

the
Continental

WALK

for Disarmament
and Social Justice

ORGANIZERS MANUAL

Join



The Continental Walk for Disarmament & Social Justice

San Francisco to Washington/January to October/1976

On August 6, 1945, with the atomic bombing of the people of Hiroshima, war should have become unthinkable. Whatever war had been before the nuclear age, whatever logic human beings and nations had used to justify the slaughter of their neighbors, on that day war became, indisputably, a crime against humanity.

Today, thirty years later, war remains a crime against humanity. That fact is still not clear to citizens of the United States. It is still not clear to our neighbors on planet Earth. Most dangerously of all, it is still not clear to the leaders of governments, to those who now have it in their power to destroy us and our planet.

Since 1945 we, as Americans and as human beings, have been preparing death for ourselves. We have been preparing death for future generations. It is the death of nuclear annihilation. We are unable to express the human meaning, which is the only real meaning, of nuclear war, other than to say that it would likely be total death—of ourselves, our civilization, our planet.

Since 1945 we have been waging another kind of war on our neighbors. It is the death of sickness for which there is not enough medicine. It is the death of starvation because there is not enough food. To prevent nuclear war lies within our power. But what of those who are dying now because we attend to military matters before we heed the cries of human suffering?

For thirty years the great powers have talked about disarmament. They have called for disarmament while planning new weapons. They have denounced each other while budgeting more funds for death. They have talked to us of arms control while making their bombs and missiles more and more deadly. And today the nations of the world are more heavily armed than ever.

Thirty years have passed, and it is still not clear to all that war has become a crime against humanity.

Thirty years have passed, and it is still not clear to all that to prepare for war is to make war.

—The introduction of the Call to join the Continental Walk

Individual Signers of the Walk Call include: Ralph Abernathy, Bella Abzug, Robert Alpern, Michael Anania, Joan Baez, Richard Barnet, Norma Becker, Daniel Berrigan, Philip Berigan, Robert Bly, Kay Boyle, Harry Boyle, Anne Braden, Millen Brand, Stephen G. Cary, Joseph Chaikin, Noam Chomsky, Dorothy Day, Karen DeCrow, Dave Dellinger, Ron Dellums, James Douglass, Shelley Douglass, Martin Duberman, Daniel Ellsberg, Richard A. Falk, Sissy Farenthold, Mimi Farina, Jules Feiffer, W. H. Ferry, James H. Forest, Larry Gara, Allen Ginsberg, Mike Harrington, James Houghton, Dorothy Healey, Nat Hentoff, Honey Knopp, Bernard Lee, Shirley Lens, Sid Lens, Dwight Macdonald, Elizabeth McAllister, David McReynolds, Seymour Melman, Joe Miller, Grace Paley, Sidney Peck, Charles Rangel, Marcus Raskin, Muriel Rukeyser, Benjamin Spock, Dorothy R. Steffens, Gloria Steinem, I.F. Stone, Ethel Taylor, Studs Terkel, Jean Claude van Itallie, George Wald, Arthur Waskow, Beverly Woodward, Cora Weiss, Andrew Young, Frank P. Zeidler, and Irma Zigas. Julian Bond, Robert McAfee Brown, Win. Sloan Coffin, Barbara Ehrenreich, Donald Kalish, Brad Lyttle, Margaret Wright, Ron Young, David Brower, Euell Gibbons, Ed Guinan, Martin Sostre, John Swomley.

Endorsing Groups: International Confederation for Disarmament & Peace, International Fellowship of Reconciliation, Japan Council Against A & H Bombs (GENSUIKYO), War Resisters' International

PURPOSES OF THE WALK

- 1) to raise the issue of disarmament through **unilateral action** as a first step toward pushing disarmament to the top of the public agenda;
- 2) to educate about **nonviolent resistance** as a means superior to armaments in defense of all people;
- 3) to demonstrate how our global and domestic and economic **problems are interconnected** with militarism and the causes of war, and how solutions to these problems must include dealing with the problem of sexism, racism, militarism, and other causes of war;
- 4) to recast the significance of the **Bicentennial** in light of the arms race and related problems;
- 5) to encourage **cooperation** among people working for peace, social change, and sexual, racial and economic justice;
- 6) to encourage inquiry into the deepest connection between **sexual, racial, and economic violence** and the violence of war;
- 7) to **listen** to the voices of people across the country who suffer because we have not disarmed; to **seek ways to help** their voices be heard, at the local and state level, as well as at the national level; we will collect grievances from people for presentation to government officials;
- 8) to **encourage a renewal of demonstrations** and intensified action around the country and eventually around the world on the issue of disarmament.

Introduction

The idea of the Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice was conceived by a War Resisters League committee on disarmament. Upon acceptance by the WRL National Committee, the idea was shared with other organizations. In the summer and fall of 1975 it took shape as a coalition effort.

This manual has been put together for all those who will be involved in organizing for the Continental Walk. The Walk is a unique organizing experience, giving us a real opportunity to work together with people from various groups we may not usually work with. This, hopefully, will initiate ongoing local coalitions, and not be seen as a one time effort.

We urge that organizers work *collectively*, in their area, working with people who are local representatives of all groups concerned, whether they be from sponsoring groups or from community projects. Working collectively enhances the range of creative ideas shared, and enables more people to work as equals, thus humanizing our approach to organizing.

Although there will be some long distance walkers, the Walk is not simply a small band of people walking across the country. The strength of the Walk lies in the communities. One of the purposes of the Walk is "*to listen* to the voices of people across the country who suffer because we have not disarmed; *to seek ways to help* their voices be heard, at the local and state level, as well as at the national level; we will collect grievances from people for presentation to government officials." This is best done on the local level.

The national office for the Walk serves to provide resources and a communication network for local and regional organizers; and fulfills the dictates of the National Steering Committee which is made up of representatives from each sponsoring group and region. Please let us know your organizing plans so that we can share them through the *Continental Walk News*.

The Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice

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DISARMAMENT AND NONVIOLENT DEFENSE

One of the main objectives of the Continental Walk is disarmament. In talking about disarmament, and how to get it, the first thing to clearly understand and communicate is *why* disarmament is vitally necessary.

The most obvious reason is the cost of arms. Since the end of World War II, the nations of the world have spent over 4.5 trillion on the military. The U.S. will spend roughly \$100 billion on the military this year alone, money which then can't be used for decent housing, adequate medical care, quality education, mass public transportation, and the other goods and services people need. Military expenses come first, everything else second. Putting dollars into arms rather than into programs that directly meet people's needs means that the lives of millions are impoverished, even shortened or ended.

A less obvious, but equally pressing, reason for disarmament is the constant danger of war presented by present policies. The "balance of power" between the U.S. and Russia is actually a "balance of terror". Each side has the power to devastate the other within a few minutes if that other launches an attack. "Devastation" means exactly that: total destruction, the obliteration of all cities, and the killing of hundreds of millions of people by blast, heat, radioactivity, and fire. The U.S. and the Soviet Union have thousands of nuclear warheads aimed at each other this very instant. They can reach their targets in a half-hour.

This principle is called "Mutual Assured Destruction", known (appropriately enough) as MAD. Each side (in theory) is reluctant to provoke or attack the other because of the prospect of retaliation, and this is seen as a short-run source of "security". But MAD involves a long-run certainty of war: for a threat to be effective, there must be some chance of its being carried out. By mathematical probability, the balance of terror will almost certainly end in full-scale nuclear war.

Additionally, there is the possibility of miscalculation by one side or the other. We tasted this danger in the Cuban missile crisis: neither side could be sure it had accurately assessed the intentions of the other or could predict what the other would do. More such confrontations will increase the chance of a disastrously wrong guess.

Nuclear weapons proliferation, the spread of weapons and missiles to other countries, is another "destabilizing" force. The U.S., the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, France, China, India, Egypt, Israel, South Africa and a host of other nations large and small now have or may soon have nuclear weapons, missiles, or bombers. Several of them are even now involved in virtual states-of-war. Every nation that joins the "game" of mutual threat with nuclear weapons increases the likelihood of nuclear war.

