TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. ISM – Mission, Structure and History 2
Mission Statement 3
Nonviolence Ground-Rules 4
Structure Of The ISM 5
Types of ISM Actions 6
II. Introduction to the Issues (note: this small section is supplemented by the ADC reader) 9
Introduction to Issues (from ISM Palestine pack 4/02) 10
The Return of the Refugees; the Key to Peace Salman Abu Sitta 14
Reflections on Zionism From a Dissident Jew 22
III. Theory and Practice of Nonviolence and Nonviolent Direct Action 25
History of Mass Nonviolent Action 26
Nonviolence in the Middle East: A Talk with Mubarak Awad 28
Effective Nonviolent Action 31
Methods of Nonviolent Conflict 34
Peacemaking Through Nonviolence 39
IV. Direct Action Strategy and Tactics 45
14 Points about ISM Strategy 46
Mass Direct Action: Options To Consider In Developing The Movement Further 46
The Parameters of Nonviolent Action What Makes An Action Nonviolent 55
Stages of Movement Development 63
V. Group Process, Anti-Oppression and Affinity Groups 66
Consensus Process 67
Consensus Flow Chart 71
Anti-Oppression 72
Anti-*Oppression* Practice 72
Class -Race Exercise 72
How To Make Meetings Work in a Culturally Diverse Group 75
Overcoming Masculine Oppression 78
Challenging White Supremacy: Political Perspectives 80
Affinity Groups 84
Affinity Group Roles 85
Support 86
VI. Confronting Authority: Arrest, Legal Issues, Jail Solidarity; First Aid for Demonstrators 88
Why to get arrested and Why NOT to get arrested 89
Liad Gets Arrested 90
Nonviolent Response to Personal Violence 93
ISM legal training notes 93
Information on arrest and prison 96
The U.S. Embassy and You: 100
VII. First Aid for Demonstrators 102
Medical Information for Direct Actions 103
VIII. Working with Media 108
Media Skills for Direct Action 109
Video Activist Resources 115
IX. Practical Information 119
Eleven things to think about before traveling to Palestine 120
Country Guide 121
Frequently Asked Questions (May, 2002) 123
Fundraising – Sample Letter 128
Telling your parents – Sample Letter 131
Pre-Training Handout 135
Some info for those choosing to enter through Amman, Jordan. 141
Traveling through Jordan: one perspective 142
Cel Phones and Other Techie Stuff 144
Cultural Considerations 149
Relationship Building w/Palestinian Leadership and Community Orgs 151
Leaving (and a little about arriving) 152

I. ISM – Mission, Structure and History

Mission Statement

A Campaign Against The Israeli Occupation Of Palestine,
And For A Just And Viable Peace

Palestinians have lived under an illegal occupation for decades. Through UN resolutions, the nations of the world have repeatedly asked Israel to respect international law, to stop brutalizing Palestinians, and to end the Occupation of their land. Under the protection of its powerful ally and benefactor, the United States, Israel has been able to continue the occupation, build illegal settlements, deny the most basic of human rights, and pursue policies aimed at removing all Palestinians from their homeland.

Israeli Prime Minister Sharon and the Bush administration say that there can be no negotiations under violence. That is true. However, what they do not admit is: The Occupation is violence. The Occupation must end before there can be true progress toward justice, and justice is the only basis there can be for true and meaningful peace.

The Palestinian response over the years has been some attempts at armed struggle (as is their right), but mostly peaceful protests, demonstrations, and appeals to Israeli courts. The vast majority of Palestinians are peaceful, and want only for the Israelis to treat them with justice and respect, and to live in peace with them as neighbours. Although Israel points to the occasional acts of Palestinian violence as a grave problem, it is clear that the Occupation itself is the overwhelming, and continuous act of collective violence in the area.

Because Israeli violence against civilians in Palestine has worsened, and the repression of the Occupation has tightened, many international allies of the Palestinian cause want to do more than write letters, demonstrate, present programs, form solidarity delegations, or send humanitarian aid. They want to do something more dramatic to stop Israeli attacks on Palestinian neighbourhoods and people with bombs and bullets, or closures and curfews, and to stop the United States from massively rewarding Israel for its brutality and protecting its occupation of Palestine. They want to take direct action that will oppose the Occupation and force Israel to withdraw from the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and Gaza.

If this describes your feelings, this call is for you.

An international citizen's peace-making campaign formed in August 2001, using the proactive tactics of non-violent direct action epitomized by Gandhi, Archbishop Tutu, Dr. Martin Luther King, and other practitioners of creative non-violent resistance.

This is an invitation to join that campaign, to support it financially, or to join our efforts to influence the news media.

The International Solidarity Movement aims to do four things:

1: to dramatize the terrible conditions under which Palestinians live because of the Occupation, and to protect them from physical violence from Israeli soldiers and settlers. We work under the leadership of Palestinian peace activists, supporting them in their creative resistance to the Occupation, and lending support to Israeli and other peace activist groups.

2: to pressure International news media to focus on the illegality and brutality of the Occupation, and to so change public opinion that it demands that Israel respect international law, and that America stops funding Israel with billions of dollars each year.

3: to recruit volunteers from other nations to undertake non-violent resistance to the Occupation.

4: to establish divestment campaigns in the US and Europe to put economic pressure on Israel the same way the international community put pressure South Africa during the apartheid regimes.

International activists have already played a significant role in bringing attention to the Occupation, and protecting Palestinians who try to protest Israeli brutality peacefully. The usual response of the Israeli military to peaceful demonstrations by Palestinians is to fire tear gas, rubber-coated bullets, and sometimes live ammunition at the crowds.

For example: "Shedma" is an Israeli military base that caused tremendous suffering for the peaceful people of Beit Sahour during the first three months of the Intifada. More than 200 homes were damaged, two mothers and a young man were killed, and ten people were injured. On December 28th 2000, hundreds of Palestinians, Israelis and Internationals marched together demanding an immediate evacuation and dismantlement of this military base. The presence of internationals kept the Israeli military from using violence. Italian member of parliament Lousia Morgantini (member of the European Parliament) and the Italian Peace association (Associazione per la pace) deserve special thanks for being part of this and other international actions.

The same thing has been true of demonstrations at checkpoints and roadblocks, which are important targets for action because they are examples of the Occupation's disruption of everyday life for Palestinians. They prevent thousands of people from accessing work, trade, basic services and even emergency medical treatment. International observers prevent Israeli soldiers from committing the usual harassments and brutalities done when only Palestinians are present. An organization, International Checkpoint Watch has formed because of the success of this tactic. Internationals have often participated in dismantling roadblocks with their bare hands. They have prevented untold numbers of Palestinians from being wounded or killed. A planning group of Palestinians and Internationals are preparing another 2-week mass International Citizens Protection Force (March 29 - April 12 2002) to support the Palestinian struggle for justice and bring media awareness to the brutality and illegality of Israel's actions in dramatic ways. We go to support, strengthen, and draw positive awareness to the brave efforts of Palestinian and Israeli justice groups. They will provide leadership for this effort.

The International Solidarity Movement is also dedicated to creating ongoing and continuous support for justice efforts there by encouraging internationals to volunteer for ongoing programmes of civil disobedience and development of Palestinian economic infrastructure, and in other ways to work for justice in Palestine, an end to Israel’s occupation and its subsidization by the United States, and a reconciliation between the government and people of Israel with their Palestinian neighbours.

Nonviolence Ground-Rules

The nonviolence ground-rules for the ISM are as follows :-

- Our attitude will be one of sincerity and respect toward all the people we encounter
- We will not engage in physical violence or verbal abuse toward any individual
- We will carry no weapons
- We will not bring or use any alcohol or drugs other than for medical purposes
- We will respect all the various agreements concerning the actions
- We will act safely at all times and act responsibly to ensure that no harm comes to any living being including ourselves

Structure Of The ISM

Affinity Groups

The basic working groups of the campaign actions are affinity groups. Affinity groups are self-reliant groups of 5-20 people who can be the basic planning and decision-making bodies for an action. Affinity groups may consist of friends, co-workers, people who have a common identity or purpose, people who share a language, etc. If you do not arrive in an affinity group, you can join one before you participate in your first action.

Each affinity group meets on its own and clarifies for each participant their own roles for a specific action within the guidelines set by the Spokes Council.

Each group should provide for each action: 1 legal observer, 1 press person, 1 rep to the daily Spokes Council meetings. (This means that most people will not have too many meetings to go to but will rely on their spokesperson to represent them and communicate decisions to them. Decisions will also be written up on the information boards for clarity and checking.

In order to facilitate easy communication discussions will be in language groups with English as the main language. When there are more than 10 affinity groups then each regional/language group should provide 2 reps to the daily Spokes Council and decision meetings. However many affinity groups there are there must be no more than 10 affinity group reps at the Spokes Council meetings for ease of decision making. Good communication between Spokes Councils and affinity groups through the reps is essential to ensure effective and safe actions.

Each affinity group that includes people risking arrest should also include people who will support those arrested before, during, and after the action. Also helpful is someone with knowledge of first aid and a first aid kit, someone with communications equipment (phones, radio), someone with a camera or video, someone ready to speak to the media, and someone trained in legal observing.

Mass Actions: Each affinity group can select a spokesperson to join the Spokescouncil. Spokespeople are responsible for carrying their group's plan or suggestions or opinions to the Spokescouncil and relaying information and decisions back to their group. Spokespeople need not remain the same. Other members of the affinity group can sit behind their spokesperson in an outer circle. That way, while discussion and decision-making may be limited to affinity group spokespeople, everyone in the affinity group can participate in the meeting. In a large action, affinity groups themselves can group together into a cluster. Clusters can then take responsibility for achieving certain goals in an action.

Long-Termers/Core Group: Since the summer of 2002, ISM has had a long-term presence in a number of areas in Palestine. Currently there are groups working in Nablus, Jenin, Tulkarem, and Rafah. In addition, ISM coordinates closely with Christian Peacmaker Teams in Hebron and International Women's Peace Service in Salfit, and sometimes sends volunteers to work with them in those areas. Each long-term project has at least one international and one Palestinian coordinator. The coordinators are responsible for organizing the work and supervising short-term volunteers in the area.

The ISM Media Coordinator works out of the Beit Sahour office. All ISM press releases should be run through the office.

Currently, decisions of ISM-Palestine are made by the Core Group, which is composed of the coordinators from each region where ISM has a long-term presence, plus representatives of the Palestinian and international Founders. In addition, "long-termers," activists who are in Palestine for over 3 months and have participated in a certain number of meetings of the Core Committee, are entitled to be part of the consensus. In between core group meetings, decisions are made by the Interim Committee, which consists of one coordinator from each region, plus two Palestinian and one international founder.

There are a number of committees of long-termers both inside and outside the country, including Media, Training, Legal and Finance.

TRAINING

Training is mandatory for all ISM campaigners and long-termers. Normally, trainings are two days and are conducted once each week in Beit Sahour by a rotating team of trainers from the training committee. All trainings are facilitated by at least one Palestinian and one international trainer. In between campaigns, if there are few volunteers arriving in the country, training may take place individually in the field.

All international volunteers in Palestine are entitled to full training before being expected to travel by themselves or participate in actions.

PROCESS

We have many different individuals, nationalities, and cultures represented in our Movement. We all have different meeting and conversational styles. To facilitate efficient meetings, try to implement as many of the guidelines listed below as possible:

- One person talks at a time
- Listen to each other
- Sit in one circle as much as possible
- Be aware of who is not speaking and invite them in to speak
- Try to be brief and to the point
- Try not to repeat another person's point or just speak in order to agree -- a handy way of showing agreement silently is to lift your hands and wiggle your fingers -- try it, it's fun!
- Be aware of the process: clarify and ask questions at appropriate times, amend proposals at appropriate times, show agreement or disagreement at appropriate times.

In large groups, it may be necessary for us to raise our hands and wait for the facilitator to call on us.

Types of ISM Actions

Lots of stories and photos from previous ISM campaigns can be found on the web at www.palsolidarity.org.

Here are just a few:

Locals and Internationals Remove Crippling Roadblock
Jenin
Lasse Schmidt
2 Mar 03

The road between Jenin and Berqin is essential not only to the 5000 people living in Berqin it is the eastern gateway to the provincial capital of Jenin and is used by people living in a dozen villages in the eastern part of the Jenin District.
After closing the road for a wee' the Israeli army finally closed it completely on Thursday by building a roadblock from one mountainside to the other. The narrow valley was comprehensively closed off to all

vehicles and persons not able to climb the five metre high pile of dirt and rocks.
By Saturday it had been removed by ISM volunteers working with the Berqin Municipality thereby allowing traffic to use the important gateway to Jenin for the first time in a week.
The four ISM activists present in Jenin became aware of the roadblock early Friday and went to inspect the sight the same day.
Saturday morning they left their homes in Jenin armed with just a shovel and three pickaxes. Several phone calls to the municipalities of Jenin, Qabatia and Berqin asking for a bulldozer to do the dirty work ended up without success. Instead the four international activists, two Palestinian men and a 13 year old boy started what seemed an impossible task - to remove the roadblock by hand.
Passing Palestinian townspeople offered their enthusiastic encouragement and the labouring crew sometimes numbered as many as twelve. After five hours of hard toil the result was a narrow bumpy road useable by four-wheeled cars.
At that point a bulldozer finally arrived and started work. The municipality of Berqin had expected Israeli soldiers to turn up and start shooting at the workers. But after five hours without any military interference they decided to lend their support to the action.
In half an hour the bulldozer cleared a narrow pass through the roadblock and the bumpy area surrounding it. The mayor of Berqin had emphasised to the driver of the bulldozer that he should only partially remove the roadblock. Years of experience have taught the Palestinians that the bigger the operation the greater the risk of the army showing up the next day to rebuild the roadblock again. By the late afternoon traffic was flowing easily in the Berqin Valley thereby saving everyone an arduous climb up a mountain of dirt and a long walk afterwards.

Lasse, Jenin

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT
December 19, 2002
For Immediate Release
Palestinian Farmers bulldoze Apartheid Wall to reclaim Orange Groves

[Qalqilya] Assisted by activists from the International Solidarity Movement, Palestinian farmers from the villages of Zeta and Atil today bulldozed 8 roadblocks erected around the foundations of the new Apartheid Wall which separates them from their farmland. The removal of the roadblocks enabled more than 50 farmers to harvest their crops for the first time in weeks.

Construction of the new wall known as the Security Fence, but dubbed the "Apartheid Wall" by Israeli and Palestinian human rights groups, began earlier this year in the northern West Bank. Instead of following the "green line", the official border between the Palestinian territories and Israel , the wall will run inside Palestinian territory effectively annexing a further 10% of the West Bank. The 8m high concrete wall, which will be some 350km in length when complete, will leave whole cities such as Qalqylia cut off from the rest of the West Bank and leave villages such as Zeta without the farmland upon which their existence depends. Approximately 900 of Zeta's 2000 dunnums (1 dunnum=1000m2) of land will be destroyed or isolated by the wall.

This is a double blow to the villagers of Zeta. In 1948, the newly formed Israeli state took their land by force. Farmers were then forced to purchase new land from a neighbouring village. Now that land is effectively being annexed by the Israeli government, leaving villagers once more destitute. The land around Zeta is some of the most fertile in the West Bank. Around 60% of the fruit and

vegetables consumed in the West Bank are produced in the greenhouses and fruit groves of the Tulkarem/Qalqilya area.

An ISM spokesperson said "Israel 's Apartheid Wall is yet another device to camouflage the theft of yet more Palestinian land and leave Palestinians to "live like dogs" in Israeli general Moshe Dayan's famous phrase. Today's action shows what can be done by Palestinians with limited international support. But without major and sustained international pressure, Palestinians such as the villagers of Zeta will once more become the victims of Israel 's criminal state."

Tomorrow activists will attempt to keep open the roads unblocked in today's action enabling more farmers to reach their lands.

The international activists involved in today's action were from the UK , Sweden and the US .

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"Mini Actions"
Gaza
Joe
11 Apr 03

Yesterday was marked by what I call a "mini-action". We very loudly moved into a house in which we will now have a constant presence.

It's a four-story building in the Rafah neighborhood called Jibne, a refugee camp right on the Egyptian border victim to significant amounts of shooting and demolition. This house belongs to the Jaber family, and contains around 35 people, four families with loads of children. Its located right across from two Israeli military towers, and an area where an Israeli tank often sits. The house has been ridden with bullets, indeed there are bullet holes in walls as many as three rooms into the house, and virtually every room is occupied by family members. The children show me arm loads of bullet shells, shrapnel and rocket casings that they've gathered from their house, and the damage is more than apparent. "Every day they shoot", said Mahmud, a 16 year old boy who frequently has to help the older men patch the holes in the wall. The holes are anywhere between the size of a golf-ball to a bowling ball, depending on which kind of ammunition the Israeli soldiers chose to fire. I ask him about bulldozers, and he points to the ground to show me how close they have come. Indeed, they've destroyed their chicken coup and other garden space that is within meters of the house. The family never knows when the Israeli Military may come for their house, but they don't think a bulldozer could take it down. This size of house usually requires explosives, meaning Israeli soldiers will likely enter the house, remove the people and lay large bombs. This is why it is especially important for us to have a presence here, perhaps we can ensure some more humane treatment of the family if and when they are forced to randomly evacuate in the middle of the night.

II. Introduction to the Issues (note: this small section is supplemented by the ADC reader)

Introduction to Issues (from ISM Palestine pack 4/02)

THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

The areas conquered in 1967 -- the West Bank and the Gaza Strip--have never been formally annexed into the nation of Israel, and an official Palestinian state has yet to be established. Most of these three million Palestinians live under the rule of the Palestinian authority, while others live under combinations of Israeli military and Palestinian civilian rule, in a highly uncertain, and ill-defined condition.

The Palestinians in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip not living in Palestinian-ruled areas, are subject to Israeli military laws. These laws closely resemble -- and in some cases are exactly the same as -- the apartheid laws that oppressed the Black majority in South Africa until recently.

- They have no right of free speech;
- Their homes can be entered and searched without warrants;
- They can be arrested without warrant or charge;
- They can be held in jail for up to 6 months without charge or trial;
- They are routinely tortured during interrogation;
- They have no freedom of movement between towns; and
- They can be expelled from the country for no reason.

SETTLEMENTS

Settlements for Israeli Jews are built in the Occupied Territories on land confiscated from Palestinians.

The Israeli government subsidizes the building of these settlements and gives financial incentives to certain Israeli citizens to move to them. Palestinians are not allowed to live in settlements: they are only open to Jewish citizens of Israel. Many of these settlers are armed, and there have been many reported cases of these settlers destroying the property and sometimes the lives of Palestinians living in nearby villages and towns.

Settlements are built for political reasons: to establish "facts on the ground" and to divide, scatter, and ultimately abolish areas of Palestinian residence. The recently started settlement at Har Homa (Jabel Abu Ghneim), for example, is the last link in the chain of settlements surrounding Jerusalem, intended to cut off all Palestinian access to the Arab quarter of that city.

Palestinian farmland and homes are routinely confiscated and demolished to make room for Israeli settlements and special highways to connect those settlements. These highways and settlements thus serve to divide up formerly contiguous Palestinian land, thus creating Palestinian Bantustans.

The settlements are illegal under international law. Israel signed the 4th Geneva Convention of 1949. Provisions of the Convention include:

Article 49: "The Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies."

"Individual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportations of protected persons from occupied territory to the territory of the Occupying Power or to that of any other country, occupied or not, are

prohibited, regardless of their motive."

REFUGEE CAMPS

There are several million Palestinians living in refugee camps in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and within the Occupied Territories.

The camps were established in 1948, when 750,000 Palestinians were driven out of their homes. The population of these camps increased when 320,000 more Palestinians were driven out by the 1967 War. More Palestinians are being expelled each year.

Refugee camps are under the supervision of the United Nations Refugee and Works Agency (UNRWA). Many camps have recently been invaded by the Israeli Army, regardless of their location. Recent incursions have taken place in the Balata Camp, Jenin Camp, Tul Karm Camp, Nur Al-Shams Camp, Deheishe Camp, Azza Camp, Aida Camp, Jelazon Camp, Amaari Camp, Rafah Camp and Jabalya Camp. The refugees are a particularly vulnerable segment of the Palestinian population and the camps are frequent targets of Israeli attacks and aggression.

LIFE UNDER OCCUPATION

By suppressing Palestinian industry inside the Occupied Territories, Israel maintains a cheap labor force of Palestinians for Israeli industry. Over the past decades, Israel has tried to become less dependent on Palestinian labor by exploiting immigrant workers from Thailand, Romania, the Philippines and other countries.

With unemployment in the Occupied Territories as high as 40% -- and climbing to 80% during the current crisis -- many Palestinians live in poverty just outside the walls of prosperous government-supported Israeli settlements.

Since 1993, Israel has regularly implemented massive border closures. The Israeli government closes the borders of the Territories to all Palestinians. This not only means that people cannot go to the cities for work, but also that Palestinians are deprived of access to hospitals, social services, and cultural and religious centers. Palestinians with illnesses are routinely turned away at the many checkpoints set up around Jerusalem.

Resources are unequally distributed. Israeli settlers, who make up less than 20% of the population, use 80% of the water resources in the West Bank.

In some areas of the Occupied Territories, particularly East Jerusalem and areas surrounding Jerusalem, Palestinians are forced to pay taxes to the Israeli government. Though they are taxed the same as Israeli citizens, they do not receive equal government services. Taxes collected in the Occupied Territories are primarily spent inside Israel, not in the West Bank or the Gaza Strip. These Palestinians who must pay these taxes are not allowed to vote, however. During the first Intifada, 1987-1993, many Palestinians refused to pay their taxes.

"Why do we not pay our taxes? First, the military authority does not represent us, and we did not invite them to come on our land. Second, the collected taxes are used to increase the harsh measures against our people. Must we pay for the bullets that kill our children?"

-- from a statement by residents of Beit Sahour, a West Bank town

INSIDE ISRAEL

Palestinians living inside Israel proper, although they are citizens, also suffer many human rights violations. This population lived under martial law from 1948 until 1967. Today their communities receive

poorer municipal services than comparable Jewish cities. Their access to jobs, loans, or business permits is extremely limited. Palestinians students have not been allowed to study or celebrate their own history or culture -- though this situation is improving somewhat with the revision of textbooks starting in 1998.

In October 2000, in many Arab villages and towns inside Israel, popular demonstrations in support of the Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza took place. These peaceful demonstrations were met with violence by Israeli police, who killed 13 Palestinian citizens of Israel in a couple of weeks. There is currently an investigation into the events of October 2000, called the Or Commission.

THE LAW OF RETURN

Israel's Law of Return allows Jews anywhere in the world to receive instant Israeli citizenship with all its privileges, simply by setting foot on Israeli soil. Meanwhile, millions of Palestinians outside Israel are not allowed to return to their homes, while Palestinians inside Israel are treated as second-class citizens. The issue of the Right to Return of Palestinian refugees is one of the key issues that has not yet been addressed by negotiations.

THE PEACE PROCESS

Some people hoped that the Oslo Peace Accords, negotiated in September 1993, would bring justice to Palestine and Israel. Unfortunately, the interim peace plan only created "autonomous zones" which are almost identical to Native American reservations in the United States or to the Bantustans created to divide and disrupt the Black majority in old South Africa. These scattered areas of Palestinian authority are isolated from each other, and have limited authority over things like sewage and traffic tickets. Real authority remains with the state of Israel.

- Israel retains the right to veto any laws passed by the Palestinian National Authority

- Israeli police are still allowed to search, arrest, and deport Palestinians at any time.

- Palestinians, though still subject to Israeli authority, are still not able to vote in Israeli national elections.

- Land confiscation and settlement building have accelerated since the Oslo plan was signed. Since September 1993, over tens of thousands of acres of Palestinian land have been confiscated, hundreds of miles of settlement highway have been built, and tens of thousands of Israeli citizens have moved into settlements.

The interim Oslo Accords called for a "final settlement" within five years. However, no such agreement has been reached. Checkpoints and roadblocks continue to prevent travel between towns and villages. Palestinians cannot reach jobs, hospitals, schools or family.

The Israeli occupation army continues to enter Palestinian towns, and continues to engage in undercover assassinations, torture, and imprisonment without charge or trial. The Israeli government continues to veto Palestinian laws at will and to dictate terms to the Palestine National Authority.

Although Palestinians are willing to compromise by asking for only 22% of historic Palestine to create a state, Israel continues to offer them less than that. The Camp David talks in 2000 were represented as containing generous new offers by Ehud Barak, then Prime Minister of Israel. In fact Barak's offers were not only vague and inexact, but also minimal. Barak still offered non-contiguous islands of land as semi-autonomous Palestinian reservations, still surrounded and divided by Israeli settlements and settler highways. No part of East Jerusalem was offered for Palestinian control. A token offer of return was made for a few thousand of the millions of Palestinian refugees. The issue of precious water resources was not addressed.

THE SECOND INTIFADA

By September 2000, frustration at the lack of Israeli good-faith negotiations towards a just peace led Palestinians to protest in the street. On September 28, Ariel Sharon made a deliberately inflammatory visit to the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, taking with him more than a thousand Israeli security forces. There were protests, but no violence. Sharon left, but the thousand soldiers stayed behind. The next day, September 29, was a Friday, the Muslim holy day, and the Israeli soldiers were still occupying the courtyard in front of Al-Aqsa Mosque. Palestinians protested and threw rocks at the soldiers; the soldiers responded by firing live ammunition into the unarmed crowd, killing 7 Palestinians and wounding others. The protest and rage at this act began what has become known as the Second Intifada, which has continued over a year, and has resulted in over 1,000 deaths at this writing (20th March 2002), plus tens of thousands wounded. The great majority of casualties and fatalities have been Palestinians, who have been killed at the average rate of two per day for over a year now.

Since the disasters of September 11 2001, Israeli violence against Palestinians has escalated.

U.S. INVOLVEMENT

The United States has consistently supported Israel and Israeli policy. The U.S. gives several billion dollars of aid to Israel each year, plus loan guarantees, military subsidies, and weapons contracts. The U.S. has also repeatedly vetoed UN resolutions critical of Israel, as well as putting heavy pressure on other countries to refrain from reprimanding Israel for its policies or actions. Most recently, the United States has vetoed resolutions presented in the United Nations calling for international observers to be sent to the region.

The U.S. has tried to play "honest broker" in peace talks between Palestinians and Israel, but the unequal and unfair handling by American facilitators has come under heavy criticism.

SUGGESTED READING

PALESTINE AND ISRAEL: A CHALLENGE TO JUSTICE by John Quigley.
THE BIRTH OF ISRAEL by Simha Flapan.
THE FATEFUL TRIANGLE by Noam Chomsky.
THE ARABS AND ISRAEL FOR BEGINNERS by Ron David.
BLAMING THE VICTIMS by Edward Said and Christopher Hitchens (eds.).
PALESTINIAN REFUGEES: THE RIGHT TO RETURN edited by Naseer Aruri.
PALESTINE/ISRAEL: PEACE OR APARTHEID, PROSPECTS FOR RESOLVING THE CONFLICT by Marwan Bishara.
UNEQUAL CONFLICT by John Gee.
THIS SIDE OF PEACE by Hanan Ashrawi.

some websites

www.electronicintifada.org
www.lawsociety.arg
www.btselem.org
www.palestineinformation.com
www.gush-shalom.org
www.palestineremembered.com

The Return of the Refugees; the Key to Peace
Salman Abu Sitta

November/December 2000

Millions of people around the world have seen the 40-minute slow, savage, deliberate murder of a 12-year boy, huddled behind his distraught father, who was waving desperately for the killers to stop shooting. Within the frame of a camera, the world witnessed the unfolding of the second Palestinian Nakba, replayed yet again: an unarmed civil population in their homeland facing a foreign army – descending upon their shores from as far as Moscow and New York, armed to the teeth, supported by western money and political clout. This is the story of Palestine played over and over again, without the moral power of human rights, and without the military power of international law, ever coming to their rescue.

There is nothing like it in modern history. A foreign minority attacking the national majority in its own homeland, expelling virtually all of its population, obliterating its physical and cultural landmarks, planning and supporting this unholy enterprise from abroad, and claiming that this hideous crime is a divine intervention and victory for civilization.

This is the largest ethnic cleansing operation in modern history. The population of 530 towns and villages were expelled at gunpoint. They had been driven out by the horror of at least 35 reported massacres. According to Israeli files recently released, 89% of the villages have been depopulated by Israeli military assaults, and 10% by psychological warfare. That leaves only 1% who left on their own accord.

The refugees were the majority (85%) of the Palestinian inhabitants of the land that became Israel. Their land is 92% of Israel's area. Thus, Israel was created on a land, of which it does not own 92%. (Fig. 2)

Today, there are 5.25 million refugees. They represent two-thirds of the Palestinian people. On the same scale, can you imagine that there are 160 million homeless in America! Of the refugees, only 3.8 million are registered with UNRWA – i.e. 75% of all refugees. We should remember that the figures frequently quoted by the press are a gross underestimate.

In spite of five major wars, occupation, and oppression, there are still 88% of the refugees in historical Palestine and in a 100-miles wide band around it. This is an indication of the bond they have to their homeland. There are 12% of refugees in Arab and foreign countries equally divided.

While the refugees were struggling to return home all these years since 1948, aided by the full moral weight of international law, Israel and its supporters have been concocting plans to complete the ethnic cleansing operation. No less than 40 plans have been proposed. All are similar in their objective but vary in detail.

They are all based on the notions that (a) Palestinians are not a people, just a bunch of Arabs who can live anywhere; (b) there is no Palestine, only Eretz Israel; (c) Palestinians do not deserve their land as they the Israelis do; and (d) Israel could help these Palestinians to relocate elsewhere as a humanitarian gesture.

Needless to say, these are patently racist ideas. But wait until you hear the latest edition, proposed by the Russian American Jewish lawyer, Donna Arzt. In her book "Refugees into Citizens", she proposes what appears to be a humanitarian plan; that is to settle Palestinians anywhere in the world, except in their home. By analysis of her plan (Fig. 3), you will find she proposes to ship one and a half million people to diverse locations and force the others to stay where they are in exile. That needs lots of trains and planes. Perhaps nobody learnt anything from the Nazi Holocaust. It is a sad reflection on the moral character of those who, more than any other people, should have learnt lessons from past

tragedies. In today's world, ethnic cleansing is a war crime. Forcible resettlement is a war crime. In fact, settling the occupier's people in the occupied territory is a war crime. To expel Palestinians is a war crime; to prevent their return to their homes is a war crime; to resettle them elsewhere is a war crime; to replace them with the occupiers is also a war crime.

Why should not the refugees return to their homes, as the case in Kosovo, Timor, Kuwait, and countless other places?

The international law is solidly behind them. Resolution 194, calling for their Right to Return, has been affirmed by the international community over 100 times in 52 years. This right is a Basic Right, it supercedes any political agreement, has no statute of limitation and cannot be negotiated away by proxy or by any representation.

The Right of Return is enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 13) and in the sanctity of private ownership which cannot be extinguished by sovereignty, occupation or passage of time.

Who can deny this solid right? Israel and the US do, but not the rest of the world. Israel further gives practical obstacles as the argument against return. Let us examine them one by one.

It is often claimed that the country is full, and that there is no space left for the Palestinians. Nothing is further from the truth. Of course, even if that were true, the right of return is not diminished. If an occupier expels an owner of a house at gunpoint, he is not entitled to keep the house just because he filled it with his cousins and friends.

Let us examine Israel's demography. We can divide Israel demographically into A, B, C areas.

Area A has a population of 3,013,000 Jews (end of 1997) and its area is 1,628 sq. km, which is the same area and largely in the same location as the land which the Jews purchased or acquired in 1948. Its area is 8% of Israel. This is the total extent of Jewish ownership in Israel. Clearly 92% of Israel is Palestinian. In this 8% lives two thirds of the Jews. Here is the heaviest Jewish concentration. Most Jews still live in the same old neighbourhood of 1948.

Area B has a mixed population. Its area, which is 6% of Israel, is just less than the land of Palestinians who remained in Israel. A further 10% of the Jews live there. Thus, in a nutshell, 78% of the Jews live in 14% of Israel.

That leaves Area C, which is 86% of Israel. This is largely the land and the home of the Palestinian refugees. Who lives there today? Apart from the remaining Palestinians, the majority of the Jews who now live there live in a few towns (shown circles according to size).

860,000 urban Jews live in either originally Palestinian towns or newly established towns. The average size of a new town in Area C is comparable to the size of a refugee camp. In fact, Jabaliya camp in Gaza is larger than two new towns in north C and larger than three new towns in south C. If Jabaliya camp were a town in Israel, its rank in terms of size would be in the top 8% of Israeli urban centers.

Who then controls the vast Palestinian land in area C? Only 200,000 rural Jews exploit the land and heritage of over 5 million refugees packed in refugee camps and denied the right to return. Those who derive their livelihood from agriculture are only 8,600 Kibbutzniks, assisted by 22,600 Jewish employed workers and 24,300 foreign workers from Thailand.

The refugees in Gaza are crammed at a density of 4,200 persons per sq. km. If you were one of those refugees, and you look across the barbed wire to your land in Israel, and you see it almost empty, at 5 persons/sq. km, (almost one thousand times less density than Gaza!) what would you feel? Peaceful? Content??

This striking contrast is the root of all the suffering. It can only be eliminated with the return of the refugees. This minority of rural Jews, holding 5 million refugees hostage, is obstructing all prospects of a just peace.

What do those rural Jews do? We are told they cultivate the (Palestinian) land and produce wonderful agriculture. We are not told that three quarters of the Kibbutz are economically bankrupt and that only 26% of them produce most of the agriculture. We are not told that the Kibbutz is ideologically bankrupt; there is constant desertion, and very few new recruits. Irrigation takes up about 60-80% of the water in Israel, 2/3 of it is stolen Arab water. Agriculture in the southern district alone uses 500 million cubic meters of water per year. This is equal to the entire water resources of the West Bank now confiscated by Israel. This is equal to the entire resources of upper Jordan including lake Tiberias for which Israel is obstructing peace with Syria. Total irrigation water, a very likely cause of war, produces agricultural products worth only 1.8% of Israel's GDP. Such waste, such extravagance, such disregard for the suffering of the refugees, and such denial of their rights is exercised by this small minority of Kibbutzniks, who could be accommodated in only three of the 60 refugee camps scattered in the Middle East. When the refugees return to their land, they can pursue their agricultural pursuits, and no doubt this will take up the slack in GDP. More importantly, peace will be a real possibility.

Let us consider two scenarios, which if applied are likely to diffuse much of the tension in the Middle East. Let us imagine that the registered refugees in Lebanon (362,000) are allowed to return to their homes in Galilee. Even today, Galilee is still largely Arab. Palestinians there outnumber the Jews one and a half times. If the Lebanon refugees return to their homes in Galilee, the Jewish concentration in Area A will hardly feel the difference, and the Jews will remain a majority in all areas, even when they are least in number, like area C. To illustrate this, we plotted all existing built-up areas today and shown the location of the depopulated villages. You can see clearly there is not the slightest interference, which shows that original villages can be rebuilt on the same spot. (I shall talk later about the middle portion of the slide).

Furthermore, if the 760,000 registered refugees in Gaza are allowed to return to their homes in the south, now largely empty, they can return to their same original villages, while the percentage of the Jewish majority in the centre (area A) will drop by only 6%. The number of these rural Jews who may be affected by the return of Gaza refugees to their homes in the south does not exceed 78,000 or the size of a single refugee camp. This is a glaring example of the miscarriage of justice

One of the manifestations of such injustice is that the Russian immigrants are freely admitted to live on Palestinian land simply because they claim to be Jews. The striking fact is that their number is almost the same as that of Lebanon and Gaza refugees combined. Those refugees are denied the right to return while those Russian immigrants are taking their place, their homes, and their land.

So much for the claim of the physical "impossibility" of the return. The vacancy of Palestinian land is so problematic to Israel that it is trying to find people to live on this land. None other than Sharon and Eitan, both hardcore Zionists, started a scheme in 1997 to sell the refugees land to builders to build apartments so that an American or Australian Jew can buy an apartment without being an Israeli. Kibbutz farmers who rented this land from the Custodian of Absentee (i.e. refugee) Property received a "compensation" up to 25% of its sale value. This made the bankrupt farmers rich overnight. City dwellers who did not share this wealth went into uproar and the Ronen Committee was formed to submit a moderating proposal to limit this sudden wealth. There is now a debate in the Knesset about it.

This illegal activity, selling a land in custody, prompted the UN to issue resolutions affirming the entitlement of the refugees to receive any income of their property for the last 50 years and calling on all states to present all documents and information they may have on the refugees' property. In September 1998 and again in 2000, the Arab League passed a resolution to call on the UN to send a fact-finding mission to report on the status of the refugees' land and appoint a Custodian to protect their property. But, to date, lands continue to be sold without international intervention.

Now it is often said that Israel opposes the return of the refugees on the basis that this will

change the Jewish character of the state. What do they mean by the phrase “Jewish Character”? Do they mean legal, social, demographic or religious character? Let us examine these one by one.

First, what is the legal meaning of the Jewish Character? In the words of a noted Jurist, (Mallison): “The Jewish character is really a euphemism for the Zionist discriminatory statutes of the State of Israel which violate the human rights provisions… The UN is under no more of legal obligation to maintain Zionism in Israel than it is to maintain apartheid in the Republic of South Africa.” Not only this is immoral, it is also illegal under the enlightened Human Rights law and is abhorrent to the civilized world. In March 2000, the reports of Treaty-Based Committees, such as Human Rights Committee, Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and Committee against Torture, have all condemned Israeli practices and characterized, for the first time so clearly, the exclusive structure of the Israeli law as the root cause of all those violations of international law. How, then, can the international community accept the premise of a “Jewish character” as a basis for the denial of the right to return home?

If they mean a social Jewish character, this idea is clearly a misnomer. Would anyone believe there is much in common between a Brooklyn Jew and an Ethiopian Jew? Or between a Russian claiming to be a Jew and a Moroccan Jew? We know that the gulf between the Ashkenazi and the Haredim can never be bridged. The Sephardim (Mizrahim) are allocated the lower rings of the social ladder. Jerusalem and Tel Aviv are being polarised on sectarian lines. Israel has long given up on the idea of a melting pot.

There are 32 languages spoken in Israel. Prof. Etzioni Halevi of Bar Ibn University and a specialist on the Jewish national identity says, “we are not a single people, language is different, attire is different, behaviour and attitude are different, even the sense of identity is different.”

If you take into account the Palestinians and non-Jewish Russians (42% of them), you get 30% non-Jews in Israel and 70% Jews. How can you call this a homogeneous society?

If they mean by the Jewish Character the numerical superiority of Jews, they have to think again. The Palestinians who remained in their homes now represent 26% of all Jews. They are everywhere. In area A (the highest concentration of the Jews), they are 11% of the Jews. In the mixed area B, they are 21% of the Jews. In area C they are 70% of Jews on average, but they are double the number of Jews in the Little Triangle and 1.5 times the number of the Jews in Galilee. How could Israel ignore their presence? Will Israel plan another massive ethnic cleansing operation? Very unlikely. If attempted, there will be a sea of blood. They are there to stay, and increase. In the year 2010, Palestinians in Israel will be 35% of Jews and they will be equal to the number of Jews in 2050 or much earlier when immigration dries up. So what is the value of chasing an elusive target while innocent people wait in the refugee camps?

In Palestine today, (Israel, West Bank and Gaza) – – Palestinians are already 47% of the whole population. They will be equal in number to Jews in 4 years time.

The Israeli notion of numerical superiority is therefore impractical and shortsighted. So is the notion of exclusive and homogeneous Jewish society. Neither has any chance of success. On the contrary, maintaining those racist policies will alienate most of the world (as it does today) and will accumulate a great deal of anger that may explode one day with disastrous results.

If they mean the religious Jewish character, who says this is in danger? For one thousand years, the Jews did not find a haven anywhere for their religious practice better than the Arab world.

One must conclude that the cliché “Jewish character” is meant to justify keeping the land and expelling its people.

[The refugees are not only those in the camps and in exile. There are other refugees, citizens of the State of Israel, still not allowed to return home. The Palestinians who remained in their homes, after

the Israeli invasion of 1948, were locked up as virtual prisoners of war under Martial laws for 18 years until 1966. The military governor has the power to detain any body, and prohibit the population from travelling anywhere. No exit or entry to villages was allowed.

We know that all expelled refugees were declared “Absent”, their land and property were confiscated by the Custodian of Absentee property which turned it over to the Development Authority, which in turn put it under the management of Israel Land Administration (ILA). ILA today controls 92.6% of Israel’s area that is essentially Palestinian property.

But those who remained, and did not happen to be in a particular place on a particular day, were also registered as Absent and their land was confiscated. Their number now is 250,000. They are internal refugees, although they are Israeli citizens. They are dubbed ‘Present Absentees’, an oxymoron in itself, and a term clearly describing the fallacy of Israeli legal formulation.

Israel created a web of fictitious legal formulation to confiscate Palestinian property. It would confiscate land for public interest, public security, absorption of immigrants or any contrived purpose. Land was confiscated under the pretext that it is “uncultivated”; it is uncultivated because the owner is expelled and not allowed to return. If the owner is there and cultivates his land, the area is declared “closed” by military order and no one is allowed to enter. After 3 years the land is then declared “uncultivated”, and subsequently confiscated.

The confiscated land is restricted to the benefit of Jews only. Laws prohibit the use, lease, and mere presence, of non-Jews on this land. This is the institutional racism, repeatedly condemned by human rights groups.

With population growth and scarcity of land, Israeli Palestinians had to build new houses on their land, which develop into villages. These villages are not shown on Israeli maps, not provided with utilities, health or education services, not even connected to roads. These are so called “unrecognized villages”. There are over 40 such villages in the north.

In the southern district of Beer Sheba, the situation is much worse. Half of the population of 130,000 in Beer Sheba live in 45 unrecognized villages. Their property rights are completely denied. They are plagued by a fascist military force called Green Patrol. This Patrol evicts people from their land, shoots flocks and dogs, pulls down houses, ploughs over crops, uproots fruit and olive trees, sprays crops with toxic material and demolishes dams.

The most cruel of the racist Israeli policies are practised in Beer Sheba. Despite overwhelming evidence of brutality, charges against Green Patrol have been dismissed.]

Where does all this lead us? There is no question that the Israeli racist practices, denial of human rights, contempt for international law is the root of all evil and should not be allowed to continue. At the moment, Israel is shielded from punishment and censure by its military force and political protection, both provided blindly by the US Congress and Administration, to the detriment of the US own interests.

Against this massive power stands the determined struggle of the civil population of Palestine. Now, they are supported by an astonishingly huge world-wide constituency. Demonstrations were held across the world to express outrage and condemnation of Israel.

There are hundreds of societies and NGOs, which condemned this injustice and oppression. Many of these societies have made inroads into their parliaments. All these efforts are directed towards implementing international law and human rights.

Israel and the US are isolated in this huge arena of the world public opinion and in the United Nations.

How long can this go on?

The US policy in the Middle East has two pillars: the first is to secure oil supplies and the second is the unquestioning support of Israel.

In 1930, the Arabs favoured the US by giving them oil concessions in preference to Britain and France, whose colonial past did not make them acceptable partners. The US appeared to be a “clean” country, honest and diligent.

That is until the creation of Israel in 1948 and the unashamedly expedient political policies of Truman, who preferred his own electoral interest to his country’s.

Eisenhower and Kennedy restored the balance. It was reversed again by Johnson and successors. Since then, the US administration supplied Israel with a huge arsenal of weapons, $135 billion of taxpayers money, more than the aid granted to Sub-Saharan Africa, all of Latin America, all of the Caribbean combined. This is in addition to unqualified and singularly-biased political support.

The anger and outrage felt by the Arabs towards the US support of Israel’s occupation of Arab lands seriously damaged US-Arab relations and in some occasions threatened the oil supply. Thus, Israel demolished the good will which has been the character of the Arab-American relationship since the beginning of the last century.

So far, the US has succeeded in maintaining two opposite policies: hurting the Arab interests and getting their oil.

This obviously cannot go on. It is clear from the swell of indignation in the Arab world that their rulers must now follow a policy of reciprocal action. Good relations could prevail only if respect for national interests is reciprocated, not to speak of respect for international law.

