

DIRECT ACTION

WEB
FEATURE

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Pledge of Resistance Handbook

In the early 1980s, direct action in Northern California focused on nuclear issues. As the Reagan regime mounted pressure on liberation movements in Central America, support networks grew up in West Coast cities. Emigres, activists, and faith-based groups came together both to pressure Congress (then nominally controlled by Democrats) and to mount civil disobedience campaigns aimed at disrupting federal policies.

One successful organizing model was the Pledge of Resistance. In the Bay Area and elsewhere, people signed a pledge to commit civil disobedience in the event of US military action in Central America. Thousands of people signed the Pledge, and it may have played a role in preventing direct military action by the US.

Instead, the CIA illegally funded right-wing rebels and hit squads throughout Central America. In Spring 1985, the Pledge called a direct action at the San Francisco Federal Building in protest of US policies. Almost 800 people were arrested, and many more were arrested in related actions during those years.

This handbook, from a 1986 action, includes background and organizing info that is still timely and valuable. Download more direct action handbooks at: DirectAction.org/handbook/

Photo: April 2011 protest at CPUC hearing on Diablo Canyon. By Luke Hauser.

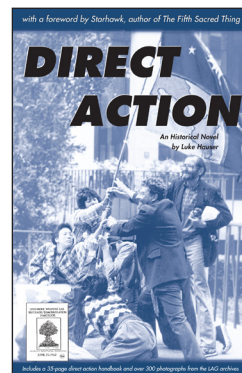


DIRECT ACTION

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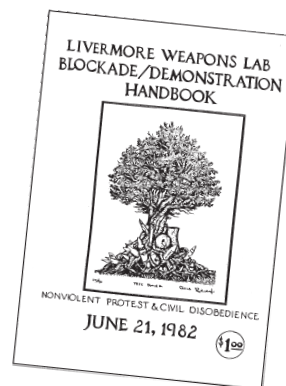


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NO MANDATE FOR WAR



iBasta!



A PLEDGE OF RESISTANCE HANDBOOK

CREDITS

Large sections of the nonviolence preparation section of this manual have been composed by synthesizing and interweaving sections of past training manuals—a time-honored practice in the nonviolent resistance movement! We give credit and deep thanks to all the organizers, editors and writers who composed the following handbooks:

The Diablo Blockade/Encampment Handbook produced by Abalone Alliance.

The Preparers Manual for Nonviolence Preparations put out by a California preparers' collective in the late 1970s.

The Livermore Weapons Lab Blockade/Demonstration Handbook produced by the Livermore Action Group.

The Vandenberg Handbook put out for the Vandenberg Occupation.

The International Day of Nuclear Disarmament Handbook put out by Livermore Action Group.

We would like to thank *Sojourner Magazine* for the use of included graphics.


We have included drawings by children living in a Salvadoran refugee camp. We wish to acknowledge their courage and love.



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Typesetting: Miloanne Hecathorn.

We encourage and authorize everyone and anyone to use this handbook to advance the work of peace and justice. We are simply one more group passing on the spirit of nonviolent resistance to the next generations. Feel free to copy, borrow, excerpt, plagiarize or Xerox this manual in any way that serves your purposes. Pass the peace!

Women's Press  163

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PLEDGE OF RESISTANCE

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE PLEDGE

IF THE UNITED STATES INVADES, BOMBS,
SENDS COMBAT TROOPS, OR OTHERWISE
SIGNIFICANTLY ESCALATES ITS INTER-
VENTION IN NICARAGUA OR EL SALVADOR,
I PLEDGE TO JOIN WITH OTHERS TO ENGAGE
IN ACTS OF NONVIOLENT CIVIL DISOBEDI-
ENCE AS CONSCIENCE LEADS ME AT U.S.
FEDERAL FACILITIES, INCLUDING U.S.
FEDERAL BUILDINGS, MILITARY INSTAL-
LATIONS, CONGRESSIONAL OFFICES,
OFFICES OF THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
AGENCY, THE STATE DEPARTMENT, AND
OTHER APPROPRIATE PLACES. I PLEDGE
TO ENGAGE IN NONVIOLENT CIVIL DISOBE-
DIENCE IN ORDER TO PREVENT OR HALT
THE DEATH AND DESTRUCTION WHICH
SUCH U.S. MILITARY ACTION CAUSES THE
PEOPLE OF CENTRAL AMERICA.

LEGAL PROTEST PLEDGE

IF THE UNITED STATES INVADES, BOMBS,
SENDS COMBAT TROOPS, OR OTHERWISE
SIGNIFICANTLY ESCALATES ITS INTERVEN-
TION IN NICARAGUA OR EL SALVADOR, I
PLEDGE TO JOIN WITH OTHERS TO ENGAGE
IN ACTS OF LEGAL PROTEST AS MY CON-
SCIENCE LEADS ME, INCLUDING SUCH
ACTIONS AS PARTICIPATING IN DEMON-
STRATIONS, VIGILS, LEAFLETTINGS, AND
APPEALS TO CONGRESS AND THE WHITE
HOUSE. I ALSO PLEDGE TO DEMONSTRATE
MY SUPPORT FOR THOSE WHO ENGAGE IN
ACTS OF NONVIOLENT CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE
IN ORDER TO PREVENT OR HALT FURTHER
DEATH AND DESTRUCTION IN CENTRAL
AMERICA.

THE PLEDGE OF RESISTANCE

For decades, the people of Central America have faced the terror of daily violence. Brutal dictatorships, death squads, and powerful militaries created and reinforced a condition of repression, poverty, and hunger throughout the region. Currently, armed conflicts are being waged in four countries: El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Honduras. Since 1979, over 70,000 people have died in these wars. In each case, the United States plays a significant role. Now this violence is escalating as the U.S. military presence widens in Central America—and as the possibility of a full-scale U.S. invasion increases.

In the midst of this situation, Central American teachers, labor leaders, farmers, and church people appeal to U.S. citizens to change current U.S. policy toward this region. They have urgently called us to help stop the bombing, incursions, paramilitary aggression, and spy overflights which contribute to the reign of terror in these countries. They ask us to do all in our power to reverse the U.S. government's plan to paralyze the forces for social change in the region, including its plan to openly intervene.

In response to this possibility—and in honoring the appeal being made by our sisters and brothers in Central America—tens of thousands of people across the United States are publicly repudiating U.S. policy in the region by signing the "Pledge of Resistance," a commitment to engage in acts of nonviolent civil disobedience and/or legal protest in the wake of significant U.S. military escalation in Central America. These people, acting on their highest moral, religious, or civic principles, sign the "Pledge of Resistance"—a pledge to engage in acts of nonviolent resistance if the United States invades, bombs, sends combat troops, or otherwise significantly escalates its intervention in Nicaragua or El Salvador. If such circumstances should occur, our nonviolent action will bring the issue dramatically before the American people, will pressure Congress to act, and will signal the unwillingness of thousands of U.S. citizens to support this war.

In the event of mobilization:

A signal will go out to regional and local groups from a national "signal group" chosen by the participating organizations.

People across the country will gather at a previously designated church or other location in their local community for information sharing, mutual support, prayer, and preparation for action.

A nonviolent vigil will be established at local Congressional offices and other pre-designated federal facilities and military installations. Some people will engage in legal protest and dialogue. Others will go in waves into the offices and begin a nonviolent appeal, refusing to leave until the invasion has stopped.

A large number of people will go to Washington, D.C. (in delegations from every area of the country) to engage in nonviolent civil disobedience at the White House to demand an end to the invasion.

U.S. citizens in Nicaragua will initiate their own nonviolent action and will possibly be joined by supporters sent from the U.S.

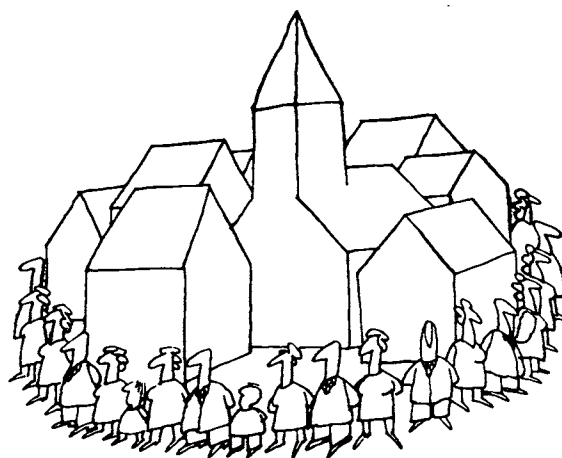
Both legal protests and nonviolent civil disobedience will be sustained and supported until U.S. military escalation ceases.

Before an invasion, the very existence of the Pledge of Resistance network may deter an invasion from happening. As tens of thousands of people conscientiously pledge to engage in acts of nonviolent direct action if the U.S. initiates direct military intervention in Central America, chances improve that the government will abandon this catastrophic plan.

The Pledge of Resistance movement, first organized by members of the U.S. religious community, seeks to be a broadly-based campaign, spanning the religious, peace and justice, and anti-interventionist communities, offering non-

violent opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America. At this writing, the following organizations are participating in the campaign:

American Friends Service Committee, Church Women United, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, Episcopal Peace Fellowship, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Gray Panthers, Interreligious Task Force on Central America, Jewish Peace Fellowship, Methodist Federation for Social Action, Mobilization for Survival, National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, National Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala, New Call to Peacemaking, Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, Pax Christi, SANE, Sojourners, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Unitarian Universalist Peace Fellowship, Witness for Peace, World Peacemakers, as well as hundreds of local groups across the country.



This Pledge of Resistance Handbook offers organizers and pledge signers information on establishing a Pledge Campaign in local areas. It lays out the general components of such a campaign, including a detailed description of nonviolence preparation. This manual is not, however, the final word on organizing the pledge network; rather, it is meant to be a springboard for creative thought and action tailored to the specifics of your particular area.



CENTRAL AMERICAN REGIONAL INFORMATION

HONDURAS

Population

3.7 million. About the same size as Louisiana.

Economy: banana and coffee exports.

Illiteracy: at least 60%.

Per capita income: US \$640; peasants: \$30.

History

Honduras was unique among its Central American neighbors in its lack of a local economic oligarchy until the late 1950s. This, because since 1900, the U.S. fruit companies have controlled Honduras. Although civilians have occasionally occupied the presidency since 1945, the country has been ruled by military officers (trained and equipped by the U.S.). After the "Soccer War" border dispute with El Salvador in 1969, political forces shifted rapidly in Honduras. A reform movement coalesced, a coalition of different constituencies formed, a compromise candidate for the 1981 elections agreed upon . . . and unfortunately, business continued as usual.

Current History

The Carter Administration pressured Honduras to hold elections in exchange for aid. Hondurans acquiesced, and Liberal Party leader Suazo Cordoba won a stunning victory, in what is said to have been an honest election. The dishonesty, however, is that neither by constitution nor fact does Cordoba rule Honduras. The army commander-in-chief alone determines when and where his army will fight, and has veto power over the president's appointments of cabinet members and of their policies and actions.

For the first time in recent history, Honduras has seen the emergence of death squads and tortures and disappearances. Mass demonstrations have protested repression by security forces. Honduras of the eighties resembles, many say, Nicaragua of the early seventies.

United States Policy

Because it is the only Central American country with boundaries on three of the four other countries, Honduras has traditionally served as a base for the U.S. to overthrow governments of which it is not fond. Assistant Secretary of State John Bushnell argued to Congress that if Honduras was to play that key role today, it must be well-equipped. The Reagan Administration agreed with that assessment, and delivered gunship helicopters, and combat and training reconnaissance planes shortly after taking office. The U.S. has also been playing a leading role in the training of Honduran officers, and a stable of U.S. military advisors is always present.

On the one hand, the U.S. cites Honduras as a model for peaceful social change, and applauds the on-going transition process from military to civilian rule. But at the same time, the U.S. has been fortifying the Honduran military with large amounts of aid and weaponry, thereby strengthening the role of the military, both in the region and internally. Indeed, one of Reagan's first acts as president was to significantly *reduce* economic aid while sharply *increasing* military aid, arms sales, and military advisors. There are currently 5,000 U.S. troops stationed in Honduras.

The military infrastructure built in Honduras over the past year would now, according to a Senate staff expert quoted in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, "enable the 82nd Airborne Division to be deployed for combat in Central America in less than 24 hours."

This U.S. infrastructure includes:

Six airstrips already built, with two more to be built this spring. All of the airstrips are long enough for C-130 cargo planes, and several of them have runways long enough for fighter jet aircraft. One of the two new strips being built is within twenty miles of the El Salvadoran border, the other within twenty miles of Nicaragua.

Two radar sites are manned by U.S. personnel, one in the Gulf of Fonseca where it can cover the three countries of Honduras, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. Intelligence information from this facility is provided to the Honduran and El Salvadoran armies.

Large stocks of ammunition are being prepositioned in Honduras, and Pentagon plans call for constructing a \$150 million naval base, additional barracks and medical facilities.

These facilities are manned by a semi-permanent force of 1,800 to 2,000 U.S. personnel, with thousands rotated in and out of the country through an endless series of exercises and training maneuvers.

The Church

The church of Honduras laid the foundations for a network of rural radio schools, peasant training centers and cooperatives, called the Council for Coordinated Development (CONCORDE). Something the clergy was unable to do, however, was to solve the basic problem of land distribution. Landowner hatred of priests grew throughout the 1970s, and exploded in a slaughter of peasants and two priests on June 25, 1975.

More than 6,000 Christian Base Communities have flourished in the last ten years in spite of government repression. Relations between church and state are worsening, though, with the government threatening to expel all foreign priests (80% of all Honduras' priests). Even the conservative Archbishop of Tegucigalpa has called for fundamental changes in Honduran society.

The Honduran church's hierarchy has come out publicly against the relocation of Salvadoran refugees from camps along the border to an isolated site in inner Honduras, because guarantees for their health and safety could not be made. It is important to remember, though, that the hierarchy is quite conservative and laden with internal power struggles. A minority is becoming more vocal and more organized.



NICARAGUA

Population

2.6 million (most thinly populated in the region), about the size of North Carolina.

Economy: coffee, sugar, cotton, and timber exports.

Per capita income: US \$740.

Literacy (after Somoza's overthrow): 87%.

History

The occupation by the U.S. military (1911-33) and the subsequent Somoza family dynasty (1934-79) created and supported by our government shaped the Nicaragua of today. The Somoza family seized much of the country's wealth and huge parcels of land, while hundreds of thousands of peasants were left without. Somoza's eagerness to follow Washington's directives in all matters made Nicaragua the key player in the Central American strategy of many presidents.

Recent History

Somoza fled the country after the July 19, 1979, Sandinista victory with suitcases filled with much of Nicaragua's wealth. The economy had been shattered by the civil war, and the Nicaraguans badly needed U.S. economic aid. Accusing the Sandinistas of "exporting revolutions," Washington instead cut off aid "for thirty days" to see if the arms flow to El Salvador—unsubstantiated to begin with—would stop. In April, 1981, the State Department announced, "We have no hard evidence of arms movements through Nicaragua. . ." but concluded illogically that because "some arms traffic may be continuing," aid would be cancelled anyway.

Though Reagan had lost much leverage with the Sandinistas by cutting off economic support, the Sandinistas had lost most of the alternatives for development. They developed, then, a plan to rebuild their country by controlling capital movement and by combining state controls with the private sector that made up 60% of the economy. Western Europe and Mexico stepped in with aid, and the USSR promised \$166 million over five years (not the extraordinary influx of funds to which the U.S. alludes), but this did not even begin to meet Nicaragua's needs. Without U.S. aid, inflation and unemployment have been rising.

Social reforms have continued nonetheless. A literacy campaign reduced the illiteracy rate from 50.2% to less than 13%. Streets have been paved, electrical lines strung, and houses built through

community programs. Slums have been replaced by markets and health centers, and solid family homes have been built by their occupants with bricks and lumber supplied by the government to replace the cardboard shacks of the Somoza era. 60,000 peasant farmers have benefited from land reform. Education is now free. Presidential and National Assembly elections were held November, 1984.

United States Policy

Nicaragua today is more important than ever to Washington's strategists, because the Sandinista victory and the host of reforms established since then directly challenge U.S. policies as they have never been before. After only one month in office, Reagan cut off all economic aid to Nicaragua, and soon after accused the Sandinistas of moving towards the Soviet block. By the end of 1981, Reagan had endorsed a CIA plot to destabilize the government, and had authorized the Pentagon to begin to rapidly beef up Honduran forces, buoyed by more than 100 U.S. military advisors and approximately 5,000 ex-Somoza followers, who have now begun a bloody war to overthrow the Sandinista government.

Revelations in the spring of 1984 that the CIA has been directly involved in military operations against the Nicaraguan government and in support of the counterrevolutionaries of "contras," stunned the world and infuriated Congress and citizens across the country. Senator Fritz Hollings accused the administration of "just casually playing war." At about the same time, former CIA analyst David MacMichael charged that the Reagan administration has been misleading Congress and the public about Nicaraguan activity in El Salvador, saying that the administration lacks credible evidence of any substantial flow of arms from the Sandinistas to the opposition in El Salvador. Rather than showing Communist origins or Nicaraguan complicity, MacMichael said, weapons captured from Salvadoran rebels "in the last year or so have originated with Salvadoran government sources." Still, the administration continues to use the "exporting revolution" accusation as an excuse to harass the Nicaraguan government, and Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Thomas Enders admitted to the Senate that plans have been drawn up for a military action against Nicaragua.

The Church

The Church—the Church of the People—recognized the urgent need for a change in the status quo during the Somoza regime, and spoke out earnestly and often in support of the Sandinista

cause. Today, Catholic Base Communities are flourishing in most departments and cities in Nicaragua. Much of the tension seen between the church and the government is more appropriately attributable to disputes within the church itself.



EL SALVADOR

Population

4.8 million. 90% Mestizo (mixed Indian and Spanish descent). Size of Massachusetts. 2% of the population owns over 60% of the land.

Economy: Principle crop is coffee (60% of export earnings); other major crops are cotton and sugar.

Income: Per capita income is \$660. In 1975, 58% of the population earned \$10/month.

Government

Head of State: Jose Napoleon Duarte, inaugurated June 1, 1984, after defeating ARENA party leader Roberto d'Aubuisson.

Defense Minister: Carlos Eugenio Vides Cassanova—previously head of the National Guard, and implicated in covering up evidence in the investigation of the murders of the four U.S. churchwomen—appointed 1983, and retained by Duarte in one of his first acts as president.

Constituent Assembly: 60 members, representing five parties. Roberto d'Aubuisson is the President of the Assembly, and his ARENA party is firmly in control.

Opposition: In the Assembly, the Christian Democrats are the center-left opposition to the far right-wing coalition in control. Five guerrilla groups are united under the Farabundo Marti National Liberation (FMLN) Front; the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) is the political counterpart of the FMLN.

Deaths

In the past four years, over 50,000 civilians have been killed, according to the Archdiocese of San Salvador. The vast majority (at least 90%) of these deaths are attributed to the government security forces and paramilitary troops ("death squads"). Archbishop Romero, four U.S. churchwomen, and countless priests, catechists, missionaries, labor leaders, doctors, teachers, students, lawyers, and peasants have also been assassinated.

Flying Death Squads

The Human Rights Office of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese in San Salvador contends that increased air strikes have primarily endangered the lives of civilians, who live in fixed locations and cluster together in small population centers.

In reference to the civilian population victims of the bombing raids and attacks, the State Department remarked on January 25, 1984, that "intermingling with and support of the armed insurgents makes them something more than innocent civilian bystanders."

Human rights organization America's Watch has revealed that "many times, the Salvadoran Armed Forces have targeted and bombed sites in conflict zones or guerrilla-controlled areas where displaced people have congregated to receive first aid from the International Red Cross."

On August 30, 1984, the United Nations passed a resolution condemning the Salvadoran government's attacks on the rural population as a violation of international laws of war as decided by the Geneva Convention.

On October 8, 1984, the New York Times reported that the commander of El Salvador's air force confirmed that napalm incendiary weapons had been used in combat.

The Escalating Air War in El Salvador

The indiscriminate bombing of Berlin, El Salvador, on February 1, 1983, which left over 120 civilians dead, marked the beginning of the Salvadoran government's counterinsurgency strategy of deliberate bombardment of the civilian population in conflict zones.

The Salvadoran Air Force is composed presently

of six U.S. A-37 fighter bombers, five Israeli Fouga planes, two Hughes 500 and 32 Huey UH-1 combat helicopters, and two C-47 gunships equipped with special sights, night vision equipment and three specially mounted .50-caliber machine guns capable of firing over 1,500 rounds per minute.

According to the *New York Times* (January 11, 1985), the Salvadoran Army Chief of Staff, General Adolfo Blandon, is asking the U.S. government to provide El Salvador with a total of six gunships and 10 Hughes 500 helicopters equipped with rapid-fire "miniguns" of a type used in Vietnam. If delivered, such weapons would radically increase the fire-power available to the Salvadoran military.

The bombs used include four types:

Demolition—Generally 550 pounds. Used to destroy entire towns as well as people seeking refuge in trenches or air raid shelters.

Fragmentation—An anti-personnel bomb designed to explode yards above the ground sending a sea of deadly shrapnel in all directions.

Incendiary bombs—Used extensively against crops and houses in conflict zones. Napalm and white phosphorus bombing of civilian populations has been substantiated by the Red Cross and other human rights organizations.

Bacteriological weapons—According to research done by the Salvadoran Human Rights Commission, the Salvadoran Air Force has used bacteriological weapons and insecticides against populations in combat zones.

The U.S. Role

U.S. pilots fly daily reconnaissance missions over El Salvador. Honduran-based U.S. OV1 "Mohawk" planes equipped with infrared sensors can detect concentrations of people on the ground, as well as intercept guerrilla radio communications. The data collected is shared instantaneously with Salvadoran troops in combat and can be transmitted to the Salvadoran Air Force headquarters at Ilopango within two hours time.

U.S. pilots increasingly have entered combat. On February 3, 1983, Sargent Jay Stanley was wounded by Salvadoran guerrilla forces while flying a helicopter in combat. According to a U.S. Embassy official quoted in the *New York Times*, "U.S. pilots have been involved in combat situations approximately once or twice a month" throughout the past year.

Recent History

In October, 1979, a group of young military officers toppled the regime of General Carlos Humberto Romero. They established a broad coalitional government, a military/civilian junta. This was the first major participation of civilians in the government of El Salvador in nearly fifty years.

After promised land and other reforms failed to materialize, however, strikes, demonstrations, and general unrest followed. By January, virtually all civilian leaders had resigned, frustrated by the government's inaction and ineffectiveness in bringing the military and paramilitary forces under control. Jose Napoleon Duarte was brought in by the military to serve as a figure-head president in 1980, and military aid—suspended between 1977-79—resumed. Duarte remained on the junta for two years, during which time the repression in El Salvador reached its highest levels ever. 20,000 people, including the Archbishop and the four North American churchwomen, were killed.

Elections in 1982 and 1984 have been proclaimed “free from fraud” and the “beginning of real democracy.” What is not so well publicized, though, is the fact that the elections were held in the midst of a war; that it is illegal not to vote in El Salvador, and failure to vote can result in anything from a fine to death; that the FMLN-FDR was unable to participate in the government controlled elections, as open campaigning would have meant a certain death sentence; and that Duarte's mandate is dulled by both ARENA's relatively large percentage of the vote, and by the recent revelations that the CIA financed and supported the Christian Democrats. ARENA actually won the election in ten of El Salvador's fourteen provinces, due to greater organization and influence (via the death squads) in the rural areas.

The United States has sent almost \$400 million in military aid since 1981. The Kissinger Commission has recommended that \$8 million in aid be sent to the region in the next five years. President Reagan has accepted that recommendation, except for the proviso that the aid be contingent upon an improved human rights record.



The Church

The Medellin (1968) and Puebla (1979) conferences of the Latin American bishops helped shape the pastoral witness which has emerged, in which the church has chosen to identify with the poor of the earth in their struggle for justice. The church in Latin America has repeatedly stated that internal conditions of poverty and the denial of basic human rights—not external *subversion*—are the principle causes of the conflict.



GUATEMALA

Population

7.2 million (5 million are Indians). About the size of Kentucky.

2% of the population owns over 72% of the land.

Economy: primarily coffee; also sugar cane and bananas.

Rural illiteracy: 80%.

75% of the population lives below the poverty line (US \$320/year).

History

Guatemala's history is one of dictatorship and violence. In 1944, a democratic government was brought to power, and reforms initiated. The successive government continued the progressive policies, and launched a land reform program. This inspired labels of “communism,” and eventually led to a CIA-orchestrated invasion, deposing the Jacobo Arbenz Guzman administration. Since that time, every government has been brought to power by the military, and assassinations, rigged elections, death squads, and routine massacres have caused “government by assassination” to become the gruesome rule by which the country is run.

Current History

August 8, 1983, ushered in yet another military dictatorship, this under General Humberto Mejia Vicotres. The Efraín Ríos Montt government, in power for only 15 months, had failed to live up to its promises of social reforms, and at the same time had failed to unify the Guatemalan military. Ríos Montt was seen as a weak and erratic leader, who the traditional military hierarchy felt was incapable of eradicating opposition. Hence the Mejia Victores coup, and hence the massive counterinsurgency campaign, announced by the military in September, 1983:

Disappearances—of professors, Catholic lay preachers, *campesinos*, etc.—are increasing as death squads are unleashed again.

Massacres and search and destroy operations continue unabated. Between 1978-1983, conservative estimates place the death toll of civilians killed from actions by the army at more than 30,000.

The forced concentration of internal refugees has skyrocketed—from 10,000 two years ago to at least 100,000 Guatemalan Indians, who live in rapidly deteriorating conditions in refugee camps along the border with Mexico. They are fleeing the “pacification” programs of the past three regimes.

United States Policy

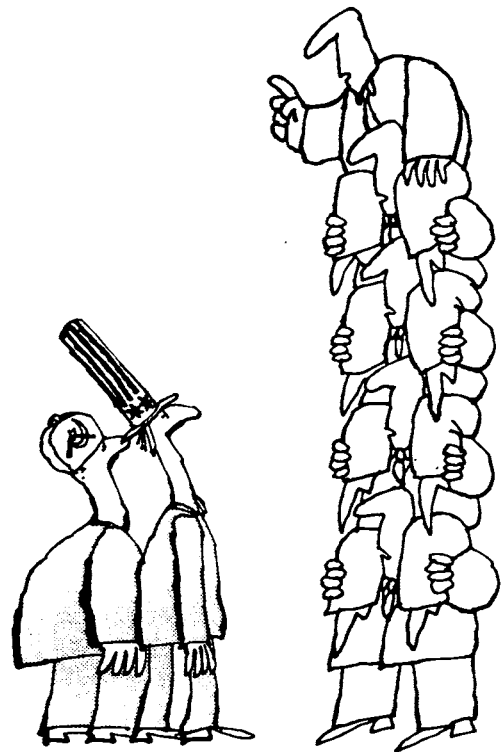
Soon after his inauguration, Reagan sought ways to provide the Guatemalan government with military training and aid. The State Department sold \$3.2 million worth of “non-lethal” military equipment. In October, 1982, he announced the sale of \$5-6 million worth of helicopter parts and aircrafts, though all aid had been terminated in 1977 because of massive human rights violations.

One of Mejia Victores’ first acts was to sign a military cooperation agreement with El Salvador, guaranteeing that Guatemala will host members of joint U.S.-Guatemalan training courses in counterinsurgency techniques. Immediately after this, the U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala, Frederic Chapin, announced the provision of \$79 million in aid for 1983. The severity of increased violence and repression, however, forced the Reagan Administration to allow to pass without comment a resolution by Congress in December, 1983, barring Guatemala from receiving any U.S. military or economic aid.

The Church

Any involvement in politics is an invitation to assassination. Hundreds of religious personnel have been kidnapped and murdered or forced to leave the country. Church involvement in social issues came after the earthquake in 1976, when relief efforts soon turned to more systematic community development.

The Guatemalan church has said that human rights violations in their country are worse than the government-sanctioned repression in neighboring El Salvador.



TRESPASSING IN THE BASIN

A History of U.S. Intervention

by Danny Collum

One by-product of the last several years of turmoil in Central America and the Caribbean is that U.S. policy planners have concocted the "Caribbean basin" as a geopolitical entity. In official usage the Caribbean basin consists of all the islands and Central American nations that have Caribbean coastlines, with the addition of El Salvador, which doesn't.

As a region, the Caribbean basin didn't exist until the United States declared it to be one. The peoples it encompasses have a wide variety of ethnic, linguistic, and political backgrounds with few similarities.

But the new terminology is in another sense fitting because it points to these nations' one common characteristic: for most of a century their existence has been defined in terms of U.S. interests rather than their own. The "Caribbean basin" is really only a more tactful term for what many North Americans have long considered their "backyard."

U.S. interests in the nations of Central America and the Caribbean are considerable, and as is often the case, form an inseparable blur of business and military-strategic concerns. The primary business concerns are in oil and shipping. Nearly half of U.S. imported goods pass through the Panama Canal or the Gulf of Mexico, including two-thirds of our imported oil. In addition, 56 percent of the refined oil imported to the U.S. comes from refineries in the Caribbean islands, the oil companies having been lured there by deep-water ports, cheap labor, and the absence of environmental regulations. Enormous and attractive oil reserves lie in Mexico, Venezuela, and Trinidad, with the probability of similar untapped oil supplies in other countries, particularly Guatemala. The region also supplies almost all U.S. bauxite, the ore used to make aluminum, and it has sizable investments from U.S. agribusiness corporations.

U.S. military concern for the region is a natural consequence of its proximity to our borders and the need to protect these business interests. For most of a century, the U.S. has taken a very high profile in maintaining capitalist economies and friendly governments in Central America and the Caribbean. This complex of interests, accompanied by somewhat more ideological fervor than usual, is the rationale for the escalation of U.S. military, political, and economic activity in the region.

The present conflict in Central America has long and deep historical roots. In a speech about the Caribbean basin given before the Organization of American States in 1982, President Reagan noted, "For over 400 years our peoples have shared the dangers and dreams of building a new world." A closer look shows that the dangers have been mostly theirs, as a consequence of our nation's dreams.

While Central America and much of the Caribbean have been under U.S. dominance for most of a century, the conditions of that dominance were in place for at least 200 years before that. It began with the region's colonization by Spain, which brought successive waves of soldiers, priests, and settlers who, in a quest for precious metals, enslaved the Native Indian people. When the search for gold had been given up, or the meager reserves exhausted, the conquered lands were converted to agriculture. Huge plantations owned by a European elite produced coffee, spices, and sugar for sale to the new middle classes of Europe and North America. Production was facilitated by the slave, or near-slave, labor of African- and Indian-descended people.

Though the land titles may have changed hands a few times over the years (now often held by U.S. corporations like United Brands and Castle and Cooke), this mode of production and the authoritarian social and political arrangements it requires remain in place throughout the Caribbean basin.

The U.S. first entered the scene with the 1823 enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine, which declared that the U.S. would not tolerate any European nation competing for influence in the emerging Latin American republics. Later we added our "manifest destiny" to rule a continental empire from ocean to ocean, which cost Mexico a third of its territory. The U.S. role took on its present dimensions at the turn of the century, when a new and rapidly expanding industrial-capitalist economy began looking beyond its shores for markets and raw materials. This resulted in the 1898 war with Spain.

The Spanish-American War was justified in terms of the Monroe Doctrine, the aim being to liberate Cuba from Spanish outsiders. But after the war a peculiar thing happened. Cuba was forced to insert the Platt Amendment into its new constitution, giving the U.S. carte blanche to establish military bases and intervene in Cuba's internal affairs. At that time a U.S. naval base was established at Guantanamo Bay that is still in operation despite the wishes of the present Cuban government. Another result of the Spanish-American War was the annexation of Puerto Rico, and to this day the issue of Puerto Rico keeps U.S. government press officers busy inventing euphemisms for "colony."

In 1904 President Theodore Roosevelt, the battlefield hero of the 1898 conquests, announced a corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. The Roosevelt Corollary held that the U.S. had the right to "exercise international police power" at any time to prevent "chronic wrongdoing or impotence" on the part of any nation in the Western Hemisphere. This bald assertion of dominion over supposedly independent states launched a period of military adventures unparalleled in our history and interrupted only by the distraction of two world wars.

After World War II, Harry Truman gave the theology of empire yet another doctrine. He extended U.S. police power to include intervention in any nation anywhere in the world that was threatened by what the U.S. considered communist aggression or communist-inspired or -aided internal insurgencies. Though invented to justify U.S. intervention to prop up a right-wing dictatorship in Greece in 1947, the Truman Doctrine gave a global geopolitical and ideological cast to the old Roosevelt-style hijinks in the Americas. By the time Fidel Castro led a successful revolt in Cuba in 1959, at stake was not just a few sugar companies and Mafia gambling houses but the whole of Western civilization. And the means of conflict went beyond gunboats and guerrillas to include nuclear missiles.

The Cuban revolution triggered a far-reaching U.S. response, including the CIA-sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961, several CIA attempts on Castro's life, and a complete diplomatic and economic quarantine of the new government.

While a variety of public and secret measures were being taken to overthrow the Castro government, a whole new approach to Latin American policy was being designed to keep the revolutionary disease from spreading. This included the Alliance for Progress, aimed at improving economic conditions and attracting more foreign investment to Latin America. It also entailed a massive program to train Latin American armies in counterinsurgency warfare (at the U.S. Southern Command base in Panama) and in internal security techniques, including torture, at the International Police Academy in Washington, D.C. Despite President Kennedy's proclaimed intention to encourage moderate reformist political elements, when the dust settled from the Alliance for Progress, Latin America was an almost unbroken chain of well-equipped military police states from Guatemala to Argentina.