The weapons themselves are becoming more numerous and destructive. One U.S. Polaris submarine can launch 160 nuclear warheads to an equal number of targets. The Trident sub, if built, will be able to launch 408, each large enough to level a city.

And they are becoming more accurate: the "Circular Error Probable", or CEP (a distance equal to the radius of a circle drawn around the target within which at least 50% of the warheads fired at that target will hit, used as a standard measure of missile accuracy), of missiles and warheads has shrunk from a few miles 10 years ago to 500 feet today -- and the Pentagon confidently predicts that new "terminal guidance systems" now in use will enable warheads to be guided to within 30 feet of their targets, even at a range of 4000 miles. From North America, the U.S. will be able to target any missile site, airfield, or even building in Russia. The special danger of this development is that it raises the spectre of the "first strike" capability, where one side could launch a surprise attack that would wipe out an opponent's retaliatory capacity. This not only tempts the side with that capability to launch a first strike, it tempts the other side to launch a pre-emptive strike to head it off.

Those terminal guidance systems, while technologically advanced, are relatively cheap, and most countries could produce them. Placed atop a modern "cruise missile" armed with a nuclear warhead, even a small nation could acquire a vast destructive power for less than a tenth of the cost of an "old-fashioned" ICBM.

Added to all these dangers are the ever-present possibility of mechanical or human error, and the chance that terrorists will gain possession of nuclear weapons. As the number of nuclear reactors (and thus the supply of plutonium) increases, this latter danger becomes more acute.

All in all, the arms race steadily erodes human ability to preserve "peace", replacing it with blind, mechanical, and statistical forces that make nuclear war more likely.

Since the end of World War II (and the beginning of the nuclear age), heads of state, acting out of fear and a sense of self-preservation, have supported and organized numerous arms control talks and conferences. While a number of agreements have been reached, none of them has slowed the advance of weapons technology. Within a few years after they are concluded, the agreements have expired or are rendered obsolete by new inventions. It often appears that governments call disarmament conferences as smoke-screens to hide and justify continuing or even increasing armaments and military appropriations. But disarmament is to the long-range interest of *all* parties, and conferences and negotiations do tend to increase communication and thus reduce hostilities.

Most disarmament talks break down because neither side trusts the other, and so won't make significant concessions. To break the deadlock, "unilateral initiatives" have been proposed. For example, around 1960 the U.S. dismantled a number of its European missile bases, and Russia responded by withdrawing a portion of its armies from Eastern Europe. But the effects of these actions were dissipated by the Cuban missile crisis. So far, unilateral initiatives have not had long-term success, most likely because in no case has any side, as part of such an initiative, "given away"

anything it did not feel it could just as well do without. Such actions are not unilateral initiatives as the Continental Walk understands the term. But they can in any case be seen as gestures of goodwill which may make negotiations more fruitful.

"Arms control" is another approach: seeking to limit or stop the arms race without necessarily reducing levels of weaponry. Nations may pursue arms control simply because they believe everyone has "enough", and they want to reduce the costs of arms. They may also see arms control as a first step toward later, true, arms reduction and disarmament. However, the SALT agreements have temporarily limited the *growth* in size and number of missiles and warheads, and that is all. All arms control agreements to date have lasted only a short time.

All these approaches have generally failed for several reasons, among them lack of trust: nations will not make concessions that weaken their basic military strength. They will not end weapons research or abandon reliance on "deterrence." Agreements therefore deal with superficial matters, while the deeper forces driving the arms race, which rest on acceptance of the principle of military force, remain untouched. Most nations believe they are justified in seeking their "security" through the capacity for organized, mass violence. Therefore, when disarmament talks break down, they feel justified in continuing to arm.

One answer to this dilemma is unilateral disarmament: the decision by one nation to renounce military force and begin to disarm on its own. The hope is that by disarming unilaterally, an atmosphere of international trust is created which will lead to universal disarmament. Most people may think it is too risky, but it may be *riskier* to continue to arm. As the arms race approaches certain nuclear war, it becomes logical and *safer* to unilaterally step out of that race. And if it is true that war is inherently wrong, threatening someone with nuclear annihilation violates almost every conceivable moral principle.

Nonviolent civilian defense and peace conversion, together with unilateral disarmament, would provide a way out of nuclear terror and an alternative to military defense. This approach would also seek to reduce or eliminate some of the basic causes of war.

While opinions differ on the causes of war, most everyone agrees on two: extreme difference of wealth and poverty, both intra- and internationally, and aggressive, militaristic nationalism. Unilateral disarmament would seek to deal with both.

Once freed from the burden of armaments, the U.S. could devote massive financial and technological resources to worldwide industrial and agricultural improvements to help the poor, and create programs to meet needs here at home. Such programs not only would help close the gap between rich and poor, but would offer constructive employment to millions.

In such a world, chances of an attack on the U.S. would be greatly reduced. There remains a chance of attack, but nuclear attack would be unlikely, both because it would destroy the very resources the attacker would wish to control and because fallout and other backlash would harm (perhaps destroy) the attacker.

Conventional invasion of the U.S. with the aim of taking over our political and economic institutions would appear more likely. To meet this threat, the civilian population of the U.S. would be trained and prepared for nonviolent

defense through non-cooperation and massive nonviolent resistance. Occupying forces would be faced with strikes, boycotts, and various forms of nonviolent obstruction. Civil servants and public officials would refuse to cooperate. Americans would be prepared to go to jail or die rather than help an invader.

Nonviolent resistance and civilian defense is neither unrealistic nor totally untried. Countries in Scandinavia are today considering it as a supplement or alternative to military force. Throughout history, there are numerous examples of the effectiveness and potential of this kind of "force". Often, it has been utilized with little or no preparation; at other times, as during the struggle of millions in India for freedom from Great Britain, it has occurred on a massive, organized scale. There may well be considerable suffering in a nonviolent struggle, but that is even truer of war. Past experiences show that the suffering and deaths resulting from nonviolent resistance are far less than from military resistance.

Dictatorships have been overthrown, invaders defeated, labor unions formed, working conditions improved, policies of racism and segregation changed, colonial regimes driven out, and voting rights for women obtained, all through nonviolent resistance, all in this century. Nazi occupations in Norway and Denmark were resisted nonviolently and Jews helped to freedom by a relative handful of courageous, untrained individuals. In El Salvador in 1944 and Guatemala in 1945, ruthless dictators were forced from power by massive, nonviolent action. Troops in East Germany refused to fire on nonviolent demonstrators in 1953; the Diem regime in South Vietnam fell in 1963 due largely to the nonviolent resistance of pacifist Buddhists; mostly spontaneous uprisings in France involved millions in general strikes, boycotts, occupations, and demonstrations in 1968.

These are but a few examples of the use of nonviolent resistance as a powerful force available to all people of all ages - not just prophets or saints. Organized as a means of national defense, it would create enormous practical and political difficulties for any invader. Aggression without moral justification, unresisted by violence, would demoralize an invader (Soviet troops became so demoralized by the nonviolent resistance of the Czechs to the 1968 Soviet invasion that an entirely new complement of troops had to be rotated in every three weeks), and leave it open to the opposition of the world and its own people. The price of occupation would soon soar beyond acceptable limits.

As the world's foremost military power, the United States, whose roots go back to nonviolent tactics of tax refusal, noncooperation, and creation of alternative institutions that initiated the revolution, is the ideal nation to undertake a program of disarmament and nonviolent national defense. Such a program, coupled with peace conversion, would at once remove the economic causes and moral justifications for aggression, and face invaders with determined resistance by millions of people. It would have a global strategy, banking on the power of goodwill and mutual aid, rather than nuclear terror, military pacts, and intrigue.

