

2018

Antinuclear movements in the U.S. and Kazakhstan: A cross-cultural analysis of mass communication patterns

Bakyt Toptayeva
Iowa State University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/etd>

 Part of the [History Commons](#), [Journalism Studies Commons](#), and the [Sociology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Toptayeva, Bakyt, "Antinuclear movements in the U.S. and Kazakhstan: A cross-cultural analysis of mass communication patterns" (2018). *Graduate Theses and Dissertations*. 16679.
<https://lib.dr.iastate.edu/etd/16679>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Iowa State University Capstones, Theses and Dissertations at Iowa State University Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Iowa State University Digital Repository. For more information, please contact digirep@iastate.edu.

**Antinuclear movements in the U.S. and Kazakhstan:
A cross-cultural analysis of mass communication patterns**

by

Bakyt Toptayeva

A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE

Major: Journalism and Mass Communication

Program of Study Committee:
Tracy Lucht, Major Professor
Daniela Dimitrova
Rohit Mehta

The student author, whose presentation of the scholarship herein was approved by the program of study committee, is solely responsible for the content of this thesis. The Graduate College will ensure this thesis is globally accessible and will not permit alterations after a degree is conferred.

Iowa State University

Ames, Iowa

2018

Copyright © Bakyt Toptayeva, 2018. All rights reserved.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT	v
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	6
Use of Political Opportunity Theory in Cross-National Analysis	7
Social Movement Diffusion: Societies and Culture.....	9
Culture and Language	11
The U.S. Example: Political and Cultural Implications in the 1980s	13
Antinuclear Protests and Media Coverage	16
Research Questions	18
CHAPTER 3. METHODS.....	20
Objective 1: Systematization of Documents in Chronological Order.....	21
Objective 2: Revealing the Communication Approaches.	22
Objective 3: Critical Discourse of Local Newspapers.	22
Objective 4: Comparing and Contrasting the Nature of Arguments and Communication Strategies.	24
Objective 5: Discourse Analysis or Analysis from Macro Level.	24
CHAPTER 4. FINDINGS	26
Nevada Desert Experience: A People’s Organization	28
Lenten Desert Experience VIII: “A Time to Be Silent, a Time to Speak”	30
Planning the event.....	31
Working with LDE VIII Participants.....	33
Working with the Media	35
Culmination of the Protest Action	38
August Desert Witness V	41
Working with Partners	42
Coverage in the Las Vegas Sun.....	46
News Report from March 20: 75 Arrested in Nuke Protest at NTS	48
News Report from March 27: Civil Disobedience: Protestors’ Religious Convictions Deeply	49
Tied to Social Beliefs	49
News Report from August 7: Handcuffs for Hiroshima	51
Nevada-Semipalatinsk: Time for Change	54
Living Downwind of the Test Site.....	55
Breaking the Silence: Birth of the NSAM.....	57
Mass Reaction to the Nevada Semipalatinsk Antinuclear Movement	60
Revealing the Truth.....	63
Demonstration Actions of NSAM	67

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION	70
The Nature and Organizational Structure of Protest Organizations	70
Communication Patterns during Antinuclear Protests	72
Limitations of the Study	77
CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION	78
REFERENCES	82

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my major professor, Dr. Tracy Lucht, and my committee members, Dr. Daniela Dimitrova, and Dr. Rohit Mehta, for their guidance and support throughout the course of this research.

I would like to thank the Greenlee School of Journalism and Communication for financial support in conducting research in Nevada, and for the opportunity to present research findings at the Big Ten Mini-Conference at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. In addition, I also would like to thank my colleagues, department faculty and staff for making my time at Iowa State University a wonderful experience.

ABSTRACT

Communication processes between citizens and institutions differ according to the culture, politics, and economies in different societies. However, under certain circumstances, communication patterns may share common elements across cultures, especially if a social issue has cross-national characteristics. This study aims to analyze cross-cultural variations in anti-nuclear protests that emerged in Kazakhstan in 1989 and were continuing in the U.S. that year. Based on the theory of political opportunity, this critical discourse analysis illustrates what sorts of approaches activists used to promote their resistance to nuclear testing. The nature of activists' antinuclear arguments, their choice of communication tools, and local news coverage in the protest areas provide an understanding of how protesters prioritized their objectives to accomplish their final goal: a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty to guarantee a stop to nuclear testing at the Nuclear Test Site in Nevada and Semipalatinsk in the Kazakh Soviet Social Republic (Kazakhstan).

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

February 28, 1989. Almaty, Kazakhstan. The hall of the Writers' Union House was unusually crowded that day. Two main purposes drove people to attend a special meeting. The first was to see famous poet and linguist Olzhas Suleymenov in real life. Suleymenov had become widely known because of his book *Az i Ya*, and particularly the poem "Earth, Bow in Front of the Human," dedicated to Soviet pilot Yuri Gagarin's flight to the cosmos. Everyone in the USSR at that time would associate this historical event with Suleymenov's poem. The second reason people came together is to listen to what Suleymenov intended to propose in his campaign as a candidate for the Supreme Council of the Communist Party of Kazakh SSR. Unexpectedly, Suleymenov started to talk about the Semipalatinsk nuclear testing site and its hazardous effects on Kazakh citizens living downwind. His speech was sharp; his expressions were bold, indicating his determination on the nuclear issue. He dared to voice the problem that had been on citizens' minds for a long time, but no one could bring it into the open. People who attended the meeting with simple purposes left with bigger and more meaningful ones. Two days later Suleymenov officially announced the start of the antinuclear movement. From that moment a new story emerged - a story of the antinuclear movement in Kazakh land. The movement rapidly gained support from Kazakh citizens demanding the closure of the testing site mentioned by Suleymenov, which was located in Semipalatinsk (now Semey). Thousands of people joined in campaigns opposing nuclear weapons. The antinuclear campaign office was working nonstop receiving calls and letters from different parts of Kazakhstan and from different organizations that were willing to help out (Abishev, n.d.). Several peace marches and meetings were organized throughout the year, gaining attention from the Soviet Union's administrations. The antinuclear protests were nonviolent and, surprisingly, were not suppressed by state power.

Moreover, the administration of Kazakh SSR seemed to be supportive in organizing sanctioned peace marches.

Meanwhile, in the United States similar protest actions emerged at a nuclear testing site in Nevada, uniting environmentalists and religious groups. However, unlike the protesters in Kazakhstan, antinuclear activists from Nevada had been struggling with state suppression: 687 people were arrested in 1989 during what activists called the Lenten Desert Experience protests. Despite that, on September 24, antinuclear activists from Nevada Desert Experience (NDE) held an encirclement of the building of the Department of Energy in Las Vegas in order to show their solidarity with Kazakh counterparts and to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the Soviet Union's nuclear testing program (“NDE’s historical timeline”, 2012). Nevada Desert Experience became a persistent group representing antinuclear activism for the long term. Eventually, the group, which had started with simple protests at the end of the 1960s, turned into the organization by the 1990s that was promoting the Test Ban Treaty concept at the legislative level (“NDE’s historical timeline”, 2012).

Eventually, on August 29, 1991, 40 years after the first atmospheric testing, the Semipalatinsk nuclear testing site was shut down, demonstrating the success of the movement (“The Soviet Union’s nuclear testing programme”, n.d.). Later the same year the USSR fell apart and Kazakhstan became an independent country. The movement called Nevada-Semipalatinsk, indicating solidarity with the movement in Nevada, registered as the first nonprofit organization of independent Kazakhstan. After that, the organization started working on an ecological and radio epidemiological program assessing the overall harm to ecology and public health resulting from atomic testing and calculating the compensation owed to people living downwind of the

testing site. Overall, 456 nuclear weapon tests had been conducted by the Soviet Union between 1949 and 1989 (The Soviet Union's nuclear testing programme, n.d.).

In contrast to how the antinuclear movement in the USSR emerged at once, the antinuclear movement in the U.S. has a deeper history with a more complicated context. Moreover, the U.S. case of nuclear struggle generated more than 80 groups demanding either a partial test ban or a total freeze of nuclear testing. The early wave of antinuclear protests had its origins in the 1960s at the high peak of the Cold War, when about 50,000 women marched in 60 cities in the U.S. Large antinuclear demonstrations occurred throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Specifically, 65,000 people attended a march and rally against nuclear power in May 1979 in Washington, D.C. The same year, in September, almost 200,000 people attended a protest against nuclear power in New York City. Antinuclear protests preceded a shutdown of a dozen nuclear power plants. Over the long haul, the American antinuclear movement took an assimilative and legalistic direction (Joppke, 1992).

One wave of antinuclear movements that emerged in the U.S. in the 1980s was known as the nuclear freeze movement. The freeze movement engaged in a number of local, national, and international efforts to induce the United States and the Soviet Union to halt the production, development, and deployment of nuclear weapons (Cortright & Pagnucco, 1997). Concerned about the possibility of nuclear war between the U.S. and the USSR as well as hazardous ecological outcomes called "nuclear winter" proposed by a number of American scientists (Rubinson, 2014), U.S. citizens joined the Freeze movement. Two national organizations endorsed the freeze movement: the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign (NWFC) and the Committee for Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE), which focused on local and mass mobilization and bringing changes to policy, respectively (Solo, 1988). Both of these organizations aimed to

diminish the risk from the possible operation of the nation's defense strategy, called "mutually assured destruction" (MAD). The defense strategy assumed that nuclear war would occur in the case of any nuclear attack, which would be answered with a devastating counterattack. The fear of possible nuclear war drove freeze protesters to participate in the largest peace rally of U.S. history, "No Nukes," on June 12, 1982, which drew nearly 1 million people. In order to promote the Second United Nations Special Session on Disarmament in New York City, protesters effectively used the newly adapted international approach in accomplishing the movement's goal and then lobbying representatives at the U.N. Special Session. These strategies of recruiting a large protest and then lobbying advocates led to success ("Nuclear Freeze Movement", n.d.). However, the freeze movement could not achieve its ultimate goal, which was the freeze of nuclear weapons programs both in the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Historians have explained this in part as the impact of the Reagan administration on the nuclear weapons debate. Specifically, the administration successfully shifted public attention from the freeze debate to arms control proposals that to some extent were linked to the nuclear weapons debate but did not fit the freeze movement's goal. Another barrier to the movement's objective was ineffective coordination with its European counterpart, which eventually led to the weakening of mutual support. Last, but not the least, were the changes in the international political landscape: Improvement in U.S.-Soviet diplomacy by the mid-1980s relieved the tension in terms of the possibility of nuclear war.

Examining the communication patterns and antinuclear messages in U.S. and Kazakh societies would provide an understanding of the development and formation of democratic norms guided by moral and cultural perspectives during the late period of the Cold War. As seen in the political climate, opportunities and institutional structures might change over time; however, there is reason to believe basic social and cultural norms such as ethics, morality, and human

rights are more persistent, or at least that kind of cultural modification takes a long time.

Therefore, evaluating past experience and the antinuclear movements' impact in the political decision-making process could provide an understanding of cross-national values that still are relevant for today's communication processes regarding nuclear weapons issues.

This study aims to reveal the pattern of communication among antinuclear activists, state agencies, and news coverage at the local level by analyzing antinuclear activism in both Semey and Nevada and by comparing and contrasting the findings from two culturally different movements. Specifically, this inquiry uses critical discourse analysis to focus on the historical communication patterns of both the Nevada Desert Experience and Nevada-Semey movements. In order to accomplish this, archival documents from both countries were used for the analysis, including reports, letters, brochures, and news articles published by local newspapers.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

As a conceptual framework for this study, I apply political opportunity theory, adopted by a number of social theorists, including Peter Eisinger (1973), Doug McAdam (1982), Sidney Tarrow (2001), and David Meyer (2004). The theory says that possibilities for a social movement's success or failure depend on political opportunities, that is, favorable or unfavorable circumstances that emerge in the political arena. For example, the emergence of Nevada-Semey movement was not just an occasion. Why did it occur in 1989, and not earlier or later? Why was the leader of the movement Olzhas Suleymenov, and not someone else? How did Suleymenov, who initially was not a politician, but a poet, become involved in politics? When we think about these questions, the answers suggest a chain of historical preconditions that created favorable political circumstances.

Since the nature of communication between states and social activists is determined by conditions in a given political situation, arguments crafted by two opposing sites can be modified according to political opportunities. Political opportunity means a possibility of challenging the political or social status quo and requesting a change, in case the political system is vulnerable to a challenge (Cragun & Cragun, 2006). For instance, Eisinger states that the emergence of race and poverty protests in the U.S. during the 1960s reflected the lack of "visible openings for participation of repressed or discouraged dissidents [which] made riots more likely" (Eisinger, 1973, p. 16). He argues that inefficiency in legally suppressing protesters' grievances created a political opportunity for the insurgence, particularly for the movement's organization and mobilization, and consequently people could express their dissatisfaction with the current situation at the time. Political vulnerability can be a result of factors such as increasing political pluralism, declining repression, division among elites and increased political enfranchisement

(Cragun & Cragun, 2006). Political pluralism refers to the diversity within a political body, which allows the peaceful coexistence of different interests, convictions, and lifestyles, while a decline in repression means less political persecution of an individual or a group of people within a society. Division among elites, in political opportunity theory, indicates disagreement among members of the small group which has wealth and privilege and which have political influence.

Use of Political Opportunity Theory in Cross-National Analysis

Political opportunity theory has been used in several studies that focus on antinuclear movements around the world. Herbert Kitschelt, one of the prominent scholars, argues that cross-national comparison indicates the influence of political opportunity structures on protest strategies. He notes the general impact of the societal environment on a social movement (Kitschelt, 1986). To some extent, he agrees this approach borrows some aspects of resource mobilization theory, which addresses the process of getting resources to implement a social movement's mission by using different approaches. In other words, material needs can be used to mobilize people for a movement's purposes. However, Kitschelt employs a broader concept, describing a social movement as a "collective and rational decision-making process that mobilizes its followers and promotes their causes with the best available strategies given limited cognitive and material resources" (Kitschelt, 1989, p. 59). Focusing on the salient features of institutional structures and political landscapes in Europe and the U.S. during the 1970s, Kitschelt concludes that certainly the success of an antinuclear movement was shaped by domestic political opportunities. One of his findings indicates that if the state's capacity to implement policies is weak, then an antinuclear movement has a chance to challenge policy and evoke a social change. In a case where political structures are open to activists' opinions, responding to their demands might cause a consideration of new nuclear policies.

Following Kitschelt's path, Joppke (1992) seeks an answer to the question of how political opportunity shapes action and how action recursively affects its structural context by comparing two cases of antinuclear movements in the U.S. and West Germany. Joppke acknowledges that considering correlations between policy and movement action from micro and macro perspectives is not always helpful, but argues that taking a middle-ground perspective provides a fuller picture useful for cross-national comparisons. Therefore, to get a sense of the whole picture, he framed his study according to political opportunity theory, looking at state structures, political cultures, temporal opportunities, and movement organizations. According to Joppke, political cultures along with the political traditions, values, and ideals of national collectivity provide "the interpretive frames and basic presumptions that underlie the political process in a given society" (Joppke, 1992, p. 318). He also describes temporal political opportunity as one of the major factors that mediates between state structures and social movements. Joppke agrees with Kitschelt that the emergence of the American antinuclear movement is "a patchwork of legal campaigns," while the German movement was considered more of a "direct action movement" because of the differences in state structures (Joppke, 1992, p. 318).

Another scholar who shares the same understanding of the importance of cross-national studies is Elisabeth Boyle. Like Kitschelt, Boyle (1998) also focuses on antinuclear movements in West Germany, Sweden, France and the U.S. She explains the emergence of plenty of legal campaigns in the U.S. by the low state-society differentiation. Low differentiation is characterized by a lack of clear boundaries between state and civil society. In that type of nation-state, civil society is encouraged to coordinate itself (Boyle, 1998). Focusing on state differentiation and political centralization, Boyle states that cross-cultural variation can be measured by such key factors as amount of activities, state centrality, and the impact of legal

activities. Applying the concept of political frames to her study, she indicates that political frames are partially derived from the theory of political opportunity. With this, she implies that employing the political opportunity theory, even as a part of the theoretical framework, is essential in order to investigate cross-cultural variations in legal activity.

Social Movement Diffusion: Societies and Culture

As explicitly expounded by political opportunity theory, different scenarios may occur in different countries in terms of promoting ideas about nuclear issues due to the specific institutional structures in a given political context. However, the presence of transnational exchanges of antinuclear ideas should not be dismissed. To some extent, antinuclear movements have transnational connections (Kirchhof & Meyer, 2014). How antinuclear movement ideas and practices disseminate from one culture to another became a core question of studies by Snow and Benford (Benford & Snow, 2000). Particularly, they propose the theory of cross-national diffusion in social movements. They state that framing collective activity is mainly related to social movement diffusion in two conditions: first, when the movement transmitter or adopter is highly engaged in the process, and second, when it is hard to establish the similarities or compatibility between transmitters and adapters. In these conditions, the social movement diffusion process occurs in two ways: strategic selection or adaptation and strategic fitting or accommodation (Snow & Benford, 1998). Strategic selection is explained as a procedure when either an adopter or a transmitter selectively chooses the protest idea or practice before adapting it to the context of a host culture. Unlike strategic selection, in strategic fitting, the transmitter carefully analyzes the host culture first and then adjusts movement practices accordingly.