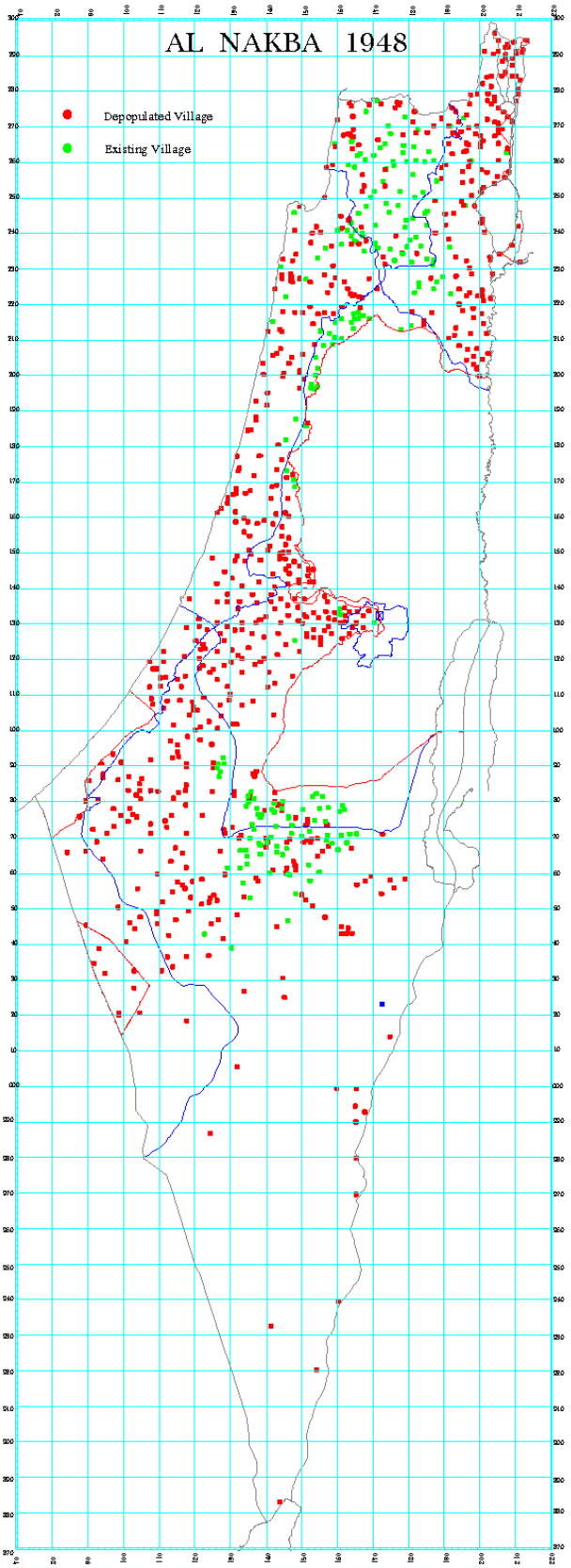
Israel pursues a policy of unattainable objectives. Its dream of numerical superiority is short-lived. Its practice of apartheid and racism is doomed. Its denial of human rights will not remain uncensured. Finally its total dependence on its military right, and on US singular obedience to its every whim, is the epitome of short-sightedness.

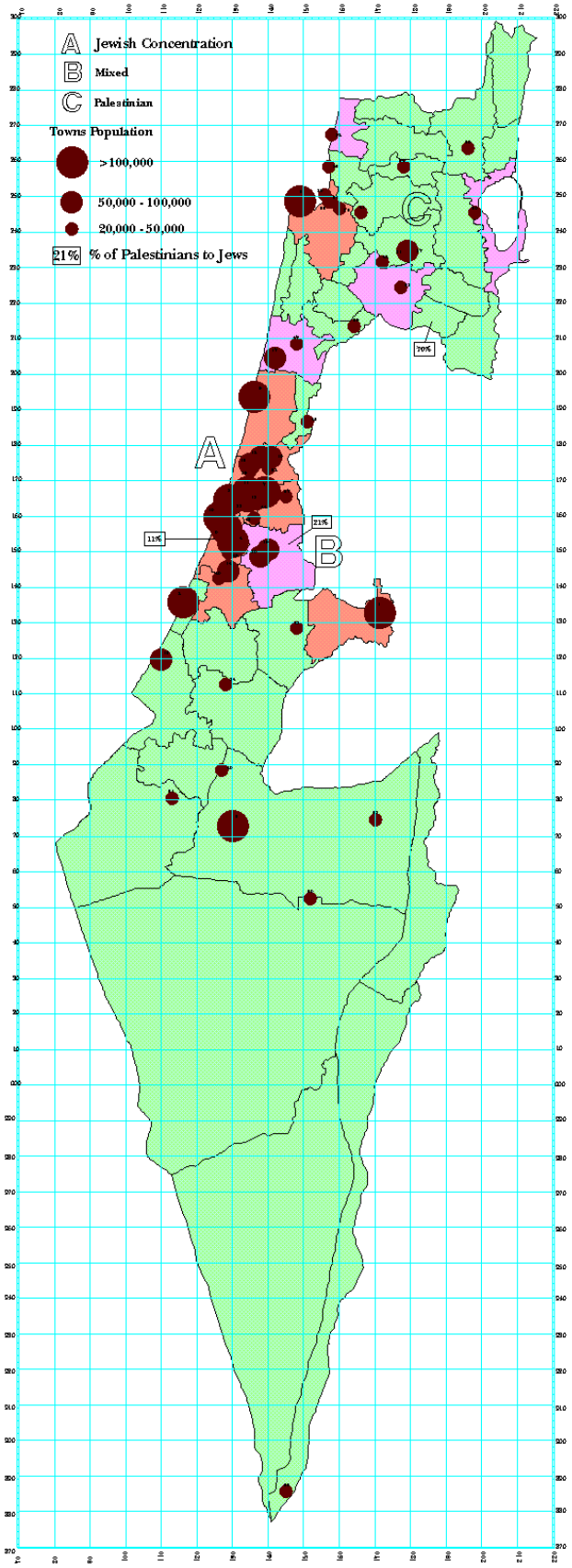
If Israel is to survive where it has been planted, it should uphold the common principles by which neighbours live: each on the territory he owns, not on the territory he occupies by force. Rights of each party must be respected.

As for the Palestinians, they have endured their own holocaust (Nakba) of 1948, suffered wars, occupation and oppression. But they still exist; they survived. There is no way they could disappear however Israel wishes them to do so.

The example of Intifada 2000 shows that the Palestinians cannot simply continue to look across the barbed wire and see their homes occupied by Russians and Ethiopians while they rot in refugee camps. They must return home. This is in the Israelis’ best interest in the long run. This is in the long-term interest of the US. This is in the interest of peace and stability in the Middle East. This is what the whole world has affirmed year after year since 1948.

The Palestinians are determined to win their freedom and recover their basic rights. Justice will no doubt prevail. The question is: how many boys, like Durra, will die before this happens.


AL NAKBA 1948
Depopulated Village
Existing Village


A Jewish Concentration
B Mixed
C Palestinian
Towns Population
>100,000
50,000 - 100,000
20,000 - 50,000
21% % of Palestinians to Jews
A
B
C
11%
21%
70%

Reflections on Zionism From a Dissident Jew

by Tim Wise

So it's official. The U.S. has withdrawn from the World Conference on Racism, being held in Durban, South Africa. And though the cynical and historically observant might suspect that this decision was merely in keeping with our long standing unwillingness to deal with the legacy of racism on a global scale, the official reason is more circumscribed. Namely, the mid-conference pullout was intended to register displeasure at various delegates who are pushing resolutions condemning Israeli treatment of Palestinians, and Zionism itself: the ideology of Jewish nationalism that led to the founding of Israel in 1948. As the conference speeds towards a no doubt controversial conclusion, perhaps it would be worthwhile to ask just what all the fuss is about?

Although one can argue with the claim made by some that Zionism and racism are synonymous -- especially given the amorphous definition of "race" which makes such a position forever and always a matter of semantics -- it is difficult to deny that Zionism, in practice if not theory, amounts to ethnic chauvinism, colonial ethnocentrism, and national oppression.

For saying this, I can expect to be called everything but a child of God by many in the Jewish community. "Self-hating" will be the term of choice for most, I suspect: the typical Pavlovian response to one who is Jewish, as I am, and yet dares to criticize Israel or the ideology underlying its national existence.

"Anti-Semite" will be the other label offered me, despite the fact that Zionism has led to the oppression of Semitic peoples -- namely the mostly Semitic Palestinians -- and is also rooted in a deep antipathy even for Jews. Though Zionism proclaims itself a movement of a strong and proud people, in fact it is an ideology that has been brimming with self-hatred from the beginning. Indeed, early Zionists believed, as a key premise of the movement, that Jews were responsible for the oppression we had faced over the years, and that such oppression was inevitable and impossible to overcome, thus, the need for our own country.

Having never read the words of Theodore Herzl -- the founder of modern Zionism -- or other Zionist leaders, most will find this claim hard to believe. But before attacking me, perhaps they should ask who it was that said anti-Semitism, "is an understandable reaction to Jewish defects," or that, "each country can only absorb a limited number of Jews, if she doesn't want disorders in her stomach. Germany has already too many Jews."

While one might be inclined to attribute either or both statements to Adolph Hitler, as they are surely worthy of his venomous pen, they are actually comments made by Herzl and Chaim Weizmann, eventual president of Israel, and -- at the time he made the second statement -- head of the World Zionist Organization. So in the pantheon of self-hating Jews, it appears criticism, for Zionists, should perhaps begin at home.

Going back to my days in Hebrew school, I never understood the dialysis-machine-like bond that most of my peers felt for Israel. On the one hand, we were told God had given that land to our people, as part of His covenant with Abraham. This we knew because Scripture told us so. But this never carried much weight with me. After all, many Christians -- with whom I had more than a passing acquaintance growing up in the South -- were all-too-willing to point out that the Scriptures also said (in their opinions) that I was going to hell, Abraham notwithstanding.

As such, accepting Zionism because of what God did or didn't say seemed dicey from the get-go. What's more, this was the same God who ostensibly told the ancient Hebrews never to wear clothes woven with two different fabrics, and who insisted we burn the entrails of animals we consume on an alter to create a pleasing smell. Having been known to sport a wrinkle-free poly-cotton blend, and having not the fortitude to disembowel my supper and incinerate its lower intestines, I had long since resolved to

withhold judgment on what God did and didn't want, until such time as the Almighty decided to whisper said desires in my ear personally. The Rabbi's word wasn't going to cut it.

On the other hand, we were told we needed a homeland so as to prevent another Holocaust. Only a strong, independent Jewish state could provide the kind of unity and protection required of a people who had suffered so much, and had lost six million souls to the Nazi terror.

Yet this too seemed suspect to me. After all, one could argue that getting all the Jews together in one place -- especially a piece of real estate as small as Palestine -- would be a Jew-hater's dream come true. It would make finishing the job Hitler started that much easier. Better, it seemed then and still does, to have vibrant Jewish communities throughout the world, than to put all our dreidels in one basket, by pulling up stakes and heading to a place where others already lived, hoping they wouldn't mind too terribly if we kicked them out of their homes.

In the final analysis, accepting Israel as a Jewish state for Biblical reasons made no more sense to me than to accept a self-identified Christian or Islamic nation: two configurations that understandably raise fears of theocracy in the heart of any Jew. And to in-gather the Jews to Israel for the sake of safety made no sense whatsoever. The only logic to Zionism then, seemed to be the "logic" of raw power: that of the settler, or colonizer. We wanted the land, and getting it would provide an ally for European and American foreign and economic policy. So with pressure applied and force unleashed, it became ours.

Nearly 800,000 Palestinians would be displaced so as to allow for the creation of Israel: around 600,000 of whom, according to internal documents of the Israeli Defense Force, were expelled forcibly from their homes. At the time, these Palestinians, most of whose families had been living on the land for centuries, constituted two-thirds of the population and owned 90% of the land. Though some Zionists claim Palestine was a largely uninhabited wilderness prior to Jewish arrival, early settlers were far more honest. As Ahad Ha'am acknowledged in 1891:

"We...are used to believing that Israel is almost totally desolate. But...this is not the case. Throughout the country it is difficult to find fields that are not sowed."

Indeed, the large presence of Palestinians led many Zionists to openly advocate their removal. The head of the Jewish Agency's colonization department stated: "there is no room for both peoples together in this country. There is no other way than to transfer the Arabs from here to neighboring countries, to transfer all of them: not one village, not one tribe, should be left."

Herzl himself conceded that Zionism was "something colonial," indicating again that we were not discovering or founding anything. We were taking it, and for reasons we would never accept from others. As Shimon Peres -- seen as one of the most peace-loving Israeli leaders in memory -- said in 1985: "The Bible is the decisive document in determining the fate of our land." Such is the stuff of fanaticism, and we would say as much were a fundamentalist Christian to make the same statement about the fate of the U.S., or anywhere else for that matter.

That most Jews have never examined the founding principles of this ideology to which they cleave is unfortunate. For if they were to do so, they might be shocked at how anti-Jewish Zionism really is. Time and again, Zionists have even collaborated with open Jew-haters for the sake of political power.

Consider Herzl: a man who believed Jews were to blame for anti-Semitism, and thus, only by fleeing for Palestine could we be safe. In The Jewish State, he wrote:

"Every nation in whose midst Jews live is, either covertly or openly, anti-Semitic...its immediate cause is our excessive production of mediocre intellects, who cannot find an outlet downwards or upwards. When we sink, we become a revolutionary proletariat. When we rise, there also rises our terrible power of the purse."

He went on to say, "The Jews are carrying the seeds of anti-Semitism into England; they have already introduced it into America." Were a non-Jew to suggest that Jews were to blame for anti-Semitism, our community would be rightly outraged. But the same words from the father of Zionism pass without comment.

Worse still, early in Hitler's reign the Zionist Federation of Germany wrote the new Chancellor, noting their willingness to "adapt our community to these new structures" (namely, the Nuremberg Laws that limited Jewish freedom), as they "give the Jewish minority...its own cultural life, its own national life."

Far from resisting Nazi genocide, some Zionists collaborated with it. When the British devised a plan to allow thousands of German Jewish children to enter the U.K. and be saved from the Holocaust, David Ben-Gurion, who would become Israel's first Prime Minister balked, explaining:

"If I knew that it would be possible to save all the children in Germany by bringing them over to England, and only half of them by transporting them to (Israel) then I would opt for the second alternative."

Later, Israeli Zionists would again make alliances with anti-Jewish extremists. In the 1970's, Israel hosted South African Prime Minister John Vorster, and cultivated economic and military ties with the apartheid state, even though Vorster had been locked up as a Nazi collaborator during World War II. And Israel supplied military aid to the Galtieri regime in Argentina, even while the Generals were known to harbor ex-Nazis in the country, and had targeted Argentine Jews for torture and death.

Indeed, the argument that Zionism is racism finds some support in statements of Zionists themselves, many of whom have long concurred with the Hitlerian doctrine that Judaism is a racial identity as much as a religious and cultural one. In 1934, German Zionist Joachim Prinz, who would later head the American Jewish Congress, noted:

"We want assimilation to be replaced by a new law: the declaration of belonging to the Jewish nation and Jewish race. A state built upon the principle of the purity of nation and race can only be honored and respected by a Jew who declares his belonging to his own kind."

Years later, David Ben-Gurion acknowledged that Israeli leader Menachem Begin could be branded racist, but that doing so would require one to "put on trial the entire Zionist movement, which is founded on the principle of a purely Jewish entity in Palestine."

Laws granting special privileges to Jewish immigrants from anywhere in the world, over Palestinians whose families had been on the land for generations, and measures that set aside most land for exclusive Jewish ownership and use, are but two examples of discriminatory legislation underlying the Zionist experiment. As the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination makes clear, racial discrimination is:

"any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, color, descent, or national and ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life."

Given this internationally recognized definition, we ought not be surprised that at a World Conference on Racism, some might suggest that the policies of our people in the land of Palestine had earned a place on the agenda. As such, we should take this opportunity to begin an honest dialogue, not only with Palestinians, but also with ourselves. Neither the chauvinism so integral to Zionism, nor the ironic self-hatred that has gone along with it are becoming of a strong and vital people. Just as a dialysis machine is no substitute for a healthy and functioning kidney, neither is Zionism an adequate substitute for a healthy and vibrant Judaism. Surely it is not for this ignoble end, that six million died.

III. Theory and Practice of Nonviolence and Nonviolent Direct Action

History of Mass Nonviolent Action

(Source: http://www.actupny.org/documents/CDdocuments/HistoryNV.html)

The use of nonviolence runs throughout history. There have been numerous instances of people courageously and nonviolently refusing cooperation with injustice. However, the fusion of organized mass struggle and nonviolence is relatively new. It originated largely with Mohandas Gandhi in 1906 at the onset of the South African campaign for Indian rights. Later, the Indian struggle for complete independence from the British Empire included a number of spectacular nonviolent campaigns. Perhaps the most notable was the year-long Salt campaign in which 100,000 Indians were jailed for deliberately violating the Salt Laws.

The refusal to counter the violence of the repressive social system with more violence is a tactic that has also been used by other movements. The militant campaign for women's suffrage in Britain included a variety of nonviolent tactics such as boycotts, noncooperation, limited property destruction, civil disobedience, mass marches and demonstrations, filling the jails, and disruption of public ceremonies.

The Salvadoran people have used nonviolence as one powerful and necessary element of their struggle. Particularly during the 1960s and 70s, Christian based communities, labor unions, campesino organizations, and student groups held occupations and sit-ins at universities, government offices, and places of work such as factories and haciendas.

There is rich tradition of nonviolent protest in this country as well, including Harriet Tubman's underground railroad during the civil war and Henry David Thoreau's refusal to pay war taxes. Nonviolent civil disobedience was a critical factor in gaining women the right to vote in the United States, as well.

The U.S. labor movement has also used nonviolence with striking effectiveness in a number of instances, such as the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) free speech confrontations, the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) sitdown strikes from 1935-1937 in auto plants, and the UFW grape and lettuce boycotts.

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

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

Since the mid-70s, we have seen increasing nonviolent activity against the nuclear arms race and nuclear power industry. Nonviolent civil disobedience actions have taken place at dozens of nuclear weapons research installations, storage areas, missile silos, test sites, military bases, corporate and government offices and nuclear power plants. In the late 1970s mass civil disobedience actions took place at nuclear power plants from Seabrook, New Hampshire to the Diablo Canyon reactor in California and most states in between in this country and in other countries around the world. In 1982, 1750 people were arrested at the U.N. missions of the five major nuclear powers. Mass actions took place at the Livermore Laboratories in California and SAC bases in the midwest. In the late 80s a series of actions took place at the Nevada test site. International disarmament actions changed world opinion about nuclear weapons.

In 1980 women who were concerned with the destruction of the Earth and who were interested in exploring the connections between feminism and nonviolence were coming together. In November of 1980 and 1981 the Women's Pentagon Actions, where hundreds of women came together to challenge patriarchy and militarism, took place. A movement grew that found ways to use direct action to put pressure on the military establishment and to show positive examples of life-affirming ways to live together. This movement spawned women's peace camps at military bases around the world from Greenham Common, England to Puget Sound Peace Camp in Washington state, with camps in Japan and Italy among others.

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

We also saw civil disobedience being incorporated as a key tactic in the movement against intervention in Central America. Beginning in 1983, national actions at the White House and State Department as well as local actions began to spread. In November 1984, the Pledge of Resistance was formed. Since then, over 5,000 people have been arrested at military installations, congressional offices, federal buildings, and CIA offices. Many people have also broken the law by providing sanctuary for Central American refugees and through the Lenten Witness, major denomination representatives have participated in weekly nonviolent civil disobedience actions at the Capitol.

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

Nonviolent direct action has been an integral part of the renewed activism in the lesbian and gay community since 1987, when ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power) was formed. ACT UP and other groups have organized hundreds of civil disobedience actions across the country, focusing not only on AIDS but on the increasing climate of homophobia and attacks on lesbians and gay men. On October 13, 1987, the Supreme Court was the site of the first national lesbian and gay civil disobedience action, where nearly 600 people were arrested protesting the decision in Hardwick vs. Bowers, which upheld sodomy laws. This was the largest mass arrest in D.C. since 1971.

Political Analysis

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

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

It is essential that we separate the individual from the role she/he plays. The "enemy" is the system that casts people in oppressive roles.

Nonviolence in the Middle East: A Talk with Mubarak Awad

Source: http://www.peacemagazine.org/0010/awad.htm

Mubarak Awad is a Palestinian Christian psychologist who organized a nonviolent resistance movement against the occupation of Palestinian lands at the end of the 1980s. Israel expelled him to the United States, where his organization is known as Nonviolence International. Meir Amor, an Israeli peace activist living in Canada, interviewed him.

MEIR AMOR: Why did you become a leader in the nonviolent Palestinian struggle?

MUBARAK AWAD: Palestinians had hardly any understanding of nonviolence. Gandhi had not been given a lot of attention in the Muslim world because he was against the creation of Pakistan, an Islamic state. So in the Arab mind nonviolence is just surrendering to the one who has more power.

Before I was expelled from Israel, my first initiative with Palestinians was to try to develop an educational program of nonviolence in Islam. I went to India to find a Muslim who worked with Gandhi: Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who brought his village of Pathans into a struggle, forming a nonviolent army to help Gandhi. I wrote a book about him and met with religious leaders in Palestine, Israel, and Egypt. I found interested Muslims -- most of them Sufis. In Islam, the Sufis are like Quakers in Christianity. In some places they are regarded as heretics. They pray, they dance, they act as if they have oneness with God. In Islam you cannot do that, so the Sunnis and Shiites don't accept them as real Muslims. They are the ones who started writing about Islam and nonviolence.

MEIR AMOR: How do Sufis argue against the notion of Islam as a religion based on Jihad -- Holy War?

AWAD: They interpret Jihad as the evil inside oneself that a person has to fight against.

They say not to harm a tree, an animal, or a person. It's a lovely notion, similar to the Quaker concept that there's a part of God in every person, so you must not hurt a person because you'd hurt God.

Anyway, in Jerusalem I started the Palestinian Centre for the Study of Nonviolence. I didn't work with Israelis then, but with Palestinians. I went to schools, cities, clubs -- to anyone who would hear me, telling them that we could get rid of this occupation through nonviolent means. Nonviolence is a matter of not accepting the authority of those who occupy you --not paying taxes to those who occupy you. Not buying or selling anything to those who occupy you. Making life miserable for them by not accepting their existence, even by turning your face, to seem not to know they are around. It was tough for Palestinians not to look somebody in the face, not to argue with them, not to fight them. I went to political meetings and gave a training for the PLO people in Tunis about how nonviolence can work. They thought I was crazy.

AMOR: Take an average Palestinian person in an occupied village. The Israelis' bulldozers demolish his house. What would you say to him? To ignore Israeli presence?

AWAD: I had very specific strategy of 10 or 15 pages on how to get rid of the occupation. It was published in one of the Palestinian magazines. I thought of 120 ways in which the Palestinians could use nonviolent struggle against the Israelis. An old man came to me whose land the Israelis had taken. He wanted it back.

So I told him to get 300 or 400 people from his village -- children, young people, old people -- anybody who wanted to come. The settlers had put a fence around the land. We could take the fence down and just sit there and if the Israeli military wanted to kill us, let them kill us. I told him, on one condition: Not a single person should throw a stone. If we are all going to be massacred, let it be. And we did that; we took the land back from the settlers. That created an echo with a lot of Palestinians, who started coming to me

at the Centre instead of the PLO. After a while we connected with some Israelis and Christians who joined with us.

AMOR: So some of the people who were previously defined as enemies become an important component of the nonviolent peace struggle?

AWAD: Yes, and we started bringing Palestinian and Israeli professors together to talk. In the beginning it was very secretive. Next we brought together artists. The most success we had was in bringing Palestinian and Israeli women together to talk. They talked about how they did not want to allow their children to be killed. One of the main objectives was to teach Palestinians not to be afraid of Israelis. Taking fear away from people and replacing it with courage is the essence of nonviolence.

AMOR: How would you use that formula in respect of the right of return. What would you say to those who say, "We would like to go back to our home in Israel"?

AWAD: Destroy all the refugee camps. Just burn them. When you are hundreds of thousands of refugees there is no place to go but home. But they wouldn't do it because that was very scary.

AMOR: That's what Gandhi did in India with the salt march! Let's destroy the refugee camps and start walking to our previous homes. Is that what you proposed?

AWAD: Yes, but they wouldn't do it. It would have taken the initiative from the PLO. This is part of our problem. One other suggestion upset the Israelis a lot: I said that in the occupied territories we would decide to drive on the left side of the road. The Israelis said, "You are creating chaos, you are going to kill us all." I said, "This is our land. We decide what we will do." I got about 6,000 people who were willing to do it. A lot of Palestinians started feeling the strength of nonviolence. There is a law that where there are fruit trees planted, they cannot take that land for a settlement. So we started going at night and planting olive trees. It became important to us to understand the rules that we have to function under. I was the first person to go to the Israeli police and ask a permit to demonstrate. And the police were very happy. They said, "My gosh, you want a permit to demonstrate?" I said, "Yes. We will demonstrate in front of the Damascus gate against the occupation." I was with only two people. The Palestinians who looked at me were so scared. I had more police protecting me than there were Palestinians demonstrating.

AMOR: For the past seven years, since the Oslo agreement, we have had a kind of peace process. Let's say the Palestinians try to come back to Israel. What kind of country would they have?

AWAD: For the future of that area we should not have a Palestinian state. I could call the whole of Israel "Palestine" and an Israeli could call the whole of Israel and Palestine "Israel," and we could live together, accepting each other. This is my dream. That will come after 50 or 60 years. Israel has to accept that it is part of the Middle East, and divorce itself from being European. They have to be accepted by the Arabs and Palestinians as a minority in the Middle East, much as the Christians are a minority in the Middle East. It is nice to be European but they are not. The older generations of Europeans are dying. Now the young people are Middle Eastern. We have to think that any Israeli has a right to own a home in Damascus and, if he wants, in Baghdad.

AMOR: So you are speaking about a unified Middle East?

AWAD: Yes. We have to compete with the United States, with Europe, with China, in education, science, and commerce. We have to be together to compete and build an acceptable standard of living.

AMOR: Can Islam, Judaism, and Christianity together develop a nonviolent approach to politics?

AWAD: I don't think so. Jews who are religious go to the right. Muslims who are religious go to the extreme right, and Christians who are religious also go to the extreme right. That is our problem. When you have people who receive instructions from God they cannot function in a peaceful way. But a miracle

happened in South Africa. We have to learn from them the concept of reconciliation, the admission that, "Yes, we did you wrong and we are sorry."That is a tough thing for the Israelis to say to the Palestinians. "We are settlers on your land. Thank you and we appreciate that you let us use your land." Recently I was in a conference in Australia. And the minister said, "We recognize that this land belongs to this tribe of native Australians and that we are using their land." That's all. I am not interested in taking Tel Aviv or kicking Israelis out. Just say that you are sorry. Say, "I did you wrong." I'm happy with that.

AMOR: Is the formula for reconciliation the right of return to the places from which people had been kicked out?

AWAD: We built houses for some people so they wouldn't be refugees anymore. Then they decided to go back to the refugee camp because they are at ease in that community. If tomorrow you tell the refugees that they can go back to their original places, no more than ten percent would leave their community to go change their lives. There is a fear that everyone would go back, but that is not realistic.

AMOR: Surveys have been done lately. I don't know how accurate and reliable they are, but they report that most Palestinians in refugee camps would accept only one solution -- full return, even if it means they would have to become Israeli citizens. They would not stay in Syria and Jordan, but would go back.

AWAD: You have to distinguish between emotions and reality. If anybody tells you he will go to Palestine, let him go for a visit. If there is a Jewish community there, he will not want to be in it. We don't have the mentality of the settlers going into Hebron. If Palestinians don't have a community they cannot exist. I did a lot of work with refugee youths in the camps when I was in Jerusalem. One situation created a big problem. I gave them roses to go and place at their families' original homes. About 60 percent did not know where the house of their father or their grandfather was in Israel. So emotionally everybody will tell you, Oh I want to go there, but physically that would not work. Palestinians were mostly farmers. For the past fifty years they have not been farmers. Do they want to go back and be farmers? There is no community in Israeli society for them to go and live in.

AMOR: How would you address the centrality of Jerusalem to Israelis and Palestinians?

AWAD: The old city of Jerusalem should not be ruled either by Palestinians or Israelis. We should have a committee of Christians, Muslims, and Jews, with rotating leadership to take care of religious matters. I think that Arafat is ready to deal with Jerusalem. For politicians to interfere inside the city of Jerusalem doesn't work. I am not saying that it should be a capital of Israel or a capital of Palestine. But the old city of Jerusalem, I am against having it under international rule because the Palestinians don't trust the UN and the Israelis never did trust the UN. So it would be good cooperation if we could have a committee of religious groups, just to be responsible for the religious aspect of it. Sewage, water, and security matters would be handled by Palestinians and Israelis.

AMOR: Deep in your heart do you believe this conflict is resolvable?

AWAD: Yes, I think the Arabs and Palestinians have to recognize that the Israelis and the Jews have the right to stay there. Neither Israelis or Palestinians can feel superior. No one can say that he is a dirty Jew or he is a dirty Arab. That has to disappear. We can do that. We have to eliminate most of the traditional feelings -- that God gave me this land, or that God is telling me to do this, or that this is all mine. The traditional people are dying out and we have a new generation. Ten or fifteen years ago nobody said that the Israelis could recognize the PLO. We have it. And now we have to take ourselves to the higher ground -- to open borders on both sides, and give people the freedom to choose. I am hopeful.

Mubarak Awad lives in Washington, D.C. at present.

Effective Nonviolent Action

by Randy Schutt

Source: http://www.vernalproject.org/Papers/Effective-112W.pdf

Sometimes nonviolent action (NVA) is used very powerfully, but sometimes without much effect. Many of our demonstrations are planned with goals that are either unreachable (such as disrupting the activities of the authorities enough to force them to change) or too limited (mere symbolic gesturing). The theory of nonviolent action developed over the last century tells us that NVA is most effective when we use it to undermine the support which allows the status quo to continue. Without that support the current system cannot function and it must change.

Poor Goals for NVA

(1) The goal of NVA should not be simply to *physically disrupt business as usual*. Those with the desire and stamina to resist are almost always a very small number of people, poor and unarmed. The established order can hire thousands of people to fix whatever we might destroy, speed-up whatever we might hinder, or destroy whatever we might create. They can call on the police and military to prevent whatever actions we might take. These military forces have an incredible array of firepower and equipment for reconnaissance and communication. In any kind of battle involving force, they will always win if they try. NVA is mostly effective because it dissuades them from trying. Tough posturing, on the other hand, encourages (dares) them to be adversaries and provides an excuse for violent repression. Even if we could win physically, our use of coercive, strong-arm tactics would appall most of our potential supporters and would bolster the ideology of "might makes right."

(2) The goal of NVA should also not be simply to "*get arrested*." If we wanted to get arrested, we could engage in vandalism or sloppy shoplifting. But what would be the point?

(3) The goal of NVA should also not be simply to *protest*. During some periods in history (such as the 1950s), dissent was a special event. There was almost no visible resistance, so any kind of dissent made a powerful statement. Now, fortunately, protest is part of the political scene. No matter what the issue, there is someone who will protest it — in fact, probably people protesting on all sides. Protesters are often seen as just a bothersome distraction — as long as they pose no threat they can be dismissed and ignored. Protest is useful in raising issues, but once raised, simple protest usually cannot bring about substantial change.

Effective NVA

Nonviolent action often involves protest, arrests, and disruption of business as usual, but it is most effective when an action is *carefully designed to use these tactics to undermine support for the established order*. As explained by Sharp, the status quo continues only because most people actively support it or passively consent to it (as voters, workers, consumers, taxpayers, bystanders, and so on). People support the status quo out of habit or custom, because they believe it is best, because they receive some benefits from it, or because they are afraid of sanctions. In the course of living our lives, we all support the established order to a greater or lesser extent.

Fortunately, *most people will also resist repression when they see the repression clearly and feel they can resist*. This resistance can force real changes. When enough people withdraw their passive consent and begin to actively dissent in their workplace (strikes, slowdowns, "forgetfulness"), as consumers (boycotts, selective patronage), as voters, or through direct intervention (speaking out, leafletting, rallying, blockades, occupations, and so on), then things must change. It is particularly obvious (and effective) when certain workers refuse to consent: police or military personnel refuse to follow orders, news reporters and editors report dissenting actions in a favorable light, managers and executives make new, radical decisions.

Good Goals for NVA

The most effective goal of NVA is, therefore, to *convince (by our example) more and more people not to support the established order* — to actively withdraw their consent or to refuse to passively go along. This is not, of course, an easy task, but it is also not impossible. If we can propose a superior alternative and demonstrate how it works, many people will adopt it and abandon the status quo.

Some specific goals for Nonviolent Action are:

(1) To *get a large number of people to know about and understand our analysis or alternative* — move those who are ignorant or indifferent to be actively aware.

(2) To *move some or all of these people closer to accepting our perspective* — to move those who are actively hostile to a position of being neutral, to move those who are neutral to being supportive, and to move those who are supportive to become active participants. We might design our actions specifically to reach one of these groups and move them in a particular way.

(3) To *empower people to feel that they can bring about change*; to inspire and entice them into taking resistive action and to demonstrate how to do it. It is likely that all of us have been exposed to actions that accomplished these goals — actions that encouraged *us* to become involved in nonviolent action.

How to Make NVA Effective

Effective nonviolent action should *clearly expose the current situation, how it is harmful, and how it violates principles that most people embrace*, *and then present an alternative and show why that alternative is superior*. Our actions and behavior should be such that *most people feel comfortable with it* and the *means we use must be consistent with the end results we profess*. If our alternative is attractive, then most people will want us to succeed.

Our actions should also *seriously challenge the established order and force it to respond in some way*. It works best if we can arrange the action so that *every response clearly shows the oppressive nature of the status quo*. For example, by publicly contributing our tax dollars to a day-care center instead of turning them over to the federal government (to make weapons), we set up a dilemma situation. If the government takes our money away from the day-care center or arrests us, it looks bad — like the government opposes support for day-care centers. No response leads to the accomplishment of our goal of redirecting our tax dollars to socially useful purposes and encourages others to redirect their taxes.

We must *disseminate a great deal of information about what we are doing and why, presented in a way that is impressive and understandable*. Before any action it is good to have *already convinced or at least adequately informed large numbers of our friends and at least some of the news media* so their interest and support will counter the condemnation we will likely get from the established order. This can best be accomplished by discussing the issue with many people, passing out leaflets, and sending out press releases several days or weeks in advance.

The more *visual, simple, and direct* our action, the more likely people will be able to understand it, especially if it can all be *summed up in one picture*. For example, during the civil rights movement, black people lined up outside the polls. A single newspaper picture of this scene countered the myth that Blacks were too lazy or apathetic to want to vote and explained that Blacks did indeed want to vote but were prevented from doing so by the white establishment (a societal secret). As part of our work, it is also useful to *listen to everyone we meet*, both to show that we are open to other ideas and also to truly understand why people believe what they believe and fear what they fear.

If our actions or goals are not understandable and acceptable to at least a large number of people, then we will probably not get very far. This means we must always *start with fairly moderate tactics and demands* and, as our perspective becomes more widely understood, work up to the more dramatic and farreaching ones. The more reasonable we are, the more oppressive the established order appears and the greater the imperative for change. A good rule of thumb is to *make the most reasonable demand that will still undermine the status quo*. If we get what we ask for, then we have taken an important step and we can go on to ask for more; if we don't, then we have demonstrated how unreasonable the powers that be really are and thus gain more support from more people.

It helps to have a *large number of people* involved in the action (or *people who are prominent and respected*) so that we are not easily dismissed as lone crazies. However, it is also true that an understandable and popular action carried out by a few people can be as effective as an unclear or unpopular action carried out by a very large number of people.

The more *timely and close to home*, the more likely that our action will interest people and give them a way to respond. For example, blockading the White Trains and Trucks that carry nuclear weapons to their silos or submarine bases is a good way to bring the global arms race home to our immediate communities. If our actions are *part of an overall campaign* that seeks to fundamentally change the power structure and the campaign is part of a wide-ranging movement, then the achievement of limited goals will not be seen as failure or hollow reform, but rather as a first step in an overall plan. Our *visible dedication to longrange goals* encourages others to work harder and

longer.

As much as possible our actions should *encourage and inspire people to question authority, think for themselves, trust their own opinions, and act according to their own consciences* — only giving their consent for life-affirming activities and refusing to co-operate with oppression. Good actions will *make us all feel better about ourselves* (increase our self-esteem) and *embolden us to take on more dangerous situations* (empowerment). Everyone should understand the repression we may be forced to endure and accept it voluntarily rather than out of guilt or to prove their bravery. Our self-suffering should demonstrate our dedication to change and our commitment to nonviolent solutions (rather than showing naïveté or idiocy). Those who speak out must be protected as much as possible from sanctions (ridicule, beatings, job loss, arrest, and so on) imposed by the established order, so we must *support each other physically and emotionally* and focus lots of critical attention on the unsavory behavior of our tormentors. The more we can support people, the more resistance they will be able to offer. It also helps if our actions are *fun* — for our own enjoyment and to show that we are not trying to build a world of grim soldiers.

In the spirit of nonviolence, we should seek to understand the circumstances that have led so many people to accept or defend the established order. With those who are sympathetic to an alternative position, we can acknowledge their fears and encourage them to resist in whatever ways they can. This should be easy for those of us who have recently been in that position ourselves and have only just learned the ways we support the status quo, learned how to resist, and found ways to overcome our fears of resisting. With those people who actively defend the status quo, we can love them personally while we insist that their actions and the status quo change. It is important for us to channel our powerful emotions of anger and defiance in a way that changes the situation and does not attack the self-worth of the people with whom we differ. If we forget and become oppressive, those whom we confront will usually remind us. We all get caught up in the oppressive culture in different ways, and each of us must struggle in our own manner to get out.

A Few References

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Methods of Nonviolent Conflict

Practitioners of nonviolent struggle have an entire arsenal of "nonviolent weapons" at their disposal. Listed below are 198 of them, classified into three broad categories: nonviolent protest and persuasion, noncooperation (social, economic, and political), and nonviolent intervention. A description and historical examples of each can be found in volume two of *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* by Gene Sharp.

The Methods of Nonviolent Protest and Persuasion

Formal Statements
1. Public Speeches
2. Letters of opposition or support
3. Declarations by organizations and institutions
4. Signed public statements
5. Declarations of indictment and intention
6. Group or mass petitions

Communications with a Wider Audience
7. Slogans, caricatures, and symbols
8. Banners, posters, and displayed communications
9. Leaflets, pamphlets, and books
10. Newspapers and journals
11. Records, radio, and television
12. Skywriting and earthwriting

Group Representations
13. Deputations
14. Mock awards
15. Group lobbying
16. Picketing
17. Mock elections

Symbolic Public Acts
18. Displays of flags and symbolic colors
19. Wearing of symbols
20. Prayer and worship
21. Delivering symbolic objects
22. Protest disrobings
23. Destruction of own property
24. Symbolic lights
25. Displays of portraits
26. Paint as protest
27. New signs and names
28. Symbolic sounds
29. Symbolic reclamations
30. Rude gestures

Pressures on Individuals
31. "Haunting" officials
32. Taunting officials
33. Fraternization
34. Vigils

Drama and Music
35. Humorous skits and pranks

36. Performances of plays and music
37. Singing

Processions
38. Marches
39. Parades
40. Religious processions
41. Pilgrimages
42. Motorcades

Honoring the Dead
43. Political mourning
44. Mock funerals
45. Demonstrative funerals
46. Homage at burial places

Public Assemblies
47. Assemblies of protest or support
48. Protest meetings
49. Camouflaged meetings of protest
50. Teach-ins

Withdrawal and Renunciation
51. Walk-outs
52. Silence
53. Renouncing honors
54. Turning one's back

The Methods of Social Noncooperation

Ostracism of Persons
55. Social boycott
56. Selective social boycott
57. Lysistratic nonaction
58. Excommunication
59. Interdict

Noncooperation with Social Events, Customs, and Institutions
60. Suspension of social and sports activities
61. Boycott of social affairs
62. Student strike
63. Social disobedience
64. Withdrawal from social institutions

Withdrawal from the Social System
65. Stay-at-home
66. Total personal noncooperation
67. "Flight" of workers
68. Sanctuary
69. Collective disappearance
70. Protest emigration (hijrat)

The Methods of Economic Noncooperation: Economic Boycotts

Actions by Consumers
71. Consumers' boycott
72. Nonconsumption of boycotted goods
73. Policy of austerity
74. Rent withholding
75. Refusal to rent
76. National consumers' boycott
77. International consumers' boycott

Action by Workers and Producers
78. Workmen's boycott
79. Producers' boycott

Action by Middlemen
80. Suppliers' and handlers' boycott

Action by Owners and Management
81. Traders' boycott
82. Refusal to let or sell property
83. Lockout
84. Refusal of industrial assistance
85. Merchants' "general strike"

Action by Holders of Financial Resources
86. Withdrawal of bank deposits
87. Refusal to pay fees, dues, and assessments
88. Refusal to pay debts or interest
89. Severance of funds and credit
90. Revenue refusal
91. Refusal of a government's money

Action by Governments
92. Domestic embargo
93. Blacklisting of traders
94. International sellers' embargo
95. International buyers' embargo
96. International trade embargo

The Methods of Economic Noncooperation: The Strike

Symbolic Strikes
97. Protest strike
98. Quickie walkout (lightning strike)

Agricultural Strikes
99. Peasant strike
100. Farm Workers' strike

Strikes by Special Groups
101. Refusal of impressed labor
102. Prisoners' strike
103. Craft strike
104. Professional strike

Ordinary Industrial Strikes
105. Establishment strike

106. Industry strike
107. Sympathetic strike

Restricted Strikes
108. Detailed strike
109. Bumper strike
110. Slowdown strike
111. Working-to-rule strike
112. Reporting "sick" (sick-in)
113. Strike by resignation
114. Limited strike
115. Selective strike

Multi-Industry Strikes
116. Generalized strike
117. General strike

Combination of Strikes and Economic Closures
118. Hartal
119. Economic shutdown

The Methods of Political Noncooperation

Rejection of Authority
120. Withholding or withdrawal of allegiance
121. Refusal of public support
122. Literature and speeches advocating resistance

Citizens' Noncooperation with Government
123. Boycott of legislative bodies
124. Boycott of elections
125. Boycott of government employment and positions
126. Boycott of government departments, agencies, and other bodies
127. Withdrawal from government educational institutions
128. Boycott of government-supported organizations
129. Refusal of assistance to enforcement agents
130. Removal of own signs and placemarks
131. Refusal to accept appointed officials
132. Refusal to dissolve existing institutions

Citizens' Alternatives to Obedience
133. Reluctant and slow compliance
134. Nonobedience in absence of direct supervision
135. Popular nonobedience
136. Disguised disobedience
137. Refusal of an assemblage or meeting to disperse
138. Sitdown
139. Noncooperation with conscription and deportation
140. Hiding, escape, and false identities
141. Civil disobedience of "illegitimate" laws

Action by Government Personnel
142. Selective refusal of assistance by government aides
143. Blocking of lines of command and information
144. Stalling and obstruction

145. General administrative noncooperation
146. Judicial noncooperation
147. Deliberate inefficiency and selective noncooperation by enforcement agents
148. Mutiny

Domestic Governmental Action
149. Quasi-legal evasions and delays
150. Noncooperation by constituent governmental units

International Governmental Action
151. Changes in diplomatic and other representations
152. Delay and cancellation of diplomatic events
153. Withholding of diplomatic recognition
154. Severance of diplomatic relations
155. Withdrawal from international organizations
156. Refusal of membership in international bodies
157. Expulsion from international organizations

The Methods of Nonviolent Intervention

Psychological Intervention
158. Self-exposure to the elements
159. The fast
a) Fast of moral pressure
b) Hunger strike
c) Satyagrahic fast
160. Reverse trial
161. Nonviolent harassment

Physical Intervention
162. Sit-in
163. Stand-in
164. Ride-in
165. Wade-in
166. Mill-in
167. Pray-in
168. Nonviolent raids
169. Nonviolent air raids
170. Nonviolent invasion
171. Nonviolent interjection
172. Nonviolent obstruction
173. Nonviolent occupation

Social Intervention
174. Establishing new social patterns
175. Overloading of facilities
176. Stall-in
177. Speak-in
178. Guerrilla theater
179. Alternative social institutions
180. Alternative communication system

Economic Intervention
181. Reverse strike

182. Stay-in strike
183. Nonviolent land seizure
184. Defiance of blockades
185. Politically motivated counterfeiting
186. Preclusive purchasing
187. Seizure of assets
188. Dumping
189. Selective patronage
190. Alternative markets
191. Alternative transportation systems
192. Alternative economic institutions

Political Intervention
193. Overloading of administrative systems
194. Disclosing identities of secret agents
195. Seeking imprisonment
196. Civil disobedience of "neutral" laws
197. Work-on without collaboration
198. Dual sovereignty and parallel government

Source: Sharp, Gene. The Politics of Nonviolent Action (3 Vols.), Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973. Provided courtesy of the Albert Einstein Institution.

