

David E. Pesonen:
The Battle for Bodega Head

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Individual Exhibit
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I decided to research David E. Pesonen and the battle for Bodega Head when I learned that PG&E had intended to build a nuclear power plant on Bodega Head in the 1960s. Initially, I was uncertain about choosing a local history topic, but after some research I decided that Pesonen's leadership had a significant legacy far beyond Sonoma County. Pesonen's leadership style enabled a grassroots protest to defeat the largest power company in the country. Through my research I've discovered that the legacy of this victory extended beyond the issue of nuclear power, influenced the modern environmental movement, and became a model for participatory democracy.

I started my research by visiting the Sonoma State University Regional History Collection and looking at documents and photographs. I accessed special reports and oral histories at the Bancroft Library and the National Archives and Records Administration. My best secondary source was *Critical Masses* by Thomas Wellock. I also found useful documents at the Eisenhower Presidential Library and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

Interviews were an integral source of information. I interviewed David Pesonen, Doris Sloan, and journalists who covered the battle. My interview with David Pesonen was key to understanding his leadership style and why he was significant. Beyond my interviews, my best primary source was *A Visit to Atomic Park* by David Pesonen.

I balanced my research in several ways. For PG&E's perspective, I researched the demands for energy, the Atoms for Peace initiative, and interviewed a local citizen who wanted the power plant. I also interviewed Thomas Wellock, the historian of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, to get another perspective. I sought out information about the Sierra Club's position and interviewed an executive director with the Sierra Club.

I decided to create an exhibit for my project because I had access to photos, documents, and maps that would tell a visual story. I used a digital program to design my panels. I analyze Pesonen's leadership on the left panel, provide context and the turning point in the middle panel, and show significance on the right panel. The base of my exhibit has a video clip from an interview with David Pesonen as well as photos of the hole in Bodega Head as it is today. I also included a song and a poem that protestors used to spread the word about their cause as examples of how Pesonen's creative leadership led to an improbable victory over PG&E.

David Pesonen's leadership in the Battle for Bodega Head led to an improbable victory over PG&E in 1963 that changed the course of nuclear power on the California coast. Although victory at Bodega did not prevent all nuclear projects in California, Pesonen's battle became the model for grassroots protest against government agencies and utilities. Ultimately, Pesonen's leadership established an important foundation for participatory democracy in California, as it profoundly shaped the emerging environmental movement, exposed issues of earthquake safety in the nuclear industry, and reflected the changing role of citizens in governmental decisions.

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Interviews

"Albert Tesconi." E-mail interview. 25 Mar. 2015.

Mr. Tesconi was pro PG&E and the nuclear plant during the protest. He was in favor of the business it would bring to Sonoma County and the increased tax dollars that would help the county. I learned that most people who were in favor of the plant were focused on the growth that they thought would make Sonoma County a better place to live. It is interesting that this is exactly opposite what makes Sonoma County desirable to people today. This interview provided important balance to my research.

"David Byrne." E-mail interview. 9 Apr. 2015.

Mr. Byrne shared with me his experience working with PG&E at the Diablo Canyon Nuclear Power Plant. He provided balance to my research with his representation of how PG&E operated. He talked about the protesters as well as the safety issues they had at Diablo. According to Mr. Byrne, PG&E was expert at building traditional steam and coal power plants, but they never were able to get nuclear power plants right. Mr. Byrne's experience added an important perspective to my research.

"David Pesonen." E-mail interview. 20 Jan 2015.

My first contact with David Pesonen was through email. He shared with me the significance of the victory over PG&E and how the victory impacted the environmental movement. Mr. Pesonen also gave me background information on how he became involved and some of the highlights of the battle. I used the information from this email for the foundation of most of my research.

"David Pesonen." Personal interview. 3 Apr. 2015.

I met with David Pesonen at his home in Sixes, Oregon. He shared with me his experiences leading the NCAPBBH against PG&E, his thoughts on nuclear power, and how the victory at Bodega impacted his life. I learned that he was more opposed to the way PG&E was stepping on the rights of citizens than he opposed nuclear power. Mr. Pesonen also shared with me how Pierre St. Amand discovered the fault line running through the hole and how that was the beginning of the end for PG&E. I was most struck by his thoughts on how to lead people. He told me that a good leader has to be flexible and take advantages of the opportunities that arise. After my interview I was struck by how humble, yet savvy Mr. Pesonen is. He shares the legacy of the victory with

all of the people in the protest and acknowledges that the victory changed his life.

"Doris Sloan." E-mail interview. 15 Feb. 2015.

Dr. Sloan provided information on the battle at Bodega and the environmental legacy of the victory. During the protest, Dr. Sloan was designated to attend the meetings of all officials in Sonoma County. She told me how members of the public were not expected or welcome to participate in meetings back then. She feels that the victory over PG&E marks a turning point in how people thought about their role in decision making. Dr. Sloan went on to start the first environmental studies program in the country at U.C. Berkeley.

"Doris Sloan." E-mail interview. 20 Apr. 2015.