During this period the U.S. undertook one of its largest military actions in the Caribbean basin when 20,000 U.S. troops invaded the Dominican Republic in 1965 to suppress a leftist uprising against that country's corrupt and repressive government.

Today it is difficult for us to imagine a U.S. president sending 20,000 troops to invade another country without a major public outcry. That fact is directly attributable to the public reaction against the Vietnam War which heated up that year. As Vietnam ground on and the human and economic costs mounted, all the doctrines of imperial theology came under question. When the Watergate scandal exposed some of the U.S. intelligence agencies' sordid doings, the long-suppressed contradiction between the U.S.' proclaimed democratic values and its actual global policies created a vague popular distress known as the Vietnam syndrome.

Jimmy Carter was elected in 1976 with the hope that he would make the uneasiness go away and allow the U.S. to feel good about itself again. After eight years of Henry Kissinger's self-professed amorality, Carter brought the rhetoric of self-determination and human rights back into U.S. foreign policy. Though the application of his human rights policy was spotty at best, it was actually put into practice against some of the more brutal Latin American regimes, particularly in Chile and Argentina. Carter wanted to return

to the Kennedy-era strategy of encouraging moderate reformers, but after more than a decade of the "national security state," very few moderate reformers were alive or free from prison in Latin America.

The policies of the Carter years were rooted in the new theory of trilateralism created in the mid-1970s by scholars of the Trilateral Commission. Spearheaded by David Rockefeller, president of the globally tentacled Chase Manhattan Bank, trilateralism represented an attempt by the U.S. ruling elite to recover from the chaos engendered by the defeat in Vietnam and the OPEC oil price hikes. It sought to re-establish a manageable world order and favorable business climate under the principle that the U.S. could no longer manage the non-communist world economy, much less police the entire Third World single-handedly. The trilateralists proposed to bring in the Western European and Japanese allies as full partners in running the world—hence the name.

For the most part, trilateralism entailed a less ideological and more pragmatic approach to world affairs. It placed a higher premium on stability than on anticommunism. The trilateral businessmen were, after all, interested in gaining access to the untapped markets of the communist nations.

But the new world order didn't unfold as planned. Carter bungled relations with our allies and proved completely unable to sell his foreign policies in the domestic political arena, as witnessed by his problems with the Panama Canal and Salt II treaties. Then in 1979 something happened that was, in concrete economic and strategic terms, more significant than either the Cuban revolution or the defeat in Vietnam. It even chilled the heart of the Rockefeller oil and banking combine. That event was the overthrow of the shah of Iran.

Iran was not merely a symbolic domino. Its oil reserves, border with the USSR, and role as U.S.-appointed cop on the Persian Gulf made it a major loss. The fall of the shah was particularly bad news for the trilateralists, who had considered his regime something of a model for Third World modernization.

At the end of that same year, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, and a new Cold War reached a fever pitch. In the midst of these events, Central America and the Caribbean had the misfortune to become a major stage for the Cold War script. At about the same time that the U.S. was losing Iran, the Sandinistas were driving

Somoza out of Nicaragua, and a wave of rebellion was sweeping El Salvador and Guatemala. 1979 also saw a U.S.-backed dictator overthrown on the Caribbean island nation of Grenada. He was replaced by a leftist government that established friendly relations with Cuba. And Michael Manley's democratic socialist government in Jamaica was rejecting the terms of an International Monetary Fund bail-out loan and seeking non-Western sources of finance. Manley too had established close relations with Cuba.

All this turmoil in the Caribbean basin was primarily the result of an economic crisis triggered by the drastic rise in oil prices and corresponding drop in sugar and coffee prices in the middle and late 1970s. This state of affairs worsened the already miserable conditions of the region's poor majority. Carter's human rights policy also factored minimally in that it made it more difficult for the U.S. to arm the worst dictators like Somoza. This gave the people some breathing room to do something about their plight.

In this country the 1979 events of the Caribbean basin were perceived as further evidence of U.S. weakness in the face of an advancing Soviet-Cuban threat. Carter responded by beginning military aid to the junta in El Salvador, increasing the U.S. military presence in the Caribbean, and forming an inter-agency task force to come up with a long-range, comprehensive counter-offensive. Some observers of CIA activity strongly suspect that also during this time covert action was taken against the governments of Grenada and Jamaica. Whatever the source of the actions, it is known that in June 1980 there was an attempted coup in Jamaica and a bombing intended to assassinate the leadership of the Grenadan revolution.

Carter seemed determined not to repeat in Nicaragua the policies that had driven Cuba into the Soviet orbit. Though he made some last-ditch attempts to prevent a Sandinista victory, Carter established normal diplomatic relations with the new regime and arranged an economic aid package for it. He hoped that by encouraging moderate elements of the revolution, the situation could still be salvaged.

While Carter was pursuing a tentative combination of hard and soft options in the Caribbean basin, his right-wing opposition was busy developing its own theories about the region. Conservative think-tanks like the Heritage Foundation, the American Security Council, and the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University were churning out a series of papers and articles that didn't just see

the Soviet Union taking advantage of Central American rebellions that had internal causes. They claimed that the Soviet Union, through Cuba, was actually initiating and orchestrating revolutionary movements in the Caribbean basin. This theoretical groundwork bore political fruit at the 1980 Republican convention where a platform was adopted that casually referred to the Nicaraguan government as Marxist and committed the party to its overthrow.

The January 1981 inauguration of President Ronald Reagan opened a new chapter in the history of U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean. First, military aid to the government of El Salvador jumped sharply, as did U.S. training of Salvadoran troops. Eventually U.S. bases were established in neighboring Honduras to train the Salvadorans and provide support for their war against the guerrillas while maintaining the artificial ceiling of 50 advisors within the borders of El Salvador. Carter administration rhetoric about human rights was effectively abandoned. Military support for the Salvadoran regime increased alongside the escalation of that government's systematic murder of its own people.

True to his party's platform, Reagan took a series of steps aimed at turning back the Nicaraguan revolution. First came a campaign of economic strangulation as the Carter aid program was withdrawn and U.S. bank loans to Nicaragua were made ineligible for federal loan guarantees. Then came CIA covert action against Nicaragua that has now escalated into a full-scale covert war with approximately 10,000 U.S.-funded and -directed *contras* (counterrevolutionaries) conducting raids against Nicaragua from sanctuaries in Honduras.

These interventions in Central America have been accompanied by renewed threats toward the Cuban government, which is portrayed as the ringmaster of subversion in the entire region. The threats were particularly intense during the tenure of Secretary of State Alexander Haig. Haig promised to deal with Central American and Caribbean uprisings by "going to the source" in Havana. Since that time the economic embargo against Cuba has been tightened and U.S. allies in Latin America have been effectively persuaded to break diplomatic relations with Cuba. Military activity has also been stepped up with the establishment of a new Caribbean Command Base at Key West, a mock landing of Marines at the Guantanamo Naval Base, and NATO military maneuvers that included a simulated attack on Cuba.

Those same maneuvers, called Ocean Venture 81, also included a simulated invasion of the tiny island of Grenada. The scenario for the mock invasion used the abduction of U.S. citizens by Grenadian extremists as the occasion for an intervention that would topple the revolutionary government of Grenada and install one friendly to the United States. That scenario was followed almost to the letter in October 1983 when 6,000 U.S. troops, accompanied by a token contingent of forces from neighboring U.S.-allied islands, invaded Grenada during a time of unrest and instability following the assassination of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

In addition to this new round of military adventures, Reagan's Caribbean basin offensive contains an economic development component. This aspect of his program was unveiled in the form of a Caribbean Basin Initiative first proposed in February 1982 and adopted by Congress the following year. The plan was primarily the work of Caribbean-Central American Action, a Washington-based trade association formed and funded by the leading multinational corporations that do business in the region, including Alcoa, Gulf and Western, Chase Manhattan Bank, and United Brands.

Rarely has there been an economic assistance program more obviously aimed at benefiting U.S. corporations regardless of the needs of the countries involved. The program includes small amounts of direct economic assistance but relies primarily on tax breaks and loosened import restrictions to encourage U.S. companies to invest in the Caribbean basin. What direct aid the plan offers is apportioned on the basis of a country's strategic value to the United States and not its actual needs.

In essence the Caribbean Basin Initiative is a Third World application of supply-side economics. Its reliance on investment incentives is based on the assumption that infusions of foreign capital will eventually trickle down to the impoverished masses in the form of new jobs. But historically the trickle-down theory hasn't worked any better in the Caribbean than in the United States.

In 1948 Puerto Rico undertook Operation Bootstrap, in many ways the model for Reagan's initiative. Between 1948 and 1968, 2,000 U.S.-owned factories were built in Puerto Rico. Yet today the unemployment rate is more than 20 percent, and 60 percent of the island's population depends on U.S. food stamps to survive.

Operation Bootstrap resulted in a near-total collapse of local agricultural production and a massive migration of Puerto Ricans to the U.S.

Jamaica pursued similar policies between 1950 and 1970. An Inter-American Development Bank economist estimates that in those years \$73 million in foreign capital entered the Jamaican economy, but due to the capital-intensive nature of the investments, only 9,257 new jobs were created, while Jamaica's work force grew by 150,000.

In the summer of 1983, President Reagan, facing increasing opposition to his Central American policies, appointed a National Bipartisan Commission on Central America, headed by former secretary of state Henry Kissinger, to re-establish the foreign policy consensus in Washington. The commission's report, issued in January 1984, essentially ratified the military component of Reagan's policy but called for huge increases in economic aid to the region. It advised a total aid package of \$8.4 billion over the next five years. Those proposals are now being implemented.

Unfortunately, economic aid, even on the scale proposed by the Kissinger Commission, will do more to mute congressional opposition to military intervention than it will to actually help the people of Central America. First of all, aid proposals ignore the futility inherent in pouring reconstruction money into a country still at war. In El Salvador most U.S. aid is going to make up for shortfalls in farm production due to war-related damage. Steps to end the fighting would be cheaper and more effective.

Also, much U.S. aid to Central America never reaches the needy. It is siphoned off to line the pockets of corrupt government officials. And a large portion of U.S. aid comes in the form of credits to local businesses that only serve to strengthen the power of the oppressive local elites. The U.S. policy of isolating Nicaragua from various trade and development proposals also hurts the entire Central American economy of which Nicaragua is an integral part.

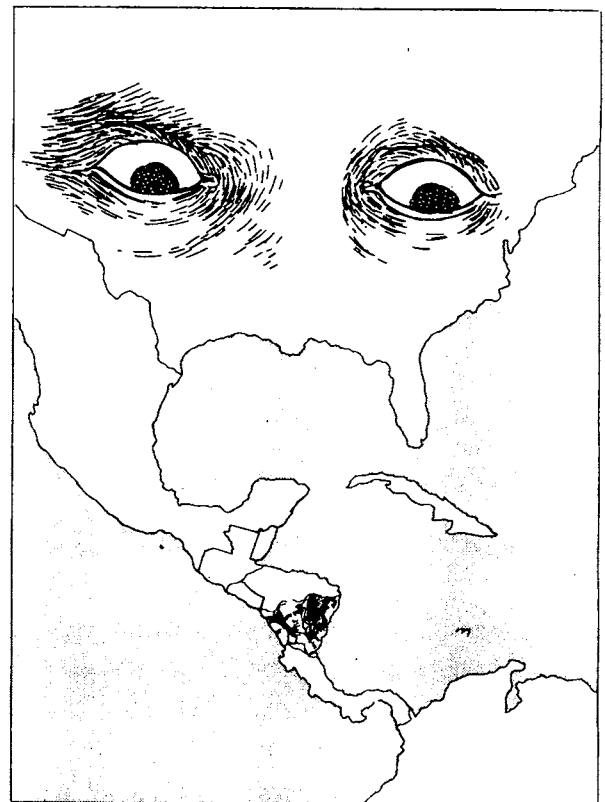
The only long-term solution to the economic misery that fuels the rebellions of Central America and the Caribbean is a fundamental re-ordering of those nations' economic and political systems. They need the opportunity to develop programs aimed at the greatest possible degree of local self-sufficiency in the production of food and other basic necessities instead of

depending on cash crops that place their economies at the mercy of foreign corporations. Such new economic directions would also require a broad redistribution of both land and political power in order to break the hold of the local elites. In recent years at least one Caribbean basin country, Grenada, has tried to steer such a course. Its revolutionary government faced unremitting hostility from the United States ending in the 1983 invasion precisely because it tried to achieve economic and political independence from the United States.

What the countries of Central America and the Caribbean need most is the freedom to determine their own future. They must be able to create the systems, institutions, and international alliances that will best serve their peoples' needs. That is what the long decades of U.S. economic and military domination have most denied them. As long as that domination continues, the cycle of grinding poverty, revolt, and war can only escalate, with or without the encouragement of the Soviet Union or other outside powers. If there is ever to be peace, justice, and genuine democracy in Central America and the Caribbean, it will be when the people of the United States realize that those countries are not our backyard. They are other peoples' homes.

[Danny Collum is a *Sojourners* associate editor.]

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WHEN COUNTRIES ARE AT WAR

by **Peggy Scherer**

The time I spent in Nicaragua, from January through July of 1984, with Witness for Peace, was too short to find answers to all the questions I have about that country. It was too brief to sate my interest in the many exciting experiments—in health, education, agriculture, land reform—being carried out there. But my experience was more than sufficient to lead me to a serious conclusion: whether or not the United States carries out a direct invasion of Nicaragua, it is already involved in a war there. When countries are at war, events within or between them take on a different perspective. The key role our country is playing in this war has serious implications for those of us who want to see an end to all the violence in that region.

I fear that if we fail to see and address the causes of the war, a lasting peace will never be achieved. The difficulties Nicaragua faces beset other Central American countries as well. They are rooted in poverty, which has been maintained rather than relieved by a U.S. policy of control and domination over Central America throughout this century.

Since returning to the United States, I have seen that various factors are working to distract us from seeing the implications of this undeclared war. On one level, a systematic, often subtle campaign is circulating information against the Sandinistas. Though much of it is false or distorted, and may even originate in the CIA, it plays on our worst fears and seems to justify harsh U.S. actions. Meanwhile, it is difficult to find trustworthy information which might offer clarification.

On another level, under intense and prolonged pressure—military, political and economic, direct and indirect, covert and overt—the Nicaraguan government has taken some steps which have earned it censure, even from supporters. Such things as repeated claims by Nicaraguan leaders that the U.S. will soon invade their country have

led some to suspect the Sandinistas are “crying wolf” in order to distract attention from their own errors.

All this leads some people in our own country to hesitate to oppose U.S. actions, fearing that would imply total support for the Nicaraguan government.

The situation is complex. Our differences in culture and history, our greatly disparate levels of living, of education, health, technology, affect not only what we do but—mutually—how we perceive each other's actions. Seven months there showed me how much facts and statistics fall short of describing Nicaragua adequately. Nor do they really address what has become a central question: how can we, as people whose primary accountability is to our God of justice and mercy, respond nonviolently to our brothers and sisters suffering from a war our country is waging?

It was in meeting the people of Nicaragua, sharing their daily life to some degree, hearing their joys and their concerns, problems and accomplishments, their challenges and their encouragement for our efforts at peacemaking, that I learned something of Nicaragua. Most important was praying with them. Their active faith was inspiring, and strengthened that of many of us who have met them. It helped us to shape our response to their dilemma.

Carmen Gutierrez is a slight woman, perhaps in her 30's, but older in appearance due to a life of poverty and suffering. Gentle and soft-spoken, she lives in Teotecacinte, a town at the northern tip of a triangle of land that juts into Honduras. The first time I met her, she told a group of us from the United States about the death of her child. In June, 1983, after four or five days of mortar attack from Honduras, during which time she and others stayed with the many children in

roughly-constructed bomb shelters, a lull occurred in the fighting. Carmen headed to her nearby house to get more food, and let the children out to stretch. The loud noise of another attack pulled her back to the churchyard, where the shelter was, and she called her children. Suyapa, four years old, was lying there dead—her head severed from her body, her face shattered. Despite the deep sorrow the telling evoked, Carmen continued to speak to us—in order to express her sorrow for the mother of the U.S. helicopter pilot whose craft was shot at as it flew over her town, and crashed in Honduras.

In half-a-dozen subsequent visits, I sought Carmen out. Always, she wanted to pray for peace with visitors, to beg that the killing of all involved be ended. When Carmen asked me why the war continued, explanations of “keeping the hemisphere free for democracy” seemed emptier than ever in light of the reality. In Carmen’s view, and that of so many, many others I met, a government is measured by its actions, not its words. These people fail to understand why the U.S. is undermining their government, when they are experiencing more freedom and security now than they have seen in their lifetime. U.S. aid has been used by the counterrevolutionaries to kidnap, kill and mutilate civilians—including children—as often as to harm Nicaraguan soldiers. It has been used to destroy production centers, crops, grain storage buildings, burn clinics and schools. Health, education, agricultural and church workers have regularly been singled out for death or kidnapping, and now electoral workers or candidates have been added to the lists. Meanwhile, despite the war, the Sandinistas continue to build schools, houses, clinics and daycare centers, sponsor the training of local people in various fields, promote unions and other organizations. There is free practice of religion, and most look to the army as protecting, not terrorizing, them as happened under Somoza and still continues in Honduras, Salvador and Guatemala, where tens of thousands have died at the hands of government forces.

Charges and Counter Charges

At the same time, we have heard reports and claims of threats to U.S. security, to that of other Central American nations, and the rights of Nicaraguans themselves raise valid concerns. But the question is raised whether charges are true, and whether U.S. government actions truly work to correct alleged wrongs.

One charge of the Reagan Administration is that Nicaragua poses a threat because of its growing

military strength, and that it is exporting revolution. While in Nicaragua, during various interviews with high officials at the U.S. Embassy, I heard one U.S. official state directly, and others infer, that Nicaragua could not wage an offensive war against its neighbors for more than one day. That seemed plausible, in a country of obvious poverty and lack of advanced technology, with a population of only 2.8 million (comparable to that of Brooklyn, NY), where some 70% of the people are under 25. Charges that Nicaragua is exporting arms to El Salvador have not been substantiated. David MacMichael, whose job with the CIA from 1981 to 1983 included finding proof of these alleged arms shipments, has left that agency in frustration that U.S. policy is based in part on a false premise: he could find no substantial evidence.

Maria del Socorro Gutierrez, general secretary of the Nicaraguan ministry of housing, spoke to a group of us from the United States about the kind of threat Nicaragua does pose. An articulate, gracious woman of 45, she turned from the comfortable path open to her as the daughter of wealthy Nicaraguans to a life dedicated to providing sufficient housing for the people of her country. Attendance at an intense Catholic religious retreat in 1961 was a turning point for her. As she expressed it, it was difficult to reflect abstractly on the significance of Christ’s death and resurrection when, under Somoza, people were dying all around her: children, from malnutrition and disease; youth, from being picked up and executed by Somoza’s National Guard. Men and women labored day after day, yet earned too little for their families to survive. She said to us,

“We’ll never be a military threat. That’s ridiculous. But we are a threat. We’re giving an example to the poor of the world. Here is an historical project, where persons have rescued their dignity, where human beings know they are no longer slaves, that even with poverty there is a vast universe of things that can be done and achieved. . . . Traditionally, the politics of the U.S. has been to support military dictatorships in Latin America where a small percentage of the people take all the economic benefits, and there’s a suppressed people below. Here there’s a new situation: a government at the service of the base, of the lower class. We are a danger, in the sense that we represent a new awareness, a new consciousness all over Latin America.”

Maria del Socorro’s comments challenge the most serious charge leveled against Nicaragua, that the

process being carried out there is based on influence by the Soviet Union. I had many conversations with Nicaraguans about their views on Soviet influence—its scope, and implications. Inevitably they would concur with Maria's definition of how and why they posed a threat. Politically, they would point out that, in terms of aid and assistance, and the numbers of people advising them in all areas, Western Europe, Latin America, and private U.S. citizens have a much greater influence than the Soviet Union. Nicaragua's acceptance in September, 1984, of the terms of the peace treaty drawn up by the Contadora nations (Mexico, Panama, Colombia and Venezuela) shows their willingness to forego the Russian and Cuban advisors they do have. (The U.S. has rejected the terms of this treaty.) They cite examples of being forced by the U.S. to turn to the Soviets. One is the U.S. refusal to sell them petroleum, followed by U.S. pressure on its allies to deny them oil, which led them to purchase Soviet oil out of necessity.

Discussions on this matter always led to certain points: Nicaraguan experience of the United States' application of democracy in this hemisphere has thus far meant subjection to tyranny, as under Somoza, and to exploitation, which enriched U.S. companies and citizens at the price of Nicaraguans' misery, and even death. Several young people told me they realized their attraction to communism might be dangerous, but they doubted they could suffer more under the Soviet Union than they had under U.S. control.

Nicaraguans are quick to state that they would like a good relationship with the U.S., but they are not willing to accept the domination that the U.S. has historically imposed on them. They see non-alignment as the most desirable course. Their fear that they will not be allowed to follow that course was substantiated when I heard a high U.S. embassy official in Managua state bluntly that the real basis for U.S. policy toward Nicaragua is to maintain control of it.

That statement helped me better understand the charges of hypocrisy Nicaraguans make about U.S. government expressions of concern about internal human rights. A number of Nicaraguans told me that they believed, based on their experience, that Nicaraguans could resolve their differences if the U.S. ended its aggression. Repeatedly I met people who had voiced criticism of the Sandinistas, and seen wrongs redressed. Due to war conditions, active opponents of the government, who support counterrevolutionary violence and U.S. aggression, are not listened to in the same way. They can and do, though, express their views. While in Nicaragua I heard opponents of

the Sandinistas state their criticisms openly, and at length, and was able to read very inflammatory articles in *La Prensa*, despite censorship. (Censorship laws had been eased during the election.) Mechanisms for dissent may be different than in our country; the war there (as anywhere) curtails them. They need to be broadened and improved. But they do exist.

U.S. government calls for an end to repression of the Miskito Indians, for example, were countered by strong responses. Norman Bent, a Miskito Indian and pastor in the Moravian Church (to which most Miskitos belong) pointed out that most of the death and suffering the Miskitos have suffered in the last few years has been caused by weapons and troops paid for by U.S. tax dollars. Citing progress the Sandinistas have made in correcting mistreatment of the Miskito, he made it very clear that the Miskitos' suffering will end only when the U.S. stops its aggression. He concluded a May interview in Managua, in which he had listed incidents with which he was personally familiar, of men, women and children dying from U.S. mortars, with this message to North American church people:

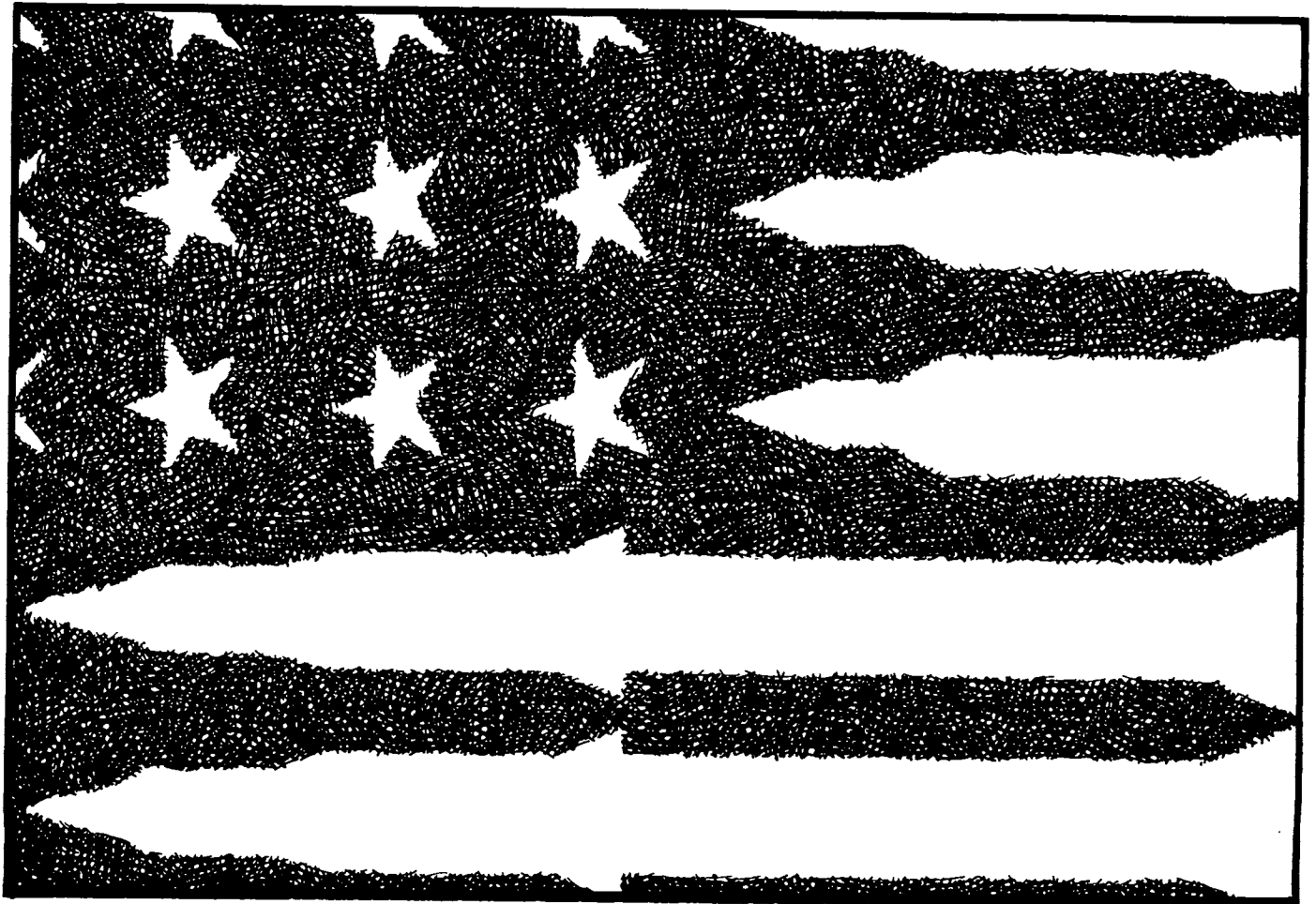
"I say these hard things to you in love, because I know you can do something. You can go back and tell the churches of North America that they need to get out of their beautiful pews and stand up for peace. Just don't wait until the first dozen North Americans' coffins are taken back to the U.S. out of Central America to speak out, as they did in Vietnam. Speak out now before they are killed, because many will be killed in this country. I don't want to kill anyone; I hope I will not, that my sons won't have to, because I am fighting for that not to happen. But how much are the people, the majority of the 250 million people of the U.S., speaking out against an immoral, racist government that you have now established in Washington, D.C.?"

There are criticisms to be made of steps the Nicaraguan government has taken. One concern is a growing militarism, with an escalation of a draft which does not recognize conscientious objection except for priests, pastors and seminary students. (For some months, earlier this year, there was a "de facto" alternative service arrangement worked out by Protestant and Evangelical leaders, and used by members of their churches. That was never written into law, and has, it seems, been ended.)

The majority of priests, religious and lay people in Nicaragua are very supportive of many of the programs the Sandinistas have initiated. Yet there is great tension between the government and the Catholic hierarchy, who are supported by some priests, religious and lay people. In the spring of 1984, a series of incidents heightened those tensions. The government compiled substantial evidence that a Nicaraguan priest was actively supporting counter-revolutionary efforts to overthrow the government violently. He was put under house arrest at a Managua seminary. Archbishop Obando y Bravo, an outspoken critic of the Sandinistas, who has often refused to talk with them or to acknowledge the role of the U.S. aggression in the problems of Nicaragua, refused to examine the evidence. He would not allow the priest to be tried. The act of expelling ten foreign priests from Nicaragua, which merited much criticism, seems based on retaliation against the Archbishop. The priests themselves had done nothing which deserved expulsion, other than show support for the Archbishop's views.

All this, and other things, have happened in the context of war, a reality all Nicaraguans are constantly aware of. Daily life and government actions are shaped by the ongoing hostilities, and the threat of further escalation of military action.

The right of all to freedom of religion, of dissent, of participation in the shaping of their national life, to the necessities of life itself, must be protected. To guarantee those rights for Nicaraguans requires that we work to end the war our country is waging against them, and to change the policy of domination and control from which the war stems.



NICARAGUA:

Bitter Fruits of U.S. Policy

by Joe Collins

We have all heard news accounts of the death and destruction Nicaragua is subjected to by the U.S.-funded counterrevolutionaries ("contras") based in Honduras and Costa Rica. And we have seen the Reagan administration and Congress authorize over \$70 million in aid to these contra terrorists. But it is not until one visits the Nicaraguan families who have lost loved ones, or sees the farms where buildings and food supplies have been burned, that one understands the real suffering caused by U.S. policy and U.S. tax dollars.

The 1983-84 harvest, the first since the San Jeronimo coffee estate had become a co-operative, was very good. Profits were enough to buy some irrigation hoses and make other improvements, in addition to giving the sixty-nine members a bonus according to the number of days each had worked. The bank loan for that year's working capital had been entirely paid back. Fifty acres were freshly plowed, awaiting planting of corn and beans. Over 400 head of cattle grazed on the cooperative's pastureland.

San Jeronimo lies nestled in northern Nicaragua's Condega hills—Austrian volunteers who worked there during the harvest told the cooperative's members that it reminded them of home. Before the revolution, the estate belonged to a Somoza crony who had fled with the dictator to Miami. For four years it was operated as a profitable state farm. In August 1983, the farm, complete with its coffee mill, was converted into a worker-owned cooperative.

Many of the cooperative's members, formerly hired hands on the coffee estate, had secretly helped the young Sandinista guerrillas in their struggle against the Somoza dictatorship. Proudly they will tell you that they knew German Pomares, the campesino *comandante* and folk hero executed by Somoza's National Guard.

Pedro Pravia, the cooperative's elected treasurer, is one such member. He has worked for 36 years on the San Jeronimo estate and likes to speak of his "three experiences." "First we were hired hands for the *patron*," he says. "Then with state ownership, we got a health clinic, our very first school, and higher wages." But the "biggest difference," he thinks has come with the cooperative. "Now we are masters of our own farm. All the benefits we produce are for us. Now we have the means to improve our own lives."

The San Jeronimo cooperative clearly shows the advances Nicaragua's poor *campesinos* are making thanks to the revolution. But this very success makes the cooperative a target for those who want to overturn the revolution.

On three separate occasions bands of contra terrorists slipped across the Honduran border and attacked the cooperative. Each time, the cooperative's own volunteer militia repelled the invaders. Then on May 23, 1984, several hundred contras attacked at dawn. This time the *companeros* were too greatly outnumbered. "Fortunately," said Julio Calderon, a poor farmer who had joined the cooperative and been elected its president, "our sentries spotted them in time to evacuate our cooperative as well as the neighboring one and all the nearby small farmers." The coop's militia guarded the retreat. "The contras killed only one of us and failed to kidnap anyone," Calderon boasted.

But the contras did inflict heavy damage on the cooperative's facilities. I visited San Jeronimo within days of the attack. The contras had set fire to the coffee mill and burned it to the ground. Also reduced to charred rubble were a large storeroom filled with machinery and 100-pound sacks of fertilizer, the offices with the cooperative's account books, the kitchen and dining hall, building materials recently purchased with the harvest income, school supplies for the adult evening classes, and medicines and clothing

left by Austrian volunteers. Several members' homes and also those of some neighboring small farmers were torched. The total loss is assessed at 10 million cordobas, twenty times the cooperative's good profits that year. As we sifted through the ashes of his office, Pedro Pravia said sadly, "We were so satisfied with what we had achieved. We were just beginning. And now comes this attack."

On our visit to San Jeronimo we were accompanied by Juan, an official from the regional agrarian reform headquarters in Esteli. While we bumped along the country roads in our jeep, Juan looked preoccupied. We asked him what was wrong. He spoke gravely of a major contra attack that morning in Ocotal. Among those killed in the ambush were two of his friends and co-workers.

Painfully aware that such attacks would not be possible without the support of my government, I felt at once outrage, embarrassment, and helplessness. Then somehow Juan's t-shirt caught my eye: it read, Iowa State University. Noting the surprised expression on my face, Juan grinned, "We're anti-imperialist, but we're not anti-American."

In just one ten-month period the U.S.-financed contras murdered twelve doctors, twenty-five school teachers, and six agricultural extension agents, many of them brutally tortured and mutilated before being killed. The contras and their CIA advisors reason that peasant support for the revolution comes from all the unprecedented services in health, schooling, farming assistance, and food distribution; therefore these services must be interrupted and their facilities destroyed. It is cold-blooded terrorism, not a strategy to win over hearts and minds.

One martyr to contra terrorism is Alejandro Espinosa, an agronomist in his mid-30's who worked as a government agricultural extension agent in the region around Matagalpa. Alejandro helped private coffee producers improve their farming practices, especially through better timing of weeding and fertilizing.

Three times while riding in a jeep from farm to farm, he was ambushed by contra bands. The first time he escaped lightly wounded. The second time the contras put a pistol to his head, fired and left him for dead. The bullet miraculously glanced off his skull. Two months later the driver of a jeep he was riding in was shot by

contra snipers. As the jeep crashed, and before Alejandro could escape, a handgrenade thrown through the broken front window tore him to pieces.

After the first and second attacks, Alejandro's family and friends had begged him to change jobs, to at least work in a region more secure from the contra terrorists. But he refused, saying that the whole point of the revolution was to bring services to people who never before had them. "If we're not going to do that because we're intimidated and terrorized, we might as well give up," he told his wife Lilys, an accountant in the agrarian reform office in Matagalpa. "And I'm not going to be the one to do that."

Alejandro's funeral was attended by more than one thousand mourners, many of them small farmers who arrived on their burros. For these peasants, people like Alejandro Espinosa *are* the Sandinista revolution.

