jersey
Watervliet Arsenal, New York
Watertown Arsenal, Massachusetts

We don't know of anyone who has yet tried a blockade of an air port, we do know of many air force bases that send B-52s, F105's (all weather fighter bombers), F4s and A7s to Southeast Asia. Following is a partial listing:

- Travis AFB, Fairfield, Calif.
- March AFB, Calif.
- Mt. Home AFB, Idaho
- McConnell AFB, Kansas
- Seymour AFB, Goldsboro, N.C.
- Wright Patterson AFB, Dayton, Ohio
- Westover AFB, Chicopee, Mass.

Contact us directly at Peoples Blockade/AFSC, 160 N. 15th St., Phila., Pa. 215/LO 3-9372 for more specific information.
tactics

A blockade is not a technological event or even a military-type campaign. We cannot, nor would we want to match the technology, massive size or military strength of the government. The drama of a blockade is intensified by the way it contrasts real, identifiable people with the massive and impersonal nature of the war machine. PEOPLE'S BLOCKADES have discovered that having a number of canoes, or inner tubes, or real, swimming people in the water is just as good, if not better, than having say, a converted barge. (That doesn't mean you should turn down offers of large yachts, etc. A big boat in the harbor might serve as a "mother boat" where smaller craft could tie on for the night, get a meal, see if Solarcaine really works and even get some sleep!).

Our object is to prevent the death made right here in the U.S.A. from reaching the Indochinese countries and raining terror upon the Indochinese peoples.

Our opponent is the federal government's war machine, not necessarily local governments and communities or even federal employees.

Our tactics are intervention and obstruction. The power behind a PEOPLE'S BLOCKADE is that it gives us an opportunity to DO something -- to actually put our bodies between the munitions and our sisters and brothers in Indochina for whom they
are intended.

We have listed a few tactical considerations that should be made. Doubtless, you will think of more as you plan your blockade, but generally from our past blockade actions these are the main ones.

1 Picking a target will certainly determine the specific tactics you use. Tactics of a land blockade will be very different from those of a sea blockade. Die-ins, vigils, symbolic mining of harbors, floating mannequins, mobile tactics on land will begin to define themselves after your have picked your target. (See targets)

2 The length of a blockade. A day, a week-end, a month or longer? A one-shot action or a sustained campaign? What is your "troop" strength, who are your allies? What sort of community support or harassment should be expected, and how will our opponents respond? There is the real possibility of the government making it impossible for us to reach our target. The physical risk we put ourselves in must be considered too.

3 When to blockade. A blockade is best in terms of spirit and clarity when you're actually blockading something--a ship, a plane, a train -- when that "something" is
there. To make this happen an "intelligence" system must be developed which will answer the questions of when the train runs, which ship is leaving when, what the cargo is, when it is loaded, etc. Some of the best information provided for previous blockades has been gleaned from our brothers in the military (more on G.I. contacts later).

4 Mobility. If the group decides to actually blockade, you may have to move quickly, so it is a good idea to devise a mechanism for bringing people together quickly (a telephone tree is an old standby). For a sea blockade your flotilla should be ready in advance. That means knowing who has the boats and how you will transport them to the launching sites. The PEOPLE'S BLOCKADE of the U.S.S. America in Norfolk, Va. was put together in two days -- so it's not as hard as it might seem.

5 Contingency Plans. Permits can be revoked at the last minute. Timetables changed suddenly. Alternative plans should be made. People can move to a target in advance of scheduled shipment and announce their intention to remain to blockade any munitions movement. In Bangor, Wash. the PEOPLE'S BLOCKADE was poised for two days, ready to move, before the U.S.S. Hastings pulled out. And what if there aren't enough canoes for everyone who shows up, inner tubes although not very seaworthy could
be effective as a blockade. Keep on top of weather conditions -- during the second blockade action at Leonardo, N.J. it was impossible for people to battle the six-foot waves and choppy water and instead decided on a vigil at the gates of the ammunition depot.