Peacemaking Through Nonviolence*

Michael N. Nagler

> *It is blasphemy to say that non-violence can be practised by individuals and never by nations which are composed of individuals.*
> M.K. Gandhi
>
> *The philosophy and strategy of nonviolence [must] become immediately a subject for study and serious experimentation in every field of human conflict, by no means excluding relations between nations.*
> Martin Luther King, Jr.

Somalia, Rwanda and what was once Yugoslavia reveal the shocking inadequacies of the 'security regime' of our post-cold-war world. One response to these disasters has been to field more UN Peacekeeping operations; more operations were mounted in the four years between 1988-1992 than the previous forty. Yet, as we all know, this development was far from adequate, and in the end has brought the whole idea of UN peacekeeping into question. NATO head John Shalikashvili said early in 1992, "the days of pristine peacekeeping as we have understood it for years are probably over" (Shalikashvili, 1993). His solution was a combined NATO-former Warsaw Pact global police force.

Many argue that instead the time has come for an entirely different *kind* of peacekeeping, based on nonviolence. This is utterly different in kind from classical, armed peacekeeping interventions, no matter who organizes them. Armed peacekeeping, however well-intentioned, tries to use the *means* of ordinary conflict for the *goal* of peace. Nonviolent peacekeeping, however, tries to make peace with peaceful means; and that makes all the difference. One of the cardinal principles of nonviolence is, in Gandhi's words, "means are ends in the making." From this point of view the breakdown of UN peacekeeping was predictable, given the inherent contradiction of the concept. Given this contradiction, moreover, while classical peacekeeping can reduce a conflict (when it works), it cannot lead to longterm peace.

The 'Two Force' Theory

Nonviolent peacemaking is carried out by people committed to positive, constructive means of resolving conflict and beyond that of reconciliation, not only without the use of weapons but in an ideal sense without reliance on coercion of any kind. Having renounced the sanction of harmful force, they are nonetheless far from powerless; this was explained almost a century ago in a famous declaration by Mahatma Gandhi:

Of power there are two kinds. One is obtained by threats of punishment. The other arises from acts of love.

'Love' is not meant here in the sentimental sense, of course, but is meant to identify a perfectly practical but largely ignored fact of political life which Kenneth Boulding called "integrative power" (Boulding, 1989). When Quakers broke the food blockade on Germany and Austria after World War One they were not motivated by emotional love toward individual Germans but by a higher sense of what makes politics work. And in fact, they seem to have been correct. Thirty years later Quaker relief groups, and they only, were allowed to succor, even rescue Jews inside Germany, even at the height of the war. Because they did not use threats of punishment (which we might call Force One) but what Gandhi referred to as 'acts of love' (Force Two) they made an impression on the mindset even of severely dehumanized people--an effect which, had it been understood and built on early enough, might just have made World War Two avoidable.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that most formal, institutionalized conflict management mechanisms we rely on today, especially on the international scale, are based on Force One, the compelling power of threat--even by those institutions attempting to make peace. It is time, quite simply, to learn how we can make peace through systematic, institutional use of this new power. They are, to repeat, entirely different animals: to limit the force unleashed by fear is good, it is devoutly to be wished, but it is not to be confused with enabling the force that could be engaged by empathy. Most security debates emphasize the *auspices* of power--should it be national, transnational or global? -- while ignoring the much more important question, what *kind* of power we are talking about. In terms of longterm, practical results different kinds of power can lead to opposite results. This is one of the most important distinctions to recognize in peace research -- and life in general.

As an example, from the moment Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait public debate centered on the respective merits of a military attack or economic sanctions. From the Gandhian point of view, however, such sanctions are a form of attack; a milder form, quite possibly in some situations a correct form, but one that is *not different in kind* from the force that sends planes over the air space of another state. In fact, we now know how many innocent children suffered and died, and continue suffering and dying, as a result of this 'alternative' to violence. 'Shall we use force or sanctions?' was a false dichotomy -- pulled punches are not the same as outstretched hands.

Sanctions or military interposition are the two options mentioned in Section VII of the UN Charter, containing the original mandate for UN peacekeeping. Yet even as both the general public and policymakers were debating this false polarity, a small ad-hoc group of international volunteers were doing something entirely different: they camped themselves on the Iraq-Saudi border, as an act of what we now call nonviolent interposition.

In the event, they were evacuated to Baghdad by Iraqi civilians fifteen days into the bombing, whence most of them removed some days later to Amman. Lest we think that this constitutes a poor argument for the effectiveness of such interventions, consider that this group was almost totally untrained (their strategy, for example, was rather poorly suited to what was obviously going to be an aerial attack), isolated, in fact virtually ignored in terms of public support, invisible to the world at large and easily ignored by the relevant policymakers (as a State Department official posted in the Middle East at the time later told me, they were "completely irrelevant"). Yet, while the 'allies' were reorganizing threat power and calling it--cynically, in my view--a "new world order," these volunteers did something more deserving of that exalted term. By providing a nonaligned peaceful presence, they remained outside the classical

'polarity' which is really two positions on the same spectrum; while they were at it they organized relief work in Amman, helped counter media distortions back home, and learned a lot. In the words of one participant, the experience "bolstered my belief in the potential impact of practitioners of nonviolence." And they were not entirely alone.

Spontaneous interpositions in conflicts have been used to stop conflicts since the dawn of civilization (the Buddha is said to have stopped a war this way in the sixth century BCE). However the idea of institutionalizing such a technique, of preparing for it ahead of time along more or less parallel but opposite lines to the way states prepare for war, goes back, as do so many innovations in the field, of peace to Mahatma Gandhi, who began referring to his volunteers as an 'army of peace' (*shanti sena*) almost as soon as he saw the effectiveness of nonviolence at first hand in South Africa in 1913. Then in the twenties, back in India, he came out with detailed ideas for regional or neighborhood peace armies and continued to develop the concept until the end of his life. Nothing ever persuaded him that they would not work on a grand scale; in one of his boldest and most misunderstood proposals he advocated that India respond with nonviolent peace brigades to the anticipated Japanese invasion during WWII. He was still advocating some version of organized nonviolent peacekeeping after Independence, for example during the Kashmir dispute, and as Weber points out he was to have left for a meeting to establish the Shanti Sena a few days after his assassination on January 30, 1948 (Weber, 1996, p. 69).

The Mahatma was not given a chance to test this method in large-scale conflicts himself, being imprisoned by the British and unsupported by his own party members during most of this period and on this issue; but by far the most dramatic shanti sena the world has so far seen was organized in the thirties in what was then the Northwest Frontier Province of India by the Mahatma's close disciple Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan among the notoriously warlike Pathans whose descendents later would frustrate the overwhelmingly superior force of the Soviet Union by more traditional methods. Nearly 100,000 Pathan warriors--all devout Muslims, by the way--vowed to resist the British without weapons in their hands or violence in their hearts, and kept their vow under unbelievable provocation, adding immeasurably to the freedom struggle by their unsung efforts (Easwaran, 1984; Weber, 1996, pp. 44, 150).

After Gandhi, the idea of nonviolent peacekeeping remained alive in India where a formal Shanti Sena was set up under the leadership of Vinoba Bhave in 1957-- and spread round the world.

The 1980's were an important decade for the development of peace teams. During this period a number of INGO's, the largest of which were the religious-based Witness for Peace and the nominally secular Peace Brigades International, saw action in Guatemala, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Sri Lanka and less remote regions, like Quebec (PBI). The Gulf War and the carnage which brought thousands of volunteers to former Yugoslavia, moreover, led to more ad hoc operations. On the other extreme, a series of international consultations has been held to bring about a global coordinating body to recruit, train and field nonviolent peace teams, as well as what the Quakers call 'interpretation': to alert and explain the significance of what is happening to the general public. As with Civilian Based Defense, the cousin of nonviolent intervention, a government or two is flirting with the idea of a nonviolent peacekeeping/peacemaking service alongside conventional defenses.

They have good reason. In a nonviolent spirit, small numbers of people have gone into extremely dangerous areas and sometimes accomplished significant reductions in conflict with almost no personal casualties. Three PBI workers were stabbed in Guatemala and many have received death threats, but the fact is that since the death of one Hugh Bingham in Palestine in 1938 (Weber, 1996, p. 201) only one person, to my knowledge, has been killed while attempting to intervene in an active conflict without the 'protection' of arms, not to mention less dangerous peacekeeping situations. Needless to say, conflict *de*escalation and *non*violence slip quite through the net of modern news media; on my own campus a tiny group called Students for Peace prevented an ugly battle between radical students and the ROTC in the 1970's, creating space for constructive dialogue, but neither this nor a much larger incident at the University of Beijing during the Cultural Revolution became 'news.' What unarmed volunteers can accomplish is something we have to extrapolate from the few cases that are known: the FOR team that attempted to contact General Sandino in the jungles of Nicaragua in 1926, the Shanti Sena brigade that resettled refugees on Cyprus or negotiated a settlement to the longstanding Nagaland succession conflict

in Northern India, and the civilizns who stopped a civil war, namely in Algiers in 1962 (Keyes, 1982, p. 18). All this has been done, as the yet-to-be-published study of Yeshua Mosher points out, with a "chronic lack of resources, . . . inadequate infrastructure, poor communications, and limited training opportunities," not to mention the near-total cold-shoulder from the mass media and -- a critical shortcoming--"little popular understanding of the dynamics and history of this manifestation of nonviolent action." The historical record, then, has traces of very small, private, underfunded efforts which accomplished remarkable successes with intercommunal, intranational, and even international conflicts.

In Sri Lanka, Guatemala and Haiti workers with PBI and other groups provided a shield of little more than their presence that not only protected individuals who would certainly have been killed but made it possible for forces of peace and justice to consolidate and expand--the first thing repressive regimes try to prevent. And they have done remarkably well at protecting local communities. When Ernesto Cardenal was Minister of Culture in the Sandinista government, I had occasion to ask him during a visit to Berkeley whether he thought the faith-based groups operating in his country were helping. Cardenal, himself far from dedicated to nonviolence, told me with considerable passion that "We need more of these groups and we need them quickly. Wherever they have been there has been no violence." Later his translator repeated that statement for the gathering, but unconsciously 'cleaned it up,' saying "there has been *almost* no violence." Furious at this distortion (with which all nonviolence advocates are familiar), Cardenal practically pounded the table: "I said *absolutely* no violence.

Nonviolent peacemaking is an idea whose time has come; but it is no longer just an idea. It is an idea with a track record.

Where Do We Go from Here?

The UN is in a sense the ideal place to begin building a world peace guard (as one such international effort was called). Its modest resources, and public vixibility, are vastly greater than those of all the world's volunteer peace team organizations past and present put together. What's more, the UN has experienced at first hand the frustration of attempting to make peace by weapons. But up to now, the world's premier peacemaking body has feared to tread into this area of making peace with peaceful means. Vinoba Bhave offered to recruit a peace army of 50,000 volunteers for service in the Bangladesh war, but the UN was not in a position to take him up on it, on this or subsequent occasions. Since those days, however, things have improved slightly. PBI has been given NGO status by the international body, and one agency of its own, UN Volunteers, has been working with a leading volunteer organization, Peaceworkers, to identify and train nonviolent personnel to help their teams in Burundi or the Caucasus. But the UN is as yet far from organizing and conducting unarmed, nonviolent peacemaking and peacekeeping operations based on the experience of nongovernmental agencies in this dramatically different activity. Nor have the member states begun to ask for it.

History contains few examples of large bureaucracies making bold leaps of imagination, and the fact is that the similarities between classical UN peacekeeping and any form of shanti sena activity based on active nonviolence is superficial. In the meantime, brave men and women are going to go into intense conflict situations to make peace, if necessary by interposing themselves between hostile forces, whether or not the UN or an independent global body comes forward to support them. Therefore many activists now feel that the best strategy is to proceed on their own, encouraging but not necessarily expecting the UN to adopt their discoveries.

If I were the Secretary General, I would scrap classical peacekeeping tomorrow, giving all UN soldiers the option of being retrained for nonviolent peacekeeping and peacemaking. In the real world, however, what I recommend is *transarmament;* to phase in some nonviolent peacemaking operations and phase out armed peacekeeping progressively as the former prove their effectiveness. One precaution in necessary for this scenario to work: nonviolence is incredibly robust in the face of external resistance--it is amazing how much punishment and threat a person inspired by principles can face--but it is very sensitive to internal contradiction. Armed peacekeeping, however desireable in comparison to known alternatives, is a contradiction. You cannot really mix Force Two with Force One, by trying to employ classical and nonviolent peacekeeping *in the same operation*. When, in December, 1992, international

volunteers got to Sarajevo, the UN protection force (UNPROFOR) offered to escort them through 'sniper's alley' in a column between tanks. The volunteers had cooperated with UNPROFOR in various ways, but declined this protection. I feel that they did exactly the right thing by drawing that line (and incidentally they suffered no casualties at all).

I see four tasks ahead to develop nonviolent intervention as a global force:

1. Identify the people who know how peace armies work, experientially or theoretically. They could be brought together for a conference, say at the UN University in Costa Rica or a suitable progressive peace institution like the University of HI, Manoa or Meiji Gakuin. The task of such a conference would be to identify the needs that must be met to develop and institutionalize nonviolent peacemaking.

2. Recruit, organize and train volunteers. All recruitment must be individual and voluntary. Military training does not attract the same people or bring out of them the same human potential as those enjoy who go into a situation with empathy and courage as their only protection. So the two crucial differences between what we might call classical peacekeeping and nonviolent peacekeeping are, first that nonviolent peacekeepers are unarmed and second that they want to be. This, to paraphrase Gandhiji again, makes all the difference. It implies a different kind of human relationship and creates an entirely different climate of possibility.

As suggested already, not only are military peacekeeping operations in many respects a useful model, they could very often involve the same people. Courage is courage--you just have to learn to point it in a different direction. Ordinary combat veterans, too, are an already partly trained manpower pool; there is a lot of misplaced idealism there to be tapped. However, it must be admitted that *how* to train people for *non*violence is not widely understood. Gandhi had the advantage of being able to train lifelong volunteers in special communities, with about fifteen years in between major campaigns. Much more has to be learned about how he did this.

3. Select an intervention, and go to work. At the moment small bands of volunteers are rushing off to help wherever they feel most pain, but it would benefit history much more in the long run if they would pull together and concentrate on one place where disaster can be decisively halted.

4. Tell the world. An important and vastly overlooked corollary to peacemaking operations themselves is educating the general public. UNESCO, with its Culture of Peace project, could take on the historic task of documenting and explaining how nonviolence peacebuilding has worked and how it should be further developed. It is the UNESCO Charter, after all, that says war begins in the 'minds of men;' UNESCO could directly undertake education that can give men and women another mindset -- a different culture. But even without such backing, there is a huge job of work to do, which could begin in a major success such as I fully believe could happen. Virtually the entire history of peace brigades has been ignored, from the beginnings in the mind of the master, Gandhiji, to the abortive idealism of Maude Royden down to the qualified successes of Witness for Peace, Christian Peacemaker Teams, PBI, Peacemakers, and many others. At the time of this writing a superb history of Shanti Sena and peace teams, rich with lessons for the future, has appeared (Weber, 1996) and two more promissing books are in the wings. It is not clear how much the general public, still utterly ignorant of what peace teams are and how they work, will be affected by these books. It's not clear how you remake a culture, but it's clear we have to try.

Conclusion

It may be useful to point out four major advantages of nonviolent peackeeping, though this may already be obvious to some of us.

Cost. Classical peacekeeping is cheaper than war, but nonviolent peacekeeping is cheaper still. You get much more non-bang for the buck. It requires even less equipment, it is done by idealistic

volunteers who love their work, and it is remarkably efficient. The volunteers in Nicaragua in 1983 who apparently pacified Jalapa, a war zone on the Honduran border, for as long as they remained, constituted a 'brigade' of ten people.

Political viability. UN peacekeeping has been hampered by the understandable fear of a standing army that would look like a world police force (not to mention an excuse for some Security Council nations' power plays). Most people and states would have no such problem with a standing *peace* army. The prospect of being invaded by well-intentioned and highly skilled peacemakers, mostly young idealistic people, is terrifying only to tyrants, and then only if they understand the power it entails.

Effectiveness. Marrack Goulding, recently called the world's peacekeeper-in-chief, has rightly said, "The United Nations can cajole, argue, bluster . . . but it cannot compel" (*Economist* 1992, p. 57). Nonviolent peacekeeping would turn this weakness into its greatest strength. Nonviolence is that form of power specifically designed to operate in situations where you cannot--or rather, do not wish to compel. Persuasion, not coercion is the modality of the Second Force.

Classical peacekeeping has prevented or limited some conflicts, but it has not, and cannot change the direction of international relations. It cannot do this because it relies, ultimately, on the same force peaceless interactions exploit, albeit attempting to apply them to another purpose. But nonviolent peacemaking suffers from no such handicap. There would be some false starts, some errors and some casualties, but once it became clear that there is a way to make peace without the sanction of force (i.e., Force One) the world would have found a new direction towards enduring peace.

Peace research has taught us never to underestimate the effectiveness of right means coupled with right ends. What Alain Richard of PBI has referred to as the 'contagion' of peace that often allowed his team to win over intransigent opposition and prevail over seemingly impossible odds is confined to a small scale only because we have not mounted it on a larger one.

There are questions within the peace movement itself about nonviolent intervention; not that it's too dangerous -- most peace activists have seen through that delusion -- but that interference may not be the right thing to do. For reasons I hope to elaborate elsewhere, I am among those who feel that in an extreme emergency, when a Burundi or an Afghanistan is blowing up, you have to use whatever nonviolent power is available. The alternative is to do nothing or bring in miltary force. During a MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour just before Christmas an American Catholic nun, discussing our intervention in Somalia said, "In a season when we long so for peace and to comfort the afflicted . . . wouldn't it be wonderful if we had at the same time a force that provided agrarian help, economic help? Why not have grandmothers along to hold the abandoned, orphaned children? . . . We don't plan for peace, and we don't have a program for peace. We only have a program for war."

Nonviolence has a program for peace.

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IV. Direct Action Strategy and Tactics

14 Points about ISM Strategy

Kate Rafael, May 2003

1. Resistance is not futile. Occupation deserves to be resisted 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. Every legitimate act of resistance to occupation should be honored.

2. Not every act of resistance is effective.

3. Internationals are not here to resist in lieu of Palestinians but with them.

4. People who travel to Palestine for their vacations are spending a lot of money and taking personal risk. They have a right to want their experience to be interesting, varied, and useful for organizing back home.

5. It is not the responsibility of Palestinian communities to give us a varied, exciting or useful travel experience.

6. People who put Palestinians or other activists in danger must not be part of ISM.

7. There is nothing wrong with wanting one's life to be spectacular, exciting and meaningful. Everyone's life should be. Finding excitement and meaning in resistance to injustice is a good example to set for the world.

8. If you feel you're not doing anything if you're not in danger, check your motivations.

9. Work we cannot do without being killed is work we cannot do.

10. Repression and retaliation are not reasons to stop what we have been doing.

11. Repression and retaliation are not reasons to continue what we have been doing.

12. Nonviolent direct action is most effective as part of a strategic campaign (*see the next two articles*).

13. Community organizing in a cultural context different from one's own is something to be approached with extreme caution, especially if you do not speak the language.

14. Not every international activist has the skills to be a good community organizer in Palestine. There is still useful work to be done by those of us who do not.

Mass Direct Action: Options To Consider In Developing The Movement Further

A draft article by George Lakey*

Source: http://www.starhawk.org/activism/lakeyarticle.html

Seattle, Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, Los Angeles: each of them experiments in mass direct action for justice and environmental sanity. Each has drawn thousands of committed people who care deeply about a better world, for their own back yard and for the planet. Each has involved risk, pain, and suffering, as well as moments of profound connection, creativity, and community.

Each city's action has also invited controversy and debate about actics and strategy. In the "morning after" period in which people lick their wounds and organize legal defense against continued state repression, it's easy for resentments to flare and defensiveness to flourish. The challenge is: how to be honest about differences of views, how to allow the authentic debates to happen, and still not lose ourselves in divisiveness?

However much we may need to disagree as we dialogue about our future, two points of unity stand out:

- the System needs major change, and compared with those who consciously fight us to preserve the unjust status quo, we objectively are allies of &each other;

- we will all benefit from a rapid growth curve, in which we learn the most possible from each round of struggle and stay flexible and ready to &give up what doesn't seem to be working.

In that spirit, I write about some options we have for future mass direct action scenarios. We can fully appreciate the hard work and sacrifice that has gone into each of these recent experiments (and others, such as Windsor, Eugene, Minneapolis) and still act on our freedom to make different choices for next time as we learn more about how to make social change in the twenty-first century.

Option One: Create "dilemma demonstrations."

This form of direct action puts the powerholders in a dilemma: if they allow us to go ahead and do what we intend to do, we accomplish something worthwhile related to our issue. If they repress us, they put themselves in a bad light, and the public is educated about our message.

Many examples that can inspire our creativity. Some campaigns to save old-growth trees have set up these dilemmas. If, for example, the protesters are allowed to sit in the trees, for example, the trees are saved. If the protesters are stopped violently, the public is educated and new allies can be won. African American students in the South were very creative with such tactics, for example sitting at the lunch counter asking for coffee. If they were served, racism took a hit. If they were either attacked by civilians or arrested, racism also took a hit. The sit-inners didn't even need the signs they brought in order to make their point. The powerholders were repeatedly put in a dilemma: whatever they did resulted in lost ground for the status quo.

I wouldn't say that it is always easy to create such tactics, and there are times when stopping traffic may be the best we can think of. The difference, however, is very clear if we take the point of view of the bystander or the television camera. When the police drag away protesters who are blocking a city intersection, what is the message of the protesters? The World Bank has policies that hurt people? Maybe, if the bystander or television viewer is willing to make several logical steps or leaps of imagination. There's no reason to expect that bystanders and TV viewers will work hard to make those connections, especially when the excitement is in the physical conflict itself between arresting officers and activists.

One way to spur our creativity, so more of our tactics actually put the powerholders in a dilemma, is to picture to ourselves what the actual point of confrontation will look like to curious bystanders who are not already on our side. The scenarios we then develop will have more power and clarity of message.

One place to look for dilemma demonstration ideas is the community work that activists are already doing. Community gardens, for example, might be planted in places which need reclaiming.

Option Two: Decide who we're trying to influence

Using a term like "the public" is way too simple a way to think about strategy (even though I just referred to the public in Option One). "The public" includes many subgroups, some of whom are critical to

the success of a campaign, some less important, and some not important at all. If we create a map of the political territory and decide who we most need to influence in what ways, we will create tactics that more frequently have the force that's needed.

For example, a small group once threw a monkey wrench into a U.S. foreign policy objective by correctly figuring out who to influence hrough direct action. The U.S. was supporting, as it often does, a military dictatorship that was killing thousands of people. In fact, in Pakistani dictator Yayah Khan was killing hundreds of thousands of people in East Bengal who wanted independence. The U.S. government lied about its support, but the activists learned that Pakistani ships were on their way to U.S. ports to pick up military supplies for the continuing massacre. The group also realized that if longshoremen refused to load the ships, the U.S. government would be foiled.

The problem was, the East Coast longshoremen were, if anything, politically inclined to support the government, and wanted to feed their families. The activists repeatedly tried to persuade the longshoremen to act in solidarity with the East Bangeais, without success. It was time for direct action. The group announced a blockade of the port which was expecting the next Pakistani freighter, and began practicing "naval maneuvers" with sailboats, rowboats and the rest of its motley fleet. The media gave ongoing coverage, and longshoremen witnessed on television as well as in person the strange antics of protesters who seemed to believe they could stop a big freighter with tiny boats. The tactic raised the ongshoremen's motivation to listen and discuss, and they agreed that, if the activists created a picket line, the longshoremen would refuse to cross it!

When the campaign succeeded in that city, the activists took it to other port cities and finally the International Longshoremen's union agreed workers would not load Pakistan-bound weapons anywhere in the U.S.! >The blockade, initiated by a small group, succeeded because the group crafted direct action tactics specifically geared toward the part of the public that most needed to be influenced.

So we have the option as we design a campaign focussed on the WTO or capital punishment, for example, of creating a political/cultural/economic map of "the public" and deciding who we want to influence in what ways. Part of our power is in fact through making such choices.

Option Three: Become proactive rather than reactive through creating campaigns.

Sometimes a strong reaction to a move of the powerholders can be very powerful, as it was in Seattle. By mobilizing around the WTO meeting and disrupting it, tremendous gains were made. The negative side of globalization was put on the public agenda for the first time, something which all the organizing against the North American Free Trade Agreement failed to do. New ongoing alliances became tantalizing possibilities. The very unleashing of rebel energy itself was positive.

Occasionally reacting is one thing; staying in a posture of reaction is something else. A good word would be: "disempowerment." Mohandas K. Gandhi's first principle of strategy was to stay on the offensive. Having our action agenda dictated by where and when the powerholders want to have their meetings is not staying on the offensive.

A different option is to design campaigns. A campaign is a focussed mobilization of energy with a clear objective, over a time period that can realistically be sustained by our constituency. Often the objective is in the form of a demand which a targetted entity can make a decision about.

The Students Against Sweatshops movement mostly works through campaigns, which is one reason why it is meeting with success. The victories of the civil rights movement that are now part of our common lore were won through campaigns -- the Montgomery bus boycott, for example, or the Birmingham struggle of 1963 in which a major industrial city was dislocated in order to force the federal government to pass an equal accomodations bill.

I have yet to meet a young activist in the current movement who knows about the successful fight

against nuclear power in this country. It's a well-kept secret, for obvious reasons. That struggle of grassroots groups was against an amazing array of power: the federal government (both civilian and military), the banks which were making major profits from loans to utilities, the utilities themselves, the huge companies like General Electric and Westinghouse which made the nuclear plants, the construction companies, and the building trades unions. The struggle was also against "conventional wisdom," which believed that nuclear energy was safe and cheap.

Grassroots activists beat the combined powerholders! There's not room here to describe the struggle, which often used mass direct action in brilliant ways to stop utilities from ordering any new nuclear power plants by the late '70s. My main point is that they were successful by mobilizing power through campaigns.

Option Four: Shift our understanding of the role of mass media

The mass media have certain patterns of behavior which are fairly predictable, and our movement could choose to use those patterns to our advantage.

We need to understand that the mass media have always reflected the biases of their owners. This is not a new phenomenon. The white-owned media have historically been biased against people of color, straight-owned media against sexual minorities, and so on. I find it difficult for many middle class activists to empathize with working class people and their unions -- why? Middle class activists have been conditioned by the systematic bias of media owned by the wealthy.

We free up our creative energy when we simply acknowledge that these biases exist, rather than go into righteous indignation every time we read or see a new piece that puts us in an unfavorable light. Once we acknowledge the reality, we can decide: for the next campaign we design, do we need favorable media coverage, or not?

If we don't need it because, for example, the group we want to influence through direct action can get our message in other ways, then we can save ourselves some aggravation.

If we do need some positive media coverage, we can learn how to get it. There's a whole art to this and some allied media professionals willing to lead workshops on it, but I'll state a few principles here.

Media usually show what is most dramatic. If a thousand people sit in lockdown and three people smash a window, the campaign will be presented as smashing windows. Organizers need to handle that reality; avoidance of that reality just leads to confusion and demoralization in the movement. (More on this later.)

Liberal media pundits, who might be expected to be "on our side," usually start out confused. Early liberal commentators on the civil rights movement were often full of advice on how nonviolent action was a bad idea and sweet reason would be better. The first women to picket the White House for the right to vote were criticized harshly by liberals in the media. Let's face it. To many people of goodwill, an uproar is upsetting. A ruckus is confusing. Most middle and upper class people dislike conflict, however liberal or even radical their political views. If they are media commentators, they will find fault with our direct action.

Mass media generally prefer to ignore direct action if they can. The struggle against the School of the Americas, for example, has often found its increasingly large direct actions to be all but ignored. Media will sometimes make exceptions if the action is particularly novel, creative, or includes humor. For example, the campaign against military aid to Pakistan got television coverage in Philadelphia 27 days out of 30, because the organizers found creative and photogenic ways of dramatizing the blockade, and there was such a strong local tie-in.

Because the reporting side of mass media often ignores or downplays, and the liberal pundits

usually start out confused and critical, a movement that needs the media needs to use sustained campaigns rather than episodic uproars. The organizers in Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference practically had this down to a science: they could predict how many weeks of a campaign before coverage would appear in local papers, how many weeks until regional papers started covering, how many weeks until national media paid attention, and how long until the liberal columnists changed their minds and saw merit in the protests. These campaigns were often successful in achieving concrete victories, with media coverage as one ingredient of their success. People of color, working against white-owned media bias, successfully used the media as an ally in their struggle.

We can learn how to do that if we choose to.

Option Five: Heighten the contrast between protesters and police behavior

One of the great things about our movement is that it understands the importance of drama in the social change process. The confrontations of Seattle and since assume what every playwright knows: the heart of drama is conflict. Drama in the streets is, however, different from an off-Broadway play. A sophisticated theater audience might prefer characters to be multifaceted, without a clearly-defined "good guy" and "bad guy." The social change drama of the streets cannot be so subtle: it really does come down to "the goodies" vs. "the baddies."

Of course political radicals already know who are the goodies in this play, but when we plan we can forget that most people don't make our assumptions! The mainstream audience watching the drama in the streets is fairly open-minded about who are the goodies and who are the baddies. Maybe the goodies will turn out to be the protesters, and then again, maybe the police. Since drama motivates, some in the audience are curious to see who will turn out to be who.

The protests at the Republican National Convention in Philadelphia provide a clear example of this. Some widely-publicized police violence prior to the convention damaged the police image. Those of us organizing the Convergence training in the week just before the Convention did effective media outreach, receiving highly favorable publicity. The result was, going into the Convention, that the burden of proof was on the police to re-establish their credentials as responsible and controlled, and the protesters occupied the moral high ground. A succession of three clearly peaceable marches in three days sustained this, Act I in the drama, even though the marchers on the third day had been promised arrest. The police felt they had to back off the arrest threat on the third day, lest they confirm their image as "the baddies."

Act II reversed the roles. The police did not have to be lambs; in the context of public fears and expectations, they only needed to show restraint, flexibility, and control. This they did, avoiding tear gas, major pepper spray, rubber bullets, charges with or without horses. Protesters were caught without a style that would put them in stark contrast with the public behavior of the police. The protesters looked . . . well . . . disruptive. (Which we'd said over and over was our goal!) And the police were helping the public by getting traffic moving again. The police chief, who had on national television been on the defensive, became a folk hero. The Philly mainstream could breathe a sigh of relief that "our" hometown police are much better than those brutal, out-of-control Seattle police, and where did these protesters come from, anyway?

The great lesson to be learned here is that the drama of the streets is not about subtle points that get argued late into the night in working class taverns (if the activists were there to argue them), but about the simplicity of contrast between the protesters' behavior and that of the police.

The symbols used to heighten contrast depend on the situation. Black student sit-inners wore dresses and coats and ties, and remained calmly seated at the counters while hysterical white racists hit them. Gandhi designed a raid on a salt works in which demonstrators calmly walked across the boundary where they were beaten down by soldiers. Vietnamese monks sat in meditative positions in the streets of Hue, in front of tanks, to help bring down the dictatorship in 1963. Phillippino participants in "people power" mass action overthrew a government partly with flower necklaces for the dictator's soldiers.

Again, our power lies in our choices. We can choose to design our confrontations using appropriate symbology so that the part of the public we most want to influence will see us as the "goodies." It's our choice.

Sometimes the opponents wise up to this dynamic. The Albany, Georgia, police chief defeated the African American 1962 campaign by carefully restraining his police and reducing the contrast. He astutely used his police to prevent KKK and other forces from beating up demonstrators, again to hinder black people from gaining the moral high ground.

This police tactic is just one more challenge to our creativity. The British Empire tried a similar tactic during the mass direct action campaign in India called the Salt Satyagraha. Tired of beating and jailing demonstrators, they massed their police in the road in front of the marchers and did a nonviolent sit-down blockade! The marchers stopped and a stalemate ensued. After hours of uncertainty, night fell and allies of the marchers went off in search of food and blankets. When they returned, the marchers took the food and blankets and passed them over to the police. This proved too much for the police, who abandoned the street, and the marchers proceeded to a midnight victory celebration. It was another example of Gandhi's emphasis on staying on the offensive; when confronted with nonviolent resistance, the marchers escalated their nonviolence!

Option Six: We could take a powerful attitude toward the prospect of state repression.

Obviously, the purpose of repression is to induce fear, so people wil give up fighting injustice. The powerholders want us to play what I call the Fear Game; one example is setting million dollar bail on Philadelphia protesters charged only with misdemeanors. They are counting on the feeling inside us -- our fear -- to change our behavior so as to make us less effective.

That's why one of the most fundamental choices any social movement makes is what kind of attitude to have toward repression. In our workshops we found that many didn't know that there was a choice. They believed that all movements have the same attitude toward repression, which is far from true.

For example, during the Montgomery bus boycott the powerholders decided to play the Fear Game by leaking the word that they had a list of black leaders who were going to be arrested. The leaders decided to take a powerful, proactive attitude; they went to City Hall as a group and demanded to be arrested at once. They carefully expanded their numbers so that, more than likely, some individuals would not be on the list and could indignantly demand to be arrested rather than be insulted by not being considered a leader. More recently labor unions in Decatur, Illinois, made a similar move: hundreds of workers filled City Hall and refused to leave until the intended arrests were actually made.

Consider the difficulty this puts the powerholders in. If the people refuse to fear them, the powerholders have lost one of their most powerful weapons! Another example comes from Poland, where after many years of Communist dictatorship a radical group of workers and intellectuals decided to depart from their activist tradition and openly create an organization for human rights. The move was a breakthrough which supported the growth of the mass Solidarity movement, resulting in the nonviolent overthrow of the dictatorship.

The choice to adopt a kind of "security culture" in which activists work may at some times and places be useful, but it is a choice that needs careful thought, especially when we consider that it is often not necessary even in full-blown police states. In the U.S., playing the Fear Game seems to be hurting the movement.

One consequence is the witholding of trust. To win, movements need to expand. To expand, activists need to trust -- themselves, each other, and people they reach out to. Think of the last time someone succeeded in persuading you to act. Did you pick up a vibe that they didn't trust you? You probably picked up the opposite energy, that of optimism and confidence that, once you got the

information, you'd want to participate.

A major dynamic I've personally seen in our movement is trustlessness. The Fear Game operates in worries about who might be an agent, who might betray us, who cannot be relied on. People don't tell their names, censor their interaction, hold back. The wariness is toxic because activists feed each other's fear. I've seen a black man who was on his way out of the movement in disgust because of what he perceived as white racism; the hostile vibe he perceived might instead have been because "He might be an agent!"

A woman of color cried as she told me about the refusal of a meeting of people of color to proceed until each new person, including her, had been vouched for by two others -- an institutionalization of trustlessness. When fear turns into socially normed behavior, a movement is very easy to contain because it can't recruit outside the circles of those who define themselves as victims. Since many talented and effective people don't find it useful to define themselves as victims, they are unlikely to stuff themselves into the confining circles of conspirators however radical their views.

The Fear Game also reduces the ability of direct actionists to develop and sustain alliances. Successful direct action movements develop an ability to attract allies. The role of ally is different from the role of campaigner. In the U.S. we find a lot of activists who simultaneously are campaigning on one issue and are allies to other campaigns around other issues. This flexibility works well.

Because the Fear Game generates trustlessness, protesters have a hard time trusting allies, even less than they can trust each other. Where all this comes crashing down is at the moment of state repression, which is when allies are often most needed and also when there is most confusion in the air. That's when activists, who refuse to trust the allies, say to the allies: "Trust us and do X, Y, and Z!" Then the protesters become disappointed and even furious when the allies don't immediately come to attention and salute!

If playing the Fear Game initiated by the state reduces the internal morale of the movement, reduces its growth potential, and hurts relationships with allies, what's the point of the secrecy and stealth? For one thing, it makes possible certain direct action tactics that rely on surprise. For another, it strengthens the boundary between Insider and Outsider.

Unfortunately, the security agencies also know this, and work it to their advantage. They start out with abundant resources to put into spies and electronic surveillance, and the more covert we are, the more resources they can demand (thereby increasing the already obscene size of the security state). Not only is it an advantage to them in terms of increasing the power and affluence of their apparatus, but it also justifies their putting more people in our ranks, who help make decisions and sometimes exercise leadership. And the more aware we are of this, the more scared we become and the less we can trust each other, which is wonderful from their point of view. The basic reason they like the Fear Game so much is that they know they are sure to win it.

Fortunately, we can make other choices. We can draw inspiration from the choice of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in 1963-64 to organize openly in Mississippi, perhaps the most violently racist state in the U.S. at the time. The largely-black SNCC workers dealt with men who were police by day and KKK by night; SNCC often lived in Freedom Houses that were unprotected in the countryside; they had no guns and everyone knew it; the feds refused to protect them; the Mississippi media were against them as were most clergy. SNCC knew they would be hurt, jailed, tortured, and some would die; they were not naive in choosing their attitude toward repression. SNCC's choice built extraordinary internal coherence, expanded the movement dramatically both in Missippi and nationally, won powerful allies, and broke the political stranglehold of racism in that state. I would challenge anyone in today's movement to study SNCC's attitude toward repression in Mississippi in the summer of 1964 and then explain why our movement should play the Fear Game. An alternative option is openness.

Option Seven: We could fully commit to strategic nonviolent action explicitly.

The vast majority of protesters in this current wave of mass direct action want to be nonviolent and see no reason to do anything else. The dilemma facing the designers of a campaign is: do we fully commit and be explicit about that, or do we soft-pedal the nonviolence? Choosing for a campaign is more important than for these short actions we've seen in Seattle, etc., because the stakes are greater in the course of a campaign of months or years. Before his Chicago campaign, for example, Dr. King and his organizers spent months negotiating with forces in the community to get agreement on nonviolence. King's liaison to the gangs was personally beaten up many times by gang members to test his fidelity to nonviolence before they would seriously discuss and finally make an agreement.

It is tempting not to take a stand on nonviolence. There may be moralistic pacifists around, mired in the past and more interested in preaching than acting; their obnoxiousness encourages organizers to just want to move on to the next agenda item. Taking a stand may alienate some friends of ours who are radical and brave. And what about tolerance -- who are we to lay down the law? Isn't the movement to proceed by consensus, and there isn't consensus on this issue!

It may help to remember that this discussion is not about pacifism, but about strategic nonviolent action. Many pacifists don't do direct action because they want to avoid conflict, and most people who do nonviolent action aren't pacifists. So the question is not on a philosophical level but on a strategic level: what makes sense for making change?

Alienating our more militant friends is a tough issue, but dialogue would help. I've heard the Black Bloc, for example, referred to by protesters as if it is a rigid monolith which will always believe the same thing and must be deferred to. Another possibility is that Black Bloc wants as much as anyone to be more effective, can evaluate what's working and what isn't, and has internal diversity of opinion. The approach in the African American community during the civil rights movement was that, if consensus wasn't reached, people agreed to disagree, and respected each other's right to conduct their own operation with its own integrity. This is another diversity challenge that faces our movement. If some of our more militant friends still decide to do confrontive tactics that endanger others without their consent, then the issue is no longer about strategy and tactics, it is about respect and needs to be tackled on that level.

Doubt about our legitimacy in setting policy needs to be addressed inside ourselves, first of all. Is it OK for me to take initiative in working for change? Initiative is a kind of leadership. In the process I do set a tone, and my words and actions attract some people and turn off others. I can't actually take initiative without finding that I have some responsibility for consequences. So if I'm willing to empower myself to act for change, then I might as well be mindful of the results of what I do and don't do. If I do (with friends and comrades) create a policy of strategic nonviolence, that has one set of results. If I don't, it has another set of results. I can't duck this one in the name of "tolerance."

I want to leave aside the question of armed struggle for another time, even though I find it fascinating and sometimes work in situations where it is a very live option. Here the pressing issue is, "If most of us want to be nonviolent anyway, how can we make the most of it?"

The option to make a fuller and more explicit commitment to nonviolence has several advantages. For one thing, it takes the wind out of the sails of the state, which wants us to be violent and, if we're not willing to do violence ourselves, will pay people to do it in our name. There are too many sad stories of groups that learned this the hard way. In Philadelphia, for example, a group of youthful activists believed itself set up by the police because of its growing effectiveness. The police raided the house where the leaders lived communally; while the activists were being handcuffed in the living room the police "discovered" dynamite in the kitchen. The activists complained later, "We have never advocated violence." But the group had been unwilling to take a credible stand for nonviolence, for reasons similar to those advanced today.

Mississippi police didn't even try to set up SNCC in 1964 because, as SNCC's Mississippi coordinator Robert Moses told me, "We don't have guns in our freedom houses and everyone knows it."

It may be, as some of today's Philadelphia activists believe, that police agents were responsible

for the property destruction which handed the moral high ground over to the police during the Republican Convention. Again, the movement was fairly defenseless against this kind of tactic because it could not achieve consensus on a stand against property destruction. As much as we'd like to blame police, in all honesty we have to look at how we helped to set ourselves up.

Leaving the issues of nonviolence and property destruction ambiguous may not matter too much for the kind of event organized in Philadelphia or L.A., where most people fairly quickly return to the rest of their lives. People doing a campaign over time which is working to accomplish an objective, however, may have too much at stake to be wishy-washy about something that could undo all their hard work.

The biggest advantage of all to adding depth to our commitment to nonviolence is related to the flexible and decentralized character of the action style which worked so brilliantly in Seattle and replayed again in Washington, Philadelphia and Los Angeles. The flexibility and decentralization can bring added power to mass direct action; it also brings chaos. The new physics teaches us that chaos can accompany system change. Easy for them to say; they are theorists and not personally one of the atomic particles buzzing around! We protesters are the particles; we are the ones in motion and are faced with the challenge of how to stay centered in the midst of chaos.

If we do manage to stay centered, we'll make better choices and stay more loving; when we're disconnected we easily get upset or scared or stuck in attitudes of hostility. An advantage of nonviolent action is that it is easier to stay centered while doing it. There are no guarantees: chaos is still chaos. But going into chaos with a nonviolent commitment increases the chance of being centered, which ultimately benefits everyone.

Solving problems builds the movement

Social movements grow through solving problems. As the movements grow, the problems grow, hopelly along with our capacity to solve them. If we continue to solve the problems that face us we will get to catalyze transformational change, making freedom and justice a possibility for all.

The "new activism" that is expressing itself in the U.S. through mass direct action has, fortunately, some problems to solve. Here I'm suggesting some options that might work: creating dilemma demonstrations instead of relying on "disruption" (although they may sometimes be just as disruptive), making conscious decisions about who in the public we're most eager to influence, designing and implementing campaigns rather than simply showing up where the powerholders decide, working more realistically with mass media, increasing the contrast between protesters and police behavior, taking the powerful attitude of openness toward state repression, and committing with more depth and explicitness to strategic nonviolent action.

These options focus on direct action itself, and leave out many other questions of strategy and organization, for example, the importance of creating a vision of just alternatives. I look forward to participating in more dialogue on all these questions; we have much to learn from each other.