Traveling around the countryside of Nicaragua, I was stunned by the extent of destruction and human suffering caused by U.S.-sponsored aggression, and this in such stark contrast to the efforts of the Sandinista government to eliminate hunger by providing free land and services to the poor. I was also impressed by the deep conviction of most Nicaraguans that they will eventually be able to overcome the many obstacles confronting them.

So far the Sandinista revolution is but a brief glimpse of the real potential to solve the problems of underdevelopment and injustice. The greatest tragedy, not only for the people of Nicaragua but for the entire world, would be if this important social experiment were not allowed to mature.

[Institute for Food and Development Policy co-founder Joseph Collins makes regular trips to Nicaragua and other countries in Central America.]



THE PLEDGE CAMPAIGN

STRUCTURE AND DECISION-MAKING

The "Pledge of Resistance" was inspired by the pledge written and signed by 53 peace and justice activists at the Kirkridge Retreat Center in Pennsylvania in the wake of the U.S. invasion of Grenada. The Kirkridge co-signers promised that, in the event of a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua, they would attempt to travel to the war zone and stand nonviolently with the Nicaraguan people. They further pledged that, if for any reason they were prevented from taking this action, they would then nonviolently occupy key U.S. federal facilities until the invasion was halted.

In the August 1984 issue of *Sojourners* magazine, a call was issued by a wide range of religious and peace groups inviting thousands of U.S. citizens to make a pledge of nonviolent resistance to a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua—and to begin actively drawing up a "contingency plan" of nonviolent opposition to such an action. Immediately, groups and individuals across the United States began organizing local pledge campaigns. In every region of the country, people began developing local plans of action based on the national call, to designate churches and other sites as gathering places in the event of U.S. military escalation, to collect "pledges of resistance" in cities and towns everywhere, and to begin nonviolence preparation for vigils and sit-ins planned for congressional field offices, federal buildings, and the White House.

On October 16, 1984, organizers representing major peace, justice, and anti-interventionist groups met at the Sojourners office in Washington to shape the scope and direction of the emerging contingency plan. (The following groups were represented at the meeting: Witness for Peace, Fellowship of Reconciliation, American Friends Service Committee, SANE, the Emergency Response Network, the Nuclear Weapons Freeze campaign, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, the National Network in Solidarity with Nicaragua, the Chicago Religious Task Force, the Presbyterian Church, Maryknoll,

the Interreligious Task Force on Central America, Mobilization for Survival, Sojourners, World Peacemakers, the Mennonite Church, the Central America Peace Campaign, and the Episcopal Peace Fellowship.)

At this meeting, it was decided to expand the "Pledge of Resistance" to respond to a U.S. invasion or a major military escalation anywhere in Central America. Decisions about organization were also made. First, an **analyst group** was chosen to continually monitor and interpret the developing situation in Central America, especially the U.S. role in the region. At present, these analysts include: **Richard Barnett**, The Institute for Policy Studies; **Yvonne Dilling**, Witness for Peace; **David MacMichael**, former CIA analyst; **Steve Goose**, Center for Defense Information; **Valarie Miller**, Central America Peace Campaign; **Joanne Heisel**, NISGUA; **Mike Davis**, CISPES; **Debbie Reuben**, NNSNP; **Reggie Norton**, Washington Office on Latin America; **Buddy Summers**, Witness for Peace; **William Leo Grande**, American University; and **Jim Wallis**, Sojourners.

This body is advising the **signal group**—the group which will decide if and when to activate the national network. This eight-member group—representing broadly-based national constituencies—are in continual consultation with each other, with the analyst group, and with contacts in Central America. At the present time, the signal group includes: **Suzanna Cepeda**, SANE; **Timothy McDonald**, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; **Eileen Purcell**, Catholic Social Services and the Emergency Response Network; **Jim Wallis**, Sojourners; a Washington Office on Latin America representative (the particular person will vary depending on which Central American country is involved); representatives from the three Central America solidarity networks (CISPES, NNSN, National Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala).

In the event of an invasion, the signal group will activate the nationwide network. At the same time, a group of publicly-recognizable individuals will issue the call through their own constituencies and through the media.

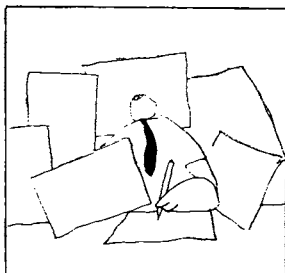
Information will flow from the national group to regional and/or Pledge of Resistance offices which will be responsible for activating regional and local networks (alerting local groups, activating phone banks, assembling at pre-designated action sites, etc.).

Regional and local offices, if concerned that the signal group is not responding to developments in Central America, may request that the signal group confer and arrive at a determination of the situation. Though national coordination is critical, a local campaign may decide to activate its network—in which case it should notify the national decision-making body and explore the possibility of national activation.

NATIONAL CLEARINGHOUSE

The Pledge of Resistance National Clearinghouse is located at the Interreligious Task Force on Central America, 475 Riverside Dr., Rm. 563, New York, New York 10115, (212) 870-2057. Contact Dianne Silver.

- * Contact for national organizations, religious bodies and international groups;
- * coordinator for development and distribution of resource materials;
- * communication with the executive committee;
- * communication with the regional clearinghouses;
- * communication center for nationwide developments; and
- * contact for national press.



REGIONAL OFFICES

Pacific Northwest (WA, OR, ID, MT): Terry Sorrell (American Friends Service Committee), 2249 E. Burnside, Portland, OR 97214, (503) 230-9427.

Northern California (No. CA, NV, AK, HI): Steve Slade (Emergency Response Network), 1101 O'Farrell, San Francisco, CA 94109, (415) 771-1276.

Southern California (So. CA, AZ, NM): Ms. Pat Reif (Southern California Interfaith Task Force), 136 N. Commonwealth, Apt. 3, Los Angeles, CA 90004, (213) 470-2293.

South Central (TX, OK, AR): Janice Heine (AFSC), 1022 W. 6th St., Austin, TX 78703, (512) 474-2399.

Rocky Mountains (CO, UT, WY): Steve Graham (AFSC), 1660 Lafayette St., Denver, CO 80218, (303) 832-1676.

Northern Midwest (WI, MN, ND, SD, NE, KS): Betty Wolcott (Witness for Peace), 3221 S. Lake Dr., Milwaukee, WI 53207, (414) 744-1160.

Central Midwest (IL, IN, MI, OH, MO, IA): Grace Gyor (WFP), 3913 N. St. Louis, Chicago, IL 60618, (312) 267-7881.

Mid-Atlantic (NY, NJ, MD, PA, DE, DC): Betsy Lee (Clergy and Laity Concerned), 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038, (212) 964-6730.

New England (ME, NH, VT, MA, CT, RI): Fran Truitt (WFP), RD 2, Box 422A, Ellsworth, ME 04605, (207) 422-9007.

Southeast (WV, VA, NC, SC, GA, FL, AL, MS, LA, TN, KY): Gail Phares (Carolina Interfaith Task Force/WFP), 1105 Sapling Pl., Raleigh, NC 27609, (919) 834-5184 a.m. 848-3936 p.m.

- * Communicate the existing plan to broader constituencies;
- * build the regional network;
- * channel resources to state and local groups;
- * coordinate nonviolence preparation;
- * coordinate regional press work; and
- * communicate regional developments to the national clearinghouse.

THE PLEDGE: AN IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME

"I'm a pastor and as a person of faith I'm called to live out what's called the good news, that is the good news of God's peace and justice. I feel that by signing this pledge of nonviolent resistance that's one small embodying of the good news."

"I'm a mother of a 17 year-old son who I don't want to see fight in Central America, and I take this pledge of civil disobedience in the name of the Salvadorean refugees who lead me to this decision with their struggles and their stories."

"I'm a veteran of two wars. I'm not sure about the morality of those wars, but I'm very sure of the immorality of this war that's going on now in Central America. I've signed the pledge of resistance and I'm going to stand behind it."

"I've never been arrested before. I'm signing the pledge not just for the people of Central America, but also for the people here in this country. We've got to wake people up to what is being done in our name all over the world."

On October 9, 1984, the first mass public signing of the Pledge of Resistance in the United States took place in San Francisco. Everyone who signed the pledge was encouraged to approach the microphone to share the feelings that led them to pledge to go to jail protesting any use of U.S. combat troops in Central America. Two hundred people spoke that day, one after another, for two hours. Many participants called it the most powerful and empowering political event they'd ever been to. One woman said the succession of voices was a collective poem. One priest said he had not come intending to sign, but had been moved to do so.

In the four months since a small religious magazine—*Sojourners*—published its call for nonviolent resistance to the use of U.S. combat forces

in Central America, over 42,000 people have signed the Pledge of Resistance. About half of those have signed the pledge of civil disobedience, promising to engage in nonviolent civil disobedience at federal facilities if the U.S. "invades, bombs, sends combat troops, or otherwise significantly escalates its intervention in Central America." The other half have pledged to demonstrate legally "in support for those who engaged in acts of nonviolent civil disobedience."

"The response has just been amazing," says Janice Hines, the campaign's regional coordinator for Texas, Arkansas, and Oklahoma. "The idea caught on so fast and generated so much excitement, that we're just trying to keep up with it." Organizers at national, regional and local levels echo her sentiments as they struggle to keep up with a massive grassroots response to an idea whose time has come.

Support for the pledge has not been limited to—or even concentrated in—traditionally strong anti-war cities such as Boston and San Francisco, though 2,500 people have signed in Massachusetts and twice that number in Northern California. "Some of our states," Southeastern regional coordinator Gail Phares says, "have been going to town." States like Florida with campaigns in 8 cities and over 1,000 signed pledges. States like Virginia, North Carolina, and Texas—each with over 1,000 signed pledges and campaigns in a dozen cities. States like Tennessee, with over 200 pledges in both Nashville and Memphis. From New Jersey (3,000 pledges) to Wisconsin (2,000) to Colorado (1,500), the Pledge of Resistance has sparked activity and excitement in the aftermath of Ronald Reagan's reelection. "People aren't giving up," one organizer said, "they're getting ready."

Pledge offices around the country report that the people who are getting ready are mostly people who have never engaged in civil disobe-

ence before. "People who have never done anything like this before," the AFSC's David Hart-sough observes, "are saying, 'This is what my conscience requires of me.'"

Pledge organizers are committed to maintaining the conscientiousness of the campaign and require that everyone planning to engage in civil disobedience attend a day long nonviolence preparation. Over 700 people have gone to these preparations in the San Francisco area and thirty new preparers from all over Northern California have been trained. Trainer Terry Messman-Rucker calls nonviolence "the key to our credibility" and sees the current movement carrying out the legacy left by Martin Luther King, Jr. "King saw the need at the end of his life," Messman-Rucker says, "for a nonviolent movement that was massive, sustained, and disciplined. That's what we're building right now."

The press has been quick to distinguish the Pledge campaign from the anti-war movement of the Viet Nam era. The easy dichotomy: the Viet Nam anti-war movement was dominated by young student hippie types and this anti-war movement is dominated by religious white middle class types. The Pledge campaign does have at its core the commitment by thousands of religious people, most of them white and middle class. While the commitment of this segment of the population is, in fact, news (as defined by the standards of the press industry), it is not all the news.

The Pledge of Resistance has also become a key organizing tool for all the major peace and solidarity groups who have long opposed U.S. policy in Central America. It has been endorsed by Mario Obledo, the President of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), the largest Hispanic-American membership organization in the country. Timothy McDonald of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference sits on the national "signal group," the body charged with activating the network. At the University of Texas' Austin campus the Pledge coalition includes the Rainbow Coalition, the Steve Bikko Committee, and the major campus Chicano groups (along with campus religious and peace groups). Organizer Janice Hines says, "the campus hasn't been this active in years," and reports that over 600 people have signed the Pledge in Austin. Students at Tufts University have called for a nationwide boycott of classes if the U.S. military attacks in Central America and students at the University of California's nine campuses are working on a systemwide boycott.

Local groups are busy with the hundreds of details that go into a campaign of civil disobedience. CD sites are usually congressional offices, federal buildings, recruiting stations, or military installations. Many local groups have met with their local police departments and set up legal committees. Churches are being contacted to serve as support centers during any actions. "Getting people to sign," one local organizer said, "is the easiest part."

Signing may appear easy from an organizer's viewpoint, but it is a difficult decision for most people. "This is very difficult for me," said one person who signed the civil disobedience pledge, "but I owe my strength to be able to do this to the strength of the Nicaraguan people." Again and again, those who sign the pledge make that connection between themselves and the people of Central America. "The months ahead are going to be hard," Eileen Purcell of Catholic Social Services in San Francisco told the October public signing there. "But we cannot be afraid. We must join with our counterparts in Central America who have the courage to speak and to be killed for speaking. As we speak, our voices will stop the killing. We've only just begun."



ORGANIZING A LOCAL PLEDGE CAMPAIGN

What does it take to stop a war?

The traditional answer, of course, has been war itself. The hideous bestiality of warfare, we are told, is ended only by more hideous—and therefore more decisive—violence. In the popular imagination, only war conquers war. Paralyzed by our fears of contemporary war-making, we prepare for even greater destruction; as a hedge against annihilation, we stockpile a million Hiroshimas. Yet even as we attempt to calm ourselves with the seductive opinion that we have brewed up a potion known as “national security” capable of magically neutralizing whatever war that might happen along, we are secretly fearful that we may end up drowning in this liquor of our own making we call militarism.

The Pledge of Resistance Campaign rejects the traditional view that only war is capable of ending war. In fact, a guiding vision of this campaign is that war can be repudiated even *before* it fully erupts—repudiated not by violent means (not by waging, as it were, a pre-emptive conflict, the kind of war much applauded in policy circles these days), but by nonviolent resistance which signals to the makers of war that their plans for invasion and thinly-veiled aggression are unacceptable. Ian Thiermann, producer of the film, *The Last Epidemic*, claims that the Pledge of Resistance is an historic attempt to stop a war before it starts, and he views it as a manifestation of a newly emerging cultural option—the society-wide rejection of war as a viable means of resolving human differences. Whatever its historical novelty, the Pledge Campaign seeks to end war, neither by violence nor by simply wishing that it would disappear, but by the nonviolent withdrawal of support for it. This campaign is rooted in the simple intuition that wars happen because people cooperate with them—and wars end when that collaboration also ends.

Translating this fundamental concept into practical reality, however, is no easy matter. And so we recast our original question: What does it take to stop a war—nonviolently?

Frankly, we do not know the answer to this question with anything approaching confidence or precision. Maybe it takes a million people in the streets. Maybe, in “Reagan-America,” it takes five million in the streets and five million on strike. Maybe it takes 100 million letters. Maybe it takes several hundred thousand acts of conscientious, nonviolent civil disobedience. Perhaps it takes one well-placed word.

Ultimately, these are imponderables. It is never entirely clear, especially in the blinding immediacy of the present, what dislodges the status quo, setting social change in motion. Nevertheless, we do know a few sobering facts. We do know that the Reagan Administration has been especially impervious to criticism, however broadly-based that criticism has been. (Recall Caspar Weinberger dismissing the million people who protested the nuclear arms race in Central Park in June, 1982, as “misguided” and “unrepresentative.”) We do know that, though there has been growing opposition to U.S. policies in Central America for five years, this public sentiment has not dulled the Administration’s appetite for escalation in the region. We now know that if we mean to reverse U.S. intervention in Central America, we must mount a serious, coordinated, and sustained campaign of nonviolent resistance to this policy, an effort which must not simply flourish in large metropolitan areas, but must take root in every state and city across the country.

There are other things that we know. We know that 300,000 people marching in the streets of Washington in the fall of 1969 kept President Nixon from using nuclear weapons against North Vietnam for fear of the domestic repercussions. We know that direct action campaigns have played

extremely significant roles in the women's suffrage movement, the civil rights movement, and the anti-nuclear movement. We know that if enough people refuse to cooperate with injustice, such action sets in motion a counter-momentum which strains to redress that injustice. What we do *not* know is the combination of events which will broker this change. We have historical precedence as a rough guide, and we are led and sustained by our goal, but ultimately our work is a matter of faith—of struggling together against great odds, of pouring a great deal of time and energy and patience into this mammoth project, of trusting each other and the process of which we are a part. It is a wager that, if we are not defeated by our own short-sightedness, cynicism, or despair, we may be able to join with thousands of others—including our sisters and brothers in Central America—to slow and then stop this juggernaut of destruction which has already claimed thousands of lives and which threatens to claim tens of thousands more.

ORGANIZATION

The Pledge of Resistance Campaign seeks to encourage broadly-based, conscientious, and non-violent opposition to escalated intervention in Central America. In essence, the campaign hopes to create an environment in which, in the event of an invasion, thousands of U.S. citizens can constructively channel their legitimate concerns over such grave action. Such an action environment, if well-planned and developed, will not only offer those who have signed the pledge a way to non-violently witness against that aggression, it will offer a constructive means of protest to the thousands of others who, in the wake of such intervention, will feel moved to act. Put another way, if a local Pledge Campaign has really laid adequate groundwork ahead of time (developing a sound scenario for legal protest and civil disobedience, putting in place a system of ongoing nonviolence preparation, establishing beforehand an action center such as a nearby church, a community hall, etc. for "core support" functions, developing and orienting a group of monitors, etc.), it will not only be able to accommodate those who have officially joined the campaign, it may also be able to incorporate thousands of others into the witness when an actual emergency is sounded.

Laying such groundwork, which will be crucial to the success of the "contingency plan" if and when the pledge network is alerted, involves the following key steps:

Circulating the pledge. This includes doing outreach in a variety of relevant communities: peace and anti-interventionist groups, the Third

World community, the religious community, labor, campus constituencies, gay and lesbian community, etc.

Publicizing the pledge campaign as widely as possible. Organizing events (e.g., public pledge signings and "days of giving notice") which publicize this campaign. Also, writing articles and granting interviews to the local media on the Pledge of Resistance, as well as placing large ads in local newspapers and developing a procedure for publicizing the local, regional, and national numbers of people who have signed the Pledge.

Fundraising. Developing procedures for raising money to pay for pledge printing, postage, telephone, transportation, staff, etc.

Presenting a series of nonviolence preparations. All who engage in civil disobedience are required to take the nonviolence preparation and those engaged in legal protest are also strongly encouraged to take this six-hour preparation. This means creating a pool of qualified trainers by offering one or more "training for trainers" tailored to the specifics of Central America and the campaign.

Networking between the Pledge Campaign and already established solidarity, peace, justice, and religious groups. The Pledge Campaign should not, except in rare cases, start from scratch. The campaign depends in large measure on groups networking together and inviting those organizations to circulate and promote the pledge, participate in the specific tasks of the campaign, etc. The Pledge Campaign does not seek to duplicate the work of other groups or to compete with them in any way. Rather, it complements that work by offering to those organizations which embrace the vision, direction, and nonviolent guidelines of the campaign a powerful means of organizing opposition to U.S. policy in Central America. Practically speaking, this means creating an organizational structure which defines the relationship between participating organizations, delineates responsibilities, determines the decision-making process, etc.

Establishing a reliable alert system for mobilizing the network in the wake of "significant military escalation." This system can include: coordinated phone-banking from several phone-banking centers; periodic announcements of the "contingency plan" on a sympathetic local radio station, with an arrangement to broadcast the alert if and when it is sounded; and a plan to distribute posters and leaflets in pre-designated areas, once the network is activated.

Developing **scenarios** for direct action. Plans for legal protest and civil disobedience should be drawn up well in advance of the mobilization. These plans should take into account the mood of the action, the rationale for choosing a particular location, the physical layout of the site, the props and symbols to be used during the action, etc. Creative thinking should be encouraged in framing both the civil disobedience and the legal activity. Similarly, great care needs to be taken with the logistics of each.

Developing **core support functions** and securing an **action support center**. Core support is vital to the Pledge Campaign's ability to sustain direct action for any length of time, and should be organized well in advance of the alert in order to ensure its availability on short notice. Core support includes available food, "rumor control;" monitors, legal team, medical team, media liaison team, child care, jail support team.

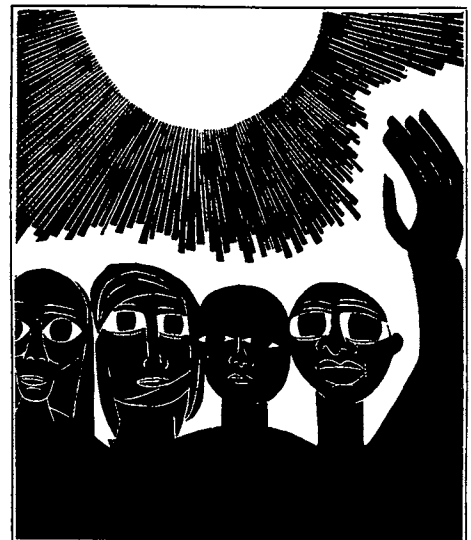
A site is needed to function as an action support center for the duration of the direct action. Here people can gather prior to the civil disobedience and legal protest for final updates, community building, etc. The action center will also house ongoing nonviolence preparation for those who have not previously had this preparation, as well as serve as a meeting space, reflection space, sleeping area, legal team center, medical team center, "rumor control," jail support, child care, etc.

Periodically **updating** all who sign the Pledge. Phone contact should be made with all who have joined the network to ascertain whether or not they have had nonviolence preparation, to offer the latest information on the situation in Central America, etc. A periodic bulletin sent out to all signers. Weekly or monthly gatherings designed to share information, build community, facilitate discussions on the philosophy and tactics of nonviolence, offer proposals for action, etc.

Organizing interim activities. As the Reagan Administration continues to wage a "war of attrition" on the people of Central America, escalating incrementally in the region and, therefore, perhaps resorting to slow and steady intervention rather than a dramatic Grenada-style invasion, it is crucial that we communicate to the government that gradual escalation in Central America is as abhorrent to us as a clear-cut invasion. It is obvious that a war is already taking place in the region, and we do not want to put ourselves in the position of demanding that things have to get even worse before we

can respond to this situation. Therefore, we need to develop a series of interim activities which, without calling for the "ultimate mobilization," nevertheless invites members of the network to participate in public demonstrations against U.S. policy in Central America. For example, a large vigil at the action site with some people choosing to commit civil disobedience; or, more ambitious still, daily acts of civil disobedience by small numbers of people at the action site. These could be linked to ongoing leafletting and vigil campaigns at the site with the purpose of illuminating the situation in Central America, as well as interpreting to the wider public the meaning of these and future forms of protest.

This overview enumerates the broad task areas which establishing a pledge campaign entails. In the following pages, suggestions are offered for developing these various dimensions of this campaign to help prevent or halt a U.S. invasion of Central America.



EVENTS WHICH MIGHT LEAD TO THE ACTIVATION OF THE NETWORK

At its October 16, 1984, meeting in Washington, the national working group reviewed the types of U.S. actions which would constitute a "significant escalation of intervention" in the region. These included:

Sending U.S. combat troops in numbers to Nicaragua or El Salvador.

Massive bombing with the intention of inflicting significant death and destruction on Nicaragua or El Salvador.

Quarantine of Nicaragua, including a naval blockade.

U.S. sending proxy troops to Nicaragua or El Salvador.

The general feeling of the group was that the first four events would warrant the activation of the network. Less dramatic, but no less important, events would include:

U.S. severing diplomatic relations with Nicaragua and recognition of a pro-U.S. provisional government.

Reinstatement of U.S. aid for the *contras*.

Total trade embargo by U.S. (with U.S. pressuring other countries to join with it in this tactic).

It should be noted that it is quite likely that these less dramatic actions will occur before more volatile U.S. military activity, and should probably be viewed as steps leading toward significant military escalation.

PROJECTED SCENARIO (October, 1984)

As long as the current war of attrition serves the Administration's purpose (at least through Spring '85), U.S. military escalation will continue at a pace calculated to generate little recognition of the seriousness of U.S. involvement (i.e., an invasion with U.S. ground troops is considered unlikely UNLESS another factor in the region changes);

If Nicaragua accepts MiG's, a "surgical removal" by the U.S. could be expected (a direct, limited air strike);

If the FMLN severely cripples or threatens the Salvadoran army, direct U.S. air strikes would be expected;

Barring the play of the above possibilities, the following timelines seem reasonable:

0-3 months: U.S. will continue its policy of hostility toward Nicaragua;

U.S. propaganda will intensify;

U.S. will introduce C 47's—a qualitative jump in air power—to be used in El Salvador;

U.S. will increase use of advisors and special operations forces (a difficult issue to organize around);

3-6 months: The Administration will pressure the new Congress for more El Salvador and *contra* aid;

Administration will ask for military aid for Guatemala;

Administration will attempt to raise U.S. advisor limit in El Salvador;

Administration attempt to challenge and/or thwart (or try to) War Powers Act by sending advisors into El Salvador combat zones;

6-24 months: Administration realization that it cannot achieve its objective in the region without direct military intervention.

Summary: As long as the current policies toward each of the countries fulfill the Administration's short-term objectives, the Administration will not resort to invasion with U.S. ground troops. It appears that this is the case currently, but any number of events could alter this, and it is for such a crisis that the Contingency Plan is being prepared.



A CONTINGENCY PLAN FOR THE ACTUAL MOBILIZATION

Once the decision to fully mobilize the national network has been made, the Pledge of Resistance national alert system will be activated, inviting those who have signed the pledge to participate in either legal protest or civil disobedience at one or several pre-designated federal or military facilities. This will include:

Contacting all local and regional groups which are part of the network so that they, in turn, can alert their own constituencies.

Activating the pre-established Pledge of Resistance phone-bank centers.

Announcing the action on a local sympathetic radio station which will also broadcast periodic updates; having a group of well-known persons issue the call for action through the media and through their own constituencies.

One possible scenario: invite people to assemble at the action support center that evening for briefings, community building, logistical planning, shared prayer, etc. in preparation for beginning the nonviolent witness (legal protest and civil disobedience) the next day. Nonviolence preparation, for those who had not already received it, could commence that night at the center and continue through the duration of the action, however long it might last.

If such a plan were adopted, people could assemble at the action support center again the next day at 11 a.m. and then, at noon, march (with appropriate banners, religious symbols, etc.) to the pre-designated federal or military facility and commence legal protest and/or acts of civil disobedience.

Nonviolent legal activities:

Moral appeals. Attempts to speak with members of Congress, other federal officials, military commanders, etc., asking that they do all in their power to stop this military escalation, including attempting to stop munitions ships from being loaded, war taxes from being collected, etc.

Public vigils and/or prayer services at these federal or military sites. One possibility: surrounding the facility with people joining hands ("Hands Around the Federal Building").

Leafletting, talking with workers, passersby, etc.

Letter-writing. Have tables on-site for people to write letters of protest to members of Congress, the White House, and the State Department.

A speakers' bureau. Speakers going into the community to talk about the emergency, to encourage others to take nonviolence preparation, to form affinity groups, and to resist nonviolently this military escalation.

Nonviolent civil disobedience:

All who participate in civil disobedience are required to take nonviolence preparation.

Those who have been led by their consciences to risk arrest will be invited to go in delegations into congressional and other relevant offices to begin a nonviolent appeal to policy-makers to stop this military action, announcing that they intend to continue this witness until that military activity is halted. If they are not allowed into the building, onto the base, etc., they will blockade all entrances—nonviolently interrupting "business as usual" while the U.S. government is at war with the people of Central America.

If people are arrested, another wave of those willing to risk arrest will be encouraged to come forward to take the places of the previous contingent. If people are released from jail, they will be invited to rejoin the action. These steps will serve the general goal of continuing this nonviolent appeal as long as possible—for days, weeks, and months if necessary.

Long-term support structure:

The nearby action support center should remain open through the duration of the witness. This will facilitate ongoing nonviolence preparation, affinity group formation, "rumor control," liaison with the media, food preparation, sleeping, banner-making, planning sessions, jail support, etc.

INTERIM ACTIVITIES PRIOR TO THE ALERT

The U.S. is currently waging a "war of attrition" on the people of Central America. In order to respond to this largely unseen emergency, the Pledge of Resistance Campaign is making the following recommendations for interim actions ("states of resistance") to local and national groups.

Organizing massive communication between U.S. citizens and U.S. policy makers on the subject of Central America. We should flood the White House, Congress, and State Department with phone calls, telegrams, and personal visits registering our opposition to the present U.S. aggression in the region. This should be set for particular dates (e.g., specific "National Call-In" days) as well as an ongoing, regular activity of the membership of local and national organizations.

Ongoing leafletting at the pre-designated site for the ultimate mobilization.

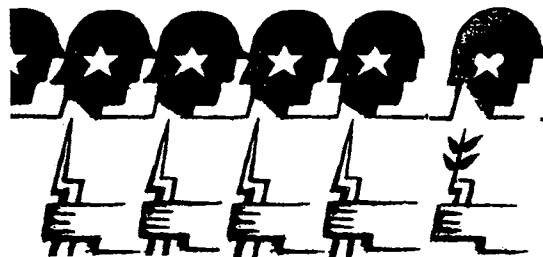
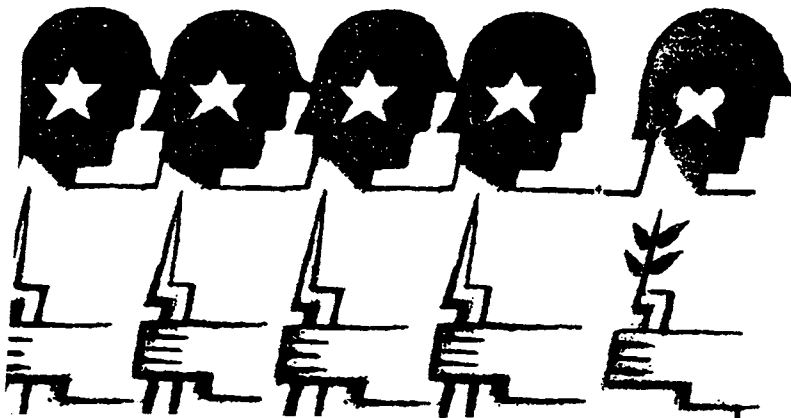
Staging nonviolent vigils, candlelight marches, prayer services.

Organizing large demonstrations with a civil disobedience component at the site of mobilization. Those who have signed the pledge would be contacted and told that, though this was not the actual mobilization, they were being invited to participate in legal and civil disobedience activities. This action would draw attention to the present war, and it would also serve as a "dry run" for the future mobilization.

Daily demonstrations at the site of the future mobilization. Groups of pledge signers who had taken nonviolence training would be invited to participate in acts of nonviolent civil disobedience which could be staged daily at the pre-designated federal or military site.

Public pledge signings. These events, in themselves, are demonstrations against U.S. policy toward Central America. They also serve to empower those who are engaging in this resistance. These can be events staged at a particular site, or they can be part of a tabling campaign ("Pledge registration") at a variety of locations.

Nonviolence preparations. These workshops in the philosophy and methods of nonviolence convey to the government in a concrete way the growing opposition of many people to U.S. policy in the region and, therefore, qualify as particularly effective "interim activities."



DIALOGUE ON NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE AND THE LATIN AMERICAN STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE

Pieces

In El Salvador
the soldiers come:
shoot the men because the men
are tired of fear.
shoot the boys because the boys
have faith in change.
shoot the women — women
learn to fight
back.
shoot the children
because the children
are alive.
And babies bleed
beneath the bodies of their mothers.

a closer look: babies bleed under
pieces
of the bodies
of mothers; they bleed from pieces.

I read of it as I drink
this good coffee, no not
from El Salvador. From

Guatemala. The soldiers
keep coming, defenders
of the second cup.

—Suzanne Maxson, 1981

Why does the Pledge of Resistance say that the lives of the children depend on preventing the invasion of Central America?

Ita Ford: “Yesterday I was looking down on a 16-year-old who had just been killed a few hours before. I know of a lot of children, some younger than this one, who are dead. This is a horrible time for young people in El Salvador. So much idealism and commitment is being destroyed. The reasons for why so many people have been killed are somewhat complicated, but there are a few clear and simple ones. One is that many people have found meaning in their lives—they make sacrifices, fight, even die. And whether they live to be 16 or 60 or 90, they know what they are living for. In many ways they’re lucky.

“Brooklyn is not El Salvador. But a few things remain true wherever you are. What I want to say is that I hope you’ll succeed in finding what will give life a deep meaning for you. Something that’s worth living for, perhaps even worth dying for, something that gives you strength and inspires you and makes you able to go on.”

—Ita Ford, Maryknoll nun murdered by Salvadoran security forces, passage from a letter written to her 16-year-old niece.

How can we feel any hope that the bloodshed and genocidal violence engulfing Central America will be overcome?

Archbishop Oscar Romero: “As a pastor and as a Salvadoran citizen, I am deeply grieved that the organized sector of our people continues to be massacred merely for taking to the street in orderly fashion to petition for justice and liberty. I am sure that so much blood and so much pain caused to the families of so many victims will not be in vain. It is blood and pain that will water and make fertile new and continually more numerous seeds—Salvadorans who will awaken to the responsibility they have to build a more just and human society—and that will bear fruit



in the accomplishment of the daring, urgent, and radical structural reforms that our nation needs. The cry for liberation of this people is a shout that rises up to God and that nothing and no one can now stop."

—Archbishop Romero, quoted by James Brockman in *The Word Remains: A Life of Oscar Romero*, Orbis Books, 1982.

What kind of commitment do our neighbors in Latin America ask North Americans to make?

Gustavo Gutierrez: "Present events form part of our own universe and demand of the individual a personal decision, a rejection of every kind of complicity with executioners, a straightforward solidarity, an uncompromising denunciation of evil, a prayer of commitment."

—Gustavo Gutierrez, liberation theologian from Lima Peru, *We Drink From Our Own Wells*, Orbis/Dove, 1984.

What do you mean by calling for solidarity with the poor?