The tactic of non-violence. An action can be free, creative, aggressive, disruptive, obstruct and still be non-violent. A PEOPLE'S BLOCKADE can create enough space for affinity groups and individuals to participate in ways that make sense to them within the non-violent context. The most successful blockade actions have been those that were clearly non-violent in tone. Our non-violence provides a stark contrast to the institutionalized violence of the military. Observers, sympathizers and the media are easily able to make the distinction between those who celebrate life and those who disregard it. A discipline of non-violence should be decided upon within the group and one that participants feel comfortable with. Some groups have found it helpful to print a discipline and distribute it. Training sessions afford participants practical experience in the tactic of non-violence (see Training).
logistics

Working our logistical arrangements may be the most time-consuming part of the project, so it's a good idea to get started early!

**boats** (for a sea blockade):

They may be hard to find, involving a heavy recruiting effort -- it might be a good idea to have at least one person work full time on this. Get the word out that you need boats and don't overlook boating clubs (maybe you could set up a meeting), marinas (you could leaflet), camps, outing clubs, sailing clubs (in the community & in local schools), local recreational groups, colleges and schools.

When you find boats, remember that you will need some way to transport them (cars, trailers, etc.). You may be able to rent boats, but keep in mind that they can be impounded. Along with boats, you should have some water safety equipment (life jackets, cheap to buy) and plan a briefing session on water safety (an information sheet in helpful). People who are not good swimmers should be strongly discouraged from going out in boats.

**staging areas & launching sites**

The area where you will hold your land blockade should be researched and determined in advance, with alternative sites
selected. Directions to those points should be clearly written out (a map is helpful) and whenever possible, last minute changes should be avoided; they confuse participants and cut down on the effectiveness of your action. People should know if there is public transportation to the launching site or staging area and where they can park their cars without having them towed or ticketed. It may be easiest to launch boats from a public pier (as was done in Norfolk and Leonardo), since that's usually an easy place to find and marine police have occasionally hassled people launching boats from private beaches. Again, find out the pertinent regulations. If there is a fee for boat launching, people should know that before they arrive at the launching site.

**housing  food & daycare**

If you are going to be involved in a sustained campaign, or will be going to another geographical location, you should make provisions for the people you recruit. Local people may be able to put you in touch with sympathetic churches, Friends Meeting Houses, or groups that would provide individual housing or large rooms for people to sleep. You should also find a place for meetings, both before and after actions. You may want to check out campsites and should establish a housing information phone number.
medical

Having medical aid available is both practical and reassuring to participants in your action. Check with your local Medical Committee on Human Rights (MCHR) office or clinics and describe the action to them -- together you can decide what help you will need.

military counsellors

If you are working around a military base, you should be in contact with knowledgable counsellors who can help enlisted men and answer any questions they may ask. Central offices for military counselling services are included on the resource sheet at the end of this booklet.

signs posters banners

"Visual Aids." They help in explaining your action to the public and should be made up in advance of the action. Slogans should be carefully chosen and you should decide whether or not you want to encourage people to bring flags. Poster board gets wet! -- try oil cloth instead. Also, you don't always have to rely on signs; in Leonardo, people built a large wooden cross and a Star of David for the religious service that was held on the munition depot tracks. It's always good to have a leaflet with you, during the action, that carefully explains it to passers-by and workers.
organizing the action

Before you begin serious recruitment for your action, that is other than an initial contact with groups to determine interest, there are several tasks you should have thought out and covered:

- Building a blockade action almost always becomes a full-time job. There should be at least two people who are free to do nothing else but answer phones, continue recruitment, work on logistics, do press, etc. It is also important that everyone working on the blockade have an up-to-date overview of what is happening, which will probably mean daily staff meetings.

- You should have an adequate supply of at least one good leaflet or some sort of informational piece that describes the blockade and announces meeting and training dates. Be sure to include in the leaflet a clear explanation of the tone of the action.

- You will need a central information number, perhaps in someone's home or office. As interest and enthusiasm build, it will become critical that you have established
a clearinghouse where people can get accurate information.

recruitment

By the time you have started recruitment, you should have decided whether or not to ask for co-sponsorship or endorsement from other groups, what the criteria are for "accepting" other groups is, and whether or not you want to form a coalition for the duration of the blockade actions. Your recruiting leaflets with this information on them, should (hopefully) start getting out no later than three weeks before the planned action.

Find out when local groups do their mailings, once-a-month newsletters, etc. and what the deadlines for these and other printed media are. Check out radio stations, especially university-operated stations, often times you can get them to announce the action.