In this second interview Dr. Sloan talked about how Pesonen's style of leadership brought an identity to the many people who were protesting against PG&E. She shared how his ability to value and use the talents of others without trying to protect his image as a leader was significant. She expanded on this by describing the balloon launch and the concerts by Lu Watters as creative opportunities to use the talents and ideas of the entire group of protesters.

"Eric Stanley." E-mail interview. 15 Nov. 2015.

Eric Stanley is the curator of the Sonoma County Museum. He told me about how he saw Mr. Pesonen's leadership as a key to the victor over Bodega. According to Mr. Stanley, that Pesonen added a determination and organizational skills that enabled the group to bring the issue to San Francisco. Mr. Stanley also shared photos from the collection at the museum. After this interview, I knew that David Pesonen had a unique set of leadership skills that set him apart from many other leaders.

"Gaye LeBaron." E-mail interview. 16 Apr. 2015.

Gaye LeBaron is a journalist who covered the event for the Press Democrat as well as a land owner in Bodega Bay. She told me about how the Press Democrat editorial staff was pro PG&E while the reporters were against PG&E and that the newspaper reflected both sides of the issue. Mrs. LeBaron recounted her memories and told me about how the energy shifted once David Pesonen became involved. She also talked about the broader significance of the environmental legacy in Sonoma County and in California.

“Interview of Joel W. Hedgpeth.” Berkeley: Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, 1992. PDF.

Joel Hedgpeth was one of the first protesters against PG&E. His significant contribution was in the area of science. Because he was a professor, he was allowed to appear at the hearings and speak. Hedgpeth also published poems about PG&E. I used information from this oral history to better understand the people involved and how they felt about Pesonen.

"Julie Shearer." E-mail interview. 15 Apr. 2015.

Ms. Shearer was a journalist for the Marin Independent Journal during the battle against PG&E. During the protest, she married David Pesonen. She told me about the sacrifice Pesonen made by quitting his job at the Sierra Club. He received no income while leading the protest at Bodega and he gave up a job working in Africa to stay with the protest.

"Karen Gaffney." Telephone interview. 18 Apr. 2015.

Ms. Gaffney works with the Sonoma County Agricultural Open Space District as a watershed expert and a conservationist. She is a primary source to the legacy of Bodega Head because she works in a field that was created as a result of the protest at Bodega. This organization is funded through tax dollars. By securing agricultural land and open space, Sonoma County has been able to limit growth. Expected population in 2010 was 1.2 million people. Today, Sonoma County's population is approximately 500,000. Ms. Gaffney attributes this to the environmental approach adopted by people in Sonoma County as a result of the experience at Bodega.

"David Brower - Sierra Club Leader and Critic: Perspectives on Club Growth, Tactics

and Scope, 150s - 1970s" Interview by Ann Lage. (Berkeley: University of

California, Bancroft Regional Oral History Office, 1982). Print.

This interview had information about the shift at the Sierra Club to a more activist position. The transcript helped me to understand the initial point of view of the Sierra Club about activism and nuclear power and how it changed over time. I used this information to formulate my section on the Sierra Club as well as the conclusions on the Legacy part of my exhibit. This source also provided an additional perspective on the influence of the Sierra Club.

"Lucy Kortum." Personal interview. 23 Mar. 2015.

Lucy Kortum was a member of the protest at Bodega. Her husband, Bill Kortum, led the dairy farmers in protesting the possible contamination of milk. Bill Kortum also was a key figure in passing the California Coastal Act, the first legislation in the country to protect a coastline. Mrs. Kortum also told me about her memory of the victory dinner after the plant was cancelled. She recollected that Pesonen acknowledged every one of the over 100 people there and knew exactly what their unique contribution to the victory was. I used this information to develop my leadership in action section on the exhibit.

Articles

"Balloons Carry Atom Warning." *San Francisco Chronicle*. *Gaye LeBaron Collection*,

North Bay Regional Collection, Sonoma State University 31 May 1961. Print.

This article was about the balloon release that spread the dangers of nuclear radiation drift to people across the Bay Area. I used this information in the leadership part of my exhibit as an example of how Pesonen fostered creativity within the Association.

"Bay Plant Should Be Built." *Press Democrat* [Santa Rosa]. *Gaye LeBaron Collection*,

North Bay Regional Collection, Sonoma State University 23 Feb 1960. Print.

This editorial is an example of how the editors of the local newspaper were pro PG&E and pro business development. I used this article as background for understanding the different points of view at the newspaper and in the community.

Edmund, Don. "Sierra Club Raps PG&E Power Plant." *Press Democrat* [Santa Rosa].

Gaye LeBaron Collection, North Bay Regional Collection, Sonoma State

University 23 Dec. 1960, Print.

This article headline appears on my exhibit. The article was about the Sierra Club's initial opposition to the plant. Later, the Sierra Club chose not to oppose PG&E, and Pesonen quit his job. Understanding the Sierra Club's role was essential to both the context and the legacy sections of my exhibit.

