

A NONVIOLENT ACTION MANUAL

WILLIAM MOYER



**How to Organize Nonviolent
Demonstrations and Campaigns**

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Cover Photo: The Citizen's Right To Know All About Atomic Power demonstration at the Idmerick, Pa., atomic energy reactor site and information center.
Photo by Paul Hare, March, 1976

A NONVIOLENT ACTION MANUAL

I. INTRODUCTION

Nonviolent action is a powerful people's weapon for social change. Most people know nonviolence as a vague and mysterious method used by a few exceptional people in exceptional places, such as Gandhi in colonial India and King in racist Southern United States. Few people, however, realize that nonviolence has been used extensively and with great success throughout history by ordinary people in ordinary settings—and that this method is available to them today. It is available also to you, the reader. You can use it in your neighborhood, in your town, on your issues.

The purpose of this small manual is to help people use nonviolent direct action demonstrations and campaigns in their efforts to take charge of their own lives. It is brief and in outline style for easy use. Although there are an increasing number of good books on nonviolence (see the reading list in Part XII) they are usually hard for activists to apply to their own situation. This manual, however, is more of a cookbook for activists who want to use nonviolence.

II. NONVIOLENT SOCIAL ACTION

A. What: Nonviolence is a particular kind of citizens action for social change. It is a method for social liberation: "(Gandhi) recognized that Governments and institutions often fall into decay, whence they become oppressive and tyrannous, and also that evil customs are capable of destroying even the power to recognize their evil nature. When such situations arise, nonviolent resistance and revolt may be absolutely necessary in order to awaken the social conscience." (Wellock, "Gandhi as Social Rev." p8)

B. Goals: To achieve social justice and equality; not to achieve personal gain. To achieve the maximum meeting of human needs (psychological, spiritual and physical needs). It considers all people of the world and future generations.

C. Special Aspects of Nonviolent Method: Openness; truthfulness; self-suffering and personal risk rather than hurt or endanger opponents; means are considered the ends in the making; it is truth-seeking (it doesn't claim to know the whole truth, just "relative" truth); it defines truth as the maximum meeting of human needs.

D. Who: Anyone seeking justice through love and action. It can be used by all who want to work for a better world, privileged and oppressed, who want to try living a whole, liberated life now. People who see themselves as personal, social and political beings. People who accept nonviolent goals and methods.

E. Nonviolent Movements, Campaigns and Demonstrations: A demonstration is a particular event or action on a given day, such as a picket or rally. A campaign is a prolonged citizens' action made up of a series of demonstrations over a period of weeks or months. Some campaigns last six months and longer, after which people may rest and resume another campaign on the same issue. A movement is a wide-spread citizens' action which can last many months or even many years. It is made up of many demonstrations and many campaigns, often in different places simultaneously. It gets many people "moving" on an issue. Some past and present movements in the United States are: voting rights, public accommodations, school integration, anti-Vietnam War, and anti-nuclear power plants.

IV. THREE THEORIES OF ACTION (Continued)

C. Whole Person1. Worldview and us.

The world is dominated by a system of injustice, inequality and inhumanity. Human needs are not being met throughout the world. The United States is on top of a world food chain, economic chain, political domination chain, resources flow chain, military oppression chain. The world and the U.S. is out of harmony with human nature (the meeting of human needs) and the universe.

We (you and I) have been socialized into the values, beliefs, lifestyles, and consumption patterns of inhumanity. We have developed a character structure, worldview and lifestyle consistent with injustice: we help prevent human needs from being met.

2. Start with yourself.

Our personal goal is to act as a full person, a mature social character, in harmony with human nature and the universe; that is, we act consistent with the max. meeting of human needs. It must be more than factual and intellectual, it must be personal and social and political.

In a sick world we all participate in inhumanity; normal behavior supports inhumanity. But when we act as full people: (1) We say "no". We stop cooperating with inhumanity. (2) We say "yes". We decide to be full, loving persons in harmony with human nature. We start working for social change. (3) Conflict will occur automatically. Struggle will occur.

Gandhi: "As long as a people accept exploitation, the exploiter and the exploited will be entangled in injustice. But once the exploited refuses to accept the relationship, refuses to cooperate with it, they are already free."

Bevel: "The nonviolent revolution begins in your mind. You must first re-define yourself. When people redefine themselves, slavery is dead. Then the power structure makes a motion, but doesn't get a second. Tyrants are smart. When people don't go along, they change. Freedom and humanity first has got to do with political structures, but with a person becoming a new character. Becoming, I AM'. Becoming a full person. Then a person can also develop the will to attack the problem.

Only when people re-define themselves can they investigate inconsistencies in society. Nonviolence begins with the declaration 'I am a mature personality.' You no longer accept the system; you have to accept yourself. We need people not to look at radical groups or presidents or liberal congresspeople to save them. We need to help people first look to themselves. We need to help people re-create themselves, to be able to say, 'I AM.'"

3. We assume unjust social conditions are fragile. Evil structures and conditions are more fragile and shakey than one usually believes. They require cooperation by people, by us. They require that people believe the structures are strong & powerful.

4. No "Devil" theory. Nonviolence doesn't first deal with attacking the enemy, such as Nixon, Rizzo, Daly, or Hitler, but starts with a personal growth process. We often don't act because we believe that the evil enemy out there is too strong, too powerful. But the nonviolent question is can we appeal to the goodness in ourselves? Will we stop cooperating with evil? The moment we do that we are free, as were Jesus and Gandhi.

5. What should we do to make the world a better place?

(1) We need to say "no". Stop living, thinking, relating, cooperating with the unjust, immoral aspects of the world, nation, community, institutions, normal behavior and culture.

(2) We need to ask, "What would a mature, loving person do who lives in harmony with human nature and the universe?"

(3) That is what we should do.

Some examples: In the South a full-citizen voted, so blacks decided to vote. In Philadelphia some people decided a full-person needed to put their bodies between the United States' bombs and the Bengalis.

V. ANALYSIS

A. Specific Concern:

Select a specific concern, such as end the war, civil rights-voting for blacks,

B. Research and Analysis. Get facts, information, historical perspective, macro-view. Interviews; fieldwork; do a macroanalysis seminar.

C. Moral basis:

What widely-held moral and ethical values are being violated? For example, the right to vote, human survival, do not kill.