Negotiations, unilateral initiatives, and arms control should be supported as means to disarmament. Unilateral disarmament and a program of nonviolent civilian defense has not yet been adopted by any nation. But it must be actively considered as perhaps the only strategy that can achieve genuine, lasting, worldwide disarmament and peace. With the arms race ended, the human race could flourish.

SOCIAL JUSTICE

Disarmament is not only an urgent question because we may all die in a nuclear holocaust. People are suffering *today* in this country and all over the world, because we have not disarmed.

Every community that the Continental Walk will go through has very pressing needs that are not being met. People are concerned about jobs, food prices, housing, adequate medical care, quality education, childcare, a good public transportation system, clean, cheap sources of energy, and many other issues which affect their daily lives. While these needs remain unfulfilled, the desires of the military-industrial complex *are* being fulfilled with vast sums of money, material resources, and human energy.

The focus of the Walk is not only disarmament but also *social justice*. As human beings we have a need and a right to live decent lives in a just society. In order for those needs to be met the priorities of this country (and most countries) must change radically. The Walk is a way of calling for those changes. While demanding disarmament we are demanding justice.

This year the Federal government will pour over \$100 billion of our tax money into military programs, thus robbing every community of money that should be used to meet local needs. That's about 55% of our tax dollars that will go to the Pentagon. For an average family of 4, according to estimates of SANE, almost \$2000 of their taxes will go for military programs, while only \$300 will go for health care, \$257 for education and social services, and \$107 for community and regional development. But there is more to it than that.

Right now, the United States is in the midst of its severest economic crisis in four decades. Inflation is eating away at our spending power and millions of people are out of work. Hardest hit by this crisis are minority peoples, women and old people.

According to various studies by economists and members of Congress, such as Senator Alan Cranston, spending on the military is one of the prime causes of our current inflation. As Cranston himself puts it: "Military expenditures are the most inflationary. They do not produce goods or services people can use, nor do they really contribute to the national security...Our current inflation started with the huge costs of the Vietnam War."

Further studies reveal, as the Bureau of Labor Statistics noted, that "Dollar for dollar, more jobs can be created by non-military spending." Though the figures vary, all of these studies show that each billion dollars redirected from military production into civilian production can produce anywhere from 5,000 to 100,000 more jobs. The military's huge cost-overruns and waste, combined with the need for more highly skilled (and therefore more highly paid) employees for building weapons systems, lead to this situation. Redirecting military spending to civilian production would not totally eliminate unemployment but would be a step in that direction. These studies as well as others should help alleviate fears among many that disarmament means putting defense workers out of work. A well-planned program of conversion carried out over a number of years would help create more jobs and put workers in a more stable job situation that is not at the whim of unpredictable military spending.

But war and the preparations for war have become a very profitable business in this country. Not only does the

military protect American business interests in other countries, it also fills the coffers of defense contractors here with huge profits. The line between military security and corporate security was long ago erased as the interests of both have become intertwined in the military-industrial complex. The corporations involved in defense contracts work hand in hand with the Pentagon to create powerful lobbies in Washington that push for expensive new weapons systems and military allocations. In addition, military officers often become top executives in businesses with defense contracts, and many of these executives often gain powerful positions in the federal government where they can influence decisions about military expenditures.

With the world food crisis becoming increasingly more acute each year, the vast sums of money that are spent on military power by almost every country becomes more and more a crime. As millions go malnourished and starving, each dollar spent for arms becomes a theft of food from the mouths of the hungry. The hundreds of billions of dollars that the U.S. and the Soviet Union alone spend on arms each year could help provide enough food for the world's people for many years, and could provide the means for countries in need of food to become more self-sufficient so that they would not be at the mercy of the big powers. Even the nations where people are the hungriest are more concerned with the symbols of power and nationhood than with feeding their own people. Since food itself is increasingly being used as a weapon and our wasteful patterns of food consumption in this country are robbing the rest of the world, moves towards disarmament will not automatically solve the food problem. But it will free up many of the resources necessary to provide food for hungry people.

Along with the food crisis, the world is being hit by the so-called "energy crisis". Partly as a result of that, the push for public acceptance of nuclear power plants has been speeded up. But just as we oppose the use of nuclear weapons because they are so extremely harmful to life, we must also oppose the building of nuclear power plants because they are also potentially destructive to human life. The risks involved in nuclear power plants, including the possibility that nuclear fuel could be used for nuclear bombs, are not worth it. As there are alternative means of defending a people and a culture other than by military force, so too is it possible to develop clean, cheap, alternative sources of energy. If the money spent on developing nuclear weapons and nuclear power plants were spent on research and development of solar power, wind power, and hydro-power, we wouldn't need nuclear power plants. But corporate interests dictate a different set of priorities. It is far easier for them to control the sources of nuclear power for profit, than it is to control the sun and the wind for profit. As we struggle for disarmament, we must also include fighting nuclear power because it is potentially as destructive as nuclear bombs and could easily be used for military purposes. So too should environmentalists concerned with nuclear power become concerned with the ecological hazard that military weapons, and particularly nuclear weapons, pose.

What this means is that the struggle for disarmament and social justice cannot be successful without attacking the corporate structure which has control over peoples lives and dominates our military policies. Simply marching against this weapon system or that expenditure will only have a

very limited effect unless we also strike at the reasons for those military priorities being set.

AT THE CORE

At the very core of much of America's militaristic policies is both racism and sexism. To the leaders in this country, Third World people are an entity only to be exploited or ignored. The very nature of America's priorities which favor the military and its repressive ventures into Third World countries at the expense of meeting human needs here is the best indication of how racist attitudes shape the policies of the US. It is non-white peoples who suffer most from these priorities. In this country minority groups are hardest hit by inflation and unemployment. They are the ones who are forced to "volunteer" for the white man's army because they can't get jobs anywhere else, only to be kicked out of the military with bad discharges far out of proportion to their numbers in the armed services when they raise their voices against racism in the military.

Women suffer much from the nature of American priorities which favor military needs above human needs. For instance, the unemployment rate among women is substantially higher among women than among men. But the connections between sexism and militarism go much deeper than that, and in fact strike at the very basis for people arming. If we look closely at the use of power over people, possessiveness of people or resources and at one dimensional thinking which recognizes only one right, we discover these to be aspects both of militarism and sexism. War is in reality the ultimate expression of machismo and the clearest indication that men dominate our society and our world to the extent that they have the power to destroy it. We go to war because men know no other way to relate to each other than through violence or threat of violence. Preparation for battle serves the many emotional and material interests of men (and women playing men's roles - Golda Meir and Indira Gandhi), from their macho ego interests to their corporate interests. We build up our military to ridiculous proportions so that we can make sure that we are the "toughest" or the "manliest" nation in the world. The domination of these militaristic attitudes in our society is one of the most blatant and dangerous ways that sexist attitudes are reinforced. They perpetuate and reinforce male rule, male power, and male attitudes that very effectively keep women "in their place," and label struggles for gay liberation as "abnormal".

ABROAD AND AT HOME

Militarism and arms are inevitably linked to repression and dictatorship. They are the means for perpetuating social injustice and economic oppression. Witness the US role in Indochina, in providing military aid to help overthrow the elected leaders in Chile, in aiding dictators in South Korea, the Philippines, and Spain, and in aiding other governments to suppress popular movements for self-determination. The military is no longer used to protect our borders or make the world safe for democracy, if in fact it ever was. Rather it is used to protect and defend American political and economic power abroad. In order to make the world safe for American's corporate investments, the US

must defend and reinforce those governments that are supportive of our economic interests in their countries.

As opposition movements have become more vocal in this country in recent years, repression has increased on the home front. The military has played a significant role in attempting to repress these movements, and the weapons, tactics, and other technology developed by the military (particularly in Vietnam) have on numerous occasions been employed by normal police forces. Many veterans come directly out of the army and become police or prison guards, either because they can find no other work, or because they feel their military experiences made them well-suited for that kind of work. The result of all this is an increasingly militarized police and intelligence force able to more quickly, efficiently, and brutally repress movements for social change. Any moves for disarmament then are both a challenge to the nature of repression here and a means at least to blunt US power throughout the world.