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**First arrested in a civil rights campaign, George Lakey co-authored a basic handbook for the civil rights movement, A Manual for Direct Action, and then five other books on social change including Strategy for a Living Revolution. In over forty years of activism he has led workshops for London anarchists, New York Act Up, West Virginia coal miners, Mohawks in Canada, African National Congress in Johannesburg, lesbians and gays in Russia, revolutionary student soldiers in a guerrilla encampment inside Burma, and many other movements and groups.*

The Parameters of Nonviolent Action
What Makes An Action Nonviolent

Source: http://www.warresisters.org/nva0701-2.htm (series of 7 articles from War Resisters International)

The War Stops Here

By Daniel Berrigan

think that over the years, from the Catonsville Nine to Plowshares, I recall the main discussion being twofold:

1. Spiritual preparation: Time was given to spiritual preparation, to the venting of fear and second thoughts and consequences to family, friends, work undertaken. We realized that everything would change with the action and gave that time and gave time for one another.

2. The search for symbols: We spent time together searching for symbols that would speak to us and speak publicly, symbols that would not inspire fear or revulsion.

So wanton thoughtlessness and mere destruction were out, from throwing trashcans to throwing bombs. The use of homemade napalm on draft cards and the pouring of blood of nuclear warheads seemed to speak to people. We did these actions with trepidation and wonder about how they would be received. And they were well received and started whole movements, so the Catonsville Nine set off a whole series of draft board raids, and the Plowshares Eight was the first of more than 60 disarmament actions.

Breaking a Store Window Violent? Nonsense!

By Kadd Stephens

The subject of property destruction within movements for freedom and social justice seems to be marred by a rather irrational approach to really examining the tactic. As with any tactic, one must evaluate its utility as it applies to the particular goals one is pursuing, with considerable seriousness and sophistication. However, such evaluation changes (quite literally) nothing about the character of property destruction, in terms of violence and nonviolence.

First, it is crucial to examine the very nature of property: The concept in question is a social construction that exists only in the realm of (mostly Eurocentric) semantics and culture. Its value is tied not to anything inherent or living, but to the power it confers on those who control it. It retains no inherent dignity, and realistically speaking, one can no more “violate” or “victimize” a piece of property than one can sell the sky. Pursued to its logical end, the bourgeois-liberal affections for this constructed value that have seemingly shaped this debate would find us placing the violation of natural life within the realm of banality we typically reserve for the proverbial “spilled milk.” To be sure, our struggles would be rendered quite groundless if we were to capitulate to this irrational affinity.

When we read of Joshua blowing his horn, and the walls of Jericho “crumbling down” (as the old spiritual tells it), we are not inclined to balk at such a shocking display of callous irreverence for the value of property (although the slaughter that ensued might cause us to raise an eyebrow at the apparent disregard for human life therein). But let’s face it, those who smashed Starbucks windows in Seattle did not then proceed to “lay waste to everything inside, man and woman,” as did Joshua’s followers. Similarly, we would think schoolteachers foolish and historically irresponsible to emphasize the value of the tea disposed of during the Boston Tea Party, over the spirit of the patriots who disposed of it. When we apply this lens to the crusade for the rights of property, which seems to have reared its head within our movement(s), the implicit shift in priorities begins to take on an almost pathological character. Nike’s

right to an immaculate storefront takes priority over the tens of thousands of workers exploited beyond the reaches of our imaginations within their factories. McDonald's right to colonize the entire planet takes priority over the health problems our children will face, when every inch of rainforest has been leveled to graze an industrialized and bloated (not to mention horribly exploited) methane-producing cattle population. The absurd scenarios produced by these ethical acrobatics are likely limitless.

This is not to suggest that targeting property is a universally viable or even preferable tactic. Nor does it do away with the reality that attacking property is, indeed, an attack of sorts—and entails a very real aggression of sorts, which oftentimes serves to alienate sectors of the population critical to the success of any movement. While our "tactical toolbox"should be as diverse and dynamic as possible (not to mention subject to relevant scrutiny), the values central to the struggles within which we apply those tools must not be jeopardized in the process, or appropriated by institutions, ideologies, or the propaganda of wealth and power.

Kadd Stephens is an anarchist active in Washington, DC.

Hearts, Minds and Property Destruction

By Mandy Carter

In the late 1960s, during the Vietnam War, I was a staff member of WRL/West in San Francisco. I was attracted to the War Resisters League because of its commitment to Gandhian nonviolence and nonviolent direct action.

Then new, controversial tactics emerged in the antiwar movement, like pouring blood on—or burning—draft files. The rationale was that if you shut down a draft board, even if for a few days or weeks, it would help stop the war machine for that long. Others in the movement practiced "do it but don't get caught": During a "Stop The Draft Week" in Oakland, some protesters turned over cars, slashed tires and committed other acts of physical destruction. They never stayed around to be accountable for their actions.

We at WRL/West had a different view. We took the long-term view that the way to "shut down" a draft board or an induction center was to cut off all the men so that there would be no one coming through these places.

And the folks doing nonviolent civil disobedience were accountable. We got arrested, went to court and told the judge that we knew exactly what we were doing and would do jail time rather than pay a fine and leave, all in the effort to underscore our commitment to end the war in Vietnam. (We did jail time rather than just pay a fine and go home. In the civil rights movement, bail wasn't an option because folks didn't have the money—it was "jail, no bail." Even when we were getting arrested during the antiwar movement, the rationale for "jail, no bail" was that in addition to countering the institution of war, we were also countering the institution of incarceration.)

That debate continues to this day. Instead of destruction of draft boards or induction centers, it is now weapons systems, or stores of multinational corporations such as Starbucks and McDonald's. Both of the aforementioned had their windows and signs destroyed during the 1999 World Trade Organization meetings in Seattle. Last year in Vancouver, at the protests against the Organization of American States, demonstrators hurled rocks and debris at the police.

When I think back to my introduction to the movement, I am very grateful that the first two groups I got involved in were the American Friends Service Committee and the War Resisters League. Both are longtime, pacifist-based national/international organizations. They gave me the philosophical underpinning that has stayed with me for the past 32 years and counting.

I think a key reason why we have the "do it but don't get caught" and the physical destruction

segments in our movement is because of a lack of an introduction, or philosophical underpinning for folks when they are getting involved in the movement. (Where are the role models?) Another possible reason is that it is more "sexy" or "romantic" to be doing those kinds of actions. But history has shown us time and time again that we must be in it for the long haul and that it's not about taking shortcuts. So I still am committed to nonviolence and nonviolent direct action. I am still committed to the change of hearts and minds and the changing of public policy. Thank you, WRL!

A former staffer at WRL regional offices in San Francisco, Los Angeles and Durham, NC, Mandy Carter has committed civil disobedience for economic and racial justice and against war and the draft across the United States and in Europe.

Civil Disobedience and Riots

By Sachio Ko-Yin

Let me begin by stating my respect for the Black Bloc participants. Those whom I know, at least, are my fellow anarchists, and are so sincere in their desire to end the corporate globalization! But although in our discussions our mutual call for justice is clear, so is our philosophical divide when it comes to pacifism.

When several dozen people destroy property in a frenzy (and my impression is that some Black Bloc actions have been frenzied), ready to flee the scene, I would say that is distinct from civil disobedience. I would rather call it rioting. So the question comes: Do I regard the riots in Seattle, for example, as nonviolent? And how do they differ from Plowshares? I will answer as honestly as I can. I'm very open to discussion on these points.

I think of violence and nonviolence as a spectrum between two absolutes, so this action may be closer to the nonviolent pole, or that one a little further away. Some pacifists are uncomfortable with property damage. For myself, if it causes no harm to person or creature, even potentially, nor targets an individual, I see it as a great tool when such horrors as weapons of mass destruction or beneficiaries of so-called free trade are invisible. But because it's so challenging to a property-conscious society, our emphasis on nonviolence and non-hatred has to be so much stronger, to the point of open ceremony, out of reflection rather than rage.

I think throwing a brick through a Starbucks' window could be a form of civil disobedience, if it were ceremonially done and you waited in nonviolence to proclaim your purpose to the powers that be. But in the context of riots, a brick takes on a different characteristic.

So here are my concerns about riots. (Black Bloc friends, I hope I don't offend you!). The issue is not property damage so much as what I perceive as a kind of group hysteria of anger, what comes across as a hatred of police as individuals, and unwillingness to be accountable for one's actions.

Closer to the nonviolent pole I would put the Gandhian ideas of "means becoming ends," of operating out of reflection rather than in fast-paced battle, of love for the opponent, and of treating police with dignity while decrying the injustice they protect. (And we should decry their brutality to the rioters!) Civil disobedience allows for dialogue after the action in that we do not mask ourselves or run away, but speak with the very persons who would jail us. There is a chance for moral persuasion to occur, which would be lost if we never came out of the shadows. So the difference between Plowshares and riots is the difference between riots and any civil disobedience. Of course they have elements in common, but their approaches are fundamentally different.

My particular friends in the Black Bloc agree with this analysis. They believe that ends and means are different. They settle for tactical nonviolence, but given the right historical circumstance, armed struggle would be justified for them. So I don't think it's unfair to say their ideology is not nonviolent. As for their actions? Someone can do civil disobedience with hatred in their hearts, but the overall tone of civil

disobedience is one of action out of reflection, and peace. And even if there are pacifists in the Black Bloc (as I'm sure there are), the dominant tone, at least to me, is one of blind rage; even if there were no injuries, the potential for injury is ever-present. A riot is a time bomb of emotion. I would never want children to play inside a riot. But if children played jacks beside a Plowshares action, I think they would be extremely safe.

I hope I haven't misrepresented the Black Bloc in any way. I hope to learn more about their point of view.

Sachio Ko-Yin was a founding member of WRL's New Jersey local, the Root and Branch Collective, and has served on the WRL Executive Committee. Since he finished a two-and-a-half-year prison sentence for the Minuteman III Plowshares action of 1998, he has co-founded the Autonomous Arts Collective, an anarchist group in Lewisburg, PA.

Between Sticks and Swords

By Virginia Baron

Imagine a continuum of human progress that might run from violence to nonviolence, from unspeakable brutality to acts of compassion. Where would stone-throwing intersect the line? Somewhere between sticks and swords, I suppose, certainly well before the categories of noncooperation or negotiation on the path leading to Gandhian transformation.

And yet, during what has become known as the "first Intifada," North American activists liked to assert that Palestinian stone-throwing was harmless enough to be categorized as nonviolent. It was true that in relation to the Israeli army response of rubber bullets (lethal if fired at close range), bone-breaking and beatings, stone-throwing looked tame. But even the Palestinian shebab, the masked youth who expressed their anger in this ancient, pre-Biblical, but still available method of attack, never claimed to be acting nonviolently. They were revolting against an occupation they wanted to shake off with the means at hand.

Today, in the second Intifada, Palestinians have taken up rifles, mortars, car bombs, along with stones, in their desperate quest for liberation from an unjust, dehumanizing and illegal occupation. The Israeli army has responded with tanks, rockets, F-16 fighter jets, in what the international community has labeled "excessive force." The war has reached a deeper dimension of violence on both sides. In addition to military violence, there have been further Israeli expropriations of land, home demolitions, collective punishment by closures, and countless other intimidations and humiliations. Despair is rife inside both communities.

Perhaps sometime in the future, historians will look back and shake their heads in regret that a movement that took shape during the first Intifada was allowed to be defeated before it spread. Recriminations will be made. But what is important is to learn the lessons of the nonviolent outburst that transformed the town of Beit Sahour on the West Bank.

Their near-total boycott of Israeli goods, their vegetable gardens and livestock-raising directed toward self- sufficiency, their town-wide refusal to pay taxes, their noncooperation in numerous actions such as turning in identification cards to the Israeli military government, their continuing dialogues with Israelis and foreigners, their underground schools and social service committees, their overall nonviolent resistance to the occupying force—all that represented a rare example of solidarity. The power of Beit Sahour's nonviolent resistance became legendary, so legendary that the occupying military force put its foot down hard, but not before the PLO let it be known there was no support for this town's nonviolent leadership. Caught between the occupier and the government-in-exile, the movement was not allowed to succeed.

The people of Beit Sahour paid a heavy price. They were willing to pay it. They did not run from

the consequences of their resistance. I would like to think the actions and loyalty this town developed in those days were a precursor of the future state. The townspeople wonder now if all the sacrifices were worth making. But they have traveled too far on that continuum toward nonviolence and learned too much about commitment not to keep moving ahead and setting the pattern.

(Note: Beit Sahour will be cooperating in Nonviolence Resistance Camps throughout the West Bank the summer of 2001.)

Virginia Baron, President of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, has traveled in, and written widely about, the Middle East.

Nonviolence and Unconditional Love

By Melissa Jameson

"Our only hope today lies in our ability to recapture the revolutionary spirit and go out into a sometimes hostile world declaring eternal hostility to poverty, racism, and militarism. This call for a world-wide fellowship that lifts neighborly concern beyond one's tribe, race, class, and nation is in reality a call for an all-embracing and unconditional love for all men and women."
—From *The Essential Writings of Martin Luther King Jr.*

I have been a supporter of Plowshares for several years, starting when our WRL local did support work for the Pax Christi Spirit of Life Plowshares in 1993, and most recently participating in active support for the Minuteman 3 Plowshares. The property damage with which I am most familiar is done in relatively small groups, with tremendous preparation, against weapons that indiscriminately kill and have the potential to destroy all life on the planet. Since the globalization of destruction began with the development of the atom bomb, I think these weapons are ultimately at the root of so much, and should not exist. I also think that action directed at removing them should be thoughtful and measured. Accountability for one's actions is key.

This lends itself to the possibility of transformation through consciousness-raising, of dialogue with one's oppressor, of this idea of unconditional love. Staying at the scene of the crime to continue the dialogue begun by one's action is in keeping with the idea of humanizing your oppressor, and that continues all through the process of court and prison. Although there were many people in our local community who did not agree with the Plowshares action done by a local resident, because the manner in which the action was carried out was open and thoughtful, the reasons behind it were clear. This opened the door for much conversation about disarmament, the military and love. Statements written by the actors were distributed and they were willing to speak to anyone about their motivation. The court process allowed even further dialogue, and our support committee continued the conversation locally begun by the symbolic disarmament many states away.

I think the parameters of nonviolent action are the limits to which one can stretch one's imagination to include a transformation that truly builds the new society in the shell of the old. I would rather not focus on whether one form or property damage or another is violent, but on why we do what we do, and how we get there from here. Since one of the tenets of nonviolence is at least the recognition of the humanity of one's opponent or oppressor, actions that do not allow that, for me, would not be a way I would choose to express myself. If nonviolence means without injury, then nonviolent action would have to mean things that do not bring harm to another living being. If means and ends are intricately, intimately linked, and we are seeking a nonviolent society, then the society we seek to build should be mirrored through our actions.

Melissa Jameson is the Director of the WRL National Office.

Stopping the Runaway Train

By Lelia Spears

If there were a train without brakes headed straight for my family and I could devise a way to disarm it, to slow it down or stop it in its tracks, I would do it in a heartbeat.

I feel the same way about war. The idle machines that are hacked at in Plowshares actions represent trains without brakes headed for thousands of people.

I have great respect for those who uphold their convictions that way. In my view the destruction of violent property is actively nonviolent. At the end of the day, if a "violent" action prevents greater violence—damaging slaughterhouse equipment, say—then whether it is actually violent at all comes into question.

Just as I had gotten that far, my father cut right through my argument by asking whether I was comfortable with property destruction committed by abortion opponents. I was immediately uncomfortable because in my mind any property destruction at a clinic would be violent.

Lesson #1: I evaluate whether I am comfortable with the when-where-who-what-why-hows of property destruction on a case-by-case basis.

It is fact that clinics providing abortions make living conditions safer for women—although whether I agree or not, the people at the Pentagon and their supporters also feel that the tools of destruction are creating safety in the world. Beyond defending clinics, however, I also perceive a threat to the safety of the people that come to the clinic—I'm afraid of the abortion opponents' next step. Because violence, even only against property, is perceived as escalatory, how can we as activists assure others that our violence against destructive property is not going to escalate to violence against humans? People do perceive a personal threat of violence after witnessing, for instance, someone breaking a sweatshop merchandiser's window. (In the case of Plowshares actions, because most of the sites where they happen are so remote, that perception is greatly reduced. I think that aspect of the Plowshares actions is strategically convenient and, unfortunately, not plausible in most other actions.)

At last September's protests in Prague against the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, demonstrators threw Molotov cocktails at the police. I know that this is not a new tactic or topic of conversation, but many of my fellow activists found this violence amusing and exciting. I was not amused. I agree that police function as tools of the ruling class. But police are not the same as a missile—they're not destructive property deserving harm. If the next step from property destruction is violence against people, then I do not want even to start. Just as I would not harm the attack dogs at protests, I have no interest in harming fellow human beings—even those who have shown their own abusive tendencies.

I accept the destruction of property as a tool in an activist's toolbox, but because I personally do not consider it the most communicative tactic I feel it should be reserved for times when all other means of expression have been exhausted.

*Lelia Spears is a student-activist at American University in Washington. She works with AU Queers and Allies, AU Animal Rights Effort and the social justice group the Movement and has been a core organizer of the National Conference on Civil Disobedience/Organized Resistance (*NVA*, May-June).*

Rules? Which Rules? And Whose?

By David McReynolds

The question of which actions are nonviolent can become terribly theological and pointless. For

instance, if I had a gun and saw someone with a machine gun about to shoot a room full of people, wouldn't it be more nonviolent if I killed the person than let the room full of people be killed? But, of course, what was a pacifist doing with a gun in hand in the first place?

Rules are tricky. I've never been fully at ease with the Plowshares actions—and my unease hasn't been a secret—since I believe honesty is part of nonviolence. Yet when WRL sent groups to Moscow's Red Square and the White House lawn to issue simultaneous calls for disarmament in 1978, we didn't tell the Soviets (or the White House) in advance, so I have broken my own rule. (And boy! Did I feel nervous that day walking into Red Square!). Perhaps in the end it comes down to what style you are comfortable with. I am happiest if the arrest fits the old Gandhian mode, in which you notify the police before you break the law and quietly submit to arrest after you've broken it. (I don't believe in going limp; that has always seemed to me a violent act against a possibly out-of-shape cop who might have a heart attack trying to toss me in the police wagon).

What bothers me about property destruction is partly just the destruction—I'd rather be on the side of creating. I can understand being so angry that I'd pick up a brick and throw it through a window. But I can't understand coming to a demonstration with a brick in my shoulder bag just in case I get so angry.

The other thing is what's called accountability: The Plowshares folks have been very clear that, while they don't notify the authorities in advance, they will wait for arrest after their symbolic smashing is done. If someone says in advance, "I'm going to smash a MacDonald's window and then stand there and be arrested," that's very different from putting on a black mask, breaking the general rules the organizers have worked out and running up to smash the window and then running away. Not only is that a very poor approach to abolishing capitalism, which is much more complex, and will take weeks and weeks, and even months of months of hard work, but it alienates the public, which is, I think, our real target.

It also divides the movement itself, if it breaks an agreement on what the limits of the action are going to be. If folks are going to engage in window-smashing, they ought to set their own time and place for it, and not mix it up with a demonstration in which most of the people aren't into that.

In the end, when I watch masked demonstrators smashing windows and thinking that that is nonviolent action, it seems to me there is a thin line between deep conviction and murderous fanaticism. Nonviolence is an effort to stay on the loving side of that line.

David McReynolds served on the War Resisters League staff from 1960 through 1998. His own approach to nonviolence will appear in a pamphlet (based on essays published in WRL's other regular publication, the Key List), to be published by the A.J. Muste Memorial Institute.

Context Is All

By Joanne Sheehan

Is hammering on a nose cone nonviolent? Is breaking a sweatshop window nonviolent?

The parameters of nonviolent action are influenced by the situation and our approach and attitude. I don't think those questions can be answered out of context. In trying to, we oversimplify the definitions of nonviolence—and we focus more on property than principles, which is perhaps the very criticism I have of those who vehemently disagree with both these actions.

There is no simple answer as to how to define what is a nonviolent action, because there is no simple definition of nonviolence. But we still have to make personal decisions regarding our own actions and find ways to come to consensus about organizing nonviolent actions.

Here are some characteristics of nonviolent action I've learned in three decades of committing,

organizing and training for civil disobedience:

Nonviolent actions are most powerful when done in the context of a nonviolent campaign. Nonviolent campaigns are developed to accomplish specific goals. A nonviolent campaign is a process through which people come together with a common vision, common goals and creative strategies employing a diversity of tactics (including educating, training, developing allies, negotiating, building alternative institutions, legislative and electoral action, demonstrating, doing civil disobedience, all moving to resolve the injustice.) Such a campaign is more than a group of projects strung together over a period of time; its power comes in the creative combination of these components and in the strategic thinking and commitment of the participants.

A nonviolent campaign should take people through processes of empowerment. It should be personally empowering, involving people discovering and exercising their own power against oppression, exclusion and violence and for participation, peace and human rights. Groups working on a campaign develop a collective power, learning how to be organizers and becoming political strategists in the process. A progression of campaigns can move us toward social empowerment that leads to the social transformation we are working for.

Campaign-building gives us more opportunity to define the situation, rather than simply react, and thereby develop a nonviolent approach based on nonviolent principles.

How do we define nonviolent principles? The War Resisters' International Statement of Principles, rewritten three years ago, has particular meaning for me because it was written by an international group using a consensus process. Describing our commitment to nonviolence, the statement says:

WRI embraces nonviolence. For some, nonviolence is a way of life. For all of us, it is a form of action that affirms life, speaks out against oppression, and acknowledges the value of each person.

Nonviolence can combine active resistance, including civil disobedience, with dialogue; it can combine noncooperation—withdrawal of support from a system of oppression—with constructive work to build alternatives. As a way of engaging in conflict, sometimes nonviolence attempts to bring reconciliation with it: strengthening the social fabric, empowering those at the bottom of society, and including people from different sides in seeking a solution. Even when such aims cannot immediately be achieved, our nonviolence holds us firm in our determination not to destroy other people.

But those principles make no mention of property destruction, although I think they are a foundation for individuals and groups to work out their own relationship to the question. For myself, I believe that some property has no right to exist, including nuclear weapons, with their capacity for destruction. But if we choose to destroy that property, I think we need to be extremely responsible and premeditative in order to maintain a commitment to nonviolence. And we should be prepared for the consequences.

Plowshares actions are carefully organized by small groups of people. Would it be possible to organize hundreds or even thousands of people to bang on a nose cone and maintain a commitment to nonviolence? Only if it was a well-trained group committed to nonviolence and prepared for the brutality that the destruction of such weapons might rain upon them. Nonviolence guidelines for actions such as A Day Without the Pentagon often include "no property destruction," not because the organizers believe that property destruction is not nonviolent, but because it is not a tactic that can be carefully organized in a mass nonviolent direct action.

I have a more difficult time defining breaking a window as a nonviolent action, especially in a mass action. Some of my tactical and philosophical questions include:

Is there a difference between breaking the window of an actual sweatshop and breaking the

window of a store—like Niketown or Starbucks—that sells the sweatshop goods?

Is breaking windows in the midst of a mass "nonviolent action" exactly what the police want us to do, so that police force can be "justified"?

Who is affected when a window is broken? Who is hurt? The corporation or the workers?

Will it put the kind of pressure on the adversary that will move them?

I also think we need to look at gender issues here. Is there a macho element to property destruction? Do these actions marginalize women? Are women an important part of the decision-making processes?

Do we look at the parameters of nonviolent actions differently depending on whether we see nonviolence as a philosophy or a tactic? Is this a generational issue? If so, does that mean the new generation of activists is moving away from nonviolence as a philosophy?

Finally, we need to ask, what is our power? Where does our power lie? Do such tactics as window-breaking (and, for that matter, Plowshares actions) extend and broaden it? It is understandable how people would feel powerful destroying something they see as wrong, but is it a tactic that moves us toward social transformation?

Those are all questions that need serious discussion, always remembering Barbara Deming's definition: "Nonviolence is an exploration, one that has just begun."

WRL New England staffer Joanne Sheehan is the Chair of War Resisters' International. Her first movement work was with the East Coast Conspiracy to Save Lives doing defense committee work for the draft board raids in the early '70s.

Stages of Movement Development

(from George Lakey, Trainers for Change)

Source: http://www.starhawk.org/activism/stages-strategy.html

- Cultural preparation
- Building organizational strengths
- Drama of repression (Propaganda of the Deed)
- Noncooperation
- Parallel institutions

Strategy Questions:

- What are your long-range goals?
- How do you want institutions to look in the new society?
- How will work and trade be organized?
- How will decisions be made?
- How will the next generation be nurtured?

Stage one: cultural preparation

- Who should you work with at first?
- Where will you find initiative takers, who will take responsibility, and accept the job of moving things along?

- How do these people see themselves?
- What changes do people need in the way they look at themselves?
- What ideas about themselves need to change in order to be consciously revolutionary?
- What are the changes they need to make in their view of the world?
- What kind of analysis needs to be developed? (Intellectual backfill)
- How can complexity be clarified? Dogma avoided?
- How detailed does the vision of a new society need to be?
- How are our short-term goals, medium-term goals and the vision related?
- What methods of consciousness raising makes sense for the kind of people you want to work with?
- Especially regarding their cultural and economic background, etc.?
- What kind of strategy approaches will be useful?
- What new information can inform decisions regarding strategy?

Stage two: organization building (creating model alternative institutions)

- Considering people's historical experience with organizational structures, especially people of color, women, and other historically marginalized groups, what forms of organization makes sense?
- Looking ahead to stage five where strong organization is necessary, can the form withstand growth?
- How will the new organization provide the social goods of the institution it seeks to replace?
- What is the role of alternative institutions and building the revolutionary movement?
- What is the role of rank-and-file movements in labor? Of radical caucuses in the professions? Of action groups which develop campaigns? Of support groups?
- How can organizational units link? Informal networks? Hierarchical arrangements? Other?
- Which allies need to be reached out to at this stage?
- How can honest and reliable relationships be built between revolutionist and nonrevolutionary organizations and institutions, so each can help the other?
- How can feedback and room for dissent be built into organizations so as not to become rigid or become dominated by elites?

Stage three: propaganda of deed

- Who is the "audience," the people who, when watching the drama of confrontation, can be won over to the side of revolution?
- What are the central ideas you want the actions to communicate?
- What are the tactics, or methods, of confrontation which will communicate the central messages?
- Who or what is the opponent of these confrontations?
- What support do people need to get through this state successfully, so they will not back down, become intimidated, or get isolated?
- Conflict tends to polarize. How can the side effects be minimized?

Stage 4: mass noncooperation

- Whose cooperation is the system dependent on?
- Who can provide the mass space for noncooperation?
- What noncooperation tactics may be appropriate (strike, boycott, tax refusal, slow-downs, etc.)?
- How will noncooperation be coordinated?
- How will the movement's understanding of what is happening be communicated across to people in general, especially when the elite is trying to confuse the issue?
- How can the movement reach out to opponents, and help individuals in the ruling class and bureaucratic command posts cross over to the revolution or at least be supportive in some ways?

- What is the role of the movement in providing services in the middle of economic and social dislocation? For example alternative economic institutions.

Stage 5: Parallel Institutions

- What are the legitimate functions of the old order, the things which have been done which actually need doing even though in different ways? (for example, growing food, and providing transportation).
- How will the movement meet these legitimate functions?
- How can people show their acceptance of new institutions?
- What will happen to the old power-holders?
- What are the actual tactics of power transfer?
- What are the international connections in this process?
- How can we avoid the revolution freezing into new rigidities?
- How can we sow the seeds for continuing flexible growth of the new institutions?
- How can the empowerment of people continue to be deepened and strengthened after the excitement of getting rid of the old order wears off?

V. Group Process, Anti-Oppression and Affinity Groups

Consensus Process

from: http://www.activism.net/peace/nvcdh/consensus.htm

What Is Consensus?

Consensus is a process for group decision-making. It is a democratic 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 assumes that people are always competitive and that agreement can only be reached through compromise. Consensus assumes that people are willing to agree with each other, and that in such an atmosphere, conflict and differences can result in creative and intelligent decisions. Another important assumption made in consensus is that the process requires everyone's participation, in speaking and in listening. No ideas are lost, each member's input is valued as part of the solution, and feelings are as important as facts in making a decision. It is possible for one person's insights or strongly held beliefs to sway the entire group, but participation should always remain equal.

What Does Consensus Mean?

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 responsiblity of consensus is to assure others of their right to speak and be heard. Since our society provides very little training in these areas, we have to unlearn many behavior patterns in order to practice good consensus process (see "Overcoming Oppressive Behavior," in this handbook). Consensus does not mean that everyone thinks that the decision made is the most efficient way to accomplish something, or that they are absolutely sure it will work. What it does mean is that in coming to that decision, no one felt that her or his position on the matter wasn't considered carefully. Hopefully, everyone will think it is the best decision; this often happens because, when consensus works properly, collective intelligence does come up with better solutions than could individuals.

The Process of Consensus Agreement, at least informally, should be sought on every aspect of group meetings, including the agenda, the times the group should take for each item, and the process the group should use to work through its tasks. The following is an outline of formal consensus, the process a group uses to come to agreement on a particular course of action. First, the problem should be clearly stated. This might take some discussion, in order for the group to identify what needs to be solved. Then discussion should take place about the problem, so the group can start working towards a proposal. The biggest mistake people make in consensus is to offer proposals too soon, before the group has had time to fully discuss the issue. Tools a group can use during this preliminary period of discussion include brainstorms, go-rounds, and breaking up into small groups. When it is apparent that the group is beginning to go over the same ground, a proposal can be made which attempts to synthesize all the feelings and insights expressed. The proposal should be clearly stated. Then discussion is held on the proposal, in which it is amended or modified. During this discussion period, it is important to articulate differences clearly. It is the responsibility of those who are having trouble with a proposal to put forth alternative suggestions. When the proposal is understood by everyone, and there are no new changes asked for, someone (usually the facilitator) can ask if there are any objections or reservations to the proposal. It helps to have a moment of silence here, so that no-one feels coerced into agreeing. If there are no objections, the group is asked "Do we have consensus?" All members of the group should then actively and visibly signal their agreement, paying attention to each member of the group. After consensus is reached, the decision should be clearly restated, as a check that everyone is clear on what

has been decided. Before moving away from the subject, the group should be clear who is taking on the responsibility for implementing the decision.

Difficulties in Reaching Consensus

If enough discussion has occurred, and everyone has equally participated, there should not be a group decision which cannot be supported by everyone. But depending on the importance of the decision, the external conditions, and how the process has gone, the group might be on the verge of reaching a decision you cannot support. There are several ways of expressing your objections:

Non-support: "I don't see the need for this, but I'll go along with the group."

Reservations: "I think this may be a mistake, but I can live with it."

Standing Aside: "I personally can't do this, but I won't stop others from doing it."

Blocking: "I cannot support this or allow the group to support this. It is immoral." If a final decision violates someone's moral values, they are obligated to block consensus. A decision by an affinity group spokescouncil can only be blocked by an entire affinity group, not by an individual. Blocks will rarely occur if the group has fully discussed a proposal.

Withdrawing from the group. Obviously, if many people express non-support or reservations, or leave the group temporarily through standing aside, there may not be a viable decision even if no-one directly blocks it. This is what as known as a "luke-warm" consensus and is just as desirable as a lukewarm bath or a lukewarm beer. If consensus is blocked and no new consensus is 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 come up with each affinity group should be worked through as soon as the group forms. Discussions about values and goals are as important as discussions about actions to be taken, and too frequently get pushed aside by groups who feel time pressures.

Roles in Consensus Process

In large groups, it is helpful to designate roles for people to help the process move along. It is important to rotate these responsibilities for each meeting so that skills and power can be shared. Ideally, such responsibilities should belong to everyone, and not just the designated person.

Facilitator

The facilitator's job is to help the group move through the agreed-upon agenda, and to make sure everyone gets a chance to speak by calling on them in order. Facilitators should see that speaking opportunities are evenly distributed; that quiet people get a chance to speak and people who talk too much are given a chance to listen. The facilitator should observe when the discussion seems to be nearing the point when a proposal could be made. S/he can then call for a proposal or offer one to the group, and after more discussion if necessary, s/he can then guide the group through the check for consensus as outlined above. Facilitators should not use their position as a platform from which to offer solutions; solutions should arise from the group, and no-one should facilitate if they find they have strong opinions on a given issue. A facilitator can always hand over her or his responsibilites temporarily if s/he feels it necessary to step down. The group should not rely upon the facilitator to solve process problems, but should be ready to help with suggestions on how to proceed. Very large groups should use two or more facilitators.

Vibeswatcher

Vibeswatchers are useful in large groups where people don't know each other, and their job is to be attuned to the emotional state of the group. Is the group tense, or bored, or too silly? The vibeswatcher

might suggest a game, or more light, or open windows, or a group hug. Sometimes simply calling attention to an emotional undercurrent that may be affecting group process is helpful. Vibeswatchers should also call the group's attention to a person whose anger or fear is being ignored, or to people who may be involved in a dialogue that has its causes outside of the group's activities. Vibeswatchers also should assume the role of "gatekeeper," taking care of any external disturbance for the group.

Timekeeper

A timekeeper keeps the group on track by giving the group a warning halfway through that discussion time is running out and by asking the group if it wants to contract for more time on a given issue. Timekeepers should ask if people want to set specific time limits on brainstorms or time allotments to each speaker on go-rounds. Before speaking themselves, timekeepers should be sure that someone else is timekeeping for that period.

Notetaker

A notetaker tries to clearly record key points of discussions, the consensus decisions reached by the group, things that were left to be decided later, and who has taken on responsibilites for particular tasks. The group (or the facilitator for the next meeting) should be able to use the notes to construct the agenda for the next meeting. A notetaker can also be helpful during the meeting to remind the group of key points covered in discussion if the group is having trouble formulating a proposal.

It's important to emphasize that every member of the group should try to facilitate, vibeswatch, timekeep, and notetake. Sharing the responsibility ensures that power is distributed equally within the group and makes consensus easier on everyone.

Decision-making During Actions

It is clear that consensus is a time consuming activity. It is therefore important for affinity groups to make their fundamental decisions prior to going to an action. Discuss in advance such questions as: What do we do if faced with a provocateur in our group or a nearby group? How long do we want to stay on site? How do we respond to police strategies designed to keep us away from the site? It helps for an affinity group to define for itself its particular goals, or tone. Such general definitions as "Our group will always go where numbers are most needed," or "We want to be where we will get media coverage," or "We want to leaflet workers inside the site," will help a group make decisions under stressful and changing circumstances. Be prepared for unexpected circumstances by selecting a spokesperson and a facilitator for your group for quick-decision making process during the action. It will be the spokesperson's responsibility to communicate the group's decisions to the action or cluster spokescouncil. It is the facilitator's responsibility to quickly and succinctly articulate the problem to be discussed and to eliminate those points where agreement has already been reached. It is the responsibility of everyone in the group to keep the discussion to a minimum if quick action is called for. If your point has already been made by someone else, don't restate it. A calm approach and a clear desire to come to an agreement quickly can help the process. Don't let anxiety overwhelm your trust in each other or your purpose in the action. Strong objections should be limited to matters of principle.

Tools for Consensus Process

Check-ins Usually used for introductions, but besides names, people can tell the group how they're feeling (anxious, silly, tired), or what they expect from the meeting (certain decisions, certain length). A group might adjust their agenda according to the emotional state or practical needs revealed by the group during check-in.

Go-rounds Each person is given a certain amount of time to speak on a particular subject, without having to comment on other contributions, or defend their own. Should be used at the beginning of discussion on an issue, if only a few people are doing the talking, or if the group seems stuck for good

solutions.

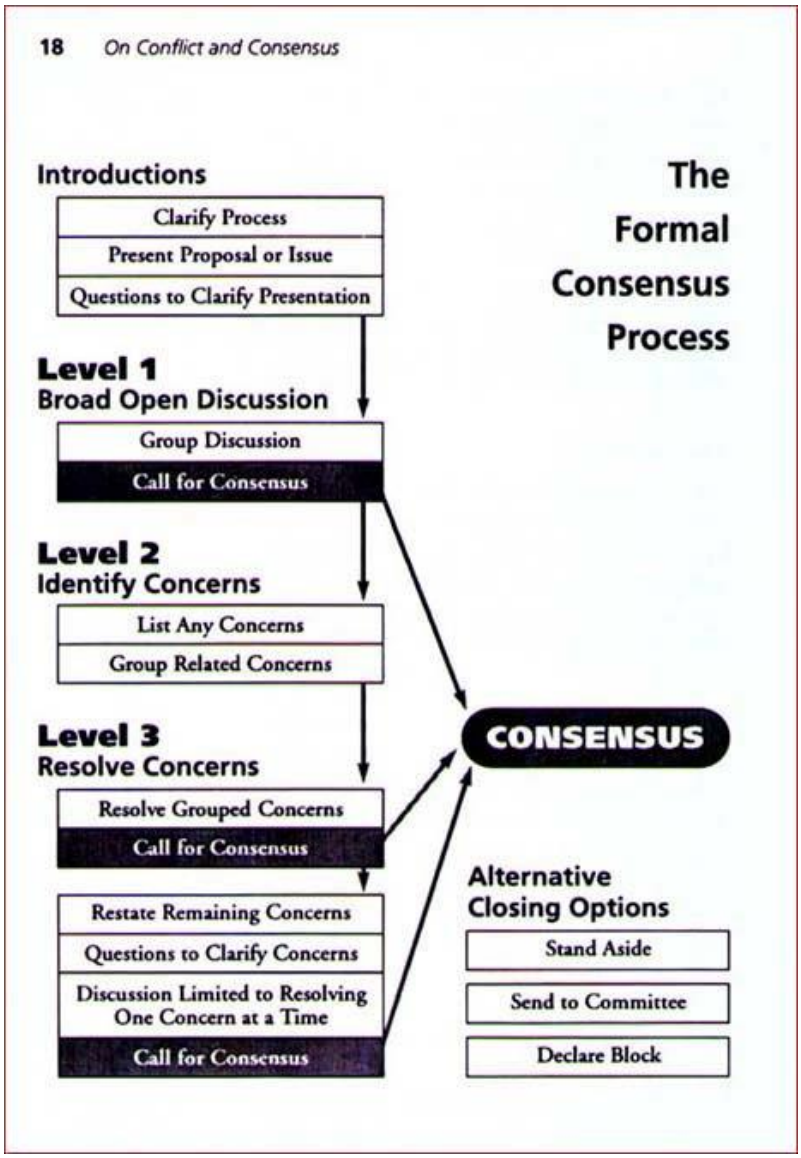
Brainstorms a short time during which people can call out suggestions, concerns, or ideas randomly, sometimes without being called on. Helps to get out a lot of ideas fast, stimulates creative thinking. It's not a time for discussion or dialogue. Someone can write down brainstorm ideas on a large sheet of paper so everyone can see and remember them.

Breaking up into small groups Depending on the size of the original group, this could be from three to a whole affinity group. A small group gets a chance to talk things over for a specified amount of time before reporting back to the large group. This gives people a chance to really listen to each other and express themselves, and is very useful when a group seems unable to come to consensus. In a spokescouncil meeting, breaking up into affinity groups to discuss issues or to make specific decisions is often necessary.

Fishbowl In a large group, or a small group which seems hopelessly divided, a fishbowl helps to make clear what's at stake in particular positions. A few people, particularly those who feel strongest about an issue, sit down together in the middle of the group and hash things out freely for a designated period of time while the group observes them. The people in the middle don't come to any decisions, but the fishbowl gives everyone a chance to hear the debate without involving the whole group; often hidden solutions are revealed.

Consensus Flow Chart

Source: http://www.consensus.net/flowchart.html



This is page 18 from *On Conflict and Consensus*. For specific questions about how to use the flow chart in your organization contact ctbutler@consensus.net

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Anti-Oppression

Principles of Anti-Oppression

(from Los Angeles Direct Action Network)

- Power and privilege play out in our group dynamics and we must continually struggle with how we challenge power and privilege in our practice.
- We can only identify how power and privilege play out when we are conscious and committed to understanding how racism, sexism, homophobia, and all other forms of oppression affect each one of us.
- Until we are clearly committed to anti-oppression practice all forms of oppression will continue to divide our movements and weaken our power.
- Developing a anti-oppression practice is life long work and requires a life long commitment. No single workshop is sufficient for learning to change one's behaviors. We are all vulnerable to being oppressive and we need to continuously struggle with these issues.
- Dialogue and discussion are necessary and we need to learn how to listen non defensively and communicate respectfully if we are going to have effective anti-oppression practice. Challenge yourself to be honest and open and take risks to address oppression head on.

Anti-*Oppression* Practice

(from Los Angeles Direct Action Network)

These practices are based on a series on conversations on the issue of racism. We recognize that there are many other forms of oppression that must be addressed. We have taken these practices and attempted to generalize them to other forms of oppression. This list is a beginning and it needs to be expanded upon. In the future we will continue discussions on all forms of oppression.

- When witnessing or experiencing racism, sexism, etc interrupt the behavior and address it on the spot or later; either one on one, or with a few allies.
- Give people the benefit of the doubt. Think about ways to address behavior that will encourage change and try to encourage dialogue, not debate.
- Keep space open for anti-oppression discussions; try focusing on one form of oppression at a time - sexism, racism, classism, etc.
- Respect different styles of leadership and communication.
- White people need to take responsibility for holding other white people accountable.
- Try not to call people out because they are not speaking.
- Be conscious of how much space you take up or how much you speak.
- Be conscious of how your language may perpetuate oppression.
- Don't push people to do things just because of their race and gender, base it on their word and experience and skills.
- Promote anti-oppression in everything you do, in and outside of activist space.
- Avoid generalizing feelings, thoughts, behaviors etc. to a whole group
- Set anti-oppression goals and continually evaluate whether or not you are meeting them.
- Don't feel guilty, feel motivated. Realizing that you are part of the problem doesn't mean you can't be an active part of the solution!

Class -Race Exercise

by Paul Kivel (adapted from Martin Cano)

Everyone starts out on a line in the middle of the room facing one wall. Participants are told that

the line is the starting line for a race to get some well-paying jobs, which they need to take care of their family. But before the race starts people's starting position will be adjusted somewhat via the following exercise. Participants are asked to silently take a step forward or backward depending upon the instructions if the statement applies to them. They should decide for themselves whether the statement applies, and, as much as possible, keep their steps the same size throughout the exercise.
Explain that the exercise will be done in silence to allow participants to notice the feelings that come up during the exercise and to make it safer for all participants.

Also please read notes at the end of page 3 and 4 for more instructions!

1. If your ancestors were forced to come to this country or forced to relocate from where they were living, either temporarily or permanently, or restricted from living in certain areas take one step backward.

2. If you feel that your primary ethnic identity is "American" take one step forward.

3. If you were ever called names or ridiculed because of your race, ethnicity or class background take one step backward.

4. If you grew up with people of color or working class people who were servants, maids, gardeners or babysitters in your house take one step forward.

5. If you were ever embarrassed or ashamed of your clothes, your house or your family car when growing up take one step backward.

6. If you have immediate family members who are doctors, lawyers, or other professionals take one step forward.

7. If pimping and prostitution, drugs, or other illegal activities were a major occupational alternative in the community where you were raised take one step backward.

8. If you ever tried to change your physical appearance, mannerisms, language or behavior to avoid being judged or ridiculed take one step backward.

9. If any women in your family, including yourself if you are female, were ever physically or sexually assaulted in any way by men in your family take one step backward.

10. If you studied the history and culture of your ethnic ancestors in elementary and secondary school take one step forward.

11. If you started school speaking a language other than English take one step backward.

12. If your family had more than fifty books in the house when you were growing up take one step forward.

13. If you ever skipped a meal or went away from a meal hungry because there wasn't enough money to buy food in your family take one step backward.

14. If you were taken to art galleries, museums or plays by your parents take one step forward.

15. If one of your parents was ever laid off, unemployed or underemployed not by choice take one step backward.

16. If you ever attended a private school or summer camp take one step forward.

17. If you received less encouragement in academics or sports from your family or from teachers because of your gender take one step backward.