D. Long Range Goals:

Decide on long-range goals. These are often the values listed above or a specific example of them. Long range goals serve as Generating Themes. That is, they generate new short-range issues and projects. For example "civil rights" generated first eating rights, then bus rights, then voting rights, and so forth.

F. Short-range goals+Specific targets and tactics:

Gandhi said, "nonviolence should never be directed for a general cause such as for Independence; the issue must be definite and capable of being clearly understood and within the power of the opponent to yield." Short-range goals must be consistent with medium and long-range goals. People in the group must be enthusiastic. The goals must be important concerns. They must be important, timely and repeatable elsewhere; also, there must be a "handle" by which action can occur.

E. Medium-range goals:

Specific issues within a long-range goal. For example, equal voting rights; oppose nuclear fission plants.)

G; Revolutionary reforms not reformist reforms.

Our goals should be consistent with the goals and needs of a new society. They should not be just "patching up" the old society. They should be consistent with ~~the~~ the maximum meeting of total human needs. Macroanalysis seminars are one way to do analysis, establish goals, issues, strategies, tactics and targets.

H. Societal Secrets

What are the Societal Secrets involved here? (Blacks are not allowed to vote. Atomic energy plants are dooming humankind.)

I. Societal Myths.

What Societal myths are involved?

J. Alternatives.

What alternative situation do we want? What is our vision of how human needs can best be met in this situation?

K. Constructive program.

People should start doing now activities which they would be doing after a successful movement. Often these activities are now unconventional or even illegal. And they often undercut the present social order.

"Gandhi saw with startling clearness that before embarking upon a policy of non-cooperation it was imperative to evolve a new constructive policy or social order to take the place of the old, and to secure for it a considerable degree of public support. Otherwise, even a successful revolt would end in disaster, which would strengthen the hands of the oppressor and his power over the people. Furthermore, Gandhi insisted with all the weight of his personality, that attempts should be made to give the new order some visible form, however small and imperfect. It was necessary for the pioneers of a new social order to embody its values in actual personal relationships, in habits and institutions, which all could see." (from Wellok, "Gandhi as Social Revolutionary") Millions of Indians making their own salt from the Sea was one constructive program Gandhi used. Spinning and making their own cloth was another. In the American peace movement, the teach-ins were a constructive program—students and teachers held their own "classrooms" and developed their own independent education. The "freedom schools" were a constructive program in the civil rights movement. And Simple Living movement will be a constructive program for the upcoming American movement for de-development.

V. ANALYSIS (Continued)

L. Demands.

Choose basic minimum demands. They should be consistent with medium and long range goals. We should be open to and seriously consider arguments from the opposition against the demands. Our truth is always partial; we should pursue truth.

M. Paralysis of Analysis.

Beware of doing too much study and not enough action. We need praxis, action with reflection.

VI. ORGANIZING THE ORGANIZATION.

A. Talk with as many potentially interested people as you can.

B. Form a small ad hoc organizing committee.

Look for people who are enthusiastic and committed to do some work. Some need to be able to give lots of time. Keep the organizing group small, 5 to 10 people. The group should test and further develop the campaign idea. Plan and recruit for the first meeting of the organization.

C. Develop a written, prospectus in "draft" form.

It would help in recruitment of others, save much explanation time, and the writing process will help clarify your thinking if you write a description of the proposed campaign: what is it? why? Goals; possible targets and scenarios; why people should join the campaign; why it is important; why it might work; also state that the campaign is in process and that it will be developed by those who get involved. Make mimeographed copies and distribute to people and places so it can be read by the most potential participants. It also makes the idea seem more like it can happen--and consequently it will be more likely to actually happen.

C. Form the new issue-oriented action group.

Hold the first meeting. The size of the new group can also be relatively small, especially at first, say 5 to 30 people. It shouldn't be too big at first or it might bog down with confusion and too many divergent ideas, interests and hidden agendas.

A new organization is generally required to carry out each specific campaign. New groups can have more radical goals, and are usually more flexible, so they can better grow with the campaign as it develops. Older groups usually have too much organizational "drag" to be dynamic enough for a dynamic campaign. Though older groups can relate in many good ways, they should not be involved in policy decision-making. (Note: There are exceptions to the above guideline about older groups. Especially with the "free" programs within older established groups. Also, if you want more people, but less radical action and risk, older groups can be extremely helpful. Also, if there is a radical issue that much of the liberal American population agrees with, such as end the war or gun control or free medical care. Established groups also can lend their name as supporting a campaign without being in the decision-making structure.)

Another way of organizing an action group is by coalition of organizations. However, this suffers not only from established groups dragging it, but by having "representatives" making decisions. This is doubly limiting because often key decisions are always delayed pending representatives going back to parent organizations---who often put restrictions on action decisions. Then more problems occur as groups back out of projects.

VI. NONVIOLENT METHODS

A major limitation to social change is that many people don't realize that they have the potential to change things. A relatively few people can act effectively. Gene Sharp, THE POLITICS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION, cites hundreds of historical uses of nonviolent campaigns used successfully by a wide variety of people in different countries throughout modern history. While most people are familiar with a few methods, such as marches, pickets and sit-ins, Sharp gives historical examples for 196 different methods of nonviolent action. The range is shown by the categories into which Sharp has organized historical examples:

1. Nonviolent protest and persuasion:

Formal statements, communications with a wider audience, group representations, symbolic public acts, pressures on individuals, drama and music, processions, honoring the dead, public assemblies, withdrawal and renunciation.

2. Social Noncooperation:

Ostracism of persons, noncooperation with social events, customs and institutions, withdrawal from the social system.

3. Economic Noncooperation Economic Boycotts.

Action by consumers, action by workers and producers, action by middlemen, action by owners and management, action by holders of financial resources, action by governments.

4. Economic Noncooperation: The Strike.

Symbolic strikes, agricultural strikes, strikes by special groups, ordinary industrial strikes, restricted strikes, multi-industry strikes, combination of strikes and economic closures.

5. Political Noncooperation.

Rejection of authority, citizens' noncooperation with government, citizens' alternatives to obedience, action by government personnel, domestic governmental action, international governmental action.

6. Nonviolent Intervention.

Psychological intervention, physical intervention, social intervention, economic intervention, political intervention.

It is obvious from this list that a wide variety of people in many different kinds of settings have used nonviolence, including peasants, industrial workers, housewives, truckdrivers, small entrepreneurs, children, neighborhood residents, military dissidents, and government employees.