Kirchhof and Meyer (2014) examine the probability of an antinuclear mood spreading among countries with divergent ideologies in a broader postwar perspective. They argue that as a result

of transmission, scientific expertise and protest practices eventually might be adapted according to local demands (Kirchhof & Meyer, 2014). Another argument proposed by those researchers suggests transitional cooperation is a result of international networking. They claim that networking at the global level played an important role in spreading antinuclear movement ideas even though that kind of cooperation emerged because of the enthusiasm of a highly skilled but small group of mediators, who had to deal with obstacles in distance, access to significant sources, and overcoming cultural differences.

Another example of how the democratic practices of antinuclear protests can be perceived differently is shown in the comparative study by Michael Hughes (2014). Hughes explicitly describes the political culture of German activists by comparing their understanding of political legacy with that of their American counterparts. Hughes indicates that German protesters perceived the state's brutal response to their actions as a violation of their civil rights, and therefore their motivation to participate in protests mainly reflected resistance to this perceived state violation. West German antinuclear protesters believed to some extent that their violent actions were fully justified. Therefore, going to jail was not classified as "criminalized" punishment among protesters. Meanwhile, American protesters extracted their motives to take an action mainly because of disagreements based on their religious beliefs and ethical concerns. However, American protesters were not willing to go to jail for civil disobedience even though they perceived it as an honor (Hughes, 2014, p. 250). Hughes concludes that even though transmission of protest ideas and practices are considered a vital part of experience sharing, expecting the same outcome in social behavior would be misguided. The rational explanation for this finding relies on the complexity of any specific culture.

Culture and Language

In order to understand the cultural nature of social protest and movement dynamics, it is reasonable to seek answers to the next vital questions: How do protest participants express their ideas and attitudes toward an issue? How do activists build their stories based on their beliefs and values? Using these questions as a guideline is significant in terms of framing social movements and understanding the motives of social activists. Social movements extract inspiration from stories and storytelling. In this sense, narrative has a strong relation to culture, which establishes the flow of a communication process. Joseph Davis (2002) argues that a study of narrative is linked with some neglected cultural dimensions, such as morality, emotions, self-identity, and internal movement practices. Since narrative became an essential form of movement discourse and has been perceived as a crucial analytical concept, studying a narrative's function along with the specific conditions under which it develops and spreads is vital. This phenomenon can be explained by the emphasis of cultural meaning in social movements. Davis also claims that "collective action frames" are considered a product of the process of interaction and negotiation, where a group of activists "consciously fashions its grievance, strategies, and reasons for action by drawing on and modifying existing cultural beliefs and symbols" (Davis, 2002, p. 5). Eventually, when activists establish a link between an individual's personal identity and the group identity through such interaction, communication has succeeded. One of the strategies aims to gather people around the idea that social change requires effective use of signs and symbols. Even though structural features of society and available resources play a great role in the success of social movements, sign and symbols provide central meaning. The language used in narratives, especially, directly attracts the attention of potential participants in the movement. Davis (2002, p. 8) suggests language as a symbol provides the "internal cultural dynamics of a

movement.” In constructing a narrative, tellers create a meaningful story by selecting events from the past and by evaluating and linking them to contemporary situations. Choosing a particular event and then making it salient and meaningful are key components of the story making process, where the persuasive message becomes an eventual product. However, in order to create an appealing narrative, tellers have to take into account the audience’s knowledge and experience by seeking answers to questions such as “what people think they know, what they value, what they regard as appropriate and promising” (Davis, 2002, p. 17). As Davis implies, stories have power because they are based on the social practices that inspire people to engage in movement actions. In this sense, conceptualizing the storytelling process through a framing perspective may help us to understand the dynamics of the message circulation retrieved from the narrative.

By distinguishing individual activist narratives and movement narratives, sociologist Robert D. Benford observes the dynamics of a social movement. He argues that establishing frames is crucial since they provide a lens for interpreting the historical, present, and future implications of a social protest and display the full meaning of the movement. Overall, Benford states that the development and distribution of those stories contribute to social control. He also claims that examining myth as a sacred form of narrative provides a fuller understanding of a movement because all social movements construct myths (as cited in Davis, 2002, p. 57). He categorizes social movements’ myths by their ideological concepts, identifying four general types: 1) Utopian myth, 2) power of nonviolent resistance, 3) myth of the grassroots and 4) myth of political correctness. Utopian myth could be described as the most sacred myth of a movement in that it glorifies the charisma of protest leaders and their mission of bringing the harmony to the world. The power of nonviolent resistance myth appears to be less dreamy, but still promotes

“peace and justice.” Benford implies that U.S. peace movements are mostly guided by this type of ideology. The myth of the grassroots promotes the significance of mass power. According to the ideology of this myth, mass participation or grassroots organization contributes to building a democratic and peaceful society. The general ideological position of the political correctness myth is based on “life-affirming values and respect for human dignity and self-determination,” which Benford notices in some issues raised by activists regarding nuclear weapons use, nuclear power, and civil rights. Sacred forms of narratives depict the motivations of social movement participants, which is inarguably important to understand the nature and dynamics of a movement.

The U.S. Example: Political and Cultural Implications in the 1980s

Social movements are defined as “normal, rational, institutionally rooted, political challenges by aggrieved groups” (Buechler, 2000, p. 35), and movement participants are usually described as rational actors. Some of them might be recruited to spread a movement’s idea, while others decide to engage in a protest action following their own rational motivations “based on a straightforward cost-benefit calculus” (Davis, 2002, p. 5).

While the scholars from the sociology realm take into account state-society interaction and the cultural adaptation process, Meyer provides a political perspective regarding the antinuclear movement in the U.S. For example, in his article “Protest Cycles and Political Process: American Peace Movements in the Nuclear Age,” he argues that antinuclear activism is related mostly to political context and decision-making in policy. Referring to the reverse side of political opportunity theory, Meyer suggests that “policy shifts can provide political space for challenging movements and that government might alter their policies in order to reclaim that political space” (Meyer, 1993, p. 473). In this sense, Meyer defined scientists and strategic experts as elite actors

in this process. As mediators they were trying to find a compromise between the state and protest movements. Particularly, they aimed to identify what aspects of policy are weak enough they might cause insurgent movements. Dissonance between antinuclear activists and supporters became larger when public debates focused on salient aspects of policy, particularly testing on the atmosphere in the 1950s and 1960s and the attitude of the Reagan administration toward nuclear war in the 1980s. Meyer also provides an example of when the movement became less tense during the Kennedy administration, which “actively sought a test ban, and used the popular movement to negotiate with both the Soviet Union and the U.S. military” (Meyer, 1993, p. 474).

Focusing on the nuclear freeze movement at the end of the 1980s, Meyer discusses the fragmentation of political action and a movement coalition that resulted in the movement’s loss of momentum. Specifically, he suggests that the structure of political institutions in the U.S contributed to the movement’s decline. In his analysis, the emergence of the movement to some extent was a part of the function of the executive board of the government that advocated exclusion of arms control and disarmament. Based on the pragmatic vehicles of arms control, the Democratic Party had rejected a freeze in 1980. Meanwhile, Reagan’s election campaign created extra-institutional venues and made a comprehensive proposal more attractive. However, as Meyer implies, even though Congress gave the freeze movement access to its halls, it did not indicate that the movement had an influence. Even though almost all politicians agreed with the movement’s mission against nuclear war, none of them held the stronger position that aimed for nuclear disarmament. The reason was that politicians had to deal with inside institutional rules and norms. As a result of such factors, freeze supporters softened their demands to comply with congressional norms. Nonetheless, Meyer concluded that in general, the freeze movement not only achieved its goal but also influenced political institutions.

As in any social controversy, the American conflict over the nuclear age has been surrounded by moral, ethical, and cultural issues. Specifically, the test ban debate revealed disagreements related to cultural worldviews and cognitive issues related to the acceptance of nuclear weapons. For example, analyzing the history of social activism against nuclear testing, Boyer (1984) discusses some tendencies of antinuclear activism in the U.S. Boyer says that at the beginning, nuclear fear was affected by two realities: the quantity and nature of the world's nuclear arsenal and the likelihood of weapons use. On the other hand, the Cuban missile crisis in the 1960s and reinforcement of a possible nuclear war by the media continued to frustrate U.S. citizens (Boyer, 1984). However, over time the intensity of the frustration weakened despite the arsenals of both superpowers growing.

While Boyer focuses mostly on time and knowledge factors, Downey (1986) discusses the antinuclear movement from a cultural perspective by separating social and scientific factors as mutually exclusive. Particularly, he discusses the contrasting ideologies of Americans that represent the cultural history of the nation. Downey argues that concerns about risks from testing nuclear weapons rose among the middle and upper-middle classes (Downey, 1986, p. 408), suggesting the decision to join the antinuclear movement could be an ideologically motivated lifestyle choice. However, Downey argues that the social and cultural status of protesters cannot be described as either logically or causally determining. Attitudinal issues such as distrust in institutional organizations speak to people's beliefs and values, he writes. In this sense, an ethnographic study conducted by Gusterson (1998) provides some insight in terms of individuals' values and political positions. As an anthropologist, Gusterson addresses the struggle between antinuclear activists and scientists. His analysis depicted antinuclear activists as the humanistic wing, which relied on morality, and scientists as the technocratic wing, which

argued nuclear weapons had a stabilizing effect on the Cold War rivalry (Gusterson, 1998, p. 220). Even though his findings indicate that physicists went to work in the laboratory driven by their individual motives, such as a good salary and an opportunity to fulfill scientific ambitions, their position still was based on rational realism. Therefore, their pragmatic arguments were opposed to the moral needs of antinuclear protesters.

Antinuclear Protests and Media Coverage

Some dynamics of the antinuclear movement can be seen through examining media coverage of a certain period. For instance, examining the nuclear freeze movement in the U.S. primarily became a frame subject for media scholars Entman and Rojecki (1993). In their article “Freezing out the Public: Elite and Media Framing of the U.S. Antinuclear Program,” they focus on the media framing of the antinuclear movement and judgments made by journalists that filtered into the news and, in turn, likely affected the movement’s ability to build consensus and mobilize participation. The authors found that journalists’ framing judgments were heavily influenced by elite sources. The reason, they wrote, was an underlying professional ideology ambivalent toward public participation. In the study, the authors reveal some contrasts in coverage of the nuclear freeze movement by *The New York Times* and *Time* magazine. The *New York Times*’ front page presented mostly official reactions to a nearly invisible movement and elite views. Nonetheless, freeze movement activities could be found in less visible, interior articles of the *Times*. The authors found that news reports concentrated on some dramatic and bizarre elements even though the movement had constituency and purpose. Meanwhile, *Time*’s coverage provided more information about movement participants. Entman and Rojecki assume that *Time*’s reporters had an opportunity to structure their news stories using more sources. Despite that, Entman and Rojecki suggest that “the magazine’s editors came to the same

conclusions as those of *The New York Times*, that the nuclear weapons policies of the nation should not be dictated by the anxieties of an amorphous movement, one purportedly riven by discord” (Entman & Rojecki, 1993, p. 16). However, public opinion toward a nuclear freeze was positive and remained favorable toward the movement’s purpose.

Going further with the examination of the development of mass communication during the nuclear freeze movement, Rojecki depicts two cycles of socio-political protest. Reviewing the history of the test ban movement during the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations, Rojecki provides context for the nuclear freeze movement of Reagan’s administration during the 1980s. Particularly, he discusses how the media have contributed to debate coverage on nuclear politics and rationalized the policymaking process. Seeking an answer to the question of whether the media could offer a space to oppositional politics, he takes into consideration two circumstances: “when official policy is open to movement goals or when the internal dissent impedes consensus on policy” (Rojecki, 1999, p. 25). Secondly, Rojecki considers the quality of the media coverage, or how the news described the social movements and portrayed social activists within the protest activities. Rojecki’s findings indicate that “news coverage of the antinuclear movements is highly correlated with the administration’s policy of the moment” (Rojecki, 1999, p. 159). He concluded that since media influence increased in the U.S. political environment, presidents were sensitive to movements that evoked sympathy in the media. His study also reveals that antinuclear movements took great advantage when the political situation was uncertain. So the messages of movements gained more credibility when officials were divided and could not provide strong arguments. Analyzing administration, editorial policies, and differences in media types, Rojecki concludes that the strategy of antinuclear movements was inconsistent, and the characteristics of media coverage changed over time. In conclusion, Rojecki

discusses some implications for the political culture that gradually altered due to changes in attitudes toward movements.

Research Questions

A great number of studies have been conducted regarding movements opposing nuclear weapons, reflecting perspectives from sociology, politics, and media framing. However, the patterns of communication established by antinuclear activists and their relationship with state power are not fully explored in this literature. Despite the fact that nuclear rivalry has been mainly dictated by two superpowers—the U.S., exalting capitalism, and the USSR, revering communism—no comparative studies have been done examining strategic communication during the antinuclear movements in these two spheres. Taking into consideration the historical significance of the Cold War and its impact, particularly with regard to international diplomacy, this study carries great value in understanding history and politics. A cross-cultural examination of arguments proposed by antinuclear activists and policymakers, as well as media coverage of such debates, can provide an understanding of common ground and differences between the antinuclear movements of the 1980s in the U.S. and Soviet contexts. This study is designed to explore the cultural implications for mass communication by examining messages crafted by antinuclear activists, the strategic distribution of those arguments, and how activists' demands were covered by local newspapers.

This study will be guided by the following research questions:

RQ1: What was the nature of the arguments that antinuclear activists proposed in the U.S. and Kazakhstan?

RQ2: What communication strategies did the antinuclear activists use to promote their arguments?

RQ3: How did local newspapers cover the respective activities of antinuclear activists in Nevada and Semey?

CHAPTER 3. METHODS

To examine the political, social, and cultural implications of this historical case study, I conducted a critical discourse analysis of primary sources in the U.S. and Kazakhstan. Taking into consideration multiple aspects of the research, critical discourse analysis was used as the primary approach to this particular study because “discourse analysis ought to be an interdisciplinary undertaking” (Fairclough, 1993, p. 225). Discourse analysis includes textual analysis along with consideration of the production, distribution, and consumption of the texts under study. According to Fairclough, discourse analysis also considers sociocognitive processes of producing and interpreting texts, social practices in various institutions, and the relationship of social practices to power relations (Fairclough, 1993).

Archival documents, including official documents, reports recorded by members of the executive board of the Nevada Desert Experience (NDE), letters, flyers, brochures, news articles, and press releases were used for this study. These documents were retrieved from the Semey State Archive (Kazakhstan), along with documents collected from special collections at the University of Nevada library in Las Vegas. Among the primary sources are interview transcripts available on the website of the Nevada Test Site oral history project, provided by the history department at the University of Nevada. Those transcripts provided in-depth information of communication processes and social activists’ motivations to take action.

In addition, news articles published in local newspapers in Nevada and Semey were analyzed using a critical discourse approach. The review of news articles helped to assess the situation around the antinuclear protests from an outside perspective since reporters try to evaluate events objectively, avoiding biases. Analyzing the circumstances surrounding protest events, claims made by activists, and descriptions of the events as they happened is essential

because it helps also to establish the pattern of communication and to understand cultural norms and state-society interactions at the local level.

All these documents and news reports were valuable and combined to analyze these local movements from the micro, meso, and macro levels of the critical discourse analysis. For example, specific language used in brochures and handouts could be analyzed from the micro level, effective for understanding the persuasiveness of the arguments. Documental reports and news articles could be analyzed from the meso level in order to understand the flow of communication. The analysis from the micro, meso and macro perspectives provided the next five objectives of the study.

The first objective was the systematization of the units of analysis. Analysis of all available documents according to chronological order helped to understand the flow of the protest events, revealing nuances in the communication processes. The second objective was disclosing the communication approaches established by antinuclear activists. The third objective was to compare and contrast two cases of social movements based on data classified by themes. The fourth objective was to analyze the general framing of the antinuclear protests and related topics in two local newspapers: the *Las Vegas Sun* and *Semey Tan'y*. The last objective of this inquiry was to draw the rhetorical and logical patterns of each movement and examine possible similarities and differences in their communication processes. While the first four objectives contributed to a critical discourse analysis at the micro and meso levels, the fifth objective focused primarily on the analysis from the macro-level perspective.

Objective 1: Systematization of Documents in Chronological Order.

In order to reveal the pattern of communication processes it was essential to establish the chronology of events by analyzing the documents step by step, constructing a timeline. It helped

to understand who, when, how, and with what purpose a document was created, and how events were connected with each other. Moreover, constructing a timeline helped to comprehend protestors' priorities and goals in choosing a certain way to communicate with officials and ordinary citizens.

Objective 2: Revealing the Communication Approaches.

Understanding the communication approaches was possible by taking into the consideration the next aspects of the social interaction:

- a) To whom did the antinuclear activists address their concerns (e.g., a city council, a state agency, National Congress, general public, etc.)?
- b) What ways did protesters choose to voice their arguments? Did they choose institutionalized approaches to propose their antinuclear arguments? Or did they decide to take alternative approaches like protesting in front of the testing site, marching, or other actions?
- c) What kind of communication approaches did the activists use to express their disagreement toward the nuclear testing policy (e.g., using posters during the protest actions, giving explicit interviews to the media, signing petitions, spreading flyers and brochures, etc.)?

Objective 3: Critical Discourse of Local Newspapers.

For this particular study objective, two primary local newspapers, the *Las Vegas Sun* in Nevada and *Semey Tan'y* in Semey, were analyzed, specifically focusing on relevant news articles published in 1989. These two newspapers were chosen for two reasons: First, the antinuclear protests emerged in Nevada and Semey because the nuclear testing sites were located

there. Thus, journalists from local newspapers would cover this topic on a consistent basis and the local population would keep following the news closely. Second, because of the high consumption of the news related to the nuclear testing policy and social protests at the local level, journalists might become more literate in terms of the nuclear weapons program than their colleagues from other regions. That means local reporters might have been able to elaborate on the current situation around the nuclear policy and presumably would understand what was going on at the global level. Since one of the functions of journalism is to educate ordinary people, these factors could affect agenda setting and reporting style. A critical discourse analysis helped to understand how antinuclear protests were perceived by news editors and how editors prioritized these news articles. In addition, the news articles provided insights about the role of antinuclear protests in terms of setting the agenda for journalists.