Don't overlook "non-movement" groups (over 73% of the population is against the war); try PTA's, block associations, ecology groups, clergy, food co-ops, community clinics, bookstores and communes. A lot of folk who have stopped going to marches and rallies may jump at the chance to finally DO something visible and clear to express their anti-war feelings.

Don't forget GIs when you recruit for the action. In other actions, people have gone to bars where GIs hang-out, specifically to talk to them about the planned action. In
Leonardo, this contact resulted in seven sailors jumping ship; in Norfolk, two sailors left the aircraft carrier ten minutes before it departed. Whatever you do, be sure to carry through on any promise of assistance.

PEOPLE'S BLOCKADE/AFSC can provide you with photo-ready newspaper reprints (a good piece to send out in mailings), leaflets, as well as posters (with a blank space for local contacts), stickers and buttons. Some of the artwork has been included in this manual.

If you are planning an action for a community other than your own, the importance of local community involvement, when possible, cannot be overstated. Planning for your action will be easier, the chances of success will be greater, and the possibility of sustained action will increase if you seek out and develop local contact people and make sure they are included in the planning. Your presence should be a shot in the arm, not a pain in the neck, to local peace groups. You should also take every opportunity (and maybe make some through picnics, block parties, door-to-door leafletting, open forums, letters to the editor, etc.) to explain yourself and your presence to area residents.

**working with authorities**

LOCAL. At some point, you will have to make decisions about the degree to which you work with or inform the police and/or
city officials about your actions. If you decide to work with them, establish a reliable liaison person in your group to handle police relations -- things usually go smoother if there is one person through whom they can communicate. Misleading police rarely brings anything but trouble and destroys credibility.

If you are going into a new area, remember that the local people you involve will have to continue living with the police after you've gone. Also remember that in some areas police are very suspicious of "outsiders" and may act out their uneasiness through harassment. Police are generally less likely to over-react if they have an idea of what's going on and can believe that your demonstration will be non-violent. Informing police of your plans does not have to be the same thing as negotiating with them or "choreographing" your action.

MILITARY. Generally, the same holds true as above, with some exceptions. Relations with the Coast Guard in previous sea blockades have generally been good. The Coast Guard is about protecting life -- they have a real concern for peoples safety and it shows in the ways they have responded to other blockade actions. Both at Leonardo and Norfolk the Coast Guard half-heartedly, it seemed, grappled canoes and treated us well after we were taken aboard. Keep in mind that many brothers have joined the Coast Guard in order to avoid being a part
of the rape of Vietnam.

Very good raps have been initiated with the GIs on "M.P." duty at military bases during past blockade actions. Enlisted men may be annoyed because you have caused their liberty to be cancelled, but you should not miss the opportunity to talk with them during your action as well as before and after.
On April 24, 1971, in Leonardo, N.J. seven sailors jumped from the U.S.S. Nitro and two more tried, in opposition to the war and as an expression of solidarity with the flotilla of the People's Blockade.

"...we finally reached our breaking point. We had to show the public how seven sailors felt about the war...there were others who attempted to jump but were repelled. All of us could not hack watching your non-violent fleet efforts for peace without the support from us...The crew reports to us that their reaction to what we did was enthusiastic to say the least. We are backed by most of the crew...One person tells me that our first jumper (Leonard) performed a beautiful swan dive off the ship (Lenny refers to it as his 'dove' dive) which was witnessed by the executive officer and captain...I must now write a letter to my folks explaining why their son has to go to court martial because of a stand he took in what he believed in." --Larry Bearman, Levittown, L.I.

It is important that we reach GIs, talk to them, and tell them of our plans. How do we find them? Around military installations GIs are the ones with unnaturally short hair and a joyous look on their faces as they are leaving the
base/post. Ask local folks where they congregate -- local bars are a sure bet. In Leonardo, N.J. it happened to be the Depot Inn, which is where people made contact with the seven sailors who were to jump ship and where people talked with other sailors who signed a petition listing the dangerous conditions aboard the U.S.S. Nitro.

GI's are in a position to make resistance to the war machine a reality and a major focus of a PEOPLE'S BLOCKADE is to help and support GI's who want to resist the death machine. And our brothers in the military can help us with all sorts of inside information -- timetables, departure times, etc. -- but all at great risk to themselves. A GI is a second-class citizen, he has no constitutional rights, he is controlled through a complex mechanism of fear of punishment by his superiors. He is also separated from his peer group by the cultural "regrooving" the military does in basic training and often times he is the victim of military induced alienation.