VII. ACTION STEPS IN A CAMPAIGN UP TO NONVIOLENT DIRECT ACTION

A. Fact finding and analysis. (discussed earlier)B. Exhaust all normal channels.

Most people believe that their government, institutions and organizations live by the moral values they publicly state, and will easily correct any major violations of ethics or immoral conditions--if given the opportunity. So they will condemn any actions which don't demonstrate clearly that the institutions were given such an opportunity in full but failed to respond. We should provide people and institutions to act morally and ethically. Such attempts must be clear, fair, documented and publicized.

C. Negotiations.

Extensive negotiations should be undertaken before and continue during direct action phase of the campaign. Negotiations help both parties to understand each other and the reasons for the actions of each. Face to face contact helps each to see the other as human beings and to understand the problems and reasoning they use. Misunderstandings can more easily be cleared up. Roads to resolution can more readily be explored and developed. If negotiation meetings are not granted, they should be continuously attempted.

D. Public education.

A great variety of methods can be used to educate the public about the issue, the campaign, the goals, demands, attempts to change the opponent, etc. It might help to get active support for the campaign, and as people get educated they might put pressure on the opponent. Also, the public will be more prepared for direct action when it occurs. The types of public education activities include: leafleting, poster walks, street speaking, public meetings, printed articles in newspapers and magazines, letters to the editor, speeches to local groups, TV interviews, street theater, mini-macro seminars for groups, etc.

E. Training.

1. Nonviolence and campaign training. We should give extensive training in nonviolence to potential participants in the campaign.

2. Macroanalysis training. Our own people should undergo macroanalysis seminars on the issue and related issues. They should develop an analysis, vision and strategy for changing the conditions they are concerned about.

F. Special appeals.

Special appeals to public officials, business people, clergy, the President, to other dignitaries and the opponent for a just resolution to the situation. These appeals can be made public by news-releases and by group "walks" to the places where these people are.

G. Sacrificial acts.

Fasting or giving up special privileges. Especially good to combine with a special appeal above.

H. Ultimatum.

Review past attempts at resolving the injustice; set out minimum demands, set a date for a final good-faith response by the opponent after which direct action will begin. Be firm, but friendly. Put it in writing. Send to opponents. Make the ultimatum available to news media.

I. Nonviolent direct action. (See next section.)

Note: The above list is of the possible steps and their probable order. All the steps, however, don't always have to be taken. In fact, few campaigns include all of them. Sometimes these steps take months, sometimes days.

VIII. NONVIOLENT DIRECT ACTION SCENARIO (SOCIODRAMA)

Many action ideas are usually generated in strategy meetings through brainstorming, scenario writing by small buzz groups or other techniques. How do we know which ones to choose? How can we improve on them? How evaluate them? In this section we have some guidelines for developing and evaluating action ideas. We call it a "sociodrama" because our goal is to develop and enact a real-life drama based on the issues we are concerned about and the analysis we made earlier. The following are guidelines for devising a nonviolent direct action scenario or sociodrama:

A. Reduce our analysis to a picture in which we can enact our real-life situation we are concerned about.

A sociodrama demonstration should reduce the problem to a picture; ideally, no or few words should be needed. In a real-life dramatization of the problem try to portray the following aspects of our analysis:

1. The violation of a widely held belief
2. our long-range and short-range goals
3. reveal the societal secrets
4. reveal the societal myths accompanying the secrets
5. Show our alternative.

This differs from street theater, which is a play in which actors impersonate the real situation and the participants. But here we are trying to act out the real life situation, providing roles for ourselves, opponents, public, police, media, government. In trying to devise a sociodrama scenario which accomplishes these goals, it is helpful to ask, "What actions would a full-person do in this situation?"

Example: Voting: What does a full person do in America? A full person walks down to the court house and registers to vote. This simple act was the basic scenario of the voting rights movement in the South. It showed the violation of the widely held belief in the United States that everyone should have the right to vote. It revealed the secret that blacks weren't allowed to vote; revealed the idea

that blacks didn't want to vote as a myth; showed the long-range goal of civil rights for nonwhites and the short-range goal of blacks wanting to register to vote. This was also the alternative. All these were in the scenario in picture form—without a word being spoken. As almost daily, national television and newspaper pictures showed blacks lined up to vote—and being stopped and often attacked by police. When the movement's message is in a picture form the effectiveness of media misinterpretations and distorted statements by the opposition is reduced.

B. Select immediate targets.

Be clear about your targets and keep a focus on them. For example, the registration offices, Pakistani freighters, trains which carry bombs, etc.

C. Choose a battleground

A specific geographical area should be chosen where much of the direct action occurs. For example, side-walks in front of a courthouse; stools at a lunch counter; railroad tracks, water in front of a pier. This does not mean that some actions couldn't occur at other places or there couldn't be shifts in the battleground at strategic times or for variety. Especially at the beginning of a campaign it is often good to do actions at different places to test and see which places bring the best results.

D. Make actions dramatic with crises

Drama increases public interest and media coverage, which in turn increases the degree to which we reach the public with our message and are able to raise people's consciousness. Crises also help force people into thinking and acting; they also enable organizations and government bodies to make decisions faster. A sociodrama is the enactment of a moral and ethical violation, so a sociodrama presents a moral crisis to the community. In this way a sociodrama

like a "moral equivalent of war." One element that adds to a demonstration's drama is civil disobedience, people doing things which seem right or upholding a moral value, but which also places them in a position for arrest by police. Actions which involve civil disobedience and arrests (even if only a few arrests) often build up more interests and drama as they are repeated over a period of weeks. Drama and crisis is also built up by marching to the place of confrontation from an assembly place (best from a meeting in a church) some distance away. Creative, unusual, interesting, sacrificial and "dangerous" actions can also be interesting and dramatic. For example the small boats in front of giant freighters, or marching to the courthouse to vote or sitting on railroad tracks.

E. Repeat actions (and crises) over a period of time.

It takes time for a campaign to build up. It takes time for people and the press to hear about a campaign so they can join it or cover it; once a dramatic confrontation occurs the public and the press are ready for the next time. Each time a simple confrontation occurs it becomes more newsworthy—up to a point. News stories snowball. That is, it takes a while for a situation or an issue to be considered "news", then the media will give more coverage. Therefore, it is best to have a series of actions over a period of time. Be wary of actions everyday or around the clock because they deplete energies too much and too fast. A good simple action can be repeated many times. For example, sitting at a restaurant, read war-dead names at capitol, block ships with canoes.