Gilliam, Harold. "Atom Versus Nature at Bodega." *San Francisco Chronicle* 11 Feb

1963. Print.

Gilliam's article was a review of the efforts of PG&E to destroy Bodega Head. His article was one of the first published pieces to bring the issues to the public in the greater Bay Area. I used the information in the article to better understand the issues with PG&E's tactics.

Hillinger, Charles. "Belle of Bodega Bay." *The Sacramento Bee*. *Gaye LeBaron*

Collection, North Bay Regional Collection, Sonoma State University. 23

January 1972, Print.

This interview of Rose Gaffney, the original owner of the land, provided important background information about the people and the culture in Bodega Bay. It also explained how PG&E purchased her land through eminent domain for \$1000 an acre. This article is considered primary because it is an interview of one of the main people in the battle.

Johnson, William. "Military or Civilian Control of Science." *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (1945), *Eisenhower Presidential Library*. Web. 10 Apr. 2015.

This article was useful for understanding the issues of nuclear science after the war. It provided background for understanding the role of nuclear science in the Cold War. I used a photo of the headline on the context section of my exhibit.

Keene, Jenness. "Solving Reactor Siting in California." *Nucleonics* 24 (1966): 53-68. Web. 13 Apr. 2015.

The issue of seismic safety became the main weapon for protesters as a result of Pesonen's success at Bodega. This article balanced my research, since *Nucleonics* is a journal supporting nuclear power.

Kortum, Karl. "Letter to the Editor: Atom versus Nature at Bodega." *San Francisco Chronicle*. *Gaye LeBaron Collection*, North Bay Regional Collection, Sonoma State University 20 Feb 1963. Print.

This letter to the editor brought the battle from Bodega Head to the San Francisco Bay Area. Kortum's letter encouraged readers to send letters to the Public Utilities Commission to protest the proposed plant. I used this letter to learn about the tactics employed to defeat PG&E.

LeBaron, Gaye. "Battle over Bodega Head Nuclear Plant Set the Stage." *Press Democrat* [Santa Rosa] 15 Apr. 2011. Print.

LeBaron's retrospective on the battle gives perspective on how the event was a precursor of the environmental movement and a prototype for coastal action and legislation. I used this article to analyze the environmental legacy of the event. I categorized this article as primary since the author was a participant in the protest as well as a journalist covering the event.

LeBaron, Gaye. "PG&E Tells Location of Bodega Bay Plant." *Press Democrat* [Santa Rosa] 16 Oct. 1959, *Gaye LeBaron Collection*, North Bay Regional Collection, Sonoma State University, Print.

LeBaron's article on the early announcement by PG&E was critical of the utility company for not being more forthcoming earlier in the process. This article is a good example of the different perspectives at the local newspaper. I used this article as background for understanding PG&E's tactics.

LeBaron, Gaye. "Looking Back 50 Years after the Battle of Bodega Head." *Press Democrat* [Santa Rosa] 25 Oct. 2014: Print.

LeBaron's interview with Hazel Mitchell provided context on how PG&E operated with county supervisors and business owners. Mitchell was a waitress at the restaurant they ate at and she would listen to conversations and let others know what PG&E was planning. This was how word that the plant would be nuclear first got out.

Lee, David. "Silent Spring Is Now Noisy Summer." *New York Times* 15 June 1962:

Web.

This article was about the controversy that Rachel Carson's book, *Silent Spring*, created. The shift in how people viewed the environment is on the legacy section of my exhibit. I have the headline on my exhibit.

"State Parks Chief Surrenders to PG&E." *Press Democrat* [Santa Rosa] 15 Jan. 1960.

Print.

This article provided context to the way PG&E was able to purchase land that was supposed to become a state park. The article was critical of the power PG&E had over the state parks. I used the headline on my exhibit.

Audio and Video Recordings

LeBaron, Gaye. "Interview of Bill Kortum, October 14, 2014." *Gaye LeBaron*

Collection, North Bay Regional Collection, Sonoma State University. Video.

This interview of Bill Kortum illustrated the significant role he played in the battle and also in environmental activism as a result of the victory. I used this video to formulate the legacy portion of my exhibit.

LeBaron, Gaye. "Interview of Hazel Mitchell, October 14, 2014." *Gaye LeBaron*

Collection, North Bay Regional Collection, Sonoma State University. Video.

LeBaron's interview of Hazel Mitchell provided good information on how consumed people were with defeating PG&E. I especially liked hearing how Mitchell would listen to PG&E officials as they dined where she worked and would then report back to the Association. I used the interview to develop the leadership section of my exhibit.

Rose, Wally, and Barbara Dane. *Blues over Bodega*. Lu Watters Jazz Band. Fantasy

Records, 1964. CD.

Lu Watters came out of retirement to support the effort against PG&E. He recorded this album and performed to raise money for the cause. I used the lyrics on the bottom of my exhibit and the song is also part of the video. This album is evidence of the cultural impact the protest against PG&E.

Robinson, Bruce. "The History of the Hole at Bodega Head." *Power Struggle*. NPR.