MAKING THE LINKS

Working for disarmament must mean working for social justice. It means that we are more concerned about food, jobs, housing, child care, education - life itself - than having more armaments than any other country with the capacity to blow the world up several times over. Our government does not share those concerns. To bring all poor Americans above the poverty line in 1971, (according to Seymour Melman, in the *N.Y. Times*, Dec. 4, 1974) \$11.4 billion would be needed. That was the low estimate that year for the B-1 Bomber. The developmental excess on the B-1 bomber came to \$2.1 billion - the same amount needed for the vetoed child care program. The 1972-73 cuts in the Federal Mental Health Budget amounted to \$65 million, the same amount spent on one C-5A aircraft and main battle tank. To build and equip 750 schools in 1971, and pay 35,000 teachers' salaries for one year would have cost \$6 billion. By 1969 we had lost 6,000 aircraft in Indochina - \$6 billion worth. The Washington D.C. subway system (which is still not completed) was estimated originally to cost \$2.98 billion which is equal to the cost of a nuclear aircraft and support ships. In 1973, \$3 billion was needed to rebuild blighted areas in US cities, but what was it spent on? Not the cities.

These links must be made. Simply protesting budget cuts in day care, education, senior citizens programs, etc., without focusing in on where the money is going; understanding sexism and racism without working towards changing hearts and minds; complaining about rising food and fuel costs without seriously challenging the large profits the supermarkets and oil companies are making, will have limited effects, if any, on real changes in society. Those of us who share these concerns - women and men in peace and social justice movements, labor unions, the unemployed, the elderly, and all who see the oppression in this society - must work together.

Disarmament is inevitably linked to the struggle for social justice. We will never achieve one without the other. To achieve either means attacking the root causes of both militarism and injustice and working for an overall radical transformation of our society. The Walk is a step in that direction.



MECHANICS

This section deals with the act of walking, politics aside: how to make the Walk go smoothly as possible, completing the day's mileage, minimizing sore feet, not getting lost, and so forth.

There are two categories of *walking*: through a city and on the open road, both with their own unique problems. There are two categories of *walkers*: those who will be walking within their own communities (or between communities) and those who will be walking long distances (100 to 200 miles or longer). Though long-distance walkers are essential to provide continuity to the Walk, the strength of the effort rests with the many short-distance walkers.

Walking in a city means making certain of your route (and not getting lost), dealing with police and a large number of walkers, having enough leaflets, etc. Walking on the open road means fewer walkers, the possibility of having to camp, greater distances, and in general more self-sufficiency.

Walkers have two primary tasks: to make sure they make the connection at the proper time and place for the next link and to responsibly represent the issues of the Walk.

ROUTE

The route should be figured out mile for mile and hour for hour. What will the pace be? Where are the rest stops? Are there places walkers can't walk? Determine stops for community meetings, meals, over-night housing, traffic lights, etc. The route should be traveled several times in advance - by car is sufficient in open country, by bike or even foot is advisable for cities - so it's known in detail.

The route should be planned to go through populous areas and make appropriate stops at places of interest (military installations, welfare agencies, "defense" contractors, nuclear power plants, federal buildings, etc.), but without lengthening the Walk too much.

Regional committees should plan the route well in advance and figure the pace of the Walk, so a schedule of joining links can be set up. Planners should prepare a detailed schedule of the Walk with mileages, each day's activities (with time, place, and contact person), and a map of the route. It will reassure all involved and facilitate further planning.

Potentially sympathetic groups and individuals along the route should be contacted concerning setting up hospitality, publicity, and meetings. They should be kept up to date and involved in decision making where possible. (See Appendix A.)

POLICE

On many parts of the Walk we'll have to deal with police. They may be friendly and curious (sometimes even sympathetic), or they may do all they can to disrupt the Walk.

A way to minimize any disruption and insure completion of the link is to approach the police (write them in advance) before they approach you. One or two people should act as liason before and during the Walk, so police will be familiar with those persons, rather than having to deal with just anyone. They should be informed of the strong nonviolent discipline of the Walk. The route should be carefully gone over with them to avoid a last minute confrontation. (See chapter on Legal Aspects.)

WALKING

Planners should take into account the kinds of people who'll be walking: older folks, children, those who walk too fast, etc.

The Walk should schedule a *10 minute break every hour*. Figure in an hour leeway per day of walking in case of emergencies or if the pace set isn't being kept. If long stretches of walking are involved with many new walkers, it might be wise to begin with 7 miles the first day, 9 the next, and so on until the proper rate is established to cover the distance in the time allotted. This should minimize blisters, fatigue, etc. It might be worth programming in one day of rest per week. The Walk should be at a slower pace in populous areas (say, 10 miles per day) and faster on the open road (say, 20 miles per day).

Get an early start each day (e.g. up by 6 or 7 and walking by 7 or 8), depending on the weather, evening engagements, and strategic sites along the way. If a large number of supporters are expected, don't start so early that it will make it unlikely they will come (and the day's distance should be shorter in that case). It's important to establish a routine of walking, particularly when long stretches are involved with few towns.

Long-distance walkers should be in good physical condition and if possible they should prepare themselves two weeks in advance - a few miles a day, building up to 15 or 20 a day. Be familiar with foot care. On the 1961 San Francisco to Moscow Walk, the best shoes were found to be good tennis shoes. Hiking boots and other heavy shoes are not made for walking on hard surfaces like sidewalks and pavement. Over long distances, synthetic sock material is hard on feet - stick to cotton or wool.

The schedule of the Walk has been designed for a slower pace in cities and a faster pace in the country. If it gets too dragged out in the city it might be necessary to pick up slower walkers and drive them ahead so the schedule isn't jeopardized.

If possible, the Walk should not stop in the middle of a city where walkers will be picked up (in the evening) or left off (the next morning) by cars. Paul Salstrom says seeing walkers getting out of cars "can move the most sympathetic onlookers to laughter." When the Walk isn't on the road (e.g. lunchtime), a poster should be prominently displayed outdoors to indicate where it is.

Walk slowly within cities to leaflet properly. Walk *against* the flow of traffic, i.e. on the left side of the road. That way, you can see oncoming vehicles (and where there are no sidewalks, left-side walking is often required by local law). One leafletter should walk on the opposite sidewalk, and others may go down side or parallel streets. Walking two-by-two is a good way of getting to know other walkers.

TRANSPORTATION

It's essential to have *at least* one and better two vehicles accompany the Walk. One should be with the walkers at all times (except for emergencies) to provide medical equipment, water, leaflets, etc., and could perhaps contain a typewriter and a small mimeo. It should have heavy-duty tires and heavy-duty support springs, as it will often be overloaded, and an extra ignition key hidden on it. This vehicle would also pick up slow or injured walkers to give them a break or move them ahead. The vehicle should drive

a short distance ahead of the Walk and wait for it to pass. The national office will supply a van for the main route of the Walk.

The other vehicle would be used to take people to do necessary shopping, advance publicity, set up meetings, arrange accommodations, clean up where walkers had stayed overnight, take laundry to be cleaned, get a speaker to a meeting, etc.

Too many vehicles will eat up money on gas, oil, repairs, etc., and require more people to be away from the Walk. It might be valuable to have an auto mechanic accompany the Walk or have local mechanics on call.

HOUSING/ACCOMODATIONS

Organizers should try to find local supporters who can offer overnight hospitality (ideally, where supper and breakfast can be fixed). Places for walkers to stay should be confirmed through personal contact or by letter. The national office has a file of individuals who have offered their homes to walkers, and some regional organizers have lists as well.