When talking or brainstorming GI support actions be careful to explore and understand the ramifications of a resistance action. It would be good to have a military counselor with you (see resource list). For example we found out that if a sailor aboard a vessel applies for a CO he will not have to work until he hears a decision. Imagine a ship with many crewmembers applying for COs and the vessel goes to Vietnam, what this would mean is that all those who applied could not
be legally compelled to do "death" work. If you find a group of GIs willing to resist, be sure to support their action with legal help.

Consider setting up a "sanctuary" for GIs who don't want to participate in the carnage in Indochina -- contact local churches and discuss the idea with them. Or throw a party before a ship leaves, it's possible to get sympathetic GIs to distribute leaflets and stickers aboard ships and on bases as a way to build for this party.

All power to the imagination!
As soon as the action is decided upon, at least two people should take responsibility for press contacts and coverage. One person should always be at the press phone, the others will be bringing in updated information. One phone, preferably with at least one extention, should be established as the contact phone and, a week before the action, should be covered continuously.

Another immediate task is getting a list of all media contacts, including newspapers, T.V., radio and the underground press.

- Find out the wire service in your area, either UPI or AP and check out smaller ones like Pacific News Service and Unicorn News Service. Wire services send out bulletins continually to most other media.
Try to get the names of various media contacts, especially those reporters who have a reputation of being sympathetic. When calling in your release it really helps to ask for a specific person.

Get in touch with people in suburbs who have contact with their local weeklies. During the time you're not on the phone, press people should be logging events and thinking of ways to write articles for movement periodicals.

A written press release, given to the media a few days before the action so they can assign camera crews, is a good idea, especially if the action is in an out-of-the-way-spot. However, we have found that the telephone is the best press tool. A day before the action, telephone all media. Give a brief run-down of the action (who, what, where, when, and why). Be enthusiastic and positive, but not unrealistically so -- "mass action" has lost its credibility, but do use maximum numbers. Don't get wound up in the nuts and bolts of the action -- stick to the purpose and underline the politics.

It's useful to have a paragraph or two to either read or refer to during phone contacts. This is especially useful when several people are calling the press and also allows people who are new at press work to make calls. You may want to put together a mini-press packet for distribution the day of the
action, including a press statement and your best leaflets. Also, see if you can recruit people who are into photography to be on hand during the action -- all pictures are good especially for follow-up work.

the day of the action

- Call TV and radio stations early so they can assign coverage. Most coverage is usually assigned by 8:30 a.m.

- Contact radio "news" stations. Many stations will tape telephone interviews, try to arrange for tape-telephone interviews from people at the action site directly to the radio station -- news is hotter when it comes directly from the scene. Radio stations will also tape spots anywhere from 1/2 to one minute which you can read from a prepared statement.

- Keep a press log that includes time people are contacted, names of people and organizations contacted.
Training is valuable in two ways -- it prepares participants for the action and it may expose weaknesses in your planning. For example:

Scenario writing -- writing out your action from beginning to end, including contingencies based on possible responses of participants, observers and "authorities" -- can give you an overview of your action.

Quick decision making -- giving small groups of participants (four or so) a hypothetical problem and having them come up with a solution in a very short time (30 seconds to a minute) -- can help your group gain cohesion.

Brainstorming -- setting a limited amount of time for ideas to be suggested (no criticism allowed) -- can help your group begin to flow off each other and expand their creativity. All power to the imagination!

Strategy games -- in which groups of people assume the collective identity of demonstrators, government "authorities", GIs, etc. and in an abbreviated time period, respond to each other's "moves" -- can point out weaknesses in your strategy.

Roleplays -- in which each individual takes on a specific role (police, demonstrators, bystanders, etc.) and
acts out one specific situation such as dealing with hecklers or provocateurs, how you react when confronted with police, how to respond to harassment in jail — can give your group a "feel" for the action and increase their knowledge and confidence.