KCRB, Rohnert Park, CA, 14 Nov. 2014. Radio.

I listened to a radio program that included interviews with Bill Kortum and Doris Sloan. The interviews were helpful in learning about how they remembered David Pesonen. I used this information to develop my analysis of Pesonen's leadership style. I classified this as primary because the people interviewed are primary sources.

Stanley, Eric. "Interview of David Pesonen." Sonoma County Historical Museum. 10

October 2014. Video.

Eric Stanley's interview of David Pesonen gave me an early look at Pesonen's style and personality. I used this interview to learn about the battle, the impact it had on Sonoma County in addition to learning about Pesonen.

Stanley, Eric. "Interview of Gaye LeBaron." Sonoma County Historical Museum. 10

October 2014. Video.

Gaye LeBaron worked as a reporter for the *Press Democrat* during the battle. She still works as a columnist for the same paper. Her memories of the personalities and politics involved brought the battle to life for me. I used her recollections to formulate my conclusions about the back door deals that PG&E was making with business owners. I also learned that the newspaper editors were pro PG&E, but the reporters were not. This information was important, as I was then able to view the *Press Democrat* articles as presenting multiple perspectives.

Books

Brower, Kenneth. *The Wildness Within: Remembering David Brower*. Berkeley, CA:

Heyday, 2012. Print.

Kenneth Brower's book on David Brower's, his father, influence at the Sierra Club included an article by David Pesonen about the Bodega Head battle. The article had an introduction on Pesonen that described his leadership qualities and how important the victory was to the environmental movement. I classified this as primary because all of the articles were written by people who worked with David Brower.

Carson, Rachel. *Silent Spring*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1962.

Carson's book came out right in the middle of the battle with PG&E. This book sparked an environmental and scientific storm that mirrored the arguments at Bodega Head. I read parts of the book for contextual information and I used the cover on my timeline.

Hedgpeth, Joel, ed. *Newspaper Clippings: Battle for Bodega Head*. 1963. Print.

This unpublished book of newspaper clippings traced the entire history of the battle with PG&E as well as the issue of nuclear power across the United States. I used several headlines on my exhibit.

Lilienthal, David Eli. *Atomic Energy, a New Start*. New York: Harper & Row, 1980.

Print.

David Lilienthal was one of the early players on the Atomic Energy Commission. He was part of the program to find new ways to use the science and technology around the atomic bomb. This book provided context on the Atoms for Peace program.

Pesonen, David E., Phillip S. Berry, and Ann Lage. *Attorney and Activist for the*

Environment, 1962-1992: Opposing Nuclear Power at Bodega Bay and Point

Arena, Managing California Forests and East Bay Regional Parks. Print.

This book was my most important printed primary source. The oral history gave me important information for my interviews and also provided perspective on Pesonen's life before and after Bodega. I learned about his experience at the Sierra Club, the sacrifices he made to lead at Bodega, and his views on nuclear power.

Pesonen, David E. *A Visit to Atomic Park*. Sebastopol, CA: Sebastopol Times, 1962.

Print.

Pesonen's wrote this book when he decided to lead the fight against PG&E. It is a great example of his writing style and the way he attacked the issues. Using all of the articles that had been written about the proposed plant up to 1962, Pesonen clearly identified the issues of political favors and unfair practices by PG&E. I used quotes from this book on my exhibit.

Stegner, Wallace. "The Wilderness Letter." Letter to David Pesonen. 3 Dec. 1960. *The*

Sound of Mountain Water. Print.

In 1969, David Pesonen wrote a letter to historian and author Wallace Stegner about conservation and the wilderness. Stegner's response, now called the Wilderness Letter, became a key piece to the passage of the Wilderness Act. I used this letter to better understand Pesonen's thoughts about nature and the environment as well as for the legacy part of my exhibit. I have a quote from the letter on my exhibit.

Cartoons

Corwin, Norman. "Make Up Your Mind, Madam." New York: Americans United for

World Organization, 1945. Print.

This cartoon and poem were part of a dramatization about where the world was headed with nuclear power. I used this to learn about the issues of dealing with the new science and the aftermath of dropping the bombs on Japan.

Williams, Craig. "Rising Tide." *Sebastopol Times*. 1963. Print.

The Sebastopol Times printed a cartoon illustrating how PG&E was losing the battle. I used the cartoon on the Association section of my exhibit.

Documents

“Chronology of Atoms for Peace Project, September 30, 1954. C. D, Jackson Papers, Box

30. “Atoms for Peace – Evolution. 15 Feb 2015: Web.

This chronology of the program provided important context for how Eisenhower came up with the idea to use atoms for peace. The chronology shows how he went from a fear based policy to a more open discussion with Americans about what the future would look like if atoms were used for good. I used this information on the context section of my exhibit.

"C.O.A.A.S.T.'s Position: Power Plant Siting on the California Coast." Rpt. in *Ernestine*

Smith Papers. North Bay Regional Collection, Sonoma State University, Print.