During the 1961 Walk, churches, Friends Meeting Houses, private schools, fire halls, rooming houses, large private homes, the "Y", youth hostels, dormitories, and camps were places frequented by walkers for overnight accommodations. Once they voluntarily stayed a night in jail because there was no other place. Sometimes it may be necessary to sleep outside, under a tent or some other shelter.

Depending on the accommodations, one or two people may need to drive ahead and make preparations for the night's supper and stay. One or two people should stay behind in the morning to clean up; naturally, this job should be rotated or given to those with sore feet.

It's best for local people with cars to meet walkers to drive them to homes of dinner hosts. Often persons with little knowledge of the peace movement, disarmament, etc., are willing to serve as dinner hosts - partly as an act of hospitality, and partly to learn more about the Walk and the walkers. So don't hesitate to ask a friendly family or individual to be a host.

Although it is a good idea in cities to spread walkers around to various private homes for supper, there may be difficulties if the core group is split up all over town to sleep (it might be hard to hold evening meetings or might cause delays in starting the next morning). As the Walk proceeds, the decision on how to handle accommodations, meetings, etc., will be up to the core group and local/regional organizers.

If a long-distance walker wishes to stay behind for a day or more, it should be done through a consensus with the rest of the long-distance walkers and local organizers (if appropriate).

SIGNS FLAGS BANNERS

Passed along from one link of the Walk to the next will be a number of flags (such as used by the UFW), and a lead sign and banner reading (perhaps):

THE CONTINENTAL WALK

for Disarmament and Social Justice

San Francisco to Washington, D.C.

Banners should have half circles cut in them to ease wind pressure.

Signs concerning the regional/local issues will be decided on by the regional and local organizers.

Two suggestions for sign construction: 1) a sign secured

to a piece of corrugated aluminum roofing material (cut to size) with duct tape or "golfers" tape, then nailed to a handle of a 5ft. length of 1x4 pine, with 1 inch holes drilled at 6 inch intervals from one end to the middle (to support the sign at different heights). 2) Two signs back to back, one tacked on each side of a frame of a 5 ft. length of 1x2 pine with two crossbars, each 1/4x2 by 20 inches, and stapled or taped to each other around the edges.

In either case, lettering should be bold and with as few words as possible. Lettering should be *dark* to show up on TV and other cameras: black is best, but *dark* red, blue, or green will do. Lacquering the signs will make them waterproof.

On windy days sign carrying will be difficult until you get used to it. On the highway, posters should be 10 to 20 yards apart (to allow for easy reading by passing cars); about 5 yards in cities.

LEAFLETS

The leaflet to be used for national distribution is available from the national office. It is printed on one side of an 8 1/2 x 11 sheet to allow local/regional organizers to use the other. They can be obtained from the national office at cost or can be reproduced from a black on white copy.

A rough guide to how many leaflets you should have: five people *actively* leafletting in a *busy* area of town can expect to get rid of 500 to 2000 leaflets in an hour.

PUBLIC MEETINGS

Public meetings are one of the best chances to open meaningful communication with the general public. They can be held in a church, Friends Meeting House, school, community center, or in a pinch, a large private home.

Someone should be on hand a half-hour early to set up a neat literature display of pamphlets, leaflets, and a small number of inexpensive books. Prices should be clearly marked and a plate or jar place on the table to receive money. One person should stay with the table if the audience is large or hostile. It might be a good idea to have a box of standard literature always on hand. A table with refreshments (e.g. coffee, tea, juice, and cookies) would be nice. Consult the meeting's host before asking for contributions.

A typical meeting might go: a speaker giving the history of the Walk (the basic politics), what the Walk hopes to accomplish, physical data, etc., followed by several walkers *briefly* giving their reasons for joining the Walk, and a final speaker mentioning the literature table, making a fund appeal, and outlining the next day's schedule. Open discussion would follow. It should end early enough to give the walkers adequate sleep. You may want to open or close it with singing. The approach will vary with the type of audience it is.

Another possible format would be to arrange a debate, panel, or forum presenting the views of the Walk as well as others. Perhaps someone in the military (e.g. ROTC instructor, local recruiter, VFW member, etc.), city official, head of the local welfare office, corporation representative, or the like would be invited.

Speakers at meetings should be rotated, but the person giving the politics of the Walk should be experienced and articulate. As newer walkers gain experience, they should be rotated in. The least experienced walker could speak of his/her motivation for joining. Have a balance of male and female speakers.

Another idea related to public meetings is the Disarma-

ment Fair, where local social justice groups present their programs and visions and compare their costs with the amount going out of the locality to pay for the military.

DECISION MAKING

There are several levels of decision making, each requiring a separate approach. On the broadest policy questions (nonviolent discipline, implementing national issues such as disarmament and the need for social change), decisions can't be made without the approval of the Steering Committee (composed of a member from each sponsoring group and a representative from each participating region).

Decisions concerning targets, route, and regional or local issues to be discussed on the Walk are made by regional/local organizers so long as there is no conflict with the nonviolent discipline and the national/international issues of the Walk.

Sometimes quick decisions -- even instantaneous decisions -- will have to be made, e.g., police have threatened arrests if walkers continue to leaflet, people have joined the Walk carrying signs at odds with the Walk's themes, or someone runs out of a bar to tear up signs. Where possible, decisions ought to involve as many of the organizers as possible.

The most common decisions, however, will come out of the evening internal meetings, which will discuss policy, the listing of the next day's activities, and assignments for the day's responsibilities. (See Appendix B)

MEDICAL

Medical information should be included in a flyer to all walkers, telling how to prevent and treat blistered feet, etc. A van should be available to carry walkers and treat blisters, injuries, exhaustion, etc. It might be good to have a nurse (R.N.) or doctor travel along where possible. The van should have medical supplies. (See Appendix C)

INSTRUCTION SHEET FOR WALKERS

Organizers for each link should supply all walkers with a sheet listing what the walkers need to bring (See Appendix D), exactly what the route will be, the nonviolent discipline of the Walk, targets to be approached, medical information, and phone number of local contact(s), and a lawyer, doctor, and a mechanic.

MONITORS

If the number of walkers exceeds a couple of dozen (e.g. in cities), a system of monitors should be set up, perhaps one for every 10 walkers. They should be responsible for having the Walk go at the right pace, maintaining the tone of the Walk, mingling walkers to help create friendliness, and they should be aware of hecklers. Monitors should switch positions from time to time to get a feel of the line of walkers, and they should know the route in precise detail. When the Walk is large in numbers, one monitor on a bicycle would be an excellent way to communicate between ends of the line, keeping the Walk together (urge the tail, slow the front), and lift spirits.

Monitors should be aware of traffic signals so the Walk isn't chopped up (have forward groups wait for the tail end to cross and catch up). Signals should be devised for "slow down", "speed up", "stop", etc.

There should be monitors' meetings before the Walk reaches your area and periodically while numbers remain high. (See chapter on Nonviolent Discipline.)

APPENDIX A: Suggested check list for local organizers.