If you want your action to be disciplined, it is critical that people know what they are doing and training in planning sessions, briefing sessions or both is one of the best ways to get that assurance. There are many movement training groups around the country that would be glad to help you work out training sessions. If you don't know whom to contact, Non Violent Action & Training (NVAT) can put you in touch with groups near you or send a person with training skills to work with your group.
The best way to avoid getting bogged down in legal discussions and rumors is to do some research ahead of time! The following sections deal with basic legal questions that are bound to arise:

**local regulations**

Find out what the local regulations are regarding permits, parades, leafletting, rallies, etc. It's demoralizing to decide to march to a target and be stopped en route for parading without a permit. Check maritime laws and Coast Guard regulations. For a sea action, find out small craft requirements -- you may have to have a sound device, a light, rope, an anchor, a special type of license, extra life jackets, or any number of other things. One friend of ours served 45 days for having the boat registration in the wrong holder! This information is easily obtainable from the Coast Guard (as opposed to "local experts").

**legal aid**

As a group, you will be making a number of decisions related to legal matters and lawyers can be helpful in providing basic information. In the past ACLU and the National Lawyers Guild have provided good legal advice. You might also want to check out local law schools for legal "interns."
possible charges

A PEOPLE'S BLOCKADE is direct intervention and so it is logical to assume that authorities will try to stop you. If they cannot disperse you or choose not to, you will probably be arrested. There seems to be no way of guaranteeing how and for what you will be arrested, or what the legal consequences will be, but a little research and legal advice can lay out some options. One of the most positive things about being involved in a blockade action is that the nature of the action helps you avoid the problem of "doing an action to get busted." It's important to keep firmly in mind the objective of keeping munitions from being used in Indochina and that the consequence of that real objective may be arrest.

if you are arrested

You should decide beforehand who your lawyers (if you use them) will be and how they will be contacted. You may want to have them at the site of the action to serve as legal observers, especially in reactionary communities. The lawyer should understand the politics of the action and what your position will be after being arrested. The group may also want to consider whether or not to "retain counsel", i.e. pay for lawyers.
bail

A growing number of people are beginning to maintain a "jail no bail" policy in the event they are arrested, which is based on the belief that the bail system discriminates against the poor and that the process of raising bail funds slows down and undercuts the thrust of the movement. There are just as many others who believe their "best work" is done on the streets, and there are also those people who have compelling personal reasons for bailing out. All the possible options should be discussed. In spite of the diversity it may still be possible to agree upon a general policy. "Jail no bail", or whatever the group position, the policy should be viewed as one of support rather than an imposition on participants. The position your group takes with regard to bail should be very clear in all of your recruiting material. You may also want to consider what position to take if offered release in your own custody, especially if that release might involve promising not to take part in any more actions.

bail fund

Even if the group decides on a "no bail" position, it's a good idea to have someone who will coordinate bail questions -- perhaps from a group that is supporting you, but will not be directly involved. There may be some participants who will have to be bailed out, even if the majority stays in. Or, people not intending to get arrested may be anyhow, this happened during one of the Leonardo actions. If offers of bail money come in, you might think of using that money to bail out local
folks already in jail and without your financial resources (this has been done several times with very positive results in Washington, D.C.). Also, remember that a lot of people who are presently involved in "movement activities" had their first contact with the movement through giving bail money or organizing to collect it for other people.

**entering a plea**

When you are arraigned, you will have the option of entering a plea to the charge. Here again, lawyers can be of assistance in informing you what kind of plea can be entered and where that will put you in the legal process. As a group, you do not necessarily have to decide on a uniform plea. It might be better if folks who feel similarly about entering different types of pleas act on their beliefs as affinity groups.

**paying a fine**

In some instances, you will have the option of paying a fine if convicted. People should remember that in the event of refusing to pay a fine, you may run into an additional charge of contempt of court.
this is the resource sheet

MEDICAL AID
MCHR (Natl. office)
710 S. Marshfield
Chicago, Ill. 60612
312/243-4263
*info. on local chapters

MCHR (N.Y. office)
135 West 4th St.
N.Y.C., N.Y.
212/227-2560
*info. on east coast chapters

LEGAL AID
ACLU (Natl. office)
156 Fifth Ave.
N.Y.C., N.Y.
212/ OR 5-5990
*info. on local chapters

INFORMATION ON LOCAL G.I. PROJECTS
U.S. Servicemen's Fund
44 Greenwich Ave.
New York, N.Y. 10011
212/ 924-8032

Pacific Counseling Service
1232 Market St., Rm. #104
San Francisco, Calif. 94102
415/ 431-8080