F. One story a day

Each day try to have one special newsworthy idea. Groups often make the mistake of using all their newsworthy ideas on one day, gaining little media coverage than would one story, but losing media for the following weeks. When newsworthy events are used one day at a time, however, media coverage is greatly increased, and a demonstration can become a campaign.

G. Give everyone a role to play

Try to have something for everyone to do including concerned public, press, police, hostile opponents, people at home (write or call their congresspeople), church groups, consumers, public officials, community groups, artists, children, old folks, etc.

H. Repeatable elsewhere.

Actions should be devised so they can be done in other places by other people. Good actions often start in one place and automatically spread as people elsewhere hear about the action and decide to do it themselves. This is how the sit-ins, reading the names of the war dead, Pakistani ship blockades, train blockades and many others became nation-wide movements.

I. Choose important, timely and repeatable issues which have a "handle"

The Pakistani freighter blockades, for example, were chosen because the war ~~was~~ was going on and there was potential for famine which could induce calamities. The blockades were timely because the war was occurring that year only. Also, the freighters sailing into American ports provided a good handle to expose the secret that the U.S. was supporting Pakistan. If we just picketed in front of a government building it wouldn't have been very effective. Also, the blockades were repeatable in other ports.

J. Start Small

Good nonviolent actions can, and perhaps should, start small with 5 or 10 or 20 people. Often there aren't many people to participate at first anyhow. Its good to develop experience so you can control a demonstration which has large numbers. Most successful campaigns started with very small numbers and grew. The sit-ins started with four students at a lunchcounter. Even after a particular campaign has some large demonstrations because of a particular crisis or special event, it often returns to a low number of people, the regulars who carry it on. The point is that the numbers of people on demonstrations are cyclical—they go up and down.

IX. DESCRIPTION OF TASKS

Every nonviolent direct action requires the execution of a number of tasks. At least one person should be responsible for each task, hopefully a committee would do each if there are enough people. If more than one person does a task, one specific person should be designated as "coordinator" of that task group and should be responsible for being sure the group meets, does the tasks, & keeps in touch with the campaign coordinators. At organization meetings it's good to have all the tasks on a large flip charts with the names of the volunteers written next to each task and the task coordinator marked with an "X". People can volunteer for more than one task at a time.

A. Media.

The media is extremely important because it is a major means for reaching the larger public. If there are more than 5 demonstrators, one should be full-time relating to the media. Send news releases to the media before the demonstration. They should be brief, dated, honest, positive and have the name and phone number of a media contact person. Give who, what, when, why, where. Develop personal contacts in the media. Followup newsreleases with a phone call. Call the TV stations also the morning of the demonstration. Greet and assist media when they arrive at a demonstration. Get their names, phone & organization. If they leave before the demonstration is over, say goodbye, ask if they would like a call to tell them of further happenings. Point out key issues to them, introduce them to demonstrators designated as spokespeople to the media.. Help them get good pictures (even if you have to realign the demonstrators). Ask what they need. However, don't let the media control the demonstration. A good socio-drama makes good pictures; pictures tell our story. Call the media immediately if a newsworthy even happens and they are not there. Also, after the event you might call the media. Especially call the key media (major papers, wire services, TV). It is good to know the deadline times and organize demonstrations to meet them if possible. Hold News conferences. It is important that the campaign people doing the task of "media" should not be the demonstrations spokespersons to the media. It is very bad if the media task people are often quoted in the press as they will be accused of hogging the media. If you have to give a press statement -- say a "spokesperson" for the group said so and so, rather than your name. Develop a press list. Keep a journal of all contacts with the media.

B. Recruitment

EVERYONE should recruit. But one person or task group should be designated as recruitment coordinator. Make sure all potential people and groups which might join the campaign are contacted for each demonstration. Develop a list of people and groups who might demonstrate. Have a phone tree to let people know of upcoming events. Keep a list of everyone who joins all demonstrations. In recruiting you might also ask people to join a task group. Often people get more involved if they can contribute more.

C. Negotiation team.

The minimum number on the team should be 3 and between 5 and 7 is better. At least several should be extremely familiar with the issues and the campaign. The group should be democratically chosen at a regular meeting of the whole group. It's good to have some rotation of members, but there should also be some continuity of membership--especially the key contact people with the opponent. The team should hold a planning meeting before every negotiation meeting to develop strategy and tactics for the upcoming meeting. No new policy decisions should be made by the negotiation team in its meetings with the opponents. Be honest, open, friendly, but firm towards the opponent. Be good listeners, learn the opponents position and rationale; explain clearly the movement's position; have a dialogue. Ask challenging questions. See what common ground there is or might be. Try to develop resolutions which don't sacrifice principals. If negotiations last a long time, send out a messenger to let demonstrators outside know what's happening. A recorder

should write down key points for reporting later. Give a copy to the campaign "scribe". At the end of the negotiating meeting, tell demonstrators outside what happened.

D. SOCIODRAMA-Strategy and tactics

The strategy and sociodrama must be democratically developed and agreed upon by the whole group. But a specific Strategy team is needed to meet separately (open to all who want to attend) to brainstorm and develop strategy ideas, do research about the opponent, the layout of the demonstration area, get a nearby church or meeting place to hold a meeting before and after the demonstration, if desirable and possible. Also, there should be alternative strategies and tactics if there are potential forces which would require changes in the actions, such as bad weather, police actions, etc.

E. Legal

Ascertain the legal aspects of the demonstration. What is legal and not legal? Get a lawyer for the event. The lawyer doesn't have to be at the demonstration, but should be on call. Hopefully legal services will be donated. Try to get a "movement" lawyer or one that serves the group rather than "represents" the group. Get legal opinions from the lawyer ahead of time about the legality of particular activities and their probable consequences. If arrests or heavy conflict might happen have legal observers--that is, people who just observe the demonstration for purposes of being witnesses. They should be respected, honest, clearheaded people; they should write down key events as they happen or shortly thereafter; keep a record of times things happen and who does them. Get names if possible.

F. Leaflets.

Write, design, print leaflets. It is better to have too many than to run out. Make sure the leaflets get to the demonstration, at the right time, and are distributed. Writing of leaflets should be checked with either whole group or appropriate task groups such as the demonstration facilitators.