This document was an early proposal for the legislation that preserved the California coast, a direct legacy of Pesonen's victory at Bodega Head. I used this as part of the legacy of the battle.

“Draft of the Presidential Speech Before the General Assembly, November 28, 1953.”

Eisenhower Presidential Library. C. D, Jackson Papers, Box 30. “Atoms for Peace – Evolution. 15 Feb 2015: Web.

I used information from this draft of Eisenhower’s speech on the Atoms for Peace section of my exhibit. The speech helped me to understand that Eisenhower wanted to make something good come from the nuclear program. He hoped that Atoms for Peace would encourage private companies and help with foreign relations.

“Press Release, ‘Atoms for Peace’ Speech, December 8, 1953. *Eisenhower Presidential*

Library. DDE’s Papers as President, Speech Series, Box 5, United National Speech. 15 Feb 2015: Web.

President Eisenhower’s speech to the United Nations set the stage for PG&E to start building nuclear power plants. I used this speech to develop the context section of my exhibit.

“Preliminary Proposal for an International Organization to Further the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, June 8, 1954.” C. D. Jackson Papers, Box 30. “Atoms for

Peace – Evolution. 15 Feb 2015: Web.

Realizing that there needed to be an international organization overseeing the development of atomic energy, Eisenhower outlined the form and function of such an organization. I used this document to piece together the timeline for national and international development of atomic energy.

“Press Wire, Chronology of Soviet Bloc Reaction to Eisenhower’s U.N. Speech,

December, 14, 1953. C.D. Jackson Papers, Box 100, Speech Texts 1953 (1). 1

15 Feb 2015: Web.

This document was from the overseas press who were listening to Soviet radio reaction to Eisenhower’s speech. The reporting was the Eisenhower was driving the Americans to fear the bomb. Soviets also criticized the president for avoiding the question of banning the bomb. I used this document to better understand the Cold War.

Letters and Correspondence

“Letter from Karl Kortum to Nancy Konzett.” 16 April 1990. *Gaye LeBaron Collection*,

North Bay Regional and Special Collections, University Library, Sonoma State University.

Responding to Konzett’s letter, Kortum explains the role he played in the battle with PG&E and the influence of jazz musician Lu Watters. Kortum wrote the letter to the editor, “Atom versus Nature at Bodega” that spurred thousands of people living in the San Francisco area to write a letter to the Public Utilities Commission protesting the proposed plant. I used this letter for background information on Kortum’s contributions.

“Letter, President Eisenhower to Winston Churchill, April 27, 1956.” DDE’s Papers

as President, DDE Diary Series, Box 14, April 1956 Miscellaneous (1). 15 Feb 2105: Web.

President Eisenhower’s letter to Churchill discussed how the threat of nuclear war and worldwide devastation would prevent all out war. Churchill wasn’t certain that the threat alone would stop enemies from using nuclear weapons. I used this letter to better understand the issues of the Cold War.

Photographs and Images

Atom Bomb Testing, 1956. Time Magazine. Web. 3 May 2015.

This photo of atom bomb testing is on my timeline as an illustration of how the United States was using nuclear science in 1954.

Atoms for Peace Poster. 1954. Atoms for Peace. *Eisenhower Presidential Library.* Web. 15 Feb. 2015.

This poster was part of the publicity campaign by Eisenhower's administration to gain acceptance for nuclear power. I used the Atoms for Peace poster on the context section of my exhibit.

Atoms for Peace Stamp. Digital image. *Eisenhower Presidential Library.* . Web. 10 Mar. 2015.

This stamp celebrates the Atoms for Peace program put into place by President Eisenhower. It is an example of how the government advertised and promoted the program. I used this stamp on my exhibit.

Atoms for Peace Logo. Digital image. *Eisenhower Presidential Library.* . Web. 10 Mar. 2015.

This logo celebrates the Atoms for Peace program put into place by President Eisenhower. I used the logo on my timeline.

Baby Boom. 1955. Life Magazine. 2 May 2015: Web.

This cover of Life Magazine is on my timeline illustrating the baby boom culture of America in the 1950s. The baby boom and the building of suburban America coincided with greater wealth and access to post war conveniences like home appliances.

Balloon Launch at Bodega Head. 1963. Sonoma County Library Photograph Collection, Santa Rosa. Print.

This photo is of the balloon launch and jazz concert at Bodega Head. I used the photo on my exhibit as an example of Pesonen's leadership style. The balloons carried tags that said it could be a molecule of stronthium 90. People all over the Bay Area called radio stations when they found the balloons.

Balloon Launch Tag. Digital Image. 10 May 1963. Sonoma County Historical Museum.

The balloon launch is an example of Pesonen's leadership style. This tag was attached to thousands of balloons. I have the tag on my exhibit

Bodega Bay Benefit. Digital image. *Oakland Museum of California*. Web. 2 Apr 2015

Pesonen used concerts to raise awareness and money for the cause. I used a photo of this poster on my exhibit.