- **contact social justice and peace groups
- **involve them as sponsors, and further integrate their issues into the local campaign
- **determine the local issues to be on leaflets, banners, etc., and in public meetings, press releases, etc.
- **determine local route in detail
- **contact police
- **train monitors
- **spread publicity
- **choose spokespersons
- **conduct fundraisers
- **secure medical support along the local route
- **provide local support car and bicycle
- **find mechanic, doctor and lawyer for emergencies
- **secure food, housing, showers, and laundries for long-distance walkers

APPENDIX B: Day-to-day responsibilities to be assigned at evening meetings.

liason with local Walk coordinators and/or hosts		
stepping out of Walk to pacify hecklers		
maintaining and repairing vehicles		
preparing breakfast and loading vehicles		
cleaning up after walkers leave		
preparing lunch	driving vehicles	lunch cleanup
keeping finances	photography	keeping Walk log
literature	public speaking	preparing supper
supper cleanup	unloading vehicle	coordination

APPENDIX C: Medical Supplies

Emergency Care and Other Good Ideas (67pp., \$1), Neighborhood Health Collective, 4719 Cedar St., Philadelphia, PA. 19139 is a good basic first aid manual.

bandaids	hydrogen peroxide	mole skin
ace bandages	alcohol	iodine
foot powder	scissors	adhesive tape
phisoex or equivalent	tampons	sterile lancets
gauze	sanitary napkins	salt tablets
baking soda		

APPENDIX D: Equipment Walkers should have

sleeping bags	air mattress	sneakers
plenty of socks	extra shoelaces	towel, wash cloth
toothbrush/toiletries	suntan oil	sunglasses
rain gear	hat	extra money
warm clothing	canteen	

APPENDIX E: Other things organizers should have

water	camp lantern/stove
sound system	nylon rope*
matches	ground cloth, tent
portable toilet	leaflets
money (bail, food, etc.)	walkie-talkie
dish detergent	signs/flags
flashlights	knife/ax
lunch food	soap for clothes
pots/pans	extra rain gear

*100 ft. of 5/8 in. nylon rope with hand winch or hoist; very useful for extracting vehicles from mud or ditches.

NONVIOLENT DISCIPLINE

WHAT IS NONVIOLENCE?

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. wrote that the philosophy and practice of nonviolence has six basic elements. First, nonviolence is resistance to evil and oppression. It is a human way to fight. Second, it does not seek to defeat or humiliate the opponent, but to win his/her friendship and understanding. Third, the nonviolent method is an attack on the forces of evil rather than against persons doing the evil. It seeks to defeat the evil and not the persons doing the evil and injustice. Fourth, it is the willingness to accept suffering without retaliation. Fifth, a nonviolent resister avoids both external physical and internal spiritual violence -- not only refuses to shoot, but also hate, an opponent. The ethic of real *love* is at the center of nonviolence. Sixth, the believer in nonviolence has a deep faith in the future and the forces in the universe are seen to be on the side of justice. (*Stride Toward Freedom* Perennial Library, Harper & Row, pp. 83-88)

Nonviolence is part of the best of all religious traditions and has been practiced by people such as Moses, Buddha, Jesus, Susan B. Anthony, Gandhi, Dorothy Day, and King. Nonviolence is an approach to life of experimentation and learning. It is a process in the search for Truth. It is a philosophical position. It implies certain personal behavior and life style -- a way of relating to people and of using resources. It is tactics for group action. It is a strategy for accomplishing a goal. It is a way to make lasting humanizing change in lives, cultures, and institutions.

In our own country, nonviolence has been used in struggles by the colonists for religious freedom and independence, by women for suffrage, by laborers for unionizing rights, by Blacks for civil rights and freedom, and by many of us for peace and social justice. Since this is a bicentennial period, it should be mentioned that two hundred years ago, there was a nonviolent resistance campaign to British domination by the Continental Congress. That campaign consisted of tax resistance, non-import of British goods, boycotts of British goods, and non-export to Britain. Such nonviolent resistance predated the continental army by more than twenty years. That nonviolent campaign and strategy, which was succeeding, was disrupted unilaterally by the violent Minute Men in Lexington and Concord, who forced the transfer from nonviolent to violent resistance and much greater dissension among the colonialists themselves.

There have been nonviolent campaigns in other countries in this century: Saarland in Germany during the 1920's to resist French takeover; Denmark and Norway to Nazi domination in the 1940's; East Germany and Czechoslovakia, in 1953 and 1968 respectively, to Russian domination and oppression; and the present campaign of the people in the Larzac, France to keep the military from taking over their homes and land.

King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference took both philosophical and campaign-strategy-tactics teachings of Gandhi and adapted them to many successful civil rights campaigns in our country. The spiritual and practical energy for the change movements of the 1960's and 70's came from three sources: one, the civil rights experience in mass movement organizing; two, the vision and political perspective of the student movement; and three, the spirit, dedication, and experience of people who were adopting Gandhi's teachings in the struggle for peace,

disarmament, and blocking nuclear weapons (people such as A.J. Muste, David Dellinger, John Swomley, Glenn Smiley, George Willoughby, Larry Scott, Barbara Deming, David McReynolds, Kay Camp, Brad Lyttle, Joan Baez, Ira Sandperl, Roy Kepler, and Marj Swann).

According to Gene Sharp, the basis of nonviolent action is the belief that the exercise of power depends on the consent of the ruled, who by withdrawing that consent, can control and even destroy the power of the opponent. In other words, nonviolent action is a technique used to control, combat, and destroy the opponent's power by nonviolent means of wielding power.

In summation, we can see in history and in our own lives that there are patterns and forms of life and action which encourage a more human and creative response from people. We call that nonviolence. All of us have the need for that humanness and creativity. All of us have the elements of nonviolence within us -- we need only encouragement and strength for them to emerge more fully.

TRAINING TOOL FOR ARRIVING AT A DEFINITION OF NONVIOLENCE

It can be very helpful for each group participating in the Walk to develop its own definition of nonviolence. Such a self-generated definition is probably more comprehensive and personally and socially relevant than those given above. This can be accomplished quickly (about 45 minutes):

1. The facilitator states the task to develop the definition of nonviolence and reviews the process (5 min.)
2. Break into groups of three and list on newsprint as many things as nonviolence means to the individuals (5 min.)
3. Post group lists and five verbal reports (10 min.)
4. See if there are items anyone disagrees with -- no big discussion, just to recognize the more difficult items.
5. In the whole group, discuss what ideas are related (15 min.)
6. Appoint someone or a small group to take the lists and resume of the last discussion and make a written definition for the next meeting for group approval and identity.

DISCIPLINE

What do we mean by nonviolent discipline? Some people will have a negative reaction to that word or concept. But let's look at *discipline* as an explicit *agreement*, between people which enhances trust, responsibility, and structure in our life and work together. Such an *agreement* will encourage and strengthen those nonviolent forms and spirit each of us has within us.

Discipline imposed from the outside on the individuals or group involved is not necessarily desirable or particularly effective when in a nonviolent movement. It should be a developing part of the inner strength of the individuals and their life together in the group. Below are some concrete suggestions for potential agreement for acceptance or discussion along with a process suggestion on how a group could develop its own agreement. A group discipline is desirable and necessary for groups involved in actions so that individuals know what they might expect from the others in the action and know the ground rules for that action. Such a discipline also helps in the clear communication of our message, both to outsiders and to potential participants. So our discipline is our explicit *agreement with each other*.

For this Walk, there are a number of different situations

to consider in developing an agreement. They are:

1. Our public actions
2. Everyday interactions with other marchers, support groups and sponsoring organizations
3. The group decision making process

There are also some distinctions of involvement:

4. A discipline for the entire Walk and one for specific actions in specific places
5. A discipline for full participants in the Walk and one for supporters

There are also some specific areas of discipline, such as

6. Spiritual practice
7. Drugs
8. Sex

Now, let's deal with these one by one.

OUR PUBLIC ACTIONS

Violence occurs in people, attitudes, structures of society, and governmental institutions. On this Walk we are attempting to shed light on the violence of war, militarism, social and economic injustice. When we do that, the latent or overt violence in the system may be unleashed upon us as we bring it to light. Through actions in accord with nonviolent principles, we can keep the light and focus of our actions on the violence and injustice of the system. To help encourage us, it is desirable and necessary to have a group agreement.