Gustavo Gutierrez: "It used to be called mercy, then charity, then commitment; today it is called solidarity. To give food to the hungry. . . drink to the thirsty. . . clothing to the naked. . . shelter to the homeless. . . and to welcome the stranger are actions so basic that the end of time we shall have to render an account of them.

"It is a work of concrete, authentic love for the poor that is not possible apart from a certain integration into their world and apart from bonds of real friendship with those who suffer despoliation and injustice. The solidarity is not with 'the poor' in the abstract but with human beings of flesh and bone. Without love and affection, without—why not say it?—tenderness, there can be no true gesture of solidarity."

—Gutierrez, *We Drink From Our Own Wells*.

What is the cost of this solidarity for the people of Latin America?

Archbishop Romero: "Christ asks us not to fear persecution, because—believe me, brothers and sisters—whichever has cast his or her lot with the poor will have to endure the same fate as the poor, and in El Salvador we know what the fate of the poor is: to disappear, to be tortured, to be a prisoner, to be found dead."

What might this solidarity with the poor cost Peace activists in North America?

Daniel Berrigan: "For my brother and myself the choice is already made. We have chosen to be powerless criminals in a time of criminal power. We have chosen to be branded as peace criminals by war criminals. . . There are a hundred nonviolent means of resisting those who would inflict death as the ordinary way of life. There are a hundred ways of nonviolent resistance up to now untried, or half-tried, or badly tried. But the peace will not be won without such serious and constant and sacrificial and courageous actions on the part of large numbers of good men and women. The peace will not be won without the moral equivalent of the loss and suffering and separation that the war itself is exacting."

—Daniel Berrigan, Jesuit priest, resister, felon, in "Sermon from the Underground."

What prevents our making this commitment to the oppressed?

Gutierrez: "We regard ourselves as guilty for keeping silence in the face of the events agitating our country. In the face of repression, detentions, the economic crisis, the loss of jobs by so many workers, murders and tortures, we have kept silent as though we did not belong to that world. The cowardice that keeps silent in the face of the sufferings of the poor and that offers any number of adroit justifications represents an especially serious failure."

—Gutierrez, *We Drink From Our Own Wells*.

But how do people find the strength to resist in the face of this repression?

Base Christian community in Brazil: "The faith and courage of the members of our communities in the face of threats, misunderstandings, and persecution for justice' sake are sustained and strengthened by the support each individual gives the others, by the support each community gives the others, by our very struggle and activity, by meditation on the word of God, and by the recollection of the witness given by those who have struggled for justice."

—quoted by Gutierrez in *We Drink From Our Own Wells*.



What is involved in this Pledge of Resistance to invasion of Central America?

Dorothee Solle: "This is intended as a call to resistance so that we can learn deliberate violation of the rules, nonviolent illegality, and civil disobedience together. It is possible to violate laws and regulations governing property without committing violence against human beings. Our imaginations in this area are underdeveloped. If we want to take part in liberation movements, then the militarism that dominates us is our main enemy."

—Dorothee Solle, theologian and peace activist from West Germany, *Of War and Love*, Orbis, 1983.

Does a U.S. movement of nonviolent resistance have any real chance of preventing or overcoming a full-scale invasion of Central America?

Martin Luther King, Jr.: "We in the West must bear in mind that the poor countries are poor primarily because we have exploited them through political or economic colonialism. Americans in particular must help their nation repent of her modern economic imperialism. But movements in our countries alone will not be enough. In Latin America, for example, national reform movements have almost despaired of nonviolent methods; many young men, even many priests, have joined guerilla movements in the hills. So many of Latin America's problems have roots in the United States of America that we need to form a solid, united movement, nonviolently conceived and carried through, so that pressure can be brought to bear on the capital and government power structures concerned, from both sides of the problem at once. I think that may be the only hope for a nonviolent solution in Latin America today; and one of the most powerful expressions of nonviolence may come out of that international coalition of socially aware forces, operating outside government frameworks."

—M. L. King, Jr., *The Trumpet of Conscience*

But isn't nonviolence a passive, powerless force?

Mohandas Gandhi: "Nonviolence does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but it means the pitting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant. Working under this law of our being, it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire."



How can we nonviolently defy an unjust empire?

Adolfo Perez Esquivel: "We struggle by rendering operative the force of love in the battle of liberation. Active nonviolence is a response, a step forward (whether the world realizes it or not) that is based on the gospel. Nonviolence is a way of answering evil and injustice with truth, and hate with love. For truth and love are the weapons of the spirit in the face of repression. Nonviolence is not passivity or conformism. It is a spirit, and a method. It is a spirit of prophecy, for it denounces all sundering of a community of brothers and sisters and proclaims that this community can only be rebuilt through love. And it is a method—an organized set of ruptures in the civil order so as to disturb the system responsible for the injustices we see around us."

"Here we see the power of the dispossessed, the weapon of the poor. The struggle, then, will be the people's struggle. Here is participation indeed. Here is no elitist contest, no partisan struggle. The means will include boycotts, strikes, noncooperation, civil disobedience, hunger strikes, and many other actions."

—Adolfo Perez Esquivel, Argentinean non-violent resister, 1980 Nobel Prize winner, from *Christ in a Poncho*.

What level of nonviolent resistance will be required to obstruct U.S. intervention in Central America?

Martin Luther King, Jr.: "I intended to show that nonviolence will be effective, but not until it has achieved the massive dimensions, the disciplined planning, and the intense commitment of a sustained, direct-action movement of civil disobedience on the national scale. The dispossessed of this nation—the poor, both white and Negro—live in a cruelly unjust society. They must organize a revolution against that injustice, not against the lives of the persons who are their fellow citizens, but against the structures through which the society is refusing to take means which have been called for, and which are at hand, to lift the load of poverty."

—M.L. King, Jr., *The Trumpet of Conscience*

Is a campaign of civil disobedience forceful enough to activate an emergency response to an invasion of Central America?

M. L. King, Jr.: "There is nothing wrong with a traffic law which says you have to stop for a red light. But when a fire is raging, the fire truck goes right through that red light, and normal traffic had better get out of its way. Or, when a man

is bleeding to death, the ambulance goes through those red lights at top speed. . . Disinherited people all over the world are bleeding to death from deep social and economic wounds. They need brigades of ambulance drivers who will have to ignore the red lights of the present system until the emergency is solved. Massive civil disobedience is a strategy for social change which is at least as forceful as an ambulance with its siren on full."

—M. L. King, Jr., *The Trumpet of Conscience*

How do we organize a massive, nationwide campaign of nonviolent resistance?

Dorothee Solle: "To question and rebel means to organize resistance. What we need now and what we will need in the coming years is a broad, comprehensive resistance movement against militarism, a movement that includes members of every political grouping from the center to the left. We have to take up the cause of peace, take sides with life, interfere nonviolently and illegally. I think we can learn the most for our purposes from the liberation struggles in the Third World. I have been given a leaflet from the resistance movement in Chile, a leaflet that can be distributed there only at the risk of one's life. These Chileans are reflecting on their situation, on what it means to live under a dictatorship and what is happening to them as a result. I think we can adopt a great deal of what they say, for they say: 'Rebel! Don't cooperate with death! Choose Life!' They also say: 'Don't let them steal away your soul! Amen!'"

—Dorothee Solle, *Of War and Love*

Has a massive campaign of civil disobedience ever been organized in America which was able to stand strong in the face of repression and overcome injustice?

M. L. King, Jr.: "The higher level is mass civil disobedience. There must be more than a statement to the larger society; there must be a force that interrupts its functioning at some key point. That interruption must not, however, be clandestine or surreptitious. It is not necessary to invest it with guerrilla romanticism. It must be open and, above all, conducted by large masses without violence. If the jails are filled to thwart it, its meaning will become even clearer.

"Boycotting busses in Montgomery, demonstrating in Birmingham, the citadel of segregation, and defying guns, dogs, and clubs in Selma, while maintaining disciplined nonviolence, totally confused the rulers of the South. If they let us march, they admitted their lie that the black man was content. If they shot us down, they told the world they were inhuman brutes. They tried to stop us by threats and fear, the tactic that had long worked so effectively. But nonviolence had muzzled their guns and Negro defiance had shaken their confidence. When they finally reached for clubs, dogs, and guns, they found the world was watching, and then the power of nonviolent protest became manifest.

"It dramatized the essential meaning of the conflict and in magnified strokes made clear who was the evildoer and who was the undeserving victim. The nation and the world were sickened and through national legislation wiped out a thousand Southern laws, ripping gaping holes in the edifice of segregation."

—M. L. King, Jr., *The Trumpet of Conscience*

What does the feminist movement have to teach the peace movement in terms of rejection of patriarchal violence?

Dorothee Solle: "The women's movement displays its real strength when it presents a vision of life that differs from the prevailing one. Women will become strong when they stop worshipping the golden calves that men worship: unlimited economic growth, national security, the balance of terror. . .

"We shall become free only when we beat our swords into plowshares, as Isaiah says, and when we learn to operate irrigation systems, not tanks. We shall be free and we shall be women only when we join forces with life against production for death and the ongoing preparation for murder. We shall not become free by retiring into the private sphere and saying, 'Count me out,' nor shall we become free by conforming to a society that holds its generals and millionaires in particularly high regard. We shall become free when we learn to work for peace actively, deliberately, and militantly."

—D. Solle, *Of War and Love*



Can North Americans who are committed to nonviolence act in solidarity with Latin American liberation movements which have not adhered to nonviolence?

Gene Sharp: "Gandhi was not blind to the realities of conflict often involved in wars, and to the fact that one side might well have much more right on its side than the other. In such cases, 'neutrality' or 'impartiality' played no role in Gandhi's thinking. Gandhi wrote, 'Whilst all violence is bad and must be condemned in the abstract, it is permissible for, it is even the duty of, a believer in *ahimsa* (nonviolence) to distinguish between the aggressor and the defender. Having done so, he will side with the defender in a nonviolent manner, i.e., give his life in saving him.' Even if the defender continued to struggle by violent means in such an instance, Gandhi believed that such nonviolent intervention and assistance would contribute to a quicker and less vindictive peace."

—Gene Sharp, theoretician of nonviolent resistance, in *Gandhi As A Political Strategist*, Porter Sargent Publishers, 1979.

Doesn't our faith in nonviolence lead us to insist that the oppressed people of Latin America adopt nonviolence as their only means of struggle?

Thomas Merton: "A theology of love cannot afford to be sentimental. It cannot afford to preach edifying generalities about charity, while identifying 'peace' with mere established power and legalized violence against the oppressed. A theology of love cannot be allowed merely to serve the interests of the rich and powerful, justifying their wars, their violence and their bombs, while exhorting the poor and underprivileged to practice patience, meekness, longsuffering and to solve their problems, if at all, non-violently.

"A theology of love may also conceivably turn out to be a theology of revolution. In any case, it is a theology of *resistance*, a refusal of the evil that reduces a brother or sister to homicidal desperation. . .



"Instead of preaching the Cross for others and advising them to suffer patiently the violence which we sweetly impose on them, with the aid of armies and police, we might conceivably recognize the right of the less fortunate to use force, and study more seriously the practice of nonviolence and humane methods on our own part when, as it happens, we possess the most stupendous arsenal of power the world has ever known."

—Thomas Merton, Catholic monk, theologian of nonviolent resistance, from "Toward a Theology of Resistance," in *The Nonviolent Alternative*.

Why did the people of Nicaragua resort to armed insurrection?

Fernando Cardenal: "I came here to a country that's been governed for nearly half a century by an unjust, murderous, bloody dictatorship, one that eradicated whole families. I read to the U.S. Congress whole lists of families—father, mother, grandparents, teenagers, and younger children—murdered in the mountains. In the final 52 days of the offensive alone, 50,000 persons died in Nicaragua. Here, then taking sides with the people by joining with those who are struggling and offering their lives to defend the people—supporting them and becoming one of them, in the people's defense. . . We're taking sides, yes—with the good Samaritan. Here you have to take sides, you have to be a partisan. Either you're with the slaughtered or you're with the slaughterers. From a gospel point of view, I don't think there was any other legitimate option we could have made."

—Fernando Cardenal, Catholic priest and Minister of Education in Nicaragua, interviewed by Teofilo Cabrestero in *Ministers of God, Ministers of the People*, Orbis Books, 1983.

Don't the people of Nicaragua see the deep value of nonviolence?

Miguel D'Escoto: "To be very frank with you, I don't think that violence is Christian. Some may say that this is a reactionary position. But I think that the very essence of Christianity is the cross. It is through the cross that we will change. I have come to believe that creative nonviolence has to be a constitutive element of evangelization and of the proclamation of the gospel. But in Nicaragua nonviolence was never included in the process of evangelization. The cancer of oppression and injustice and crime and exploitation was allowed to grow and finally the people had to fight with the means available to them, the only means that people have found

from of old: armed struggle. Then (some) arrogantly said violence was bad, nonviolence was the correct way. . . But that spirituality and prayer and work with people's consciences has never been done. We have no right to hope to harvest what we have not sown."

—Miguel D'Escoto, "An Unfinished Canvas: Building a New Nicaragua," in *Sojourners* magazine, March, 1983.

Have the Nicaraguan people tried to limit violence by such measures as abolishing the death penalty, and being generous to their former oppressors?

Miguel D'Escoto: The reservoir of Christian values became apparent to the world after the revolution, when a great amount of forgiveness was manifested. Immediately after the overthrow, Commandante Tomas Borge decided to free every one of the former National Guardsmen in Matagalpa. Of course, we had to pay dearly for this because they went to the other side of the border and formed the nucleus of those who from Honduras are working against the revolution. Soon after the overthrow I went with Tomas to visit the jail. The jail had a special area where former Somozan torturers were held, including the man who had tortured Tomas and who was most notorious. Tomas said to him, 'Remember when I told you I would take revenge when I was free? I now come for my revenge. For your hate and torture I give you love, and for what you did I give you freedom.' "

—Miguel D'Escoto, "An Unfinished Canvas: Building a New Nicaragua."

But is nonviolent resistance respected by anyone struggling for the liberation of Latin America?

Miguel D'Escoto: "Here I should say that the person who had the most impact on my life at that time, by his way of living his Christianity, was Martin Luther King, Jr. I carried a little picture of him with me. There were photos of him on the walls of my room. I looked at Martin Luther King as a very special human being—someone very consistent. I'd taken steps to get him to visit Chile before I came back to the United States, and he'd accepted, but he didn't make it. He was killed. I always thought of Martin Luther King as a kind of reproach to myself, because I was so afraid to follow in his footsteps. I looked on him as a guide, as a standard."

—Miguel D'Escoto, quoted by Cabestrero, *Ministers of God, Ministers of the People*.

Do North American nonviolent activists truly understand how the terrible oppression of Latin America has been perpetrated by the intervention of the U.S. government?

M. L. King, Jr.: "In 1957 a sensitive American official overseas said that it seemed to him that our nation was on the wrong side of a world revolution. I am convinced that if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values. A true revolution of values will soon look uneasily on the glaring contrast between poverty and wealth. With righteous indignation, it will look across the seas and see individual capitalists of the West investing huge sums of money in Asia, Africa, and South America only to take the profits out with no concern for the social betterment of the countries, and say, 'This is not just.' It will look at our alliance with the landed gentry of Latin America and say, 'This is not just.' A true revolution of values will lay hands on the world order and say of war, 'This way of settling differences is not just.' This business of burning human beings with napalm, of filling our nation's homes with orphans and widows, of injecting poisonous drugs of hate into the veins of peoples normally humane, of sending men home from dark and bloody battlefields physically handicapped and psychologically deranged, cannot be reconciled with wisdom, justice and love. A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual doom."

—M. L. King, Jr.; *The Trumpet of Conscience*

What kind of national reform or conversion is the United States compelled to undergo?

M. L. King, Jr.: "These are revolutionary times; all over the globe people are revolting against old systems of exploitation and oppression. The shirtless and barefoot people of the land are rising up as never before. 'The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light.' We in the West must support these revolutions. It is a sad fact that because of comfort, complacency, a morbid fear of Communism, and our proneness to adjust to injustice, the Western nations that initiated so much of the revolutionary spirit of the modern world have now become the arch-antirevolutionaries."

—M. L. King, Jr., *The Trumpet of Conscience*



What must the United States give up in order to end the suffering and exploitation of our neighbors in Latin America?

Mohandas Gandhi: "If the great nations can shed the fear of destruction, if they disarm themselves, they will automatically help the rest to regain their sanity. But then these great powers will have to give up their imperialistic ambitions and their exploitation of the so-called uncivilized or semi-civilized nations of the earth and revise their mode of life. It means a complete revolution."

—*Gandhi on Nonviolence*, edited by Thomas Merton, New Directions, 1965.

What are the people of Central America demanding of the United States?

Archbishop Romero: "The military contribution of your government instead of favoring greater justice and peace in El Salvador will undoubtedly sharpen the injustice and the repression of the organized people, whose struggle has often been for the respect of their most basic human rights."

"If you really wish to defend human rights. . . guarantee that your government will not intervene directly or indirectly, by military, economic, diplomatic, or other pressures, in determining the destiny of the Salvadoran people."

"It would be unjust and deplorable for foreign powers to intervene and frustrate the Salvadoran people, to repress them and keep them from deciding autonomously the economic and political course that our nation should follow. It would be to violate a right that the Latin American bishops, meeting at Puebla, recognized publicly when we spoke of 'the lawful self-determination of our peoples that allows them to organize according to their own spirit and the course of their history and to cooperate in a new international order.' "

—Oscar Romero, quoted by Brockman in *The Word Remains: A Life of Oscar Romero*.

What do the people of Central America ask of the oligarchies of their homelands?

Archbishop Romero: "Let them share what they are and have. Let them not keep silencing with violence the voice of those of us who offer this invitation. Let them not keep killing those of us who are trying to achieve a more just sharing of the power and wealth of our country. I speak in the first person, because this week I received notice that I am on the list of those who are to be eliminated next week. But let it be known that no one can any longer kill the voice of justice."

—Romero quoted in *The Word Remains*.

What do the people of Central America ask of military regimes that rule by violent repression?

Archbishop Romero: "I would like to make an appeal in a special way to the men of the army, and in particular to the ranks of the National Guard, of the police, to those in the barracks. Brothers, you are part of our own people. You kill your own *campesino* brothers and sisters. And before an order to kill that a man may give, the law of God must prevail that says: Thou shalt not kill! No soldier is obliged to obey an order against the law of God. No one has to fulfill an immoral law. It is time to recover your consciences and to obey your consciences rather than the orders of sin. The church, defender of the rights of God, of the law of God, of human dignity, the dignity of the person, cannot remain silent before such abomination. We want the government to take seriously that reforms are worth nothing when they come about stained with so much blood. In the name of God, and in the name of this suffering people whose laments rise to heaven each day more tumultuous, I beg you, I ask you, I order you in the name of God: stop the repression!"

—Romero quoted in *The Word Remains*.



NONVIOLENCE PREPARATION

THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF NONVIOLENCE PREPARATION SESSIONS

In Birmingham (1963) nonviolence training emphasized role plays, lectures, and making a commitment to nonviolence by signing a pledge card. Martin Luther King, Jr., lectured nightly at the mass meetings on nonviolence.

—Grace Hedemann, article titled “Nonviolence Training.”

The focus of these training sessions was the socio-dramas designed to prepare the demonstrators for some of the challenges they could expect to face. The harsh language and physical abuse of the police and the self-appointed guardians of the law were frankly presented, along with the nonviolence creed in action: to resist without bitterness; to be cursed and not reply; to be beaten and not hit back. The S.C.L.C. staff members who conducted these sessions played their roles with the conviction born of experience.

—Martin Luther King, Jr., *Why We Can't Wait*

We made it clear that we would not send anyone out to demonstrate who had not convinced themselves and us that they could accept and endure violence without retaliating.

—King, *Why We Can't Wait*.

The United Farm Workers movement developed (in 1965) in a very similar way to the civil rights movement. Workers were trained at large meetings where all who joined the strike took a non-violent pledge. Cesar Chavez lectured long and hard on nonviolence. The unique contribution to nonviolent training technique by the Farm Workers movement was the El Teatro Campesino. They performed role plays on stage about conflict situations the workers could expect to encounter on the picket line. Then the audience determined through lively discussion, impromptu role plays, and evaluation, possible solutions.

Discipline was required and considered essential to the success of the movement.

—Hedemann, “Nonviolence Training.”

Gandhi made nonviolence training an integral part of the Indian movement for independence from Britain. Training emphasized discipline, songs, prayers, and mass meetings.”

—Hedemann, “Nonviolence Training.”

Nonviolence training is important because it empowers us and forces us to consider means and ends, and because it decentralizes power. Most important, however, it strengthens the movement for social change. Feminism remains as important as nonviolence in my thinking. It is my concern to work out any apparent contradictions since I think that one without the other would be unsuccessful.

—Lynne Shivers, quoted in *Reweaving the Web of Life*, New Society Publishers, 1983.

It was apparent to us that the Greens' concept of social defense would depend on well-organized, tightly bonded affinity groups in every neighborhood who are prepared to conduct nonviolent civil disobedience on short notice. Petra Kelly responded: 'Exactly right. Every neighborhood will have to know how to conduct resistance and become subversive, but the peace movement in the United States is far ahead of us in nonviolence training and the development of affinity groups.' So frustrated with that lag in the German peace group is Kelly that she willfully violates a Green party rule by giving a portion of her salary directly to nonviolence training rather than putting it into a common pot.

—Green Politics, Charlene Spretnak and Fritjof Capra, E.P. Dutton, Inc., 1984.



OVERVIEW OF NONVIOLENCE PREPARATION

A nonviolence preparation covers the theory and practice of nonviolent direct action, consensus decision-making, and decentralized affinity group-based organization. We begin each topic with a short presentation of background information, then discuss it extensively from both theoretical and personal perspectives, and finally practice what has been learned in "role plays" in which we act out the various roles people take on in actual situations. When a group is preparing for a specific action, information pertinent to that action (scenario, legal implications, etc.) is also covered. A typical preparation session takes about 6 hours. Preparations work well with people who already know each other, but they can also bring new people together for the future.

A nonviolence preparation is extremely useful in preparing people to engage in nonviolent direct actions (against U.S. intervention in Central America, military bases, weapons contractors, corporate polluters, sexist institutions, or whatever). It also provides an opportunity for people to learn the important skills of reaching mutually agreeable decisions with friends and dealing with others in confrontation.

SETTING UP THE NONVIOLENCE PREPARATION

Nonviolence preparations are a crucial form of outreach for the Pledge of Resistance campaign. Below are a number of suggestions for things you will need to do beforehand to ensure that everything runs smoothly.

Plan times and places of nonviolence preps in conjunction with other preparers/trainers in your area and local peace and solidarity groups. It is often a good idea to set up a series of preparations in advance, so as to make advertising easier and more efficient.

With at least 5 or 6 preparers in your area, rotation of preps will help keep people from burning out.

The places you choose in which to hold preparations are a crucial factor for their success. The best places are in large, quiet locales such as meeting rooms, community centers, large living rooms, parks, etc., where people can be focused, yet relaxed. We strongly recommend that you avoid places with a lot of human traffic moving through or where there are fluorescent lights. You'll need lots of room for role-plays and small group discussions. Be sure to

recheck the place you set for a session a day or two beforehand—nothing is worse than having people come to a prep that doesn't exist.

Preparations can be publicized in many ways: through local newspapers, radio and TV, on posters and leaflets put up in public gathering spots, cafes near campuses, laundromats, announcements made in classes and at local events.

Another important form of outreach is phone-calling; local groups have contact lists of concerned people who should be called and encouraged to participate in the action. Finally, you can contact already formed political groups and collectives that are sympathetic to our goals (churches, solidarity groups, women's groups, anti-draft groups and so on) who may want to work together as an affinity group in the Pledge of Resistance Campaign.

Plan to have at least two preparers at each session (unless there are 10 or fewer people). You may want to pair off an experienced with a less experienced preparer. We strongly urge the two of you to get together ahead of time to go over the session, decide on your agenda and who will facilitate each part of it. While the two of you will be responsible for different parts, you should feel comfortable adding further perspectives and insights at the end of your co-preparer's sections.

Before each preparation, spend at least an hour or two going through this manual, the action scenario, and any new updates on Central America. Your familiarity with the material will make a BIG difference to those you work with in a session—people can always see through inexperience. Whatever you decide to say, do it in your own words. . . don't read out of the Handbook.

Before you agree to do a prep, spend some quiet time reflecting on your energy level and commitment to the action. We feel that it is crucial that preparers feel good about themselves, the blockade and the people they are preparing. Your enthusiasm will influence others—so will your negativity. If you are not feeling confident about what we are doing, please do not do preparations.

If you are feeling burned out, it would be a good idea to talk with the other preparers in your area. Are there ways in which they can support you better? Regular meetings between local preparers, where feelings are expressed,

problems are worked through, and general support given will help keep people from burning out.

Be sure to keep a good number of books and handouts as resources at preps, especially on such issues as the dangers of U.S. intervention in Central America, nonviolence, the Pledge of Resistance, local scenarios, etc. At each session, you will need to have a sufficient number of Handbooks for sale to participants. You may also want to sell buttons and bumperstickers to raise money for your local group and the Pledge of Resistance Campaign.

DYNAMICS OF THE PREPARATION

At their best, preparations are dynamic, empowering and creative experiences: dynamic because they generate energy; empowering because they share skills that direct this energy into the power to act; creative because, in the process, affinity groups are born. Preparations are one of our best and most intimate forms of outreach; through them we communicate not merely information, but a whole set of counter values and ways of being. This is a major reason why people come, not simply to make "rational individual" decisions, but to meet the people who are engaged in resistance: are they friendly? are they really creating something good here? Invariably, people also come looking for community. Your task, in part, is to help this to happen.

Information sharing—especially technical arguments—should be balanced with getting people to participate in community building. People come together when they do things; that's why the preparation emphasizes participation. Since many people don't speak at all at meetings or only say what is non-controversial, we've included "safe speaking" times. Since few are able to listen attentively without immediately judging, we've also included "listening times"—a form of participation that is equally significant as speaking out.

Out of this tapestry of facts about scenario, discussions of nonviolence, participatory role-plays, feeling, and sharing, affinity groups are born: people supporting and empowering each other, people ready to act to stop U.S. intervention in Central America. This is both the reflection and the germ of something larger; a whole community of people across the nation with an amazing and rich collection of skills and powers. Its vitality comes from its shared projects—struggling against what is wrong, changing our personal lives in this struggle, creating by living as much as possible—right now!



SAMPLE AGENDA FOR A SIX-HOUR NONVIOLENCE PREPARATION

This agenda describes the nonviolence preparations currently being given by members of the Emergency Response Network in the San Francisco Bay Area. Although this agenda is intended only as an example rather than a prescription, the contents and components of this preparation session have evolved over several years of intensive experimentation by hundreds of nonviolence preparers. We strongly recommend that every nonviolence preparation include all these topics, although individual preparers may wish to improvise new role plays, experiment with the order of presentation, etc. Our nonviolence preparers' collective feels very strongly about two things:

Every person who has signed a pledge to do civil disobedience should take at least a six-hour nonviolence preparation. We need to create a movement that will remain disciplined in its commitment to nonviolence and, at the same time, intensify its commitment to resistance. Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr. made nonviolence trainings an integral part of their movements for national liberation and racial equality. Their non-violent resistance campaigns remained strong despite violent governmental repression because they helped create a large pool of well-prepared resisters. A six-hour nonviolence preparation is a vital prerequisite for effective participation in the Pledge of Resistance Campaign.

We strongly encourage the formation of a pool of nonviolence preparers in every region of the country. Once a pool of experienced preparers is formed in an area, they can take the initiative to actively invite every pledge signer to a non-violence preparation session.



NONVIOLENCE PREPARATION

EXAMPLE AGENDA

- 5 min. **Introduction of Trainers and Training**
- 5 min. **Agenda Review**
- 25 min. **Slideshow/film**
- 20 min. **Introductions/Sharing.** Name, organization or affiliation, respond in 2-3 sentences to the images of Central America—the poverty of the people, the militarism, the struggle for justice—or share your hopes and fears about the Central American situation.
- 5-7 min. **Pledge of Resistance.** Philosophy behind it; moral urgency; strategy.
- 25 min. **History and Philosophy of Nonviolence.** Either a presentation of the historical data and traditions or a brainstorming session leading to questions for group reflection during triads later. **Brainstorm**—campaigns and situations where nonviolence have been used effectively; personal qualities of nonviolence.
- 5 min. **Nonviolence Guidelines**
- 30 min. **Triads Discussion of Nonviolence.** Questions: 1) What is leading me to do CD with the Pledge of Resistance? 2) What personal qualities of nonviolence do I hope to embody throughout this action?
- 30 min. **Hassle Lines.** 1) Media and CD'er: what do you hope to accomplish by occupation? 2) Workers at Federal Building: You commies should go live in Cuba!
- 10 min. **Scenario Plans.** Federal building, local issues; national plan.
- 30 min. **Legal.**
- 10 min. **BREAK!**
- 20 min. **Consensus**
- 30 min. **Consensus Roleplay/Quick Decision-making.** 1) 25 people are beaten on the head by police and you are sitting 20 feet from where the beating occurs. (Anger runs through you; do you physically try to stop them? Fear runs through you, too; do you leave the occupation site so that you won't be beaten also?) 2) After three days of occupation, about 25 people break away from this "soft" non-violent action to break windows in the financial district to show where U.S. imperialism comes from. What do you do? (See annotated training agenda for other roleplays.)
- 20 min. **Solidarity.** (See solidarity discussion in the handbook for **both** aspects of this issue.)
- 30 min. **Civil Disobedience Roleplay.** One week after the occupation began; 7 a.m.; jeering workers are trying to get into the building to get to their jobs; police order the building cleared. Those remaining are facing Federal conspiracy charges and felonies. 1) Workers: jeer and try to walk through the demonstrators. 2) Police: "You're hurting the national interest"; "We're doing our job." 3) Demonstrators: maintain a strong commitment to nonviolence and resist the immoral and illegal war. 4) Media: documenting the scene.
- 10-15 min. **Jail Conditions**
- 15 min. **Affinity Groups.** Support handout.
- 15 min. **Pledge of Resistance Involvement**
- 5 min. **Evaluation/Closing Circle**

ANNOTATED AGENDA

The following agenda takes a group of people through a roughly chronological sequence of events, leading from the philosophy of nonviolence campaigns through the legal system and civil disobedience role-plays all the way to jail conditions. Two breaks are scheduled, but if a 45-minute lunch break is desired, plan on a seven-hour session.

AGENDA REVIEW (5 minutes)

The two trainers introduce themselves and briefly explain the topics and objectives of the training session. The agenda should be written on a large piece of paper and posted. Come supplied with felt-tip markers, tape and sheets of paper. Pass around a sign-up sheet for names, phone numbers and addresses.

GROUP INTRODUCTIONS (20 minutes)

Have people share their names, and organizations. They might share their hopes and fears about the Central American situation in two or three sentences. Or people might talk together in pairs, then introduce each other to the larger group.

SLIDESHOW/FILM/UPDATE ON CENTRAL AMERICA (25 minutes)

This is an optional part of the preparation which should be tailored to the needs of your particular group. A very short slideshow or film can bring the reality of Central America directly into your training session. Two excellent audio-visuals on Central America that you may want to obtain for your nonviolence training are the film, "Americas in Transition" or the AFSC slideshow, "Central America: Roots of the Crisis." Groups already well acquainted with the history, culture and politics of Central America may not need this section.

PLEDGE OF RESISTANCE (10 minutes)

A short description of the philosophy of the pledge campaign, its strategic value and moral urgency. Sketch a broad overview, but hold the details of your local scenario of resistance for the later SCENARIO section. Preparers might mention that the Pledge of Resistance Campaign is one of the first campaigns in U.S. history which has organized a nationwide movement to resist an invasion **before** it has been launched.

HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY OF NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE (25 minutes)

We can empower each other by recalling and analyzing the dynamics of successful nonviolent campaigns: Gandhi's liberation movement in India, Harriet Tubman's Underground Railroad, the suffragist campaign of civil disobedience which won the vote for U.S. women, the creative resistance to racial segregation employed by the civil rights movement, the massive and sustained campaigns against the Vietnam War and nuclear weapons. Nonviolence trainers need to study these resistance campaigns and present them in dramatic, insightful ways. Another valuable approach is to ask those in the room what nonviolence means to them—and list these responses on a large piece of paper on the wall.

TRIADS: PERSONAL DISCUSSIONS OF NONVIOLENCE (15 minutes)

People break down into groups of three to discuss their own feelings about and experiences with nonviolent resistance on a personal, intimate level. People need this opportunity to directly participate. Each person can share for five minutes, and then listen attentively to the other two perspectives. Emphasize the importance of creative listening. Ask two questions: 1) What are the qualities of nonviolence that you personally hope to embody in the action? 2) What is leading you to nonviolently resist the situation in Central America?

NONVIOLENCE GUIDELINES (5 minutes)

The nonviolence guidelines are printed in this handbook. They can be written on a large sheet of paper and read before the group. Some people embrace nonviolence as an entire way of life, others see it as an effective tactic for this particular struggle, others fall between these two perspectives. But everyone can come to a consensual agreement in order to build a unified movement.

HASSLE LINES (30 minutes)

Hassle lines are short, intense forms of verbal role-play which enable people to try out nonviolent responses in challenging situations. We also get a feeling of how our adversaries see our actions. Have people line up in two parallel lines facing each other. Each person in one line will be in a one-on-one "hassle" with a member of the other line. Tell each side who they will play, describe the confrontation, and ask them to get deeply into their roles. Let them act out their roles for a few minutes, then stop the action and ask people from each line how they felt about

the confrontation and how they dealt with it, what worked in terms of getting through to the other person, and what they learned from "the hassle." Then switch roles and try a new situation, letting a different side be the "resisters."