As John E. Richardson argues, journalism is powerful genre of communication that has an effect on social life. Journalism has the power to set agendas, reinforce beliefs, and shape people's opinions of local and global communities (Richardson, 2007, p. 13). Depending on the topic and nature of the news, journalists can make a decision whether just to inform readers about the situation around an issue, expose wrongdoing, or argue against or for one side in the controversy. To figure out which of these functions news articles have taken, the following aspects were analyzed:

1. News article's placement: on the front page, middle pages, or last page. The place of reports related to antinuclear protests can indicate whether the issue was a priority.
2. News article's style can say whether reporters decided to inform, critique the actions taken by protesters or by state representatives, or argue for or against the nuclear protests. Here are some news reports styles that might be identified:

- a) News reports, including short reports and inclusive factual news reports;
 - b) Rational reports, including analytical articles and expert interviews;
 - c) Emotional reports, including personal interviews and sympathetic portrayals.
3. Textual analysis of news reports. The cohesive flow of a news story depends on the reporters' decision as to what narrative form to use in writing the story. Basically, the narrative form is "the sequence in which events are presented to us" (Richardson, 2007, p. 71). Besides this, journalists often use rhetorical strategies persuading readers to share the same viewpoint regarding the issue in their reports. Examining rhetorical and narrative factors allows a researcher to extract evidence.

Objective 4: Comparing and Contrasting the Nature of Arguments and Communication Strategies.

Once I established the messages by their chronology, themes, purposes, and meanings, I was able to assess the nature of the arguments and differences in the ways messages were crafted to promote the major issues. Also, understanding the communication strategies used by antinuclear activists helped to compare and contrast the patterns in communication processes from activists of both the U.S. and Kazakhstan.

Objective 5: Discourse Analysis or Analysis from Macro Level.

Evidence extracted from the previous four objectives were combined and synthesized in order to draw a bigger picture of communication procedures set up by antinuclear activists.

Collecting all pieces from different sources and putting them together is considered one of the validation approaches in qualitative methods, called triangulation (Maxwell, 2013).

Interpretation of all findings is the final step in this research analysis, where findings were sorted into two cases: the U.S. antinuclear movement experience vs. the emergence of antinuclear

protests in Kazakhstan. For instance, consider working with two sets of puzzles with different patterns simultaneously. Without knowing what to expect in the beginning, it might seem to us like an ambiguous task. However, the more pieces are assembled, the more it starts to make sense what the next piece should look like, and eventually what sort of picture is coming up. Working on these two cases of social movements reflected the same process of critical thinking, specifically producing and interpreting the meaning derived from the synthesized data. In other words, at the end of analysis we see the communication patterns among social activists, state agencies, and media based on the triangulated findings.

To provide an overall picture of the antinuclear protests, each document was reviewed to determine the chronological order of events. After building the chronology based on available documents, a detailed document analysis was conducted. Most of the documents provided explicit information about protest actions. Summarizing the context of these documents showed how the antinuclear movements were organized and who was in charge. Moreover, examining all evidence in chronological order allowed the researcher to trace the movements' development process as a whole. In turn, this helped to reveal similarities and differences in communication processes between Kazakhstan and the U.S.

CHAPTER 4. FINDINGS

The cross-cultural analysis revealed that even though the antinuclear movements had the same goal—to demand a nuclear test ban—they were completely different in terms of the activists' chosen communication approaches. A major finding was that antinuclear activists focused on different concerns: In the case of the Nevada Desert Experience (NDE), the arguments were centered on religious and moral concerns, while NSAM activists focused primarily on public health and environmental concerns. Another finding was that NDE used an individual approach to communicate its resistance to the nuclear test. Unlike NDE, NSAM used an institutional approach. A third finding was that news coverage by local newspapers was different as well: The *Las Vegas Sun* published breaking news, telling of arrests at the Nevada Test Site, while *Semey Tany* published any NSAM-related news—for example, providing complete transcripts of speeches given at protest events.

This section starts with an analysis of NDE communication, followed by an analysis of *Las Vegas Sun* coverage. It continues with an analysis of NSAM and news articles published in *Semey Tany*.

Examining archival materials and news coverage of the Nevada Desert Experience (NDE) from 1989 provides answers to the research questions regarding the promoted arguments, chosen approaches to communication, and patterns of news coverage in local newspapers. Since NDE was formed by people from a religious community, the arguments proposed by NDE activists mainly reflected moral concerns. As we will see from internal communications within the organization, NDE board members considered the testing of nuclear weapons in Nevada a direct act of violence. In order to oppose these violent actions, the activists promoted non-violent demonstrations by holding prayers and other religious services at the test site and in churches.

The idea of creating and testing weapons of mass murder was unacceptable for these faith-oriented communities. On the other hand, the type of protest culture cultivated by the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. during the Civil Rights Movement also had an impact on the protest nature of NDE. While organizing prayer services at the test site, NDE activists demonstrated civil disobedience and indicated that voicing their concerns from a religious viewpoint also represented one of their basic rights. As we will see from a letter addressed to the U.S. President George H.W. Bush (Vitale et al., 1989), NDE emphasized their moral values both from a civil rights and a religious perspective.

In order to make the protest actions more solid, NDE members attempted to justify that they were thinking and behaving ethically by advocating for civil rights. One of their arguments was to support the Shoshone Nation by demonstrating the unfairness of using Native American land to test nuclear weapons. They thought that locating the test site by the border of West Shoshone Nation was an infringement of the tribe's civil rights and a violation of the Ruby Valley Treaty of 1863 (Vitale et al., 1989). Another argument that was used in promoting the protest related to economics. Highlighting the fact that the testing program cost \$1 billion a year, NDE claimed the money could be allocated for a better purpose meeting human needs. Thus, NDE tried to provide rational argument in opposition to nuclear testing.

In order to promote their protest arguments, NDE activists used the following communication approaches:

- Working through churches with two purposes: to make religious institutions NDE's strategic partners and to bring in more protest participants among parishioners;

- Distributing media tools, such as their own newsletters, brochures, and even a movie showing;
- Planning demonstration actions at the Test Site, at churches, and at Department of Energy buildings.

The first two communication approaches required strong partnerships with religious institutions, other peace organizations and individuals such as the American actor Martin Sheen. The last approach needed the high involvement of participants, who would join either to protest actions at the Test Site or in areas outside of Nevada by holding local vigils. Those demonstrations would be closely covered by the *Las Vegas Sun*. The NDE board had realized the media would not be interested in covering the organizational routines of NDE work, but they would seek out breaking news. The following section describes the people, planning, activities, and news coverage of the Nevada Desert Experience in 1989, including several narrative vignettes written to illustrate significant individuals and events.

Nevada Desert Experience: A People's Organization

As a fully developed organization in the 1980s, NDE had a large Board of Directors that consisted of ten or eleven people (Nevada Desert Experience, n.d.). The members represented different states, including California, Arizona, Colorado, and Virginia. NDE co-directors and staff were living and working in Las Vegas. Within the board, the directors were leading significant work on several committees, such as Outreach, Planning and Strategy (OPS), Finance, Personnel, Nonviolence, Housing/facilities, and Chair/executive Committees. Most of the NDE members shared the same religious background, which united them and convinced them of the holy mission of the organization. Among the NDE members who were highly involved in communication and planning in 1989 were Co-Directors Peter Ediger and Mary

Lehman and Anne Symens-Bucher, who at 32 years old was the chairwoman and co-founder of NDE.

Symens-Bucher was born into a Franciscan family in Oakland, CA. There were five priests in the family. Influenced by her religious surroundings, she dedicated her entire life promoting the idea of peace on Earth. Her Franciscan upbringing led her to work with the Catholic Worker movement and then with the Pacific Life Community. In 1982, she became involved in the Lenten Desert Experience, where she met her future husband, Terry Symens, a friar. Two years later, in 1984, she formed the faith-oriented organization Nevada Desert Experience with other peace activists Michael Affleck and Duncan McMurd, with whom she used to work at Catholic Worker (Symens-Bucher, 2007). By 1989, she was chairwoman of the NDE board.

Like Anne, Peter Ediger was strongly influenced by the rural Mennonite community in Kansas where he grew up (Ediger, 2007). While serving in civilian public service, which he got into because of his Mennonite background, Peter became exposed to the idea of peace because of Japanese Buddhists, who came to explain the side effect of atomic bombs. After his service, he received his degree in sociology. Then he went to a Mennonite seminary. Religious-based education at the seminary led Peter to get involved in the Civil Rights Movement and in resistance to nuclear weapons and the Vietnam War. This chain of events formed his activism on a spiritual basis, a path that eventually brought him to NDE in 1987.

Unfortunately, there is a little information about Mary Lehman. She moved from Michigan to join the NDE in February 1989.

Taking into the consideration the faith-oriented interests of these participants, we can say that working at NDE for them meant more than a professional contribution. For them it was

literally a lifestyle: serving society in the name of God. It can be seen clearly from the philosophy of the NDE mission and in all the events planned by the organization. The events reflected the activists' religious and moral reasons for resisting nuclear weapons testing and use.

In 1989, NDE was focused on hosting two big annual protest events: Lenten Desert Experience, which had been held since 1981, and August Desert Witness, which had been held since 1984. Besides these two main events, NDE was vigorously developing its network, establishing mutually beneficial partnerships with other peace groups and interested individuals. As a faith-centered organization advocating for moral principles of humanity, NDE worked closely with churches. Through cooperation with religious, educational, and media institutions, NDE aimed to gain the attention of local communities all over the West Coast. In order to unite those institutions around the idea of resistance to nuclear weapons, the NDE board was constantly developing programs in a series of religious events, such as the Lenten Desert Experience and August Desert Witness. Trying to bring government into its efforts, eventually NDE expressed its concerns to the administration of the Nevada Nuclear Testing Site along with the Department of Energy.

Lenten Desert Experience VIII: “A Time to Be Silent, a Time to Speak”

The concept of the Lenten Desert Experience came from the Christian liturgical calendar, which begins on Ash Wednesday and ends approximately six weeks later, three days before Easter Sunday. As a faith-oriented organization, NDE adopted the idea of Lent for their event series in order to serve two main purposes: 1) to exercise their religious devotion and 2) to express their resistance to violence, which, in this case, is represented by nuclear weapons testing and its use. According to a leaf letter of NDE, “Lent provides a critical opportunity to people of faith to come to the desert to witness against nuclear weapons testing. The desert challenges us to

face our inner violence; the Nevada Test Site Desert challenges us to face the violence that we do to the Earth and to all humanity. At the same time the desert offers beauty, hope and transformation to those who seek new life” (Ediger, 1989, para. 3). The idea of desert holiness from religious readings was effectively bound to the actual desert in Nevada, making NDE’s statement appealing to the religious community from the area. Another statement—“Women and Men of faith sharing creative approaches to living and acting in faith-based nonviolent resistance”— indicates solidarity within the community along with the philosophy of the whole program series (Nevada Desert Experience, 1989f, para. 1).

Planning the event

Every year, NDE chose a specific theme for the event. In 1989, the theme of Lenten Desert Experience was “A Time to Be Silent, a Time to Speak.” As can be seen from the monthly report in January 1989, the entire event was planned out the prior year. Since Lent should last 40 weekdays, NDE had arranged all the speeches, meetings, seminars, worship and protest actions from February 7 to March 26. For instance, for the opening event on Ash Wednesday, NDE invited Catholic Bishop Daniel Berrigan to give a speech (Ediger, 1989.). The following event was planned as a seminarian weekend with the theologian, ethicist and feminist Mary Hunt (Nevada Desert Experience, 1989f). This activity seemed to be more focused on specific ideas; however, it was open to everyone who would be interested in the themes offered by Mary Hunt. The next activity was Franciscan weekend, featuring Richard Rohr, who was advocating morality in terms of a religious perspective. This event at a church also featured prayer and music. Besides the activities above, additional activities were added to Palm Sunday, Good Friday, and Easter. During Holy Week, NDE staff was planning to hold a conference from Monday to Wednesday (Ediger, 1989.).

Since the events program was heavily planned out, NDE staff needed extra help with routine work at the office in order to properly organize LDE VIII. Even though there were new interns who worked in the Las Vegas office, NDE still wanted volunteers who would be ready to help. Therefore, Co-Director Peter Ediger wrote a letter informing people about upcoming events and asking for help. The letter included an enclosed form at the bottom with the statement: “I could help on the following dates _____”. By sending a letter with the enclosed form, the NDE co-director could be certain of particular individuals and the number of people who would offer their assistance (Ediger, 1989, February 1).

Vignette 1a: Mary

The entire month, from the beginning of February till the end of March, is the busiest period for the NDE office. Mary, who just recently joined the board as co-director, had to keep up, working on errands and learning at the same time how to do things properly. She was excited and flurried working on Lenten Desert Experience, which is one of the significant events of NDE. However, she is not the only one completely new in the office. Three interns, Charlie Shultze, Kathryn Kennedy and Karen Gelb, also joined the peace organization to help out with the organizational routine of the biggest project. Mary feels truly blessed. These girls are always here, by her side, trying to figure out the best solution for any issue that could occur at any moment. Inspired by the girls' energy and their positive attitude, she would never get upset because of little working issues. But no one would blame her, or the interns. All NDE board members are nice and thoughtful, trying to help Mary and the girls.

But the true happiness comes from the work: talking to people of faith, communicating with locals from all over the States, brings Mary great joy. Like today, a little yellow card that came from Hillsborough, North Dakota, made her day. The card immediately grabs attention

with its vivid yellow background and the picture of a black tree on the left corner. Kathryn and Charlie were arguing over whether it is a flower or a tree. Later on they realize the picture reminds them more of an atomic cloud mushroom. The sign around the picture says: "War is not healthy for children and other living things." The card with its meaningful sign contains a short note. A young woman named Jean has written: "Someday, when it is the right time – I will be with you. For now, please let me know how my children and I, and others in our parish can support your witness during Lent. God's blessings be Yours! Jean, Sandi and Joyce Chapman."

"This small card with its short note from a young mother says more than a lot," Mary tells the girls. "We need to respond to it immediately. Kathie, could you please take care of it? I'll start preparing the package for this lovely family."

Working with LDE VIII Participants

In order to arrange the LDE VIII series of activities, NDE needed not only a large number of participants, but also a great number of active participants who would take the initiative to hold a certain event during LDE VIII. Specifically, holding vigils in different areas was part of the LDE's project. The idea of vigils came from the concept of a Holy Day, or Eve, as a religious ceremony according to the Christian church, where people of faith stay awake and pray for a special occasion. In the case of LDE VIII, NDE members wanted to have moral support in different locations. First of all, this particular type of ritual meets a religious need; secondly, it brings additional public attention to the importance of LDE as a whole. In order to implement this plan, NDE staff had to outline the vigils program, build a training curriculum, and collect all necessary materials for participants.

The next step was contacting people from the East and West coasts who potentially could organize local vigils in their area. At the beginning of January, NDE staff sent out a letter with

the purpose of clarifying who among the activists were still interested in organizing LDE VIII for their own community (Stephenson, 1989). Working with potential participants/vigils required lots of energy, resources, and time. Denise, who worked on this errand, stepped out from her work (Nevada Desert Experience, 1989a, April 1). However, one of the interns, Kathryn Kennedy, took this objective over and continued to work on it. Specifically, the staff person provided a special form to fill out a vigil's information and contacts and the necessary material for activists to organize LDE in their areas. The form included participants' names, addresses, and the possible dates to hold vigils from Ash Wednesday (February 8) to Good Friday (March 24). NDE left it to the possible participants to request a certain number of brochures, flyers, and copies of the Note of Nonviolence. The form also included a blank "I would like to suggest," indicating that NDE was open to suggestions from participants (Nevada Desert Experience, 1989o).

After sending out the letter, NDE staff started receiving letters and phone calls regarding holding vigils from the beginning of February until March 22. The yellow card from Jean and her children, mentioned in Vignette 1a, was one of those responses to the NDE letter (Chapman, 1989). In response to the letters and phone calls, Kathryn Kennedy replied with pretty much the same text (Kennedy, 1989, February 27). The following response letter carefully explains where and how to organize a vigil. Particularly, NDE wanted to make the vigils purposeful but with no violence. Therefore, they attached to the letter all materials including information about a Comprehensive Test Ban (Nevada Desert Experience, 1989m), brochures with further explanation of the principles of non-violence by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (Nevada Desert Experience, 1989l), and some statements about the importance of peace and non-violence by religious leaders and philosophers such as Buddha, Lao Tse, and Chief Seattle (Nevada Desert

Experience, 1989e). Also, explicit instructions on how to work with the media were attached to the letters (Nevada Desert Experience, 1989n). It needs to be emphasized that NDE was very particular in preparing those documents so the local vigils would be very conscious about whom they would work with and selective in their materials. The way the NDE staff treated the volunteers showed appreciation for their joining the vigils, respect, and thoughtfulness. The letter also showed their religious mindset, ending with this sentence: “God’s blessing be with your family, your planning and actions!” (Kennedy, 1989, March 2, para. 4).

How the vigils were held in different areas is unknown. Only one report was made by an activist who organized a vigil in Johnstone, New York. It briefly explains that the number of participants was not high, but there were people from different faiths. The small group prayed for peace and against nuclear proliferation. This showed that not only people from the West Coast, but also from East Coast areas, were concerned about nuclear weapons proliferation (Krewen, 1989).