CAMP
2801 N. Sheffield St.
Chicago, Ill. 60657
312/ 929-5860

FOR OTHER G.I. CONTACTS THROUGH VIETNAM VETS AGAINST THE WAR:

VVAVW National Office
25 West 26th St.
New York, N.Y.
212/ 725-5680
*info on local chapters

more ➔
TO FIND THE NEAREST MILITARY COUNSELOR CONTACT:

Rocky Mountain Project
1460 Pennsylvania Ave.
Denver, Colorado 80203
303/534-6285

CCCO-Southern Region
734 Monroe Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308
404/874-0288

CCCO - Midwest
711 S. Dearborn
Chicago, Ill. 60605
312/427-3350

CCCO-Western Region
140 Leavenworth St.
San Francisco, Calif. 94102
415/441-5700

CCCO - Nat'l.
2016 Walnut St.
Philadelphia, Pa. 19103
215/568-7971

PROMOTIONAL MATERIALS

People's Blockade/AFSC
160 No. 15th St.
Phila., Pa. 19102
215/LO 3-9372

buttons  posters  lick-um stickums

TRAINING CENTERS AROUND THE WORLD

People's Blockade/AFSC
160 No. 15th St.
Phila., Pa. 19102
215/LO 3-9372
STOP THE GATHER GATHER THE STOP
PEOPLE'S LOCKADE
Again, one can imagine what might happen if there were larger numbers of people involved and if there were a dozen or more affinity groups approaching the roadway/traintrack at several different points. What about a worship service, with prominent religious types, right on the track? What about mothers and fathers wheeling baby carriages across the track? What about strewing the track with dolls representing wounded Vietnamese children?
Recruiting for interventionary action (Leonardo)

On Friday, 4/21, Pete McFadden and I went to Rutgers and Princeton to speak at their strike rallies about the Nitro action which had started two days before. The reception we got at both was similar. A positive verbal response from the audience to what had been done but when we asked for volunteers to organize campus groups, we got a smaller number (at Rutgers, 10 out of 400) similar at Princeton. Both admittedly had other things going on, and the notice was short for an action involving likely arrest.

After gathering volunteers, we told them the plans and that we wanted as many people and canoes as they could get together, and left them with the organizing task after stirring up useful ideas (like getting Rutgers Outdoor Club Canoes—which which they did!) We gave them phone numbers to call to keep in touch with us and got a list of names etc from them. Groups came from both places and have contacted us about future action in both cases.

Admittedly this was spur of the moment organizing and we had the possible volunteers gathered for us. I think the key elements were 1. We had a clear purpose for the action (block munitions, or at least hinder them) 2. the style was catchy (nonviolent navy) 3. we could say that the action had already begun and would go on with or without more people, (very Gandhian) 4. we offered people a chance to do something even at considerable risk to themselves.

Relations with the Police

There are several things I consider useful in relating to the police: 1. Since they will be involved, and know what we are doing, tell them in advance so that it is clear what we are doing and why we are doing it. I don't think we should bargain with them, negotiate arrests or mislead them. The burden of requesting arrests should be on the government, not the local police. We should make it clear that we are nonviolent. We intend no injury to anyone, including the Indochinese and that is why we are there. (I recently talked to two FBI agents and while discussing the morality of making bombs unuseable, pointed out that I knew that FBI agents risked their lives and had on occasion lost them defusing bombs to protect others. This holds true of police. Perhaps they are the ones who should join us to prevent the use of these munitions. Idea—perhaps our first move should be to request local authorities to confiscate explosives in their area destined for murder and illegal use in Indochina. This might aid getting the justification and war issues into later court cases.) 2. give the police someone to contact. They are not used to the non-authoritarian style many of us have. They want to know "who is in charge". Even though we don't have someone in charge, things can be smoother if they have a regular channel by which to relate. This person can then bring their concerns to the whole group. 3. Know something about their history. Have they dealt with nonviolent action before? Riots? Anything political? Often activists know more about how police ought to deal with things than they do. How do local people feel about the police? 4. Closely related to this is the relation to the military. Perhaps we should be more Gandhian than we usually are. 

over
Orientation--
---seriousness of action-risk involved, possibility of arrest on heavy charges or injury or death
---experience in boating/water safety/team work, affinity groups
---Coast Guard and Marine Police--relationships with in past/differences

---alternatives

Three things to remember to prevent arrest:
1. don’t stay too close to security line because of drifting
2. distress signal to Coast Guard
3. affinity groups

Factors in a serious action actually moving against a ship:
1. weather
2. number of comrades and their plans to move on a ship
3. ship moving in or out--what kind, going where
4. press coverage--for political impact

Harder to deal with merchant marine seaman than with navy guys.