Suggested Hassle Lines:

Media people interview people occupying a U.S. Federal Building: "What do you hope to accomplish with this sit-in? Why are you opposing your government's actions in Central America?"

Blockaders and police. Blockaders are non-violently standing at a gate leading into a military base, blocking traffic. Police confront them and order them to leave or be arrested. Demonstrators respond in a non-violent way and share their reasons for remaining.

Workers and demonstrators. Workers angrily confront a group of people occupying a congressional office, demanding they leave, saying: "This is our office, not yours." "Why don't your protest in Cuba?"

SCENARIO (10 minutes)

Describe how the emergency alert system is activated on the national level in response to a crisis situation. Relate how pledge-signers will be contacted locally, and share the plans for civil disobedience at local government offices and/or military facilities.

BREAK (10 minutes)

Coffee, tea and juices should be available.

LEGAL (25 minutes)

Discuss the legal process from arrest through arraignment and pleas to sentencing. Making a large legal flow-chart based on the one printed in this manual is a good visual tool. Discussing possible charges and past sentences imposed for civil disobedience in your area helps people decide what level of action they are ready to take.

CONSENSUS DECISION-MAKING (20 minutes)

This presentation can be based on the consensus article in the handbook. The article, "Overcoming Masculine Oppression," is an important critique of behavior that obstructs good process. Make sure people understand the community-building nature of consensus; emphasize the democratic, unifying nature of the spokescouncil structure. One of the trainers should be experienced in consensus process to present this section and facilitate the role-play.

CONSENSUS ROLE-PLAY (30 minutes)

This is a more complex role-play than the hassle lines, and needs to be explained carefully and skillfully. Divide the group into smaller "affinity groups" of 3 to 6, and ask each group to select a spokesperson. Give the groups a situation to be resolved in 15 minutes, using consensus process in affinity groups. Each group should come up with a proposal. Then a spokesperson brings each group's proposal into a spokescouncil in the center of the room, and the spokespersons attempt to consense on a synthesis proposal that can be accepted by all affinity groups.

Sample Role-plays:

Blockaders are in jail. A lawyer arrives with word from the sheriff's office that all second and third time offenders and non-cooperators will be held on \$2,000 bail, but everyone else can sign a citation promising to appear in court and be released immediately. What should people do?

People have been sitting-in at their congressperson's office for five days straight in waves (as soon as some are arrested, others take their place.) You're demanding that the congressperson immediately call for a congressional vote to remove all U.S. military presence from Nicaragua and end overt and covert support for the *contras*. The congressperson sends word that he will hold public hearings on the U.S. presence in Nicaragua, but says he can't arrange a vote at such short notice. Should your group stay, and risk arrest, or leave and await the outcome of public hearings?

After four hours of the blockade at the Federal Building, twenty-five people break away from the group and begin breaking windows. What response should the larger group have to this action?

SOLIDARITY (20 minutes)

Our solidarity is with the Central American people and with each other. Solidarity goals and tactics will vary in different parts of the country, depending on numbers arrested, sentencing procedures, and differing understandings of what solidarity means. Some groups take the moral/political stance that all people arrested on similar charges should receive equal treatment and equivalent sentences. Some groups utilize solidarity to reject the imposition of fines, bail and/or probation. Each local group needs to reach consensus on its own solidarity goals, if any.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE ROLE-PLAY (30 minutes)

This can be a dramatic high-point in the training, and may give the best possible preview of the emotions and sensations experienced in the arrest situation. This role-play gives us an opportunity to see how we might actually react to possible stressful incidents during nonviolent civil disobedience. It can also give us a chance to put ourselves in the shoes of police, hostile or friendly workers, military officials, provocateurs, etc. We may find clues about how they feel and respond as well as learning what kinds of actions communicate our purposes and what kinds of actions are alienating.

Bring newspapers or cardboard tubes for the police to use as clubs. Emphasize the need for people to really get into their roles and to take these as seriously as possible. Explain the physical set-up: where are the gates or offices, where are the protesters occupying or blockading, where are the police and the arrest buses, etc. Divide the group into a certain number of resisters, police, workers and maybe a reporter or two. Take the police and workers into separate areas and brief them on their roles while the resisters are deciding on their tactics. The effectiveness of the role-play depends on the energy and realism people commit to their roles. Give everyone 5 minutes to get into their roles and decide on how to occupy, blockade, etc. Start the role play, allow it to continue until the main action has happened (5-10 minutes) and then call "time" and debrief.

Sample scenario:

It's 8 a.m. on a Monday morning, and this is the sixth day in a row that the federal building has been occupied by nonviolent resisters. Anger and frustration has grown on the part of the police and workers; demonstrators feel a growing urgency to take a firm stand and end U.S. bombing missions in Nicaragua. Demonstrators are massed in a sit-in directly inside the doors when a few jeering, angry employees try to walk through demonstrators to their workplaces. They yell that we're hurting the national interest of the U.S. The police order the building cleared and say that anyone who doesn't leave in two minutes will be arrested and face federal conspiracy charges and felonies.

Demonstrators have two minutes to decide: can they maintain a strong commitment to nonviolent discipline, and continue resisting an illegal and immoral war? The police move in and begin bodily dragging demonstrators out of the building. . .

Evaluation: Ask people how they felt during the role-play. How together was the occupation? Were there feelings of fear as people imagined a real arrest situation? How did it feel to be dragged out of the building? Was there a sense of empowerment? What effect did the occupation and arrests have on the police? How can we better communicate our nonviolence to the workers, police, etc.? What did we learn about facing a real arrest situation?

SHARING FEELINGS AND FEARS (20 minutes)

Experiencing the role-play helps open people up to their feelings, hopes and fears about the upcoming real-life experience of resistance, arrest and jail. Go around the circle, asking each person to briefly share her most important thoughts, feelings and fears about the arrest situation she might face. Explain that this sharing should continue at greater length in affinity groups before and after arrests.

JAIL CONDITIONS (15 minutes)

Describe jail realistically as overcrowded, noisy, and potentially stressful—but don't overemphasize "scare stories." Explain that many people have gone through this experience before us, and have come out stronger. Martin Luther King, Jr. said that the cell door is the door into freedom. Going to jail for reasons of conscience is a way of reclaiming our freedom, living out our solidarity with the people of Central America, and being empowering examples of hope for other people. Strike a balance between the negative and positive aspects of jail.

AFFINITY GROUPS AND PLEDGE OF RESISTANCE CAMPAIGN INVOLVEMENT (30 minutes)

This is extremely important. Describe the nature and objectives of affinity groups, stressing that they are the building blocks of our resistance movement. Affinity groups plan their own actions together, support each other through the arrest and jail time and, above all, provide a sense of community and family closeness. Describe the need for support people who don't get arrested and lay out the support functions. At this time, people in your preparation can say whether they're already in an affinity group. It is likely that several people will need to become part of a new affinity group at this point. Facilitate the exchange of names and phone numbers, and encourage them to meet within the next week to get to know one another, share thoughts and feelings about the action, plan their participation, do life-story sharing, etc. Conclude by describing the ways in which affinity groups in

your area can plug into the ongoing work of the Pledge of Resistance Campaign. Leave people with the thought that this peace movement will stay alive only as long as the affinity groups maintain their commitment, friendship and active involvement.

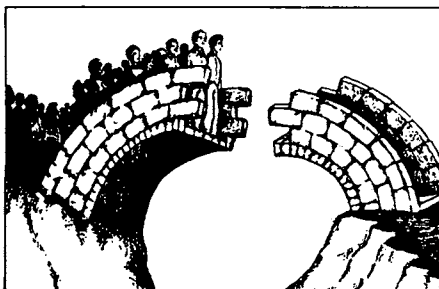
FOLLOW-UP AFTER THE NONVIOLENCE PREPARATION

It is the preparer's obligation to stay in touch with the affinity groups they prepare and to do everything possible to help these groups survive. Organizing clusters, networking affinity groups with common interests, making sure updates get out to the affinity groups are all concrete ways to work on this. The alert system can be tested, literature distributed, friendly phone calls made, but nothing will guarantee that an affinity group will last more than one meeting.

Only if an affinity group succeeds in becoming (or comes from) a real community will it last. When based on community, affinity groups are an effective, even joyous, way of organizing. They act against our tendency to think in terms of the "mass": mass culture, mass movements and mass reaction. In small affinity groups we come to know each other personally, learn together and act together on issues that strike deep-felt emotions.

This action will only happen if affinity groups are strong enough to fulfill their obligations and to take up other tasks, such as outreach at a statewide or local level.

As we've mentioned previously, make sure that you have contact numbers for several affinity group members; make sure they know everything; make sure you are available to help. People will come to these preparations and it will change their lives. Your efforts, joined with others around the country, will play a significant role in this process.



NONVIOLENCE GUIDELINES

We urge all who sign this pledge to abide by the following guidelines of nonviolence:

Our attitude will be one of openness, friendliness, and respect toward all whom we encounter as we engage in our witness against U.S. intervention in Central America.

We will use no violence, verbal or physical, toward any person.

We will not damage property.

We will not bring or use any drugs or alcohol other than for medicinal purposes.

We will not run—it creates panic.

We will carry no weapons.

The Pledge of Resistance will be providing **Non-violence Preparation** for all who have not previously received it. All who wish to take part in civil disobedience are required to take this day-long introduction to the philosophy and methods of nonviolence. Those participating in legal demonstrations are also urged to receive this preparation.

HISTORY OF NONVIOLENT MASS ACTION

The use of nonviolence runs throughout history; however, the fusion of organized mass struggle and nonviolence is relatively new. India's struggle for complete independence from the British Empire included a number of spectacular non-violent campaigns. Perhaps the most notable was the year-long Salt campaign in which 100,000 Indians were jailed. This led to the breaking of the British monopoly on the sale of salt.

In the early 1900's, the women's suffrage movements in the U.S. and Great Britain employed various nonviolent tactics including mass marches and demonstrations, hunger strikes, ongoing vigils, civil disobedience, filling the jails, noncooperation, boycotts and constant disruption of "business as usual." Persistent pressure forced the passage of bills giving women the right to vote by the mid-1920's.

Labor movements in this country and around the world have used nonviolent action with striking effectiveness. The Industrial Workers of the World (Wobblies) in the pre-World War I period held a number of general strikes in the Northwest which radically changed the power and consciousness of labor and organized free speech confrontations in Spokane, San Diego and Fresno, among other places.

In 1937, the Flint, Michigan employees of General Motors invented the sit-down strike. After other tactics in their struggle for union recognition had failed, they voted to occupy the factories and to live inside until their demand was met. During the sit-down, all strikers met together daily to plan and organize the tasks that had to be done. The sit-downs spread rapidly to other GM plants; with the help of much outside support, the sit-down strikers achieved their goal.

The Australian dockworkers, after they had stated their opposition to uranium mining, refused to load uranium into ships bound for other countries.

In Poland, hundreds of thousands of striking workers paralyzed the economy in an attempt to force major concessions from the government, such as free trade unions and lifting censorship curbs.

Nonviolent tactics played a pivotal role in the struggle against the Vietnam War in radicalizing public opinion and forcing the American withdrawal. These tactics included draft card burnings, draft file destruction, sit-ins, blocking induction centers, draft and tax resistance and mass demonstrations by up to a million people.

Using mass nonviolent action, the civil rights movement changed the face of the South. The Congress of Racial Equality initiated modern nonviolent action for civil rights with sit-ins and a freedom ride in the 1940's. The successful 1956 Montgomery bus boycott electrified the nation. Then, the early 1960's exploded with nonviolent action: sit-ins at lunch counters and other facilities, freedom rides to the South, the nonviolent battle against segregation in Birmingham, Alabama and the 1963 March on Washington, which drew 250,000 participants.

In the current anti-nuclear and environmental struggles, nonviolent direct action has been a major element of campaigns waged by citizen resistance. Fisherfolk of the Japanese port of Sasebo, worried about dangers to their health and livelihood, blockaded a leaking nuclear-powered ship with their fishing boats to prevent it from docking in port. The ship was turned away and eventually forced into premature de-commissioning.

In Markolsheim, France, people were angered by plans for the construction of a lead factory. From September to November 1974, they took over the site—building a friendship house, digging wells, and bringing farm animals until February 1975 when the French government was forced to withdraw the plant's permit.

Wyhl, West Germany, was the proposed location for a nuclear power plant. Long years of petitions and rallies of protest did not deter the utility and on February 17, 1976, construction was to begin. Several hundred people went to the site and blocked bulldozers, preventing construction for the day. The police used hoses and arrests to disperse the crowd. But the following week, 28,000 people returned to the site from all over Germany, France, and Switzerland. The Police, in the presence of so many people, withdrew.

A bustling "village" was maintained there for more than a year. Farming on and off the site provided food for the occupiers. Thirty-five neighboring villages took one week turns at maintaining the presence. An emergency alert system utilizing church bells, phones, and sirens was created to bring more people to the site should the police threaten to intervene. It was said that within 24 hours 10,000 people could be gathered in such a situation. The government backed down at the end of 1976 and delayed construction of the plant for the foreseeable future.

In May of 1980, several thousand Germans occupied the construction site of a waste storage facility near Gorleben. An antinuclear village on the model of Wyhl was built and dubbed "The Free Republic of Wendland."

The community was brought to an end after a month when 10,000 police cleared out the 2,000 Wendlanders and razed the village to the ground. The struggle against Gorleben continues.

Since the mid-seventies, tens of thousands have participated in nonviolent mass actions directed against U.S. nuclear power and weapons plants including Diablo Canyon, Seabrook, Trojan, Rocky Flats, Comanche Peak and the Pentagon. These actions have proven to be effective and instrumental in raising consciousness, delaying construction or implementation of policy, as well as empowering their participants to join other social change movements.

Conscious nonviolent action is perhaps not limited to our species. In early 1980, thousands of dolphins gathered to resist their own slaughter by Japanese fisherfolk and forced the fishing boats back to port.



DYNAMICS OF NONVIOLENCE

When we in the peace movement commit ourselves to nonviolent campaigns, we set in motion a two-fold dynamic. First, we begin to change ourselves; as we confront corporate lies, hold nonviolence preparations, form new affinity groups, we gain confidence in working together. This happens both naturally and consciously, as we learn that the means by which we come together and act determine and affect our ends. The second dynamic is our effect on those outside our community, not only our governmental and corporate opponents, but the large number of uncommitted people whose support is necessary for important social change.

The peace movement reflects this dynamic. Its commitment to feminist process, small autonomous groups, and to strong, well-organized actions that help people brave arrest, has done more than empower its members. It asserts to neutral people that we are dedicated, that we're not going to give up or go away. We alienate some by acting, just as we perhaps exclude some who don't "believe" in consensus process—but we gain the attention and respect of many more who otherwise remain untouched by thoughts of an invasion of Central America. Potentially, everyone can act to stop war because ordinary people have power.

By acting, we gain momentum—and this momentum creates grave problems for the authorities. As we gain and keep people through good process and commitment, we enlarge our choices of non-violent strategies—and limit the authorities' choices in the process.

The ideal dynamic is that of ordinary people gaining power and control over the things that matter in our lives. The means we employ—consensus decision-making, skill sharing, small groups, mutual respect and support—mirror these ends. So what about the dynamics of actual confrontations? Can nonviolence help us control real-life situations? Certainly it can give us more power. When we act violently, most of us are in unfamiliar terrain which is very familiar to police, trained to respond to the cues of violence. But when we refuse to give those cues, we put the police in unfamiliar territory. Their power resides in the threat of arrest or the fear of force; and in the power to disperse us once again and turn a collective into isolated individuals. When we stand our ground, when we show determination rather than fear of arrest or violence, we deprive them of their usual responses, and draw them into a field of conflict with rules of our choosing: non-violent rules. Violence is a relationship—when

we act differently, when we combine nonviolence with determination, when we treat them as potential allies or intimates, we open them, and ourselves, to change.

RESPONSES TO VIOLENCE

Nonviolence is not a guarantee that the authorities won't use violence. The civil rights movement in the U.S., the struggle against the British in India, and the women's suffrage struggles in the U.S. and England clearly show this.

If they do respond with violence, how does one remain nonviolent in the face of riot(ing) police? The first thing is maintaining human contact with the potential assailant—whether it's a policeman, a policewoman, a counter-demonstrator, or an angry participant from "our" side. Body language is very important: keeping your hands open and at your sides, maintaining an attentive but non-aggressive stance, making predictable movements, and especially making eye contact with your opponent. To respond with violent anger or hostility only alienates those to whom we appeal, thus contributing to the climate of social violence.

Also very important is calmly explaining why you are there and, if possible, getting the other person to respond. In some situations, listening rather than talking may help prevent conflicts from erupting. People who are angry—and this applies to meetings as well as to actions and demonstrations—do not always want to be argued with; sometimes they just need to release their feelings.

The Rocky Flats Handbook adds, "An important attitude to develop which helps to resolve conflicts is that each person, no matter how much you disagree with them, has some good in them, and probably has a part of the truth. Respect for her/him as a person can help prevent the escalation of a verbal conflict to a physical one. Cultivating this attitude may also help you keep control over your own feelings and to maintain your nonviolence."

It is crucial that affinity groups discuss, and role play, responses to potentially violent situations. For instance, an affinity group can physically surround someone being assaulted, while continuing to talk, distract, or calm the attacker. Active nonviolent responses such as this are, after all, the building blocks of the entire movement, which is intervening against the imperialistic violence of militarism. This firm, collective and yet nonviolent response to violence isn't restricted to one blockade, just as people's empowerment isn't restricted to one issue. For example, an affinity group in Boston was on its way home

from dinner when they came upon a large man hitting and choking a woman outside the restaurant. As one of the people there relates it:

"Instinctively we felt that we couldn't just let this happen, so we surrounded the man, who began simultaneously to threaten us and 'explain' himself. By remaining calm and yet firm, by asking questions and allowing him to expend his rage, and yet by forcing him to deal with the truth: 'you have no right to hit her!' we defused the situation. In the meantime, one of the other women in the group pulled the woman aside to see if we could help her. She thanked us but also asked us to go, saying, 'I'm all right now, really.' Afterwards we formed a circle, paradoxically feeling the power of our actions and sensing the need for doing so much more. Individually, none of us probably could have acted; together we acted instinctively, overcoming our fears, gaining power."

There's a story they tell about a woman being chased by a violent policeman at one anti-nuke demonstration. As he was about to catch her, she suddenly stopped to face him and said, "I'm your daughter!" He froze.

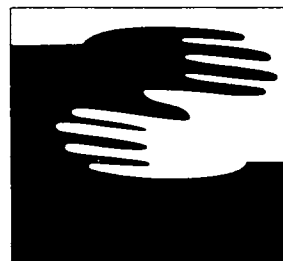
We can show the police (among others) another model of human nature, people who are acting to preserve human lives, and this process encourages our opponents' doubts about the rightness of their actions. We can also bring about mutual respect. At another action, the police attacked four affinity groups approaching a nuclear facility. Those who ran not only got beaten more often, but they also accomplished nothing. Some groups linked arms and faced the police, talking to them as they jabbed and poked the protesters away from the plant. "Run, you bastards," the cops said. "Go on, run!" "We aren't going to run officers," was the reply. Step by step, jab by jab, the police "gained" a few hundred feet; as they did their anger dissipated as the protesters talked to them. The police "charge" slowed to a walk and finally petered out altogether. With the protesters right behind them, the police returned to the nuclear facility.

In a nonviolent action, then, we bring many pressures to bear on our opponent—while also maintaining more collective control over our own responses to their threats or violence.

An integral part of this is establishing the right "feeling" during an action. Many people comment on the extraordinary tone of nonviolent actions. It comes from the fact that the participants are **centered and clear** about what they

are doing; about what they risk and what they gain. Gandhi referred to this as "*Satyagraha*." *Satya* is truth, but the truth that implies love, respect, and human dignity; *agraha* is firmness, the force felt by both actors and opponents when truth and love are acted on. Don't look at this "tone" as something imposed by leaders to committees in order to have discipline; rather, it emerges freely when, by acting, people take back some control over their lives.

Note: Police are trained to use holds and blows that can break bones or sprain joints when they feel it is appropriate. You should be aware of this when you are intimately resisting an officer nonviolently. You will have to be the one to decide how much to risk, how much to accept. If you are beaten by one or more police, cover the base of the back of your head at the spine with your hands. Your elbows go over the sides of your head. Lie in a fetal position with your legs drawn up to protect your groin. This is the last stage of dealing with this kind of violence: communication, and sometimes withdrawal, should be tried first.



THE POLITICS OF NONVIOLENCE

The conventional view of political power sees people as dependent on the good will and caprice of their government and any other hierarchical system to which they belong. Power is seen as something people have—kings, czars, generals hold power as one holds a knife. Power resides in knowledge, control of wealth and in the ability to impose violence. Those who serve have little power. Consequently, those without power must kill or destroy their rulers and replace them in their positions in order to wield the self-same power.

The theory of active nonviolence proposes a different analysis: that government depends on people and that political power is variable, even fragile, always dependent on the cooperation of a multitude of groups and individuals. The withdrawal of that cooperation restricts and can even dissolve power. Put another way, power depends on continuing obedience, so when we refuse to obey our rulers, their power begins to crumble.

In this sense, nonviolent action is not passive, nor is it a naive belief in instantly converting the opposition, nor is it a "safe" method of protest, immune from repression. Rather, it is based on a different understanding of where people's power really lies. By acting disobediently, people learn to withhold, rather than surrender, their cooperation. This recognizes that the individual's discovery of self-respect is tied to the recognition that one's own assistance makes the unjust regime possible. When a group of people recognizes this—as the "untouchables" did with Gandhi's help—the result is massive noncooperation and obstruction involving the use of social, economic and political power.

Then why don't people decide to withdraw cooperation? Why instead do the many obey the few—and how can this change? The authorities are able to wield power both because masses of people passively obey, and because they have the violent means for suppressing dissent—police National Guard, prison guards and prison cells. A few disobey and are punished, keeping the many afraid.

Yet there are chinks in the armor. First, the repressive apparatus is made up of human beings whose cooperation is essential. A nonviolent approach to the police undercuts their rationale for violence—and reveals to neutral parties the extent to which the system relies on violence and force. Second, the repressive apparatus is based on a minimal level of dissent (i.e., lots of mild dissent), or a small number of militant dissenters. When dissent grows and brings force to bear, the system breaks down. When a nonviolent campaign stands its ground using nonviolence to resist dispersal (not merely for a day or weekend, but over time), it astronomically raises the cost of continuing violence against it, until it becomes unfeasible.

EMOTIONAL AND VERBAL VIOLENCE AND THE ROLE OF ANGER

Most people have experienced emotional and verbal violence as destructive and divisive; it creates a pattern of response that leaves people cold and closed to each other when it doesn't escalate into physical violence. Yet we also know that anger at the violence and greed in our society, at the destruction of our environment, and when we see the individual habits that support these values (in ourselves as well!), seems natural and valid. One imagines the false good times evident everywhere on TV, the frightening prospect of a world of smiley faces co-existing with racism, sexism, hunger and even apocalypse.

There is a difference between constructive and destructive anger. The East Bay Trainers Group notes that, "It is violence to ourselves if we don't express our anger." They quote Barbara Deming, who calls anger healthy when it is "a concentration of one's whole self that things must change. This kind of anger brings about confrontation, and has respect for oneself and the other. It says, I must change—I have been playing the part of the oppressed, and you must change for your have been the oppressor." Change is possible for both sides. Anger gives us strength to refuse to act like slaves or powerless people.

Gandhi bade his followers to focus their anger and hatred on their true enemy—repressive economic and social structures—rather than on the British Viceroy, civil servants, or elitist maharajas. He found that if we hate any human being we, not they, are the ones who suffer emotionally, spiritually, even physically. He said nonviolent resisters may have "opponents," people with whom they strongly disagree; but the truly nonviolent will not have "enemies." Anger and hatred at oppression increase as concern for other humans increases. They are extremely valuable sources of power and creativity which we can harness and aim at the true enemies of our human family—repressive manmade structures, not the misguided human beings who work within these structures. Hatred of repression and injustice is noble; hatred of a person is violence to a brother, sister, father, mother. Gandhi reminds us that we're all one family, one species, even though we live on different continents and fabricate different economic and political systems. To treat any human as a creature without dignity is to do violence to reality and to that person.

It is anger we feel when we read the history of the nuclear industry, when we reflect on U.S. intervention in Central America, when we think of those who cold-bloodedly put profits before people's lives and safety. But there is also the anger of women at sexism in our meetings (men too, sometimes), or the anger all of us feel when people disregard what we're saying or feeling.

To make room for a healthy expression of, and response to, this anger, it helps to create a general attitude of respect and support, both in and outside of our meetings. Verbal violence—snide or vicious tones, interrupting, shouting down individuals, misrepresenting what people say—is the antithesis of respect and communication. This violence can infect an entire group of people—everyone gets defensive, feels uncomfortable or even claustrophobic. When people sense this happening, they should pause and silently con-

sider their feelings and objectives. Then they should bring it up during the meeting. Serious rifts should be aired, and feelings shared—otherwise the violence and defensiveness fester, making our consensus superficial. When people clear the air, however, they reaffirm their commitment to taking care of emotions and to working things through. We need a new **maturity** in the anti-war movement if we're serious about creating a better world.

CONSENSUS

What is consensus? Consensus is a process for group decision-making. It is a method by which an entire group of people can come to an agreement. The input and ideas of all participants are gathered and synthesized to arrive at a final decision acceptable to all. Through consensus we are not only working to achieve better solutions, but also to promote the growth of community and trust.

Consensus vs. Voting: Voting is a means by which we choose one alternative from several. Consensus, on the other hand, is a process of synthesizing many diverse elements together.

Voting is a win or lose model in which people are more often concerned with the numbers it takes to "win" than with the issue itself. Voting does not take into account individual feelings or needs. In essence it is a quantitative, rather than qualitative, method of decision-making.

With consensus, people can and should work through differences together and synthesize seemingly contradictory ideas. We believe that people are able to talk peacefully about their differences and reach a mutually satisfactory position. It is possible for one person's insights or strongly held beliefs to sway the whole group. No ideas are lost; each member's input is valued as part of the solution.

Throughout the blockade/encampment, all decisions will be made on this basis; it is crucial that all participants understand consensus and know how to use it in their affinity groups and in spokescouncils.

Nuts and Bolts of Consensus: Consensus does not mean that everyone thinks that the decision made is necessarily the best one possible, or even that they are sure it will work. What it does mean is that in coming to that decision, no one felt that his/her position on the matter was misunderstood or that it wasn't given a proper hearing. It also means that the final decision doesn't violate someone's fundamental moral values, for if it did

they would be obligated to block consensus. It is hoped that everyone will think it's the best decision; this often happens because, when it works, collective intelligence does come up with better solutions than could individuals. But occasionally it may not, and then the decision may just be the one supported by the most people. Those who object can do one of several things:

Non-support ("I don't see the need for this, but I'll go along.")

Reservations ("I think this may be a mistake but I can live with it.")

Blocking ("I cannot support this or allow the group to support this. It is immoral.")

Withdrawing from the group.

Obviously, if many people express non-support or reservations, stand aside or leave the group, it may not be a viable decision even if no one directly blocks it. This is what is known as a "lukewarm" consensus, and it is just as desirable as a lukewarm beer or a lukewarm bath.

Forming the Consensus Proposal: During the discussion, a proposal for resolution is put forward. It is amended and modified through more discussion, or withdrawn if it seems to be a dead end. When a proposal seems to be well understood by everyone, and there are no new changes asked for, the facilitator(s) can ask if there can be a call for consensus. If there are still no objections, then after a moment of silence you have your decision. This, of course, is only the beginning. Now you have to carry it through.

Once consensus does appear to have been reached, it really helps to have someone repeat the decision to the group so everyone is clear on what has been decided.

If consensus is blocked and no new consensus can be reached, the group stays with whatever the previous decision was on the subject, or does nothing if that is applicable. Major philosophical or moral questions that will come up with each affinity group will have to be worked through as soon as the group forms.

The fundamental right of consensus is for all people to be able to express themselves in their own words and of their own will. The fundamental responsibility of consensus is to assure others of their right to speak and be heard. Coercion and trade-offs are replaced with creative alternatives, and compromise with synthesis.



Roles in a Consensus Meeting: There are several roles which, if filled, can help consensus decision-making run smoothly. The facilitator (or co-facilitators) aids the group in defining decisions that need to be made, helps them through the stages of reaching an agreement, keeps the meeting moving, focuses discussion to the point at hand, makes sure everyone has the opportunity to participate, and formulates and tests to see if consensus has been reached. Facilitators help to direct the process of the meeting, not its content. They never make decisions for the group. If a facilitator feels too emotionally involved in an issue or discussion and cannot remain neutral in behavior, if not in attitude, then s/he should ask someone to take over the task of facilitation for that agenda item.

A *vibes-watcher* is someone, besides the facilitator, who watches and comments on individual and group feelings and patterns of participation. Vibes-watchers need to be especially tuned in to the sexism of group dynamics.

A *recorder* can take notes on the meeting, especially on decisions made and means of implementation; and a *timekeeper* keeps things going on schedule so that each agenda item can be covered in the time allotted for it (if discussion runs over the time for an item, the group may or may not decide to contract for more time to finish up).

Even though individuals take on these roles, all participants in a meeting should be aware of and involved in the issues, process, and feelings of the group, and should share their individual expertise in helping the group run smoothly and reach a decision. This is especially true when it comes to finding compromise agreements to seemingly contradictory positions.

Consensus and Action: The goal of every decision-making process is not just to decide on a solution, but also to carry out that plan of action. Without subsequent action, decisions are totally meaningless. This is often overlooked. It seems that a person's commitment to any decision is in proportion to their sense of participation in that decision. Consensus attempts to involve all members of a group, not just the "leaders."

Consensus clearly takes more time than a simple vote. But the added time can be viewed in relation to the increased understanding each member of the group will have about the issue and the increased probability of the decision being carried out; longer decision time but shorter implementation time.

Most deadlock situations are, however, mixed up with emotions. If the root of someone's objections to a proposal is really their personal dislike for the proponent(s), then hopes for resolution are virtually nil until these personal issues are addressed. For consensus to work, the group must be able to identify and work out emotional problems and feelings.

Spokescouncils: When operating in a large group, each affinity group selects one person to act as their spokesperson. These "spokes" carry affinity groups' opinions and proposals to spokescouncils comprised of reps of all the affinity groups. They are not empowered to make any final decisions without first consulting their affinity group (unless it is a pre-determined empowered spokescouncil). Spokes try to consolidate, synthesize, and iron out differences between proposals so as to create a proposal agreeable to all. Information is then relayed back to the affinity groups by spokes, the issues at hand are reconsidered, and a new position (or perhaps the same old one) is reached. These positions are once again brought to the spokescouncil. If consensus is reached, great. If not, the process may be repeated again, or the group may decide to return to the previously agreed upon position.

Attitudes and behavior which help a group reach consensus:

Responsibility: Participants are responsible for voicing their opinions, participating in the discussion, and actively implementing the agreement.

Self-discipline: Blocking consensus should only be done for principled objections. Object clearly, to the point, and without put-downs or excessive speeches. Participate in finding an alternative solution.

Respect: Respect others and trust them to make responsible input.

Cooperation: Look for areas of agreement and common ground, and build on them. Avoid competitive, right/wrong, win/lose thinking.

Struggle: Use clear means of disagreement—no put-downs. Use disagreements and arguments to learn, grow and change. Work hard to build unity in the group, but not at the expense of the individuals who are its members.

OVERCOMING MASCULINE OPPRESSION

Many of the problems we run into in anti-war groups are those of domination within the movement.

People join a social change movement in order to alleviate an external problem. Too often we are confronted with the same kind of behavior we find in our everyday lives. We're all too often stifled by heavy-handed authority: bosses at work, parents or spouse at home, and teachers at school.

People want not only to be accepted in these groups but also to make a contribution and be active participants. In order to work successfully to change things, we must also pay attention to our own behavior. More often than not, men are the ones dominating group activity. Such behavior is therefore termed a "masculine behavior pattern" not because women never act that way, but because it is generally men who do it.

Here are some specific ways we can be responsible to ourselves and others in groups:

Not interrupting people who are speaking. We can even leave space after each speaker, counting to five before speaking.

Becoming a good listener. Good listening is as important as good speaking. It's important not to withdraw when not speaking; good listening is active participation.

Getting and giving support. We can help each other be aware of and interrupt patterns of domination, as well as affirm each other as we move away from those ways. It is important that men support and challenge each other, rather than asking women to do so. This will also allow women more space to break out of their own conditioned role of looking after men's needs while ignoring their own.

Not giving answers and solutions. We can give our opinions in a manner which says we believe our ideas to be valuable, but not more important than others' ideas.

Relaxing. The group will do fine without our anxiety attacks.

Not speaking on every subject. We need not share every idea we have, at least not with the whole group.

Not putting others down. We need to check ourselves when we're about to attack or "one-up" another. We can ask ourselves, "Why am I doing this? What am I feeling? What do I need?"

Interrupting others' oppressive behavior. We should take responsibility for interrupting a brother who is exhibiting behavior which is oppressive to others and prohibits his own growth. It is no act of friendship to allow friends to continue dominating those around them. We need to learn caring and forthright ways of doing this.

The following are some of the more common problems to become aware of:

Hogging the show. Talking too much, too long and too loud.

Problem solver. Continually giving the answer or solution before others have had much chance to contribute.

Speaking in capital letters. Giving one's own solutions or opinions as the final word on the subject, often aggravated by tone of voice and body posture.

Defensiveness. Responding to every contrary opinion as though it were a personal attack.

Nitpicking. Pointing out minor flaws in statements of others and stating the exception to every generality.

Restating. Especially what has just been said by a non-dominant person.

Attention seeking. Using all sorts of dramatics to get the spotlight.

Task and content focus. To the exclusion of nurturing individuals or the group through attention to process and form.