18. If you or your family ever had to move because there wasn't enough money to pay the rent take one step backward.

19. If you were told by your parents that you were beautiful, smart, and capable of achieving your dreams take two steps forward.

20. If you were told by your parents that you were beautiful, pretty or good looking and therefore what you thought or did wasn't important take one step backward.

21. If you were ever discouraged or prevented from pursuing academic or work goals, ortracked into a lower level because of your race, class or ethnicity take one step backward.

22. If your parent/s encouraged you to go to college take one step forward.

23. If you were ever given less support than the boys in your family for going to college or pursuing work goals because of your gender take one step backward.

24. If you grew up in a single parent household take one step backward.

25. If, prior to your 18th birthday you took a vacation outside of your home state take one step forward.

26. If you have a parent who did not complete high school take one step backward.

27. If your parent(s) owned their own house take one step forward.

28. If you commonly see people of your race or ethnicity on television or in the movies in roles that you consider to be degrading take one step backward.

29. If you ever got a good paying job or a promotion because of a friend or family member take one step forward.

30. If you were ever denied a job because of your race or ethnicity take one step backward.

31. If you were ever denied a job, paid less for comparable work or had less qualified men promoted over you because of your gender take one step backward.

2. If, as a white person, you ever worked in a job where people of color held more menial jobs, were paid less or otherwise harassed or discriminated against take one step forward.

33. If you were ever paid less, treated less fairly, or given harder work than a white person in a similar position because of your race or ethnicity take one step backward.

34. If you were ever mistrusted or accused of stealing, cheating or lying because of your race, ethnicity or class take one step backward.

35. If you ever inherited money or property take one step forward.

36. If you primarily use public transportation to get where you need to go take one step backward.

37. If you generally think of the police as people that you can call on for help in times of emergency take one step forward.

38. If you have ever been stopped by police because of your race, ethnicity or class take one step backward.

39. If you ever felt afraid of violence directed toward you because of your race take one step backward.

40. If, in general, you can avoid those communities or places that you consider dangerous take one step forward.

41. If you ever felt uncomfortable or angry about a remark or joke made about your race or ethnicity but it wasn't safe to confront it take one step backward.

42. If you or close friends or family were ever a victim of violence because of your race or ethnicity take one step backward.

43. If your parent(s) did not grow up in the United States take one step backward.

After the last statement everyone is asked to freeze in place, without looking around, and to notice briefly where they are, who is in front of them and who they can and cannot see. Then they are asked to look around and notice briefly where they and everyone else is. What feelings do they have and what patterns do they notice?

Then people are told that they are in a race to the front wall for some well paying, good jobs. They should imagine that they need one of those jobs to support themselves and their family. When told to, they are to run towards the wall as fast as they can. The first few to the front wall will get those jobs. Quickly say, "Ready, set, go," to start the race (and get out of the way!).

Have participants pair up and talk for a few minutes about whatever feelings came up during the exercise.

Group discussion.

This exercise works well as a follow-up to the power chart to make it concrete what the difference in power means. It introduces class and race and the intertwining of the two. And can raise issues of individual achievement, "level-playing field," affirmative action, and the different reactions people have to an unequal system. (e.g. given where they ended up in the room, how did that affect how hard they ran towards the front wall? Did they run at all?) The exercise is also a good setup for the economic pyramid exercise and a discussion of the economic system.

After the exercise it is important to point out that the race actually takes place in a stadium. The winners of the race were declared before the race started. The ruling class is sitting in the stands watching the whole event with amusement. They don't have to race because they've been awarded the very best, most high paying jobs before the race even began. In fact, they've been betting on who would run for those jobs the fastest. How does this added information affect people's commitment to the race? To how hard they might run? To their sense of justice?

How To Make Meetings Work in a Culturally Diverse Group

Source: http://www.casagordita.com/diverse.htm

A meeting held in a culturally diverse environment is anything but business as usual. In fact, meetings can be the arena where differences in cultural programming show themselves most clearly...or confusingly, as the case may be.

Have you ever felt frustrated when you throw a question out to the group and all you get are polite smiles, or people who won't look you in the eye?

Are you irritated when you expect a lively discussion of the pros and cons of a plan you are considering, and you get no discussion at all?

When voices get raised and it seems that the discussion is turning contentious and angry, do you wonder what went wrong?

Maybe it's cultural

While the behaviors you expect are second nature to you, they might not be to someone born in a different country or socialized in a different culture. Think about your group. What different nationalities, ethnicities, and cultures are represented in your meetings? Then take a look at the behaviors you value and expect of people at those meetings. These might include:

- speaking out
- making suggestions
- disagreeing with someone in an authority role
- stating an opinion
- taking "no" for an answer
- giving criticism
- asking questions
- speaking in a moderate, conversational tone
- seeing other points of view
- making presentations
- accepting praise

Which of these bother you when they're absent? Could it be they're not happening because they're discouraged in some cultures?

For example, in many cultures, people in authority roles (bosses, teachers, group leaders, elders) are seen as the ones with the answers. Making a suggestion to one of these people might be seen as disrespectful, causing him/her to lose face. Asking questions or requesting clarification might seem to imply that the person is unable to make him/herself clear or doesn't know what he/she is talking about.

Different cultures also have different ideas about what constitutes a normal, civil discussion. Raised voices and vehement tones may be interpreted very differently by different people. What one person would see as a normal, if spirited conversation, another might perceive as an angry argument. On the other hand, a person who expects more feeling and fervor in a discussion might mistake a restrained or soft-spoken delivery as a lack of enthusiasm.

Another source of misunderstandings is a difference in attitudes about "the rules." American majority culture values structure and holds that there are many unwavering rules and limits that apply to everyone. In some other cultures, the expectation is that just about *anything* is negotiable. An initial "no" is seen as just an opening argument, not a final pronouncement. This can leave one party irritated because his/her credibility is being questioned, and one baffled by the other's rigid refusal to engage in negotiations.

It's important to understand that none of these ways of behaving and looking at the world is right, or better than the others--**they're just different**. People with diverse backgrounds can work well together and come to appreciate each other's cultures, as long as they make the effort to understand and accommodate their differing values and points of view.

Here are some things that you as a leader can do to help:

1. Examine expectations

Get the group to talk about what they want from each other in meetings, and what each person feels able to give. Encourage them to give each other feedback and to confirm that they're really understanding what someone is saying, and why. If people have different styles or ways of seeing the same behavior, encourage them to talk it through and try to understand the other's point of view. See what accommodations and compromises people can make for each other. Just exploring unspoken assumptions and learning what's behind another person's attitudes and behavior can clear up many misunderstandings.

People may be willing to go against some of their cultural norms, but it should be their choice, and one they are reasonably comfortable with. Be realistic about what you can expect people to change. For example, someone raised in a culture where singling out and praising an individual in front of others is taboo may always respond to public compliments with a certain amount of discomfort. You may need to find other ways to let that person know that he/she is valued and appreciated.

2. Create a comfortable tone

No matter how good a relationship you have with your members, the communication dynamics change in a more formal setting. Meetings intimidate some people; no one wants to look foolish in front of their peers. Cultural programming just complicates the matter. Setting a nonthreatening, comfortable tone should be first on your agenda.

You can reduce anxiety and increase participation by starting with a warmup activity that breaks the ice and gets everyone participating right away. There are several techniques that may help.

Ask open-ended questions like "So your biggest concern about this plan is..." or "The pros and cons of this system is..." or "If you could make just one change in this project, it would be..."

Ask for a simple numerical evaluation such as "On a scale of 1 to 5, rate the effectiveness of this new procedure."

3. Use small groups to get participation without violating cultural norms.

One of the laws of group dynamics is that the smaller the group, the greater the safety; therefore, the more the participation. The use of small groups can be your ally in working around cultural norms that may discourage people from speaking up and standing out from the whole group.

Let's take a look at how this works. Say you're planning an event and trying to put together an action plan and a timeline. You want to encourage people to look for potential problems and unrealistic expectations, so you can refine the plan now. One way to respect cultural "rules" and still get the input you need is to break people up into small groups where they can *collectively* list the possible glitches in your plan. Then no one individual has to be responsible for the criticism and not everyone has to speak before the whole group.

4. Write down the meeting content

In a multilingual arena, giving people two ways to absorb the information increases your effectiveness as a communicator. Many people for whom English is a second language have an easier time understanding written English than hearing it spoken.

Use handouts, flipcharts, chalkboards, whiteboards, even butcher paper taped to the wall to get your message across. Write down the agenda and the major points of the discussion. This allows people to integrate the information at their own pace.

Adapted from "How to Make Meetings Work in a Culturally Diverse Group" by Lee Gardenswartz, Ph.D. and Anita Rowe, Ph.D., originally published in Working World magazine.

Overcoming Masculine Oppression

by Bill Moyers

Source: http://dfong.com/nonviol/oppress.html

Many of the problems we run into in anti-nuclear 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.

Not giving answers and solutions. We can give our opinions in a manner which says we believe our ideas to be valuable, but no 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-up-manship. ``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.

Condescenscion 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 are less assertive than others or who don't feel comfortable participating in a competitive atmosphere are, in effect, cut off from the interchange of experience and ideas.

If sexism 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 Moyers of the Movement for a New Society (MNS). An edited version appeared in the **Pentagon '80 Handbook**, which was excerpted in the **Diablo Canyon Blockade/Encampment Handbook**, from which this was copied. For the complete article, write to MNS at 4722 Baltimore Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19143.*

Challenging White Supremacy: Political Perspectives

Source: Challenging White Supremacy, www.cwsworkshop.org

Our Vision

As social justice activists, we are all working for a world of self-determination, equality, and peace for all peoples; a world free of racism, class exploitation, patriarchy and heterosexism; a world which respects Mother Earth and all her creatures. The CWS organizers believe that such a world cannot be created unless there is revolutionary social change in the United States. And we believe that the most effective way to create fundamental social change is through building mass-based, multi-racial social movements, led by radical social justice activists of color.

Through experience and study, we have come to the conclusion that the major barrier to creating these mass movements is racism or white supremacy.

White Supremacy

We define white supremacy as an historically based, institutionally perpetuated system of exploitation and oppression of continents, nations, and peoples of color by white people and nations of the European continent, for the purpose of maintaining and defending a system of wealth, power, and privilege.

Learning From History

The history that has been hidden from us reveals how white supremacy was created in the United States, how it functions today, and what strategies might be useful in challenging it.

The United States is a capitalist nation-state created by military conquest. European colonialists stole the lands of the indigenous peoples of the Americas, committed genocide against the indigenous peoples, then kidnaped and enslaved African people to work the stolen land. The wealth created from land theft and enslaved labor made some of the colonialists very rich and enabled them to establish the United States. The United States was the world's first white supremacy state -- a state in which white supremacy and capitalism are like two peas in a pod.

The United States expanded its land by military conquest. It made war on Mexico and took half that nation's territory. It wrote laws that robbed the Mexican people of their homes and lands in "Occupied America." And it blessed this theft with the myth of "Manifest Destiny."

The U.S. imported Chinese and Mexican labor to build the railroads that would connect the vast land mass "from sea to shining sea." It used Mexican workers to grow the food and extract the minerals that made Occupied America a pasture of plenty for the rich. Then it hopped a gun-boat and gobbled up Puerto Rico, Cuba, Guam, Hawaii and the Philippines. And it has been invading nations of color ever since, until today the United States is the most powerful imperialist state in the world.

The slave-owning "Founding Fathers" founded a nation-state for white people only. When they wrote the U.S. Constitution, they legitimized slavery of African people and excluded indigenous peoples from the new republic. The Congress of the United States promised to respect the sovereignty and land rights of native nations. From 1790 to 1870, the U.S. signed 371 treaties with indigenous nations, and broke every treaty it signed.

The first Congress in 1790 declared that only white immigrants could become citizens; and non-citizens could not own land. In the 1890's, the U.S. welcomed newcomers from Europe, while excluding the Chinese. And in the 1990's, sojourners from Mexico and Central America are greeted by armed border guards and barbed wire fences, while those from Canada pass through with a wave of a hand.

White Privilege

'Privilege' is a right, advantage, favor or immunity specially granted to one, especially a right *held by a certain individual, group or class, and withheld from certain others or all others*. (Webster's Dictionary. Italics added.)

U.S. institutions and culture give preferential treatment to people whose ancestors came from Europe over peoples whose ancestors are from the Americas, Africa, Asia and the Arab world; and exempt European Americans -- white people-- from the forms of racial and national oppression inflicted upon peoples from the Americas, Africa, Asia and the Arab world. This web of institutional and cultural preferential treatment is called white privilege. In a white supremacy system, white privilege and racial oppression are two sides of the same coin.

Whites are differentially privileged, and these differences are vast. The white ruling class has state power. It owns and controls all the major institutions in the United States.

Non-ruling class whites are both oppressed and privileged. We are oppressed most significantly on the basis of class, gender and sexual orientation; and also on the basis of religion, culture, ethnicity, age, physical abilities and politics. But, at the same time, we are also privileged in relation to peoples of color. Ancestral origin from Europe gives white people preferential treatment and exemption from racial/national oppression, whether or not we personally support or agree with this unjust system of privilege.

The Strategy of the Slave Owners

In 17th century Virginia, slave-owning colonial rulers, faced with armed rebellion by African and European servants, created a strategy to prevent the oppressed majority from uniting against the colonial ruling class. They made "white" a legal concept to describe poor Europeans. They gave "white" servants, who demanded better treatment for themselves only, certain privileges (land, freedom, an opportunity for a job on the slave patrol, and a tiny bit of access to those with political power), but severely punished "whites" who organized with Africans. They maximized the oppression of Africans by solidifying chattel slavery, and they justified their actions by asserting the "superiority of the white race" and the "inferiority of non-white races."

The strategy was brilliant. The punishments deterred all but the most courageous Europeans from organizing with Africans or Native Americans. The privileges wiped out much of the material basis for unity between the most oppressed Europeans and all Africans, by giving freedom to the poor Europeans while enslaving the Africans. And poor European immigrants came to believe that the privileges given them by the ruling class were, in fact, their entitlements as 'white people.'

The strategy set a precedent which still works today. Virtually all the politically progressive movements led by white activists, historically and in the present, (trade unions, women, farmers, political reformers, environmentalists; queers and transgendered activists, peace and anti-intervention, etc.,) have recreated, consciously or unconsciously, the structures and culture of white privilege.

For example, trade unions, especially in California, were organized effectively on the basis of excluding African American, Chinese and Mexican workers. White women did get the vote, after 100 years of struggle, by supporting white supremacy in the South. Mainstream environmental organizations have preserved the spotted owl, while seldom challenging environmental pollution in communities of color. And white activists continue to ask activists of color to join predominantly white movements, offering

little or no support for their issues and movements in return.

When oppressed whites protest militantly against our own oppression, while refusing to simultaneously challenge racial oppression and white privilege, we can win short term victories (a union, legislative reform, a constitutional amendment, a temporary shift in foreign policy, an agreement with the Environmental Protection Agency). But when we organize in this way, we become accomplices in the oppression of people of color. Silence is consent to racial oppression and white privilege. We sacrifice the coalitions and alliances with activists of color which could challenge the power of the descendants of the slave owners -- a power which continues to oppress all of us today. And, as moral and spiritual human beings, we are frustrated and outraged because we lack sufficient power to stop the U.S. government from murdering peoples of color, locally and globally -- in our name.

Challenging the Strategy of the Slave Owners with Anti-racist Training

One way to challenge white supremacy is to do anti-racist training workshops in our own communities. CWS works primarily in the broad-based radical community of the Bay Area: dedicated people -- white and of color -- committed to overturning capitalism and imperialism, white supremacy, patriarchy, heterosexism and environmental degradation, and to supporting struggles for social justice at home and abroad. We welcome everyone from that diverse community to our workshops.

The Challenging White Supremacy workshops have been designed by white anti-racist organizers. CWS believes our special responsibility is to help white social justice activists become principled and effective anti-racist organizers -- both to challenge our white privilege and to work for racial justice in all our social justice work.

Anti-racist training and organizing with white social justice activists complements and supports grassroots organizing and leadership development work in communities of color. Both kinds of work are necessary to build the mass-based, multi-racial social justice movements, led by radical activists of color, that can bring revolutionary change in the United States.

CWS uses the concept of 'analyzing with an anti-racist lens'" (a term created by the African-American anti-racist trainer Enid Lee) to examine the interrelationships between the white supremacy system and other systems of oppression: capitalism and imperialism, patriarchy and heterosexism, and the systemic violence of the state.

CWS defines an anti-racist activist as a person who is deeply concerned about racism, who takes action to express that concern, and for whom taking action becomes a way of life. An anti-racist organizer is an activist who motivates and educates others to become anti-racist activists, who assists them in their efforts to challenge racial injustice effectively, and who helps them understand their power: their capacity as a group of people to decide what they want and to act in an organized way to get it.

The processes which move a white person of conscience from concern for social justice, through anti-racist consciousness, to anti-racist activism and organizing, are very complex. The path is never linear. Moreover, the processes express themselves in spiritual and moral, cultural and political ways, often in the same action. And each person's path is her or his own.

Creating An Anti-Racist Agenda: Six Principles

*** Act on Your Principles Do the right thing. Practice and model respectful behavior. Challenge white privilege -- your own, your friends' and family's, your organization's and movement's. Practice 'Each One Teach One.'

*** Create an Anti-racist Culture of Resistance Create anti-racist language and group dynamics. Learn the true history of the U.S. white supremacy system , and the legacies of resistance and liberation in different communities of color. Research your family's herstories of oppression, resistance and

privilege. Uncover the hidden herstories of white anti-racist organizers, past and present. Challenge white culture in progressive movements, especially the universalizing and normalizing of the experiences of oppressed whites.

*** Stand in Solidarity Break the silence on violence against individuals and communities of color. Support racial justice struggles locally and nationally. Support the principle that 'No human being is illegal.' Demonstrate solidarity with national liberation movements against U.S. imperialism, within and 'beyond' U.S. borders. Support U.S. political prisoners and prisoners of war.

*** Prioritize the Issues of Radical Activists of Color Reframe the issues of white progressive and radical groups using an anti-racist lens. Link issues raised by white social justice activists to those raised by radical activists and organizations of color without making false analogies. Educate other white social justice activists about how prioritizing the issues of radical activists of color is central to winning 'their own 'issues in the long term.

*** Respect the Leadership of Radical Activists of Color Develop principled political relationships with organizers and organizations of color based on consistent accountability, respect and solidarity practice. Participate in coalitions led by organizations of color. Share resources with organizers of color. Develop your group's criteria for principled and effective leadership so that you can have honest relationships with leaders of color. Remember that 'respect' does not always mean 'agreement,' nor does it mean 'follow without thinking.' Develop mutually acceptable guidelines with organizers of color for practicing 'Constructive Criticism is an Act of Love.'

*** Hold on to Your Visions Imagine the beauty of a world created by the organized power of millions of oppressed people, acting out of their commitment for justice and liberation. Make anti-racist activism a way of life for your lifetime. Create your own anti-racist loving community because no one can do this work alone. Nourish your spirit; take good care of your body. Listen to the wisdom of indigenous people: Act as if you are creating a world for the next seven generations.

The principles are like moral/spiritual/political rudders than can guide individual and collective transformation of anti-racist activists. The processes of transformation may differ for each person, but we believe that they have reflective action at their core. 'Reflective action' is a spiraling cycle: listen, learn, reflect, act, reflect, learn, listen. The workshops' educational strategy is designed to strengthen participants' capacities to understand and practice the six principles in their anti-racist work.

All CWS Workshops are organized around the theme of "Creating an Anti-Racist Agenda." The message of the six principles is simple. But to practice the principles, we have to overcome 500 years of white supremacist socialization.

Becoming an Anti-racist Activist

As activists, we are committed to taking respectful action. "Re-spect" means to look back on, to re-vision. We will evaluate our actions by their processes as well as by their effects. Our commitment is nourished by a willingness to be critically conscious of what we do in the world, and how we do it with other people. We want to learn from the setbacks, as well as from the successes.

We believe that when we act on our principles, our lives are transformed. That is the essence of uniting the personal and the political. When we challenge white supremacy, both our own white privilege and the oppression of people of color, we are healing ourselves -- of our fears, of self-doubt, of the guilt that comes from being who we are -- white people of conscience in a white supremacist society.

As non-ruling class white people, we experience the oppression of living in a system that murders women and men of color, white women and queers; that starves the hungry, criminalizes the homeless, exploits the worker, pollutes the planet, and makes heroes out of war criminals. As our understanding of this hydra-headed monster deepens, we realize that challenging white supremacy is crucial to ending all

these forms of oppression.

As political activists, we have learned that it takes pressure to challenge injustice. As Frederick Douglass said, "Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will." History teaches us that white supremacist institutions will budge only with massive pressure, the kind of pressure that comes from organized and determined mass movements.

As anti-racist activists, we have experienced that creating an anti-racist agenda is hard work. While we strive to be anti-racists, we continue to behave in racist ways. That is what it means to be both privileged and socialized by a white supremacist system. We live in the belly of the beast, and the beast is in our bellies..

As human beings, we trust in the power of our visions. Becoming anti-racist activists brings us great joy. We're doing what we can to help lay the groundwork for building the mass-based, multi-racial movements, led by activists of color, that can fundamentally transform the United States into a social justice nation. It's a good way to spend a life.

Affinity Groups

Source: http://antimedia.net/cookbook/Affinity.htm

What is an affinity group?

An affinity group is a small group of 5 to 20 people who work together autonomously on direct action or other projects. You can form an affinity group with your friends, people from your community, workplace, or organization. Affinity groups challenge top-down decision-making and organizing, and empower those involved to take creative direct action.Affinity groups allow people to "be" the action they want to see by giving complete freedom and decision-making power to the affinity group. Affinity groups by nature are decentralized and non-hierarchical and generally use consensus based decision making.

History of Affinity Groups

The idea of affinity groups comes out of the anarchist and workers movement that was created in the late 19th century and fought fascism in Spain during the Spanish Civil War.

The Spanish Anarchist movement provides an exhilarating example of a movement, and the actual possibility of a society based on decentralized organization, direct democracy and the principles behind them. Small circles of good friends, called "tertulias" would meet at cafes to discuss ideas and plan actions. In 1888, a period of intense class conflict in Europe and of local insurrection and struggle in Spain, the Anarchist Organization of the Spanish Region made this traditional form (tertulias) the basis of its organization. Decades later, the Iberian Anarchist Federation, which contained 50,000 activists, organized into affinity groups and confederated into local, regional, and national councils. Wherever several FAI affinity groups existed, they formed a local federation. Local federations were coordinated by committees were made up of one mandated delegate from each affinity group. Mandated delegates were sent from local federations to regional committees and finally to the Peninsular Committee. Affinity groups remained autonomous as they carried out education, organized and supported local struggles. The intimacy of the groups made police infiltration difficult.

In July 1936, Francisco Franco, with a group of fascist generals, launched a military revolt to take power from Spain's government. Spanish workers and peasants armed themselves and defeated the military throughout much of the country, particularly in Anarchist strongholds. Millions of Spaniards took action to restructure society along revolutionary lines, not revive the treacherous Spanish government. Factories, transportation, telephones and even wholesale and retail stores were taken over and run collectively; an estimated 1200-1800 self-managed workers' collectives were formed. Workers' self-management effectively replaced the remnants of government and private institutions, providing the

everyday necessities of life - food, clothing, shelter, and public services. The experience of working in non-hierarchical affinity groups created the conditions for 6 million people in Spain to reorganize society along revolutionary principles, organizing workplaces, agriculture, and communities without bosses and government.

The idea of large-scale affinity group based organization was planted in the United States on April 30, 1977 when 2,500 people, organized into affinity groups, occupied the Seabrook, New Hampshire nuclear power plant. The growing anti-nuclear power and disarmament movements adopted this mode, and used it in many successful actions throughout the late 1970s and 1980s. Since then, it has been used by the Cental America solidarity movement, lesbian/gay liberation movement, Earth First and earth liberation movement, and many others. Most recently, affinity groups have been used in the mass actions in Seattle for the WTO and Washington DC for the IMF and World Bank, as well as Philadelphia and Los Angles around the Republican and Democratic National Conventions.

How to start an affinity group

An affinity group could be a relationship among people that lasts for years among a group of friends and activists, or it could be a week long relationship based around a single action. Either way, it is important to join an affinity group that is best suited to you and your interests. If you are forming an affinity group in your city or town, find friends or fellow activists who have similar issue interests, and thus would want to go to similar actions. Also, look for people who would be willing to use similar tactics - if you want to do relatively high risk lockdowns, someone who does not want to be in that situation may not want to be in the affinity group. That person could do media or medic work, but it may not be best if they are completely uncomfortable around certain tactics of direct action. If you are looking to join an affinity group at a mass action, first find out what affinity groups open to new members and which ones are closed. For many people, affinity groups are based on trusting relationships based around years of friendship and work, thus they might not want people they don't know in their affinity group. Once you find which affinity groups are open, look for ones that have an issue interest or action tactic that you are drawn to, like a Free Tibet affinity group or a blockade affinity group.

What can an affinity group do?

Anything!!! They can be used for mass or smaller scale actions. Affinity groups can be used to drop a banner, blockade a road, provide back-up for other affinity groups, do street theater, block traffic riding bikes, organize a tree sit, change the message on a massive billboard, play music in a radical marching band or sing in a revolutionary choir, etc…There can even be affinity groups who take on certain tasks in an action. For instance, there could be a roving affinity group made up of street medics, or an affinity group who brings food and water to people on the streets. What makes affinity groups so effective for actions is that they can remain creative and independent and plan out their own action without an organization or person dictating to them what can and can't be done. Thus, there are an endless amount of possibilities for what affinity groups can do. Be creative and remember: direct action gets the goods!

Affinity Group Roles

Source: http://www.freedomrising.org/article.php?id=14

There are many roles that one could possibly fill. These roles include:

- **Medical -** An affinity group may want to have someone who is a trained street medic who can deal with any medical or health issues during the action.
- **Legal observer-** If there are not already legal observers for an action, it may be important to have people not involved in the action taking notes on police conduct and possible violations of activists rights.

- **Media -** If you are doing an action which plans to draw media, a person in the affinity group could be empowered to talk to the media and act as a spokesperson.
- **Action Elf/Vibes-watcher** - This is someone who would help out with the general wellness of the group: water, massages, and encouragement through starting a song or cheer. This is not a role is necessary, but may be particularly helpful in day long actions where people might get tired or irritable as the day wears on.
- **Traffic -** If it is a moving affinity group, it may be necessary to have people who are empowered to stop cars at intersections and in general watch out for the safety of people on the streets from cars and other vehicles.
- **Arrest-able members -** This depends on what kind of direct action you are doing. Some actions may require a certain number of people willing to get arrested, or some parts of an action may need a minimum number of arrest-ables. Either way, it is important to know who is doing the action and plans on getting arrested.
- **Jail Support -** Again, this is only if you have an affinity group who has people getting arrested. This person has all the arrestees contact information and will go to the jail, talk to and work with lawyers, keep track of who got arrested etc.

Support

Source: http://www.actupny.org/documents/CDdocuments/Affinity.html

The role of support in a civil disobedience action is crucial. Support people accept the responsibility of being a visible, involved contact to the outside once a member of the affinity group is arrested. They are the personal extension of the care and concern an affinity group shares among its members, an extension of the need all the participants have to see that individuals who participate in nonviolent direct action are not isolated, neglected, and overburdened because of their political statement.

It can be hard for you to decide whether to do civil disobedience or support. It is strongly encouraged that those considering doing support go through nonviolence training. In making the decision, you could consider how each role would affect your family, job, and other commitments, as well as your legal status (i.e. being on probation, not being a U.S. citizen, etc.). During and after a mass action, be sure to stay in touch with support people from other affinity groups, for information sharing and emotional support.

Before an Action:

Help the affinity group decide upon and initiate their action, provide physical and moral support, and share in the excitement and sense of determination.

- Know the people in your affinity group by name and description.
- Know where people who are arrested are likely to be taken.
- Make a confidential list with the following information:
- Name of arrestee Name used for arrest
- Whether or not individual wants to bail out, and when.
- Who arrestee would like contacted and under what circumstances.
- Special medical information or other special needs info.
- Whether the individual plans to cooperate, and in what ways.
- Whether the person is a minor.
- Whether the person wants/needs a lawyer.

For a mass action:

- Know who the support coordinators are.

- Know the phone number of the action office.
- Be sure the group fibs out an affinity group check-in sheet.
- Be sure your name, phone number, where you can be reached, and how long you will be available to do support work are written on your affinity group's list.

During an Action:

- Know the boundaries of arrest and non-arrest areas, if applicable.
- In a mass action, give emergency info about yourself to another support person.
- Bring paper and pen, and lots of food for yourself and people doing civil disobedience (CDers).
- Hold ID, money, keys and any other belongings for CDers.
- Keep in touch with CDers for as long as possible, noting any changes in arrest strategies, etc.
- Once arrests begin, write down each individual's name, and the time and nature of the arrest, the activity of the person arrested, the treatment of the arresting officer (get the badge number, if possible), and who is noncooperating.
- At least one support person from your affinity group should stay at the place of arrest until all members of your group are arrested, and at least one should go to where those arrested are being taken as soon as the first member of your group is arrested.

After the Action:

- Call whoever needs to be informed about each person who was arrested.
- Go to trials or any other appearances of CDers; help with rides.
- Help gather information for pro se defendants.
- In a mass action, be sure to let the office and/or support coordinators know when/if you have to leave town and give them all relevant info about the people you've been supporting.
- If CDers are in jail, it is important for someone to be near a phone so that call from jail may be received. You will probably be the go-between for your A.G. members who are not jailed together, as well.
- Contact the office (in a mass arrest) about people in jail and where they are being held.
- Be prepared to bring medication to the jail site for who ever needs it, and follow up on whether or not it has been administered.
- Visit your group members in jail, and pass on any messages.
- Take care of plants, pets, cars, etc., for CDers.
- Write letters to the people in jail; organize a support vigil in front of the jail.
- Be there to pick CDers up when they are released from jail.
- Support other support people -working together will ease the load.

VI. Confronting Authority: Arrest, Legal Issues, Jail Solidarity; First Aid for Demonstrators

Why to get arrested and Why NOT to get arrested

Source: http://www.ecn.cz/temelin/arrested.htm

Many people ask, "Why is it necessary to risk getting arrested at a demonstration? Why isn't it enough to march and carry our banners and sing our songs but not break any laws?" It certainly is not necessary to get arrested to have an effective action, but getting arrested can be part of a strategy of actions.

People have tried many different ways to be heard regarding the construction of Temelin. We have signed petitions, written letters to the government, and lobbied in Prague. We commissioned experts to study the Temelin plant and show that it is not necessary. We have other studies showing it is not safe. We have organized a large symbolic demonstration every year for the last several years. We have uncovered illegal activities by Westinghouse in getting the Temelin contract, but the Czech courts are not interested and the Ministry of Interior (controled by the government) covered it up. We have gone to Washington DC USA and collected the signatures of over 50 representatives of the US government concerned with the US lending money for Temelin. We have demanded an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), which is required by law. The media is frequently uninterested in these types of actions and the decision makers feel safe in ignoring us.

Civil disobedience is one of the strongest political statements a person can make. By getting arrested, you cogently communicate, "I oppose this and I will work to physically stop it, even if that means breaking the law." Civil disobedience is giving up a dialogue where you can be ignored in favor of action, where you can not be.

Nonviolent, civil disobedient actions (those where people are risking arrest) are a way to send a louder message. Recent Chernobyl anniversary actions provide a good example. There were two actions in the same location in three days. The first was a march of several thousand people, similar to the march that has been held for the last few years on the anniversary of the Chernobyl disaster. The march received some coverage in the Czech and Austrian newspapers. Two days later, there was an arrest action of 40 people. Almost all Czech papers carried the story-many on the front page. It was widely covered in Austria in both print and on television. It also was covered by Dutch TV, the largest newspaper in Poland, several German newspapers, and even Ukrainian radio!

But getting press is not a good enough reason to justify breaking the law. The purpose of these types of direct actions is to actually slow down the process of building the plant. It is through these kinds of actions that nuclear power was halted in the West, where both legal appeals and civil disobedience were used to draw attention to the environmental danger and economic foolishness of nuclear plants. These actions also resulted in delays that actually increased the cost of nuclear power somewhat in monetary terms, which is where "the powers that be" begin to pay attention. But mostly, it increased the political cost of this option - elected officials and public utilities had to deal directly with an angry public. Public utilities could not simply ignore the fact that building a nuclear facility could result in hundreds and even thousands of people getting arrested and crowding the jails. Though demonstrators are usually held for only a day or two, this is more than just a headache - it adds significantly to the work of the police and the courts.

But effectiveness is not a sufficient justification for civil disobedience, either. Well-planned actions that risk arrest make a statement of our commitment and about the methods with which we work. They say, in effect, "Something is seriously wrong here and we feel so strongly about it that we are willing to break the law and potential consequences of our actions (fines, imprisonment, a resulting criminal record) to try to stop this mistake from occurring."

Highly visible arrest actions help to get more people involved in the movement. Governments, even freely elected goverments, make mistakes that people have a responsibility to correct. And, yes, even protesters make mistakes. The reason for nonviolent civil disobedience is that there is some chance

we are wrong. There is some chance that Temelin is the best solution for the Czech Republic. There is a chance that it will operate without accident; that a safe and reasonably priced solution to the waste problems will be found; that the project will be completed on time and under the budget agreed in the contract; that other energy solutions (like efficiency, renewables sources, or co-generation) will be impossible or far more expensive than thought. In this case, our tactic, civil disobedience, will result in wider public awareness and bring the govermental debate a higher level than before. There is always time to build more reactors if an educated public and thorough goverment decides atomic power is the best solution.

There is one more dividend from civil disobedience. The people who are willing to make this kind of effort and to assume this risk are frequently extraordinary people with high principles and deep commitment. Friendships and alliances with these kinds of people can change your life.

BUT it is critically important that many people not risk getting arrested

People who are arrested need support and the camp itself needs support, and without people actively avoiding getting arrested this crticial work will not get done and the action will fail.

One of the best structures for dealing with this division of responsibility is the affinity group. "Affinity" means attraction and usually affinity groups are groups of friends or at least of people who know and trust each other. Affinity groups differ in size, but are usually larger than three and smaller than 20. In this size it is possible to meet as a group and everyone´s ideas can be heard without having long meetings.

It is generally decided in the affinity group before the action who will get arrested and who will do support. Support responsibilities include tracking the arrested members of the group through the system. Depending on the action this may include holding their identification until they decide that they want to be identified, working with their lawyer and reporting their arrest status back to the affinity group, other friends and family. In longer term jail sentences (not expected at Temelin and there has never been one yet), support people also help to take care of the life of the person who is in jail. Feeding their plants and animals, making sure bills get paid and people get told about their situation who need to know.

Liad Gets Arrested

Source: http://www.israelshamir.net/friends/liad.shtml

(Liad is an Israeli activist who has done some work with ISM.)

On the afternoon of Wed. Apr.19, a demonstration\direct action activity was scheduled to take place at a road block entering the Palestinian village of Harres, which sits right next to a massive Jewish settlement. The road's main entrance point has been blocked off for months to keep the Palestinians from coming in or out of their own town, despite the Israeli government's claim of more than three weeks ago that all roadblocks surrounding villages have been removed. The road is the only entrance and exit point of the town, and has caused people an inability to travel, even in emergency situations. Also, there's a large regional market right at the entrance of town, which provides many people with income, and many regular shoppers as well as merchants have been unable
to access it, bringing financial strain and lack of food to many locals. So naturally, we decided to remove this pestering road block.

The action date was set to coincide with proximity to Easter, so that all these Italian religious zealots/crazy activists would be in town and could attend. It also coincided with the eve of the Israeli national holocaust memorial day. Now personally, I'm having a really hard time with this whole holocaust memorial day, and the Israeli independence day that's happening a week later. My grandma, who's a holocaust survivor, is gonna kill me for saying this, but what can I do. This country's in fucking war for crying out loud. How can any race commemorate racial genocide when they instill it on another race, or

celebrate their independence while keeping another nation from getting theirs? It just seems one-sided, short-sighted, and wrong.

Anyhow, I was on a small bus with roughly another 15 Israeli activists. we were trying to clarify everyone's positions on getting arrested and decide how to organize accordingly. I think that the most nerve-wrecking part of any organized act of opposition is the anxiety that accompanies the drive there. We all collectively know that the military perceives our act as a provocation, and assume the risk of injuries or arrests, but we don't know for sure. We can go by former experiences, but really, there is no telling what kind of force we'll encounter, or how much, and what kind of mood they'll be in. There's no set precedent, and sitting in a bus full of people that are shitting their pants but still deciding to do it is a little scary.

So we get to Harres, and we meet up with some more Israelis, Americans, French, Swedes, and lots of Italians, who are almost all women. Some of them are really hot. Italian chicks. yum. Oh, - and there's about a hundred Palestinian villagers.

After everyone reunites with all their acquaintances that they haven't seen since the last demonstration, everyone gets their asses moving and start shoveling the 4 ft high mountain of rocks that makes up the road block. Theirs all works out well for about half and hour despite constant military presence, until the police shows up and starts, along with the army, pushing everyone back.

Somehow I'm amongst a smaller group of people that doesn't get pushed back, so I just try to remove as much of the road block while I have time. The military notice me almost immediately, and physically pick me up and drag me into a car by my arms and legs while journalists stand back and take pictures. The army knows that it hurts their image to show peaceful demonstrators like that, so when I make v's with my fingers, they shove my fingers back into my palm with their hands. I'm the 2nd person arrested, and I sit there in a car for ten minutes watching who else that I know they're gonna drag in. They arrested a total of 16 people, two of whom are Palestinians, and the rest Israelis and internationals.

One of the arrestees is my friend Neta, who's gotten arrested in the area three times already, including twice just two weeks earlier. The local police treat Neta like a permanent local fixture that they both love and hate. I think that many of the cops really like her, but are tired of the near-weekly meetings with her that cause them so much paperwork. It turns out that she can't even give them any ID because she left her bag on the bus we came in, but it's not really needed, because the cops basically have all her info memorized.

In the car on the way to the station me and Neta embark on a political discussion with the cops. I do have to say that in the favor of the cops, most of them are good people who are just trying to do their job, and they know that we are there to do ours. They know that we're there for ethical reasons that they either don't agree with or don't understand, but they respect it, and they're human enough to conduct discussions about it with us. What gets to me is that there are numerous Arabic Israeli cops at the station. What the fuck are they doing arresting us for helping their people?

From the point we get to the station at the settlement, the situation turns into what looks like a sitcom about how disorganized the police is as a whole and how lazy the cops are. The title for this evening's show is: "mayhem at the station - 16 people arrested and now we'll never make it to the 8pm soccer game." The cops are running around like chickens with their heads cut off and really, they just don't want to deal with this whole hassle of arresting us. They fill out shitloads of paperwork, wait for each question to get translated into English, Arabic, French and Italian, then lose all the paperwork and spend the next twenty minutes looking for it. Meanwhile the arrestees are behaving like unsupervised children in the waiting room. Once every ten minutes some officer comes by and orders everyone to sit their asses down in a row and turn off their cell phones. "You're under arrest, for crying out loud", he would yell, and then turn around, and everyone would just get back up and turn on their excessively overused cell

phones. There were just too many of us and the cops were too fed up with playing nanny, so no order was ever instilled. We decided to use our ample spare time to steal the cops' food that was laying around and photocopy various body parts on the copy machine in the hallway. I stole a highlighter pen.

We did decide, as a group, that we won't pay bail, and we won't be released until all of us get released. The reason for this is that there were two Palestinian amongst us, and it's usually the case that Palestinians get detained for larger periods of time, treated more harshly and receive worse sentences than Israelis and internationals. The entire police squad really didn't want to book us. really. It would have been way too much of a hassle for them, and they wanted to go home by nine, so they kept on bargaining with us on what bail and terms of release we're willing to accept. How Israeli of them. These Israelis haggle over everything.

We refused to sign any agreement, refused to pay and refused to answer any questions during interrogation. They lowered the bail from three thousand shekels per person plus a signed agreement that we won't enter the area, to no bail but an agreement that we won't set foot there for two weeks, and we refused that too. I mean, come on! some of these people live there. There's no way we're gonna commit to that and let the army have a field day with the town knowing that all the radical activists are not allowed to be there. So the cops finally got sick of us, and wrote "refuses to sign" where each person's signature goes, and told us that the agreement still has legal repercussions despite us refusing to sign it and kicked us out.

But since this can in no way hold up in any court, we told them to f*** off and left. When we got out, we found out what happened at the scene of the crime after we got arrested. The rest of the unarrested crowd backed up but refused to disperse, so the army stepped in and started firing tear gas and stunt grenades at the completely nonviolent crowd. One of the tear gas canisters hit this 72-year-old-and-sweet-as-a-lamb grandma activist and cut and burned her. Also, my friend Yasmeen, who was not one of the arrestees, and one of her Palestinian friends from Harres got their car showered with live ammunition from Jews in the nearby settlement while driving on their way back to town after visiting us at the police station. Yasmeen didn't get hurt, but her friend got hit by a bullet in his hand. they both ducked under the dashboard to avoid getting killed. They were fine, but there was nothing left of their car seats.

What's most amazing about all this is that it made it to the Israeli propaganda TV, but with the following revisions. They reported that indeed 16 people got arrested while trying to dismantle a roadblock, but entirely bypassed just why they were doing it, and what significance this roadblock has on the local people. They also noted that the
demonstration/direct action ended up with stone-throwing on the side of the activists/activists, and mentioned that later on at night there was shooting at a car nearby, but that the Palestinians were the ones shooting. And thus the Israeli public is led to believe that this whole intifada schpiel is all the Palestinians' fault, because those barbaric people are bringing it onto themselves and what can the poor Israeli "humanitarian" army do, they're only trying to defend themselves on someone else's land.

So a few of you have asked me: "Liad, what is this rush to get arrested?" Well, let me explain. Getting arrested in Israel, especially for an Israeli Jew like myself, is a great form of protest. First of all, the public doesn't readily accept Israelis or internationals getting arrested (they could care less about Palestinians, however). They want to find out why, making it a great media ploy, especially if a large enough number of people gets arrested frequently enough. Second of all, the sentences here for Israelis are really minimal, and the public would be really outraged anyway, especially for a crime like "being in a closed military zone", which obviously doesn't hurt anyone, or dismantling a roadblock, so the effort is worth it. Plus, I'm really broke, and spending a night in jail would at least guarantee me breakfast, which is more than what I can say for staying the night at home.

The following day was holocaust memorial day, which more than anything else is commemorated by a loud minute-to minute-and-a-half long siren that is heard all over the country. Upon this siren, everyone drops everything and stands still to remember all the people that died during the holocaust. It's the strangest thing ever. Cars and buses pull over, everyone just freezes in the middle of the street.

I was in front of a meat shop talking to a butcher about cat food when the siren hit. I haven't had to deal with this phenomenon for about thirteen years now, and there I was, stuck in front of the butcher, unable to move, and I just started crying. After the siren was over, I told him that one of my friends nearly died the day before from settlers
who were shooting at her car. I mean, who cares if it's called the holocaust or the intifada? People here are still dying here because of their race. I think that this made him uncomfortable so he started talking about the weather.

I'm gonna try once again to go to Ramallah on Thursday, which is the Israeli independence day. wish me luck and write back soon.

Nonviolent Response to Personal Violence

Source: http://www.actupny.org/documents/CDdocuments/NVResponse.html

Nonviolence focuses on communication:

1. Your objectives must be reasonable. You must believe you are fair and you must be able to communicate this to your opponent.

2. Maintain as much eye contact as possible.

3. Make no abrupt gestures. Move slowly. When practical, tell your opponent what you are going to do before you do it. Don't say anything threatening, critical, or hostile.

4. Don't be afraid of stating the obvious; say simply, "You're shouting at me," or "You're hurting my arm."

5. Someone in the process of committing an act of violence has strong expectations as to how his/ her victim will behave. If you manage to behave differently-in a nonthreatening manner you can interrupt the flow of events that would have culminated in an act of violence. You must create a scenario new to your opponent.

6. Seek to befriend your opponent's better nature; even the most brutal and brutalized among us have some spark of decency which the nonviolent defender can reach.