Working with the Media

While holding the LDE events throughout Lent, NDE invited local media for special activities on specific days. For example, there was a news release inviting reporters to the Las Vegas Lenten Gathering under the claim “Peace in the City” (Nevada Desert Experience, 1989i, March 4). A second news release was about contemplation and direct action to mark the end of Lenten protest from March 19–26 (Ediger & Lehman, 1989). Likewise, NDE wanted to inform the media about plans regarding the conclusion of LDE VIII during Holy Week. A series of events included presentations and discussions by famous activists, book authors, and several journal editors. Also, a number of planned worship services at Las Vegas churches and at the

testing site were reported in this document. Basically, these two news releases aimed to inform reporters about the upcoming events by describing the set-up plans.

A third news release had different purpose: building and promoting an argument. Drafted and intended to be released on March 23, this was targeted to the general public, not necessarily to religious communities (Nevada Desert Experience, 1989g, March 23). In this release, NDE argued against nuclear testing by emphasizing the fact that every year the government would spend billions of dollars of taxpayers' money to create and test nuclear weapons: "We are opposed to any further expenditures of taxpayers' money for such action. Our protest at the Nevada Test Site is to call for a comprehensive test ban as a first step toward ending the arm race" (Nevada Desert Experience, 1989g, March 23, para. 2). Further, the release stated that the money could be redirected to other important human needs. At this point, NDE activists expressed sympathy with the Nye County taxpayer burden, but more spending of federal taxpayer money did not seem to be the solution for NDE members: "The answer is to stop unnecessary, wasteful, and dangerous testing of nuclear weapons" (Nevada Desert Experience, 1989g, March 23, para. 2). At the end of the release, NDE announced its intention to voice its disagreement with 100 people who joined the protest. It needs to be said that even though NDE made a strong argument based on material value (taxpayer money), the activists still emphasized the morality of their belief: "On Good Friday we will once again proclaim that our faith, our conscience and our love of life compel us to protest nuclear violence practiced at the Nevada Test Site" (Nevada Desert Experience, 1989g, March 23, para. 2).

Unlike the previous release from March 23, the news release from March 24 brought global concerns to the public's attention. Particularly, they argued that basic moral values like humanity, kindness, and love of life would solve a number of problems. Therefore, they wanted

to conduct a worship service at the Nuclear Test Site in memory of “those who are being killed and maimed by nuclear radiation” (Nevada Desert Experience, 1989h, March 24, para. 3). They also planned to worship in memory of Bishop Oscar Romero of El Salvador, who had been assassinated. As a religious group, NDE blamed U.S. foreign policy for death and people’s suffering around the world. “We pray in solidarity with those suffering and dying in South Africa as a result of apartheid; in solidarity with Native Americans like Shoshone Indians who suffered from the faithlessness of the U.S. to its treaties; in solidarity with those who are homeless and hungry in the world because of the \$900 billion spent worldwide each year on weapons” (Nevada Desert Experience, 1989h, March 24, para. 3). The theme that NDE protesters chose for the worship service drew a connection with Jesus’ crucifixion on Good Friday. The theme “Why are you crucifying me?” was chosen purposefully as a reminder of the suffering of an innocent servant.

All news releases were released in advance in order to give newspaper editors some time to plan to send a reporter. The releases were concisely drafted so the editors would not be worried about the length of a possible news report. NDE staff used the concept of the inverted pyramid while writing the releases, demonstrating their knowledge of common news practices. The main information would go first, and the rest of details would go further down in case an editor would prefer to cut them out. NDE also tried to provide a variety of information and arguments with the idea that some of them would be used for news reports. These give a sense of the presence of a good writer at NDE, who knew how to write releases and when exactly to send them.

Vignette 2a: Mercury Chapel

It was already dark and chilly outside when a group of people in a van arrived at

Mercury, 65 miles northwest of Las Vegas. This small town became the gateway of the Nevada Test Site. Most of the people decided to get out as soon as the van stopped near their destination: the former chapel, which had been turned into a facility building for government employees. Only a few of them were taking their time, allowing the pioneers to observe the area first.

The group had a special mission that night between Good Friday and Holy Saturday. Despite the risks of being arrested, people decided to come here with a noble intention. As people of faith, they wanted to re-consecrate the Chapel, reminding Mercurians of its initial holy purpose. One of the group members approached the building, observing the front window: The light was on. Is there someone inside? Isn't it too late now? Who would work on a Friday night? People were whispering behind the observer. "Well, since we come here, there is nothing to be afraid of. It's better to check it out," said someone from the back. Following his friend's advice, the first man knocked on the door three times; no one answered. He pulled on the door: It was unlocked! And there was no one; the building was empty. As people of faith the group interpreted this as a holy sign, reminiscent of the experience of the women at Jesus' tomb at the first Easter. Truly inspired by this idea the group members started preparing religious rituals. They had no idea how long they could stay here. But, one thing they knew for sure: They were going to rename the building Holy Trinity Chapel and continue the vigil as long as they could. They would do it until the Department of Energy stopped testing. Anyway, it's all in God's hands.

Culmination of the Protest Action

The story above was retrieved from a news release and letter to the president of the U.S. at that time: George H.W. Bush (Vitale et al., 1989). The event ended with eleven people arrested and sentenced. They were incarcerated in the Beatty town jail for conducting worship at

the Mercury Chapel. The documents clearly indicate the faith-centered intention of the NDE activists. However, in the letter to President Bush, the group brought up several themes for this protest. Particularly, NDE activists connected the idea of fighting for the right to practice religion with civil disobedience, aimed toward their final purpose to promote nonviolence as a political action against nuclear proliferation. As U.S. citizens, they were trying to voice their disagreement with being arrested. The fact that the writing style reflects similarity with the protest letter written by Martin Luther King Jr. was not a coincidence. NDE activists intentionally were trying to use King's approach in order to be heard: "We are writing you from Beatty (Nevada) township jail where we are currently incarcerated for our Holy Saturday presence at the chapel in Mercury, Nevada. As you are no doubt aware, Mercury is the headquarters of Nevada Test Site, which is wholly within the boundaries of the Western Shoshone Nation as recognized by the Treaty of Ruby Valley of 1863" (Vitale et al., 1989, para. 1).

That means they tried to represent protest culture, which had become an important part of Americans' way to express their non-agreement with any violence. As can be seen at the end of the first sentence, the activists also mentioned Shoshone Nation territory bordering the Nuclear Test Site, pointing out another reason the testing site could be seen as immoral. As people of faith, they expressed their disappointment that a place meant for worship and religious rituals had become desecrated and that government employees who were living and working in Mercury dismissed the religious significance of the chapel. Therefore, as the activists explained in the letter, they had decided to take action by holding worship in Mercury Chapel on Holy Saturday. In order to express their global concerns about U.S. nuclear policy, they quoted words said by Nobel Prize winner and church leader Archbishop Dom Helder Camara of Brazil. The

quote says: "... [T]his is the scene of the greatest violence on Earth today; therefore this place should be the scene of the greatest nonviolent activity" (Vitale et al., 1989, para. 3). This is how NDE activists provided their justification for following this call, as a truly religious community would do.

Bringing attention from the global issue to the local one, almost at the end of the letter NDE activists started revealing their concerns about officials' attitude toward their religious actions. Even though they admitted the police officers were respectful and waited until worship was completed, they were upset by the fact that officers showed disrespect to the longstanding tradition of "sanctuary in the house of God." Particularly, they mentioned two young men, Ted Thomas and Jack Diamond, who came to worship at the chapel on Easter morning and were arrested and charged "under federal status with trespass with intent to vex and annoy." The addressers asked the president of the U.S. "to intervene and protect their rights for worship" (Vitale et al., 1989, p. 6). By the very end of the letter NDE activists declared their true intentions. One of them was to convince President Bush to declare a moratorium on nuclear testing and negotiate a Comprehensive Test Ban. The second purpose was asking the president "to facilitate a review of the Ruby Valley Treaty of 1863 and the rights of the Western Shoshone people to their sacred lands" (Vitale et al., 1989, para. 7). Thus, this document indicated at least three themes: 1) a culture of civil rights built by Martin Luther King Jr., 2) a strong argument against nuclear weapons based on religious belief, and 3) attention to the human rights of the Western Shoshone Nation, who happened to live in the desert area of Nevada.

The last point of the argument indicates that the U.S. government neglected the presence of Native Americans while locating the atomic testing site in the Nevada desert. This highlights a criticism of the governmental decision to conduct atomic tests while ignoring Shoshone Nation

rights as outlined in the Ruby Valley Treaty. The letter addressed to President George Bush implies that atomic testing was a violation of the Shoshone people's civil rights and those who lived downwind of the Nevada Test Site.

August Desert Witness V

Vignette 3a: Anne

From the beginning of April, Anne was busier than usual working at NDE. This time she and her husband Terry were in charge of the NDE board and staff meeting during the last weekend of April in Denville. To bring all the board directors from all areas, Anne had to arrange logistics like staying overnight in Denville, and think of lunch and dinner during the meeting days. In this, her connection with Franciscans helped her a lot. Since she originally came from Franciscans, and the community members treat her as their own, it was not hard for her to find an appropriate place for the NDE meeting. Through their connections she negotiated holding the NDE meeting at San Damiano Retreat House during the weekend, where NDE members could stay over Saturday night.

The hardest part of the work was setting up the all committee meetings so they would not overlap. Terry, who was working on the report for the Non-Violence Committee, reminded her that she needed to be careful in planning those meetings. Some of the members in his group would like to listen to reports from other committees. "Actually, you bring up a good point," Anne agreed with her husband. The planning took some time, but she worked it out so all the members could attend all committee meetings. For the last time Anne went through the schedule to make sure there was no conflict and started drafting the notification letter about the upcoming event to the NDE board and staff.

The NDE meeting took place in Denville, California, on April 29-30. It was more like a mini-Congress for NDE, bringing eleven board members and the staff together (Nevada Desert Experience, 1989b, April 29, 30). The evaluation of board members' role at NDE was on the agenda, along with a number of routine items during the meetings. Particularly, the topic chosen was to clarify the work performance at NDE according to the outlined by-laws, which also required treating each other with respect. They believed that building an internal working culture helped to maintain a healthy relationship with members and organize their work effectively: "There was a consensus that Board members not feel 'shoulds' from staff or other board members about how much work they are doing. Reaffirmation of expectations as outlined in the by-laws. Meetings should combine 'mechanics' with 'heart staff'" (Nevada Desert Experience, 1989b, April 29, 30, para. 3).

The meeting's agenda also included the developing partnership with nonviolence center Pace e Bene, fundraising for NDE, and showing the movie *Nightbreaker*. Those objectives can be classified as establishment of effective partnerships with different purposes.

Working with Partners

Preparation for the ADW V required long-term work in order to establish mutually beneficial partnerships with other institutions and some individuals who were interested in being part of the ADW event series. As we can see from the previous section, preparation had already started in spring of 1989 (Nevada Desert Experience, 1989j, May). During the NDE board and staff meeting in Denville, each committee had a clear plan in terms of their own work direction. The Finance Committee was working on grant applications during May, June, and August along with fundraising (Nevada Desert Experience, 1989b). As can be seen from documents, Mary Lehman was highly involved in setting up fundraising events (Lehman, 1989, April). She was

primarily in charge of establishing necessary connections and contacting the partners. It needs to be said that her fundraising brought huge attention from a broad audience. The reason for that was a showing of the movie *Nightbreaker* with Martin Sheen. Before coming to an agreement on the movie use, the American actor, producer and peace activist Martin Sheen was already helping NDE. His speech to students at the University of Notre Dame du Lac (the private Catholic research university in Indiana) was planned by NDE a year prior (Lehman, 1989, April 20). The NDE board deeply appreciated his contribution. In order to maintain the partnership, Mary contacted him to ask whether he would be able to arrange his presence at a movie premiere of *Nightbreaker* in Las Vegas during either LDE VIII or ADW V, which was the preferable choice of NDE. It needs to be emphasized that NDE was highly interested in using this movie event for fundraising; since Sheen played the main character in that movie, his presence during the movie presentation would increase public attention. The movie starring Sheen and his son Emilio Estevez was “based on the true experience of soldiers who served their country as ‘guinea pigs’ for atomic testing in the 50s” (Nevada Desert Experience, 1989c, para.1). Eventually, they got permission to use the movie for fundraising purposes in August. Therefore, Mary started working on setting up the place for the movie showing. She established a connection with a theater owner who expressed his willingness to show *Nightbreaker* in one of his theaters in Las Vegas (Lehman, 1989, June 13). The movie had been made for television and was already being shown on the TNT network. Even though the movie was not planned to be released on cinema, the video would eventually come out. Among other partners were individuals from scholarly and religious realms. For example, Richard Barnet agreed to give speeches for the opening of ADW on Friday, August 4, and Saturday, August 5, and Fr. Berry Stanger agreed to participate in a Nonviolence Conference. Pace e Bene was a co-sponsor of the event series, indicating strong

support for NDE (Nevada Desert Experience, 1989d, August). Catholic Peace Coalition (CPC) also expressed its total support and willingness to collaborate. Analyzing the letter sent prior to ADW, we can see that Catholic Peace Coalition (CPC) had the same mission as NDE; therefore, it made sense that CPC could see the benefits of a partnership. They gladly offered all kinds of support, including organizational, informational, and material support. CPC also invited NDE members to its speakers' bureau requesting names of people who could participate. At the end of one letter the addresser implied the coalition would specifically mention NDE's event in August at its board meeting so CPC members would also join to celebrate ADW V (Ponnet, 1989).

Vignette 4a: Peter

"So many souls ... so many souls perished in the earthquake." Peter could not sleep, thinking of the tragedy that happened the day before in San Francisco. "Poor families, they must be praying these minutes in a hope to see their beloved people again." It was almost 3 a.m. Peter realized that he could not fall asleep anyway. His thoughts were twisted: In about 15 seconds, the earthquake damaged the entire Bay area, causing injuries and death. "If this is a natural disaster that causes such pain ... then what about atomic bombs? The nuclear bomb explosion has the same, if not worse, disastrous effect as all devastating earthquakes." The chain of thoughts kept pestering Peter's mind. "If the natural catastrophe is in God's plan, what is the plan of the human being? Becoming the most powerful in the world? Don't people think of the power of God at all? That God is God?" The wheel of thoughts started running even faster, evoking anger: "What if indeed the activities at the Nuclear Testing Site are causing the earthquakes? Then those bomb-testing earthquakes, created by human intention, are an abomination, insanity ... a blasphemy." Peter could not stay in his bed anymore. He decided to put this reflection on tomorrow's meeting agenda.

He quickly scribbled some notes on a blank sheet of paper:

Reflection from Psalm 46:2. God is our strength and protection

An ever present help in affliction

We will not fear, therefore, though the earth be shaken...

People give a lip service to God while giving blatant allegiance to idolatry.

People do not know how to be still, do not know that God is God, and do not know that

God put an end to wars. Do we?

Peter Ediger led the NDE monthly meeting in the San Francisco Bay area on October 19, two days after a devastating earthquake hit San Francisco Bay (“San Francisco earthquake of 1989”, 2009). The reflection based on Psalm 46:2 set up by the co-director again emphasized the ideology of NDE: “I share these reflections in appreciation of NDE’s faith foundation, in confession of my own need for continuing reaffirmation of that faith, and encouragement for all of us to keep cultivating that faith in our work together at NDE,” Ediger stated in the monthly meeting, explaining his choice of Psalm (Ediger, 1989, para. 3). Along with a discussion of routine work in terms of building partnerships and increasing their audience, the climate around nuclear policy in the world was one of the significant points brought up during this meeting. This was the starting point when NDE actually was considering expanding their contribution to antinuclear protests on a global scale. Related questions outlined during the staff meeting were intended to determine the future orientation of NDE:

“How do we read the signs of our time and how do we discern the implications for NDE?

What is the significance of:

- a) The death of the Cold War? What are the opportunities/temptations/responsibilities in the new international climate?

b) The emergence of “Nevada” movement in the USSR? What kind of communication-solidarity shall we seek?

c) The increasing awareness/concern for the earth ecology?

What do these ‘winds’ suggest for NDE mission? Priorities? Strategies?”

(Ediger, 1989, para. 2).

As we can see from the questions, a careful interpretation and evaluation of the political processes turned into NDE’s objectives. By asking these questions Peter brought up a big theme: observation of the current political situation at that period. As a leader of an antinuclear organization, he could sense that changes in the global political landscape could affect NDE’s work. Following international news, especially paying close attention to the USSR, NDE activists learned that the nuclear armament tension became loose. Perceiving it as a sign of the end of the Cold War, NDE activists understood that during that period they had to adjust their work according to the political situation. Therefore, coordinating its work according to timely events was crucial, as well as seeking the partnership with activists from the USSR.

Coverage in the Las Vegas Sun

After analyzing news reports related to antinuclear protests throughout 1989, two main findings can be highlighted: First, all nuclear waste and test-related news would be on the top of the news agenda. Any news articles presenting Department of Energy scientific claims or disclaimers and nuclear policy, along with international news disclosing nuclear testing by the Soviet Union, was prioritized by *Las Vegas Sun* (LVS) editors. Part of those news reports often was written by other news agencies, not only by LVS reporters. For instance, a news report from January 17—“DoE Nuclear Waste Project Falter in Nevada”—was originally published by *The New York Times* and republished by the *Las Vegas Sun*. Another news report by a *New York*

Times reporter can be noticed in the LVS issue from February 12 under the headline “Experts Clash on Nuke Dump.” Similarly, in March, the LVS published news material by United Press International: “Studies Hazy on Effects of Nuclear Tests.” Since the topic is highly relevant to Nevadans, it is understandable why news editors decided to put this story on the first page even though the article came from an outside source.