Purposes

Purposes of sea blockade
1. get in way of ship
2. psychological boost to guys on ship who oppose war/encourage and make contact with GI resistance movement
3. press coverage

Contact and building relations with local people:
1. leafletting/rapping/door-to-door
2. block parties
3. special community project/ not initiated by outsiders/donating blood or medical supplies to local clinic or hospital

Extra Actions:
1. mining of harbor with balloons, rubber balls
2. dyeing water near pier with red dye to symbolize blood
3. an artist charcoals huge mural and people color it in to tell story of action in a public place
4. nitely escapades to "fix" Army and Air Force advertising signs(billboard)
Navy ships don't carry cargo from port to port. They simply transport enough supplies for their own missions or to re-supply other Navy ships operating in SE Asia. (This still means, of course, that they are excellent targets for blockage.)

95% of the cargo is sent on commercial ships (US Merchant Marines) that are chartered by the MSC. A MSC spokesman said that there are currently about 120 commercial ships on time or voyage charters to the MSC. He added that there are about 600 active cargo ships carrying military supplies. This would presumably include MSC-owned ships as well as time, voyage and space charters with private lines. (See below for definitions.) There seem to be many commercial lines involved to varying degrees at different times, since the lines make competitive bids for the contracts each year. According to the MSC, "every available line" is utilized for military shipments. (See list)

The MSC contracts ships from commercial lines primarily on "time" or "voyage" charter. This means that MSC is given use and control of an entire ship for a certain period of time or number of voyages. The crew is supplied by the commercial line and is therefore composed of civilian stevedores. "Space" charter refers to the practice of chartering a specified amount of tonnage space on a ship that is also carrying commercial cargo. It seems that ammunition is primarily sent on time or voyage charters, utilizing the entire ship, although some space charter is involved. Several sources have mentioned that whenever possible regularly scheduled cargo liners are used, these being under space charter.

MSC ships pick up supplies at Navy, Army and civilian ports, using "every available port." It appears that ships which are time charted and to be loaded completely with munitions must be taken to military terminals for loading, for example, naval
Ammunition depots. There are four locations which have been repeatedly mentioned as of primary importance: Earle, Sunnypoint, Concord, Bangor.

In addition, each local Coast Guard has its own specifications for shipping explosives from commercial ports in populated areas. These may vary around the country. It is important to note that napalm, since it is sent with its fuses detached, is considered an explosive and therefore can and is shipped from Long Beach, Cal. In addition, ships which are carrying only partial loads (space charter) of ammunition probably can be loaded at various commercial ports.

Both tankers (which carry petroleum) and dry cargo ships are chartered by MSC but it seems that dry cargo ships are the most appropriate targets. The tankers are often loaded in foreign ports and of course do not carry bombs or other ammunition.

Among the various ways of loading dry cargo an increasingly common one is the use of containerships. These are specially designed ships which require special loading and unloading facilities. The cargo is placed in van-type containers and transferred directly onto the ships. The containers are 40'x8'x8' and are lifted onto the ships by large cranes. These containers may be prepared at inland points and transported to overseas terminals. This year the Sea-Land Service, Inc., has the exclusive contract for all containerized cargo on the East and West Coasts. 80% of this is munitions. Sea-Land has their own terminals in many commercial ports but it is presumed that these munitions are loaded at military terminals. No direct statement on this could be obtained.

Containerships are much more efficient and therefore appear to be the wave of the future. Armed Forces Journal, July 18, 1970
reported that "As the situation stabilized in Vietnam, the military began seeing the virtue of containerships. Military men became, in effect, contingency-trained for peace, not war." (p. 23)
The article continued, "Right now, a containership under MSTS [i.e., MSC] contract to Vietnam can unload 23,000 tons within 24 hours. The traditional method takes 5 days to unload only a third as much cargo. But it took well over a year for MSTS to build port facilities in Vietnam to take containerships."