7. Don't shut down in response to physical violence; you have to play it by ear. The best rule is to resist as firmly as you can without escalating the anger or the violence. Try varying approaches and keep trying to alter your opponent's picture of the situation.

8. Get your opponent talking and listen to what s/he says. Encourage him/her to talk about what s/he believes, wishes, fears. Don't argue but at the same time don't give the impression you agree with assertions that are cruel or immoral. The listening is more important than what you say- keep the talk going and keep it calm.

-- Adapted from an article by Markley Morris

ISM legal training notes

by Kate, May 2003

1. I used to say the main point of this training was that you are highly unlikely to ever have contact with the Israeli legal system. We don't know exactly what situation is now, it's obviously worse than it was, but not sure how much. Most of us believe that the current crackdown on ISM is a public relations

stunt, it's not working that well for them, and barring more people getting injured or killed, they will back off. Getting in will probably be harder, though most will probably still make it, but once there, you can probably move around without too much trouble.

2. I was detained/arrested twice, both times I could have avoided it if that had been my priority, both times when I thought I would be deported, I felt it wasn't worth it. On the other hand, I had no trouble getting back into the country, and the second bust didn't go any worse than the first, even though one of the cops recognized me.

3. There are three kinds of situations in which you might face detention or arrest:

(a) Direct action (demonstration, intervention, staying in a threatened house, etc.);

(b) Run into someone who doesn't like internationals in general or you in particular, or who has orders to get rid of you;

(c) Closed military zone (raid, sweep, invasion, operation, etc.). Can be closed without your knowing it, after you got there.

4. Scenario (a) you have the most opportunity to control whether you are or are not arrested. Can often negotiate your way out of it, either individually or as a group.

5. Scenario (c), probably can't do anything about it. But you can protect yourself once you are taken in by insisting on calling a lawyer and resisting deportation in every possible way (see item 9).

6. Scenario (b) is the one in which how you handle it is most likely to make a difference.

7. Three kinds of authorities:

(a) Soldiers – Wear green, drive green jeeps or big military vehicles (tanks, APCs or Hummers). You will encounter them the most. They man the checkpoints (a few have women, most don't). They have two main tools for exercising power over you:

(i) guns;

(ii) calling the police or border police.

- Guns they generally don't want to use on you.
- They would also rather not call the police, because of turf wars, they like being able to handle any situation themselves. Also there'll be paper work and they don't want to do it. Plus they are often kind of busy, and harassing you is not their main interest.
- Usually best to ignore them unless they are doing something egregious or they ask you for something.
- If they ask for something (go away, come here, give info, give them your camera), don't have to do it. Can think about it, argue about it, if it is something you think is worth it.
- Most encounters that can end in arrest or detention start with them asking you for ID.
- Carry two copies of your passport. Keep the original hidden on you. At checkpoints or if stopped on the road, always give a copy. Do not admit to having the original with you. Just keep saying, "This is what I have." If they demand to know where the original is, tell them you left it at your hotel in Jerusalem for safekeeping. If their motives are innocuous, they will accept this, unless they are assholes, and even then they will back off eventually.
- **IF SOMEONE TELLS YOU TO WAIT AND DISAPPEARS WITH YOUR ID, LEAVE (IF AT ALL POSSIBLE).** You have another copy, so no problem (but even if you don't …). Make another one as soon as you get a chance.
- If you're running away from soldiers, don't let them see you getting into a Palestinian car. But if someone offers you a ride, take it.
- If the person has a thing for you in particular, you will be in the worst position. However, once you know that, you may be able to avoid them; if he's a reservist, he is only there for 35 days. Making complaints against soldiers seems to be a way that you get on an enemies list. Angie Zelter was never refused entry until she filed complaints against army officers. Susan Barkley was deported after she made complaints against a particular officer. Doesn't mean don't do it, but you might want to evaluate the likelihood of success.

(b) Border police – Wear dark green, drive blue jeeps that say "Police" on them. Sometimes at checkpoints, especially unofficial ones. Can arrest you. Tend to be violent.

(i) Try to avoid them. If they are in the area and you don't have a compelling need to be there, leave.

(ii) Supposedly women can only be arrested by women. However, both times I was taken in by men.

(iii) **Don't** give them your passport (copy is okay). They might tear it up.

(c) Police – Civilian authority. Wear blue, drive blue jeeps or vans or cars that say "Police" in English and Hebrew. Can arrest you.

(i) If they ask for your ID, give them the copy, but if they insist on the original (and you're not arrested), give it to them.

(ii) Don't get into a contest – you won't win.

(iii) Many of them are Russians and don't speak English well, and don't read it at all. They won't tell you that, but it could be the source of a problem. On the other hand, you can use it. Pay attention to the signs (like if they're looking at your passport and ask you your name).

(iv) If they tell you to go with them, do it unless you have some reason to fear being with those particular guys. If you're a woman, you can demand that they get a woman officer to take you in.

(v) They will probably not cuff you, unless you have made it difficult for them. One of them will sit in the back with you.

8. <u>If your passport is confiscated and you are told to report someplace to pick it up</u>

- **Talk to a lawyer before you go**. Ask the lawyer to go with you. Don't go by yourself; you are likely to end up in a cell (you may anyway).
- **If you can't talk to a lawyer**, go to the U.S. Consulate and ask them to deal with the Israelis for you.

9. <u>Detention and Arrest</u>:

(a) Usually if you're detained you're not handcuffed and if you're arrested you are. Also seems that if you're detained you can use your cell phone, if you're arrested you can't, but there is no iron-clad rule about that. If you get to keep it, try to use it discreetly. Always have your charger with you.

(b) You don't have the right to see a lawyer while you're detained unless you're being interrogated. Once arrested, you do.

(c) Will normally take you to the nearest police station (usually a settlement). If arrested by border police, will probably take you to a military base and call the police to come pick you up. If you haven't given them your passport (even if they have a copy), take off if you get a chance.

(d) Can be detained for three hours without cause. So they will probably not talk to you for three hours. Also will probably not let you call anyone, but keep asking. Ditto with food, etc. Bathroom should not be withheld.

(e) Might want to wait an hour or so before calling a lawyer, because maybe they are just going to let you go. But let <u>someone</u> know ASAP where you are.

(f) They will probably go through your stuff, but not strip search unless they have some reason to think you are hiding something they want. Can refuse to do it. (This is while you are at the police station. Once in jail, it seems like they strip search you a lot, and I don't know what happens if you refuse, though personally, I would find out.)

(g) Generally you get to keep all your stuff except things they consider evidence (cameras, notes) and things they consider weapons (scissors, etc.). So you might want to carry extra clothes, a toothbrush and a book all the time. Be aware of what else you have that you might not want them to find, e.g., names and phone numbers, etc. If you get a chance, hide or swallow them. If they're searching you one by one, you might be able to swap stuff around.

(h) "Interrogation" or "questioning" can last many hours and may seem just like conversation. Best not to say anything, which is harder than it sounds. Might not matter, but you can definitely get trapped. It's not a teach-in. You will not change their minds and they don't need to know how smart you are. Deny everything. Doesn't matter whether they have evidence or not. <u>Don't sign anything</u> (except release terms, see #m).

(i) If you're in a group, they will usually pick someone they think is the "leader" and mainly talk to him or her. Try to confuse them so they don't do that. When John Caruso was in jail, the guards decided the guy not on hunger strike must be keeping up his strength because he was the leader, so they were going to send him to the SHABAK.

(j) Try not to let them know you are worried or upset. Don't believe what the investigator says. He told me I was going to be deported every 15 minutes for four hours, then let me go.

(k) If you understand any Hebrew, you may not want to let them know that.

(l) If you are Jewish, make sure they know that (slight contradiction to previous note, since that is one way to let them know).

(m) If you want, you can try to negotiate your "sentence." Often they will let you go on a promise to stay out of the West Bank. If they offer you a ban order, okay to sign it. Doesn't mean much. Many of us have violated them, they know it, don't think anyone has been arrested for it. If there's a fine or bail amount, try to get it lowered. You will not have to pay the fine before leaving. If it's in Hebrew, you can always say you didn't understand what it said.

10. Deportation.

(a) Deportation means canceling your visa. That can only be done by the Ministry of Interior. Entitled to a hearing, but the ministry has been trying to get people onto planes before their hearings.

(b) IMMEDIATELY get in touch with a lawyer. Probably through ISM or your support team at home.

(c) **Resist**! Make it clear you will not go. If in a group, lock arms and legs; puppy pile; etc. Bring handcuffs or a bike lock and chain yourself to something in the cell.

(d) If they put you on the plane, refuse to sit in your seat. Go and tell the flight crew that you are being deported illegally and you will not obey any instructions. (Be polite, and let them know it's nothing against them.) If necessary, open the overhead luggage bins, smoke if you can stand it, anything to make them refuse to have you on the plane. As soon as you get back to jail, call your lawyer and let him/her know what happened.

(e) If you fight the deportation and lose, you will be banned for ten years. However, you may get a chance to leave voluntarily. This is better, try to negotiate for it, but realize that you probably won't get in again anyway so it's not a reason not to resist unless you were already leaving.

(f) Demand to use your existing ticket. If possible, absolutely refuse to buy a new one (though you could be in jail for a long time).

(g) Embassy will come visit you, but will not help you. Your support team should get your congressperson on it right away.

(h) If you go on a hunger strike, they may let you get very sick or die.

11. **MOST IMPORTANT THING**: Someone not with you should know where you are going and when you expect to be there. (Normally, your local coordinator or someone from your AG.) If you are late, CALL. If you don't, they should start looking for you.

12. Israeli lawyers: Normally, if you are arrested or detained while an active ISMer, ISM should find a lawyer to represent you. Call the office 972-2-277-4602 or your local coordinator or an affinity group member, and they should start the process. However, if you can't reach ISM and absolutely need to get in touch with a lawyer by yourself:

(a) Shamai Lebovitz: 064-414-505 (mobile); 03-670-4170 (office) (good but expensive)

(b) Mahmoud Jabareen: 02-583-3430/583-3530/583-3537 (Emergency Prisoner Support for LAW, Palestinian legal organization – free but not always available)

Information on arrest and prison

Source: ISM Palestine pack 4/02

PREPARING FOR DEMONSTRATIONS AND POSSIBLE ARREST

Purpose: Obviously, we are not going anywhere in order to get arrested, however, we know that

we may risk arrest as we non-violently demand an end to the Occupation. This is a useful distinction to draw for the media as well as ourselves.

During Arrest: it's helpful to have discussed in advance whether to go limp/sit or walk with police to the van. Whatever you do, saying loudly "I am non-violent" or "I am not resisting arrest" is helpful both for the police to know and for the media to pick up. We have found it useful to hold our hands out from our bodies as we are being arrested to show how nonviolent (yet purposeful) we are. Another helpful phrase during arrest is "I'm going to remain silent. I want my lawyer."

Buddy System: Try to buddy a non-arrestable with an arrestable so that all those arrested can immediately be reported on to the Vital Information

Support person. Also, buddy up within the arrestable group so you can take good care of each other. Buddies should be together in the civil disobedience line.

Demonstration Checklist

- Legal Support Person/Media's phone # written in ink on your ankle or wrist
- Water, Food, Camera
- Sunscreen, Bandana, Phone
- Hat, Comfortable Footwear, Dr's letter if there's medicine you need
- Glasses may be easier in jail than contact lenses. Medication in original bottle
- Change for phone calls in jail (after the one free one)

You may be able to keep all of your belongings with you for hours at the police station while you are being processed into the jail cell. Begin Jail Solidarity now! Discuss as much as you can. This is also a good time to make calls on your cell phones (surreptitiously) and get that film out of your camera so it is at less risk of being "accidentally" exposed.

What they may – or NOT! - let you take into the cell with you: food, pen, pencil, bandana, extra clothes, water, reading material, backpack, toothbrush/paste/comb, change for phone calls

ARREST SUPPORT

Those who are arrested can receive an incredible amount of emotional and physical support from those who are "on the outside". People outside can publicize the situation, let loved ones know what's happening, arrange for lawyers, show up at hearings (a good time to pass messages), and try to get care packages into the jail. This is known as Arrest Support. Here are some roles for Arrest Supporters:

Vital Information Support: One non-arrestable member of each affinity group should have a list with the following information on it:

- name
- cell/mobile phone number
- age
- address
- medical needs
- dietary needs length of time able to do
- jail solidarity emergency contact people -- personal and media
- passport
- language (for court interpretation)
- legal information for lawyer (prior arrests in Israel/Palestine? Any visa problems?)

Just in case your support person also gets arrested, leave a copy of this list with someone at the ISM office.

Legal Support: this person can liase with the lawyers, letting them know who is in jail (if the ISM office hasn't already called them), when the next hearing is, and helping to convey any Jail Solidarity decisions that the group has made. The legal support person continues to talk to the lawyer, trying to ensure that the legal, emotional, and Jail Solidarity needs are being met. Legal Support can also help arranging for someone to sign for bail if necessary.

Presents/Presence Support: Care packages of toothbrushes, toothpaste, washcloth, fresh clothes, chocolate, reading material (etc.) are welcome and someone needs to gather and deliver these. Also, it is very supportive to come to each hearing. We may be able to have long conversations with the prisoners as we wait for the hearing to start. Arranging for rides to pick up released prisoners is also helpful.

Media Support: An affinity group's media person should work closely with the Vital Information Support person to contact the media both in Israel/Palestine and in each prisoner's home town/country. The role of media support is to publicize the prisoners, their Jail Solidarity demands, and link this to the larger issue of how Palestinian prisoners are treated, and how this situation has arisen due to the Israeli Military Occupation.

We cannot emphasize enough how important these roles of support are. Without them, arrests will go largely unnoticed by those most responsible for the Occupation.

JAIL SOLIDARITY

Jail Solidarity refers to people in jail who make decisions together about their demands or the conditions of release. Thus they take care of each other and influence the legal system through collective action. Jail Solidarity has been used effectively in civil rights, anti-nuclear, and other movements. Its power rests on three facts: the authorities need our cooperation in a mass arrest in order to process us from booking to jail to court; it is very expensive to keep all of us in jail; and there is little room for us in the overcrowded jail and court system. Jail Solidarity is not the same as Arrest Support which refers to people outside jail who try to help those arrested and in jail by getting them lawyers, messages from outside, and personal items, etc.

Jail Solidarity helps many people in jail achieve goals that just one prisoner might not be able to achieve. For instance, if one Palestinian goes to jail and refuses to admit to the charges, there is little incentive for the authorities to alter the charges. However, if 100 foreigners are also in jail with the Palestinian and the 100 foreigners refuse to leave the jail until the Palestinian's charges are the same as the foreigners' and the same bail terms are set, then the authorities may choose to comply in order to relieve their jail of the stress and embarrassment of so many internationals.

Goals for Jail Solidarity include:

- equal treatment for everyone in jail or court: don't single anyone out.
- No isolation of individuals or groups: leaders, people viewed as "troublemakers", and Palestinians will be the first to go. Communication must be maintained so we know what is happening to all of us at all times.
- Mass court appearances for the largest groups possible: helps us communicate.

Principles:

Useful for changing conditions in jail (separation of individuals, food) and legal conditions (argue for same charges, same court date). A common demand in mass actions is that everyone who acted within the nonviolence guidelines get the same charges and the same sentence, regardless of ethnicity,

prior criminal convictions, cooperation with police. Usually consists of refusing to do something (follow orders, eat, sign, leave) or doing something (sit-ins, noise, singing, dancing). There is no blueprint; Jail Solidarity calls for enormous creativity on our part. Empowers prisoners to take control of their own situation; reduces role of the lawyer. The more the merrier; Jail Solidarity works best with many people demanding the same thing.

Considerations:

Lack of chance to communicate in jail. Men and women will be in separate areas, and divided into different cells. We might see the entire group at hearings, unless the authorities separate us into different hearings. One demand can be that we not be separated in this way. Same gender folks might see each other in the exercise yard. Sometimes our lawyer will be willing to pass messages among us. Authorities are aware that divide and rule tactics often work well. The more prepared we are for Jail Solidarity before we go to jail, the better. A good tactic is for internationals to refuse to sign or agree to anything until they have seen their lawyer and/or been reliably informed of what is happening to the Palestinians.

Lack of full knowledge of consequences. Often, we will not know what exactly will happen to us if we choose a particular action. For instance, if we refuse to sign the bail agreement, will they continue to hold us for two days, two weeks, or two years? Obviously, this can make a big difference in our choice of action. The more people doing Jail Solidarity, the more we can be assured that the authorities will want to release us as soon as possible.

Pressures from outside. Pressure may come from our lawyer, other ISM members, family, friends, consulates.... Again, the more we have prepared prior to entering jail, and informed relevant folks of our plans, the less pressure we will receive once in jail. It may also be helpful to explain to people on the outside that jail can be a demoralizing place and that support, not pressure, is most beneficial.

Disagreement over strategy. We may not all have agreed on the goal of Jail Solidarity before we are arrested. For instance, some of us may feel that the goal of the entire campaign should be to focus world media attention on Israel by having as many internationals in jail as possible. Others may feel that world attention should be focused on the civil disobedience activities of the ISM in the Occupied Territories. These strategic divisions may divide us in jail when we are determining how long to stay.

Different principles. People have different "bottom lines." Some of us may have an absolute objection to signing anything printed by Israeli authorities.

Others may believe that it is alright to end Jail Solidarity and have some internationals released before others, if that will help the legal arguments of the remaining prisoners. Try to talk these different views out before going to jail. Remember, even if we have to split into two groups pursuing different goals or principles, if the groups are large enough, we may all be able to achieve our goals.

Changing circumstances. Some of us may become sick, politics on the outside may change, prison authorities may escalate harassment. Be mentally ready for the situation to change and to react flexibly to the circumstances.

Outside lives. We all have different jobs, travel arrangements, family circumstances.... If the ISM is going to flourish, we need to respect these differences and continue to attract as many people as possible to our movement.

Recognizing that we hail from all over the world and all walks of life and are united in our goal to end the Israeli occupation, we should try to support and respect each other through the difficult considerations and possible disagreements listed above. Pressure, guilt, and coercion for everyone to do the same thing is counter to our spirit of solidarity. The strength of Jail Solidarity and our Movement

comes from everyone's voluntary agreement to take part.

The U.S. Embassy and You:

Here is what the U.S. embassy website says:

> **"ARRESTS AND DETENTION:** U.S. citizens arrested by the Israeli National Police (INP) in Israel and charged with crimes are entitled to legal representation and consular notification and visitation. Typically the INP notifies the Embassy or Consulate General within two days of arrest, and consular access is normally granted within four days. This procedure may be expedited if the arrested American shows a U.S. passport to the police, or asks the police to contact the U.S. Embassy or Consulate.
>
> U.S. citizens arrested by the Israeli Security Police for security offenses, and U.S. citizens arrested in the West Bank or Gaza for criminal or security offenses may be prevented from communicating with lawyers, family members, or consular officers for lengthy periods. The U.S. Consulate General and the Embassy are often not notified of such arrests, or are not notified in a timely manner. Consular access to the arrested individual is frequently delayed. U.S. citizens have been subject to mistreatment during interrogation and pressured to sign statements in Hebrew which have not been translated. Under local law they may be detained for up to six months at a time without charges. Youths over the age of 14 have been detained and tried as adults. When access to a detained American citizen is denied or delayed, the U.S. government formally protests the lack of consular access to the Israeli government. The U.S. Government also will protest any mistreatment to the relevant authorities as well."

Talking to the U.S. Embassy or Consulate staff is like talking to the Israeli government. They share information and they have the same interests. They do not have the same interests as ISM or ISM activists. Even individuals who are nice and helpful work for the U.S. government, which is allied with the Israeli government. It is good to tell them things you want the Israelis to know. So if you are staying in a certain camp or town as a human shield, tell the consulate, because they will tell the Israelis, who might be discouraged from attacking that area. On the other hand, anything you do not want the Israelis to know, such as when you are leaving, how you are planning to get in or out, legal strategy, and **especially** who is with you and the names of Palestinians you are staying or working with, **do not** tell the consulate.

The main people you might be dealing with from the embassy are the American Citizen Services section and the Political section. ACS deals with the needs of U.S. citizens abroad, so anything like getting out of jail, getting information about what is going on in other areas, getting back property confiscated by the Israelis, would be their department. Political section are the people to be lobbied, if there are things you want our government to pressure the Israelis about, such as letting food and medicine into a closed area, not stopping ambulances, or ending the occupation. You call the Political section and tell them you want them to demand the Israelis comply with international law, or whatever. You can even ask that they come with you to meet with the mayor of the town you are in, or join you in taking an ambulance into an area where there are wounded people. They will not do it, but it is good to make the demand, especially since European diplomats sometimes will do these things, which points up how much the U.S. government is in league with the Israelis.

Evacuation

During times of invasion and closure, the consulate/embassy may involve itself in attempting to rescue/evacuate you from the area. You should think about this in regard to the following points. This is an individual's choice that has both organizational and personal facets, pro and con. For example, riding out in a U.S. government armored car could be construed as riding out with the Israeli military. It also allows our government to seem like heroes "rescuing" U.S. citizens from a dangerous situation, while in fact they are largely the cause of the dangerous situation. On the other hand, US embassy involvement

could be spun to our advantage by showing US support for ISM activities and allowing you increased media access to get your point across. Each situation is different and, no matter the decision, should be thought through in terms of your own situation and the situation of the group. In this regard.

When considering US Embassy involvement in "rescue" or "evacuation" there are several points to consider.

- Do people really need to leave.
- Do people really want to leave.

The US embassy does not have to do anything for you, it is a choice they make, so you should consider:

- The negative publicity that may result.
- The positive publicity that may result.

Dual Passport Holders

You may not be eligible for the same services as single passport holders. Israeli citizens who hold U.S. passports may be imprisoned, where single U.S. passport holders will be deported or released. **Palestinian Americans arrested by the Israelis in Palestine have also been denied equal representation by the U.S. consulate.**

Here is what the U.S. embassy website says about dual citizenship:

"**Israeli citizens**, including dual nationals, are subject to Israeli laws requiring service in Israel's armed forces. U.S.-Israeli dual nationals of military age who do not wish to serve in the Israeli armed forces should contact the Israeli Embassy in Washington, D.C. to learn more about an exemption or deferment from Israeli military service before going to Israel. Without this document, they may not be able to leave Israel without completing military service or may be subject to criminal penalties for failure to serve. Israeli citizens, including dual nationals, must enter and depart Israel on their Israeli passports.

Palestinian Americans whom the Government of Israel considers residents of the West Bank or Gaza may face certain travel restrictions (see Entry/Exit Requirements above). These individuals are subject to restrictions on movement between Israel, the West Bank and Gaza and within the West Bank and Gaza imposed by the Israeli Government on all Palestinians for security reasons. During periods of heightened security concerns these restrictions can be onerous. Palestinian-American residents of Jerusalem are normally required to use laissez-passers (documents issued by the Israeli Government) which contain re-entry permits approved by the Israeli Ministry of Interior."

Useful numbers at the Consulate and Embassy:

Alison or Chris Dilworth (Chris is in the Visa section, so usually he won't be helpful, but in times of crisis, he sometimes pinch hits for Alison): (0)50-261-132 (mobile)

Main ACS number in Jerusalem: (0)2-622-7216

U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv: (0)3-519-7575; 4:30 p.m.-8:30 a.m. (0)3-519-7551

VII. First Aid for Demonstrators

Medical Information for Direct Actions

Source: http://www.stopftaa.org/activist/act_medical.html

Things you should know about chemical weapons:

For most healthy people, the effects of tear gas and pepper spray are temporary. However, for some people the effects can be long-lasting and life-threatening. People with the conditions listed below should be aware of these risks and may want to try and avoid exposure. Please be aware that in intense actions, police behavior can be unpredictable, and avoidance is not always possible.

- Folks with respiratory diseases, such as asthma, emphysema, etc. risk exacerbation, permanent damage or even death if exposed.
- Vulnerable humans such as infants, the elderly, and the immune compromised, risk intensified and possibly life-threatening responses.
- Anyone with chronic health conditions or those on medications that weaken the immune system, (ie: chemotherapy, radiation, or long-term corticosteroids such as prednisone) risk exacerbation of illness, intensified response and possible delayed recovery.
- Women who are or could be pregnant, or who are trying to get pregnant, may be at risk of spontaneous abortion, or increased risk of birth defects.
- Nursing mothers risk passing toxins on to their infant.
- Folks with skin conditions (ie: severe acne, psoriasis, or eczema) and eye conditions (ie: conjunctivitis or uveitis) risk an intensified response.
- People wearing contact lenses may experience increased eye irritation and damage due to chemicals being trapped under the lenses.

After being exposed, do not bring contaminated clothing indoors unless it is wrapped in a plastic bag. As soon as you can, wash your hair and all contaminated clothing in a strong detergent. Remember, it is only temporary, and we are extremely strong.

General Concerns:

Contact lenses trap the irritating gases and chemical compounds underneath them and may increase the amount of damage and irritation. GET PRESCRIPTION GLASSES NOW & WARN OTHERS NOT TO WEAR CONTACT LENSES. Menstrual Periods/Pregnancy: A significant number of Seattle women gassed experienced immediate onset of menstruation outside their normal cycles. Some reported menstrual irregularities lasting for months. At least one spontaneous abortion - or miscarriage - has been reported. Reaction to chemical exposure will be greater with the presence of some skin conditions such as acne or severe eczema. Tear gas and pepper spray contain oily solvents that will rubber and plastic, so don't buy really expensive gear. This means that your slowly dissolve goggles will only provide temporary protection. Also remember that the straps of your gear will absorb the chemicals and eventually begin to irritate the skin beneath.

PEPPER SPRAY CONCERNS:

- Since pepper spray is often sprayed at a close distance, the police may try to:
    - Physically remove your goggles/ breathing protection.
    - Spray between your face and your goggles/mask (which if your hands are locked down, makes them a trap for the chemical).
- It can be hazardous. People have died from respiratory failure (no protesters that we are aware of).
- Asthmatics should bring their bronchodilators.

TEAR GAS & PEPPER SPRAY CONCERNS:

The propellants and/or active ingredients can cause cancer, are mutagenic and hence potentially teratogenic. One form of tear gas (CN) used during the WTO is 50% solvent - the solvent, methylene chloride, is a highly toxic chemical which can cause altered central nervous system function.

What can we do to protect ourselves from "non-lethal" projectiles?

Law enforcement agencies have fired a variety of non-lethal "projectiles," including rubber bullets (generally spherical, ranging from pea-sized to marble sized), wooden bullets (one inch dowels, about one and a half inches long) and beanbags (three inch by four inch nets bags filled with plastic shavings). The projectiles cause deep bruises and can break bones, but the most serious risk is to your eyes. For protection, bring the type of visor or shield used by carpenters (available at hardware stores). These visor are important to use over glasses or swim goggles, both of which can shatter.

Other First Aid:

Sprains:

- RICE: Rest (don't walk on sprained ankle, or use sprained wrist), Ice, Compression (ace-bandage), Elevation.
- Broken bones:
- Immobilize fractured limb (with other part of body, stick, etc.)
- Get person to medical facility
- Watch for signs of internal bleeding (swelling, bruising)

Burn:

- If chemical burn, flush off chemical with copious amounts of water.
- Cool water relieves
- Keep burn clean and sterile
- Do not break blisters. Do not wipe. Gently blot with clean cloth to remove moisture and grime.
- Bandage loosely to keep clean.
- May apply proper ointments to minor non-blister burn
- For extensive burns, seek medical help.

Penetrating injury:

- Do not remove impaled object - that might cause more injury or more bleeding.
- Immobilize the object with clean or sterile bandages
- Get the person to advanced medical care. May also need tetanus shot.

Extenal bleeding:

- Put pressure on the cut to help stop bleeding.
- Cover wound with clean or sterile bandages.

Shock:

Shock is loss of vital blood pressure. Signs are decreased consciousness, cool/clammy/pale skin, and/or rapid & weak pulse.

- Have the person lie on their back. Raise knees slightly (unless there are head injuries, leg fractures or breathing difficulty). This helps blood flow to brain.

- Make sure the person is breathing.
- Seek medical help - this could be an emergency.

Determine cause for shock:

- Dehydration - they should drink water if conscious enough, or IV solution infusion by trained medical person.
- Bleeding - stop bleeding via pressure. Person will need IV infusion & further intervention by trained medical person.
- Reaction to chemical: Make sure person is breathing. Be prepared to perform CPR. If symptoms do not improve rapidly, treat as a medical emergency. Decontaminate.

Head Injury:

- Victim may also have brain and spinal injury.
- Keep head-back elevated at least 30 degrees if lying down.
- Person may be irrational - control them to ensure safety.
- If bleeding, apply bandages lightly.
- Bring help to victim.
- Watch for decreasing level of consciousness, behavior changes, difficulty to arouse, nausea or vomiting, dizziness, head ache.
- Follow Up Care is ESSENTIAL because of possible later onset of problems.

Eye Glasses Lost, Broken, Blurry Near Vision:

- Pinhole in paper, held close to the eye will make it possible to read.
- Cheap non-Rx drug store glasses my be temporary substitute.

Information for those risking arrest with health conditions:

If you have any health condition that might pose serious health problems if your medication is interrupted (such as: retroviruses, psychiatric disorders, diabetes, hypertension), you should be aware that you may not have access to proper medication while you are in jail. A letter from a doctor may help. Three copies of the letter are needed, one for the legal team, one for the medical team (these will be kept completely confidential) and one for you.

It should include the following information: your name, diagnosis, that you must have access at all times to your medication, a list of all meds, that you must be allowed to keep meds on your person so that they can be properly administered, and that no substitutions are acceptable.

Since your name must be on the document, you may want to hide it on your body as a sort of insurance policy--perhaps you won't need it and then could eat it and utilize solidarity tactics. We believe that revealing your name and cooperating with the jailers to ensure your health is more beneficial to all than having to deal with a serious medical problem. Better to cite out than pass out.

Please make sure that your affinity group and the legal team is aware of your needs so they can help care and advocate for you.

Carrying essential medications in their original prescription bottles with your name and the drug, dosage, etc. may help you get access to them in jail.

Recommended Supplies for Protestors/Affinity Groups for Mass Actions:

The Essentials

- Chants and Attitudes! i.e. "Ain't no power like the power of the people - cause the power of the people don't stop!"
- Water: LOTS to drink and rinse off chemicals. Spray mister head or squirt head on bottle to help conserve water & minimize contamination.
- Rescue Remedy from Health Food store - 4 drops per quart of water.
- Bandannas soaked in vinegar- A gas mask semi-substitute. Keep them in a heavy duty ziplock bag.
- Energy Snacks - easy swallowing liquid, semi liquid to keep you going. Shatter resistant eye protection from plastic bullets. Prescription sports. Shooting glasses best.
- Sealed goggles like swimmers (available in prescription). Protection from tear gas & pepper spray.
- Fresh shirt Sealed in plastic bag, to replace a chemically contaminated shirt.
- CLOTH, 4x4 GAUZE, etc. to clean off chemicals.
- Prescription sunglasses with straps. DO NOT WEAR CONTACT LENSES!!! Trapped chemicals may cause eye damage. DO NOT BRING/USE ON SKIN: Vaseline, detergent soap, skin moisturizers, make-up, because the chemicals bind with them - anything acidic will cause stronger reaction. Do not wear Vaseline, mineral oil for protection!!!

Optional Supplies / Clothing info:

- NO earrings, piercings, necklaces, ties, etc. that can be grabbed. (A Simpsons' show had the police use a giant magnet to capture protesters by their piercing)!
- Wear Expendable synthetics that wont absorb chemicals, washed w castille soap (i.e. Dr. Bronners). Clinch/seal at wrists, ankles & neck. Windbreaker, light rain gear, also for changing color if you need to disappear. Replacement pants/shirt sealed in bag. Non absorbent hair cover: plastic bags or shower caps. Helmet, cup, jock, sports bra. Comfortable running shoes. Heavy duty glove to handle hot tear gas canisters.
- Gloves disposable latex, vinyl, dishwashing. Extra bags.
- Mineral Oil & Rubbing Alcohol for pepper spray de-contamination. Dangerous if used incorrectly.
- Paper, pen, for notes, documentation, etc..
- Money for food, transportation & telephone

Recommended Extra JUMP KIT supplies for Affinity Groups:

- Castile soap -i.e. Dr. Bronners- wash with before demo, after chemical exposure
- 2x2 & 4x4 bandages, menstrual pads (as bandages), Band-aids, tampons (for nose bleeds), skin tape, ace bandages
- Eye irrigation
- CPR masks
- Instant ice
- Emergen-C or other electrolyte mix
- Arnica 30x, 6c is better (homeopathic remedy for shock & trauma)
- Causticum and Cantharis 30x (homeopathic remedies for burns)
- Wound & skin ointments.
- Ching Wan Hung burn/abrasion ointment available in Asian Communities
- Emergency phone numbers, contact information
- Jar: non-breakable w lid, date/time/place-label, to take air/tear gas sample
- Camera (expendable) 400 ASA film, duct tape, marker

For lots more information see:

First Aid for Radicals at http://www.blackcrosscollective.org/

Can also be ordered from:

Black Cross Health Collective
P.O. Box 11303
Portland, OR 97211
info@blackcrosscollective.org
http://www.blackcrosscollective.org

VIII. Working with Media

Media Skills for Direct Action

Source: ***http://www.freedomrising.org/article.php?id=10***

Educate Yourself on the Media and the Issues

One of the goals is to raise the consciousness of people in this country around multi-national corporations and their control of government, which has both global and local impact. The most powerful means to do this is through the media: TV, radio, newspapers, and magazines. Of course, all popular media outlets are owned and controlled by huge corporations, and so many will try to devalue and marginalize us. But through our solidarity, our actions, and our words, we can utilize these moments in history to convey a radical and inspiring message to the people.

Fundamental Tips for Interviews

- Discipline your message! Use your slogan or message as much as possible.
- Familiarize yourself with three soundbites (with backup information). Write them down. · Always turn the question back to your message.
- Anticipate questions.
- Know the opposing points.
- Practice—even people who speak all the time practice.
- An interview is never over even if the tape stops rolling. Everything you say to a journalist is on the record.
- Don't get frustrated by difficult questions—just stick to your messages.
- If you slip up, don't worry. Just ask the reporter to start again (unless it's live).
- If you need more time to think, ask the reporter to repeat the question or ask a clarifying question—or simply pause and think before answering.
- If you don't know an answer to a question, don't force it. Try to return to your message. If it's an interview for print media, tell the reporter you'll track down the answer later call them back.
- Tell the reporter you have more to add if he or she overlooks something you think is important.

How to Write a Press Release

(Adapted from Salzman's "Making the News" and SPIN Project Materials)

What is a Press Release?

- Informs reporters about your event, report, or issue.
- More detailed than the advisory—should tell all the information a reporter needs to write their piece.
- Envision, then write the press release as the news story YOU would want to see written.
- Sent out the morning of or the day before the event.

Elements

- Headline. This will make or break a news release—include the most important information in the headline, and make it punchy. The headline can be up to four lines if necessary, including a sub-head, if used, but keep it short (and remember to use a large font).
- Important information should jump off the page—most reporters will only spend 30 seconds looking at a release.
- Spend 75 percent of your time writing the headline and the first paragraph.
- Use the inverted pyramid style of news writing. Make your most important points early in the release and work your way down.

- Keep sentences and paragraphs short. No more than three sentences per paragraph. · Include a colorful quote from a spokesperson in the second or third paragraph.
- Include a short summary of your organization in the last paragraph.
- Mention “Photo Opportunity” if there is one. Be sure to send a copy of the release to the photo desk.

Structure / Form

- In the top left corner, type “For Immediate Release.”
- Below “For Immediate Release,” type the date.
- Contact Information: In the top right corner, type names and phone numbers of two contacts. Make sure these contacts can be easily reached by phone. Including the contact’s home phone number, if appropriate.
- Type “###” at the end of your release. This is how journalists mark the end of a news copy.
- Type “MORE” at the end of page 1 if your release is two pages, and put a contact phone number and short headline in the upper-right hand corner of subsequent pages.
- Print your release on your organization’s letterhead.

How to Distribute It

- A release should be sent out the morning of, or the day before your event. In some cases, you may want to send an “embargoed” copy to select reporters ahead of time, meaning that the information is confidential until the date you specify.
- Generally, send a release to only one reporter per outlet.
- If your release announces an event, send it to the “daybooks.” A daybook lists news events scheduled to take place in the region on that day. Someone from each major outlet reviews the daybooks each morning.
- ALWAYS make follow up calls after you send the release. If your release is announcing an event, make the calls the morning before your event is scheduled.
- Have a copy of the release ready to be faxed when you make the calls.

How to Write a Media Advisory

(Adapted from Salzman’s “Making the News” and SPIN Project Materials)

What is a Media Advisory

- Functions as an FYI that alerts journalists to an upcoming event.
- Gives basic information: the who, what, where, when and why.
- Sent out a few days before the event.

Elements

- Headline. This will make or break the advisory—include the most important information in the headline, and make it punchy. The headline can be up to four lines if necessary, including a sub-head, if used, but keep it short (and remember to use a large font – it’s eye-catching!).
- Short description of the event and the issue. Make it visual (“Citizens will carry large placards and life-size puppets to the Governors Mansion to protest the latest cut in education funding.”)
- List the speakers at your event.
- Contact information. In the top right corner, type names and phone numbers of two contacts. Make sure these contacts can be easily reached by phone. Include the contact’s home phone number, if appropriate.
- Include a short summary of your organization in the last paragraph.

- Mention “Photo Opportunity” if one exists and be sure to send it to the photo editors of local news outlets as well as to reporters – they don’t always share information with each other!

Structure / Form

- In the top left corner, type “Media Advisory.”
- Beneath “Media Advisory,” type the date.
- Type “###” at the end of your advisory. This is how journalists mark the end of copy.
- Type “MORE” at the end of page 1 if your advisory is two pages, and put a contact phone number and short headline in the upper-right hand corner of subsequent pages.
- Print your advisory on your organization’s letterhead. How to distribute it
- A media advisory should arrive at news outlets 3 to 5 working days before the event.
- Fax or mail (if time permits) your advisory to the appropriate reporter, editor or producer at each news outlet on your press list.
- If your region has a “daybook” (you can find out by calling the newsroom of your largest local newspaper) be sure to submit your advisory. A daybook lists news events scheduled to take place in the region on that day. Major news outlets review the daybooks each morning.
- ALWAYS make follow up calls the day before your event, and have the advisory ready to be faxed.

Writing Opinion Pieces

(Adapted from Salzman’s “Making the News” and SPIN Project Materials)

What is an Op-Ed?

- Personal opinion essays which are typically published opposite the editorial page.
- They help legitimize your cause and you as a knowledgeable spokesperson for it.
- Elements
- Write a catchy first paragraph using a personal story or concrete example.
- Clearly state your specific point of view.
- Aim for 700 to 750 word and double space.
- Write in the active voice with two-to three-sentence paragraphs.
- Avoid jargon and “wonkish” language.
- Write in a personalized or storytelling way. Use humor, if possible.
- Don’t respond to specific newspapers stories with an op-ed—write a letter to the editor instead.
- Give the op-ed a short title.
- Find a local angle for local papers, consider how the topic affects specific audiences, and write more broadly for a national paper.
- Put your name, phone, and address in the top left-hand corner.
- Type the number of words in the top right-hand corner.

Hints for Placing an Op-Ed

- Before you send it, call and pitch the piece to the editor of the op-ed page to see if there is any interest.
- Call early in the week and early in the day.
- Ask about the paper’s submission policy. Some major publications want the piece to be “exclusive” (submitted only to them).
- Send your op-ed to several papers at a time, if this is allowed by their policy.
- Write a cover letter briefly explaining your subject, why it is relevant and will capture reader interest, and your own background. Remind the editor of your phone call.

- If you don't hear anything back from the paper a week after submitting the op-ed, call to see if it was received.

Pitching Your Story

(Adapted from Salzman's "Making the News" and SPIN Project Materials)

- Telephone calls are the most effective way to communicate with reporters. Pitch calls are essential to an effective media strategy. Reporters are on paper overload—chances are they never saw your faxed release or advisory.
- Target your reporters. Contact reporters who cover your issue, and reporters you have a relationship with. If you have to make a "cold call," ask the general assignment editor or producer who you should speak to.
- Find a "hook" for your story. Show the reporter how your story is significant, dramatic, timely, controversial or impacts a lot of readers.
- Always pitch the story first, and then ask if they received your release or advisory. Immediately capture the interest of the reporter—they won't wait for you to get to the point.
- Keep the pitch short and punchy. Reporters don't have time for long pitch calls, so get to the most interesting and important information in the first 90 seconds. Don't forget the Who, What, Where, When, and Why.
- Be enthusiastic and helpful. If you're not excited about your story, why should the reporter be?
- Never lie to a reporter. They may not like what you have to say, but they must respect you.
- Be considerate of deadlines. Pitch calls are best made in the mid morning (9:30 to noon). If you sense a reporter is rushed or impatient, ask them if they are on deadline and offer to call back.
- Only pitch one reporter per outlet. If you do talk to more than one person, make sure the other reporter knows that you've talked with someone else.
- Close the deal. Ask the reporter if they are interested or if they are coming to the event. Most will not commit over the phone but they will think about it.
- Offer to send information. If they don't commit to attend your event. Offer to send them information if they cannot attend. (Remember to send the information right away.)
- Don't get frustrated. Pitch calls can be frustrating when reporters don't bite. But remember that every phone call keeps your issue and organization on their radar screen, and is an important step in building an on-going professional relationship with reporters.

Holding a Media Event

(Adapted from Salzman's "Making the News" and SPIN Project Materials)

What is a Media Event:

- An activity intended to generate news coverage. They often involve gimmicky visuals, playful stunts, props, etc.
- Hints
- Determine if your event is newsworthy. The more of the following characteristics it has, the more likely it will get coverage:
  - Novelty
  - Conflict
  - New data, symbol of a trend
  - Simplicity
  - Humor
  - Prominent figure involved
  - Action

    - Bright props and images
    - Local impact
    - Holidays, anniversaries.
- Build your media event—site, speakers, visuals—around your message and slogan.
- Make it fun. If you don't look like you want to be there, why should the press?
- Don't be afraid to employ stunts. Sexy and trendy events take precedence over long range things with the media.
- Consider timing. Is your event competing with other things? It is best to stage an event Monday through Thursday, 10 A.M. though 2 P.M.
- Find an effective location. Consider the following questions when choosing a location:
    - Is the site convenient? Reporters are busy and won't travel far for an event.
    - Is your site too commonly used for media events? Try to find a unique location, if possible.
    - If your event is outdoors, do you have a backup location? A little rain or bad weather won't ruin an event, but severe conditions will. Also consider if it is possible to postpone it if the weather is very bad.
    - Do you need a permit? Check with the local police department.
    - Arrange to have photographers take pictures of your event.
    - Display a large banner or sign with your organization's logo.
    - The event should last 15 to 45 minutes.
    - Distribute information about your issue and organization at the event.
    - Remember equipment. Will you need a megaphone, podium, or portable microphone?
    - Have spokespersons ready to be interviewed.
    - Find out which reporters attended the event. Follow up with the no-shows.

How to Host a Press Conference

What is a Press Conference?

- Scheduled to release new information about an issue, announce a further event, or respond to breaking news.

Elements / Hints

- Determine if a press conference is appropriate. Press conferences seldom get much coverage from media—it is usually better to stage a media event, or call reporters and fax them information.
- Hold the conference outside, if possible. Make sure to have an indoor backup for bad weather.
- Choose a space that fits your audience. Don't have room for 50 if you are only expecting 8. It will appear as though the public is not interested in your issue. Have supporters fill empty seats. Make the event look well attended for the reporters and TV cameras.
- Be sure the room is adequately equipped for the media. Make sure there are electrical outlets, enough room in the back for cameras and tripods, etc.
- Practice the press conference in advance, including questions.
- Place your group's logo in front of the podium.
- Assign someone to greet reporters, distribute a press kit and to ask reporters to sign in.
- No more than four speakers, with each talking a maximum of five minutes. Put your most important speakers on first.
- Create props for your speakers to hold, especially if they are the only visual element of event. Speakers could gesture toward large charts and diagrams.
- Speakers should dress in formal clothes unless they are in costumes or their clothes are somehow related to the message they are trying to send.
- If only a few reporters arrive on time, delay for five minutes to see if more show up. But if you have a large group, get started on time.
- Allow ten minutes for questions.