Leaflets should give what, when, who, why, where. Use language people can understand and accept. No radical jargon or dirty words. Be honest, factual, clear, brief. Have date and name and phone number of the group. Neat printing is necessary. Appealing, boldfaced headlines are good. State the problem and the facts supporting it. What moral value is being violated? By whom? What is the solution and our demands? State what people can do about it. (Note: all these ideas don't have to be on every leaflet; they're just possibilities. Key is keep leaflet brief.)

G. Signs.

Make picket signs (and banners if desirable) for every demonstration. Get signs to the demonstration and distributed to demonstrators. The slogans used should be agreed-to by the whole group or designated task groups. Should have the whole group brainstorm slogans and select key ones. Only need about 5 slogans. Repeat good key slogans many times. Signs should have large, black printing on white background as this gives the clearest and most readable picture. Careful, large block printing can be done by hand. Many signs can be made fast by cutting out letters on one sign and using it as a stencil. Ink should be waterproof. One to five words make the best slogan and allow for the largest letters. Strings could be attached to signs for ease of holding in long demonstrations. Make sure signs are handled carefully during the demonstration. Collect them at the end.

H. Logistics

Make sure there is a clearly designated meeting place and adequate transportation to and from the demonstration. Make sure there are enough cars if cars are needed. Make sure special equipment is obtained and gets there. Make sure that assemblies and movements of the demonstrators is planned for and can be done reasonable. Make sure rest facilities, water, safe walkways, shade in summer and sunny places in winter, etc.

I. Physical needs of demonstrators.

Make sure there is adequate food, housing, clothing, rest facilities, rain gear, health care, etc. There should be a medical person or team at all demonstrations, especially if there are potential safety problems. Make sure demonstrators are notified ahead of time of the items they should bring, such as hats, water, salt tablets, sleeping bags, food, etc.) Be prepared for the worst weather. Especially rain, wind, hot sun or cold. Make sure there are adequate breaks for people; breaks can be rotated in shifts so the demonstration can continue unbroken. Make people's break times explicit and decided democratically by the whole group. Provide transportation to and from the rest area if its far away.

J. Police and other governmental agencies

The police should be notified ahead of time about time and place of each demonstration. Develop relationship with the specific official policepeople who relate to demonstrations, often called the civil disobedience or community relations department. When police arrive at demonstration, introduce yourselves, get their names, explain to them what you are doing and your plans. Say you are nonviolent and will try to stop any violence which occurs. Give them a leaflet and a Discipline sheet. Say you will tell them of any change in plans or movements. Check in with them from time to time. Be friendly. Repeat all this if police change shifts or if another car is added. When the group eats or drinks offer police some. Tell them when you end the demonstration and evaluate it with them, especially your communication with them.

K. Campaign coordinator committee

The campaign coordinators facilitate the whole campaign. (There should also be a Facilitator group for each demonstration, but often there are no demonstrations being planned or more than one demonstration is being planned.) They continuously check to make sure that the various tasks are being worked on and that proper coordination and communication between task groups is occurring. If a task group falls through or has special problems the campaign coordinators are responsible for helping out, helping to solve difficulties and problems of all sorts. Coordinators might also be on some specific task groups in addition to their role as coordinators. The coordinator(s) should have a lot of time, be available most of the time for phone calls and to work out problems as they arise. They maintain an over-all perspective between organization meetings of the whole group.

L. Demonstration Facilitators.

This is the team which is the facilitator of a specific demonstration. They check up on all the task groups to make sure things are coming along, spot problems and help them be overcome. They should be responsible for the process of the demonstration. That is, that the meetings and activities get started and ended on time. They may facilitate meetings or marches or make sure others do. One or two should float in and out of the demonstration as necessary to make sure its all going well. A demonstration is a production and needs "directors" who are looking at the whole thing and make sure everything is being coordinated and spot problems and correct them. Some, but not all of them, should be on the negotiation team. A media task person could also be one of the facilitators because that person floats around and has an over-all perspective and evaluation of the demonstration.

They should also be the official spokespeople to the press or select others to do it. They should make all the decisions of strategy and tactics on the spot. Especially those which are carrying out the plan of the day agreed upon previously by the whole group. If possible, however, the whole group should be in on any new major decisions. All the facilitators should never leave the group at the same time. They should maintain humility and an attitude of service to the demonstration rather than "leaders". They should make sure everyone is kept up to date as to what is happening. ^{Some of the} facilitators should be rotated each demonstration. The team should have some experienced and less experienced people. Three to five facilitators is a good number. Some of the facilitators should be sure not to get arrested.

M. Relations with other groups

Maintain contacts with other social change groups. Let them know what you are doing, how they might participate or support. Be careful not to hassle or lay guilt trips or appear to be boasting. Also establish and maintain relations with local groups where the demonstration is held. Also relate to workers and other groups that might be related to the institution that is being challenged, such as long shoremens, unions, soldiers, etc.

N. Nonviolent training, campaign training, and stewards for demonstration.

Give nonviolent training to the demonstrators. Hold sessions before the day of the demonstration. Also, give last minute training or instructions the day of the demonstration. Write and make copies of the demonstration Discipline Statement. (See sample in Bondurant CONQUEST OF VIOLENCE), page 39. Give copy to each demonstrator. The statement should list the discipline which each participant is asked to agree to as a contract for joining the demonstration.

The stewards (or "marshals") assist the demonstration facilitators maintain a nonviolent and orderly demonstration. Their job is to help facilitate the demonstration. Sometimes they may walk alongside the demonstration. They should be clearly designated, perhaps by a colored cloth on their arms. They should help demonstrators maintain a reasonable formation. They should be particularly trained to help the demonstration maintain a nonviolent discipline, even if attacked or harassed. Spot potential troublemakers both within and without the demonstration and relate to them in ways to try to defuse the situation. Friendly, direct persuasion is often good. CAUTION: A major problem with stewards is the tendency to be authoritarians or give the appearance of being so. They should not yell, run, strut, order, boss, demand—unless in emergencies when absolutely necessary. They should be warm, friendly, humble, but firm, cool and courageous when necessary.

O. Office

The campaign should have some kind of "office". an address, and phone number where someone can be reached most of the time or at designated times, especially during demonstration days. Phone calls should be kept brief.