Putdowns and one-upmanship. "I used to believe that, but now. . ." or "How can you possibly say that?"

Negativism. Finding something wrong or problematical in everything.

Focus transfer. Transferring the focus of the discussion to one's own pet issues in order to give one's own pet raps.

Residual office holder. Hanging on to formal powerful positions.

Self-listening. Formulating a response after the first few sentences, not listening to anything from that point on and leaping in at the first pause.

Inflexibility and dogmatism. Taking a last stand for one's position on even minor items.

Avoiding feelings. Intellectualizing, withdrawing into passivity or making jokes when it's time to share personal feelings.

Condescension and paternalism. "Now, do any women have something to add?"

Being "on the make." Using sexuality to manipulate people.

Seeking attention and support from women while competing with men.

Running the show. Continually taking charge of tasks before others have a chance to volunteer.

Pack ratitis. Protectively storing key group information for one's own use and benefit.

Speaking for others. "A lot of us think that we should. . ." or "What so and so really meant was. . ."

The full wealth of knowledge and skills is severely limited by such behavior. Women and men who don't feel comfortable participating in a competitive atmosphere are, in effect, cut off from the interchange of experience and ideas.

If sexism and domineering egotism isn't ended within social change groups there can't be a movement for real social change. Not only will the movement flounder amidst divisiveness, but the crucial issue of liberation from sex oppression will not be dealt with. Any change of society which does not include the freeing of women and men from oppressive sex role conditioning, from subtle as well as blatant forms of male supremacy, is incomplete.

[This piece was originally written by Bill Moyer of the Movement for a New Society (MNS). For the complete article you can write to MNS at 4722 Baltimore Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19143.]



LEGAL

Our approach to the legal system is up to us. We retain as much power as we refuse to relinquish to the government—city, state, or federal.

The criminal justice system functions to alienate and isolate the accused individual, to destroy one's power and purposefulness, and to weave a web of confusion and mystification around any legal proceedings. If we are well-prepared for our contact with this system we can limit the effect it has upon us, both personally and politically. It is extremely important that we be firmly rooted in our own spirit and purposes, and in our commitment to one another. We should try to maintain our nonviolent attitude of honesty and directness while dealing with law enforcement officers and the courts. Bail solidarity, noncooperation and other forms of resistance can be used to reaffirm our position that we are not criminals, and that we are taking **positive** steps towards freeing the world from war and oppression.

Discuss the issues raised in this legal section with your affinity group, particularly noncooperation, solidarity issues, jail, and your attitude toward trials. Think out various hypothetical situations and try to understand how you will respond to these situations.

The decisions that we make are political. The reaction of the government to what we are doing, to what we stand for, will also be political. We can have quite an impact on what happens to us in jail, in court and during processing if we are prepared. It can be as important a part of our nonviolent opposition to war and intervention as anything that comes before the arrest.

The police may separate us from each other, breaking up affinity groups and possibly isolating individuals. In order to maintain our spirits and effectiveness we must develop an ability to deal with the legal system, while trusting in the solidarity of other demonstrators. Solidarity is more a state of mind that unites us through a long struggle than a specific course of action that everyone follows. Solidarity does not demand that everyone make the same choice in every situation. It is an internal force within each of us and among us as a group. It is our commitment to one another and to our common cause; it is our dedication to support one another and to pursue our common goals at all times, in every situation, to the best of our ability.

Legal System Flowchart

This chart divides the legal system into the steps a defendant goes through, what happens at each stage, and the choices available. The arrows show the flow from one step to the next. We offer this as a tool to help empower people in the jail situation.

STEPS	CHOICES	DESCRIPTION—WHAT HAPPENS
Warning ↓	stay or leave	officer may give a warning to leave
Arrest ↓	walk or go limp	officer arrests you—handcuffs/pat search/ taken to holding area
Booking ↓	amount of info given noncooperation citation (if offered)	photographing/fingerprinting/may be strip- searched/property and clothes may be taken/ information requested: name/address/occu- pation/social security number
Arraignment ↓	pleas: no contest guilty not guilty creative plea judge decides: o.r. (own recognizance) bail bond custody	brought before a judge within 48-72 hours for arraignment—the Judge tells your rights/ informs you of the charges/asks how you plead/sentences you if you plead guilty or <i>nolo</i> /sets the next trial date if you plead not guilty/sets bail, etc.
Trial ↓	pro per (defend self) get own lawyer representative trial jury vs court trial	if you choose to plead not guilty you will have a trial by jury or judge, either defend- ing yourself or through a lawyer
Verdict ↓	acquittal (go out and Party!) guilty	judge or jury makes a decision
Sentencing	jail fines probation community service	judge sentences you if you plead guilty or <i>nolo</i> /or if the jury finds you guilty

THE LEGAL PROCESS

Preparation for possible arrest:

Center yourself on the meaning of your action.

Attend a nonviolent training session with your affinity group if you have not previously done so.

Prepare yourself for the experience of jail by talking with those who have experienced civil disobedience and arrest.

Carry NO weapons or contraband into the action. Prescriptions should be in original containers only. Carry prescription orders with you as identification and to facilitate having prescription drugs brought into jail.

Make sure support people have necessary information about you (name, who to contact, your birthdate, special needs you have for getting things into jail and jail account, etc.)

Keep 20 cents for a phone call in jail.

The warning: Police order you to leave. This is the last opportunity to opt out. In a situation of mass arrests, it is sometimes difficult to get away at this point.

The arrest: There are several options (up to the individual, but affinity groups should know who among them is doing what): a) walking with the officer in an effort to communicate with him/her; b) going "limp" or non-cooperating in another nonviolent manner.

In either case, you may be handcuffed. Any active resistance or interference with someone else's arrest can lead to additional charges and personal injury.

Police are not required to read you the Miranda Rights unless they are questioning you. You have the right to remain silent. Men and women may be separated at the time of arrest into separate buses. Write down the details of your arrest as soon as possible. Record the time and place of the arrest for possible trial use later, as well as the name and badge numbers of the arresting officer. You are a witness; what you remember may be valuable to someone in court later.

You are also entitled to confer with a lawyer at any time before you say anything or agree to anything. Don't be afraid to ask for someone on the legal team if you are confused or need clarification on the process.

Booking: You will probably go through a booking procedure, either at the arrest site or at the jail. You may then be asked to show picture ID, address, Social Security number, etc. How much information you give is up to you. Some activists carry no identification and/or refuse to answer objectionable questions. Refusal to supply the requested information slows the whole process down considerably, which may or may not be desirable for the group as a whole. At booking you will be given a preliminary set of charges which are not final, but may be changed at the time of arraignment.

Opportunity to "cite" out: Once you are in jail waiting for arraignment, authorities may offer to let you go if you sign a citation release form promising that you will appear in court at the appointed time for arraignment. This is called being released on O.R. (own recognizance). Failure to appear results in a bench warrant being issued on you.

Some jail systems prefer to release prisoners on O.R. because it is less burdensome on the jail system, both financially and in terms of personnel. Because the option of citing out tends to weaken group solidarity and make second-time offenders more visible, the decision to cite out should be carefully considered. Furthermore, protesters who cite out may be assigned individual or small group court dates. In any case, their arraignments will be separate from those who remain in jail.

Arraignment: This is an appearance before the judge in which the charges will be read to you, and you will be asked to enter a plea to them. You will not be alone in the courtroom. Other protesters (or maybe all of them) will be there with you, and lawyers for the action will be present. You are entitled to legal counsel before you plead. If you are confused about the charges or how you want to plead, request that the judge grant you time to consult with one of the lawyers. This can usually be arranged on the spot.

Arraignments are conducted in a similar way in state and federal courts. If you as a group disagree with the way the court wants to arraign you, there are ways of expressing your views through non-cooperation with court procedures (e.g., muteness, refusal to enter a plea, to stand up in court, to speak to the judge as a symbol of court authority). These measures should be carefully considered because they may result in contempt of court charges.

If you are being held in custody on state charges, you have a right to be arraigned within 48-hours of your arrest, not including weekends or holidays.

If you are being held on federal charges, the 48-hour rule does not apply. Instead, you are to be taken before a U.S. magistrate "as soon as possible." The availability of the magistrate will largely determine how soon arraignment can take place.

Bail, Own Recognizance and Bond: These are usually set at the arraignment, but sometimes are set before.

Bail: Bail is money (or sometimes property) that you must put up to be released. It guarantees your later appearance in court; if you show up you'll get it back. It's also possible to pay 10% of the bail amount to a bonds-person who keeps the money and is theoretically responsible for your reappearance, although bondspeople are rarely penalized for no-shows.

Bail Solidarity: Bail is the most graphic example of the economic discrimination which pervades our judicial system. If you have money, you go free; if you don't, you sit in jail, whether you are innocent or guilty of the charges before you. Bail solidarity is the attempt by as many of us as possible to refuse to pay bail or accept O.R. until O.R. is offered to everyone, including organizers, repeat offenders, and, if we decide, noncooperators. We demonstrate our commitment more effectively by not cooperating with the bail system's "easy out" for the rich.

Pleas: Defendants have the option of pleading not guilty, guilty or *nolo contendere* (no contest) during the arraignment. A not guilty plea always results in a trial. Except in the case of infractions or trials before magistrates, you have the right to be tried by a jury. In all cases, you have a right to call your own witnesses and cross-examine government witnesses. The prosecution has the burden of proving your legal guilt at trial.

A *nolo* plea has the same effect as a guilty plea for purposes of sentencing. Unlike a guilty plea, it does not admit culpability. *Nolo contendere* simply means that the defendant does not contest the facts as alleged in the charging document. Further, a *nolo* plea is not evidence of guilt in the remote possibility of a civil suit against the group for money damages.

After a guilty or *nolo* plea, the judge will ask whether you prefer to be sentenced immediately or to reappear in court at a later date. Most defendants elect immediate sentencing to avoid the possibility of unequal treatment.

Trials: The decision to follow through with a not guilty plea is essentially a political one. You must determine whether a trial is consistent with the objectives of the action, and whether it is the best alternative for you personally. A trial involves a major commitment of your time, energy, and money. It could tie you up in the court system for months.

Affinity group members should begin discussing now, and should decide prior to the action, what their relationship to the legal system will be (e.g., whether they will accept O.R., how they will plead, etc.).

Sentencing: Sentencing is discretionary with the judge up to the statutory maximum. In lieu of jail or fines, the judge may offer probation, suspended sentence, or several days of community service through the Volunteer Bureau in your home county. Many resisters have consistently refused to accept fines, probation, or suspended sentences. Their opposition to fines arises out of recognition that a vast majority of low-income defendants have no choice but to serve time in jail.

Probation and suspended sentences are usually rejected for tactical reasons: probation carries a condition that you will refrain from further acts of civil disobedience throughout the prescribed period. If you blockade again after receiving a suspended sentence, you will be immediately sentenced with a harsher penalty based on both incidents of civil disobedience.

MINORS

Where there is an action that includes arrests, minors are treated differently from adults. Kids will most likely either be released on the site where they were arrested after being held long enough that the officers think they won't get arrested again that day, or they will be taken to a juvenile facility. They will most likely be handcuffed while they are in custody, but police officers are usually gentler with kids. If taken to a juvenile facility, they will probably get "a good talking to," or perhaps have to spend the night there. When we were arrested for blockading the Livermore Nuclear Weapons Lab in California, on June 21, 1982, we were taken to Alameda County Juvenile Hall. The whole procedure took about five hours, and we didn't spend the night. We were, however, told that if we blockaded within the next few days we'd be held overnight. Kids who had records of arrest before June 21 were treated the same as first-time offenders. Since we were minors, we weren't just released;

we had to be picked up by a parent or legal guardian. If that's not possible in your case, you'll need a permission slip stating that you are not a runaway, your parent or guardian doesn't mind that you're at the demonstration, and the names, addresses, and phone numbers of one or two people who can pick you up. This must be signed and dated by a parent or guardian. Some groups who are organizing actions supply these, but you can always make your own, get it signed, and have some other adult pick you up.

Though civil disobedience is viewed as a very minimal offense for minors by law, many kids worry, "Will this have any effect on my life? Will it prevent me from getting jobs?" The answer is "no." Although we are very proud of what we did and want it on our records, minors can request their records erased at age eighteen.

[Editor's note: It should be noted that treatment of minors varies in different localities. There have been reports of minors occasionally being treated as harshly or more harshly than adults. This may be more likely to occur with an isolated minor in a group of adults than with a group of minors being arrested together.]

Men who have refused to register for the draft and citizens of countries other than the U.S. risk additional charges or penalties in a civil disobedience action over and above those discussed below. As with minors, the possible participation of draft resisters or non-citizens should be discussed and researched in the planning stages of the action.

OUTLINE OF CHARGES

Because this handbook is national in scope, we will not specifically list what charges are involved, and what penalties are possible, in each situation. We ask that you think about forming a legal collective, or use other resources to determine exactly what local, state, or federal laws you may encounter because of your actions. Thus, the following is only a rough guide to some of the possible charges and penalties that civil disobedience actions may involve. (Note: the sentences listed are maximum sentences; however, it is unusual for someone to receive the maximum penalty.)

Infractions and Violations: These are petty offenses like Jaywalking, Disorderly Conduct and Obstructing Traffic. They carry a fine (usually under \$100) and do not allow for jury trials. Similar to a traffic ticket, these are what have been mostly given at the June 14 U.N. Blockade and the June 21 Livermore Nuclear Weapons Lab action in California in 1982, and the January, 1983, Vandenberg Action in California.

Misdemeanors: These are moderately serious offenses that include: Criminal Trespass, Blocking Public Right-of-way, Resisting Arrest, Unlawful Entry to Military Installation, Photographing/Sketching Military Installations, Malicious Mischief (damage under \$100). They usually carry a maximum sentence of 6 months to 1 year and/or a maximum fine of \$1,000. One can plead Not Guilty and demand a jury trial.

Felonies: These are serious offenses. Included are: Battery (any physical contact with a Police Officer), Conspiracy to Commit a Misdemeanor, Malicious Mischief (damage over \$100). Penalties are usually more severe than for misdemeanors. One can plead Not Guilty and demand a jury trial.

Judicial procedures may vary—in this handbook we are referring basically to misdemeanor procedures. If you are possibly risking felony charges you need more legal advice than this handbook gives.

LEGAL COLLECTIVES

Legal collectives walk a fine line between maintaining the goals and strategies of an action and assuring that the rights and desires of people in jail are acknowledged and advocated. Following are some guidelines on how the work of the collective might be approached.

The primary task of a legal collective is to demystify the legal system by providing participants in the action with all the technical information they'll need to make legal and jail solidarity decisions. It is important to understand that lawyers tend to want to protect and advise "clients" and, therefore, their training and instincts may be in conflict with the action's goals and jail solidarity efforts. It's extremely important for both the lawyers and action participants to remember this and leave decision-making to the participants.

Defining exactly what the legal collective is should be its first item of business and can only be accomplished with input from the action collective or other overall planning body.

What are the functions of the legal collective?

Research the possible consequences of your action. Gather information on laws, sentences, similar actions law enforcement, the district attorney and judges.

Define relations to other working groups of the action, such as media or nonviolence preparers.

Develop legal and jail strategies, consider the jail solidarity issues, and make recommendations to the action collective.

Juveniles: How are juvenile offenders handled? What needs to be done to assure their prompt release? (See **Minors** article.)

Pre-action education: Brief people on the legal process and CD action legal strategy.

Budget: What will the pre-action, action, and post-action legal collective expenses be?

Develop a process for coping with unforeseen incidents. Lawyers may have to be on alert for such things as writ writing (petitioning for a court order) in cases where protestors are separated in jail, property isn't returned, etc.

Get information into and out of jails. Access to jails may be limited to lawyers. What is the role of the lawyer making jail visits—strictly to give and receive predetermined information, advise people of their rights, etc.?

Track people through the legal system. Making the criminal justice system aware that you're keeping tabs of who's been arrested, arraigned and released may discourage unfair or inconsistent treatment.

When does your responsibility end? Are you taking on the details of any or all resulting trials, or is your task done at arraignment or when the majority of protestors are released?

Who is on the legal collective?

It is very useful to have representatives (legal spokes) from affinity groups to participate in developing legal strategies for the action. Once the strategies are agreed upon, some of the potential roles for the collective will become clearer. The following are some roles you may want to consider filling:

Legal observers—these people, who don't plan on getting arrested, will witness arrests at close range and will report any incidents of violence.

Staff for legal office.

Jail teams—attorneys and non-attorneys who relay information into and out of jails.

People to do legal briefings.

Lawyers—to advise people who are representing themselves at trial, write writs, perform trials and be on call for unforeseen legal situations.

AVOIDING POLICE VIOLENCE

However firm the commitment to nonviolence, direct action and civil disobedience challenge a system built on violence and may uncover, rather than provoke, violent response from authorities. When planning an action, anticipate which law enforcement agencies and other authorities may be involved, and try to make a scenario that is clear and has a nonviolent role for them to play. Some suggestions to consider are:

clear identification via armbands, hats, t-shirts, etc. of medical personnel, monitors, and those risking arrest.

prior contact with law enforcement agencies to present your intentions and get an idea of who you'll be dealing with.

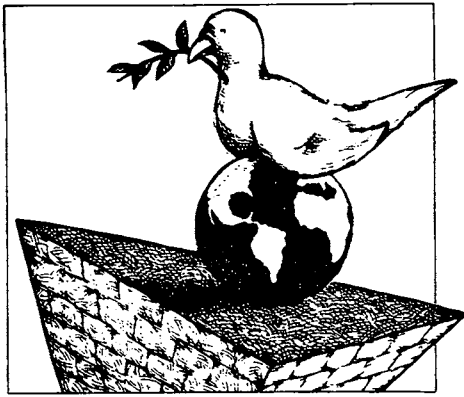
legal observers and media visibly present at the action.

Clarity about action goals and roleplaying in affinity groups are important preparation for the possibility of police violence. Police have been occasionally known in the past to use tear gas or dogs on demonstrators, sometimes to avoid making arrests. The effectiveness of these dispersal techniques lies in their capacity to create fear and panic; the following is a brief presentation of how they operate:

Mace: Chemical mace is dispensed by aerosol and is designed for use against an individual. Mace causes burning or stinging sensations to the exposed area, particularly the eyes. Mace victims should be removed from the area and should have their eyes washed with 5% Boric Acid Solution, if possible.

Tear Gas: Gas may be dispensed by various methods: by helicopter, by exploding grenades or thrown canisters, or through miniature tear gas pistols. Tear gas also causes intense tearing and irritation to the eyes. The effects usually disappear within a few minutes after the individual is removed from the area. Treatment is simple and includes exposure to clean air, washing the face and eyes with plain water or with a mild salt water solution.

Dogs: Extreme caution must be used when confronted by an attack dog. **REMAIN CALM AND DO NOT MOVE**. Dogs are trained to respond to fast motion and to individuals attempting to run away. Under no circumstances should anyone try to run from an attack dog. If confronted by a dog, make verbal and eye contact with the officer commanding the dog.



MONITORS

The function of monitors (sometimes called peacekeepers) in a civil disobedience action generally includes:

Facilitating—transmitting information, and providing an overview of the action to all participants and observers.

Peacekeeping—helping resolve confused or disruptive situations.

Monitors should take nonviolence preparation for the action and an additional monitor preparation (generally 3 to 4 hours) that includes role-plays and quick-decision exercises where a group of two to four monitors is given 90 seconds to decide what response, if any, they would make in a given situation. Flexibility and appropriateness for the individuals involved is more important than coming up with a “correct” course of action. The monitor role can involve some risk of arrest, and prospective monitors should consider under what circumstances they would feel comfortable intervening. Groups responsible for the action may also have guidelines for when monitors should or should not act.

Before the action starts, monitors should:

Be familiar with the location and the logistics of the action.

Be familiar with the goals and scenario of the action including what changes could occur.

Role-play some possible situations that might arise.

Practice working cooperatively with other monitors in developing nonviolent responses to conflict.

Monitors are most effective when they come to the action as part of a previously organized team. Members can plan for an action and develop a good sense of each other’s strengths. They can also help each other avoid some common pitfalls:

becoming overbearing—acting in an arbitrary or authoritarian manner.

getting defensive or protective about one’s role as a monitor, being reluctant to say “I don’t know” to questions or to call for help from non-monitors.

focusing on a minor aspect or incident and losing sight of the larger scope of the action.

trying to make the job simpler by limiting people’s choices instead of creatively broadening them.

There is a delicate but crucial interplay between the needs and feelings of individuals on the one hand and the goals and momentum of the action on the other. Monitors should help balance the two aspects.

NONCOOPERATION

A refusal to cooperate with the imprisonment of oneself or others is sensible and natural to many of us. The deliberate and punitive denial of freedom that jail consists of is abhorrent to all of us. Many of us oppose prisons altogether, viewing the inequalities and injustices of our society as its culprits, not the victims who end up rotting in its jails.

For many who join in civil disobedience actions, noncooperation with the criminal justice system is important because it impedes their removal and prolongs their ability to accomplish their goals of stopping the violent business-as-usual of their targets. By becoming great burdens to the courts and jails they demonstrate how difficult and costly it is for these institutions to protect the “status quo” and hope to convince others that this price is too high.

One way of refusing to participate in arrest and detention is by going limp. A decision to go limp is a decision to approach the arrest situation with peaceful resistance and may involve discomfort and strained communication between the demonstrator and arresting officer, largely because one of the two people is being dragged along the ground, and one is struggling to carry the other. Although very common, even going limp is not an easy way to noncooperate: we are forcing the

police to either join us or carry us away. We frequently find ourselves being carried or dragged by an angry police officer, unsympathetic to our claims that we are acting as much on her or his behalf as on our own. This is an uncomfortable dilemma which runs throughout every act of noncooperation and which can only be eased, if at all, by one's ability to explain one's actions with sensitivity and sincerity.

Some demonstrators refuse to cooperate partially or wholly with court procedures; they refuse to enter a plea, to retain or accept a lawyer, to stand up in court, to speak to the judge as a symbol of court authority (but rather speak to him or her as a fellow human being), to take the stand or question witnesses. They may make a speech to those assembled in the courtroom or simply lie or sit on the floor if they are carried in, or attempt to leave if not forcibly restrained. The penalties for such noncooperation can be severe, because many judges take such action to be a personal affront as well as an insult to the court. Some judges, on the other hand, overlook such conduct, or attempt to communicate with the demonstrators.

Physical noncooperation may be sustained through the booking process and through court appearances; it may continue through the entire time of one's detention. This might involve a refusal to walk, to eat, to clean oneself and one's surroundings. It may even lead prison officials to force-feed and diaper the inmate.

Another form of noncooperation is fasting—taking no food and no liquid except water, or perhaps fruit juice. While abstaining from food can be uncomfortable and eventually risky, abstaining from all food and liquid can be extremely dangerous almost immediately. Five or six days is probably the longest a human can go without liquid before incurring brain damage and serious dehydration. One should not undertake a fast without careful thought and preparation.

There are other forms noncooperation may take and other reasons for it to occur. The refusal to give one's name undoubtedly springs from a desire to resist and confound a system that assigns criminal records to people, that categorizes and spies upon them and that punishes organizers and repeated offenders more strenuously. It relays a message that none of us should be singled out: we'll be doing this again and again.

Many nonviolent activists, however, acting with the openness and confidence that characterizes and strengthens nonviolent action, do not choose

to hide their identities. They may still noncooperate, however, by refusing to reveal an address, or by refusing to promise to return for trial, increasing the burden on the courts to quickly deal with the demonstrators and enhancing their solidarity and strength as people working together, filling the jails.

Many activists also choose to resist the codification of people by social security numbers. The questions that are asked about background and employment are means to facilitate both the system's processing of individuals and its preparation of files about them. The very fact that demonstrators may be privileged enough to have jobs and perhaps be ushered in and out of jails more politely and efficiently than other "criminals" is something that some are unwilling to take advantage of.

Noncooperation is difficult. It is rewarding, powerful and inspiring, but it can be frustrating, time consuming, and even painful. Noncooperators must be careful not to pressure others into joining them. Anyone who tries to noncooperate must feel flexible enough to give it up if it becomes too much to handle.

It might be best to try out various levels and different approaches to noncooperation, as they feel appropriate. Noncooperation can be very powerful as a response to unjust demands by guards. It feels particularly natural and effective at such times.

It is likely that noncooperators will be subjected to intimidation and threats. For this reason, it is important that demonstrators prepare themselves for this ahead of time, rather than planning to change their minds about noncooperation under duress. Successful intimidation from the guards will only encourage them to treat the remaining noncooperators more harshly.

On the other hand, cooperation with the indignity and injustice of jail is no easier. We are all working to stop military intervention and to create a more just society in the process. The paths we choose may vary. The decision to cooperate or noncooperate with part of or all of the arrest procedure is a personal and political one. For some of us noncooperation is one way we will continue the struggle inside prison walls.



JAIL SOLIDARITY

Jail solidarity may be defined as complete unity of purpose of those incarcerated or imprisoned. The ultimate objective of that unity is for everyone committing the same act to be treated equally and fairly in jail and in sentencing. Refusing citations, bail, fines, or probation keeps us together as a community with the potential for collective bargaining to meet that objective.

For jail solidarity to be most effective, the issues surrounding it must be addressed and resolved to the greatest extent possible before reaching jail. Jail authorities are not going to patiently wait for us to reach consensus on solidarity agreements before they start employing "divide and conquer" tactics to weaken our bargaining power.

One divisive tactic used by the prison/legal system is different treatment for certain individuals or groups. These people risking harsher treatment usually include non-cooperators, repeat offenders, known organizers, people of color, lesbians and gay men. Discussions of solidarity should always include the issue of how to give these people the extra protection they need.

Coming to agreements about solidarity goals and tactics is a powerful but difficult process. To reach true solidarity with the greatest number of participants, people must have enough information and time to make wise decisions. Solidarity tactics that are employed successfully are empowering. Ill-considered, unfocused uses of solidarity tactics are less successful and drain our energies.

Jails and prisons are designed to make people feel powerless. Jail solidarity is the way we empower ourselves and each other, by making our own decisions, acting in harmony with each other, and committing ourselves to safeguard each others' wellbeing.

Jails and courts are intimidating places. The authorities expect that, out of fear, people will obey the rules and accept conditions and injustices. When we exercise solidarity, we make our own rules. At times it may seem as if we are acting against our own self-interest, but we know that we are protecting our larger interests in attempting to assure equal treatment and fair sentences for all who participate in our action.

To some extent, you have the power to choose what form your sentence will take. You have the right to refuse fines and probation; however, the only alternative may be jail time. You must decide what kind of sentence will best serve your political objectives.

People sometimes question the need to struggle inside the jails when our action's primary goal is something else. Some people, because of outside responsibilities, cannot afford the time jail solidarity may demand. Others find jail conditions physically or emotionally intolerable. Jail solidarity must never become coercive. The strength of our solidarity comes from the free agreement by all who take part in it. Those who must leave jail are not betraying the group—there are many ways they can continue supporting those inside: by speaking to the media, to the movement and to the public about why people went to jail or about the morale of people inside, by fulfilling responsibilities for those inside, by carrying messages to family, friends, and employers.

The prison and court systems, however, should not be regarded as separate from the military or the weapons industry. If the jails and courts did not exist to protect the military's interests we would not be preparing for a possible stay in jail.

Jails and courts also serve to control the most directly oppressed in our society. More than half the people imprisoned in this country each year have not been convicted of any crime—they are awaiting trial and are too poor to make bail. People of color are imprisoned in disproportionate numbers. The crimes of the poor and desperate—drug addiction, prostitution, petty theft—are often punished by jail sentences, while white-collar crimes of embezzlement or fraud often are not. And the worst crimes—the manufacture of mass murder machines, the systematic robbery of the earth's resources and human beings, the long term destruction of our environment—aren't even illegal!

Some of the issues that cause the most controversy around solidarity include interpretation of the nonviolence guidelines, and under what circumstances, if any, we will keep solidarity with the blockaders who have previous records, are on probation or have not followed the non-violence guidelines for that action.

People's motivations for participating in CD will affect their attitudes toward the police and jail guards. Some people are motivated to blockade as a protest against the multiple structures in society which work together to create a weapons industry. The prison/judicial system is seen as one of these structures.

The effect of this political viewpoint on behavior in jail can be very dramatic. Often people refuse to cooperate with the authorities at all. Some ways they do this are by going limp during arrest, not abiding by prison regulations, and refusing to participate in arraignment. Some of these acts serve personal moral goals; others are initiated as levers to make the legal system mete out equal and fair sentences to all.

The differences between these approaches will frequently lead to conflict among blockaders. The stress of the jail experience tends to intensify conflict, but, by discussing differences beforehand, their effect on jail solidarity can be minimized. Conflicts that arise in jail must be acknowledged and dealt with at the time or they may become divisive. Conflict is an expression of opposing viewpoints and should not be confused with violence.



STRATEGIES

Citation releases: Some people may need to "cite out" of jail as soon as possible for personal reasons, or may want to gain time to join other actions and do immediate organizing. Signing citations tends to split up the group, especially if they are not offered equally to all. The united presence of people in jail is usually the best leverage for insuring equal treatment.

Bail and fines: Paying bail or fines puts money back into an unjust system and drains the limited funds and resources of the movement. They are a major way the judicial system discriminates against lower-income people and divides groups; those who have money get out and those who don't stay in. Refusing to pay bail is a means of demanding that all be released on OR.

Probation: Probation gives the court system the right to interfere in our lives for many months, and makes us liable for longer sentences should we be arrested for civil disobedience in its duration. This creates problems for individuals as well as creating a possible excuse for differential treatment of people in future actions. Probation is often offered as a personal "way out" and can interfere with the group's demand for fair sentencing or control of legal choices.

Pleas: The decision to plead Not Guilty and pursue further legal proceedings is a political one. Keep in mind what you are trying to achieve and evaluate whether legal proceedings will advance these goals; the time, money and energy committed to a trial might be better invested in organizing and education. People may also plead No Contest or even Guilty out of a conviction that courts have no authority to determine innocence or guilt on the issues at hand.

Trials: Some people arrested in CD actions feel they have a real legal basis for arguing their innocence in court, or want to use the court system as a forum for discussion of the issues. For most actions, any trials are organized and paid for by the individuals or groups involved and are not the responsibility of the overall organization.

NONVIOLENT SOLIDARITY TACTICS

Refusing arraignment. In some cases, blockaders have sat in a circle within the jail and refused to move until assured by their legal team that demands have been met. In other cases, people have stood silent or refused to enter a plea at the arraignment.

Calmly encircling a threatened sister or brother, and physically protecting her or him from being taken away.

Refusing to give the guards identifying information about individuals.

Refusing to work or participate in jail routine.

Refusing food.

Refusing to get dressed.

Holding a prayer, meditation, song or chanting vigil.

Be creative; invent new solidarity tactics.

Regarding sentence demands: one powerful tactic is to communicate to the judge and DA that if our demands are not met, we will all plead not guilty, ask for individual jury trials, and not waive our right to a speedy trial.

Don't abuse Solidarity: Its use in trivial matters minimizes its impact. Save it for what really matters.



SOLIDARITY – ANOTHER VIEW

To the extent possible, those arrested should consider paying no bail and fines and accepting no probation. People should consider not accepting citations ("cite-outs") and, if they have a choice, serving time immediately rather than waiving time.

An important part of nonviolence is the willingness to accept the consequences of our actions—this can include not running away from police as they attempt to arrest us, not refusing to give our names after we are arrested, or not bargaining to reduce our sentences after we are incarcerated. The longer the system holds us, the more powerful our message. An enormous sum would be expended by local and federal governments imprisoning tens of thousands of U.S. citizens who find U.S. intervention in Central America unacceptable. More important still, prolonged detention of thousands of U.S. citizens will speak powerfully to our fellow citizens and to people around the world.

If the government attempts to single out a few people for harsh treatment, we can show our solidarity with these by continuing to commit acts of civil disobedience at military or federal facilities until U.S. military escalation is halted. In other words, the best way to show solidarity with those being treated unequally is not to refuse to give names, not to refuse to go to arraignment, etc., but is to return to the site of the non-violent direct action and continue the blockade/demonstration to stop U.S. intervention. The government will have to deal with a growing number of us and unequal sentences will only highlight the injustice of the situation.

The key issue is our solidarity with the people of Central America—not our jail conditions or how we are being dealt with by the courts. It may take some real hardship and suffering on our part to stop the U.S. war in Central America. As Martin Luther King, Jr. reminded us, freedom is never won without struggle and governments never move until they are forced to move through pressure.

SERVING TIME IN JAIL

Any act of civil disobedience implies the willingness to risk jail for one's convictions. For those who land there as a consequence of conscious decisions, jail can present an opportunity for testing and strengthening spiritual and political convictions. Though it should not be courted imprudently, it is something that must be faced and can certainly be endured. Those arrested as a result of civil disobedience have the advantage over most prisoners of knowing that they are there having made a conscious choice. That knowledge can make the difference between what is otherwise a thoroughly miserable situation and a larger possibility for reflection and education. What is more, it can provide you, when the time comes, with a reserve of strength of which you were previously unaware.

Jail is a lonely place. It aims to weaken solidarity, to try to isolate people from one another and reduce one's concentration to dealing with the demands of authority and of one's survival, however, no one in jail for affirming her or his conscience is ever alone. Remember that and you should have no trouble getting by.

What exactly can you expect? Jails differ as to particular conditions, regulations and privileges allowed. Yet, jails are enough alike that it is possible to make some rough generalizations.

You can expect overcrowding, which means frustrating and irritating levels of noise and distraction, little personal space or privacy, and scant regard for cleanliness. You must exercise patience, consideration and discipline to preserve peace and sanity. It will be difficult to sleep, there will be blaring radios and TV's, slamming bars, and loud arguments, which may make you irritable and short-tempered. Learn to watch for this in others and try to respect their need for space. Time will be distorted: days will slip by but each hour will seem like an eternity. Food will be starchy and dull (don't expect vegetarian menus). You will learn to wait, for a phone call, a shower, a meal, the answer to a question, the time of day.

