NONVIOLENT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AT CIA HEADQUARTERS
Langley, Virginia

MONDAY APRIL 27, 1987
AN APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF THE U.S.

Our government's policies in Central America and southern Africa are morally wrong and violate our nation's democratic ideals. They violate fundamental rights to self-determination, liberty, and justice. They betray our own democratic ideals. They risk deeper U.S. involvement in bloody and costly foreign wars while the needs of our unemployed, homeless, farmers, and children go unmet. They reflect a militarization of our foreign policy that increases the risk of nuclear war.

These policies must be changed. But these policies will be changed only if our policy makers in Washington know the depth of our opposition to them. So we must show them. Nonviolently.

FORCEFULLY. With passion. Together. In a united witness by citizens calling for:

- Support peace and freedom in Central America and Southern Africa
- Stop the U.S. war in Central America
- Stop U.S. government and corporate support for apartheid
- Stop U.S. aid to the Contras. Stop U.S. aid to UNITA.

On Monday, April 27, 1987, hundreds of people will make history by engaging in the first nonviolent civil disobedience action at the CIA's headquarters in Langley, Virginia.

The action will also be the first time the American peace and justice movement directly challenges the post-Vietnam strategy of secret warfare. Because the American people will not support another costly Vietnam, our government has chosen to fight hidden wars which often violate both international and domestic law. The CIA is the primary agency responsible for implementing this secret war strategy.

Our action there will make visible what the government wants to keep hidden. In directly challenging this secret war strategy, we send a clear message of our deepening commitment to ending U.S. intervention—both overt and covert—in Central America and Southern Africa.

GUIDELINES

For the purpose of building trust and a common foundation for safety, participants in the nonviolent civil disobedience at the CIA Headquarters in Langley VA, agree to the following:

• our attitude towards all we encounter will be one of openness and respect;
• we will use no violence, verbal or physical, towards any person;
• we will not damage property;
• we will not bring drugs or alcohol for any other than medical purposes;
• we will carry no weapons.

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The CIA: A Brief Review

The Central Intelligence Agency is the primary agency responsible for implementing the post-Vietnam secret war strategy of the Reagan Administration. The role of the CIA in aggravating existing tensions in regions like Central America and Southern Africa should never be underestimated. The CIA is the invisible operative providing funding, weapons, intelligence, and mercenary assistance to groups like the contras in Honduras and UNITA in Angola.

Since the CIA's inception in 1947, it is estimated that it is responsible for over 5 million deaths. It is almost impossible to estimate how many people's lives have also been disrupted. Currently, there are more than 50 major CIA operations in progress around the world. This is a 500% increase over the last year of the Carter Administration. The CIA has an annual budget of $4 BILLION. This has increased incrementally by 30-40% each year since Reagan took office. In addition, there is little if any Congressional oversight of this money.

The CIA was prohibited from performing "internal security functions" by the National Security Act of 1947. However, under the Reagan Administration it is now authorized to engage in domestic surveillance. The guise under which this was authorized, is to collect foreign intelligence not obtainable abroad. This open door on domestic work has also bolstered the CIA's recruitment efforts.

In recent years, there has been a dramatic increase of CIA recruitment campaigns on college campuses, within local police forces and through the media.

Following are excerpts from John Stockwell's testimony at the trial of the Winnozki 44, a group of 44 people who successfully used the necessity defense to gain an acquittal of trespassing charges in Senator Robert Stafford's office on March 26, 1984. John Stockwell worked for the CIA for 13 years and was head of the Angola Operation between 1975-76. Attorney John McCullough, representing the protesters, questions Stockwell on the stand:

Q: You have described the CIA as controlling foreign policy... providing false information to the legislative branch as well as the American people. If all this is going on, how is it possible for any U.S. citizen to exercise influence or control over foreign policy?

Stockwell: Well, it's definitely possible, but citizens have to force the thing out into the open. They have to take action -- lobbying, demonstrations -- so that the public knowledge and awareness of what's happening begins to override the propaganda, and the people see through and reject the propaganda. This has happened before. It happened during the Vietnam war specifically.