- The press conference should not last longer than half an hour. Reporters can ask individuals questions after the event if they want more information.
- If possible, provide refreshments.

Tips for Print Media Interviews

- Newspaper reporters, who often cover "beats" (issue areas), are more likely to engage in a detailed discussion of your issue than broadcast journalists.
- Don't be afraid to fully explain your position, but be sure to emphasize your key points—those are the quotes you want to appear in the paper.
- Don't ignore questions. Newspaper reporters usually want more precise answers to their questions than do TV interviewers.
- Only ask a reporter to read back a quote of yours if it's absolutely necessary. Reserve this for extremely critical quotes.

Tips for Radio Interviews

Also see "Tips for Television Interviews." Most of the same tips apply.
(Adapted from Salzman's "Making the News" and SPIN Project Materials)

- Be prepared. Rehearse your message before the interview. You can use notes, but don't read.
- Warm up your voice by talking for a few minutes before.
- Don't speak tooooo slooooowly, but do speak clearly.
- Practice. Have a friend ask you questions and tape your responses.
- Most radio interviews are conducted by phone. Be sure to be in a quiet location for the call.
- Don't answer questions with a simple yes or no. Explain your position and have an exchange with the host.
- Repeat your message. Listeners may tune in late, and miss your message.
- Vary your voice, but avoid "ah" and "um."
- Try to sound as if you are speaking to a friend.
- Use humor, personal stories and concrete messages.
- Be brief.
- Have supporters call in while you're on the show.
- Have someone tape the show so you can listen to it later.

Tips for Television Interviews

- Determine the format. Is the show going to be taped and edited, or live?
- Every "blink," "uh," and "twitch" is magnified on camera.
- Look at the reporter or the camera operator. Don't look into the camera unless you are talking from the field with an anchor back at the studio.
- Keep your answers brief and stick to your key points. The more tape they have, the less control you have over what gets on the air.
- In taped interviews try to remember to incorporate the question into your answer in a complete sentence. For example, if an interviewer asks, "What are some ways in which the World Bank harms the environment?" don't simply answer "By financing polluting industries and forcing poor nations to cut back on environmental protections." The reason for this is that often producers will edit tape to use a particular response, or "sound bite" elsewhere in the story. If you don't answer in a complete sentence, your answer may turn out to be incomprehensible when used elsewhere. You will make a fast friend of the producer by answering in a way that can be used as a stand-alone soundbite anywhere in the story. For example, "The World Bank harms the environment by financing polluting projects, and also by forcing poor governments to cut back on their environmental protections."
- If you make a mistake, stop and start over (unless it's live).

- Interpret questions broadly, or, if necessary, ignore them and say what you want. This especially applies in TV interviews where may reporters will only take a sound bite and then move on.
- Give personal and moving examples. Refer to concrete images.

Unexpected Media Calls

(Adapted from Salzman's "Making the News" and SPIN Project Materials)

- You're doing your job! They know who you are and are coming to you as an expert. · If you are not sure how to respond, simply jot down the question and assure the reporter that you will return the call as soon as possible.
- Get the details. Be sure of what the reporter needs. Do they want a quote or background information?
- Verify the reporter's deadline. Be sure to get back to the reporter before that time.
- Don't ignore the media. Neglected reporters have a long memory. Try to answer the reporter's questions as quickly and completely as possible.
- Nothing is ever off the record. Don't say things you wouldn't want to see in print.

Video Activist Resources

Source: http://www.videoactivism.org/resource.html

BEFORE YOU TAPE:

BATTERIES & TAPE - Ask yourself what you are going to need for your shoot - ahead of time! See the checklist, grab some interview tips, prep your camera/accessory bag and charge the batteries - the night before, if possible. Be sure you have directions to the event and consider the legal aspects of the situation - (i.e. do you have your lawyer's number with you in case you get arrested for "interfering"? - do you have a copy of the local ordinance on the rights of onlookers? - do you need to print up a press pass or wear a "legal observer" arm band?)

GETTING STARTED:

DATE & TIME / ENDS OF TAPE- At the beginning of each taping situation, have the date and time appear for 3 seconds and then get rid of it. Don't leave the date/time on for much longer or it will make the footage less valuable for use later in making videos or using on the news. Another way to establish important facts quickly (without having to press any buttons) is by simply speaking into the camera's microphone (e.g. "so-and-so is getting arrested for xxx, it is Friday, May 7, 1 p.m., Union Square ..."), then go back to being quiet and letting the camera record what is happening. For legal value within the court system, in-camera date & time stamps are more credible. Be sure and check that the camera is programed for the current time.

- Allow 1 minute to run at the beginning of a new tape before you start recording. Know that the tape at the very beginning and end of your cassette will have more glitches and sound and color irregularities. If you are near the end of your tape, and you like what you are recording - get a new tape.
- Actually turning the camera off and removing the battery will keep your batteries going a lot longer than having the camera on standby or off with the battery attached.
- Carry lens paper and clean your lens frequently.

FRAME UP AND ESTABLISH - As an action, bust-scenario, or any shooting situation gets underway, scan the scene for shots that will establish for viewers where you are, what the issue is, etc. Is there a sign or building or tree or vehicle or tripod, etc. that indicates where you are or what the issue is?

Frame up on subjects (i.e. banners, people) so that nothing is cut-off and so that there is not too much empty space. Hold still. Get a good, long shot - 10 seconds or more on each important shot. Video editors and journalists will love you if you give them enough to work with and allow them to edit it. Get good stills (shots that don't zoom or pan).

Focus on identifying features and pan from them to the action (e.g. the sign near the government building where people are protesting). When you pan across a scene or from one subject to another, move slow and steady, with a consistent panning speed. Take time to start the pan where you want to, and to end where you want to also, without over-shooting your ending subject and having to move the camera back. Practice your pan with the camera in the standby mode - maybe pan twice at different speeds, but don't pan too much.

The same goes for zooming in and out. Going from a good wide shot of an action area and zooming in (at a steady pace) to a tighter shot of an arrest happening etc. can be a good way to place the smaller scene in context for viewers. But again, don't zoom too frequently. It is easier to find things quickly and your footage will be more stable, if your camera is open wide and not left in a zoom position. Get close to your subjects and let the camera be an objective eye, getting good images without putting the focus on the act of filming itself. And remember, TV viewers aren't browsing over snapshots and they won't have the benefit of the real context. You must establish that for them.

DURING YOUR SHOOT:

WITNESS SAFELY AND EFFECTIVELY - Every action and shooting situation is different; be ready to move fast or to stay still, to let authorities know that they are being filmed or to stay hidden. Consider all your options. Take steps to ensure that you are able to stay on site and document what occurs. Dress appropriately. This might mean warm clothes, rain gear, layers or shorts and t-shirts. Or this may mean looking "mainstream and respectable," so as to attract as little attention to yourself as possible. In some situations you might want to obtain a press pass and present yourself as an "objective" journalist type. In other situations this might entail "setting up a blind" - a place where you can film the action area and remain hidden to authorities.

- Get as close to the action or the subject as possible without getting caught or arrested or hurt. If you cannot get close, keep the subject/action framed as tightly and aesthetically as possible by filling the screen. Zooming in is often necessary, but increases the chances of shaking and an "artificial" look.
- If the police are wrongfully arresting someone - or whenever you need to identify the police on hand - read off their badge #s into the camera; this is faster than trying to zoom in and out on people that are moving. An assistant can help with this.
- Be mentally and physically prepared to remain non-violent in threatening situations and stick to the camera. Stay calm and focused. Having an assistant can be very helpful. They can run out hot footage, watch your back while you stare into your viewfinder and look out for important shots that you might be missing.
- Don't try to fulfill any other roles when you are the video witness support person. Activists, organizers and legal staff will be needing good video documentation of what occurs. Things may be getting crazy and violence may be happening, but the worse the situation gets, the more important it is for you to record the event on tape. If you will be the only person who can help people in danger, you did not plan your action well. You must remain taping to get that footage out of there and to the news, your legal help, even the cops if they were not involved. Be quiet and be attentive to getting good footage. A runner might help you by running dead batteries to a nearby car with an AC Power Inverter plugged into its cigarette lighter, ready to charge people's batteries.
- Follow-up information . . . If protesters are being arrested, find out where they are being taken and who else is doing documentation work on site. Are there ways to contact people later, to share footage, facts, etc.? Is there a central number to stay in touch with?

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE - There will be times when people involved in direct action will be planning on getting arrested. In these situations it may be very helpful to interview them before the arrest and on-site in order to document their reasons for breaking the law. If they will be using a "Necessity Defense" in court (i.e. they had to commit this small crime in order to prevent a larger one), then establishing evidence of their intent will be valuable. Ask them who they are, what the date is, what they are doing here, how important are the issues to them, and what extreme conditions and frustrated attempts to work within the system (if any) have led them to this point in their campaign. Focus on what they perceive to be the larger issues involved. Try to put these interviews on a separate tape in case the whole tape is subpoenaed.

DISCRETION AND COURTESY- There are some things you simply should not tape. Be clear about which actions and situations are meant for the record and which might better be left undocumented. Video tapes can easily become evidence for the police if the videographer is sloppy. Announce to everyone that you have a camera and would like to start taping. When in doubt, ask; and don't take it personally if people are suspicious or hostile to the camera - sometimes people are shy, other times they have very good reasons for not being videotaped. Distinguish between what is important for the action itself and what is nice to have for other purposes (like a documentary).
- Sometimes you can get incredible footage by pretending that the camera is not on. Practice taping with the camera in your hand near your hip and pointed up at the person, as if you are simply resting it there. Keep a wide zoom and hold steady, while trying to act "natural." Put electrical tape over the recording indicator light so no one knows it's on. Sometimes the audio alone is priceless.

GET GOOD AUDIO - Sound is so important in good video and typically underestimated in non-professional documentation. If you have some time, get samples of police radio, support people talking to authorities, authorities issuing commands, etc. Think of the video camera as a tape recorder also. Editors can sometimes do wonders with just the audio. And, radio shows are often dying for good audio to use.

- Two types of microphones are going to greatly enhance the quality of your audio: 1) Unidirectional Microphone - this type of mic. can be pointed at the source of sound that you are aiming for and filter out the sounds you don't want. This type of mic. will also allow an audio monitor to sample violent epithets, comments and conversations that authorities and/or workers might not say with a camera up close. 2)Wireless - Remote/Clip-On Microphone - Primary support people, peace keepers, activists who go inside government buildings, etc. can get precious sound samples and the authorities may never even know that they are being recorded by a camera that is 200 feet away. The clip-on mic. plugs into a small transmitter - the receiver plugs into the camera's mic. jack.
- Monitor audio with headphones to be sure things are okay. Buzzing and even radio interference can occur with external microphones (be careful not to cross headphone wires with microphone wires / also try to keep the mic. away from the running/moving parts of your camera).
- Built-in mics aren't great. But if you only have your camera mic., get close (real close) to your audio subjects. You have the option of forfeiting the visual all together and placing the camera mic. near your speaker's mouth. You can also shoot from the bottom of their head - (trying to frame-up a nice upward shot while keeping the mic. close).

TELL A STORY - If you are filming a banner hang, for example, get good long shots of the banner being painted, of the climbers preparing and climbing, of the banner coming out of their pack, of the people looking up at the banner, of the cops arriving, etc. Don't forget to get people's reactions to what is happening. Now your visual images will tell a story and a skilled editor will be able to set it to music or add narration. Ideally, you will have both video and audio that will tell the story on their own.

INTERVIEWS- When you have some free time, try to interview people as much as possible. People are often reluctant at first, but they soon get used to it and they themselves are usually glad to see it later. Interviews can be a great source of narration or "voice over" material. Get the camera microphone close to their mouth or use a directional mic.

GET CUTAWAYS (VISUALS) LATER - When your subject is talking about something, and points to the object they are describing or commenting on, keep the camera on their face as they talk. When they finish, take a few moments to get a clear shot of what they were talking about.

KEEP YOUR TAPES ORGANIZED - Keep a list of what you record and label your tapes promptly. Do it. Make sure you label the date, location, camera person, brief description and tape's number if there is more than one. Keep extra blank tapes on you and ready to use. Keep sensitive (e.g. "The Bust") material separate from other tapes in case they are confiscated or subpoenaed. Try to use professional quality tapes and always keep your tapes clean, dry, cool and away from the sun or extreme heat. Videotapes are extremely fragile things and should be treated delicately.

AFTER YOUR SHOOT:

TAKE CARE OF SOURCE TAPES - Now that you've got the great footage - keep it usable! Play it through a clean camera - one time - while making VHS view tapes through a VCR - then put it away. Is an extra effort required to preserve your footage (esp. if it's regular 8mm or VHS-C) by transferring the best clips to SVHS? Are tapes labeled and organized? - This can be very important. Some groups have actually had all of their tapes subpoenaed because they couldn't find exactly what the authorities asked for, so they just took them all. If you must make copies for people, copy from your VHS copy using two VCR's. Save your source tapes for editing with later. Glitches are the videographer's nightmare and they mostly come from the source tapes that have been played & rewound too much, or banged around, etc.

PREPARE FOR WHAT'S NEXT - Do you need to prepare the equipment for the next shoot, or for someone else? Drain and recharge your batteries. Remove completed tapes from the camera and cue the next one up. You might need to remove the battery from your microphone for long term storage. Follow through on any contacts you may have made at the shoot (e.g. media, legal support, other activists...) Review and evaluate the quality of your footage.

VAN Camera Tips **En Español**
Also visit i-Contact's Video Camera Tips at **www.videonetwork.org**,
Midnight Special Law Collective's ***Reporting Police Misconduct*** tips and documents at **http://la.indymedia.org/copwatch.php3**,
Paper Tiger TV's Video Camera Tips at **www.papertiger.org**
Indymedia Newsreal at **http://satellite.indymedia.org**

*You can watch training videos on-line at **witness.org**.*
There is an Introduction and some Context. (25 minutes each)

Give feedback to:
Whispered Media
PO Box 40130
San Francisco, CA 94140 USA
(415) 789-8484
wm@videoactivism.org

IX. Practical Information

Eleven things to think about before traveling to Palestine

(From New Orleans Palestine Solidarity– June, 2003):

This is just a quick checklist of some of the most important things for you to remember as you plan your trip. Details on these points – and much more - are available elsewhere in this book.

11. ***Don't Fly El-Al*** (the Israeli airline). Three reasons: there is a boycott; it's a hostile and uncomfortable situation to put yourself in; and the security is much harsher.

10. ***Respect Palestinian culture and traditions.*** For instance, in many places and situations, its not appropriate for men and women to touch, even to hold hands. If you are here to be in solidarity with the people of Palestine, its vital that you respect the people around you.

9. ***Have a "cover story" for when you enter through Israeli border security***. Whether you arrive at Ben Gurion airport in Tel-Aviv, or from one of the land borders, you will have to deal with the Israeli border security. Here's the good news: its (usually) not as bad as you're afraid it will be. Thousands of tourists enter Israel daily. As long as you seem like them, you should be fine. But, be prepared!

8. ***Contribute to the Palestinian economy.*** It is possible to stay in Palestine and spend very little, especially because of the generosity of the people you will meet. However, its vital that you not take unfair advantage of this generosity. If you are staying with a family that will not accept payment for putting you up, then find other ways to financially contribute to them, or their community. Make a gift to the local community center, or to a fund for families who have lost children during this intifada. Consider doing local fundraising in advance for money for just this purpose.

7. ***Bring Gifts***. You will probably be unprepared for the many acts of kindness and generosity you will receive. Try to prepare in advance, by bringing gifts from your community – if you give something personal, people will have something to remember you with.

6. ***Respect local leadership***. The International Solidarity Movement is a Palestinian-led coalition. Being in solidarity means respecting the community you are working with, and the local leadership. You should never take any action that is against the wishes of the community you are here to support.

5. ***Its not about you***. The purpose of this trip is not foremost about meeting your needs. You are here in solidarity. Be flexible, and be prepared for your plans to change. You may be planning on clearing roadblocks, or other actions, but a situation in which that's appropriate may not arise.

4. ***Be Prepared for Crisis***. You may have to make a quick decision, the result of which may affect others beyond yourself. Be alert, prepared, and responsible.

3. ***Prepare your support team.*** Before you leave, have friends at home that are prepared to support your trip. For example: have friends commit to calling you and keeping in touch; have someone contacting local press on your behalf; have a plan in case of emergency.

2. ***Be active locally***. Before you leave, be a part of your local Palestine solidarity community. Also, read about the history of the conflict, and study Arabic, if possible.

1. ***Stay involved when you return home.*** When you get back home, setup reportbacks in your community. Talk to press, local elected officials, schools, churches, mosques, community centers, and anywhere else you can think of. Don't talk about yourself, but about what you've seen. Recruit others to go to Palestine.

Country Guide

Source: ISM Palestine Pack (4/02)

Location:

Palestine lies on the western edge of the Asian continent and the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean Sea. It is bounded on the north by Lebanon and Syria; to the west by the Mediterranean Sea; to the south by the Jordanian Gulf of Aqaba and the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula; and to the east by Jordan.

Area: Land area: 26,323 km2 = 10,162 miles2

Palestinian Territories: 6,170 km2

West Bank: 5,800 km2; 130 km long and 40-65 km in width

Gaza Strip: 365 km2; 45 km long and 5-12 km in width (self-rule area: 210km2)

Regions: 4 main regions: the Gaza Strip, the northern, central and southern West Bank.

Capital: Jerusalem

Climate

Palestine has two main seasons: one starts in April and ends in October when the weather is hot, sunny and dry; the second begins in November and ends in March when the weather is temperate. Average temperatures range from 9-18 C in winter and 26- 30 C in summer.

Palestine is situated in the +2.00 GMT Time Zone (+3.00 GMT in summer).

Communications

Public phones in Palestine work either with coins or phone cards. Phone cards are available at the Palestinian post offices. The international code for Palestine is '972'. When calling from Jordan you need to call 970. To call overseas, you must dial '00' (or '012', '013','014' if you're in Jerusalem). For information you can call '144'.

Languages

Palestinians speak Arabic. The written language is “Fusha” or classical Arabic. In the Cities and bigger towns, English is widely spoken. In many of the tourist spots other languages (Spanish, Italian, German, and French) are also often understood.

Transportation

The easiest means of transportation in Palestine is the collective taxi ("taxi service"). These are large cars or small vans which drive along main routes and stop anywhere upon request. They most often depart from a main square such as Damascus Gate in Jerusalem, Manara Square in Ramallah, Bab Is-skak in Bethlehem, and in city centres generally. Private or special taxis do not always have taximeters, therefore a price should be arranged in advance.

An international driver's license is required to drive a rented car in Palestine. There are a number of Palestinian car-rental companies in all towns and cities.

Currency

There are at least three currencies, which can be used in Palestine without difficulties. Tourists can ask for prices and invoices in US Dollars, Jordanian Dinars, and New Israeli Shekels. In Gaza, the Egyptian Pound is also widely used as a currency. Foreign currencies are widely accepted, as well as travelers' checks and all major credit cards.

Exchange rates are regulated and you can change money in banks, most hotels, and authorized money changers.

Newspapers & Publications

The Jerusalem Times is the only English Language weekly in Palestine. Two Informative cultural events publications--*This Week in Palestine* and *What's Up*--are available at most hotels, bookshops, restaurants, and cultural centres.

Working hours and holidays

Working hours are generally from 8.00 a.m. to 7.00 p.m. Palestinian Government offices generally open from 8.00 a.m. - 2.30 p.m. Banks open from 8.00 a.m.-12.30 p.m. (some also open from 3.00 to 5.00 pm). The official holiday is on Friday but some shops close on Sundays.

How to get to the Palestinian Territories

Bridges

There are four border crossings which visitors to the Palestinian territories lying under the Palestinian National Authority can currently use. Two border crossings are from Jordan:

Al-Karama (also known as King Hussein or Allenby) Bridge; the Palestinian – Jordanian border crossing. Tel. 02-9943358

The Sheikh Hussein Bridge, close to Beisan in the north; the Israeli-Jordanian border-crossing Tel. 06-6586422

Rafah Border-crossing, between Egypt and Gaza Tel. 07-6734205

Beit Hanoun border crossing, out of Gaza: Tel. 07-6741672

Airports

Currently the only Palestinian airport, Gaza International (Tel: 07-2135696), is located in Rafah, Gaza. Other airports that can be used to travel to the Palestinian territories are Ben Gurion International Airport (Tel: 03-9723344) and Queen Alia International Airport in Jordan (Tel: 962-6-4453200).

Frequently Asked Questions (May, 2002)

Source: Direct Action for Palestine (New York) (slightly updated by Kate, SF, 6/03)

Thanks to the many people who gave vital input to put this together, especially including Steve Quester, Zaid Khalil, and Paul Larudee.

1) Where do we meet up?

In addition to the ISM offices in Bethlehem , there will also probably be a meeting point in East Jerusalem. Keep in touch with us. Before you leave, we will make sure you have a contact number for when you arrive.

2) How do I meet up with the ISM once I'm there?

If you are coming in from Ben Gurion airport, it's very simple. At the airport, get a "Nesher Shuttle" to East Jerusalem (Damascus Gate is a good, central spot). This will take about an hour, and cost less than $10. Our meeting point will be easily reachable from there.

If you are coming from Amman , Jordan , it is more complicated. You have three potential border crossings. I would advise buying a travel guide (like "Lonely Planet"). This will have good advice on traveling, and, at border crossings, makes you seem like more of a "tourist".

3) How much will this cost?

From New York , tickets seem to be running between $800-$1,100, round trip. I would plan on about $150-$250 per week expenses.

4) Do I need a visa?

If you are a US citizen, you need no special visa. Generally, at Ben Gurion airport, they will give you a stamp good for 90 days. At the land borders, generally 30 days, though sometimes only 14 days. Recently, people have been getting visas good for only one week at the Jordanian borders.

5) What media contact work should I do before I leave?

We've found that some of the best media coverage has been in small town papers, and other local media. We advise, before you go, to find out the contact info for any local media outlets relevant to you, including television stations. If you were born in, for example, Jackson, Mississippi, and went to high school in Dayton, Ohio, even if you haven't been back to either of those towns in 20 years, those local media outlets will probably be very interested in your story. Contact our media team for more info. There will also be a media team on the ground in Palestine .

6) What other groundwork should I do before I leave?

You should find at least one friend willing to do support work for you. They should, ideally, be able to help forward your updates to friends and allies (and type them for you, if you find yourself without email access), help contact press, and help do support work if you're arrested (get people calling the US embassy, your congressional reps, etc.) Your support contacts should understand your reason for going. Otherwise, the media support work they do could be very counterproductive. For example, if you're arrested, their message shouldn't be "how dare they do this to an American," but, rather, "If the Israeli Government is treating a US citizen engaged in humanitarian support this way, what does this say about their treatment of the thousands of Palestinians arrested during this latest invasion?"

If your parents are supportive, and ready to do press work, you should prep them somewhat, or have your friend ready to prep them.

Also, you may want to register with the ISM, through www.palsolidarity.org, but *discuss it with your local ISM contact first*.

7) How can people contact me in Palestine ?

Renting a cell phone in Palestine is an option. It is necessary that each affinity group have at least one cell phone (don't worry if you arrive without an affinity group, you will be placed in one. Once you find out your number, you can email it to friends and family. Also, giving your friends and family the numbers of ISM coordinators is a good idea. You will receive these numbers at the ISM training/orientation in Palestine .

8) I don't have a passport. How long does it take to get one?

Start getting together your necessary documentation (Birth Certificate, etc.) Even in a worst-case scenario, you can usually get a passport in a day or two.

9) Will there be trainings in Palestine ?

We ask that people get a training in the US , if possible, before they go. In addition to the US trainings, there will be an orientation in Palestine given once a week.

10) I'm a Jewish activist thinking of joining the ISM. What are some of the issues I should be aware of?

Palestinians, in general, put a high value on welcoming strangers, and are extremely supportive of the work done by international peace activists. This is no less true when internationals are Jewish. Expect to be welcomed.

It takes time for internationals to earn the trust of our Palestinian partners, and this is perhaps especially true for Jewish internationals, but you will be judged by your actions, not your ethnicity.

Understand, though, that the Israeli occupiers do everything in their power to conflate the concepts of "Jew" and "Israeli", so you may well hear Palestinians talking about "the Jews" when they really mean "Israelis" or "the Israeli army" or "the Israeli government". It is useful to remember the context; talk about "the Jews" is not the indication of bigotry that it would be in the United States or Europe.

11) I'm a non-Jewish activist thinking of joining the ISM. What are some of the issues I should be aware of?

Non-Jewish internationals must not adopt the habit of conflating Jews and Israel, nor must you let it pass when another international speaks pejoratively of Jews. It is crucial to our political mission at home that we separate our thinking about Jews as a people from our analysis of Israel as a rogue state. It is also crucial to the emotional well-being of your Jewish comrades on the ground that they know you "have their back".

12) I'm a queer activist thinking of joining freedom summer. What are some issues I should be aware of?

Palestinian society is as diverse in attitudes about gender and sexuality as is U.S. society. Internationals may find themselves in communities with fairly traditional norms and attitudes. In those cases, many of us have chosen not to speak about our sexuality with our Palestinian hosts, even though we felt it was important to come out to our international comrades. The decision about how or when you want to reveal information about yourself is a highly individual one; it's important to be clear with yourself about your reasons to sharing or withholding information, and how those reasons relate to your reasons for being in Palestine.

13) I'm a straight activist thinking of joining freedom summer. What are some issues I should be aware of?

Be aware of your heterosexual privilege, how you exercise it, and how that may impact on your queer international comrades. And always remember that a queer international who has come out to other internationals may not have chosen to come out to the host community, and her/his privacy must be respected. Also, whether queer or straight, public intimacy is considered highly disrespectful.

14) I am an Arab-American, thinking of joining the ISM. Will I be able to get into Palestine, or will Israel stop me at the border? What if I have US citizenship, but was born in Syria? Or Iraq? Or even Jordan or Egypt? Should I come, or should I find other ways to support freedom summer?

The overwhelming answer to this question, from the Palestinian organizers in Palestine, and from the other international organizers, was, yes, come to Palestine. Paul writes: "I'm an American born in Iran with an Iranian surname. I went to Palestine through Jordan, and the birthplace slowed things down a bit. The passport control officer had to take my passport to her supervisor, who presumably did every check she could, but other than that, things were pretty routine. No hint of being turned away.

Of course the situation changes. I might get turned away next time, although I'm inclined to think that it is more likely to be for my ISM activities than for my birthplace."

The key is, have a good story when you arrive.

15) As an Arab-American, how much does US citizenship protect me, once I am in Palestine? Am I much more likely to be targeted by soldiers?

Trevor answers: "If it's clearly an international action, then the collective privilege seems to keep everybody relatively safe. that's what I've observed, at any rate.

But let's say you're riding in an ambulance, or are in some other more isolated situation, like defying curfew in a small group, or are negotiating w/ soldiers at an action, or even just trying to get through a checkpoint. You'll definitely be treated different from the other internationals. And I imagine you'll be treated different from the Palestinians who live there, too. But it's very difficult to predict how soldiers will react in any situation. In my experience, they tend to go after those people whom they perceive to be "leaders", as well as the physically small."

Zaid answers: "When doing smaller actions, like defying curfew, you should have other internationals with you. But this is probably what will happen anyway."

16) Who do I contact when I arrive in Palestine ?

There will be trainings and orientations for activists upon arrival in East Jerusalem. From there, we will deploy people to locations in the Occupied Territories . When you arrive in East Jerusalem, phone the ISM office at: (011-972) 2-2774602 and they will tell you where to meet. You should also register in advance at www.palsolidarity.org. There are several good, inexpensive places to stay very near Damascus Gate in East Jerusalem. I recommend the Faisal Youth Hostel. Lonely Planet, and other travel guides, will have several other recommendations.

17) What special concerns should I have as a person of color planning to go to Palestine ?

The Israeli Military is certainly a racist institution. Be prepared, upon arriving at Ben Gurion airport, to be taken aside and questioned. As with Arab-American activists, it will be important in some situations to work with other groups of internationals, for a higher level of "collective privilege".

28) What exactly is the ISM position on non-violence?

From the ISM website:

> The International Solidarity Movement is a growing movement of Palestinian and international activists working to raise awareness of the Palestinian struggle for freedom and an end to Israeli occupation. We utilize non-violent, direct-action methods of resistance to confront and challenge the illegal Israeli occupation forces and policies.
>
> As enshrined in international law and UN resolutions, we recognize the Palestinian right to resist Israeli violence and occupation via legitimate armed struggle, yet we believe that nonviolence can be a powerful weapon in fighting oppression and we are committed to the principles of nonviolent resistance.
>
> - We support the Palestinian right to resist the occupation
> - We call for an immediate end to the occupation and immediate compliance and implementation of all UN resolutions including the right to return of Palestinian refugees and a Palestinian capital in Jerusalem
> - We call for immediate international intervention to protect the Palestinian people and ensure Israel 's compliance with international law

21) What is the danger level?

Although past delegations have been *mostly* free of serious injuries, obviously, the situation has gotten riskier. You should remember that you are entering a war zone, and it's difficult to predict exactly what you will face. The Palestinians who live in the West Bank and Gaza are at a much higher risk than you, simply because you will have a foreign passport. But, again, we cannot predict the dangers you will face.

22) Can people of any age participate?

Absolutely. Concerned citizens of all ages have participated in ISM delegations. You should, of course, be over 18. In the past, very few participants have been younger than 25. We recommend that you only participate if this is an issue that is of great importance to you, and has been for a long time. Please do not come because this is the “next Chiapas ”.

23) Will we be able to get into the West Bank and Gaza , or will the Israeli Military keep us out?

Although the Israeli military has been frequently closing areas, and of course roadblocks and checkpoints are a fact of life under the occupation, we expect that ISM activists will be able to reach all of the planned locations in the West Bank and Gaza . It may be necessary, for some locations, to hike long distances to avoid checkpoints.

24) How high is the risk of being deported?

This is a very serious concern. In the past, this was not a threat. But, in the last two months, the Israeli government has been using this as a tactic. The best defense against being deported is our numbers. More information about this will be made available at the ISM training/orientation in Palestine .

25) Is there a way to be involved with the ISM without risking deportation?

There will definitely be lower-risk activities. However, the actions of the Israeli military are hard to predict. It would be difficult to eliminate all risk. For those who have experience in Palestine , and speak some Arabic, one area in which volunteers are needed is in coordination. We very much need people in these roles, and this is a much more low-risk activity. Contact an ISM coordinator for more information.

26) What happens if I'm deported?

Currently, some ISM activists are fighting their deportation in the Israeli courts, with some success. For most of those facing deportation, you will be placed on a plane home, and forbidden from re-entering Israel .

27) Is the ISM affiliated with the PA, Fatah, Hamas, or any other political party in Palestine?

No, the ISM, and Freedom Summer, is not affiliated with, or taking orders from, any one political party in Palestine . However, ISM activists will be in contact with local activists and leadership in every community where we will be active. As an ISM volunteer, we expect you (or your affinity group) to communicate with the community around you, and to respect the guidance of those around you. Remember, it is the Palestinians around you that will bear the brunt of any repercussions for your actions. Therefore, respect for their views and guidance should be your highest priority

Fundraising – Sample Letter

Dear Friends,

Hello to all of you- I wish that I could write each of you individually but unfortunately, time is short and there is so much work to be done. I am right now working with Jews Against the Occupation to organize a giant teach-in aiming to educate and encourage Jews to support the right of return for Palestinian refugees and to take a stand against US aid to Israel. The Palestine solidarity movement in New York City has been working insanely hard lately. We just had our counter-demonstration to the annual Salute to Israel Day Parade- so many of us worked tirelessly to get media coverage, make banners and to turn people out to this important demonstration against the fascism and racism exhibited in so much of the Israel Parade. I also just finished doing a unit on al-Naqba for the children that I teach at a synagogue here. But with all of this important local work going on, it is still so crucial that American Jews like myself go to Palestine and join the International Solidarity Movement and other grassroots organizing going on there.

This August I plan to go to Israel/Palestine for a month. Myself and another member of Jews Against the Occupation are going to first spend a short time in "Israel proper" connecting with Israeli anti-occupation activists and organizations. Our goal is to strategize about how to bring the presence and voices of anti-Zionist, anti-occupation American Jews into the consciousness and discourse of Israeli society with the hope that this awareness will encourage further dissent. As part of this work, I plan on doing interviews with Israeli press discussing my opposition to the Occupation as well as alternatives to Zionism for Jews.

I will then join the International Solidarity Movement in the Occupied Territories and hope to support Palestinians as they organize, demonstrate, and non-violently resist the demolition of their homes, villages, and lives. It is so important that now, as the Israeli Defense Forces are blatantly attacking the ISM in an attempt to further isolate the Palestinian population of the Occupied Territories so Israel can continue to carry out its ethnic

cleansing of Palestinians uninterrupted, that I, with my Jewish and American privilege and power, put my body where my mouth is and join the Palestinian people in their just struggle for survival and self-determination.

Upon my return to the United States, I plan to use my stories, photographs, and experiences in a number of ways:

1) I will create a whole unit on life under Occupation (or some similar topic) as part of the Jewish Studies curriculum that I teach to 12 and 13-year-olds at Kolot Chayeinu, a synagogue in Brooklyn.

2) I will also speak at my synagogue about the situation in the Occupied Territories and the importance of Jewish solidarity with Palestinians. I have already confirmed this with the rabbi.

3) As many of you know, I have organized and participated in two "Palestine Truth Tours" through the south and an continuing that work. We are working on a New York City area tour of universities for the fall and I will integrate my experiences and photos and anything else from my time in Palestine into this tour thus reaching hundreds of people in city after city.

4) I will continue to do report backs as a member of Jews Against the Occupation which aims to organize at least one report back a month from now on.

5) I will of course be offering myself as a speaker and workshop facilitator to schools, organizations, churches, mosques, and others throughout the country.

In order to do this crucial work, I need to raise $2200. This money will be used for the airfare, cell phone bills (for organizing purposes), cost of living while in Palestine, and film. Without this money I will not be able to carry out this trip and the related public education and awareness raising projects.

So please let me know what you can give and please send this on to others who might be able to help support this work that there is such an urgent need for.

Please respond via email or telephone and thank you for taking the time to consider this request for support.

In Solidarity,
Ora

Telling your parents – Sample Letter

Dear Mom,

In two weeks I am going to Palestine with a dear friend. I am writing you this letter so that you have to know all my reasons for going before you yell at me and get sick with worry.

I am going to Palestine because as a white-male- U.S. citizen I need to use all of my privileges to fight against the oppression that the Israeli government is using against the Palestinian people to erase them. When I say erase it is not only some historical erasure of a people but also a daily brutal physical act of erasure. I remember dad used to tell me what happens to a person when they fall off a motorcycle on the highway, they simply get erased. I could never really conceptualize it. All I knew of erasure was pencils and chalk, I couldn't comprehend the human body being erased, I couldn't comprehend people getting erased by speeding concrete.

It is still hard for me to conceptualize the brutality of falling of a motorcycle. It is even harder for me to conceptualize the erasure of a whole people and yet my very existence as a white-U.S. citizen has depended on the historical and physical erasure of people such as Native American peoples, and the destruction through enslavement of African people for hundreds of years.

When I was arrested in April 2000 and again in August 2000 I learned more about erasure. The prison system erases people everyday and rebuilds prisoners. On a larger scale it erases communities, opportunities, dreams and desires. I was lucky when I was in jail, I had a community supporting me, I had a legal office to call, and I could call my family and friends. When I was in jail I met some really great people who had been in and out of jail and prison for most of their lives.

The two weeks I was in jail in Philadelphia was difficult, oppressive and terrifying. At all times I was the mercy of the guards and their individual whims not to mention the whims of the state. The bars were real. I had no choice, no freedom of movement. But in the end I could ultimately leave. The people I met did not. They were stuck, some held because they had prior records and couldn't receive bail; some because a cop planted drugs on them, some because they were drunk one to many times in

public and couldn't get in touch with their families to bail them out. But the people I met in jail were not just individual "criminals" but a collective example of the constant and continued effort within the U.S. to erase poor folks the and people of color.

Mom, I know you were worried about me when I was in jail. I know you reached out to Grandma to get me out. Your strong desire to protect me from harm was instilled in me. The care that drives you in your work and your family was put in me as I grew up and expanded through my experiences. It is because of this care that I do the work I do. It is because of this care that I am dedicated to social justice.

When I went to Ireland this past winter I traveled to Belfast. In Belfast I went on a black cab tour of the Shankhill (loyalist neighborhood) and Falls Road (republican neighborhood). The tour consisted of looking at murals in both neighborhoods and talking with the driver about the political situation, past and present, in the two neighborhoods. He showed us paramilitary reactionary murals in the Shankhill. The murals were full of weapons and men in masks, Confederate and Israeli flags hung from the light posts. On Falls road we saw memorial gardens for fallen IRA soldiers as well as civilians and memorial gardens for the causalities of the early 1900's uprisings. We also saw murals in honor of: women leaders in the Irish Independence, community supported projects such as the Black cabs, the ten hunger strikers of H-Block, and the victims of police and state repression killed by "non-lethal" rubber bullets.

Through out the tour I was confused. Here were two white working class communities living next to each other and yet fighting each other, killing and terrorizing each other. But as the tour continued I realized that what was/is happening in the north of Ireland is racism. The working class protestants were turned against their catholic counterparts because of the minor but significant privileges they were granted by the state. When those privileges came into question they developed their identity around defending them. The culture of loyalists in the north of Ireland is reactionary, militantly dedicated to defending the privileges endowed on them by the state. The republican culture on the other hand is based on liberation. They fought/fight to end a systematic oppression based on ethnic/religious identity.

At the end of the tour I asked the cab driver what neighborhood he was from Shankhill or Falls road. He told me to guess so I said Falls Road. As someone who had limited historical knowledge of the conflict in the north of Ireland I felt his tour was very fair. For me his fairness was demonstrated by his focus on what seemed to be an underlying idea of justice in the republican murals and reactionary bigotry in the loyalist murals. My guide, a man of medium height, who told stories with lyrical accent of the north, holding his cigarette with a home-tattooed hand, smiled, "I am from the Shankhill," he said.

In the north of Ireland I learned about the erasure of a people who have the same blood as me. When I went to pubs I could see myself in the rainy faces, potato noses, and green eyes that greeted me above the rim of a pint glass. These people sound like my father. Riding the train from Belfast to Dublin, passing through fields and a light drizzle all of the stories my father told me at bedtime made sense. His wishes to leave the hard life of that primitive farm to learn and to write made sense. He wanted to create himself for himself; he saw his journey away from impoverished third world Ireland as individual where I would see it as collective.

In the North I learned that the poor Irish Catholic Republicans were historically and physically being erased. I learned that the poor Irish Protestants Loyalists were being erased by the reactionary culture, the drive to protect their privilege, the need to side with the state. The Loyalists were actively engaged in erasing their own humanity and culture rebuilding new identities around allegiances to a crown that could care less for them. The republicans fought their erasure with their resistance and recreated themselves in the image of justice, took back their humanity through their struggles for liberation.

I do not pretend top fully understand the conflicts in the North, and surely recognize the corruption of the republican cause. But it serves as an example for me in my life.

Those of us who are complicit with oppression either through actively engaging in or supporting oppressive actions by individuals of institutions loose our humanity. We loose part of our ability to see beauty, to breath free air, to express joy and love for others. We loose clarity of thought.

Those of us who fight against oppression regain our humanity not through penance paid for oppressive sins but through the recreation of ourselves and communities as humans capable of recognizing our full potential to love, create, experience joy, share, and trust. We recreate ourselves in our own liberated images negating those assigned to us by historically oppressive institutions and cultures.

Mom, you taught me to care as a child. You taught me to stick with my family and support each other. You fought against my teachers when you saw them being unfair to me and others, you fought, you fought against the tides of poverty and patriarchy that sought to keep you bartending and put yourself through school, choosing a profession of helping others do the same. You were a young single mother and you struggled to give Mica and me a good life, which you did. You also gave us the will to fight, and the heart to care beyond ourselves. I can't help but include your guidance and strength in my decision to go to Palestine.

It is not a question of why I am going to Palestine but how you can support the struggle for liberation of the Palestinian people, which is the struggle for the liberation of all people. I am going to Palestine to lend immediate aid to people who are daily forced to fight against erasure. I am going to Palestine in order to return from Palestine and the stories I learn from people over there with people over here.

Much Love,

-joe

Pre-Training Handout

Source: www.ism-london.org (with a few additions/modifications for US delegates)

Costs

In addition to the cost of your airline ticket, you can expect to spend approximately $100 - $150 per week of stay in Palestine. This will include food, accommodation and travel.

Other costs (not required)

Purchasing a mobile phone: $80 - $100 Better and in the end cheaper than renting at airport

Mobile phone cards: $35 per week on average

20 sheckles a night for accommodation in the occupied Palestinian territories

Travelling over the King Hussein bridge is expensive with an exit tax of 142 sheckles (about £20) + an exit tax of 5 JD's from Aman airport (about £4). Other bridges also charge an exit tax when returning to Jordan however, since this is not a combination of both Israeli and Palestinian tax it is cheaper.

A multiple entry visa of £21 should be purchased in advance of travelling to the Palestinian territories via Jordan from the Jordanian Embassy in the UK. Contact Jordanian Embassy on 020 7937 3685, 6 Upper Philimore Gardens.

In all things, remember that a certain amount of discretion is vital. If the Israeli authorities find out that a group of us are all using one airline, one date, or one travel agent, it could make that group much less likely to be allowed entry to the country. Remember, many people have been turned away at Ben Gurion. Most of them were traveling in groups.

See Appendix II for more on how to reduce travel costs

Campaign Dates

There is an ongoing call out and need for internationals in Palestine. ISM are working towards establishing a long-term presence in Palestine, are always in need and almost always ready to receive. Training is once a week as detailed in the training section. You should plan your trip around training dates so if training is on Friday, should aim to arrive in Jerusalem on the Thursday before.

Detailed below are subjects and dates of campaigns scheduled this year:

- July 1 to Aug 15: Freedom Summer focusing on freedom of movement
- End of Sept to November (6 weeks): Olive Harvest

In addition, special calls will be made for activists to be present:

1) during back to school (early September)

These would differ from formal campaigns because the activists would engage in more accompaniment/ intervention rather than planned direct actions.

What to bring

Please note that this is not a packing list, but only some suggestions.

<u>Clothing</u>

- Good boots – most actions will end up on rough ground or with feet being trampled
- Good socks
- Stiff trousers – if you are in a situation where there may be stun grenades, jeans protect your legs from shrapnel
- Smooth/ polyester jumpers – if tear gas may be used, avoid fluffy clothes and wool, because the tear gas can stick to it, synthetic materials are good to protect against tear gas
- Trousers for men, trousers or longish skirts for women (easily washable, hang to dry), light colours to absorb less heat. Jeans are okay. Avoid olive/military colours or styles of clothing otherwise you could be mistaken for a soldier!
- Short sleeved shirts (the sleeves should ideally come to your elbows). Light colours, breathable fabrics one "good" outfit for press conferences, etc.
- Waterproof jacket
- Warm clothes
- Head scarf for women – in some areas such as Jenin and Gaza, internationals have been wearing head scarfs

Media Work & communication

- Video camera (preferably digital and as small as possible)
- Digital camera (with lots of spare capacity on your smart media)
- Mini disk recorder – good for radio and writing up report later
- Laptop + printer + modem would be useful for press work although there are internet cafes out there including the occupied territories, which tend to be slow but probably no more so than your own modem ***(Note from San Francisco organizer: Laptops can be a huge hassle in Palestine. They are heavy to carry around, you have to worry about losing them, and they give you all kinds of problems at the airport. Think seriously about whether you need to have it with you.)***
- Mobile phone & recharger – great for calling press & finding each other (see extra notes)
- Spare film, batteries & memory cards
- Rechargeable batteries
- Solar recharger
- An adaptor and any other electrical equipment you may need – it is difficult to buy out there
- Media contacts for all the newspapers, television and major radio stations in your home city or town, as well as national outlets and their Jerusalem bureaus. This is way easier to get before you leave than when you are here.