Diners at Bodega Nuclear Power Plant Victory Party. 1964. Sonoma County Library

Photograph Collection, Santa Rosa.

This photograph shows the celebration party after the victory. It gave me a sense of Pesonen's relationship with his group and supporters.

DDE Signs H.R. 9757, an Act "to Amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1946." The Signing

Was Witnessed in His Office by Various Senators, Congressmen and Members of the Atomic Energy Commission. 1954. Atoms for Peace, Eisenhower

Presidential Library. *Eisenhower Presidential Library*. Web. 10 Feb. 2015.

I used the photo of Eisenhower on my exhibit.

DDE with five of his top advisers who he summoned to discuss his

Atoms for Peace program. L to R: Secretary of Treasury Humphrey, DDE,

Secretary of State Dulles, Dillon Anderson, Lewis Strauss, Secretary of Defense

Wilson. 1956. Atoms for Peace, *Eisenhower Presidential Library*. Web. 10 Feb.

2015.

This photograph illustrated how Eisenhower worked with advisers and staff to come up with the Atoms for Peace program. I used this photo to learn about the other people involved and to help me find more sources.

Doris Sloan Remembers Bodega. 1984. Sonoma County Library Photograph Collection,
Santa Rosa.

Doris Sloan was the local organizer for the battle. I have this photo of her on the leadership section of my exhibit.

Ed Mannion and Dave Pesonen with "Save Bodega Head" Signs, Petaluma, Calif., 1963.
1962. Sonoma County Library Photograph Collection, Petaluma.

This photograph of David Pesonen is on the leadership section of my exhibit.

Fault Lines Bodega Head. 1963. Sonoma County Library Photograph Collection, Santa
Rosa.

Seeing where the San Andreas fault line lies in relationship to the proposed power plant was important to understanding the safety issue. I used this photograph on my exhibit.

Jean Kortum and David Pesonen at Hearings. 1963. Sonoma County Library Photograph
Collection, Santa Rosa.

Pesonen recognized Jean Kortum as key to any success. She had political connections in San Francisco and was the key to getting Secretary of the Interior Udall's support. I have this photo on my exhibit.

Joel Hedgpeth at Bodega Head. 1975. Sonoma County Library Photograph Collection,
Santa Rosa.

I used this photograph of Joel Hedgpeth on my exhibit. He was a marine biologist who wrote poems making fun of PG&E.

Hole in the Head. 2015. Personal Collection. Print.

This photo of the Hole in the Head interpretive sign is on my timeline indicating when the battle took place.

Karl Kortum at the Coast. 1962. Sonoma County Library Photograph Collection, Santa Rosa.

This photograph of Karl Kortum is on the leadership section of my exhibit. Kortum had many connections in San Francisco and he and his wife brought the issue to the Bay Area with newspaper letters and by attending hearings.

Kortum, Karl. *David Pesonen and Doris Sloan at Saved Bodega Head.* 1964. Sonoma County Library Photograph Collection, Santa Rosa.

This photograph shows Pesonen and Sloan standing under the Bodega Head Atomic Park sign with a bumper sticker that says "Saved Bodega Head." I used this photo on my exhibit.

PG&E Go Home. 1964. Sonoma County Library Photograph Collection, Santa Rosa.

This photograph is of a car with a sign saying, "PG&E Go Home" on the back of it. I used this on the leadership section of my exhibit.

Protesting at PUC Hearings. 1963. Sonoma County Library Photograph Collection, Santa Rosa.

This collection of photographs from protests at the San Francisco hearings shows an element of Pesonen's leadership. I used several photos on my exhibit.

Rose Gaffney. 1963. Sonoma County Library Photograph Collection, Santa Rosa.

Rose Gaffney was the original landowner of Bodega Head. I included this photo of her on the leadership section of my exhibit.

Scientists and Officials in the Hole. 1963. Sonoma County Library Photograph Collection, Santa Rosa.

I used this photograph on the middle of my exhibit. It shows officials examining the fault lines in the hole after Pierre St. Amand found the earthquake in the wall of the hole.

Speeches at Bodega Head. 1963. Sonoma County Library Photograph Collection, Santa

Rosa.

This photograph is on my exhibit as an example of how Pesonen turned protest into a community event.

Pamphlets and Unpublished Works

Bodega Bay: The People vs. the Experts. Berkeley, CA: KPFA, 1962. Print.

This pamphlet is a transcription of the recording at a meeting in Santa Rosa in October, 1952. The meeting was to educate people about nuclear power and the safety issues of the state. The transcript includes quotes by a state representative, Alexander Grendon, stating that people need to leave the decision making up to the experts. I used this pamphlet to analyze and develop the participatory democracy section of my exhibit.

Hedgpeth, Joel. *In Contempt of Progress.* 1962. Print.

Joel Hedgpeth wrote poems against PG&E and published them in this pamphlet. The Association sold the poems to raise money for their cause. I have a photo of the pamphlet and one of the poems on the base of my exhibit. These poems are examples of the different ways Pesonen's people fought against PG&E.