You may be issued a uniform. In that case, your clothes will be confiscated along with all your other belongings. You can expect a complete strip search, possibly including rectal and vaginal examination for contraband, which will be the first of many other casual assaults on your dignity.

The guards have a great deal of power and they are aware of this. And because they are human beings, this knowledge tends to have a bad effect on them. Long exposure to jail, whether as a prisoner or a guard, tends to have a corrosive effect on one's confidence in human nature and goodness, and the guards are victims of this as well. They expect the worst out of people and, not surprisingly, they are not often disappointed. Their principal concern is to preserve order, which demands an atmosphere of unquestioning respect (fear) for authority. This is their contribution to the process of "rehabilitation," supplanting personal responsibility with thoughtless obedience and submission. You should try not to indulge them in their exalted self-image. Keep expecting that they should act with respect and compassion and you may be surprised by the results. Perhaps you will surprise them into remembering that they and the prisoners in their charge share a common humanity. At least you may establish a basis for dialogue. But, at the same time that you recall the humanity of your guards, don't forget that, in the end, you and they have different jobs to perform. Let them be responsible for keeping order. You are responsible for keeping your conscience.

Just because your body is detained doesn't mean you've got to turn in your conscience and convictions along with your other belongings. Whether in jail or on the "outside," the freedom we enjoy is always the freedom we claim for ourselves. Being under lock and key does not deprive

you of your essential freedom as long as you continue to insist on your power to say "yes" or "no" within the limits of whatever situation you find yourself. It was your commitment to make decisions for yourself about what you should and shouldn't do that landed you in jail in the first place, and it remains a good principle to live by, even in jail.

It's delightful to recall some of Henry Thoreau's reflections on being imprisoned for nonpayment of taxes in protest against war and slavery in his essay *On the Duty of Civil Disobedience*: how ridiculous it is for the State to think it could change his conscience by simply imprisoning his body; how the real dangers to society are the violent ones outside the jail, but the State is too half-witted to recognize this, unable to discern its true friends. Thus Thoreau lost all his remaining respect for the State and pitied it. How pitiful our half-witted government which is so blinded by greed that it cannot formulate equitable policy appropriate to the dignity of all peoples.

IN JAIL — REMEMBER

If you want something to happen in your group—a meeting, workshop, song circle, etc.—make it happen. Don't wait for someone else to think of it.

Remain aware of how others are being treated. In previous actions, the guards have often removed one or two people from the group without obvious reason or provocation. Usually, the people they choose are those who are obviously "different" in some way, or loud or assertive. Sometimes they are people who make others in your own group feel uncomfortable. Try to protect those who may be at risk by making sure others are with them at all times.

At all times, know the whereabouts of the members of your affinity group. In large groups, a buddy system may be helpful. If you are the lone member of your group in jail, find another to join for the duration.

Liaison teams can be helpful in communicating with guards, but members should rotate so that no one becomes identified as a leader.

Jail fosters dependence. Rely on your own and the group's thinking, and avoid automatically turning to guards for help, permission or information. In jail, the guards often create false crises. Do not let yourselves be panicked. Take the time you need to discuss options and reach consensus.



GUIDELINES FOR DOING JAIL TIME

Calmness: Our experience with solidarity shows that we don't have to panic if the guards make unexpected demands. Insist on time for consensus if necessary. On the other hand, if the request is reasonable, like a bedcheck for example, there is no need to provoke the guards.

Orderliness: It is empowering to take over the custodial function of our part of the jail. At Diablo we adapted "This land is my land" to "This jail is my jail."

Activity: Time in jail can be used for creative development of skills—giving workshops in whatever you have to share, staging talent shows, keeping a journal, or writing letters.

Communication: Large mass meetings, being difficult to facilitate, become frustrating and should be used only to make announcements and exchange information. Discussion proceeds best within affinity groups and the affinity group (AG) Spokescouncil.

Keep tract of each other: Make sure that everyone who was arrested is together and all those with special problems are taken care of. Keep a list by AG of who was arrested and in what order. Every AG should call the legal collective to inform them of who was arrested and where they are held.

Be supportive: You can encourage people to take part in activities or circles of meetings, but don't force them. We are a diverse group of people and everyone does their jail time their own way. Keep in touch and be sensitive.

Use of the legal team: Our attorneys cannot make our decisions for us. Avoid thinking of them as leaders. They are most useful as advisors, negotiators, and messengers. Only we have the power and capacity to decide which of the options are best for us.

Be skeptical of rumors: They are a real source of needless confusion and division.

JAIL ISSUES

Upon arrest, many blockaders have been placed immediately into the general inmate population and have witnessed the extremely poor conditions under which most inmates live. Inadequate and malnourishing food, inadequate exercise, poor medical care, and severe overcrowding are aggravated when blockaders are placed in large numbers in the general jail population.

As individuals committed to the preservation of life and the improvement of the quality of life for all people, it is imperative that we become aware of what the jail experience is for those who don't choose jail. Further, we must take some responsibility for the changes created by our presence in jail by striving to minimize these negative effects.

One primary goal of civil disobedience is to make incarceration of blockaders stressful and costly for the government; however, we need to be clear that we want to hamper the system as much as possible without negatively affecting the other inmates. In situations where a large number of blockaders are placed into the general jail population, some concrete ways to minimize our effects are:



Respect the fact that the other inmates did not "choose" to go to or stay in jail, and that the lack of choice makes the experience a very different one. This might mean making some changes in behavior such as avoiding playing around or making jail a ? experience in the presence of other inmates who might not see it the same way, or who would be penalized for acting that way themselves. Likewise, any protest of jail conditions by blockaders should be done with extreme care. Other inmates can get in trouble very easily and don't have the same legal and political support that protesters have.

Talk with the other inmates as much as possible. Explain your choice to be arrested, and find out their experiences. Communication will increase their support for civil disobedience and our support for reform of jail conditions.

Agree amongst blockaders to limit the number of phone calls. Try to coordinate information and make one call per affinity group.

Agree to forego all visits except from members of the legal team.

Individuals with medical conditions who are apt to require medical attention should consider citing out soon after arrest. Not only will the medical needs of the individual blockader be inadequately cared for; the additional strain on the jail medical system will affect the amount and quality of care given to other inmates.

Assess the physical exercise needs of the group and decide if all the time allotted to you is necessary, or if there are other ways to get exercise. Be aware that less time for the blockaders may mean more time for the other inmates.

AFFINITY GROUPS

An affinity group (AG) is usually composed of between 5 and 20 people who either have been brought together by attendance at a nonviolence preparation or have existing ties such as friendship, living in the same neighborhood, or working together. In addition, an affinity group may focus on a specific issue or interest, such as parenting, belonging to the same church or peace group, or noncooperating in jail. An affinity group may exist for the duration of one action or may continue functioning as an ongoing group.

Affinity groups serve as a source of support and solidarity for their members. Feelings of being isolated or alienated from the movement, the crowd, or the world in general can be alleviated through the love and trust which develops when an affinity group works, plays, relates together over a period of time. By generating familiarity and trust, the AG structure reduces the possibility of infiltration by outside provocateurs.

The concept of affinity groups is not a new one; the name goes back to the "*grupos de afinidad*" of the anarchist movement in Spain in the early part of this century. But actually affinity groups are probably the oldest and most ubiquitous form of organization by people seeking to make a better world: what makes more sense than small groups of friends who share an "affinity" working together?

Affinity groups serve as basic planning and decision-making bodies for an action, including the preparations and aftermath. Each affinity group provides for its own physical needs and makes all the basic decisions about the action using the consensus process. Spokespeople representing each affinity group meet in spokescouncils to communicate, coordinate and/or consolidate the different groups' decisions, and then bring the coordinated information or proposal back to their respective groups for their final discussion and approval.

We feel that affinity groups should meet regularly, or at least several times before the action, to build community in the group, work on their process, plan out a resistance strategy, and have a good time being together. Group names and even identification such as t-shirts or armbands can help bring a group together. At least one group meeting, preferably the one right after the nonviolence preparation, should be devoted to legal and jail preparation, in which everyone's questions, fears, reactions, emotions, and attitudes are explored in depth. Also, if there is energy for it, an affinity group can practice their action strategy with other local AG's, visit the C.D. site ahead of the action, do fund-raising, etc.

Principles of Unity. Simply put, principles of unity are a set of starting agreements for affinity groups. Every affinity group must decide within itself how it will make decisions and what it wants to do. This process starts when the AG forms. For example, if an affinity group is forming to take part in the Pledge of Resistance Campaign, it will have to reach consensus on the Non-violent Guidelines. Later it will decide what role it wants to play in the action and what legal stance to take. If a new person asks to join that affinity group, they can find out what the group believes in and what they plan to do, and decide if they can share it. Some groups ask that all members share a commitment to feminism, for example, or to nonviolence as a way of life. Others, who might have specifically formed to do a blockade/encampment, might have less sweeping agreements.

A group cannot hope to reach consensus decisions without having some base of agreement. Once a base is agreed upon, working out the details of specific issues and actions is not as difficult as one might expect, providing that there is a willingness to go along with a good idea, even if it is someone else's.

ROLES IN AFFINITY GROUPS

Specific roles should be taken on by different members of each affinity group. Each role serves a function that is important to the whole group, such as:

spokesperson(s) attend spokescouncils.

contact people for phone or mailing lists.

legal spoke can clarify legal discussions and transmit legal strategy decisions to other affinity groups.

media spoke who is more comfortable talking to the press.

For any civil disobedience action, each affinity group member chooses whether to risk arrest by blockading, occupying, sitting-in, or to act as a support person.

Specific tasks for those risking arrest are:

Discuss possible tactics before the action, make or revise decisions during the action.

Become familiar with the legal aspects, decide personal legal strategies and relate them to the rest of the affinity group and the action.

Make personal preparations, set time commitments, clear outstanding warrants (such as unpaid traffic tickets) to avoid additional charges and to avoid complicating jail solidarity issues.

There should be at least one member of the group who does not risk arrest and can be a support person throughout the action.

Before the action, supporters work with all members of the affinity group to:

List all members of the group and the personal needs of each person who may be arrested (household chores, caring for children, calling the boss, paying bills, etc.). Make sure all these needs can be covered.

Discuss time commitments and strategies. Will someone need to bail out of jail after a certain time? Are people planning to go limp or refuse to give their names?

Make sure the group has enough resources for the action: food, vehicles, money, people filling different roles, telephone access. Discuss possible emergencies.

Make sure belongings are marked with owner's name and affinity group name. Keep a list of major items and vehicle license numbers. Supporters should have duplicate car keys and be able to drive cars belonging to group members doing civil disobedience.



SUPPORT FUNCTION

The support function is an extremely important one, and one which, unfortunately, rarely gets sufficient attention. Support people accept the responsibility of being a visible, involved contact to the outside once a member of their affinity group is arrested. They are the personal extension of the care and concern an affinity group shares among its members, ensuring that individuals who participate in nonviolent direct action are not isolated, neglected and overburdened because of their political statement.

Every blockader needs support; every affinity group must have at least one supporter. Being a supporter is often more difficult than being a blockader; therefore, supporters deserve to be told what will be expected of them.

Be aware of the particular support needs of the people in your group, including:

The person's health: physical and emotional.

Whether the person is non-cooperating, and to what extent.

Whether the person needs a lawyer.

Whether the person must be bailed out by a particular date.

Whether the person is a minor.

Who you should call—family, friends, employers.

Whether you need to take care of plants, pets, etc.

Before the blockade

Get the following information:

Name, address and phone number of each blockader.

Birthdate (most jails keep track of people by birthdate).

Name, address and phone number of anyone who will need to be notified.

Expected legal strategy (e.g., no contest, not guilty, noncooperation).

Medical needs.

Tasks that need to be done while the blockader is in jail (e.g., childcare, plant-watering).

Assemble:

Extra set of house and car keys.

Extra eye-glasses, contact lenses, contact lense supplies.

Extra prescription medications in original bottles.

Two extra sets of underwear.

Paperback books.

Cash (about \$50 for emergency bail and \$5 for commissary use).

Provide:

Hugs. *

Quality time to discuss the decision to blockade.

Your name to central support and/or jail collectives.

An agreed upon time when the blockader can reach you by phone.

At the time of the blockade**Provide:**

Transportation to the blockade.

Water and food.

Hugs and cheers.

Be ready to get:

Hugs.

Last-minute unloading of possessions.

Details of the arrest (even if there is a legal observer present and especially if there are unusual circumstances.)

While the blockader is in jail**Do the following:**

Notify people as requested by the blockader.

Put money in the blockader's commissary account.

Be available to provide things the blockader needs in jail (do not expect to send non-prescription medications, vitamins, food, bulky or expensive items, or contraband into jail).

Be a careful, nurturing listener if the blockader calls.

Send letters and newspaper clippings.

Try to visit the jail.

Be present at the arraignment to:

Show the court and the media that the blockade has public support.

Show the blockader that he/she has personal support.

Pay emergency bail at the blockader's request.

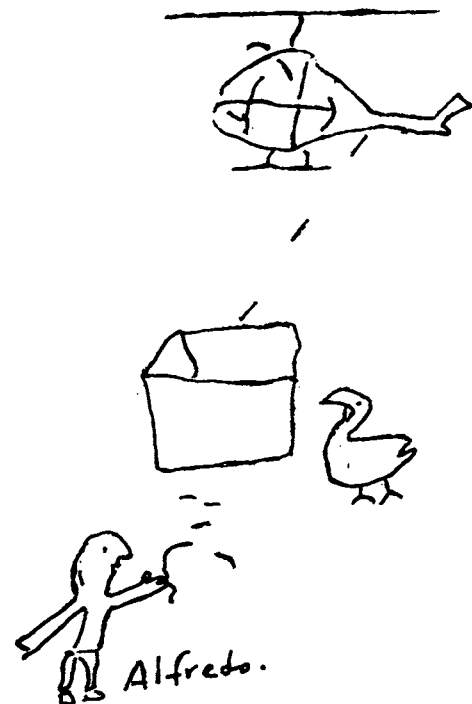
When the blockader is released**Provide:**

Decent munchies.

Transportation home.

Hugs and kisses.

Quality time to discuss the experience.



PLEDGE LOGISTICS

CORE SUPPORT

Core support is vital to the Pledge Campaign's ability to sustain direct action for an extended length of time. It is important to nurture those with whom we are working and of whom we are asking so much. Core support should be organized well in advance of the alert in order to assure its availability on short notice.

ACTION SUPPORT CENTER

A large church or building with 24-hour use of many rooms for an extended period of time should be secured. The following should be available to all action participants and supporters at all times during the resistance witness.

Food.

Hot, nourishing food should be available both on the premises and taken to the occupation site, if possible (chili, soups, spaghetti, drinks, bread, fruit, etc.).

This requires: volunteer(s) to find and coordinate donated food; volunteer(s) to coordinate preparation; and kitchen facilities. (Food does not have to be prepared on-site, but it would make life much easier.)

Sleeping Area

Room for sleeping on a 24-hour basis should be available for some supporters when they are off-shift. Floor space is adequate if extra blankets, sleeping bags, mats and cots (for those who can't sleep on the floor) are provided.

Meeting Room

A room should be made available for necessary meetings during the action. It must be large enough for a spokescouncil.

This requires a large blackboard and available facilitators/mediators.

Reflection Space

A small quiet space for worship/reflection/meditation—as well as group worship services.

This requires volunteer(s) to coordinate worship services.

Legal Team Space

An office space for the legal support work.

This requires a legal collective.

Medical Team

Full staff with medical personnel and supplies. Used as a place to coordinate action site medics.

This requires volunteer(s) to coordinate donated supplies and staffing needs.

"Rumor Control"

Area with phones, typewriter, T.V. (media coverage). A place where minute-to-minute updates on activities can be coordinated, needs can be assessed and media can be contacted.

This requires: several volunteers to coordinate; volunteers to staff phones; donated office supplies; and media workers available to keep media updated.

Publicity Room

Room with poster/banner supplies where more and more artwork can be turned out in support of the action. Flyers and other media can be designed and produced here.

This requires: volunteers to find needed supplies; volunteer(s) to coordinate; and copier, if possible.

Miscellaneous

Some place to shower.

Cars/trucks available to transport whatever is needed.

Rally/vigil coordinator.

ALERT SYSTEM

The following is a model that can be used to activate 60 to 6000 people and can be easily tailored to local needs.

GOALS

To reach all who have signed the pledge within 36-hours or fewer.

To relay clear, consistent information about the action scenario as well as to communicate the tone of the witness.

To dispel rumors or to answer questions when necessary.

METHOD

Centralized phone-banks (as opposed to the more traditional pyramid phone-tree). By establishing sites from which four to ten (or more) volunteers can make phone calls, you can efficiently activate the alert system and also draw on the organizing resources of your Pledge coalition. In addition, you have a better chance of communicating the correct information and knowing how many people have been contacted by making use of this method.

COMPONENTS

Phone-bank sites. Any place with four or more phones. Begin your search for these sites within your coalition. Other possible facilities: labor unions, churches, progressive attorneys, etc.

Phone-bank coordinators. One to two coordinators (or one, plus an alternate) for each phoning site. Their role is to:

Make arrangements to have the phoning site open. (It is easiest to have someone from the relevant organization that is donating the use of its phones.)

Contact the members of their phoning team (for setting up phone teams, see "Phone teams

below) to inform them that the network is being activated. Prior to the full-scale mobilization, coordinators should call or meet with their phone team to introduce themselves and to answer questions.

Orient volunteers when they arrive at the phoning sites, including:

update them on the current scenario;

give an update on the current political and military situation;

review the "phone rap" and the method of keeping track of calls made;

be a liaison with central pledge office; and

close up the phone-bank office when finished.

Phone teams. Volunteers organized into "on call" groups of phoners. *Rule of Thumb:* Recruit at least twice as many phoners as you will need to ensure that you will fill each phone-bank center on each night that you need it.

Match volunteers with the closest phone-bank centers.

Explain that they are making a commitment to phone for one or two nights when the contingency plan is activated.

Recruiting volunteers. Ask for volunteers from:

Participating organizations.

Affinity groups.

Pledge signers. Recontact all pledge signers to recruit volunteers, ask if they have had non-violence training, etc.

Transportation crew. People, with cars, to transport "rap sheets," lists or cards with the names of pledge signers, and any other relevant information, to phone-bank sites. (This material should be picked up from a central pledge office.)

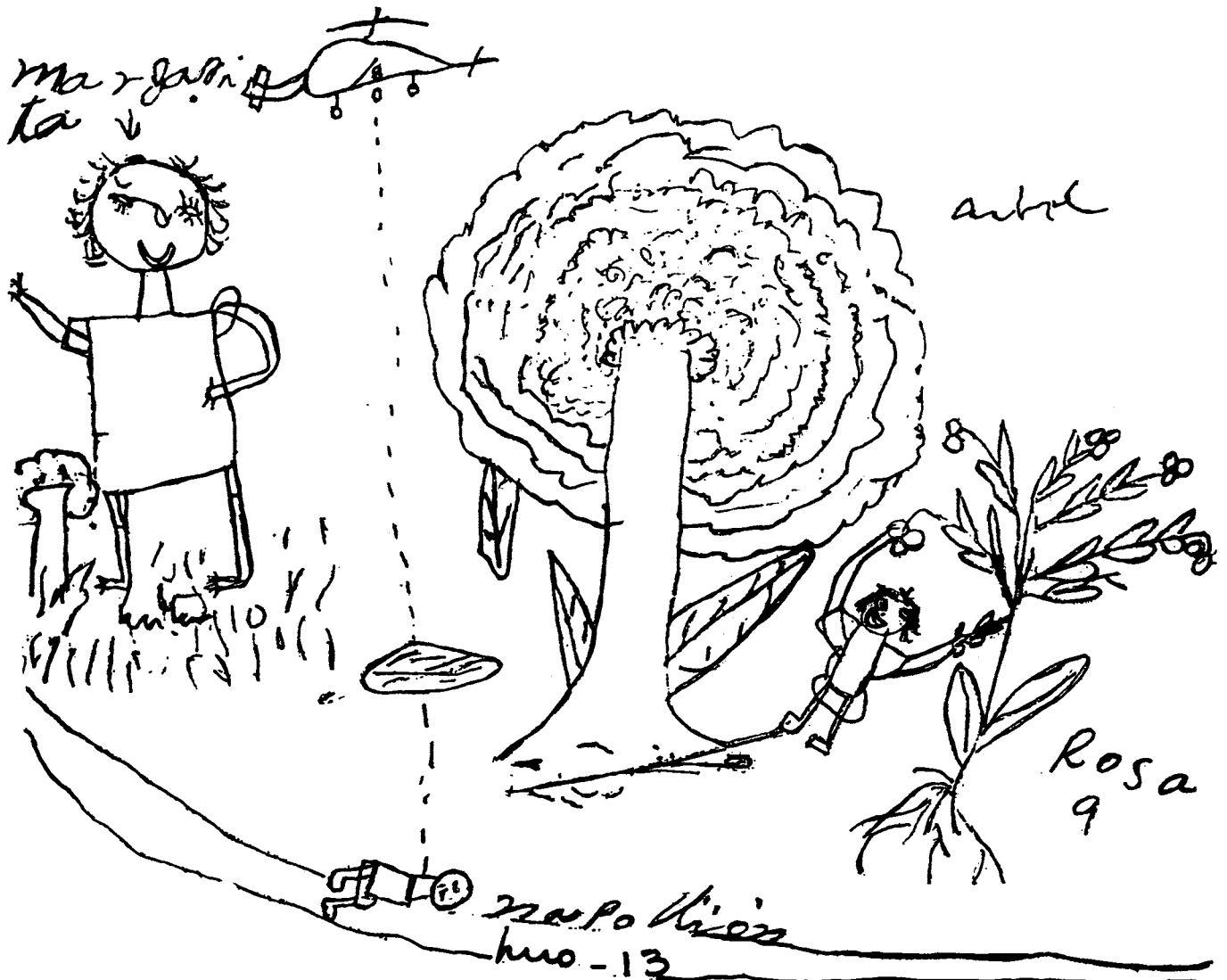
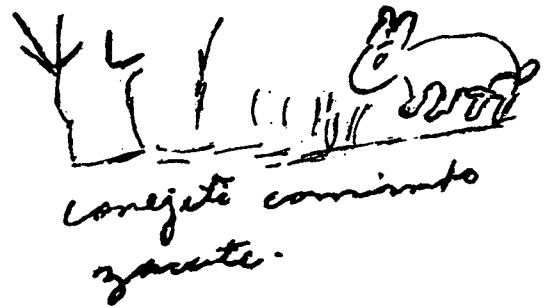
Materials. These include:

Phone cards. We suggest that you put names, phone numbers, addresses, and other relevant material on index cards (manually or with the help of a computer). Cards are easy to divide, distribute, update, maintain in alphabetical order, count, and write notes on. This file of phone cards should be *in addition to*, not in replacement of, a master card file of pledgers.

"Phone raps." These are scripts that phoners can use as a guide in uniformly communicating information to pledge signers (i.e., location and time of action, information on nonviolence preparation, etc.).

Other. Description of scenario, maps to action sites, key phone numbers, etc.

Broadcasting the Alert. Arrange for a progressive local radio station to broadcast regular announcements of the alert.



LEAFLETTING

Purpose/Uses: To make a demonstration more effective. To inform or educate the public about an issue. To clarify your position on an issue. To announce or publicize an event. To dramatize and generate enthusiasm for an issue. To counter or encourage prevailing public opinion. To win neutral people to one side. To encourage participation in an event. To call people to action on an issue. To increase a group's membership or support.

How to plan, write and reproduce a leaflet:

Clearly think through the focus of the leaflet before beginning to write. 1) To what kind of audience is it directed (determines style and content)? 2) What are the purposes of the leaflet? Is it for one occasion or general use?

Use simple language, and limit the amount of information included. Quality is much more important than quantity.

Check facts thoroughly and use them carefully.

Take care for the tone, which often communicates as much as the text. The emotional effect of the words can vary widely: polite, annoying, dramatic, straight, screaming, low-key, threatening, guilt-tripping, etc.

Clearly identify the sponsoring group on the leaflet. This legitimizes the leaflet, builds trust with an audience, and gives people a contact point. It may be a legal requirement. If participation by others is sought, include a return coupon for more information or follow-up.

Design it carefully.

Arrange the content for simplicity and clarity.

Vary the typography as much as possible, using different sizes of print, boxes, indentations, diagonals, arrows, etc.

Pictures and political cartoons are effective for variety.

Choose the size paper which fits the amount of information, and keep in mind various folding possibilities.

Proofread, evaluate, and proofread again before making a final copy.

There are several ways to reproduce a leaflet, varying in cost and quality:

Ditto. Quantity from each master copy is limited.

Mimeography. Quality depends on cleanly-cut stencil and condition of the machine. Electro-stencils can be used for a variety of print types, illustrations, photographs, etc., but are difficult to manage, and occasionally 2 or 3 tries are needed before a desired product is obtained.

Offset printing is modest in cost and can produce high quality leaflets. (Quality and price vary widely among printers. Ask around and check carefully.) It is recommended when large numbers of leaflets are to be produced.

"Xerox-type" copying. Cost varies widely and depends on quality. Check around.

Tips for distributing leaflets:

Carefully choose site and time to leaflet. For an ongoing campaign, constancy is very important. Once per week at the same day, time and place can be effective in establishing trust and credibility.

Roleplay leafletting situations to practice efficient ways to offer leaflets to people, ways of handling indifference, hostility, open interest, etc. An experienced leafletter makes a friendly, positive comment with every leaflet, such as "This should interest you." Be persistent, not pushy. If leafletting leads to discussion, share what you know and admit what you don't know. Don't let people intimidate you. Don't waste time and energy trying to get even.

Attempt to speak to a store manager, minister, or whomever, in an attempt to establish rapport before you leaflet near his/her location. Tell the size of your group and where and for how long you intend to leaflet, and give him/her a sample leaflet. If the leaflet is not a protest against his/her activities, she/he may be supportive of your actions.

Be sure to clean up afterwards, so that you can't be accused of littering or being insensitive to the needs of others.

EVENT PLANNING

Pledge events both publicize the campaign and build the pledge community by involving members directly in action-oriented activities. At least three types of events are possible.

Vigils. Vigils are relatively easy to organize, can be on-going events, and can accommodate all sorts of activities, including rallies, public signings, fundraising pitches, and (afterwards) general Pledge membership meetings. Many groups have weekly (and even daily) vigils outside the Federal building or other potential civil disobedience sites. All you need to do is pick a date and time, prepare a leaflet, and make sure a few people show up from the core group. If you are mounting a daily vigil, you could encourage different affinity groups to take responsibility for one day per week.

Vigils at the site of future civil disobedience provide an ideal opportunity to communicate personally and through leaflets with those who will be most directly effected by your actions: the workers and regular users of the facility. You might want to prepare a leaflet especially for this group, or at least, keep them in mind when preparing a more general leaflet.

Public Signings: There are big public signings and small ones, public signings that are an event unto themselves and those which are "tacked onto" events with another kindred purpose. Examples: On October 9, 1984, the Bay Area Emergency Response Network went public with a mass public signing in front of the Federal Building; on December 2, 1984, a mass public signing occurred at the end of an interfaith service marking the anniversary of the murder of four North American churchwomen in El Salvador. Public signings can take place in churches and schools, after religious services and during political rallies, housemeetings and outside of subway/bus stations. The checklist at the end of this section includes many things necessary for either big or small public signings.

Testimonials. A testimonial is a public signing where people who sign the "Pledge of Resistance" have the opportunity to state publicly why they signed. Testimonials are both empowering and eloquent. Empowering to both

those who are, at last, allowed to speak up at a public demonstration and to those who listen and share in the collective commitment. Eloquent as only the collective voice can be, people speaking from their hearts, one after another, no one voice isolated, all voices amplified. Those who have experienced them often refer to them as the most powerful events they have ever been a part of. The power comes from the collective sharing of what is within each of us.

EVENT CHECKLIST

This list includes things for all three of the events. Some will be appropriate for one event and not another.

Props: tables, chairs, podium, microphones, good quality speakers, amp system, banners, signs, armbands.

Materials: pledge leaflets, CD background sheet, nonviolence sign-up sheets, press background (articles, leaflets, history, contacts).

Permits: sound permit, rally/event permit.

Schedule: speakers (who, when, for how long, on what topic/theme), music (who, when, for how long), testimonials (route, when, how long).

Money: who makes the pitch, when is the pitch made, who collects the money?

Note: Each of the above entails much work. For example, nonviolence sign-up sheets in "Materials" requires that there be nonviolence preparers, that preparations be scheduled weeks ahead, the locations be found, etc. Speakers in "Schedule" require that people be called, their order be determined and that they understand their roles and time limits. Testimonials in "Schedule" require that the tables and microphones be staged, that someone be designated to direct the route, that the MC be informed so she/he can direct people, etc. In other words, *don't underestimate the work involved* in a simple five point checklist.

We recommend that an event committee be designated and that this group be responsible for figuring out the above details. The important point is that *for every identified task, there should be one person who is responsible* (and everyone should know who it is).

MEDIA WORK

Before you can begin in your media work, your organization must first have a clear definition of itself and its purpose. You must be able to translate the purpose and goal of your organization into the printed word. Clarity is important. From this basis, you will need to decide what your organization wants from the media (feature story, calendar listing, coverage of an event, etc.). Remember, reporters are flooded daily with hundreds of requests, press releases, and phone calls—each crying out for attention and coverage. To carry out a successful media campaign will take time, money, and enormous amounts of good energy.

WHO IS YOUR EVENT AUDIENCE?

Are you planning to hold a press conference because you think it is the best vehicle for publicity, or because you don't know any other way you reach the media?

When the Emergency Response Network began the Pledge of Resistance Campaign, we initially decided that a press conference was needed to kick off the campaign. We hoped to have a few celebrities (entertainers, well-known peace activists, ministers, etc.) who could tell the press who we are and what our purpose is, as well as to sign the pledge themselves.

After thoughtful discussion, we realized that our goals were not only to announce the pledge, but to have the pledge-signing itself be an empowering process. Past experience told us that press conferences are mainly for the benefit of the few individuals involved, not the participants at large.

So, we shifted our focus away from the traditional press conference, and began working on a pledge-signing rally. We felt that signing this pledge took enormous courage and risk and that each individual had a unique story to tell. The day we planned would be for the pledge

signers, with press coverage a secondary, but hoped for goal. That way, if the press did fail to come (as is too often the case when there is no civil disobedience), the event would not end in failure.

As a media enticement, we arranged it so that the first pledge-signers were of "celebrity" caliber, and we had a well-known band from the '60s open the event. More important, we decided to have an open microphone set up on the steps of the Federal Building (where the rally was to take place) so that each pledge-signer would have the opportunity to state his or her reasons for taking this step.

Our rally was enormously successful. We had a large and enthusiastic crowd; over 600 people signed the pledge. The testimonies which people gave moved the crowd from tears to laughter, and they stayed on through the entire two hours it took for each person to have her say. Nothing detracted from the power of the event.

There will be times when a traditional press conference is the most appropriate forum, usually when you are showcasing one or several speakers. Your organization determines the forum according to the purpose you are trying to fulfill.

Once you've determined the purpose, the way you attract the media (rally, rock concert, telephone call, civil disobedience) is limited only by your imagination.



STARTING YOUR MEDIA WORK

An important point in any media campaign is to: 1) develop identifying literature on your organization, and 2) develop a media list.

Identifying literature can be as simple as a brochure, a flyer, or a one-page fact sheet with the information you want to communicate to the general public. This is general information which can be used for a wide variety of needs—sending in letters, handout at rallies, additions to press kits, etc.

Begin to supplement this with further materials—copies of related articles, photographs, biographical sketches of your key organizers, testimonies from pledge-signers. This added material will help you to create more specific information packets for the various requests which you will be asked to fill.

Developing your media list takes time and is vital to your media work. This can be a huge nationwide list but, most likely, your local print, radio and television contacts will suffice. The information you will need on each contact person should include:

Name of contact person and Title	Charles Lawton, News Director
Name of media organization	KHBK-FM
Address	1101 - 2nd St., SF, CA 94118
Telephone Number	(415) 287-1345

These lists can be bought, borrowed, begged, or developed from scratch by phoning individual papers, radio stations, and TV stations. Ask other organizations in your area for their lists or suggestions on how to obtain one. Ask the local cancer, heart, or arthritis foundation. Ask a publicist at your local hospital. Almost every large organization has a public relations person who has such a list. Also, the reference room at your local library should contain media books with press contacts.

You need to organize these names into a working system. Group the names into the following categories: Wire Service, Local Print Media, Local Radio, Local TV, and National Contacts.

Next, break down these categories further. For print media, group your contacts by the frequency with which the publication appears: daily, weekly, monthly, annually. Alphabetically arrange the names (by the name of the paper/magazine) within each group.

For Radio listings, arrange alphabetically by station.

For Television listings, arrange numerically by channel number.

Each station or paper may have hundreds of people working for it; the titles you will want to have are:

Print:	City Desk, key reporters who cover the local news beat and cover Central American news, Feature Editors, Scene Editors and Religious Editors.
Radio:	News Director, Talk Show Hosts.
TV:	News Directors, News Planner, key reporters who are sympathetic to the cause.

PRESS KIT

Once your group decides on a particular event, you need to get information about your organization and the action to the press. Your intent should be to get advance stories when possible, calendar listings, and to have the press cover the event.

Develop your materials into a press kit. Include a one-page release which has all the pertinent information on the event (who, what, where, why) and on your organization, a brochure or flyer further describing your organization, a photograph (if appropriate), and a copy of any related press stories.