Other

- Thin towel – it can dry easily and takes up less room
- Money (you will need some in sheckles to take transport on arrival). Assume to spend $150 - 200 a week, provided you are not too extravagant
- Cash card – there are cash machines (though see next note)
- As much U.S. cash as you can since you probably won't get to ATMs or places to change travelers' checks much. The ATMs in Palestinian cities tend to have very low limits (like 200 shekels, or about $40). Try to get money in small denominations; 100s notes can be hard to change in villages and camps.
- Basic 1st aid kit (plasters, meds for cuts and blisters, anti-itch ointment, insect repellent, anti-diarrhea meds, dehydration salts, aspirin, etc.). Generally, if you buy a ready made kit, which includes a syringe and plastic gloves, you can explain this at the airport if questioned by simply stating it was included in the package. Therefore this is a better option and then you can bulk it out with specific items you need. Medication you MUST take daily should be in the original bottle and if prescribed, take a note from the doctor confirming this
- Water purifying tablets or filter – if you don't want to drink the tap water, bottled water isn't always available and plastic bottles are a problem in terms of waste disposal.
- Handkerchief/bandanna/scarf to protect against tear gas

- Keffiya could get you into trouble at the airport or border, but it's a good idea to pick one up in Jerusalem or Bethlehem; it can help identify you in Palestine as not a settler, and has a myriad of other uses
- Water bottle – one that you can drink from without unscrewing (eg from a bike shop) has 2 advantages: the water won't get contaminated by tear gas in the air and if you can squirt water out of it, it's good for washing tear gas out of eyes.
- Duct tape (repairs, posters, mailing, there's always use for duct tape)
- Wet wipes
- Pen/paper
- Books
- strong daypack – should be a rucksack so you have arms free on action. A large rucksack with a detachable daypack is recommended. Always carry passport and mobile re-charger with you if you are carrying a mobile.
- Arabic phrasebook (one with Arabic writing as well as transliteration, so if necessary you can show the person the word)
- Hebrew phrase book might be useful too
- Books about Israeli culture & history
- Israel Guidebook
- Spare glasses for glasses-wearers
- Small common medicines like cold capsules, cough syrup, Tums, cough drops, antiseptic creams, to share and leave behind
- Small toys and gifts from the States for your hosts and their kids – electronic toys are especially popular. For adults, things like candles, picture frames, Zapatista trinkets, sachets, things that are uniquely Northern California.

What not to bring

- Anything connecting you with ISM – again, keffehahs could aggravate the Israeli officials; you can buy one in Jerusalem.
- Too much stuff – traveling light helps your mobility

How to get there

Practical issues pre-travel: visas, transport methods, entry & exit problems

There are three ways to come to Palestine -- via the Ben Gurion airport at Tel Aviv in Israel, via Amman in Jordan or via Egypt. All entry points are policed by Israeli boarder police and customs offices who deny entry to Internationals going to the Occupied Palestinian Territories working as peace activists. Generally the Israeli boarder control will allow internationals entering the occupied territories only for reasons such as working with an NGO, working with or studying at a local university, visiting for religious reasons or visiting Israeli (not Palestinian) friends in Israel.

Upon arrival in Israel, you can find a shuttle to Jerusalem right outside the airport doors, to the right. This is a service that waits until it fills up (10 passengers) and then heads to Jerusalem for 40 Israeli Shekels per person ($9) or if you are paying in dollars - $10. It'll drop each person off where he/she wants to go in Jerusalem. You should ask for Damascus Gate. Depending on which order you're dropped off in, the ride to Jerusalem can take anywhere from 40 minutes to over an hour. If you arrive in the middle of the night, you might have to wait 1-2 hours for the shuttle to fill up. The other option is to arrange for a Palestinian taxi driver through our logistics coordinator. To do this, contact George at pcr@p-ol.com or call +972-2-277-2018. This is a more expensive option. It will run you approximately $50 for the whole car. It's a good option if there are a few of you coming together. Once you register and George knows what time you are coming in, he can advise on whether you should spend the first night in Jerusalem (if you arrive late) or try to make it right to Bethlehem (if you arrive early enough). You should be in touch with him regarding your flight schedule and when you arrive into the country. If you decide to come via Amman, Jordan, you may have to stay overnight in Jordan. For all bridges from Jordan to the Palestinian/Israeli territories, a multiple entry visa of £21 should be purchased in advance of travelling to

the Palestinian territories via Jordan from the Jordanian Embassy in the UK. Contact Jordanian Embassy on 020 7937 3685, 6 Upper Philimore Gardens. The other less pratical option would be to arrange to go to the Jordanian Embassy in Tel Aviv to get a visa to Jordan before you leave Palestine.

The Israeli officials will then question you on why you are coming to Israel via Jordan. Especially if you go from the airport to the border on the same day, they will ask you why you just didn't fly to Tel Aviv if you're not spending time in Jordan.

Each of the entry points from Jordan are open from 08:00 until 23:00 from Sunday through Thursday, and till 14:00 on Fridays and Saturdays. They are closed on most Jordanian and Israeli holidays. There are 3:

Travelling over the King Hussein bridge is expensive with an exit tax of 142 sheckles (about £20) + in any case there is an exit tax of 5 JD's from Amman airport (about £4). Other bridges also charge an exit when returning to Jordan however, since this is not a combination of both Israeli and Palestinian tax it is cheaper.

Pay attention to Jewish holidays and Sabbath as borders, offices & transport close down.

The King Hussein/Allenby Bridge

This one is the closest to the Amman airport and closest to Jerusalem on the other side of the border. It'll cost you at the most 20 Jordanian dinars (about $30) for a taxi to the bridge. This is where Palestinians cross back and forth into Jordan and it's usually crowded. It makes sense though if you say you are visiting Jerusalem.

Leaving from Amman to al-Quds (Jerusalem) through the King Hussein Bridge, you can either take a JETT bus (tel. 00 972 6 5664-146), which leaves at 06:30 daily, or a servees or minibus from the Abdali bus station (The airport has a bus service which arrives at Abdali bus station every hour and costs 0.500 JD). Once at the terminal to corssing the bridge, you will be checked out of the bus and board another JETT bus, which is the only form of public transport allowed to shuttle across the bridge. Once across the bridge there is an Israeli passport check before you arrive at the immigration terminal on the West Bank.

There your luggage and person may be searched, and you will receive an entry stamp. Although this stamp does not present a problem when entering Jordan or Egypt, if you wish to visit Syria, Lebanon or any Arab country, which has not signed a peace treaty with Israel, you should explicitly ask to get your Israeli entry and exit stamps on separate pieces of paper, not in your passport. Likewise, you should ask the Jordanian authorities to stamp your exit and entry from any crossing point connecting Jordan with the occupied West Bank or Israel on a separate sheet of paper as well.

After being checked in by the Israeli guards, you can catch a share taxi to Jericho, Jerusalem or other places on the West Bank. Buses are also available for a lower price.

Sheikh Hussein Bridge

In the north (Be careful when asking for a taxi to this bridge in Amman). Make sure that the taxi driver is clear that you want the SHEIKH Hussein Bridge and not the Malek Hussein Bridge (which is another name for the Allenby Bridge). This option will cost you about 35 Jordanian dinars ($50) from the airport to the bridge. When you cross over, the only practical option is to take a bus to Jerusalem (about 2 hour ride). We don't usually recommend people ride Israeli busses since we have received complaints of racist treatment from bus drivers towards internationals. This crossing is generally less crowded than the Allenby crossing, but is otherwise more trouble just because it's further away from Jerusalem. This is an official crossing point so you will not need a visa ahead of time to cross back into Jordan (you can buy one right at the border for about $15 – depending on which country you're from). Coming through Egypt is certainly the longest way in and not recommended. This would require you flying to Cairo and then purchasing a bus ticket to Jerusalem. The fare is $35 one-way, or $45-$50 round-trip. To do it this way,

you have to make sure you have your visa to Israel ahead of time. This means you either have to spend a few days in Cairo getting a visa either through the Israeli Embassy or the travel office you purchase your bus ticket from, or you arrange for your visa from your own country before arriving in Cairo. The ride is approximately 9-10 hours.

Aqaba/Eilat

This is the farthest and as with entering from Egypt, not really recommended -unless you want to visit Aqaba or Eilat (on the Israeli side). This border crossing is about 3 hours from the Amman airport and then once you are on the Israeli side, another 3 hours to Jerusalem by bus.

Returning Over the Bridge from the Occupied Territories

Coming from East Jerusalem to Jordan, you can catch a taxi just opposite the Damascus Gate for the King Hussein Bridge. The trip takes 40 minutes to the bridge checkpoint on the Israeli-occupied side. After paying an exit tax of 142 sheckles (about £20) and being checked out, you will board the JETT bus to shuttle you across the bridge to the terminal on the Jordanian side. After you are checked into Jordan, board a servees or the cheaper public minibus that will both drive you straight to the Abdali bus station in Amman and from here you can take a bus to the airport.

All in all, it's much easier to fly right into Tel Aviv. The main benefit of coming through Jordan or Egypt is that Israeli border officials are reputed to be less aggressive and intimidating to non-Jewish travellers at the border. However, in any of these scenarios if they're going to deny you entry into Israel, at the airport the Israeli officials will place you in a holding cell until they can deposit you on a flight back home. In contrast, at the border with Jordan or Egypt, you just go back into Jordan or Egypt, and contact George immediately so we can give you advise on how to proceed

Once you make it to Jerusalem you should call George immediately and you will be informed of the travel arrangements from Jerusalem to the training site. The office number is 02-277-4602 (drop the 02 if you are dialling from Jerusalem).

Accommodation:

If you arrive in Palestine before the scheduled training and orientation dates, there are a number of low-cost accommodations available in Jerusalem :

Hostels - there are many. Generally activists choose:

Faisal Hostel: 20 NIS per night (approx. $4.50). Usually crowded, noisy and less than clean, but the location is great - across from Damascus Gate, and you will meet a lot of activists. Phone number: +972-2-628-7502

Golden Gate Hostel: 30 NIS per night (approx. $6.50) Very clean; generally quiet. Located inside the Old City walls (enter from Damascus Gate, take the right fork in the road, after approximately 50 meters (at the Via Delarosa) take a right. The Golden Gate is on the left.) Phone number: not available.

In Jordan…

Contact fayez_alkayyali@yahoo.com

Single room will cost 13 JDs breakfast and tax included

Double room will cost 17 JDs breakfast and tax included

Triple room will cost you 22 JDs breakfast and tax included

Hotels: The Knight's Palace: $22 per person per night based on double occupancy. Located inside the New Gate. Reservations usually not required. Phone number: +972-2-627-4058

During the campaign

International activists will be staying in towns and villages in the West Bank and Gaza. When possible, arrangements will be made for activists to stay with Palestinian families. Frequently, internationals will pay 20 sheckles a night which in the case of Nablus for example, this money is put back into the local community to help homelss people and recoup costs of hosts food provisions etc.

Upon Arrival:

Please contact one of the following people upon arrival to Tel Aviv, or Jerusalem

ISM Office – 02-277-4602 George N. Rishmawi - _____ [he has a new phone #]

Ghassan Andoni - 052-595319

Neta Golan 059-839220 / 067-360810

Getting to the ISM Training

Trainings are usually held in hotels where we can all be together. You can expect to pay approximately $15 - $20 for the night's accommodation at the hotel.

It is advised that once in Bethlehem you stay in the hotel where training is held.

Assuming you are staying at the Faisal Hostel and travel down Sat morning to training:

If no curfew problems

Get a serveece (shared minibus) from Damascus Gate to the Bethlehem checkpoint. Don't tell them you are going to Beit Sahour, because they may drive you a long way round. Ask for the checkpoint. Should be 3 sk.

At the checkpoint get out and walk down the path to your left. Please bear in mind that the Israeli military does not support non-violent resistance to the occupation so they tend to use their military might to try and prevent peace activists from traveling freely in the area. They are however more willing to allow tourists visiting the Church of Nativity to pass through the check-point.

The other side of the checkpoint you will be approached by taxi drivers. It should cost 12sk to Beit Sahour. The driver will probably not know the 3 Kings Hotel (where the training probably is). So phone George +972-_____ (mobile), +972 (0)2-277-2018 and ask him to explain to the driver in Arabic. Or tell the driver the Ararat Hotel, which is just opposite the 3 Kings Hotel.

If curfew is on

Tell the service driver you are going to Beit Sahour, and he'll help you get there. You might end up taking a taxi and paying as much as 50 NIS.

Some info for those choosing to enter through Amman, Jordan.

by Darlene, San Jose, CA, 6/02

Before leaving the USA, go to the Jordanian Consulate (Honorary Consulate of Jordan in San Francisco, United States of America - 972 Mission Street, 4th Floor, California 94103 Telephone: (415) 546-1155 Fax: (415) 546-4041) and request a multiple entry visa for Jordan. That will allow you to enter Jordan from the airport, into occupied Palestine from Jordan, and back into Jordan from occupied Palestine when you are ready to return home.

If you do not get a multiple entry visa before you leave, you will have to get one in occupied Palestine in order to enter Jordan to return home. In occupied Palestine you can get a multiple entry visa for Jordan at the Jordanian embassy in Ramat Gan. It is open Sunday through Thursday from 09:30 - 12:30. I was told that it is a two hour wait and that you can get it the same day.

The other options are to travel to the Jordanian border in the north near Beit She'an or to the Jordanian border in the south; I do not know what city in the south. You would then get the Jordanian visa at the border. Unless you will be in the north or the south it might be easier to obtain the Jordanian visa in Tel Aviv, travel back to Jerusalem and then to the Allenby Bridge.

Don't try to leave through the Allenby Bridge after 16:00 or on Saturday.

When you arrive in Amman, Jordan, take the airport bus to Amman city center. From there I suggest taking a service to the King Hussein Bridge/Allenby (Al-Karama) Bridge. Once you enter occupied Palestine look for a service/sherut to Jerusalem - the Damascus Gate if you are coming to the Faisal Youth Hostel – if you fill the sherut/service ~35 shekel, otherwise paying for the empty seats ~250 shekel for the sherut/service from Allenby bridge to Jerusalem.

You could also go north to the Sheik Hussein Bridge by taxi - ~20 Jordanian Dinar ~ 1 hr trip

From the border to Beit She'an by taxi ~25 shekel
Beit She'an to Afula mini bus less than 50 shekel Afula to Tel Aviv by bus 30 shekel Tel Aviv to Jerusalem 18.50 shekel by bus or 20 shekel by sherut/service.

Traveling through Jordan: one perspective

I am a Canadian and have been to Palestine every year since 1997. In addition, I lived there in 1999/2000 and worked in both the West Bank and Jordan, so I made the crossing between the countries at the King Hussein/Allenby bridge over 25 times. After going through the Ben Gurion Airport (Tel Aviv) a few times and going through Jordan many times (including twice since this intifada started), I'd say that going through Jordan is definitely easier. Logistically it's more difficult, but there are fewer questions and fewer searches.

If you arrive in Amman (Queen Alia Airport), you purchase a Jordanian visa there. If you then cross into Palestine at the King Hussein/Allenby bridge (about 1/2 hour outside of Amman), it is not considered to be an international border. This means that you can return to Jordan at THIS bridge and not need another Jordanian visa. If, however, you decide to return at either the southern bridge (by Aqaba) or the northern bridge (by Beit Shean), then you will be required to purchase another Jordanian visa at the border. I've also found more questions at the northern bridge when leaving, where I've crossed a few times. When leaving at the King Hussein/Allenby bridge, I've NEVER had my luggage searched nor asked anything except what is my middle name. Quite a difference from Ben Gurion airport, where I have always been asked a million questions and been taken aside and had my luggage thoroughly searched every time.

No matter what bridge you cross to get to Jordan, you have to pay an Israeli exit tax. Almost every time I crossed the price was different but generally in the 100 to 150 NIS range.

Back to arriving....from Amman you can take a private taxi or shared taxi to the departure hall (about a 30 minute drive). After going through a few steps on the Jordanian side, you board a bus for foreigners that departs every 45 minutes to an hour or so (no schedule, it's whenever). Keep a few Jordanian dinars for this bus ride. It goes a few kilometers, across the Jordan River, and drops you at the Israeli arrivals hall. At the hall you fill in the same landing card that you get at the airport, which includes an address of where you're staying in Israel (e.g. Jerusalem hotel). Of all the dozens of times I've crossed, I've pretty much got the usual questions which include:

Is this your first time to Israel?

What is the purpose of your trip?

What do you plan on doing while you are here?

Where are you staying?

How long are you going to stay?

In addition, they may ask who paid for your airfare and may ask to see your return ticket. You then get a 3 month visa which is stamped in your passport or you can request that it be stamped on a separate piece of paper instead (which you hand in when you leave).

From the departures hall you can take a private taxi or a shared taxi to Jerusalem. If memory serves me, the fare for a shared taxi is about 30 NIS. Often one or two seats are left empty so the driver asks if everyone is willing to pay more to cover the cost of these seats so you can get going. Otherwise, you'll have to wait until another bus of foreigners crosses the bridge. The drive to Jerusalem takes about 45 minutes and the last stop is Damascus Gate, just outside the Old City.

One final point for those arriving in Tel Aviv but wanting to go to Jordan for a visit....you will need a Jordanian visa which you can purchase at the northern or southern bridges. Since the bridge by Jericho

(the King Hussein/Allenby bridge) is not considered to be an international border according to Jordan, no Jordanian visas are issued here. Therefore if you want to cross at this bridge you'll have to get a Jordanian visa beforehand. There are only two ways of doing this: either get it before leaving home by sending your passport to the nearest Jordanian Embassy or Consulate, or going to the Jordanian Consulate in Tel Aviv.

Hope this helpful....all the best to those planning a trip there. Your presence is desperately needed and Palestine is an awesome place that became my second home after my first trip.

Best regards,

Merna

Cel Phones and Other Techie Stuff

Here is a rough tech list by calluna

1. Mobile phones
2. Computers and Additionals
3. Cameras (digi., vid. and otherwise)
4. Donated Equipment
5. Batteries, film and buying stuff there

1. Mobile phones

a. types

b. services

1. a. Phones

DO NOT rent a phone at the airport. Perhaps the only way I would consider it is if you are here for a week or less. It is a lousy deal and many people had trouble refilling their talk time and had poor service in most areas and we have been advising people to come through Jordan so many of you never even see Ben Gurion anyway. If you have time in Jordan check out the deals there, they can be very good. You can bring a phone from home, if it has the right capabilities which I will explain in more detail below, or you can buy a new/used phone in Israel or Palestine for very little. Anywhere from 100 to 500 NIS and up. SIM cards range from 100 to 225 NIS but we may be able to find you a good deal on that as well. There is a decent mobile phone market located at Damascus Gate and if you keep in touch with people in Palestine, we may be able to help you negotiate the price. In addition, in Bethlehem, there is a very good store called Mobile World, the owner speaks excellent English and is always willing to help whether you bought your phone there or not. Certainly, the airport option may seem like a no hassle way to do it but many people regretted taking the easy way out.

If you are going to invest in a phone either in your home country or abroad try to find a tri-mode, also called a triple band phone, while not crucial it is nice to get a phone that you can keep and use just about anywhere. A triple band phone is a wireless phone that operates on any of the three digital GSM frequencies-typically, 900 MHz, 1800 MHz and 1900 MHz-to increase service coverage. (1800 MHz is a GSM digital network used in Europe. This frequency allows for global roaming, where roaming agreements are in place.) GSM is the most widely used digital technology in Europe, Middle East, and Asia and the number of providers is rapidly expanding in North America. Check your own phone first by taking it to a dealer and asking what bands it supports (is it GSM) and if it can take a SIM card. (SIM explained below.) It may be that your home phone supports two digital technologies, such as CDMA and TDMA, as well as analog. However, it can also mean that it supports one digital technology in two bands and offers analog support. A popular version of the tri mode type of phone for people who do a lot of international traveling has GSM service in the 900-MHz band for Europe and Asia and the 1900-MHz band for the United States, in addition to the analog service, but this type may have trouble in the Middle East.

The most popular model I found in Palestine/Israel is the Motorola Timeport which, when I bought it new was 500NIS with an Orange SIM card containing 100NIS worth of talk time. I also saw this phone in the Damascus Gate market and it seemed to be going for around 300NIS used. This is a pretty top of the line phone but remember you can also buy a less fancy one and sell it or donate it before you leave.

A few terms…

A SIM card is a Subscriber Identity Module and is a card commonly used in a GSM phone. The card holds a microchip that stores information and encrypts voice and data transmissions, making it close to impossible to listen in on calls.

The SIM card also stores data that identifies the caller to the network service provider. If you have a phone that is compatible with the Middle Eastern bandwith than bring it and you can buy a SIM card for the network of your choice. This means you will have a local Palestinian/Israeli number and calls home will be billed as international calls.

If your phone uses a SIM card, it is a GSM phone. The SIM card is a small plastic chip typically found underneath the battery or elsewhere in the phone.

If you are not aware of any SIM card, you should confirm your technology by checking the users' manual or by calling your service provider.

Another piece of shorthand that you will hear is SMS or Short Message Service and is a feature available with some wireless phones that allow users to send and/or receive short alphanumeric messages. This is a great way to do quick messages and communications cheaply and most service plans offer it, but check on that and be sure that you can do it internationally.

1. b. Services

There are three major networks in Palestine/Israel. Cellcom, Orange and Jawwal.

Cellcom is owned by BellSouth Corp. and the Safra Group and I could not find details on the rates.

Orange is a major provider in England and other parts of Europe.

Convenient if you live there or are travelling there, remember though international rates apply even when you are on the same network. They also offer nifty numbers you can call to check stuff out. Again though no rates available but they are pricier than others but they seem to have better national coverage.

Information services for roamers:

Orange Israel offers useful information services for incoming visitors.

For directory assistance in Israel dial 144

For transportation information dial:

*301 - Ben Gurion airport, Arrivals and departures

*3456 - Public bus service in Tel Aviv area ("Dan")

*2020 - Public bus service throughout Israel ("Egged")

*5770 - National train service

Paltel has been granted a license from the Palestinian National Authority to operate, maintain and manage the telecom sector in Palestine. This license covers both voice and non-voice, fixed and cellular networks and they named the mobile network Jawwal.

So those are the networks, here is the catch. Not all networks can call each other and not all landlines can call the networks. Unfortunately I do not remember which does which but I do know that some issues have been resolved such as you can now send text messages to Cellcom subscribers and the Jawwal Company seems to now be able to call Orange, according to their website. I used Orange because the coverage seemed to be the best and I got the most features.

All of the services offer a prepaid plan where you buy cards in various denominations to ‘top up’ your talk time. For example, I would buy a 75NIS Orange phone card, dial the service number and punch in the

number from the back of the card I just bought. If I got all those numbers right, voila, my talk time increased. Phone cards are sold in most shops and groceries in Palestine and Israel.

2. Computers and Additionals

I know many people have been hearing scary things about laptops going through security at the border and checkpoints. Well, some of it is true and some is irrational. First, it is important to consider how much you will really be using your laptop. Ask yourself if you really want the burden of carrying around an extra 6lbs or more and the extra worry that goes with it. We do still need equipment both donated and to be used while you are here.

If the answer is yes then here are a few facts. At the border entering, you can be charged a deposit that you will, if you keep the little paper, get back. Due to the high cost of electronics in the region, this is supposed to insure that you are not going to sell it while you are there. This deposit seems to vary and the two people I know who have had to pay it could not remember the amount but it may have been around 50USD. This 'tax' seems to be a rarity judging from the amount of people who came for the last campaign that brought laptops and did not have to pay the deposit, but do not be surprised if you are charged and don't argue because you can't win this one.

While in the country it is possible, though in the past unlikely, to have your bag searched at a checkpoint and it will always be searched going into Israeli public buildings. You do have the right to be present when your bag is searched and the right to be present if anything is taken out, although if they break something it is very difficult to get them to fix it (ask Georgina). The search is cursory at public buildings but can be more obnoxious at checkpoints. Confiscation has in the past been unlikely but the situation has changed dramatically over the past few months, and certainly, before an action the ISM decision makers can counsel you on whether or not it is a good idea to bring it with you.

Leaving the country, they will most likely turn on the computer and perhaps make you run a program or open a file. At the airport, people have reported some difficulty particularly from the December campaign. On two occasions, people were requested to leave their laptops with security for an extended period and fly without them on the gurantee that the laptops would be sent on after them and both times the individuals fought it. One was able to rebook a flight to leave the next day as security demanded the computer for 24 hours and the other was held so long that the flight left and so a new ticket had to be purchased at that persons expense. So, plan ahead if you are leaving from Ben Gurion Airport. Arrive early and go through all the security as early as you can. The Alternative Information Center website has a good factsheet about Ben Gurion and your rights http://alternativenews.org. Any sensitive information on your computer can be dumped to some media type depending on your computers capabilities, CD, disk ect. and snail or e-mailed to yourself.

There is also the option of encrypting the files but remember, if they do decide to look through your computer's hardrive and see lots of encrypted files they may get a tad suspicious. All in all, it really is not too difficult but again consider whether you really need it, Internet cafes are abundant in Israel as well as Palestine (although many are closed due to the incursions) and home Internet access is also plentiful.

Additionals that you may have could include an external hardrive; zip drive or lots of cables for cameras and other stuff. It is important to not have this gear strewn through your bag because I can tell you from personal experience, one of the fastest ways to shut down an Israeli border post is to have lots of electronic gear and cables all tangled about in your bag. Try it and watch them press the panic button. If you have some particularly special gear, it is a little more difficult to pass yourself off as a tourist. A few things you can try are;

if you are travelling with another person, divide up your gear so it does not look so suspicious

DO NOT say you are going to WORK on a project. Work being the operative word. Even if you claim it is in Israel. To work requires a permit as does volunteering (but the volunteering one is easier to get away with). Alternatively, if you think you can do it, you can say you are a consultant. A consultant does not need a work permit since you are theoretically paid by an outside source. To pull this one off you really

need to have your shit straight. Have some business cards for yourself, a local Israeli address (not a hostel) and an Israeli organization that you are consulting for. Try not to lie too much, they can tell, make it something you do already.

3. Cameras (Digi., Vid. and Otherwise)

Unless you are carrying some amazing television grade video camera, don't expect too much trouble entering or leaving the country. At most I have found it to be quite funny, at least when I have the time to sit around. I normally have a fancy digital still camera, two manual cameras, additional lenses and hand film rolling equipment. The border security spends a lot of time considering my cameras, poking and prodding, and generally acting as if they have never seen a telephoto lens in their lives. Unfortunately, bad things happen such as when they decide to take things apart. The airport security took Georgina's camera apart and the door never closed right again till she had it repaired in London. I have not had other reports of this but it is true that Ben Gurion is more stringent, especially with carry on stuff.

A big question always is "will my film be confiscated?". If you are concerned, plan a little extra money at the end to send it to yourself. Use a shipper like UPS or FedEx who have completely contained shipping methods, meaning the Israeli government does not really see the package. I would not use the regular post. I have crossed the border with all sorts of media including six months of film and had no problems. It certainly can differ widely but as a general rule, if you use Ben Gurion Airport plan for the worst. During the April – early May invasion soldiers began confiscating film from journalists and activists when they came through checkpoints or were caught participating in solidarity actions. You may want to develop a system of leaving media at a dropoff point such as with a trusted friend, some people left things at the IMC office last time (but please ask first and don't plan on it), or sending things off whenever you have the chance so you are not carrying all of your work with you. Again, this issue will be addressed in ISM training and on the ground since every situation can be so different.

4. Donated Equipment

I am only dealing with potential computer and related media equipment donations to the Independent Media Center - Palestine and the media office for the Freedom Summer Campaign. I cannot address donation issues for families, communities or the International Solidarity Movement.

For the Freedom Summer campaign we need mobile equipment. Laptops with a 56k V.90 compliant modem and, if possible, an ethernet card. Don't worry about the operating system, we can deal with that but it should be Windows 95 or better and no Mac's please. Other mobile equipment includes mobile phones, mini-disk recorders, and video cameras. I will talk more about physical media compliancy issues later but on the subject of video cameras try to acquire digital, super8mm or hi8mm, beware of digital 8mm this is a pain in the ass that we do not need. The Independent Media Center desperately needs desktop and laptop computers and other equipment. Contact the IMC for more details. We ran the media office for the April campaign from the IMC office and we may be doing this again so therefore donations need to be specified as to which group they will stay with.

5. Batteries, film and buying stuff there

Expensive, Expensive, Expensive, Expensive, Expensive, Expensive.

Try to get what you need at home, whether that is Europe, America or otherwise. Everything is available in Israel, so if you do find you need to get mini-disks, batteries, floppies or anything else like that you will be able to find it. Don't fret when that little 1.5v battery for your favourite camera goes dead and you don't have a light meter anymore, it can be found.

One consideration is video camera media. There are two camera formats (this applies to digi. and 8mm, among others) PAL, the European standard shoots at 50MHz, and NTSC, the American standard shoots at 60MHz. The reason this is important is if you borrow a camera be aware that most video shot on an NTSC camera will not play in most Israeli machines since they are on the PAL standard. This does not

affect buying tapes in Israel since regardless of what the tapes says, whether it be PAL or NTSC it will record at whatever frequency the camera is set to.

Cultural Considerations

Remember that rumors spread faster than the speed of light

Below I have rated each item according to importance on a scale of 1 to 5(1 being lowest and 5 being highest). All of these rules should be abided to with the best of your abilities. But some are much more important than others, some include a range depending upon the situation. The most important are also in italics.

- **Drugs and Alcohol**
  - *Do not use drugs anywhere(period)* ***5***
  - *You can drink Alcohol in restaurants/establishments Bethlehem and East Jerusalem* ***5***

- **Relationships**
  - *You should not engage in physical playfulness in public areas* ***4-5***
  - *There should be absolutely no physical contact between men and women in public* ***5***
  - *You should refrain from entering into intimate relationships with Palestinians(men and women)* ***5***
  - *You can have a relationship in East Jerusalem, if you really feel that you just can't help yourself anymore go to Jerusalem. In any area where we are working these things are entirely unacceptable and destructive.* ***5***
  - *Even in ISM space, men and women sleep in separate rooms* ***5***

- **Hygiene and Bathroom Considerations**
  - Showers will be cold or there may not be one (not rated)
  - Toilets – Squat Toilets (not rated)
  - Toilet paper usually gets placed in a waste basket and you should bring your own (not rated)
  - *You should always remain fully clothed but especially when you leave the bathroom* ***5***
  - You should not discuss sexual or personal hygiene issues in mixed company or in public ***3***
  - You should not appear in public with wet hair ***4***
  - Use your right hand to eat, use your judgment based upon the economic situation of the household ***1-4***

- **Opposite Sex Rules of Engagement**
  - You should not initiate shaking hands with women if you are a man and vice versa [a good general rule, is if a woman/man offers her/his hand to man/woman, then shake it] ***3***
  - You should not initiate contact in public with a member of the opposite sex that you do not know ***5***
  - *Even in ISM space, men and women sleep in separate rooms* ***5***

- **Cultural Considerations for Women (Men should perform these things in solidarity with Women)**
  - *Dress in loose clothing* ***5***
  - *Shirt sleeves should cover your upper arms. expose as little of your neck and chest as possible, and should be long enough so that you can move comfortably without exposing your midsection(in general it should cover your butt).* ***5***
  - *No smoking in public areas unless you see local women doing so* ***2***
  - *If there is an incident involving inappropriate behavior by any man/boy towards you – whether it is verbal or physical – make an issue of it loudly, and immediately. If you let moral infractions slip by because "it's not a big deal", it will be perceived that you tolerate this type of behavior, and the problem will escalate. Say to "treat us as your own sisters"* ***5***
  - *Women do not walk alone or with a Palestinian male* ***5***

- **Cultural Considerations for Men**
  - Be cautious when waking through rooms, if there is women in a room that you need to go into, ask permission from a male in the household ***1-4***
  - *Do not wear Earrings or Jewelry* ***5***
  - *Long hair should be kept tied back or under a hat* ***5***

- **Dress**
  - *Fully cover tattoos* ***5***
  - *Remove all piercings with the exception of ear piercings for women* ***5***
  - *Dress in loose clothing, that covers as much skin as possible – no shorts* ***5***
  - *Keep long hair tied back or under a hat* ***5***
  - Pay attention to what is printed on t-shirts- no alcohol or sex t-shirts ***4***
  - *No Sun Glasses – wear a hat with a visor- unless necessary* ***4***

- **Public Behavior**
  - *Be cautious about interacting with people or hanging out with people you do not know (collaborators)* ***4***
  - *You should not engage in physical playfulness in public areas* ***4***
  - *Speaking Hebrew – should not be done in public places – indoors with a member of the household is fine, but ask permission of people in the house.* ***5***
  - *You should not speak or laugh loudly in public areas* ***4***
  - *Return greetings on the street – even if you don't know the language, acknowledge the greeting by meeting their eyes, nodding, waving, etc.* ***4***
  - Keep cursing to a minimum, and inaudible ***2***
  - *Ask people before photographing them – it's polite to ask children, mandatory to ask adults* ***5***
  - When sitting keep the soles of your feet pointed at the floor ***3***
  - Keep your feet off of the furniture ***5***
  - Remove your shoes before entering a home unless the family tells you not to bother ***3***
  - *Sharing is a cultural mandate – You should not eat, drink or smoke without offering some to everyone present* ***5***
  - *Do not be condescending in political argumentation* ***5***

- **Cultural Considerations when interacting with Israeli soldiers**
  - *Keep in mind what your interaction looks like to people who do not understand your language and sometimes cultural reactions. For example sometimes the behavior of the IDF is so obscene that you laugh at the irony, yet that may not translate to others.* ***5***
  - *Maintain a polite, professional tone and manner, however*
    - *You should not appear too friendly, or pleading, with the soldiers* ***5***
    - *You should not shake hands with soldiers* ***5***
    - *You should not accept offers of water/drink/food from soldiers* ***5***
    - *You should not laugh or joke with soldiers* ***5***

Relationship Building w/Palestinian Leadership and Community Orgs

(Connecticut ISM - 6/21/2003)

I. Some Key Principles in Relationship-Building

- Listening, respect and cultural sensitivity (Don't lecture Palestinians on what they should do)
- ISM is Palestinian-led: ISM actions should be Palestinian organized and led. Palestinian communities have to live with the consequences of ISM actions. We don't
- Rely on Palestinian leadership, but maintain some critical distance. Ask questions when necessary/appropriate (i.e., inclusion issues below)
- Inclusion: show we are open to all groups, factions, gender, age
- Public meetings to introduce ISM (noting our involvement in purely peaceful actions), and to plan actions (tradeoff: collaborators)
- Don't parachute into a new place with no contacts and begin actions

II. Different Leadership Groups and Factions

- Parties: Nationalist: Fatah (Al Aqsa); Left: People's Party, DFLP, PFLP; Religious: Hamas (Izzadine Qassam), and Islamic Jihad (Mosque or Islamic groups). Be aware of local vs. national splits (as with Fatah), and splits between militant vs. traditional leadership (often on generational lines)
- Governmental leaders: PA, Mayors, Governors. Most are appointed, but some elected in villages. May or may not have any popular support.
- Outside vs. Inside: "Tunisians" (PLO) vs. West Bank/Gaza residents.
- Unified local leadership: Committee of all parties (does it exist or play any role where you are ?)
- Refugee/Non-refugee: Especially tensions in Gaza.
- Age: Youth vs. older leadership
- Male/Female
- Economic class: Refugees tend to be poorer, "Tunisians" wealthier, heads of big families wealthier, left wealthier and more educated
- Family/Clan (especially important in rural areas)
- NGOs: local community orgs (women, peasants, charitable society) vs. national NGOs (PARC, PHG, UPMRC, etc., mostly leftist).
- Most local women's groups are affiliated with one of the left organizations; try to find out which.

III. Other Key Points to Keep in Mind

- Disdain some groups hold for others and desire to exclude (Fatah and left, for example)
- Dilemma: Foreigners tend to relate more easily to progressive, more worldly, educated left, and left has best national NGOs (UPMRC, PARC, PHG), but they do not represent most of the population
- Does your coordinator/contact tend to work primarily with people like him ? (Only his party ? Men ? His age group ?, etc..) Do you ?
- Your role vs. role of Palestinian coordinator/leadership
- Palestinian communities need to debate and decide on Israeli participation in activities, not us

Additions from Kate (NorCal ISM, IWPS):

- Most villages have a women's committee or club. Women should try to find it and get invited to a meeting. They are usually affiliated with one of the left parties or organizations (PARC/PP, DFLP, UPWC-PFLP); try to find out which.
- If there are factional struggles going on in the village, try to be aware of them, but avoid taking sides
- If it's clear that there's division within the community about an action you are discussing with them, internationals should leave and give the Palestinians time to discuss among themselves

Leaving (and a little about arriving)

Encounter with Ben Gurion Airport

Getting in and out the Ben Gurion airport in Tel Aviv/Lydda can turn out to be anything between an almost entertaining absurd theatre and a most unpleasant experience. Below follows a small guide to the encounter with the Airport Security Service, ASS.

The Airport Security Service is an entity of its own and is not part of the GSS (General Security Service), better know as Shin Beth. GSS is around, but unless you become a 'special case', you'll just deal with the Airport Security Service. Though ASS take their authority beyond the limit, they do have limited rights and authority. A good thing to keep in mind.

Arrival

All non-Israeli citizen must fill-in a visa formula upon arrival. Usually it's of little trouble getting through the security check at the airport: A few basic questions at the booth and a few questions by the ASS ten meters past the booth. Besides the line at the booth everything normally take less than five minutes.

However, the Airport Security Service may choose to go into a brief interrogation asking you questions like: who invited you and do you have an invitation? Where will you stay? Why did you choose to come now? Unless you actually are invited by a partner organisation (ISM doesn't count!) or have a home organisation to refer to, just say that you're a tourist to visit the Holy Land. Do not enter any political discussion or make any statements. It's not worth it.

ASS could try to refuse you entry and ask you to take a plane back. **See Legal Section on resisting deportation.** However, know that even now, most people do get in. Just because they take you aside for questioning, does not mean they know anything about you. Stay cool. You have a perfect right to be there. Try to remember that *it's their job* to make sure "dangerous" people do not get into the country. They are not necessarily trying to hassle you.

Departure

Contrary to what you may expect, getting out is a completely different story than getting in. Leaving is where things may get tough and unpleasant. Where it takes five minutes to get in, it may take hours to get out - odd as it may sound. But don't panic - you'll make it in the end! Most other countries do luggage and body scanning and that's it for security. Israel has a procedure at the airport that is 10 percent security and 90 percent 'bullying'. Always referred to as "for you own personal security."

Briefly, this is the scenario: One or two Airport Security Service personnel will approach you asking for your ticket and passport. Then they'll ask you a long range of questions, finally checking your luggage by hand. You don't have to check-in, they'll do that, and you go straight the transit area or gate.

The scenario in detail: The ASS personnel will always try to be friendly but reserved. They usually work in pairs, conferring with small clusters of other security staff. They'll take your passport and ticket and will keep them until they've done the check-in or you're done with the interrogation and luggage check.

Then they'll ask you the security questions: What's your destination, is the luggage all yours, who packed it, was it under your surveillance after being packed, did you receive any items from anybody. And that's about it for the security questions, now follows the 90 percent irrelevant questions: Why do you fly with this company (e.g. BA or SAS), why do you (in the event) have a connected flight, what did you pay for the ticket, why did you visit Israel these days, if you have a co-operating organisation here why didn't you just call them on the phone, how did you get to the airport, who did you meet with and why … etc. The questions can be everything from amusingly stupid to annoyingly offensive.

Before entering the airport you should decide by yourself what level of discussion you are prepared to enter. Boldly speaking: do you feel the need to make statements if the going gets tough - or do you feel just to 'play the game' and go easy. Or something in between.

By playing the game, you are just a tourist, who stayed at a hotel, who didn't meet with Palestinians, who didn't participate in anything … etc. Doing this, your chances of getting through the security check smoothly are higher - but never guaranteed.

By making statements, you do not hide that you, for example, stayed with Palestinian friends -- but you refuse to give their names. (Please note! The Airport Security Service personnel have NO right, whatsoever, to get personal informations about people living under the Palestinian Authority.) Or you don't hide that you've met with various 'anti-occupation organisations'. The tougher you get the tougher they get.

The bottom line is: answer all their questions with personal information as the ultimate limit. If you choose not to hide that you know Palestinians privately and met with them, the ASS will certainly ask for their personal information. When refusing this ASS will occasionally threaten you and say that you won't reach your flight if you don't cooperate. They may even bring a supervisor who yells at you that they'll keep you if you don't behave. These are empty threats; in the end you'll win the power game and you'll catch your plane. Just stay calm and cool.

They often swap teams so you get a new team of interrogation personnel or they'll confer your information with each other and them come back asking the same question again or asking for an in-depth explanation.

After the interrogation the luggage check comes. Don't get too optimistic if they start by scanning your luggage - they'll hand-check it anyway. The hand-check can be described as follows: All your bags will be completely emptied, they will turn everything inside-out, all electronic devices will taken aside for a special check (unless you - against all odds - persuade them not to). So, within minutes you'll se you personal belongings spread all over the place!

You'll be asked to explain what things are if its not clear to them, and you may be asked to turn on your laptop to demonstrate that it's a working PC and not a bomb that goes off (yes!). Keep batteries in your devices so they can see that it works as expected.

You may expect that the Israeli Airport Security Service (ASS) is well organised, well structured and with the big general view. But they are not. Rather, they are disorganised and disordered - sometimes with a strict procedure, sometimes behaving randomly (e.g. having a bag searched twice by the same person). First they get started checking your luggage, you should have one single focus: Get all your belongings back in your bags safe and unbroken!

Don'ts

Do NOT carry any private information about Palestinians you've met or know. Business cards and names of people at upper level positions at organisations are OK, but never any private address or phone number. The ASS have no right, whatsoever, to get personal informations about people living under the Palestinian Authority. Got new friends? Write yourself an e-mail before you leave back home with names and contact information and dispose your notes. And don't forget to clean sweep your laptop or PDA.

Do NOT carry any sensitive paper. At least not when leaving. If you carry any paper or document you consider sensitive, one way or the other, then send them by fax or mail.

Do NOT accept personal harassment. The ASS personnel may do a body search on you. This is done by a person of your own gender and behind a curtain. This is by the book. However, from time to time it happens that they ask you to undress naked for the body search. This is not by the book; it is personal harassment and beyond their authority. So, never accept to undress naked or to do anything

else that violates your personal integrity.

Do NOT accept their offer to have personal items "sent to you later". It may happen that the Airport Security Service gets extra suspicious about some of your personal items and expresses the utmost need to do further security checks on the item (camera, laptop, shaver etc.) and that they will send it to you when you get back home. Never accept this: you may never see the item again and if you do it'll be broken.

Do's

Confirm your ticket for departure whenever it's an option.

Co-operate and answer all the questions - there's no point in not answering the question, however stupid they are. But do not ever go beyond the limit of protecting personal information about Palestinians or sensitive information about organizations.

Be helpful when the ASS is searching your luggage - it they allow you to. It is annoying and beyond reason to have your luggage hand checked, but be helpful: this is your best chance of checking up on your personal items and their future condition.

Keep an eye on that ASS take away for extra check. They will try to take all your electronic devices aside for a separate check. Try to persuade them, if you can, not to take your most expensive or fragile items out of your sight. Offer to demonstrate on location that your disc player or camera are what they look like and not nuclear bombs.

Count and test your devices when they return. If they broke your disc player or laptop while checking, your only chance of complaining and filing is while you're still at the airport. Make sure everything works and has not been disassembled. And make sure that you don't miss anything - the luggage check is chaotic and disorganized.

Help packing your luggage - your chance for a second check on your belongings.

Stay cool - and stick to your rights and personal limits. And you'll win the power game, eventually.

Time for check-in

When to be at the airport upon departure? That's good question. You'll be requested to be at the airport two-three hours before departure. However, there seems to be a tendency that the Airport Security Service take the time they have - if they have three hours they're likely to use three hours, if they have less it takes less. An hour and a half before departure seems to be a good compromise. Don't count on the duty-free at Ben Gurion: you'll probably be escorted by the ASS straight to the gate last minute, anyway.