On the other hand, there were a few advanced reporters who wrote about nuclear topics and could keep following this controversy. For example, *Las Vegas Sun* staff writer Michael L. Campbell wrote “Vucanovich: It’s Folly to Fight Nuke Dump” (Campbell, 1989), and Geoff Dornan wrote “Senate Dumps on Nuke Waste Bill” (Dornan, 1989), providing the views of politicians on the nuclear dumping issue. Again, those materials were only focused on officials’ or experts’ opinions rather than providing analysis of the controversy. Another *Sun* staff writer, Mary Manning, was focused on social issues such as debates about nuclear dump issues and citizens’ concerns related to nuclear tests. Mostly, *Sun* staff writers’ analytical pieces would be placed in special sections such as Insights and Metro, while the breaking news reports from outside sources were placed on the front page of the LVS home edition.

The first protest action occurred in the issue from January 29. However, this action was organized by American Peace Test camp, where NDE members were probably involved. This news report was not on the first page, though, and the reason might be that it was covered not by a *Sun* staff writer, but by United Press International. This was the only exception when an antinuclear protest was not placed in the front page. All protest activities hosted by NDE at the Test Site were closely followed by the LVS. The newspaper was primarily focused on the important sequences of LDE VIII and ADW V, as in the case of the protest at the Nevada Test Site. These types of breaking news would be placed on the front page, but not entirely. Usually, a

portion of the news article would be printed over two to three pages. Particularly, the protests organized by NDE at the Nevada Testing Site (NTS) could be found on the front page of LVS. Below is an analysis of three news articles published on March 20, March, 27, and August 7.

News Report from March 20: 75 Arrested in Nuke Protest at NTS

“Seventy-five protesters, including Franciscan priest Louis Vitale, were charged with trespassing on the Nevada Test Site in a peaceful Palm Sunday anti-nuclear demonstration” starts front page news reported from Mercury (Borders, 1989, para. 1). The new story was written not by a *Sun* staff writer, but by a reporter of United Press International. That means the LVS was open to collaboration with other news agencies. The main purpose could be receiving news stories that would attract the LVS audience and increase the newspaper’s sales. Answering five basic questions—who, where, when, why, and how—the news story briefly reports the actions that occurred during the protest. The news story aimed to describe the action and consequences with no direct judgment. However, mentioning the name of Franciscan priest Louis Vitale implies a conflict between the concept of the priest praying for peace but taking a bold action. Consequently, the priest’s arrest could also get the audience’s attention and bring interest to the news story. In the beginning of the news report, the writer also emphasizes the number of demonstrators and their age: In general, 180 people participated in the protest action, including 135 who were under 30 years of age. The explanation of this phenomenon was the involvement of medical students in this action. After that, the reporter provides further explanation of how and why students participated in the protest at NTS: because the whole action was organized by NDE, the organization where Louis Vitale was a board member. Even though the news writer provides a comment from DoE, which says the demonstration was nonviolent, she did not give a clue how the demonstration ended. Instead, the reporter describes the action and arrest

procedure, where handcuffed protesters were taken to a holding area. Only after that, the reporter indicates that all protesters were released afterward. “It was the same procedure Department of Energy and Test Site security guards have followed for the past year in dealing with such demonstrations,” says the report, indicating that arresting protesters was not a unique case (Borders, 1989, para. 12).

News Report from March 27: Civil Disobedience: Protestors’ Religious Convictions Deeply Tied to Social Beliefs

This news story by Michael Sullivan (with photos by Deidre Hamill) was placed in a special section of LVS Metro. The writing style of this news story is completely different from the previous news. The chosen narrative style of this news makes it appealing to read. Moreover, the news story describes the idea behind the protest, indicating the faith-centered orientation of NDE. As in any standard news story the author provides opinions from two sides: that of a test site worker and that of the main character of the story, Louis Vitale. The quotation from the test site worker—“I am just trying to do my part to help the future defense of this country and it bothers me that they don’t feel I am doing the right thing”—indicates one worker’s perspective (Sullivan, 1989, para. 6).

Even though the news story started with the perspective from the opposing side, an NTS worker, the major part of it focused on the protesters’ characteristics, their spiritual leader (in this case Louis Vitale), protest actions at the test site and the argument promoted by protesters: “Members of the Desert Experience say they sympathize with the burden their arrests create on the taxpayers of Nye County. But they contend that the testing program is already costing \$1 billion a year, which could be better spent in other areas” (Sullivan, 1989, para. 17).

The news story tells that over 90 people were arrested, given a citation, and released shortly after. “The citation tells them that they have been fined \$415. But the fine will never be paid and their case never been called to court” (Sullivan, 1989, para. 20). This sentence from the news story implies that protests at the test site had turned into ordinary routine actions, so officials would not bother to pursue the case.

In terms of intercommunication during the protest, the writer provides an opinion from another side: police officers who were on duty that day. One of them, Wes Fleetwood, expressed his thoughts about the protest action: “I respect the fact that everyone has a right to protest what they feel is wrong. I don’t agree that they should break the law to do it.” However, the police officer could not hide his irritation: “We could be doing other things, but we have to be here and that’s a waste of our time.” This last expression from the police officer implies that these protests were not always taken seriously (Sullivan, 1989, para. 16).

Nonetheless, by describing protesters, the writer gave a sense of who they were and why they were involved in the action. Talking about young people, the writer highlighted that “Their presence is vital. Because their generation and its future is a key focus of the protest” (Sullivan, 1989, para. 11). Moreover, the author indicated the protesters’ determination to continue: “Vitale (who had been arrested 100 times, including 8 times in one day) and other non-violent protestors in the spirit of Gandhi, will always be looking for new peaceful ways to abhorrence to the tests going on in the Nevada Desert” (Sullivan, 1989, para. 24). Further, the author made a point that the leader of the protest at NTS was determined because of his faith. The author ended the news story with Vitale’s quotation: “If Jesus were alive today, where would he journey? He would go to the scene of greatest violence on Earth. And we feel it’s on Nevada Test Site” (Sullivan, 1989, para. 26).

Besides the context of the story, three main things indicated how seriously the publication took the protesters in this story: 1) the headline of the news story: “Civil Disobedience. Protestors’ religious convictions deeply tied to social beliefs,” 2) three dramatic photos that depicted the protest; and 3) a picture of Jesus with the subhead: “In the symbol and symbolic act of arrest, there is the turning over of yourself, not knowing what may come. There is something very healing in what we are about to do today.” The LVS editorial decision to put all these together with the narrative style of the story presents coverage that was more sympathetic to the protesters’ action than the rationale of test site workers and police officers.

News Report from August 7: Handcuffs for Hiroshima

Posted on the front page, this news report tells about the protest action held at NTS in memory of the bombing of Hiroshima. Along with the lead, a big photo of the officer handcuffing a protester grabs immediate attention. The caption under the photo shortly describes the plot of the story: “An unidentified protester is put into handcuffs Sunday after illegally crossing onto Nevada Test Site. More than 50 people were arrested by Nye County Sheriff’s deputies after holding a prayer service for victims of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima 44 years ago” (“An undefined protestor,” 1989, para. 1). However, the complete story was not on the front page; LVS editor(s) decided to publish related stories on pages 2B and 10A.

Related story 1: More than 50 arrested in Nevada anti-nuclear movement. The first story can be considered hard news since it only describes the demonstration at Nevada Test Site. As in previous news stories, the number of participants was mentioned at the beginning, emphasizing the seriousness of the action. The article mentions that protesters held a religious service near the test site, briefly describing the rituals held during the protests (“About 100 antinuclear demonstrations,” 1989). The author quotes Mary Lehman, the spokesperson of NDE,

who made note of a similar event hosted by NDE two days later. The report also mentions the presence of Richard Barnett, senior fellow of the Institute of Policy Studies in Washington, D.C., at those demonstrations. Unlike the narrative news story from March 27, this news does not evoke an emotion like sympathy. Nevertheless, the story was published at the top of the page, indicating the relevance, timeliness, location, and general importance of the event. The news report briefly provided information about the Hiroshima bombing and observations around the world in order to make a connection with the local protests. The entire story was focused on the protest and its meaning rather than on the 50 people cited with trespassing as a result.

Related story 2: Hiroshima Holocaust observed by 50,000. This related story is focused on the first theme of the Hiroshima tragedy. The entire news story reports a memorial action held in Japan. The news story by United Press International was republished by LVS because it related perfectly to the story of local protest demonstrations. Since the news story from Japan provided general background, editors decided to connect it to the front page news ("White doves fluttered," 1989). By telling the story from an international perspective the news editor(s) was pursuing two purposes: to inform and educate, so it would make sense to readers, if some of them would have questions such as, "Why would Nevadans care about Hiroshima?" The story primarily described the observation of a minute of silence by an enormous crowd in Peace Memorial Park in Hiroshima. It also provided the chronology of the events when the U.S. military force dropped atomic bombs both in Hiroshima and Nagasaki and illustrated the tragic consequences.

These three news stories regarding NDE protest actions were at the top of the LVS news agenda. Prioritizing the news stories coincided with basic news principles of impact, timeliness, prominence, conflict, and proximity. Information about nuclear testing and dumping definitely

was highly relevant to Nevadans. Timeliness was met by the freshness of the news reports, which were based on recent events. The concept of conflict clearly can be seen in the controversy of a nuclear-related topic, and prominence was established by the presence of famous individuals. For example, by telling about Franciscan priest and NDE member Louis Vitale, or representative of the Institute of Policy Studies in Washington Richard Barnett, the reports dramatized the actions described in the reports. In general, the LVS would publish any news reports, even from other news agencies, that covered the controversy around nuclear waste and testing since it did have an impact on their readers from Nevada. The newspaper also frequently published analytical reports based on opinion leaders' (mainly politicians') expertise, and from the DoE's viewpoint. Usually, these reports would be written by *Sun* staff writers. Along with this sort of news, NDE's protest actions would be considered prominent on the newspaper agenda. Each time this type of story was published, it appeared under a big, remarkable headline with photos and comments. Based on the analysis of three news stories covering the protest actions in 1989, it is hard to say whether LVS was in favor of NDE activists. Like any media organization, LVS aimed to keep its position neutral and unbiased. Nonetheless, LVS appears not to have missed a chance to publish protest stories, which may have been for three main reasons: 1) in terms of democracy, to provide the opportunity for NDE to be heard; 2) to maintain balance in the controversy over nuclear dumping and testing; and 3) to maintain newspaper sales by attracting more readers with the conflict. While NDE was working on annual events and establishing effective partnerships to promote their protest actions, a new movement in the Soviet Socialist Republic Kazakhstan started forming, evoking a mass reaction from its citizens. In contrast to NDE, the Nevada-Semey antinuclear movement had absolutely different objectives and resources to bring the public's attention to the issues caused by atomic tests.

Nevada-Semipalatinsk: Time for Change

The analysis of available documents shows that NASM began as a core program of the electoral campaign of Olzhas Suleymenov and evoked a mass reaction in the Republic. The public outrage forced the Soviet administration, particularly KazSSR, to create a special committee with a large group of scientists in order to figure out the true radioactive exposure level at the test site. Before, any operation at the Nuclear Test Site would be conducted only with a direct order from the Supreme Soviet Party in Moscow through the Ministry of Defense of USSR. That means neither the Supreme Council of KazSSR nor the regional party committee had any clue of what was going on at the test site (Nazarbayev, 1989). Since the Soviet administration of KazSSR had to deal with the outrage encouraged by Suleymenov's campaign, the Supreme Council decided to conduct its own investigation in order to find out the truth ("Экология ғалымдардың бақылауында болсын [Ecology needs to be in scientists' control]," 1989, p. 3). Consequently, the negative impact of long-term nuclear testing on public health and on the environment became obvious to the scientific community. The results of the scientific investigation eventually became accessible to the general public via the regional newspaper's detailed coverage. At this point, the arguments of the movement activists were deemed very urgent in demanding all nuclear tests be shut down. Mainly, these arguments were based on public health and environmental concerns, with the atomic explosions defined as open violence to the local population.

Unlike its counterpart in Nevada, NSAM did not have clearly identified communication approaches. As a grassroots movement that emerged in a short time, NSAM also did not have a strategic plan, but it was determined to accomplish three goals: 1) to collect enough evidence to prove the negative effects of testing nuclear weapons; 2) to gain massive support from citizens;

3) to demand a Comprehensive Test Ban with the support of the majority in the KazSSR. In order to achieve the mission, NSAM set up several objectives:

- Making a strong case built on hard scientific evidence about the hazardous effects of atomic tests;
- Introducing the movement's purpose to the broad audience and gaining support from the target audience: electorates of Semipalatinsk region, primarily downwinders.
- Promoting the movement's proposal through all administrative stages of the ruling Soviet Communist hierarchy.

The tendency of news coverage in Semey Tany drastically differs from *Las Vegas Sun* coverage. As NSAM became a phenomenon in Soviet society, where any protest action against the Communist Party regime would be suppressed, any NSAM action in the Semipalatinsk region will be fully covered in Semey Tany. Therefore, these very detailed news reports were able to provide a clear chronology of the protest demonstrations at the SNTS, giving insight into what was going on in the society at that period of time from April to November.

Living Downwind of the Test Site

The following was written by a Karaul resident of the Abay district and a veteran of the Great Patriotic War (World War II). It describes the experience of those living in the area of nuclear testing in Semipalatinsk.

Vignette 1a: We have been treated as guinea pigs

At the end of the 40s, the Nuclear Testing Site was formed without any permission of the local administration and local people as well as with no ecological expertise. Since 1949 the Ministry of Defense started conducting atomic bombs testing and is still continuing testing.

... Not many people nowadays know that 36 years ago, on August, 5th, 1953, the atmospheric testing of a hydrogen bomb was conducted. According to the order of the Soviet government the whole population of Abay and Abraly districts along with their livestock was evacuated for 18-20 days. People from local communities were dislocated 200-250 km (125 – 155 miles) away from their places and the government had paid 500 rubles per person in a family. At that time evacuation was considered as the last resort to avoid radioactive exposure. Soldiers, who were organizing the testing and evacuation, decided to leave some of the people, separating them from their families in Karaul, which means in the highly dangerous area. Several hours after the bomb explosion, soldiers brought those who they left 50 km (30 miles) away in order to measure the level of radioactive exposure on their bodies. Soldiers forced them to drink 200 gr (7 ounces) of vodka. . . .

A year after, soldiers came again and took some of those people to Semipalatinsk city in order to examine their health condition for 1.5 months, explaining it was a medical examination for scientific research. Unfortunately, none of us could understand the true purpose of what was happening.

Only 36 years later we realized that we have been treated as guinea pigs. As the result of it many of us either died or became disabled (Slyambekov, 1988).

As can be seen from the document, the purpose of the appeal is not clearly stated. Nonetheless, it is understandable that as a witness to the horrible treatment and negative consequences of nuclear testing, Slyambekov wanted to be heard. On the other hand, he wrote this appeal many years later, in 1988. Maybe he and others had expressed their concerns and outrage earlier, and maybe those documents were destroyed. Or maybe people like Slyambekov did not have enough courage to express their feelings earlier because they knew it would be hard

to fight against the entire political system. The fact that this appeal was documented in 1988 indicates that people had started feeling it was time to speak up.

On February 12, 1989, a radioactive gas release occurred at the Semipalatinsk Nuclear Testing Site. Something had gone wrong during a test of atomic equipment. Five days later, on February 17, a second release of radioactive gas occurred. The fact of the release became immediately known after high radiation levels in that region were registered by Geiger counters in the military settlement in Chagan (Nevada-Semipalatinsk Antinuclear Movement, n.d., p. 1). Once this terrible incident became known, there was no reason to hold back the obvious facts of even more horrible things that had been happening for four decades. This incident triggered mass resistance to nuclear testing in Semipalatinsk.

Breaking the Silence: Birth of the NSAM

On February 26, 1989, Olzhas Suleymenov made a statement against nuclear weapons testing on the Kazakh land, calling for a mass meeting at the Writer's Union in Almaty. Two days later, the largest grassroots movement in the history of Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic was born (Nevada-Semipalatinsk Antinuclear Movement, n.d., p. 1). It was the antinuclear movement that aimed to fight against the massive system of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. However, it was not a spontaneous protest. It was a political move of Olzhas Suleymenov, who effectively used resistance to nuclear testing in his political campaign.

Vignette 1b: Olzhas Suleymenov

Olzhas Suleymenov was born in 1936 into a military family. In 1959 he received his first major in geology. However, poetry was his true passion. Therefore, Suleymenov right away decided to change his major to the poetic translation at the Gorki Institute of Literature in Moscow. Two years later he started working at the national newspaper "Kazakhstanskaya

Pravda.” Since then his career path has kept growing. Suleymenov worked at the Prostor magazine; then he became a head of a department of literature at the Union of Writers of Kazakhstan, after that the chief editor at a Kazakh film studio. Till the moment of running for a deputy position, he was working as first secretary of the Writer’s Union of Kazakhstan. As a member of the Communist Party, he was always pro-active in terms of social and political issues. Exposed to geological studies at first, Suleymenov was closely following news related to geophysics and ecology. Truly concerned with what was going on in Semipalatinsk region after long-term atomic testing, he became determined to stop nuclear bombing. Thus, Suleymenov put this matter in his campaign program as an urgent issue that needed an immediate solution.