P. Civil Disobedience

Special concern and problems focus around arrests. Lawyers are needed. An approach should be agreed upon about arrests. The number of people to be arrested should be agreed upon ahead of time, and who. Usually only a small number should be arrested; (don't use up all your people and efforts dealing with arrests; spread the number of people arrested out over many demonstrations to conserve energy and money and because many people don't want to be arrested twice.) Decide who will be susceptible for arrest ahead of time; they should form one or more affinity groups. They should discuss the arrest procedure and jail and bail/plea ahead of time. They should be thoroughly aware of the potential consequences. It should be an individual decision for each person— A support committee is needed to keep relating to and supporting people jailed; make sure the lawyer is doing a good job; visit them; relay messages, etc. Most demonstrations, however, do not involve arrests. Those that do, most people do not get arrested—and should not get arrested.

Q. Finance/treasurer

Someone should assume the money tasks. Keep a record of income and expenses for the organization and make regular reports to the whole group. Expenses should be kept to a bare minimum. Participants generally should pay all their own expenses. Car expenses can be shared by the owners and riders.

R. Fund raisingS. Scribe

Keep an on-going record of the campaign and its organizing process in an official campaign journal. It can be used to check up on decisions that are made and for evaluations and training people in the future. Make sure each task group is keep a written record of their proceedings; media group keeping newspaper clippings.

IX. TASKS (Continued)

T Security

During periods of particular stress or where there are lots of young local children, there sometimes exists the potential for rip-offs or deliberate damage to key equipment, such as cars, canoes, banners, buildings or megaphones. Equipment and lodgings should be carefully protected--sometimes around the clock with vigils. Demonstrators should not float around neighborhoods in which there is a lot of hostility, and when it is necessary to travel in pairs being sure to let people know where they are going and when they will return. On the other hand, there should not be excessive paranoia regarding security. Be careful of rumors.

U. Child care

Many people would like to participate in demonstrations but need child care. Older children can participate in most demonstrations as often can babies. Younger children are often more problematical. A child care program connected to the demonstration should help people with child-care needs.

V. Special equipment

Some demonstrations require very special equipment: buses, trucks, canoes, camp equipment, etc. Getting this equipment, keeping track of it, and returning it is often a big job that should be handled as a special task.

X. SUSTAINING A NONVIOLENT CAMPAIGN (SOME THEORETICAL AND PRACTICAL NOTES)

Most campaign ideas and beginning efforts never get much beyond the talking stage, and when they do, they often bog down under the pressures of innumerable problems. If it was easy, there would be a lot more peoples' efforts. The following are some key points which greatly increase the chances of a successful campaign:

A. Internal democracy and sharing of responsibilities

People's movements require peoples' participation and involvement in decision-making. It is important that democratic group processes and decision-making is carefully adhered to. This also cuts down on elitism, boaring domination by a few long-winded machos. Good process helps people overcome this behavior patterns of domination. Evaluations should be made for each meeting. Sharing of responsibilities helps everyone get involved and gives everyone more experience. Spreading the "leadership" and the responsibilities also helps group morale. Facilitation of meetings should be rotated and decided democratically. Keep the decision-making process a total group process in meetings; it should be overt and decisions should be made slowly and clearly without a sense of railroading the group. People in key tasks should be rotated. Particularly talented or experienced people can be kept on relevant groups so the campaign can benefit by their abilities, but they should be part of a task-team which has democratic decision-making and with responsibilities shared with less experienced or talented people.

Caution: Much of the policy for a particular demonstration should be made ahead of time, before the demonstration, in more leisurely and careful meetings. This makes for better and more thoughtful policies. Consequently, at the demonstration itself, there are many general policy decisions which are not open for debate and decision (unless unforeseen circumstances occur). Therefore, the decisions are not all made by the people who show-up for the demonstration. In this sense it is not "democratic". If people show up who want to do something else, then they should be asked not to participate and to do their idea themselves, but hopefully not here and not today because it would be too confused with out demonstration.

X. SUSTAINING A NONVIOLENT CAMPAIGN (Continued)

B. Esprit de corps

A successful campaign requires a high, positive, friendly spirit. The physical and spiritual needs of the participants must be carefully tended. People's needs should come as a high priority at all times. The meeting of physical needs includes food, drink, toilet facilities, warmth, sleep, medical, etc. Meeting spiritual and morale needs include singing, humor, openness, honesty, democratic participation, good communication, informality, etc. A strong structure is needed, but one that allows for and meets these needs—a humanizing structure. Do fun things.

C. On-going evaluations

Evaluations should be made after each meeting and each event by the whole group.

D. Openness

Openness about our ideas and actions is extremely important. It is part of democracy, truthfulness, maintaining good morale, maximizing our power, undercutting the power of agent provocateurs, and help in movement building. Secrecy, on the other hand, does just the opposite; it breeds paranoia, suspicion. Such paranoia rapidly escalates to take up much time and energy, as does just keeping secrets and making secret arrangements. It makes us suspicious of others and them of us. It causes more secrecy. It keeps good people away by the droves.

Openness also helps develop our credibility with police, opponents, potential participants and the public. It helps facilitate democracy and esprit de corps, and trust. We don't have to worry about police informers because we're not hiding anything.

E. Overcoming friendly and logical opposition

Another reason why few good campaigns get off the ground is because an overwhelming number of friends either oppose them or say they won't work. Every successful people's action was logically ill-conceived and ill-timed and in the wrong place with the wrong method—or so most people thought at first. We need to say to them, "Friends, what you say is true, but we're going to try anyway. Please support us or join us how and when you can. We'll remain open to your suggestions. If it doesn't work, we'll come back and say you were right." Also ask if people have a better idea; be open to all suggestions.

F. Nonviolent discipline

Nonviolent discipline must be absolutely maintained. Any acts of violence by any participants will undercut our effectiveness. Some violence doesn't mix with a nonviolent campaign. It will be highlighted by opponents and the press and discredit the action. To maintain nonviolence we need to train participants, have good control by stewards and facilitators of the demonstration, have a discipline statement that everyone agrees to. During tense times it is helpful to have everyone holding hands to people next to them, sit down, sing, form affinity groups. If major violence does come from demonstrators the campaign should stop its planned activities and do special acts of contrition such as a silent march to people hurt or hit to apologize. Stop all activities for a specific period. Work parties should repair any damages. Pay for repairs. Evaluation and new preparations are needed to make sure the incident is not repeated.

G. Utilizing existing organizations

Although many established organizations can't immediately and officially join some campaigns, they often can be very helpful by making their facilities or resources available, donating staff, spreading the word, etc. As the campaign develops they might eventually take on more aspects of the campaign.