PARTIAL CHRONOLOGY OF CIA ACTIVITIES IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

1950-75: UNITED STATES - Under the "Office of Public Safety," trained police forces from other countries.
1953: COSTA RICA - Unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the Government of Jose Figueres.
1954: GUATEMALA - Overthrew the democratically elected government of Jacobo Arbenz Guzman. Installed military dictatorship. Tens of thousands were subsequently killed.
1960: GUATEMALA - Military assistance, including use of B-52 bombers, for Government to defeat rebel forces.
1960: ANGOLA - Financial and military assistance to Holden Roberto's FNLA rebel forces.

Spent $62 million for Bay of Pigs Operation. Broad sabotage program instituted.
1962: SOUTH AFRICA - Collaborated in tracking down Nelson Mandela, leading to his arrest.
1962: CONGO (now Zaire) - Committed in death of President Patrice Lumumba.
1963: DOMINICAN REPUBLIC - Overthrew government of Juan Bosch in military coup.
1963-84: EL SALVADOR - Organization of ORDEN and ANSESAL, the domestic intelligence networks. Provided intelligence support and training in surveillance, interrogation and assassination techniques.
1964: BRAZIL, GUATEMALA, URUGUAY, AND THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC - Provided training in assassination and interrogation techniques for police and intelligence personnel.
1975: ANGOLA - Military assistance to forces of Holden Roberto and Jonas Savimbi to defeat forces of Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) during Angolan civil war.
1984: EL SALVADOR - $1.4 million in financial support for the Presidential election campaign of Jose Napoleon Duarte.
1981-87: NICARAGUA - Military assistance to former Somoza National Guard officers to recruit, train, and equip the contras for sabotage and terrorist attacks. Mining of Nicaraguan harbor, condemned by World Court. CIA Assassination and Sabotage Manual. Funneled of private and foreign aid and orchestrating secret supply missions to support contras during congressional ban.
Nonviolence

History of Mass Nonviolent Action

The fusion of organized mass struggle and nonviolence is relatively new. It originated largely with Mohandas Gandhi in 1906 at the onset of the South African campaign for Indian rights. Later, the Indian struggle for complete independence from the British Empire included a number of spectacular nonviolent campaigns. Perhaps the most notable was the year-long Salt campaign in which 100,000 Indians were jailed for deliberately violating the Salt Laws.

The refusal to counter the violence of a repressive social system with more violence, is a tactic that has also been used by other movements. For example, the Salvadoran people have used nonviolence as one powerful and necessary element of their struggle. Particularly during the 1960s and 70s, Christian base communities, labor unions, campesino organizations, and student groups held occupations and sit-ins at universities, government offices, and places of work such as factories and haciendas.

There is a rich tradition of nonviolent protest in this country as well.

In addition to Harriet Tubman's underground railroad during the civil war, nonviolent civil disobedience was a critical factor in gaining women the right to vote. The US labor movement has also used nonviolence with striking effectiveness in a number of instances, such as the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) free speech confrontations, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) sitdown strikes from 1935-1937 in auto plants, and the UFW grape and lettuce boycotts.

Using mass nonviolent action, the civil rights movement changed the face of the South. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) initiated modern nonviolent action for civil rights with sit-ins and a freedom ride in the 1940s. The successful Montgomery bus boycott electrified the nation. Then, the early 1960s exploded with nonviolent actions: sit-ins at lunch counters and other facilities, organized by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC); Freedom Rides to the South organized by CORE; the nonviolent battle against segregation in Birmingham, Alabama, by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); and the 1963 March on Washington, which drew 250,000 participants.

Opponents of the Vietnam War employed the use of draft card burnings, draft file destruction, mass demonstrations (such as the 500,000 who turned out in 1969 in Washington D.C.), sit-ins, blocking induction centers, draft and tax resistance, and the historic 1971 May Day traffic blocking in Washington D.C. in which 13,000 people were arrested.