As a candidate for deputy of the USSR from the territorial district of Ayakoz #642, Suleymenov proposed his electoral program focusing on resistance to the creation and testing of nuclear weapons; evaluation of the ecosystem in Semipalatinsk region; and proper medical services for downwinders who had been exposed to radioactive elements for decades ("Олжас Омарұлы Сүлейменов 1936 жылы [Olzhas Omaruly Suleymenov was born in 1936]," 1989). He also brought attention to several problems that were urgent at the time, including control over industrial entities that were still under construction; evaluation of regional land sources; and official registration of those lands in order to develop them for agricultural and farming purposes. His election campaign program was published in both Kazakh and Russian in Semey Tany and Irtysh newspapers, respectively. It needs to be said that he was the only candidate from the territorial district of Ayakoz. Taking into consideration his authority as a well-known poet and social activist, people from that area were truly happy to have him as their deputy in the Soviet Council (Suleymenov, 1989).

The growing reaction to Suleymenov's public speech could not be ignored by the Council of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic. Therefore, the chairman of the Council of Ministries of KazSSR at that time, Nursultan Nazarbayev, arrived to Semipalatinsk specially to discuss the movement. During the meeting on April 7, Nazarbayev admitted that horrible things had been happening in Semipalatinsk, and therefore that people's outrage was understandable (Nazarbayev, 1989). From his speech, we can assume that people mainly were blaming the Soviet military for testing nuclear bombs in the area. However, he tried to explain it was a mistake to point fingers at the soldiers because they were just executing the orders of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party. He stated that all the actions at the Nuclear Testing Site were executed under secrecy and that the local population was totally unaware of the hazardous effects of the nuclear testing. He also agreed that those explosions could not have had positive effects on the population and the environment. With this, Nazarbayev suggested measuring the radiation level in order to figure out the true danger of the radioactive exposure: "The problem should be solved and making noise around this issue is unnecessary. ... If there is the radiation that puts the public in jeopardy, then this fact should not be hidden," stated Nazarbayev (Nazarbayev, 1989, para. 1). On the other hand, Nazarbayev also said the population of the region had quadrupled since the first atomic testing. A number of social problems rose in the region that could have been solved properly. The consequences of earthquakes in Semipalatinsk that sometimes could reach magnitudes of 4.0 according to Richter scale and damage to buildings and infrastructure had never been investigated. That means very little effort had been made to solve the social-logistical problems of the population, even though the region was dealing with the test site, which was significant for the entire Soviet Union. Based on Nazarbayev's arguments, we can assume the administration of the region, along with the

KazSSR Soviet Council, was very well informed of current social and logistical issues that could be solved in a relatively short time. Nazarbayev and other political authorities were able to estimate the real goals that could be achieved, and, unfortunately, shutting down the Nuclear Test Site was not an easy goal to accomplish immediately. Therefore, as a representative of the Kazakh government who had to deal with politicians of higher status in the Soviet hierarchy, Nazarbayev was suggesting the region deal with relatively small, but solvable, social problems, such as fixing broken wells in the Abay district at an estimated cost of 7 million rubles.

In the end, Nazarbayev noted that testing at the Semipalatinsk site had been stopped for one and a half years while testing at the U.S. site in Nevada was still continuing. With this, he argued that the number of tests should be decreased. However, that did not necessarily mean a complete test ban until the U.S. position toward the nuclear program had been clarified. This explains the position of the Kazakh SSR Council at that time: It was open to listening to the public, but it was not in a hurry to support the demands of the antinuclear movement.

Mass Reaction to the Nevada Semipalatinsk Antinuclear Movement

Meanwhile, Suleymenov was working on his campaign, visiting districts of the Semipalatinsk region. Every visit of Suleymenov during his electoral campaign in the Semipalatinsk region was prominently covered on the front pages of local newspapers. For example, a news story from May 9 in Semey Tany precisely described every detail of the entire meeting ("Кең алаңға кернеп кетті ел сыймай [On the overcrowded square]," 1989). The narrative style of the news story illustrated the crowd's mood before the meeting. During the meeting, the first secretary of the Semipalatinsk Regional Party Committee, Keshirim Boztayev, indicated that representing the Ayakoz district of the Semipalatinsk region was not Suleymenov's initiative, but of the people from that area. According to the Boztayev speech, as

an already well-known person in the entire Soviet Union, Suleymenov had received many other offers from other regions to become their representative deputy. However, he gladly agreed to represent the Semipalatinsk region, focusing his electoral campaign on the issues of the region. Since Earth was a major theme in his poetry and since he was a qualified geologist, he could not ignore the issues of the Semipalatinsk region regarding nuclear testing. While, as the head of the regional Party Committee, Boztayev was focused on Suleymenov's social activism, indicating support from the regional administration in the antinuclear movement, another speaker, the doctor of linguistics Odyneç-Troickaya, talked about Suleymenov's influence as a poet in the field of literature and poetry. Other speakers also expressed their support of Suleymenov's electoral campaign, emphasizing the importance of his program for the Semipalatinsk region. In general, the story indicates support from both the local administration and the general public in the Semipalatinsk region.

As we can see, the political campaign, combined with the idea of resisting nuclear testing, led to action within scientific institutions. In order to prove the negative consequences of long-term testing, a special commission was created to investigate the ecosystem at the Semipalatinsk Nuclear Test Site (SNTC) and populated areas near to the site. A report by the KazTag news agency posted in Semey Tany indicates that on May 15 a group of experts led by the director of a medical radiology research institution started studying the condition of the ecology in the Semipalatinsk region ("Экология ғалымдардың бақылауында болсын [Ecology needs to be in scientists' control]," 1989). The news report said the results would be announced during a scientific conference hosted by NSAM the following July.

Inspired by Suleymenov's campaign, which made it acceptable to talk about the downwinders' concerns in public, some institutions started expressing their support for the

movement. For example, an appeal written by medical scientists and doctors in the Semipalatinsk region can be considered a clear indication of the mass spreading of the movement (Arkhipov et al., 1989). In the appeal, they state that in order to defend military interests, some scientists were saying nuclear testing had nothing to do with the health condition of the local population. However, they argued, this claim contradicted the principles of public health and should be considered harmful to humanity. Further, they provided the final statement of the interdepartmental commission created by the Ministry of Public Health regarding the Semipalatinsk Nuclear Test Site, which indicated the Semipalatinsk Nuclear Testing Site was a chronic psycho-traumatic factor affecting the psychological health of the population. Forty-one percent of the downwinders had different types of neurological diseases (Arkhipov et al., 1989, para. 5). The high level of depression, anxiety, and psychological disorders had led to a large number of suicides in that area. The doctors also wrote that 68 percent of women in that area had health issues including anemia, cardiovascular diseases, and neurosis—a far greater proportion than the average 29 percent in the Republic as a whole (Arkhipov et al., 1989, para. 7). They also pointed to a proposal in 1986 to relocate the Nuclear Testing Site because of the increased deformation and cracks in the mountain massif, emphasizing environmental concerns in addition to medical concerns. At the end of document, the doctors made the ultimate statement that the only solution to this series of problems was to shut down the Semipalatinsk Nuclear Testing Site. The appeal was signed by 19 people, all of whom had some authority as respected doctors and scientists.

Suleymenov was elected as a deputy of Semipalatinsk region on May 14, 1989.

According to a news report by Semey Tany from June 10, he had held a public meeting in Almaty (Suleymenov, 1989). During the meeting, he indicated that as newly elected deputy he

intended to voice NSAM demands to stop nuclear testing at the annual Conference of the Communist Party in Moscow. With huge support from the entire KazSSR, Suleymenov was determined to make a strong statement resisting nuclear tests in the Semipalatinsk region, even though some scientists were still denying the hazardous effects of radioactive exposure to public health as well as to the entire ecosystem in the overpopulated area. Suleymenov reassured people, saying that even after the conference, as the leader of the movement he would not stop promoting the idea of nuclear disarmament. As mentioned during his speech, NSAM intended to continue working on a solution to the issues caused by radioactive exposure at the test site. With this, Suleymenov demonstrated that he was implementing the objectives from his electoral campaign (Suleymenov, 1989).

Revealing the Truth

On July 17-19, NSAM hosted a conference under the title “Public health and ecological situation in Semipalatinsk and Semipalatinsk region of KazSSR.” The conference was held with the purpose of announcing and sharing the findings revealed during a scientific investigation by several institutional committees, including the Scientific Research Institute of Radiology of KazSSR, the Department of Epidemiology at the Oncological Science Center of USSR, the regional department of the Veterinary Laboratory, and the regional department of Public Health.

Vignette 2b: Balmukhanov, the head of the Scientific Research Institute of Radiology of KazSSR

Heading to the stage, Saim Balmukhanov coughed several times, getting ready to share his findings to the audience. He was nervous and excited at the same moment. Finally, the director of Kazakh Institute of Radiology had a chance to talk about findings that he was not able to speak out loud before. What he was about to present was definitely going to evoke a huge

reaction. And Balmukhanov was aware of it. "The Stone Age may return on the gleaming wings of science," started Balmukhanov with the famous quote by Winston Churchill. "Atom energy and nuclear weapons can be considered as a peak of science development. However, they can also turn back humankind to the Stone Age. And cases of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are great proofs of this." Rearranging his glasses, Balmukhanov quickly looked at the people sitting in the first row to make sure that people were following him, and then got back to his notes.

First, in order to draw in people's mind how big the problems of the Nuclear Testing Site were, he provided the comparative evaluation of testing sites in Nevada and Semipalatinsk. According to the chart, the service personnel at the Nevada Testing Site consisted of 8,000 people, while in Semipalatinsk a whole town (Kurchatov) with a population of 20,000 people was built to maintain the work at the test site. Along with these facts, Balmukhanov indicated that the level of radiation as the result of nuclear testing over four decades, which was certainly high and dangerous for the downwinders, was hidden and untold. He explained it with the fact that control over the level of radiation was conducted by the testing site itself, which of course had its own bias and reasons to hide the truth of hazardous effects of the testing. To illustrate the harmful effects Balmukhanov briefly explained that acceptable levels of radioactive exposure can be up to only 5 rad (5,000 millirems), while the direct radiation exposure in Semipalatinsk area fluctuated from 50 rad to 150 rad during atmospheric testing from 1949-1963. That meant the level of radioactive exposure was ten and more times higher than what was considered safe. Balmukhanov emphasized the fact people from downwind areas were not only directly exposed to radiation, but also indirectly consuming contaminated milk and meat of cattle from the test site area (Balmukhanov, 1989).

Other speech transcripts provide shocking evidence of the negative effects of atomic explosions during particular tests of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. For example, the head of the health department, Toktarov T., said by the time construction of Semipalatinsk Nuclear Testing Site had finished, the population of Semipalatinsk was 395,000. That meant the population was dense and already posed a danger to the ecology of the region (Toktarov, 1989). He provided several examples in order to offer a picture of the level of nuclear pollution and its overall effects on public health. One of the cases from August 12, 1953, illustrates the thermonuclear bomb explosion, when people from Sarzhal and Kainar counties were evacuated. The radioactive pollution within the first hour was 250 rad/hour in Karaul and 150 rad/ hour in Sarzhal and Kainar. Toktarov stated, “Tragically, people from Karaul returned on the 9th day after explosion, while the radioactivity in that area still was high: 40-60 rad/hour. Locals from Sarzhal and Kainar were returned on the 19th day, when the radioactive pollution was about 25-35 rad/hour” (Toktarov, 1989, p. 55). As Toktarov stated in his report, indirect nuclear exposure to the human body amounted to 30 rad to the thyroid, 50 rad to the gastrointestinal tract, and 115 rad to the bones.

In support of the previous fact of indirect radioactive exposure, the head of radiology at the regional veterinary laboratory, Kussainov M., presented his findings. The report indicated that local people were exposed not only directly, but also indirectly by consuming contaminated milk and meat (Kussainov, 1989). Particularly, Kussainov described an event in January 1965 when an explosion happened at the cross of the Chagan and Ashysu rivers, creating a hole covered by radioactive pollution. As a result of the explosion, the pastures and watering places of the Borodulikha district became highly polluted (Kussainov, 1989, para. 2). Consequently, milk and meat of the livestock from that area became contaminated with iodine 131. Examined bones

and meat from livestock at the laboratory also indicated high nuclear contamination. The next case of nuclear pollution occurred in 1974 as the result of underground testing conducted on May 14 that year (Kussainov, 1989, para. 6). Cow milk contained a high amount of iodine 131. At the end of the report, Kussainov said 32 farms in the Semipalatinsk district had big issues: Their cattle were struggling with leucosis. The shocking fact was that seven farms were local farms, and the rest of them were market-oriented farms (Kussainov, 1989, para. 7).

Based on the shocking findings revealed by scientists and doctors, participants at the conference compiled a list of 16 recommendations. The first was a demand that nuclear testing be stopped, taking into consideration the public health and environmental issues from nuclear pollution that had occurred as a result of long-term testing (Nevada-Semipalatinsk Antinuclear Movement, 1989, June 17-19). The recommendations also asked the Ministry of Defense and Ministry of Energy of the USSR to allocate additional funding to strengthen the security and safety of all procedures and equipment at the Nuclear Testing Site in order to avoid incidents. Additional requests were to allocate funding in order to improve medical services for the local population of Semipalatinsk region exposed to nuclear testing; to strengthen the food industry, paying special attention to children's and pregnant and nursing women's diet; to regulate the use of land for agricultural purposes; and to build a national institute of radiological research to evaluate the consequences of 40 years of atomic testing. The analysis of the recommendations also showed that activists did not believe the USSR government had prioritized the socioeconomics of the region even though the region was dealing with the consequences of nuclear testing, which was strategically important for the entire country. In other words, local people did not receive benefits such as sufficient funding for medical service and food supplements, which they deserved as a result of living close to the nuclear testing site area.

The conference held in Semipalatinsk city was attended by Semey Tany reporters, who covered the entire event. A news story from July 18 basically republished all transcripts of the scientific reports in chronological order as they were presented ("Халық денсаулығы және экологиялық жағдай [Public health and ecological situation]," 1989). There was no summary or even editing of the speeches. Everything went into the paper as it was.

Demonstration Actions of NSAM

Based on news coverage provided by Semey Tany, we can trace the protest actions of NSAM. Since the movement had strong support from the public administration, scientists, official agencies, and institutes, along with the general public, all demonstrations were organized legally with mass involvement. Symbolic demonstrations were held from August through October in Semipalatinsk region, including all districts. For example, to express its solidarity with the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, NSAM held antinuclear protests in Abay district and at the test site between August 5–7, recalling the U.S. bombing of those cities in 1945 (Nevada-Semipalatinsk Antinuclear Movement, n.d., p. 2). The program included several events, such as a press conference with an official representative of NSAM, Murat Auezov, who talked about the importance of international demonstrations, indicating global collaboration around the idea of nuclear resistance (Sarsembayev, 1989). Several meetings explaining the goal and objectives of the movement were planned during the meeting with local people from Karaul village in Abay district and Kurchatov city, along with an art exhibit and the auction of traditional crafts (Mukhamedjanov, 1989). The auction was organized to raise funding for NSAM. On August 29 another mass demonstration was organized by NSAM in Semipalatinsk city, commemorating the 40-year anniversary of nuclear testing at Semipalatinsk Test Site conducted in 1949. A couple days later, on September 1, peace lessons were conducted in all schools by

NSAM activists in every region of Kazakhstan (Nevada-Semipalatinsk Antinuclear Movement, n.d., p. 2).

The biggest result of NSAM activities and protest actions was that all deputies, from the districts up to the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of Kazakh USSR (Nevada-Semipalatinsk Antinuclear Movement, 1989, November 14), adopted a resolution on the harmful effects of nuclear testing and addressed it to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (Nevada-Semipalatinsk Antinuclear Movement, n.d., p. 3). The document, with its emotional appeal, provided proof of the unitedness of the KazSSR as a nation in demanding closure of the test site in Semipalatinsk region

In terms of the communication approaches used by NSAM, several elements should be emphasized. First of all, the use of Suleymenov's authority, along with a group of well-known individuals who supported the movement, can be considered a major advantage in reaching the public. The veteran Slyambekov wrote the appeal complaining that he and his co-villagers were used as guinea pigs and left in a dangerous zone. However, he would not have been able to rally people from all over KazSSR to demand a stop to nuclear testing, even though he was directly affected. The well-known Suleymenov had enough authority and support to initiate an antinuclear movement. On the other hand, the role of mass media cannot be underestimated in spreading news of the growing protest. Suleymenov announced his intention to talk about nuclear testing issues publicly through central television, at first calling people to gather in Almaty. Reaching a broad audience through mass media no doubt evoked the mass reaction. Reaching the public administration of the Soviet hierarchy was not hard, either. The chain reaction of support from the Semipalatinsk region, deputies from all districts, and, eventually, the Supreme Soviet Council assisted in achieving the NSAM goal: bringing serious attention to the

downwinders' issues. In other words, NSAM activists were not strategically planning to reach a specific audience and encouraging that audience to join the movement. The reaction motivated several institutions, including the large community of scientists and doctors, the media and public administrators.

Taking into consideration the role of the local newspaper in covering NSAM actions, we can also highlight the following implications: 1) NSAM became a major topic of the news agenda and would be placed on the front pages of Semey Tany. From May to November, Semey Tany news reporters would write very detailed, long news stories. 2) News editors never shortened the length of the report and never make analytical comments on the news, or tried to shift the attention to any other details of the story. For instance, the scientific reports presented at the regional conference and the content of news stories matched word for word, indicating that editors basically copied the reports. The editorial board published the transcripts exactly the way they were presented at the conference. Moreover, a news reporter put them in order, describing the conference and providing explicit information about question-and-answer sessions. In this case, looking at the news coverage was helpful to picture the whole event and its flow.