Discipline/Agreement Statement - a proposal

Whether or not I believe in or am personally committed to nonviolence, I agree to follow this nonviolent agreement for this action. I shall willingly withdraw from the activities when I cannot or do not have the strength to follow them, in order not to jeopardize the message of the Walk or the position of other participants. I know that such an explicit agreement will facilitate group morale, trust, identity, and strength for our actions. For example:

1. We will attempt to keep the focus on the evil and injustice of the system rather than on individuals.
2. We shall abide diligently by the action decisions of the group while attempting to be creative, flexible, and willing to experiment within that action plan and discipline.
3. We will attempt to show love and understanding toward our opponents, not hate and suspicion.
4. We will attempt to be courteous and friendly with an attitude of goodwill at all times.
5. We shall avoid use of malicious, degrading, or alienating statements, slogans, labels, or signs to ridicule the opponent.
6. We will attempt to meet anger and hostility with openness, love, and creative reconciliation rather than retaliation.
7. If violence is used against us, we will not retaliate with violence, but will attempt to use the force of our nonviolent spirit.
8. We will not carry physical weapons of any kind. When hostility or confrontation is likely, not even pocket knives or implements which might be interpreted as weapons. Our weapons will be of the spirit - humanness, love, truth, and suffering.
9. We shall work to maintain communication, order, organization, and trust within our ranks at all times.
10. We shall submit to arrest politely and promptly if it arises, unless we have agreed to nonviolent non-cooperation beforehand.
11. We shall abide by the decisions and plan decided by the group and, when necessary, interpreted by the appointed

leadership for that day or action.

12. I have the right to dissent from any group decision, but then I would not participate in that action.

13. When we are confronted with a situation for which there has not been a previous explicit group decision or action plan, the whole group will meet to decide on its action, when possible. When not, the appointed leadership or people involved will need to make an immediate decision and be trusted by the rest of us and reviewed at the next meeting.

14. After an action is underway, what can I do if I don't agree with the group or leadership decision? If it is not a serious disagreement, I can go along but discuss it further at the next appropriate meeting. But if it is a violation of my conscience to continue with the group, I can withdraw from that phase of the action after informing the leadership. I will not take contrary action. I will discuss it further at the next group meeting. Others will attempt to trust such withdrawal and not feel betrayed or let down.

15. We will not engage in actions in the name of the Walk unless authorized by the whole group.

16. Each of us will make efforts to admit mistakes we might make.

17. We will present our considered views as concisely as possible and respect the views of others in the group, yet seek to act with one mind, for we realize that therein lies our strength.

DEVELOPING A DISCIPLINE - A TOOL

For nonviolent action, internal discipline and agreement is more effective than external discipline. Therefore, groups may want to follow the process below rather than accept the above proposal. It could be helpful for your group to develop its own discipline. A logical step would be to do the "definition of nonviolence" exercise first, then do this one.

1. Statement of task - "To develop a nonviolent discipline-agreement for our Walk/action group". (5 min.)
2. In small groups of three, make list of brainstorm ideas for parts of a group discipline. (5 min.)
3. List all ideas on newsprint within each group, then share with everybody; or the facilitator could make a composite list from verbal reports. (10 min.)
4. General comments on the clearly inappropriate or unacceptable items. If there is general controversy, just mark those items as unsettled. Don't resolve them now. (10 min.)
5. In new small groups of four, begin combining and writing up a discipline-agreement. Write consensus statements on newsprint within each group. (15-20 min.)
6. Post newsprint and report back to whole group. (5 min.)
7. General discussion and test consensus. (20 min.)
8. Break into new groups of 4 or 5 and discuss how to handle disputed items. (10 min.)
9. Report on disputed items. (5 min.)
10. General discussion and work for consensus. (20 min.)
11. If no easy consensus, repeat steps 8, 9, and 10.

TRAINING DESIGN FOR DISCIPLINE

One way to proceed to develop a training design and program for your group is to follow the training design in this manual combined with the material in *Nonviolent Training - A Manual* by Carl P. Zietlow available from FOR, WRL, or the author (423 West Nittany, State College, PA. 16801, 814-237-9223) for \$3 for pages in an envelope or \$4 in looseleaf notebook plus \$1 mailing for either form. Some training materials are also available from the Training

Action Affinity Group, 4811 Springfield Ave., Philadelphia, PA. 19143, 215-SA4-1464.

Nonviolence training for the Walk will be coordinated by Gail Pressberg, Nonviolent Action/Training Program, AFSC, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA. 19102, 215-241-7169. Trainers will include Gail, Carl Zietlow, and members of the Movement for a New Society.

Another way to get a training design (that is, develop a training program and schedule to prepare your group for anticipated problems) is to get it from the group through the following process combined with a Training Manual.

1. Introduction of task -- to find situations we fear or feel unprepared to handle. Then we shall prepare and train ourselves to handle them through role plays and other appropriate training tools -- by facilitator. Also agenda review. (5 min.)
2. Break into groups of three and brainstorm and list all situations you can think of in which you would have difficulty maintaining the nonviolent discipline of your group. (5 min.)
3. Share that list with everyone -- the facilitator makes a composite list on newsprint. (5 min.)
4. In groups of four, prioritize the four most important situations and rate them 1, 2, 3, and 4. (10 min.)
5. Report from each group with facilitator marking priority numbers by each number listed on newsprint. Test consensus for order of importance to proceed from most to least important situation. (10 min.)

Now you have your training needs and outline. Refer to Chapter 6, "How to do Training" in *Nonviolent Training - A Manual* for information on how to lead role plays, quick decisions, situation analysis. If you have someone in your group who can lead such role plays and the evaluation sensitively, you can start at that session. If not, you might want to find someone, or have two or three people from your group read the *Manual* and prepare relevant role plays for a future training session based on the concrete training needs of your group.



"I'm glad you young people have seen fit to protest nonviolently. It shows you're civilized. Now get out."

EVERYDAY INTERACTION DISCIPLINE

This is a proposed agreement for relationships within our own organization -- other walkers, national sponsors, and local communities, activists, and hosts.

1. Individuals will volunteer for their share of the maintenance tasks of the group -- food preparation, cleanup, etc.
2. Individuals will be responsible for completing tasks volunteered for or for finding help or replacement.
3. Long distance walkers should walk with short distance or local walkers when possible to increase communication, identity, and spirit on the Walk and within the Nonviolent Movement.
4. Participants need to be aware that their behavior affects everyone on the Walk.
5. If some walkers develop personal hassles over personalities, tasks, process, feelings, or ideology, and they are unable to resolve the hassles directly between themselves, they should not hesitate to ask a third party to listen to both perspectives and to help develop understanding and resolution.
6. Remember that we are growing and searching for truth and need to build a movement on cooperation and understanding, not on individualism and dogmatism.
7. We must realize that our dress, looks, and behavior affect how clearly others will hear our messages about disarmament, peace, and social justice. Our dress and appearance need to be clean, neat, and practical and our behavior not too far out of line with local customs.
8. Participants will appreciate, respect, and conserve resources and buildings made available to the Walk. They will clean up and leave the space used in a better condition than on arrival and will make every effort to return things to their proper place. Some things which seem so insignificant to us are often very bothersome to many of our local allies. Such things distort our communication with them. An example: Seven years after the San Francisco -- Moscow Walk stayed at a Friends Meeting House I heard some members (even sympathetic) complain about how they were so dirty and left the meeting house in such a mess. That was the image left with many allies rather than that of courageous dedicated people carrying their struggle for peace and disarmament across the country. That particular meeting house was not available for weekend training sessions or as sleeping space for an anti-ABM Easter Week Walk seven years later. These are some of the realities we need to recognize, even though we think such concerns petty.

GROUP DECISION MAKING PROCESS AGREEMENT

Before getting to process suggestions, first let's look at potential problem areas. Group decision making is likely to be a very frustrating, complicated, and difficult situation for a discipline. Although we spend a lot of time in groups, few guidelines have been developed for a satisfying group process. In group decisions, we will be looking for a balance between individual search for and statement of truth and a cooperative working together.

There are two concurrent aspects of the Walk's group life. One is decision making. The other is interpersonal relationships. Tensions between individuals or factions in a group inhibit progress. Conversely, preoccupation with task decisions can block the resolution of those tensions or the developing of close supportive relationships. Men and women will bring generally aculturated sex role differences to the group which lead to make dominance and leadership.