Newbern, Jay. "The Battles of Bodega Bay." Unpublished Essay. Print.

Newbern writes from the perspective of conservationist 1979. His essay gives an accurate background of the victory over PG&E, but his main point is that the battle continues as the coastline was being threatened with oil derricks. I used this information in the legacy section of my exhibit where I illustrate the importance of participatory democracy to protect the coastline of California.

Pesonen, David. "Nuclear Power at Bodega Head." Bodega Bay Historical Conference.

5 Nov 1988. Print.

Pesonen's paper submitted for this conference was great background information on the battle and the victory. I used information on Eisenhower and nuclear power on my exhibit.

Secondary Sources

Articles

Beck, John. "Spotlight on Nuclear Warrior." *Press Democrat* [Santa Rosa] 30 May 2003, Print.

In this article, Rose Gaffney is highlighted as the Belle of Bodega Bay for her efforts to defeat PG&E. I used the information about Gaffney to learn about early protests and how ineffective the protest was before Pesonen became involved.

Brower, Kenneth. "The Ballad of Bodega Head." *Bay Nature* 20 May 2015, Print.

Brower's article on the history of the victory over PG&E had an interesting point of view. As the son of David Brower, the head of the Sierra Club during the battle, Brower includes his memories of his father's frustration with the Sierra Club leadership. I used this article as context for understanding the Sierra Club's role.

Hicks, Jesse. "Atoms for Peace: The Mixed Legacy of Eisenhower's Nuclear Gambit."

Chemical Heritage Magazine Summer (2014): *Chemical Heritage*. 2014. Web. 3 Apr. 2015.

The legacy of Atoms for Peace is connected with the nuclear arms build up as well as the nuclear power plants. I used this article for context and I used a photo on my exhibit.

Weir, David. "California's Proposition 15: Fearful Little People." *Rollingstone*. N.p., 15 Apr. 2010. Web. 17 Mar. 2015.

One of the legacies of Pesonen's leadership was his leadership with Proposition 15, a nuclear safeguards initiative. This article provided information on how industry was able to use money to defeat the proposition. I used a photo from this article on my exhibit.

Wellock, Thomas. "The Battle for Bodega Bay: The Sierra Club and Nuclear Power,

1958 - 1964." *California History* Summer (1992): 192-212. Print.

Wellock's analysis of the Sierra Club's internal policies toward environmental protest and nuclear power provided important context to understanding the legacy of the victory. I used several quotes and photos from this article on my exhibit.

Books

Balogh, Brian. *Chain Reaction: Expert Debate & Public Participation in American*

Commercial Nuclear Power, 1945 - 1975. New York: Cambridge UP, 1991.

Print.

Balogh's approach looked at Bodega as a shift in how people engaged in government decisions. He analyzes how Pesonen's leadership brought about this new engagement by the making the people experts and demanding an audience with the authorities. I used quotes from this book on my exhibit.

Brooks, Karl Boyd. *Before Earth Day: The Origins of American Environmental Law,*

1945-1970. Lawrence: U of Kansas, 2009. Print.

I used the articles in this book to learn about environmental history and how the concern for the environment changed laws in the United States.

Greene, Gayle. *The Woman Who Knew Too Much: Alice Stewart and the Secrets of*

Radiation. Ann Arbor, MI: U of Michigan, 1999. Print.

This book had information about how people learned about radiation and the dangers of nuclear power plants. I used this information as context for the safety argument and to learn about how the industry and the government educated people on the good aspects of nuclear power.

Hewlett, Richard G., and Jack M. Holl. *Atoms for Peace and War, 1953-1961:*

Eisenhower and the Atomic Energy Commission. Berkeley: U of California,

1989. Print.

The information on Eisenhower's Atoms for Peace program was key to understanding the context of PG&E's plan to build the nuclear power plant at Bodega. I also read about the need for power during the post war era.

Mahaffey, James A. *Atomic Awakening: A New Look at the History and Future of Nuclear Power*. New York: Pegasus, 2009. Print.

Looking at nuclear power in the future, Mahaffey touches on how the protests in the past have changed safety laws around earthquakes and where these plants are built. I used this book for context for the legacy section of my exhibit.

McCreery, Laura. *Living Landscape: The Extraordinary Rise of the East Bay Regional Park District*. Berkeley: Wilderness, 2010. *Google Books*. Web. 22 Feb. 2015.

Pesonen was the director of the East Bay Regional Parks District. His work there is viewed with mixed reviews. This book gave information on his style of leadership and how sometimes he didn't always succeed.

Meehan, Richard L. *The Atom and the Fault: Experts, Earthquakes, and Nuclear Power*. Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1984. Print.

Meehan's look at the issue of seismic safety and nuclear power plant siting provided information on how important this argument was to winning the battle against PG&E. This book provided context on how Pesonen's leadership was key to victory.

Merchant, Carolyn. *Green versus Gold: Sources in California's Environmental History*. Washington, D.C.: Island, 1998. Print.