X. SUSTAINING NONVIOLENT CAMPAIGNS (Continued)

H. Creativity

Creative planning and responses to situations are important. Creative actions are helped by specific processes. Brainstorming and small group discussion and scenario-writing are good for this. The best ideas often seem silly at first (such as canoes in front of freighters). On the other hand, all creative ideas are not good. All ideas should be adequately discussed and tested before using. Role playing and strategy gaming are good for this. The guidelines for sociodramas and the three theories of actions are helpful in assessing action ideas and developing them.

I. Organizing attitude

An optimistic attitude is necessary, especially at the beginning. Some call it "self-fulfilling organizing" or the "as if" approach. That is, you begin organizing a campaign as if it will happen—and it is much more likely to actually occur than if you say, "Well, there might be a campaign or a demonstration." Besides, there is no need for uncertainty if you and several others are committed to do it since a campaign or a demonstration only requires a minimum of several people.

A second key attitude is friendliness. People join folks who are friendly and are "up in the corners of the mouth". It is important to genuinely like people, accept people, validate people, and be a good listener and short-winded.

Humility is a third aspect. This includes not flaunting the truth, be humble about ourselves and our ideas, be understanding of the position, ideas and actions of others. Be open to criticism. Try to reduce defensiveness.

Be a facilitator more than an organizer or administrator. This is an important self-image. We should be facilitators of democratic process, catalysts, helping things happen. We should do the leg-work and the dirty work which enables people to do things. We do not "organize" people, but work at trying to provide opportunities for people to act, for people to help meet human needs. People participating in campaigns have lots of good ideas and they can make good decisions, what usually is needed most is a process, a structure for action. We should be building and maintaining these structures.

J. Civil disobedience tool.

Civil disobedience is a two-edged tool. It can be a powerful force or it can be harmful to a campaign. Its advantages are that arrests, if done for the right reasons in the right ways, can be inspirational, help get messages to the public. Sometimes arrests are needed to maintain our civil liberties and our right to act. On the other hand, civil disobedience can hurt a campaign if done for the wrong reasons and with the wrong attitude. It too often is tied to machoism. Also, if too many people are arrested, energies are drained along with time and money. It can end the campaign. Keep the number of arrests to a minimum, generally. There may be crunch times for mass arrests as at the height of many historical campaigns.

K. Time perspective

Don't expect miracles overnight. One problem we inherit from our American culture is instant everything, including revolution. Social change takes a long time and much hard work. Too often people get into activities and get frustrated after a few weeks or months. Most people into social action, according to surveys, have been doing it less than six months. The Montgomery Bus Boycott took one year. Chavez tried organizing for 15 years before much happened. Many of Gandhi's campaigns lasted years.

L. Planned death of a campaign

A related question is when to end a campaign. Don't beat a dead horse. Many times people want to keep a campaign going without much reason other than the organizational momentum that has built up or because of emotional ties even though the campaign has lost its usefulness. Direct action campaigns should last two to 5 months or so, then people can rest up for another one. Remember, a movement consists of many campaigns and it's a long battle. It's good to end one phase of a movement at a logical stopping point, and pick up later with new vigor, new analysis, and ideas and energies. A low-profile time is also needed for educational work, planning and thinking.

X. Sustaining Nonviolent Campaigns (Continued)

The new approach will probably require a new organization. The organization for the old campaign has developed its own organizational drag probably.

M. Coordination and Communication

Be sure to set up a good system of over-all coordination of the campaign and keep good lines of contact between all the parts. Troublespots should be especially looked for and remedied. What jobs are not being done or being done inadequately? What new problems have developed and how can they be alleviated?

N. Committed people

Each campaign involves huge amounts of time. Many people, however, don't need to put so much time into the campaign. Every campaign, however, requires that some people commit themselves to working a considerable amount of time on the campaign. Its best to have some of these people firmly committed before going too far.

O. Change, Change, Change

A direct action campaign involves exceeding amounts of change. Changes in times, plans, situations and conditions. Participants must be prepared for all this change and uncertainty and delays or they will become frustrated and upset, particularly middleclass people.

P. Operations base

In addition to the basic office for the campaign, there needs to be an operations base near to wherever the demonstration is held. Traditionally churches have served this purpose, especially Friends Meeting houses and Unitarians have allowed their buildings to be used as operations centers which need to serve as temporary office, meeting place, sleeping quarters, rest areas and eating facility. People's private homes are usually undesirable because they are too small and cause havoc with family life.

Q. Liquor and drugs

Liquor and drugs are generally best not allowed in demonstrations or operations centers. It would be good for the group to discuss this and make a clear decision.

XI. ORGANIZING A PARTICULAR DEMONSTRATION

A. Before the day of the demonstration

1. The scenario for the day decided by the whole group with contingency plans.
2. People volunteer to do all the tasks and working on them adequately.
3. The demonstration facilitators check up to make sure all the tasks are being completed and coordinated. Look for problems and work on them.

B. The Day of the Demonstration

1. Three rules: Don't panic; don't panic; don't panic. Relax; be of good will; have a good sense of humor; be friendly; relax again.

2. The facilitators review checklist of task groups, make sure all are being done, especially key last-minute things. The facilitators should spot problems and help solve them. Task groups should call-in to the facilitators, reporting progress and when jobs are done; also, to report problems.

3. Transportation meeting place.

If the demonstration is out of town or in a distant neighborhood, pick an early meeting place where people can congregate at a designated time, so transportation can be coordinated and provided for those who need it. The place should have rest facilities and shelter available—a church or house would do well.

XI ORGANIZING A PARTICULAR DEMONSTRATION (Continued)

B. The Day of the Demonstration (Cont)4. Rumors, Rumors, Rumors.

An information overload often occurs during demonstrations, much of it conflicting, and often disturbing: "they gave in," "riot police are there," the demonstration is called off, they won't let us get out of the church parking lot, a bomb threat was made, etc.

It is important that people be prepared for a lot of rumors. Such dramatic information should not be acted on until thoroughly checked out. For example, the head of the Philadelphia Tactical Squad often called to report information that would cause major alterations in our planned actions, but it always checked out to be untrue. Don't spread rumors.

5. Notify police about time and place of demonstration ahead of time.

6. Pre-demonstration assembly and meeting

Every demonstration should assemble some distance (1 to 10 blocks) from the place of the demonstration and hold an organizing-inspiration meeting. Then march to the place where the demonstration will be held. The bigger the confrontation and the more people you have, the further away should be the congregation point.