Your press release should be a mini-story. Be sure to have your organization's name and address at the top, and include the name of your media contact and their phone numbers. Show this to others before printing it to check the spelling and grammar, and to make sure the information is correct!

Have a mailing party. Get envelopes, stamps, return address stamp, and xeroxed copies of your enclosures all ready to go. Have your list of media contacts which you should hand address; if the list is just too long, use typed labels. Address, stuff and mail!

Mail the release at least one week before the event. If you have a lot of time, mail out to your monthly print contacts at least 1½ months in advance of the event. Mail weeklies out 2 weeks before the event, and dailies, one week ahead.

Wait 2-3 days and start follow-up phone calling. This will be a way of making sure the reporter does look at the materials you send her or him. Tell the media contact that you are from the Pledge of Resistance:

"Hello, my name is _____ and I'm from the Pledge of Resistance. I want to let you know that we are having a pledge-signing rally at the Federal Building on Tuesday at 11 am, for people who are willing to pledge to commit acts of civil disobedience if the U.S. invades Central America. I was hoping that you received our press kit about this. I'll be at the action and if there are any questions you have or you want to interview anyone there, please contact me. I hope you will be able to come to the rally Tuesday."

What you are doing is trying to act as a reminder, and to get a tentative commitment to cover the action. Be polite and patient; just keep in mind how harassed these reporters are.

SHOULD YOU WORK ALONE?

Working alone can be a burden that grows as your organization grows. Try to form a working committee to share the tasks and also to discuss the various strategies and ideas that need to go into any good media campaign. It may be good to have one person be the coordinator to keep track of press lists, press materials, and to call committee meetings as needed.

If you start a working committee, develop a list of tasks and a timetable. These tasks may be: develop a press list, develop press materials, print press materials, mailing, develop flyers, develop brochures, create armbands, purchase supplies, develop and print letterhead/logo.

PREPARING FOR THE ALERT

Time is **not** on our side. Every day new reports of further U.S. aggression in Central America makes our work critical and lacking the luxury of planning and creative thinking time.

Now that you have your media list, you should get it typed onto xerox labels or entered into a computer so that you can have labels made whenever necessary. Get at least 2 sets of labels made in advance, buy envelopes and label them, stamp the envelopes and add a return address stamp.

Sketch out a rough press release that you will edit and have printed should the alert be called.

Have a flyer ready to be finalized and printed as a leaflet for your civil disobedience sites, should the alert be called.

Send out freelance articles about your organization (with photos if possible) in order to generate press interest in the interim.

Put your media list onto 3x5 cards and carry them with you. Make a distinguishing mark on the cards of contacts which you think would, in case of the alert, get the information out immediately over their radio or television station, or print in the next issue of their daily, and include all of the wire services, too.

If the alert is called, call these contacts immediately with a statement for them to read over the air, or to print. Give them as much information as you can (why the alert is being called, how it is being called, where people should gather, what they should bring, etc.). Be sure to give your contacts a number at which they can reach you.

For the next weeks, maybe months, we will be on alert, working in our spare hours to ready our networks and continue to do the necessary outreach. You should try to send out a newsletter (even a one-page typed report) to your pledge-signers to let them know what is happening in the organization; include updates on Central America and on the network nationally. Also, add your needed appeals for funds!

One effective technique is to assign each pledge-signer a media contact to call should the alert be sounded. Target the most widely read, watched and listened-to media. This will encourage the media to become responsive to this action, as well as empower each individual with the task to make that happen. (Do not put your best contacts on that list. Those should be the people you call personally.)

When calling, be polite, tell the press what the Pledge of Resistance Campaign is all about, why the alert has been called, and why you are personally going to respond. Tell them where to go to cover the event; give them the number of your media coordinator or your Network's office number. If they tell you they are already covering it, don't harass them—simply thank them and hang up.

WHILE YOU'RE WAITING...

Now, the waiting game begins. There's much to do. Continue with your outreach, call your best contacts and tell them that you will be calling them in the case of the alert. Tell them what you want them to do. Call them back with updates every few weeks.

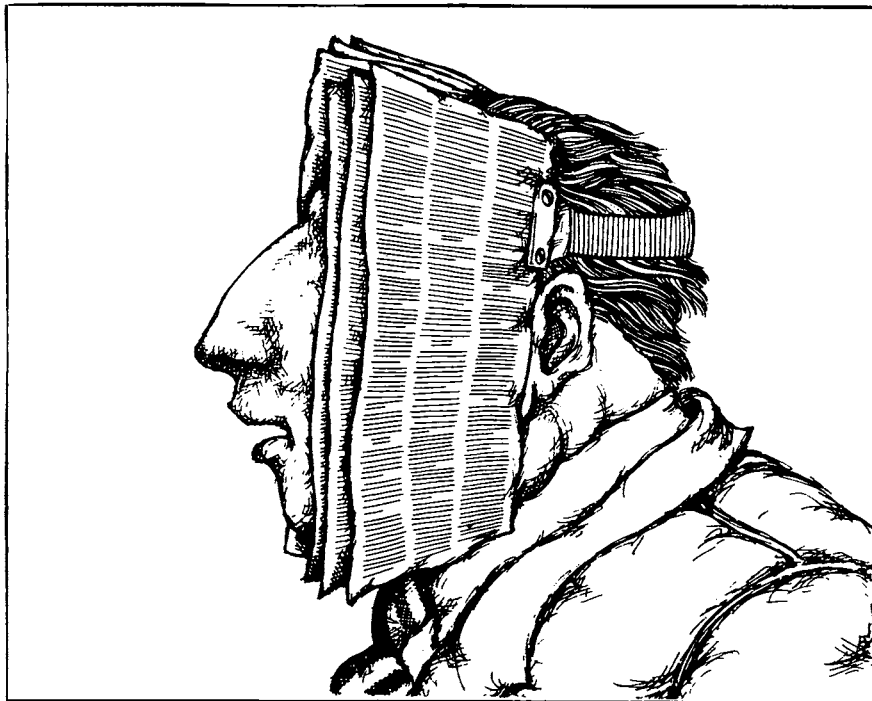
Keep meeting with your media committee. If you have the time, money and energy, make postcards about your organization, send them to your friends, or sell them to make money. Create a poster about your organization, create t-shirts, try to get your group onto talk shows, write more articles, tell everyone you know about your organization. Keep your fingers crossed, pray, call your congressional members, help someone else in your network with their tasks, and most of all, NEVER LOSE HOPE.

What you do will make a difference to someone. Think about your children and their future, think about your friends' children, think about the children in Central America. Think

about what influenced you to become active in this.

Look at the tremendous response to the Pledge nationwide, and take a moment to enjoy the realization of the thousands of people who care enough to donate their time and resources, to suffer inconveniences, incarceration or pain for the sake of our oppressed family members in Central America. Be joyful, for you are seeing the authentic antithesis to the heartless militaristic policy of corporate greed: the warm, gentle, sincerely friendly antithesis of nonviolence.

Be a living example. . . and keep your sense of humor!



FINANCES AND FUNDRAISING

RECORD KEEPING

At your first meeting, designate someone to be the bookkeeper/treasurer for the Pledge Campaign. This person should be responsible for processing contributions, paying bills, and generally keeping the group informed about the financial necessities.

Set up your own bank account as soon as possible (by the second meeting). It is possible to run contributions through a friendly organization, but this often becomes a problem for both the friendly organization and the pledge campaign. It can be unclear to whom checks are intended, there are delays in getting cash, the friendly organization is stuck with extra work, etc. The simple solution to these and other problems: get your own account. Note: you may need to procure a fictitious name statement before opening your own account.

Develop a rough budget immediately and update it as often as necessary. Initial budgets often cover nothing more than printing bills, but even this is useful in setting fundraising goals. Once a rough budget is in place, it can and should be revised at future meetings.

Establish clear guidelines regarding authorized expenditures. Clear guidelines include: who can spend, how much they can spend, and for what purpose they can spend. Individuals and/or committees can be authorized to spend money, a cap on these expenditures can be set, etc. Spell out the procedure *before* there are problems. Receipts should be required for all expenditures.

FUNDRAISING

PHASE ONE

Starting from the first meeting, the immediate need is for minimal cash to pay for printing of leaflets, pledge forms, and other such start-up necessities. There are two (relatively) easy forms of initial funding:

Contributions from sponsoring organization(s), such as members of the coalition or the brave group who takes this one on at the start.

Person-to-person fundraising by members of the working group, including passing the hat at the first meeting and the shameless solicitation of friends.

It is important to remember that a relatively small amount of cash is required at this point. Two more steps should be taken at this stage:

A fundraising committee should be created with one person clearly designated as the coordinator.

The printed leaflet should contain a contribution request.

PHASE TWO

Expenses increase substantially as your campaign gains momentum. You need more leaflets; you are perhaps staging a large public event, and maybe you want to take out some small ads. You have already solicited contributions from friends and sponsoring organizations. There are two sources of funding you can consider at this point:

Contributions from people who are signing the pledge, including those who sign at public events (a strong pitch should be made and tin cans need to be available there).

Grants from progressive churches and foundations, some of which give small amounts of seed money for groups just starting. (For a directory of progressive foundations, write to The Foundation Center, 312 Sutter St., San Francisco or call them at 415/397-0902.)

Acknowledgements. It is very important to acknowledge contributions from individuals. You can use a 4x6 postcard to thank individuals for their contributions and, at the same time, provide them with *information about the progress of the Pledge Campaign*. You can tell them how many people have signed, inform them of nonviolence preparations, ask them to call the office and volunteer. This short card is the first chance you will have to communicate with those who have donated money *and* signed the pledge. Use it to build both your pledge community and your funding base. People will give again and again if they believe in what you're doing. Have the cards printed up.

PHASE THREE

You are ready to take a big leap. Maybe you're ready to hire staff or set up an office or buy a big ad in the paper. This step requires that you raise more money. You need to increase your work on grantraising (sending out more proposals, refining your budget, making follow-up phone calls) and your event solicitation is continuing. But, you need more funds than you are raising through events and grants which often take a long time to process, even if you are successful. A solution? **Direct Mail.**

By the time you reach Phase Three, you have an incredible fundraising resource: a list of people who have signed the "Pledge of Resistance." This is a group of people who are already committed to your cause. Write a cross between a newsletter and a fundraising letter. This is, after all, the first written communication between the campaign and its supporters/members. (See Sample.)

PHASE FOUR

You are now at the stage of maintenance. You have a staff to pay, office rent, phone bills, and more printing bills. You have already done a direct mail solicitation to the signers of the pledge. To keep going, you do more.

Grantraising. Your proposal probably needs rewriting and your budget certainly does. You can make follow-up calls to the places you've already applied and send off applications to new places. Put the word out that you are looking for funding sources—to everyone you talk to—and follow-up on all leads. Grant raising is a lot of work and the response is often slow but, when one comes in, it is well worth the effort.

Direct Mail. Follow-up letters are also important. 1) Send another letter to those who didn't respond the first time. People will often give only after several solicitations—because they want to make sure you are a worthwhile cause, because they didn't have money the first time, or because they just put things off and need reminding. 2) Send out the second fundraising/newsletter to all new pledge signers. Depending on how quickly you are gathering signatures, you could plan monthly or bi-monthly mailings. Always include both new signers and those who did not give in previous mailings. In this way, you should be able to establish a reasonably steady source of income. After three months or so, re-solicit those who have already given, since they will be ready and eager to support your growing campaign.

Acknowledgements. With few minor variations, the same letter used to fundraise the second time can be used to acknowledge the contributions of first-time givers. Both letters can serve to brief and update people on the progress of the campaign and future plans. All that requires is a change in the opening and closing paragraphs. You will, of course, have to keep a good record of who has signed, who has given, and when they gave in order to mail the right letter to the right person. You can either use computers for this, or simply stick a duplicated address label to a 3x5 card and record contributions (with dates) on it.



SAMPLE LETTER

Pledge of Resistance EMERGENCY RESPONSE NETWORK
1101 O'Farrell Street, San Francisco, CA 94109
(415) 771-1276

On Election Day, as Ronald Reagan was winning his landslide victory, the Administration chose to release the information that it is watching a Soviet freighter believed to be carrying fighter aircraft to Nicaragua. The Administration has previously warned that the introduction of such aircraft into Nicaragua was "unacceptable." Administration spokespersons pointedly refused to rule out the use of force to remove them.

Dear Pledge Supporter,

Ronald Reagan's landslide re-election takes us closer than ever before to war in Central America—a war not just financed and directed by the United States, but **one fought by U.S. military forces.**

We now know how close we are to that war. The bases have been built, the ships are offshore, maneuvers have been held, and contingency plans have been drawn up. The last obstacle—public opposition during an election year—has been removed. All that is left is the excuse which will be used to justify the use of U.S. military force.

We know what we must do. You have already taken an historic step by signing the Pledge of Resistance or the Pledge of Witness and Support. Thousands of others have joined you. More join everyday. All across the country, people are pledging to nonviolently resist—if we have to. We want to tell you about this growing resistance and about the work still to be done.

... In California, over 2,000 people have signed either the Pledge of Resistance or the Pledge of Witness and Support, including over 100 members of the clergy. Pledge campaigns are underway in ten cities.

... Starting with the October 9th public signing in front of San Francisco's Federal Building, a series of public signings have taken place at churches, on college campuses, and at public meetings. By allowing each of us to publicly express our commitment, these events empower people the way a simple rally or demonstration cannot.

... An Emergency Alert System has been put into place, so that we can respond quickly to the constant possibility of U.S. intervention in the region. Radio station KPFA (94.1 FM) will have updated information on our plans.

... Nonviolence preparations are taking place weekly, so that we will be prepared to act in a way in keeping with our commitment to peace.

... And plans are being made for the day we hope never arrives—the day we have to activate the Emergency Response Network. We plan to focus our initial protests at two Federal facilities in the Bay Area: the Federal Building in San Francisco and the Concord Naval Weapons Station. The Federal Building houses three Congressional offices, the IRS, the State Department, and a Defense Department office. The Concord Naval Weapons Station is one of the primary points from which weapons and munitions are shipped to Central America.

These facilities have been picked because of their role in a war that will be waged—if it is waged at all—against the wishes of the American people. Our plan is simple: **we will nonviolently stop business as usual at these facilities until our government stops the war.**

But these plans will remain just plans, without your help. Much remains to be done to assure that we are able to do what we know must be done.

... We need to extend the success of the Bay Area Pledge Campaign throughout the state and nation. Because the Bay Area campaign is more advanced than those elsewhere, we have been asked to prepare an organizer's manual and to serve as a regional clearinghouse for the Western states.

... We need to hire two staff members, find an office, and set up a phone system capable of handling the demands of thousands of people who have pledged to nonviolently resist a U.S. war in Central America.

... We need more nonviolence preparations, more public signings, more outreach to churches and peace groups.

... And we need to develop a response to the war that the U.S. is already waging in Central America—a grinding, steadily escalating war of attrition that has already taken 7,000 lives in Nicaragua and over 40,000 in El Salvador.

This is a movement built upon the moral commitment of thousands of people like you. But we must still pay for printing, for phones, for an office space big enough for volunteers, for an organizing manual, for postage. In other words, we need more than commitment—we need enough money to make your commitment work for peace.

Please take time right now to return your contribution using the enclosed envelope. Contribute as much as you can. Peace depends on it. The people of Central America are counting on us. Please act today—so that we can be ready for tomorrow's headlines.

Peace,



Ken Butigan
Emergency Response Network

P.S. Every day the danger of a U.S. war increases. Here are some steps you can take now: share the enclosed Pledge leaflet with a friend ... work through your church or other groups to hold public signing of the Pledge ... arrange for a speaker to talk about the Pledge, if you need more information ... sign up for nonviolence preparation, so that you'll be ready to participate in a truly non-violent resistance to a U.S. invasion ... volunteer to help the ERN reach others. For more information about these steps, please call us at 771-1276. And please, mail us your check today.



AFTERWORD:

SUSTAINING OUR RESISTANCE

"I intended to show that nonviolence will be effective, but not until it has achieved the massive dimensions, the disciplined planning, and the intense commitment of a sustained, direct-action movement of civil disobedience on the national scale."

—Martin Luther King, Jr.

No direct-action movement will be forceful enough to overcome a sustained system of injustice until it develops the three components that King found to be crucial to the struggle for civil-rights: massive dimensions, disciplined planning and an intense commitment that can be sustained over the long haul of resistance. The Pledge of Resistance Campaign has been highly successful in building a massive, nationwide movement; after only a few months we have built one of the most massive direct-action movements in recent history. With increasing clarity and momentum, we have begun invigorating our movement with disciplined planning, the second element in King's prescription. This organizational discipline has been manifested in a systematic series of nonviolence preparations throughout the Bay Area, now rippling through the rest of our region; thoughtful development of action scenarios; increasing competence in organizing a series of interim demonstrations and marches; and educational outreach to an expanding network.

But the third and final component of King's prescription—developing an intense, sustained commitment to resistance—is arguably the most crucial factor in our resistance to U.S. intervention, yet remains the most underdeveloped area in the entire Pledge network. The history of past direct-action campaigns delivers a clear warning of overriding import for us: nonviolent resistance has overcome injustice only to the extent that a community persevered through months, years and even decades of unrelenting resistance, defiance and noncooperation. Every serious

movement of resistance has undergone a trial by fire. During that crucial stage when a massive wave of civil disobedience fundamentally challenges the unjust or militaristic might of a government, the ruling powers retaliate with repressive measures, ranging from psychological intimidation and smokescreen propaganda to lengthy prison sentences and physical brutality. Only those movements which have "held firm to truth" and renewed their commitment to resistance in the midst of persecution have reformed or overcome imperial oppression.

Past movements that have failed to develop the morale to persevere have cracked or disintegrated under governmental repression, and have been forgotten by history. The civil-rights movement underwent a "season of suffering" lasting more than a decade; civil-rights activists paid the price of bombings, assassinations, brutal police attacks, and thousands of jail sentences to accomplish even a modest desegregation of the South. The U.S. suffragist movement labored tirelessly for decades to win the right to vote for women, and then endured a three-year wave of arrests, lengthy imprisonment in inhumane conditions, hunger-strikes and forced feedings. If the suffragists had surrendered their fiery resolve, the back of their movement would have been broken.

If we are to seriously confront, challenge and overcome a system of U.S. intervention that has exploited Central America for more than a century, we will have to develop a moral resolve, an unconquerable spirit, a long-term commitment, an endurance that never falters. Perhaps our greatest adversary is our conditioning as Americans to expect comfort, leisure, affluence, and, above all, instant results and magic solutions. We are ruled by a great temptation to give up on a movement if it does not attain instantaneous success, splashy media coverage, and kid-glove treatment by the authorities. The best antidote we can pre-

scribe for our conditioning and upbringing is a sober look at the incalculable costs willingly endured by every Latin American *campesino* or church worker who works for justice. Perhaps our declarations that we are in solidarity with the people of Central America are made too lightly, with too little understanding of the historical endurance and long-suffering commitment they have shouldered. We will be in solidarity with the Indian peoples of Guatemala and the children of Nicaragua only to the extent that we make an unshakable commitment to resist U.S. intervention as long as our friends are under fire. If we reflect on the decades of persecution they have endured while maintaining a living commitment to liberation, we can begin to understand that the desire for instant, painless results is an illusion possible only for North Americans. Daniel Berrigan outlines the true dimensions of non-violent resistance:

"There are a hundred nonviolent means of resisting those who would inflict death as the ordinary way of life. There are a hundred ways of nonviolent resistance up to now untried, or half-tried, or badly tried. But the peace will not be won without such serious and constant and sacrificial and courageous actions on the part of large numbers of good men and women. The peace will not be won without the moral equivalent of the loss and suffering and separation that the war itself is exacting."

The people of Central America provide living testimony to the "loss and suffering and separation" inflicted by the U.S. policy of intervention. The people of North America can become empowered to testify through serious and constant and courageous resistance that we no longer tolerate acts of genocide committed with our passive consent.

What this means for the Pledge of Resistance Campaign is that we are not preparing ourselves merely for a token show of legal protest and civil disobedience for a one-day period following the activation of our network. The Emergency Response Network in the Bay Area recently reached consensus that we are preparing for a sustained resistance campaign involving waves of marches, vigils, legal protests, and civil disobedience that will continue as long as we can sustain it—ideally, until the U.S. government relinquishes its stranglehold on Central America, or responds in some way to the cry of the American people for peace. Our scenario now emphasizes wave after wave of people legally protesting and risking arrest in a series of actions on successive days following the activation of the network.

Every individual pledge-signer is invited to participate only as their conscience leads them. No one is being asked to make a longer commitment than they feel prepared to make. This new emphasis on implementing successive waves of resistance is in no way a demand on anyone's conscience; rather, it is an **invitation** to act at our highest level of moral commitment. It is a pledge on the part of the Bay Area organizers of the Pledge of Resistance Campaign that we will attempt to sustain our resistance as long as our Central American sisters and brothers suffer under the direct assaults of U.S. militarism.

Individual pledge-signers can participate in this vision of sustained resistance by engaging in acts of protest for one day, several successive days or several weeks. Since our network is large, no one person needs to burn out by shouldering the entire burden of sustained resistance alone.

Some will choose to be arrested time after time in unrelenting waves of civil disobedience; others will choose to engage in legal protest or civil disobedience for a single day, and then carry the news of our actions for peace to their local communities, media contacts, churches, schools and labor unions; still others will work to provide core support and nonviolence trainings for those protesting. As a pledge of our support for those who choose to commit themselves to several days or weeks of nonviolent action, Pledge organizers are working to develop a base station where the physical, emotional and legal needs of the resistance community can be served and nurtured.

We reached consensus on this vision of sustained waves of resistance not to impose a further burden on pledge-signers, but to attempt to remove the intolerable burden of oppression from our neighbors in Central America. We realize fully how difficult it is for any U.S. peace/justice movement to maintain a sustained commitment beyond the first few days of mobilization; we harbor no illusions about building a never-ending resistance movement out of the thin air of massive public apathy. Yet we can do nothing less. Henry David Thoreau wrote that under a government which imprisons anyone unjustly, the only place for a just person is also a prison. How much truer this is when entire countries are bombed with napalm and white phosphorous, when entire peoples are subjected to genocidal extermination, slow starvation, and enslavement in "strategic hamlets!" It is time to update Thoreau, and declare that under a government that imprisons the peasants of El Salvador in "Free-Fire Zones," the only place for a just person is in an unstoppable resistance movement!

Building this sustained, persevering campaign is not primarily a question of strategy, tactics or logistics; obviously, these all need full development, and our progress in implementing these measures will be reported to pledge-signers. But the bed-rock foundation of any attempt to build a sustained movement lies in the personal commitment, morale, conscience and courage of each and every pledge signer. A community empowers itself for a long-term struggle not so much through developing "winning strategies," but through the intense bonds of dedication and love that link each of us with the larger resistance movement and with the people of Central America.

Ultimately, we will succeed in giving birth to an unrelenting resistance campaign precisely to the extent that we make a commitment to our Central American neighbors that is as personal, intense, loving and faithful as the commitment we make to our own children, our loved ones or our marriage partners. If we feel that **our own** homes are imminently threatened by destruction, if we feel that **our own** children are being bombed and kidnapped by security forces, then we will make our pledge of resistance a sacred pledge to preserve the lives of children. Such a sacred pledge will give rise to a spirit of dedication and resistance that will not be vanquished by the repression of any government, nor eroded by the fatigue of the "long haul."

This will require that we **all** develop supportive communities and tightly bonded affinity groups. The Pledge Campaign must develop a core-support system that can be maintained for long periods, and spread the summons to sustained, disciplined resistance at every nonviolence preparation session and public event. Above all, we all need to learn to truly care for and nurture each other. Political analysis alone will not be enough; we must learn to be sensitive to personal needs, emotional stress and the looming threat of exhaustion and burn-out that can erode the spirit of resistance.

We can learn the next steps in our evolving movement from the pioneers of resistance who have successfully built a community of justice that endures year after year despite brutal governmental repression. Let us heed the words of a base Christian community of Brazil, quoted by Gustavo Gutierrez:

"The faith and courage of the members of our communities in the face of threats, misunderstandings, and persecution for justice' sake are sustained and strengthened by the support each individual gives the others, by the support each community gives the others, by our very struggle and activity, by meditation on the word of God, and by the recollection of the witness given by those who have struggled for justice."



RESOURCES ON CENTRAL AMERICA

BOOKS

Nicaragua:

Black, George, *Triumph of the People—The Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua*, Zed Press (London). Excellent and thorough resource. \$7.95 plus \$1.50 postage from National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People (NNSNP), 930 "F" Street NW No. 720, Washington, D.C. 20004, (202) 223-2328 or (202) 628-9598.

Cardenal, Ernesto, *The Gospel in Solentiname* (3 volumes), Orbis Books, 1978. Cardenal, a priest and now Minister of Culture, has transcribed discussions in his former parish community about the Bible, their daily lives and the social forces in Nicaragua before the revolution. \$6.95 - 7.95 each.

Cardenal, Ernesto, *Love, Crossroad*, 1981. Prose meditations, \$4.95.

Cardenal, Ernesto, *Psalms*, Crossroad, 1981. Reconstruction of David's psalms, hymns of praise and community laments. \$3.95.

Cardenal, Ernesto, *Zero Hour and Other Documentary Poems*, New Direction Books, 1980. \$4.95.

Collins, Joseph and Lappé, Frances, *Now We Can Speak: A Journey Through the New Nicaragua*, Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1885 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94103, 1982, (415) 864-8555. Please add 15 percent for postage and handling (\$1 minimum). Bulk discounts available.

Collins, Joseph, with Frances Moore Lappé and Nick Allen, *What Difference Can a Revolution Make? Food and Farming in the New Nicaragua*, Institute for Food and Development Policy (San Francisco), 1982. Sympathetic yet critical report on food and farming policies of new Nicaraguan government. \$4.95 from IFDP, 1885 Mission Street, San Francisco, CA 94103.

EPICA Task Force, *Nicaragua: A People's Revolution*, 100-page primer. \$4.25 plus \$.75 postage from EPICA, 1470 Irving Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20010.

Meiselas, Susan, *Nicaragua: June 1978 - July 1979*, Pantheon Books, 1981. 72 striking color photographs with text and chronology. \$11.95.

Millet, Richard, *Guardians of the Dynasty: A History of the U.S.-Created Guardia Nacional de Nicaragua and the Somoza Family*, Orbis Books, 1977. A readable history of modern pre-revolution Nicaragua. \$6.95.

Randall, Margaret, *Doris Tijerino: Inside the Nicaraguan Revolution*, New Star Books, 1978. The story of a woman revolutionary during the struggle to overthrow Somoza. Available from The Crossing Press, Trumansburg, NY 14886. \$5.25.

Randall, Margaret, *Sandino's Daughters*, New Star Books, 1981. The story of the formation and work of women's organizations, biographies of church and political leaders, the roles of women in the new Nicaragua. Available from The Crossing Press, Trumansburg, NY 14886. \$7.95.

El Salvador:

El Salvador: Central America in the New Cold War, ed. by Marvin E. Gettleman, Patrick Lacefield, Louis Menashe, David Mermelstein, Houston Street, New York, NY 10014. \$7.95.

Shenk, Janet and Robert Armstrong, *El Salvador: The Face of Revolution*, South End Press (Boston), 1982. 302 Columbus Ave., Boston, MA 02116. \$7.50.

Latin America:

Arias, Esther and Mortimer, *The Cry of My People*, Friendship Press, 1980. Written by a former United Methodist bishop and spouse in Bolivia. An introduction to the situation of Latin America and the mission of the church. \$2.95.

Brown, Robert McAfee, *Theology in a New Key: Responding to Liberation Themes*, Westminster Press, 1978. An inquiry into the challenges to North American Christians issued by Latin American theologies and the call to the church to seek the perspective of the poor. \$6.95.

Galeano, Eduardo, *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*, Monthly Review, 1973. A historical account of foreign domination in Latin America. \$6.95.

Gutierrez, Gustavo, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation*, Orbis Books, 1973. Theological reflection based on the Gospel and the experiences of men and women committed to the process of liberation in Latin America. \$4.95.

Lernoux, Penny, *Cry of the People*, Doubleday, 1980. A detailed account, including narratives and statistics, of the conditions of repression in Latin America, the complicity of U.S. foreign policy, and the role of the church in ministry. \$6.95.

PERIODICALS

Envio, monthly "letter" on political, economic, and social developments in Nicaragua from the Jesuit-run Instituto Historico de Centroamerica. Very useful. Available in English, Spanish, or German. \$25 per year from Apartado A@194, Managua, Nicaragua.

Nicaragua. A quarterly newspaper of news briefs on Nicaragua and Central America, and resources. Published by NNSNP.

Nicaraguan Perspectives. A quarterly magazine featuring a wide range of topics on Nicaragua and Central America. Published by the Nicaragua Information Center, P.O. Box 1004, Berkeley, CA 94704. \$3.00 plus \$.70 postage each issue.

Nicaragua Update. A bi-monthly newsletter using press and church sources, personal interviews with persons who have recently visited or are currently living in Nicaragua, and updates on other Central American countries. Published by NICA. \$7.00 donation for subscription.

Barracada International. A weekly publication of the Sandanista government. \$12.00 for 6 months. Write to Apartado 576 Managua, Nicaragua. Indicate English edition. Put check in the mail and write a carbon letter to Nicaraguan Embassy, 1627 New Hampshire N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.

ARTICLES AND PUBLICATIONS

Nicaragua:

Christian Commitment to a New Nicaragua: Joint Pastoral Letter of the Nicaraguan Bishops, November, 1979. Contains a nuanced blueprint for continued collaboration of the church in the revolutionary process. 12-page booklet. Available from Capuchin Missions, 1820 Mt. Elliott Ave., Detroit, MI 48207. \$.50 each.

Fact Sheets on Nicaragua. Six specific topics (Agrarian Reform, Atlantic Coast, Government and Politics, Religion, U.S. Covert Action, Women) with titles forthcoming. Available from NNSNP. \$2.00 for set of six.

Health Care in the New Nicaragua. Covers politics of health care, battle against infectious disease, occupational health and safety, the role of international assistance. 15-page booklet. Available from NNSNP. \$1.00 each.

Literacy in Nicaragua: A Report. Covers teaching methods, workbooks used, an overview of Nicaragua, and resources on Nicaragua here in the U.S. 25-page magazine. Available from Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1841 Broadway, New York, NY 10023. \$2.25 plus \$.50 postage.

Look! A New Thing in the Americas! by Peter Hinde. Hinde, a Carmelite priest, recounts his experiences and impressions of Nicaragua shortly after the Sandinista triumph in 1979. 24-page tabloid. Available from the Quixote Center, P.O. Box 651, Hyattsville, MD 20782. \$1.25 each prepaid.

New Fact Sheets on Nicaragua. Fact sheets on Destabilization, Government and Mass Politics, Women, Atlantic Coast, Agrarian Reform, and Church. \$7 per packet from National Network.

Nicaragua: A Fragile Future. Sojourners Magazine, Vol. 12, No. 3, March 1983. 1321 Otis Street NE, Washington, D.C. 20017. (202) 636-3637. Copies for the issue are \$1.50 each for one to nine, \$1 for 10 to 99, and 75 cents for 100 or more. Payment must accompany order. The magazine is hereafter referred to as "Sojourners."

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Nicaragua: The Revolution Was the Easy Part.

A summary of the achievements of the Government of Reconstruction and responses to U.S. policy. 4-page leaflet. Available from Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1885 Mission, San Francisco, CA 94103. \$1.00 for 10 copies plus 6½% tax in CA plus 10% postage.

Nicaraguan Women and the Revolution. A resource packet including interviews, articles and poems. Available from Women's International Resource Exchange, 2700 Broadway No. 7, New York, NY 10025. \$2.25.

North American Committee on Latin America, *Target Nicaragua.* Special January-February 1982 issue on destabilization, counterrevolution, the Atlantic Coast, and U.S. maneuvers in the region. \$3.75 postpaid from NACLA, 151 West 19th Street, 9th Floor, New York, NY 10011.

Project Nicaragua: A Dynamic Model for Educational Process. Workshop units filled with ideas for activities and discussions for various age groups, children to adults. Nicaragua and Central America are the subject for processes about poverty, development, structural transformation, history, etc. Available from Sr. Patricia Butler SND, 50 West Broadway, South Boston, MA 02127. \$10.00 donation. The Sisters of Notre Dame also conduct workshops on how to develop a new educational process—inquire at above address for contacts in your area.

Trueman, Beverly, *Nicaragua's Second Revolution and 1984: The Revolution is Not a Piata.* C & C, Vol. 41, No. 17, November 2, 1981.

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Central America:

The Struggle for Life in Central America, Church and Society, Vol. LXIII, No. 4, March/April, 1983. 475 Riverside Drive, Room 1244-K, New York, NY 10115. Single copy, \$1.50 plus \$.50 postage and handling.

The Way of the Cross in Central America, Church and Society, Vol. LXXII, No. 2, November/December, 1981. See above for address.

AUDIO-VISUAL

Films:

Sandino Hoy y Siempre, 16 mm, color, 57 min., English subtitles, available from Icarus Films, 200 Park Avenue South, Suite 1319, New York, NY 10003. A portrait of Nicaragua and its people during the reconstruction process.

Sandino Vive! 16 mm, color, 28 min., 1980. Spanish or English, free loan from Maryknoll, Maryknoll, NY. The church's role in the overthrow of Somoza.

Thanks to God and the Revolution, 16 mm., color, 20 min., English subtitles, available from Icarus Films. An inquiry into the role of Christians in social change and armed struggle.

These Same Hands (Nicaragua: Las Mismas Manos), 3/4-inch video-cassette format, 53 min., available from World Focus Films, 2125 Russell Street, Berkeley, CA 94705, (415) 848-8126. \$50 rental, \$250 purchase (no 16 mm version).

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Martin Luther King, Jr.



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