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION

The Nature and Organizational Structure of Protest Organizations

The nature and organizational structure of the antinuclear protests in the U.S. and Semey differ drastically. The differences between the NDE and NSAM are mainly defined by several factors, including political structure, political culture, and the socio-economic status of the two societies. While NDE was historically rooted in the protest actions of religious communities since the 1970s, NSAM emerged at once as a sociopolitical phenomenon. Therefore, these two antinuclear protests have distinctive features in their approaches to communication, which are explained in part by their organizational structures.

NDE was acknowledged as a fully developed faith-centered organization with a number of committees that had clear objectives. The antinuclear organization established in 1984 had planned programs of events held every year at the same time. Annual protest actions were set up either according to the Catholic religious calendar (Lenten Desert Experience) or the anniversary of the Hiroshima atomic bombing (August Desert Witness). Each committee was focused on its own tasks, looking for new methods in improving their work performance. NDE board directors and staff fully contributed. This financially established organization even was able to rent an apartment/house office in Las Vegas. Internal work within the organization was clearly defined in its by-laws.

In contrast to NDE, NSAM was initiated as a politically oriented campaign by the well-known individual O. Suleymenov. Even though the idea of resistance to nuclear testing had been publicly declared in the electoral campaign, the NSAM did not have a clear plan for protest actions from the beginning. All demonstrations in Semipalatinsk region were officially co-sponsored with the regional administration of the Communist Party, aggregating mass

involvement in the protest. That means demonstrations were planned and conducted mainly by local administration orders, including those in Abay, Beskaragay, Abraly, and Kainar districts and in the Semipalatinsk region as a whole.

NDE activists tended to communicate with each participant individually, calling on him or her to take action, while NSAM did not need to do so. Because the regional committee of the Communist Party (RCCP) was dictating rules and norms to any social activity, NSAM's leader O. Suleymenov and his campaign office representatives had to collaborate with the officials. This was the most effective approach for NSAM to communicate with the public and propose a Nuclear Test Ban at the Semey Nuclear Test Site. In sum, NDE used an individual communication approach, while NSAM took an institutional approach to communicate its resistance to nuclear testing. That explains why NDE protests did not evoke mass reaction at the national level even though it was a fully developed organization with a solid constitution and program, on which several committees were carefully planning every detail. In contrast, NSAM started with no clear program but evoked a larger reaction in a short time, becoming a successful movement.

In this case, the NSAM phenomenon fully reflects the concept of political opportunity theory. Changes in the political system of the USSR promoted by Mikhail Gorbachev's Perestroika program at that time were definitely favorable for the movement's emergence. On the other hand, proposing the test ban at Semey as a main focus of the electoral campaign did not violate any norms constructed by the Soviet system. Therefore, strong support from the local communities of the region was guaranteed to the candidate: they could officially express an open support to antinuclear movement by voting for Suleymenov. Taking into consideration that the candidate was well known and deeply respected, the Soviet administration of the Semipalatinsk

region gladly assisted him in promoting his campaign program. Moreover, the program resonated with the deep concerns of locals and brought hope for both the general public and the regional administration. First, they became encouraged to break their silence regarding the harmful effects of nuclear tests. Second, the hope that as their representative deputy Olzhas Suleymenov could bring positive changes led them to support him.

Communication Patterns during Antinuclear Protests

Based on the communication approaches revealed in the historical evidence, we can determine communication patterns during the antinuclear protests both in Nevada and in Semipalatinsk. Since protesters both from Nevada and Semipalatinsk were trying to bring public and officials' attention to their arguments, they tried to build strong partnerships with those who would be interested. In the case of NDE, the board members knew exactly who their potential members were and with whom they could establish mutually beneficial partnerships. Among the strategic partners of NDE were other peace organizations, churches, and the media (Figure 1). If peace organizations could provide support by spreading NDE's brochures and newsletters and by co-sponsoring special events, representatives from religious institutions could deliver participants for the events. Certainly, the NDE board also wanted to be heard via the media; therefore, they acknowledged the importance of connections with media institutions such as newspapers and magazines. Moreover, the NDE board had a clear strategy of working with newspapers: Specifically, NDE staff was trained to write press releases. They would also send out specific instructions to their protest participants, who volunteered to organize meetings or vigils, on how to craft press releases and when to contact the media.

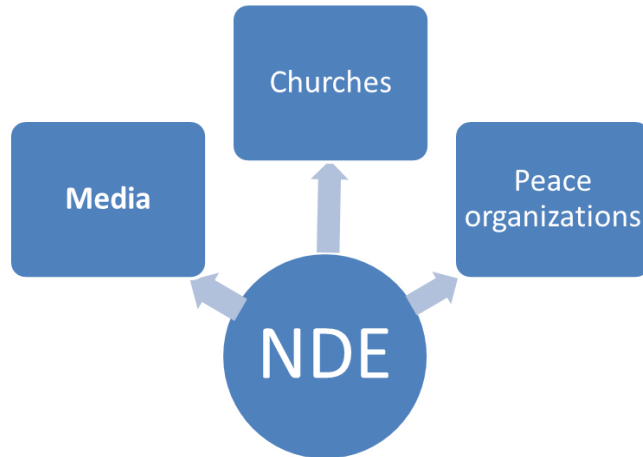


Figure 1. Strategic partners of NDE.

In order to attract more participants for their faith-oriented protest actions, NDE aimed to work closely with all kinds of religious institutions. Since the NDE was rooted in the Franciscan community, which started voicing its moral opposition to nuclear weapons as tools of violence, NDE had a strong connection with the Catholic Church and its religious leaders. Through churches, NDE was able to reach people from local communities and spread the idea of non-violence and resistance to nuclear testing (Figure 2). NDE activists made an enormous effort to encourage people from local parishes not only to join protests at the test site, but also to organize vigils in their areas supporting NDE's demonstrations.

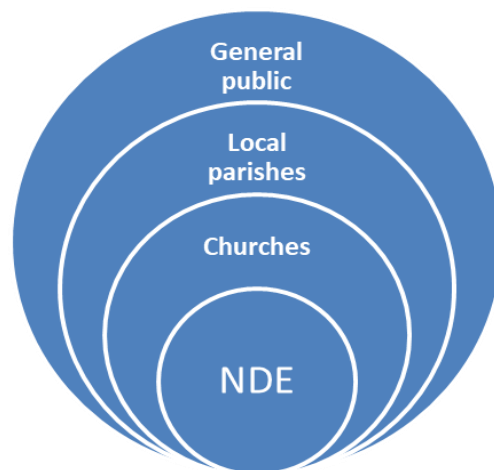


Figure 2. NDE's primary communication approach.

In the case of NSAM, the Suleymenov campaign did not categorize social institutes as separate strategic partners. Since it was a legally approved political campaign, following all norms and standards, by law the official administration (the regional committee of the Communist Party) had to assist in coordinating the campaign's promotion along with the election process. Therefore, NSAM had only one option to reach the general public in order to gain mass support: collaboration with the regional committee. As the ruling administration, the RCCP regulated the procedures to set up meetings with Olzhas Suleymenov and his crew, the conference, and demonstrations in the region, including in Semipalatinsk city and local districts. As the highest agency of the hierarchical ruling system, the regional committee gave orders to its sub-organizations and to the media. Sub-organizations are defined as public service institutions (such as Education, Public Health, and Public Security). Therefore, the communication approach had more of an institutional character (Figure 3).

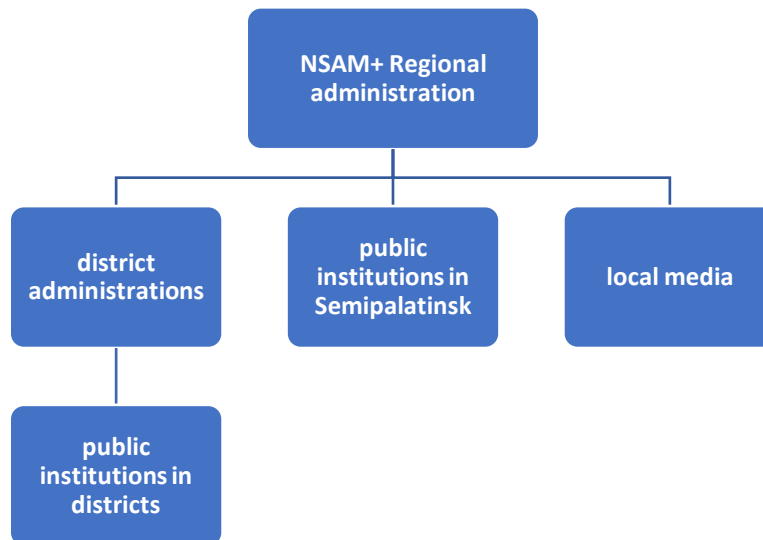


Figure 3. Institutional approach in NSAM's communication.

NSAM set a precedent in voicing the concerns of people from the Semipalatinsk region, once the movement had gained mass support by reaching the general public through this

institutional approach. Specifically, people in support of NSAM started addressing their concerns regarding nuclear tests to official administrations, causing a chain reaction. For instance, the deputies of each district addressed their appeals to the Regional Council of the Communist Party, and then deputies of Semipalatinsk region addressed the same appeal to the Supreme Council of KazSSR. In turn, all deputies of KasSSR addressed the appeal, requesting a Test Ban to the Supreme Council of USSR. Analyzing the communication pattern during 1989, we can see the progression of an antinuclear mood among people who were officially addressing their concerns to Soviet administrations.

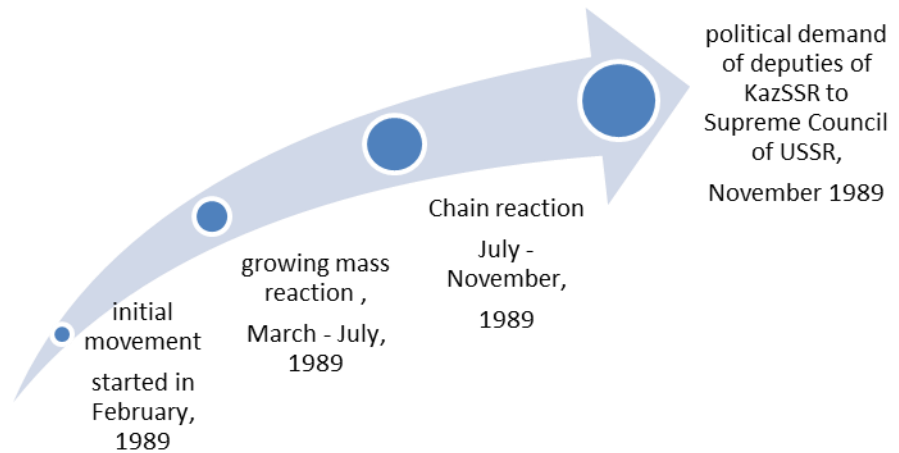


Figure 4. Communication pattern during NSAM.

Even though both NDE and NSAM had the very same request of banning nuclear tests, the nature of their arguments differed based on the socioeconomic status of each society. For example, NDE's antinuclear arguments mainly were framed in terms of the religious beliefs and values of the protesters. Meanwhile, the arguments proposed by NSAM reflected basic needs:

health and environmental security. According to Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (Maslow, 1943), the concerns of NDE can be placed on the top of pyramid, indicating the need for self-actualization, while NSAM concerns can be placed on the bottom, illustrating more basic needs for safety and security. Nonetheless, protesters from both KazSSR and the U.S. shared one noble idea: establishing peace in the world by rejecting the use of nuclear weapons. Therefore, both NDE and NSAM expressed a willingness to collaborate with each other in order to convince their governments to adopt a Nuclear Test Ban.

The criticism of the study addresses the governments' decision to place the nuclear testing site close to those particular areas: the Nevada desert and steppe in Semipalatinsk region. Particularly, neither the U.S. nor the USSR governments asked the permission of local people to place atomic test sites. The letter addressed to George H.W. Bush, as well as the appeal by Karaul resident recognizes the fact that human rights of locals were completely dismissed. Moreover, in the case of Kazakhstan, the Communist Party did not put efforts in place to improve the quality of life for local people, especially those who were living in districts close to the nuclear site (Nazarbayev, 1989). This indicates the fact that USSR government disregarded Kazakh people's interests. Instead, scientists decided to secretly observe the health condition of locals living downwind (Slyambekov, 1988). Similarly, the U.S. government did not receive approval from Nevadans to locate the nuclear testing site. The government neglected the Shoshone Nation's presence along with local Nevadans in that area (Vitale et al., 1989). In the case of both movements, protestors felt obligated to voice their concerns based on their civil rights, which had been neglected for decades. Given the political circumstances in the USSR, locals from Semipalatinsk region and the regional Communist Party administration saw the benefits of supporting the antinuclear movement. If downwinders thought this was a chance to

express their concerns openly, the administration perceived this as an opportunity to readdress those concerns to the higher levels of the government. Meanwhile, NDE activists were aware of the antinuclear movement starting in the USSR and were ready to reinforce their protests supporting their counterparts overseas.

Limitations of the Study

This communication pattern was pictured mainly from the activists' viewpoints. Even though media as a neutral party could provide some information about the reaction of official agencies, this does not fully explain the position held by the governments at that time. Therefore, it is hard to figure out how the public administration was dealing with the outrage and what sort of strategies the officials used in order to reassure the public. Future analysis of the communication approaches from the governing agencies could provide a fuller picture of both antinuclear protests. In addition, this study was limited by a lack of evidence from oppositional scientists who were arguing in favor of nuclear weapon tests at the sites. Since the controversy over the nuclear program was a matter of security and in the interest of establishing leadership in the world, it would make sense to study the protest movements on a national scale. This study presents a view from local protests and was focused on local news coverage, even though the debate had national impact. Moreover, due to the complexity of the topic, further inquiry could be developed in many other directions. For example, a quantitative media content analysis could provide a more representative examination of antinuclear controversies. Besides this, studying other peace organizations in the U.S. within the nuclear resistance movement might provide more of an overview of communication culture among protesters.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION

The study cannot identify causal relationships and the findings are not generalizable. Nonetheless, the given inquiry provides an understanding of the nature of antinuclear protests and the patterns of citizens' involvement in the movement. In the Kazakh case study, voicing concerns in terms of basic needs such as health and environmental security that have a direct impact on people made it easier to gain grassroots support. In the U.S. case study, expressing concern from the perspective of morality appeared to be less effective, especially when the issue was as complicated as nuclear armament. As we can see from the NDE example, even though the protest organization was formed five years earlier than NSAM, had a well-developed structural organization, and a strategically planned program, it did not evoke the same kind of mass reaction on a national level. In contrast to NDE, the less organized NSAM, in less than one year, rapidly gained grassroots support to stop nuclear tests. Another factor that influenced the outcome of antinuclear protests was the approach taken by activists. In the case of NSAM, the institutional approach of voicing disagreement with the nuclear testing program was more effective than the individual call chosen by NDE activists. The characteristics of collectivism in expressing support to the movement can be explained by the political culture formed by the Soviet Communist Party. On the other hand, the Kazakh antinuclear movement became successful in part due to the political situation occurring in the USSR, which meant protesters primarily took advantage of the opportunity created by favorable political circumstances. The loosening of nuclear armament tension at the end of the Cold War, along with Gorbachev's program for change in the ruling system and implications from the highly publicized Chernobyl disaster are possible factors that allowed the NSAM movement to develop as vigorously as it did.

Moreover, naming the movement in honor of two nuclear test sites—Nevada and Semey—Kazakh protesters wanted to demonstrate their political intentions and communicate the urgency of a Nuclear Test Ban. Using the name of the U.S. testing site clearly indicated solidarity with downwinders in Nevada as well as a willingness to make an alliance with colleagues from an opposing country. In its turn, NDE also could see advantages of the international collaboration to make their protest actions more significant. The analysis of communication patterns in both antinuclear movements indicates that by the end of 1989, activists from both countries expressed their desire to cooperate at the international level. That means further study of international communication within the antinuclear movement could be investigated, where the theory of political opportunity also could be used to frame the inquiry.

Even though the nonprofit organization Nevada-Semey is well-known among Kazakh citizens, not everyone in Kazakhstan might know the reason behind the first part of its title, which refers to a state in America. U.S. citizens likely do not know about the Kazakh city Semey and its experience with nuclear testing. However, these two regions in different parts of the world share a similar experience of being exposed to nuclear weapons testing because of the political rivalry between the USSR and the U.S. during the Cold War. Therefore, examining the implications of social movements that occurred in the area of nuclear testing sites provides a compelling look at past experience and local people's actions regarding the issue. Exploring new facts, interpreting them, and educating people about past and present experiences by focusing on one particular issue — these are a journalist's professional duties. Therefore, I approached this inquiry as a type of journalistic investigation. The main distinction in conducting this study was approaching it from an academic viewpoint, applying theory and employing methodical analysis informed by political, sociological, and cultural perspectives.

As a mass communication researcher driven by journalistic curiosity and a servant for the community that was negatively affected by the nuclear testing, I am determined to reveal new facts of the historical case and present them to both the Kazakh and the U.S. public. Because I belong to the community which was exposed to radioactive fallout, I know the lay people from East Kazakhstan did not gain any benefit from having the nuclear testing site but inherited a number of problems. Even though the Semey Nuclear Testing Site was shut down more than 20 years ago, the land around the testing site cannot be used for agricultural purposes for a thousand years. Furthermore, public health is still a prominent issue in the Semey region; people from this area tend to suffer from different forms of cancer caused by radiation exposure. Therefore, I consider the emergence of the antinuclear movement Nevada-Semey as a phenomenon which united Kazakh people in a search for social justice, even though resolving the issues related to testing nuclear weapons was not a simple task at that time. It went through a complicated mass communication process shaped by culture and politics. Nonetheless, the antinuclear movement eventually accomplished its goal. After receiving its independence, Kazakhstan became the first country to shut down its nuclear testing site, proclaiming itself as the state against the testing and use of nuclear weapons. The fourth-largest nuclear arsenal in the world was renounced.