Since the mid-70s we have seen increasing nonviolent activity against the nuclear arms race. Nonviolent civil disobedience actions have taken place at dozens of nuclear weapons research installations, storage areas, missile silos, test sites, military bases, corporate and government offices, and other places necessary to the pursuit of the nuclear arms race. Some 1750 people were arrested on June 14, 1982 at the missions of the five major nuclear powers during the second UN Special Session on Disarmament.

The anti-apartheid movement in the 80s has built upon the powerful and empowering use of civil disobedience by the civil rights movement in the 60s. In November of 1984, a campaign began that involved daily civil disobedience in front of the South African Embassy. People, including Members of Congress, national labor and religious leaders, celebrities, students, community leaders, teachers, among others, risked arrest every weekday for over a year. In the end over 3,100 people were arrested protesting apartheid and U.S. corporate and Government support. At the same time, support actions for this campaign were held in 26 major cities, resulting in an additional 5,000 arrests.

We also saw civil disobedience being incorporated as a key tactic in the anti-intervention movement. Beginning in 1983, national actions at the White House and State Department as well as local actions began to spread. In November 1984, the Pledge of Resistance was formed. Since then over 5,000 people have been arrested at military installations, congressional offices, federal buildings, and CIA offices. Most recently, through the Lenton Witness, major denominational representatives have participated in weekly nonviolent civil disobedience actions at the Capitol.

Finally, student activists have incorporated civil disobedience in both their anti-apartheid and Central America work. Divestment became the campus slogan of the 80s. Students built shantytowns and staged sit-ins at Administrator's offices. Hundreds have been arrested resulting in the divestment of over 130 campuses and the subsequent withdrawal of over $4 billion from the South African economy. More recently, Central America student activists have been carrying out campaigns to protest CIA recruitment on campuses. Again, hundreds of students across the country have been arrested in this effort.

Methods

In his book Politics of Nonviolent Action, Gene Sharp has categorized 198 methods of nonviolent action, which can be broken into three main types:
1) protest and persuasion (e.g., leaflets, pickets, vigils, marches, teach-ins)
2) noncooperation
   —social (e.g., social boycott, student strike, suspension of social activities)
   —economic (e.g., strikes, tax resistance, boycotts)
   —political (e.g., boycott of elections, civil disobedience of bad laws, draft resistance)
3) intervention (e.g., sit-ins, occupations, creating alternative economic institutions, civil disobedience).

Political Analysis

Power itself is not derived through violence, though in governmental form it is usually violent in nature. Governmental power is often maintained through oppression and the tacit compliance of the majority of the governed. Any significant withdrawal of that compliance will restrict or dissolve governmental control. Apathy in the face of injustice is a form of violence. Struggle and conflict are often necessary to correct injustice.

Our struggle is not easy, and we must not think of nonviolence as a “safe” way to fight oppression. The strength of nonviolence comes from our willingness to take personal risk without threatening other people.

It is essential that we separate the individual from the role s/he plays. The “enemy” is the system that casts people in oppressive roles. A nonviolent campaign must focus on the issues and the system, rather than on the personal level.

Dynamics

Nonviolence provides us with better control of a situation. It eliminates a major rationale for the use of violence by opponents. Supporters of the opponents are drawn away. There are fewer casualties. Raising the struggle above the personal level dramatizes the

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Scenario

Overview

The basic scenario is simple: beginning early in the morning on April 27th, we will sit down in front of the two gates to the CIA's headquarters in Langley, Virginia.

The sit-in will be preceded by a brief legal rally, which will continue throughout the action. During the sit-in affinity groups are encouraged to plan creative expressions of their reasons for engaging in civil disobedience.

Getting There

Participants can get to the CIA in two ways: on buses that will leave from downtown Washington or in their own cars and vans.

**DC Departure.** Anyone needing transportation from Washington should meet at 6:15 am at the 9th St. side of the Martin Luther King Library. Buses will depart at 6:30 am from G Street between 7th and 9th NW. Groups who can drive are encouraged to do so. If you can provide transportation for others, contact the National office.