The assembly place should be a building with facilities, if possible. A church or Friends meeting house. Less desirable is an open parking lot or public land with toilet facilities nearby. Churches are usually free and have their own constituency which can be reached. The assembly place should be a distance away from the confrontation point because: (1) to have a more organized, orderly and controlled demonstration at the point of possible conflict; (2) The march provides a building-up of the drama as the demonstrators approach the place of confrontation. (3) More able to distinguish demonstrators from on-lookers and possible harassors.

A pre-demonstration meeting at the assembly place for all participants should be held for: (1) last minute decisions and updating; (2) last minute training and instructions to demonstrators; (3) review plan and contingencies; (4) review discipline commitments for all demonstrators and give out nonviolent discipline sheet; (5) solidarity and inspirational statements, singing, etc. Remind group what we're doing, why we're doing it, wishes for the campaign. (7) The stewards, facilitators, media and other key task groups get organized and introduced to the participants.

7. March to the place of the confrontation or demonstration. (The march can be eliminated if there is no expectation of major problems or confrontations and people just don't feel up to it. Generally, it is a good thing to do. The march offers drama; is a good, orderly way of getting there, maintaining control and makes the demonstration more interesting to the media and the participants.

8. In case of violence or pending violence: Sit-down; hold hand (this also prevents demonstrators from fighting back; don't run; don't panic; sing; follow stewards and facilitators orders; escalate love; show that we're no threat; maintain a disciplined formation; start a Friends-type meeting for worship. Various responses to different types of violence should be covered in the training workshops and gone over at the pre-demonstration meeting..

9. Comfort of demonstrators. Rotate breaks; food & drink provided; offer rides back to assembly place if it is used as a comfort & rest station; rain gear.

10. Preventing police from stopping demonstration. Many demonstrations, perhaps most, would not have occurred had they obeyed police orders. The police have a pattern of trying to prevent demonstrations from happening, particularly the more effective aspects. This is often the case because pressures are put on the police by government officials, businesspeople and other opponents of demonstrations. Often the police get misinformation about the demonstration and demonstrators. Often the police are scared. Their pattern is to over-react. Be friendly towards the police, and personal contact with them is important. Nevertheless, stand up for your rights. Don't be out-bluffed by either gruff police or by "friendly" police. Police often say you are not allowed to do something that is actually legal. It's important to know your rights. Be firm. Keep an accurate record of relations with the police, including names & times and quotes if there seems to be a problem developing--write them down. It may be important later. It will be helpful in evaluation or in court.

XI. ORGANIZING A PARTICULAR DEMONSTRATION (Continued)

B. The Day of the Demonstration (Continued)

10. Do not block public thoroughways (unless deliberately doing a civil disobedience blockade.) When picketing leave room for pedestrians on the side walk.

12. Communications. Keep all participants informed as new events happen by short information meetings at the demonstration. If the demonstration is in more than one place at the same time, keep the various parts in constant contact. Runners should be used. At least one of the demonstration facilitators should keep moving between them. At least one demonstration facilitator should be permanently at each part.

13. Ending the demonstration.

a. ending time. Good to have some guidelines established ahead of time as to when to end. It might be a certain number of hours or based on an event, such as a half-hour after the negotiators come out of their meeting.

b. end-of-demonstration meetings.

(1) Meeting on location: There should be a brief meeting at the site of the demonstration to announce its ending; make sure there's agreement; announce the evaluation meeting which is soon to occur; announce when next demonstration is and next steps people can take to relate to the campaign; have an evaluation on the spot if many people are not coming to the later meeting or a later meeting is impractical.

(2) Meeting away from demonstration area: It should be indoors, if possible, with food & rest facilities. Should include: (a) excitement sharing—what was good and exciting and positive for people on the demonstration. This can be done in small buzz groups if there are lots of people. (b) Evaluation. Statements of what happened on the demonstration. How people felt. Get different viewpoints and from different task groups, including facilitators, negotiators, observers, etc. Clarify questions. Discuss why certain decisions were made; what actually happened; what went good/bad? why? Discuss how some of the problems could be handled better next time. The evaluation could be written on flip charts in three columns: positives, negatives and how do better next time. (c) Statements and discussion about the meaning of today's actions and where the campaign is at now. (d) Next steps in the campaign. (d) evaluation of this meeting.

XII. READING LIST

1. Taylor, BLOCKADE: A GUIDE TO NONVIOLENT INTERVENTION (Orbis Books, Maryknoll, NY) \$2.95
2. Gene Sharp, THE POLITICS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973)
3. Joan Bondurant, CONQUEST OF VIOLENCE (Berkeley: Univ of Cal Press, 1965)
4. Richard Gregg, THE POWER OF NONVIOLENCE (Nyack, NY: Fellowship, 1959)
5. George Lakey, STRATEGY FOR A LIVING REVOLUTION (S.F.: Feeman, 1972) \$7.00
6. Martin Luther King, WHY WE CAN'T WAIT (NY: Signet, 1963)
7. Martin Luther King, STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM (NY: Harper & Row, 1958)
8. M.K. Gandhi, NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE (NY: Schocken, 1961)
9. Wellock, GANDHI AS A SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARY, 35¢, AFSC, 160 N 15th St, Phila, Pa,
10. Gowan, Lakey, Moyer, Taylor, MOVING TOWARD A NEW SOCIETY (New Society Press, 4722 Baltimore Ave, Phila, Pa, 19143) 1976 \$3.75
11. ORGANIZING MACRO-ANALYSIS SEMINARS: A MANUAL (The Macro-Analysis Collective, 4722 Baltimore Ave, Phila, Pa, 19143) \$1.25
12. Cooney, THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE (Peace Press, 3828 Willat Ave, Culver City, CA, 90230) \$7.95
13. Gurko, THE LADIES OF SENECA FALLS (Schocken, 1976) \$4.95
14. WIN MAGAZINE, 503 Atlantic Ave, Brooklyn, N.Y., \$11.00/year
15. SEVEN DAYS, 206 Fifth Ave, N.Y., N.Y., 10010, \$12.60/year
16. The Movement For A New Society, 4722 Baltimore Ave, Phila, Pa, 19143. Write for information on how you can relate to their national network of social change groups. Free brochure; packet on MNS 50¢.