However, the biggest victory for those who promoted the idea of a world free of nuclear weapons was the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1996. The Treaty has been signed by 178 countries and ratified by 144. However, as of 2016, countries such as China, Egypt, Iran, Israel, and the United States have signed but not ratified the Treaty, while India, North Korea, and Pakistan have not even signed it (“The Status of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty”, 2017). That means the world is still facing jeopardy from nuclear exposure. Therefore, recollection of past experiences and reminders of the

philosophy of antinuclear movements is still relevant and essential in terms of international security. Thus, I believe a review of this history is a significant reminder of the need for peacekeeping missions, not only for the affected countries, but for the world.

REFERENCES

- Abishev, M. (n.d.). *Международное антиядерное движение «Невада – Семипалатинск»* [Consumer Brochure]. Retrieved from http://hirosima.scepsis.ru/movement/mov_2.html
- Arkhipov, G. S., Tapbergenov, S. O., Zhangelova, M. B., Savickaya, O. N., Cherenkov, V. G., Nagibin, V. I., ... Suksulayeva, L. P. (1989). *Обращение ученых и врачей города Семипалатинска о прекращении ядерных испытаний на Семипалатинском ядерном полигоне [Appeal by a group of doctors and scientists requesting Test Ban at the Semipalatinsk Nuclear Test Site]*. Nevada-Semipalatinsk Antinuclear Movement (NSAM series, Fount 103, Register 73, Document 21, 6-8 pp.). Center of Documentation of New History of East Kazakhstan Region, Semey, Kazakhstan.
- Balmukhanov, S. B. (1989, June 17-19). *Из выступления академика, директора НИИ радиологии АН Казахской ССР С.Б. Балмуханова на научно-практической конференции “Здоровье населения и экологическая обстановка города Семипалатинска и Семипалатинской области Каз ССР” [Director of Scientific Research Institute of Radiology of Kaz SSR, Balmukhanov’s speech transcript at the science-research conference Public Health and Ecological situation in Semipalatinsk city and Semipalatinsk region of Kaz SSR]*. Nevada-Semipalatinsk Antinuclear Movement (NSAM, Fount 103, Register 64, Document 274, 11-23 pp.). Center of Documentation of New History of East Kazakhstan Region, Semey, Kazakhstan.
- Benford, R. D., & Snow, D. A. (2000). Framing processes and social movements: An overview and assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 611-639. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/223459>
- Benford, R.D. (2002). Controlling narratives and narrative as control within social movement. In J.E. Davis (Eds.), *Stories of change: Narrative and social movements* (pp. 53-77). State University of New York Press, Albany.
- Borders, M. (1989, March 20). 75 arrested in nuke protest at NTS. *Las Vegas Sun*, p. 1.
- Boyer, P. (1984). From activism to apathy: American and nuclear weapons, 1963-1980. *The Journal of American History*, 70, 821-844.

- Boyle, E. H. (1998). Political frames and legal activity: The case of nuclear power in four countries. *Law & Society Review*, 32, 141-174. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/827751
- Buechler, S. M. (2000). *Social movements in advanced capitalism: The political economy and cultural construction of social activism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Campbell, M. M. (1989, February 28). Vucanovich: It's folly to fight nuke dump. *Las Vegas Sun*, pp. 1.
- Chapman, J. (1989). *Greeting card to Nevada Desert Experience*. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 4, Folder 36). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.
- Cortright, D., & Pagnucco, R. (1997). Transnational activism in the nuclear weapons freeze campaign. In T.R. Rochon & D.S. Meyer (Eds.), *Coalitions and political movements: The lessons of the nuclear freeze* (pp. 81-96). Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner
- Cragun, R. T., & Cragun, D. (2006). *Introduction to sociology* (1 ed.). [Kindle DX version]. Retrieved from http://en.wikibooks.org/wiki/Introduction_to_Sociology
- Davis, J. E. (2002). *Stories of change: Narrative and social movements*. The U.S.A.: Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Dornan, G. (1989, February 14). Senate dumps on nuke waste bill. *Las Vegas Sun*, p. 1.
- Downey, G. L. (1986). Risk in culture: The American conflict over nuclear power. *Cultural Anthropology*, 1, 388-412.
- Ediger, P. (1989, October, 19). *Staff report to NDE board - Peter*. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 1, Folder 2). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.
- Ediger, P. (2007). Interview by S. Becker [Audio file]. Nevada Test Site Oral History Project, University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

- Ediger, P. (1989, February 1). [Letter to Las Vegas area friends of NDE]. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 4, Folder 25). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.
- Ediger, P. (1989). *Lenten Desert Experience*. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 4, Folder 25). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.
- Ediger, P., & Lehman, M. (1989, March 13). *Contemplation and direct action to mark the end of Lenten protest*. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 1, Folder 35). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.
- Eisinger, P. K. (1973, March). The conditions of protest behavior in American cities. *The American Political Science Review*, 67(1), 11-28. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/stable/pdf/1958525.pdf>
- Entman, R. M., & Rojecki, A. (1993). Freezing out the public: Elite and media framing of the U.S. antinuclear movement. Retrieved from <http://eds.a.ebscohost.com.proxy.lib.iastate.edu/ehost/detail/detail?sid=8cce3715-8dd2-4c4c-9e23-118c08fa3b37%40sessionmgr4008&vid=0&hid=4210&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#AN=16345932&db=ufh>
- Fairclough, N. (1993). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Gusterson, H. (1998). *Nuclear Rites: A weapons laboratory at the end of the Cold War*. CA: University of California Press.
- Handcuffs for Hiroshima. (1989, August 7). *Las Vegas Sun*, pp. 1B, 2B, 10A.
- Hiroshima Holocaust observed by 50,000. (1989, August 7). *Las Vegas Sun*, p. 10A.
- San Francisco earthquake of 1989. (2009). Retrieved from <http://www.history.com/topics/1989-san-francisco-earthquake>
- Hughes, M. L. (2014). Civil disobedience in transnational perspective: American and West German antinuclear power protesters, 1975-1982. *Historical Social Research* /

- Historische Sozialforschung*, 39(1), 236-253. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/24145792
- Joppke, C. (1992, May). Explaining cross-national variations of two antinuclear movements: A political process perspective. *Sociology*, 26(2), 311-331. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42855012>
- Kennedy, K. (1989, February 27). [Response letter to Jean, Sandi and Joyce Chapman]. Special Collections (NDE series, Box 4, Folder 36). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.
- Kennedy, K. (1989, March 2). [Response letter to Carol Jennings]. Special Collections (NDE series, Box 4, Folder 36). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.
- Kirchhoff, A. M., & Meyer, J. (2014). Global protest against nuclear power. Transfer and transnational exchange in the 1970s and 1980s . *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung*, 39, 165-190. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24145787>
- Kitschelt, H. P. (1986, January). Political opportunity structures and political protest: Antinuclear movements in four democracies. *British Journal of Political Science*, 16(1), 57-85. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/193981>
- Krewen, G. (1989, March 22). [Letter to Nevada Desert Experience]. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 5, Folder 46). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.
- Kussainov, M. K. (1989, June 17-19). *Из выступления заведующего радиологическим отделом Семипалатинской Облветлаборатории М.К. Кусаинова на научно-практической конференции "Здоровье населения и экологическая обстановка города Семипалатинска и Семипалатинской области Каз ССР" [Head of radiological department at the Semipalatinsk regional veterinarian laboratory, Kussainov's speech transcript at the science-research conference Public Health and Ecological situation in Semipalatinsk city and Semipalatinsk region of Kaz SSR]. Nevada-Semipalatinsk Antinuclear Movement (NSAM series, Fount 103, Register 64, Document 276, 20-21 pp.). Center of Documentation of New History of East Kazakhstan Region, Semey, Kazakhstan.*
- Lehman, M. (1989, April 20). [Letter to Martin Sheen]. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 5, Folder 46). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.

- Lehman, M. (1989, April). *Staff report*. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 1, Folder 25). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.
- Lehman, M. (1989, June 13). [Letter to Allen]. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 4, Folder 26). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.
- Maslow, A. (1943, July). A theory of human motivation. *Psychological Review*, 50 (4), 370-396. <http://dx.doi.org/1943-03751-001>
- Maxwell, J.A. (2013). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach* (3rd edition). Los Angeles, CA: SAGE Publications
- McAdam, D. (1982). *Political process and the development of black insurgency, 1930-1970* (2nd ed.). Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Meyer, D. S. (1993). Institutionalizing dissent: The United States structure of political opportunity and the end of the nuclear freeze movement. *Sociological Forum*, 8, 157-179.
- Meyer, D. S. (1993). Protest cycles and political process: American peace movements in the nuclear age. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/448943?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#fndtn-references_tab_contents
- Meyer, D. S. (2004, August 11). Protest and political opportunity. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 30, 125-145. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.30.012703.110545>
- More than 50 arrested in Nevada antinuclear movement. (1989, August 7). *Las Vegas Sun*, p. 2B.
- Mukhamedjanov, S. (1989, August 7). Алғашқы сапар - Курчатov қаласына. *Semey Tany*, pp. 1-2.
- Nazarbayev, N. (1989, April 7). Из выступления председателя совета министров Казахской ССР Н.А. Назарбаева на Семипалатинском областном партийно-хозяйственном активе [The transcript of Nazarbayev N.A. speech, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR, at the Semipalatinsk regional party-economic meeting]. Nevada-Semipalatinsk antinuclear movement (NSAM series, Fount 103,

Register 64, Document 114, 66-68 pp). Center of Documentation of New History of East Kazakhstan Region, Semey, Kazakhstan.

NDE's historical timeline (2012). Retrieved from
<http://nevadadesertexperience.org/history/timeline.htm>

Nevada Desert Experience (1989a, April 1). *Staff report to NDE board*. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 1, Folder 25). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.

Nevada Desert Experience (1989b, April 29, 30). *Minutes: Nevada Desert Experience board meeting*. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 1, Folder 2). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.

Nevada Desert Experience (1989c, August 3). *The Nightbreaker movie brochure*. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 5, Folder 46). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.

Nevada Desert Experience (1989d, August). *Staff report to NDE board*. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 1, Folder 25). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.

Nevada Desert Experience (1989e). *Holy time, holy ground*. Special Collection of UNLV (NDE series, Box 4, Folder 36). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.

Nevada Desert Experience (1989f). *Lenten Desert Experience*. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 4, Folder 25). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.

Nevada Desert Experience (1989g, March 23). *News release - Nevada Desert Experience*. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 1, Folder 35). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.

Nevada Desert Experience (1989h, March 24). *Good Friday, March 24, 1989*. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 1, Folder 35). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.

Nevada Desert Experience (1989i, March 4). *Peace in the city*. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 1, Folder 35). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.

- Nevada Desert Experience (1989j, May). *NDE Staff report to board: Monthly activity, May, 1989*. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 1, Folder 25). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.
- Nevada Desert Experience (1989k). *Principles of nonviolence by Martin Luther King Jr.* Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 4, Folder 36). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.
- Nevada Desert Experience (1989l). *The voice of nonviolence in the nuclear age*. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 4, Folder 1). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.
- Nevada Desert Experience (1989m). *What A Comprehensive Test Ban would do*. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 4, Folder 36). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.
- Nevada Desert Experience (1989n). *Working with the media*. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 4, Folder 36). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.
- Nevada Desert Experience (1989o). *Time to be silent, time to speak*. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 4, Folder 25). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.
- Nevada Desert Experience (n.d.). *NDE board of directors list*. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 1, Folder 1). Lied Library, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, Las Vegas, NV.
- Nevada-Semipalatinsk Antinuclear Movement (1989, June 17-19). *Рекомендации научно-практической конференции "Здоровье населения и экологическая обстановка города Семипалатинска и Семипалатинской области Каз ССР" [Recommendations of the science-research conference Public Health and Ecological situation in Semipalatinsk city and Semipalatinsk region of Kaz SSR]*. Nevada-Semipalatinsk Antinuclear Movement (NSAM series, Fount 409, Register 12, Document 1807, 1-10 pp.). Center of Documentation of New History of East Kazakhstan Region, Semey, Kazakhstan.
- Nevada-Semipalatinsk Antinuclear Movement (1989, November 14). *Обращение народных депутатов Казахской ССР от Семипалатинской области в Верховный Совет Казахской ССР о прекращении деятельности СИЯП [Appeal of deputies of Kazakh*

- Nation to Kazakh Soviet Council*]. Nevada-Semipalatinsk Antinuclear Movement (NSAM series, Fount 103, Register 73, Document 21, 9-11 pp). Center of Documentation of New History of East Kazakhstan Region, Semey, Kazakhstan.
- Nevada-Semipalatinsk Antinuclear Movement (n.d.). *Nevada-Semipalatinsk antinuclear movement brochure*. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 22, Folder 16). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.
- Nuclear Freeze Movement. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.encyclopedia.com/defense/energy-government-and-defense-magazines/nuclear-freeze-movement>
- Ponnet, C. (1989). [Letter to Peter Ediger and NDE members]. Special Collection of UNLV (NDE series, Box 1, Folder 26). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.
- Richardson, J. E. (2007). *Analyzing newspapers: An approach from critical discourse analysis*. New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rojecki, A. (1999). *Silencing the opposition: Antinuclear movements and the media in the Cold War*. IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Rubinson, P. (2014). The global effects of nuclear winter: Science and antinuclear protest in the United States and the Soviet Union during the 1980s. *Cold War History*, 14(1), 47-69. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14682745.2012.759560>
- San Francisco Earthquake of 1989 (2009). Retrieved from <http://www.history.com/topics/1989-san-francisco-earthquake>
- Sarsembayev, T. (1989, August 8). Невада Даусы. Абай жеріндегі антиядролық акция. *Semey Tany*, pp. 2-3.
- Slyambekov, T. (1988, May 29). *Из заявления жителя села Караул Абайского района Т. Слямбекова инвалида Великой Отечественной Войны секретарю Семипалатинского Обкома Компартии К.Б.Бозтаеву [From the appeal of Slyambekov T., the resident of Karaul village of Abay district and invalid of Great Patriotic War to Boztayev K.B., the Secretary of Semipalatinsk Regional Communist Party]*. Nevada-Semipalatinsk Antinuclear Movement (NSAM series, Fount 103,

Register 21, Document 73, 31-35 pp.). Center of Documentation of New History of East Kazakhstan Region, Semey, Kazakhstan.

Snow, D.A., & Benford, R.D., (1998). Ideology, frame resonance and participant mobilization. *International Social Movement Research, 1*, 197-218.

Solo, P. (1988). *From protest to policy: Beyond the freeze to common security*. Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger.

Stephenson, D. (1989, January 4). [Letter to vigils]. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 4, Folder 36). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.

Suleymenov, O. O. (1989, April 26). Suleymenov's election campaign program. *Semey Tany*, p. 3.

Suleymenov, O. O. (1989, June 10). Public speech of deputy Suleymenov, O.O. *Semey Tany*, p. 4.

Sullivan, M. (1989, March 27). Civil Disobedience: Protestors' religious convictions deeply tied to social beliefs. *Las Vegas Sun*, pp. 1B -2B.

Symens-Bucher, A. (2007). Interview by S. Becker [audio file]. Nevada Test Site Oral History Project, University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

Tarrow, S. (2001, June). Transnational politics: Contention and institutions in international politics. *Annual Reviews, 4*(4), 1-20.
<http://dx.doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.4.1.1>

The Soviet Union's nuclear testing programme. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.ctbto.org/nuclear-testing/the-effects-of-nuclear-testing/the-soviet-unionsnuclear-testing-programme/>

The status of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty: Signatories and ratifiers. (2017, July). [Fact sheet]. Retrieved from <https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/ctbtsig>

Toktarov, T. T. (1989, June 17-19). *Из выступления заведующего Семипалатинского здравоотдела Т.Т. Токтарова на научно-практической конференции “Здоровье населения и экологическая обстановка города Семипалатинска и Семипалатинской области Каз ССР” [Head of Public Health department of Semipalatinsk region, Toktarov’s speech transcript at the science-research conference Public Health and Ecological situation in Semipalatinsk city and Semipalatinsk region of Kaz SSR]. Nevada-Semipalatinsk Antinuclear Movement (NSAM series, Fount 387, Register 7, Document 914, 54-62 pp.). Center of Documentation of New History of East Kazakhstan Region, Semey, Kazakhstan.*

Vitale, L., Russel, R., Stangle, J., Thompson, E., Barrabbas, I. M., Gable, G. G., ... Hilfenhaus, C. (1989, March 27). [Letter to the President of the U.S., George H.W.Bush]. Special Collections of UNLV (NDE series, Box 1, Folder 35). Lied Library, UNLV, Las Vegas, NV.

Кең алаңға кернеп кетті ел сыймай [On the overcrowded square]. (1989, May 9). *Semey Tany*, pp. 1,4.

Олжас Омарұлы Сүлейменов [Olzhas Omaruly Suleymenov]. (1989, April 26). *Semey Tany*, p. 2.

Халық денсаулығы және экологиялық жағдай [Public health and ecological situation]. (1989, July 18). *Semey Tany*, pp. 3-6.

Экология ғалымдардың бақылауында болсын [Ecology needs to be in scientists’ control]. (1989, May 16). *Semey Tany*, p. 3.