**Directions to the CIA.** From DC take MacArthur Blvd. north to Chain Bridge. Cross and take Route 123 west. Follow until you pass the CIA entrance and bear right onto Route 193. Take the first right, park on left. OR cross any DC bridge, take George Washington Memorial Parkway north until you reach exit for Rt. 123.

The Days Before

Nonviolence training is required of all those risking arrest. We strongly encourage people to attend a nonviolence training session before departing for the action. There will be a 9:00 am nonviolence training on Sunday, April 26, for anyone who has not yet been trained.

At check-in the representative will turn in the Affinity Group check-in sheet with the name of the group, names and addresses of those who will commit civil disobedience, emergency phone numbers, support people and any special needs of group members (such as pertinent medical information). It would be helpful to list those who plan to non-cooperate after arrest. This information is needed to better coordinate the action, communicate with the media and do after-action support work.

Affinity group reps should also bring the signed nonviolence pledge statement from their group members if they have not yet been turned in.

At check-in, affinity groups will be given updated information about what to expect during the action.

Affinity groups have autonomy within the general guidelines of the action. Groups are encouraged to find creative ways to communicate our messages.

Upon arrest, some people will choose to walk with arresting officers and to cooperate with processing; others will go limp or refuse to help with processing by, for example, refusing to give their name or show I.D. The action's sponsors support all nonviolent methods of relating to the police.

Scenario

**Step One:** all participants should arrive by 7:00 am at Langley Fork Park. There will be a brief legal rally at this time.

**Step Two:** those risking arrest at the North Gate of the CIA will be carpooled to the gate. Those going to the South Gate will form a procession and march to the gate.

**Step Three:** a legal support rally will continue throughout the action, along with bannereting along the highway and leafleting motorists and CIA employees. We will also attempt to build a gravyard on a nearby hill.

**Step Four:** those risking arrest will sit down en masse in front of both the North and South Gates. If we are blocked, we will sit at the point of restriction.

**At the gates.** It will probably take several hours for everyone to be arrested. During this time a bullhorn may be passed so that participants can express their reasons for engaging in this action, such as reading a list of CIA crimes, testimonies, poems, the names of CIA victims, etc.

**Note:** We are not planning to escalate beyond what is described above. (For safety reasons, we will make no attempt to enter the compound by any means.) Our presence and simple obstruction of the gates will make a powerful statement.

Participants in the action (both those at the legal rally and those risking arrest) are encouraged to bring powerful visual symbols of our opposition. Among the possibilities: colorful banners, signs, enlarged photos, tombstones, coffins, crosses, puppets, etc. Street theater is welcome, but we request that a script be forwarded to the CD committee for review.

Props that could appear threatening (such as toy guns) should not be brought to the site.

Police Response

Since this is the first nonviolent civil disobedience at the CIA headquarters, the exact police response is difficult to predict. Therefore, it is important that our actions communicate our serious purpose and nonviolent intent.

At the gates, the police will likely respond in one of the three following ways:
1. attempt to disperse those blockading,
2. arrest those blockading,
3. allow the blockaders to sit in without arrest or only arrest a handful of those blockading.

We believe the second response is the most likely, but people should prepare themselves for other possibilities.

The best approach in dealing with the police is to disarm them—not physically but psychologically. Although they will have various weapons at their disposal, they may be doing their job with considerable mixed feelings and possibly fear. If we appear to be a physical threat, achieving our objectives will be more difficult and the possibility of physical harm to us will be even greater. So we should not approach them as our enemies and keep in mind the following:

- calmness and quiet competence, while showing them respect as people
- establish eye contact
- take the initiative by offering a greeting
- use genuine humor (not at their expense, however)
- move in a deliberate and non-frantic fashion
- use sincerity in all dealings with the police.

If the police try to move you away or break up your group, remain calm and try to maintain visual contact for as long as possible. At points, the police may attempt charges to break up a crowd. To stand up and run will not only help clear that area but encourage the police to continue to try the tactic elsewhere. If we are clear that we will not move, they

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