This book was a compilation of primary source articles about key events in California's environmental history, including one on Bodega and one on the Sierra Club. I used these articles to make the connection between Bodega and the internal disagreements at the Sierra Club.

Wellock, Thomas Raymond. *Critical Masses: Opposition to Nuclear Power in California, 1958-1978*. Madison, WI: U of Wisconsin, 1998. Print.

Wellock's book provided context to the nuclear power proposals in California and the public response. His chapter on Bodega Head was helpful in understanding how the battle was significant for the protest movement against nuclear power at Diablo Canyon. He also discusses the changes at the Sierra Club because of Pesonen's work at Bodega Head. I used quotes from this book on my exhibit.

Wills, John. *Conservation Fallout: Nuclear Protest at Diablo Canyon*. Reno, NV: U of Nevada, 2006. Print.

Wills covers the protests at Diablo over the safety issues related to earthquakes. I read about how the organizers used what Pesonen did at Bodega to stage their protests. This was important for the nuclear power legacy of my project.

Secondary Interviews

“Bruce Hamilton.” Email interview. 9 Mar 2015.

Bruce Hamilton is the executive deputy director of the Sierra Club. He answered questions about the Sierra Club’s point of view regarding nuclear power and activism. I also learned about how the Sierra Club tactics and mission shifted after Pesonen’s victory to include issues of safety. I used this information on the context section of my exhibit as well as on the legacy section.

"Daniel Markwyn." E-mail interview. 23 Mar. 2015.

Dr. Markwyn is a professor emeritus at Sonoma State University. He answered questions about the shift in environmentalism in the 1960s, beginning with Rachel Carson's Silent Spring and the victory at Bodega Head. He also told me about how Pesonen was able to narrow the gap between the experts and the people with his leadership and strategy. A legacy of this strategy is how people became more engaged with policy-making decisions during the 1960s.

“John Williams.” Email interview. 19 Mar 2015.

Mr. Williams is a historian for the Public Utilities Commission and works with the press office. He answered questions about the policies and role of the PUC with nuclear power. He also explained that the PUC held the hearings on whether to grant PG&E a permit to build the plant. I learned that the Atomic Energy Commission was independent of the PUC. I used this information to understand the way the agencies worked with one another.

"Thomas Wellock." E-mail interview. 9 Feb. 2015.

Dr. Wellock is the chief historian for the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and the author of Critical Masses. He answered questions about the significance of the victory against PG&E. According to Wellock, that while the victory didn't end nuclear power plants in California, it did lead to the cancellation of a plant in Point Arena, the eventual closure in Humboldt, and the cancellation of a plant in Malibu. I also learned that the victory had a major impact on the Sierra Club shift from conservation and preservation to a broader environmental approach to natural resources.

"Thomas Wellock." E-mail interview. 3 Mar 2015.

Dr. Wellock responded to questions about the legacy of the victory at Bodega Head. This interview was important in balancing out the different perspectives

presented. Wellock confirmed that the battle initially was about conservation and then shifted to be about safety. He also confirmed that the shift to safety issues set the stage for future demonstrations and closures/cancellations of nuclear power plants at Pt. Arena, Humboldt, and Diablo Canyon.

Websites

"Ca. Coastal Commission." *Ca. Coastal Commission*. Web. 09 Feb. 2015.

I read about the origins of the California Coastal Commission on this website. I also used several photos from the website on my exhibit.

"Diablo Canyon Nuclear Reactor." *Understanding Government*. Web 02 May 2015.

This website had a good explanation of the implications of Fukushima and nuclear power plant safety on the coast. I used the information to help develop my legacy section and I used a image for my timeline.

"Earth Day." *Earth Day*. Web 02 May 2015.

Earth Day is a legacy of the rise of environmentalism. I used a logo from this website on my timeline.

"Environmental Timeline." *Museums of Sonoma County | Art · History*. Web. 02 Dec. 2015.

This timeline had several photos that I used on the legacy section of my exhibit.

"Free Speech Movement Logo." *Insight Berkeley*. Web. 02 May 2015.

I used the logo shown on this website on my timeline as an illustration of what participatory democracy led to in the 1960s.

"Fukushima." *Royal Society of Chemistry*. Web 02 May 2015.

This website had a review of the disaster at Fukushima which was helpful in analyzing the legacy of Bodega Head. I also used graphic from the website on my timeline.

"Nuclear Plants in California." *California Energy Commission*. State of California, Web. 06 Mar. 2015.

The state of California provides information on all of the nuclear power plants in operation as well as the history of some that have closed. I used this information on my exhibit.

"Save the Bay." *Save the Bay*. Web. 09 Mar. 2015.

I accessed several photos from Save the Bay for the legacy section of my exhibit. I also read about how Save the Bay and the Battle for Bodega Head both have the same legacy of environmental stewardship.

"Sierra Club California." *Sierra Club California*. Web. 10 Feb. 2015.

The Sierra Club photograph collection was a great resource for photos related to my topic. I have photos of Pt. Arena, David Brower, and Richard Leonard on my exhibit.