We believe in a decentralized democratic structure, but are sponsored by a number of national organizations with certain expectations. We are coordinating with a number of local Walk efforts with some clear specific histories, current situations, and plans. We are likely to have problems and tensions between these three groups: the Walk, national sponsors, and local participating groups. As the Walk is underway, group process will be influenced by pressures of time, fatigue, schedule, personalities, and hardship.

In order to try to cope with the above mentioned problems, the following group process agreement would be helpful.

1. Decisions by consensus, that is, moving to decision when everyone is in agreement. If total agreement can't be reached after reasonable discussion, but there is overwhelming general agreement, the one or two dissenters might stand aside and no longer block the group from consensus.
2. People would engage in meetings with an attitude of stating their position concisely, then listening carefully to others. Once all ideas and positions have been stated, people should search for agreement and consensus rather than defend their own position and attempt to win support for it.
3. People would wait for others to speak and be conscious of how many people are in the group and what might be one's proportionate time allotment.
4. Women should be encouraged to set the tone and style of the meetings.
5. At least one third of the group's meeting time should be spent entirely on group maintenance issues -- expressing feelings and resolving tensions concerning people, process, etc. This could be done by allotting 1/3 of each meeting agenda to this or every third meeting. This will be so important at keeping the group in communication and together that something else along this line will need to be experimented with.
6. Walkers from outside a specific area need to be sensitive, patient, open, and respectful of the local situation and of plans made by the local cooperating group, and the local group needs to be able to respond to the outsiders, when the two groups meet together.
7. If problems or tensions arise between the Walk, local groups, and national sponsoring organizations, meetings need to be engaged in with a spirit of listening, understanding, and problem-solving.
8. To help the group process, the meeting might follow this outline. Evaluation and agenda review are the key to building participatory group process.
 - a. Excitement sharing -- what good has happened to me/us since we last met. (5 min.)
 - b. Agenda review for the meeting -- proposed by facilitator; open for additions. (10 min.)
 - c. Go through arrangements, schedule, route, duties, and local scene for the next day. (10 min.)
 - d. For any problems or difficult decision agenda items, once the problem is clearly stated,
 1. Brainstorm potential solutions in small groups of three when the group is more than 12 or 15 people. (3 min.)



2. List potential solutions from small groups on newsprint. (5 min.)
3. Prioritize solutions in different small groups of four. (5-10 min.)
4. Report on priorities 1, 2, and 3. (5 min.)
5. Discuss and reach consensus. (10 min.)
6. If consensus is not reached, go back into new groups of four and look for ideas to proceed.
- e. Evaluation of meeting -- feelings about process and task completion -- suggestions for future meetings. (10 min.)
- f. Appoint facilitator and agenda planners for next meeting. (1 min.)

Other people might have proven, effective ways to handle meeting agendas sensitively and efficiently with full participation. For a pamphlet on good group process, write to Gail Pressberg, AFSC, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA. 19102.

GUIDELINES FOR HANDLING SPECIFIC TENSION SITUATIONS

Leafletting -- pass out leaflets in a polite gentle way. You are to stimulate people to be interested in first taking, then reading the leaflet -- our message on the Walk. They can refuse to take it, that is their right and privilege. It does no good to attempt to force or shame them into taking it. Offer it confidently and politely with hand outstretched a little above their waist. If you appear confident that they will actually take it, it will increase the chance they will. Smile, be friendly, say good morning or afternoon. Sometimes an appropriate costume helps -- once in Chicago outside the IRS for a Tea Party demonstration (Indians taking tea to IRS workers around April 15th) people wearing an Indian headband and war paint got twice as many leaflet acceptances as at other demonstrations. There should be many bicentennial ideas you might try on the Walk.

Walker not following discipline -- s/he should be approached gently and quietly about such behavior. If s/he is unwilling to follow the discipline after talking about it, s/he should be encouraged to leave the Walk group at that time. The place to carry on and continue that discussion should be either away from the Walk (like across the street), or at a later meeting.

When a local supporter will not follow the discipline -- and engages in such activity as harrassing the police, or right wingers, or raising contrary issues, s/he should be approached and told of the agreed discipline, how s/he might disrupt plans, or might endanger the rest of us, and then asked to stop and/or leave. Preferably, this should be done by another local person, when possible.

When someone wants to join the walk -- s/he should be approached by a walker, told the purpose of the Walk, the immediate plan, the nonviolent discipline, and invited to participate if s/he can agree with the issues, plan, and discipline. It is important to share all this with the walker so s/he knows what is expected. Also get name, address, phone number for future organization and involvement.

When hecklers or right-wingers -- approach the Walk or demonstration, some of the nonviolent walkers with more experience at handling hostile aggressive situations should move toward the scene and keep an eye on the situation, being careful not to trigger a bad scene. These walkers should attempt to isolate and neutralize hecklers with gentle conversation and physical presence, but only when it appears necessary. Walkers to deal with hecklers should be designated each day.

If some hecklers attempt to charge the Walk -- or a fight breaks out, nearby walkers should attempt to isolate the disturbance. If the walk is large keep it moving around the disturbance. If small, after isolating it, try to defuse it with gentle direct words and nonaggressive physical intervention, transferring any physical disturbance into verbal communication between Walkers and hecklers. It could be helpful to break up hecklers into smaller groups for conversation. If hecklers are in overwhelming number, look for ways to separate them from the Walk and get the Walk moving again. Singing will enhance group solidarity and empower you to get the group to walk away from the scene. Be sure all walkers are accounted for before leaving the area.



If people disrupt your meetings -- either on the street or in a building, one way to handle it is to ask if they would agree to have their say to everyone from the platform for a specific time, like five or ten minutes. Generally they are not that articulate or able to get it together to accept. Another way is to move some of your people and move them to the edge of the crowd or out of the room "where we can talk better" or just move slowly while talking to them.

All walkers should be prepared -- to approach people on these issues in this manner, but each day about 10% of the walkers should explicitly assume that responsibility and look for and be sensitive to those situations. An appropriate title could be sought to replace the term of marshal or monitor. Preparation for such situations can come through role plays to experiment how to handle them and get feedback on how s/he comes off to the other person. Through role plays of potential, or past situations, many creative ways will be found to handle them. Quick Decision Analysis is also a very helpful tool to surface ideas. If you are anticipating a large group confrontation with hecklers or police, Situation Analysis is a helpful tool. To use these tools -- role plays, quick decisions, situation analysis -- groups can brainstorm situations (particularly hostile ones) they need or want preparation for, then use the appropriate tool. A group could use the role plays, quick decisions, and situation analysis given in *Nonviolent Training - A Manual*, which also describes how to implement them.

SPIRITUAL DISCIPLINE

Most of the nonviolent movements and individual pacifists have a spiritual base of understanding and action. Over the past few years many people have developed varied spiritual practices which should be respected, shared, encouraged, developed further, and continued during such a project. Some of these practices include Transcendental Meditation, Yoga, breathing, Zen sitting, Buddhist practices, quiet and Quaker meditation, prayer, reading, being with nature, fasting. There should be a common time set aside for these individual spiritual pursuits once or twice a day -- like 15 minutes before breakfast and before supper. It would be unrealistic and probably divisive to attempt to agree to or to develop a common practice among all the participants. But practices which would not interfere with each other (quiet non-moving ones) could be done together at the same place for mutual strength -- such as TM, sitting prayer, quiet meditation. Many of the past nonviolent movements have shown that spiritual practices enhance developing nonviolent spirit, behavior, and group action.

DRUGS

Many rely on the use to some extent of such drugs as sugar, coffee, nicotine, alcohol, and marijuana. Being aware of the problems of over-stimulation and depression that accompany these drugs, and the added strain on the body from walking, each group should develop its own discipline. However, we should remember to be sensitive to non-smokers and refrain from alcohol when the moral image of the cause is at stake. It is strongly advised that illegal drugs not be used by Walkers.

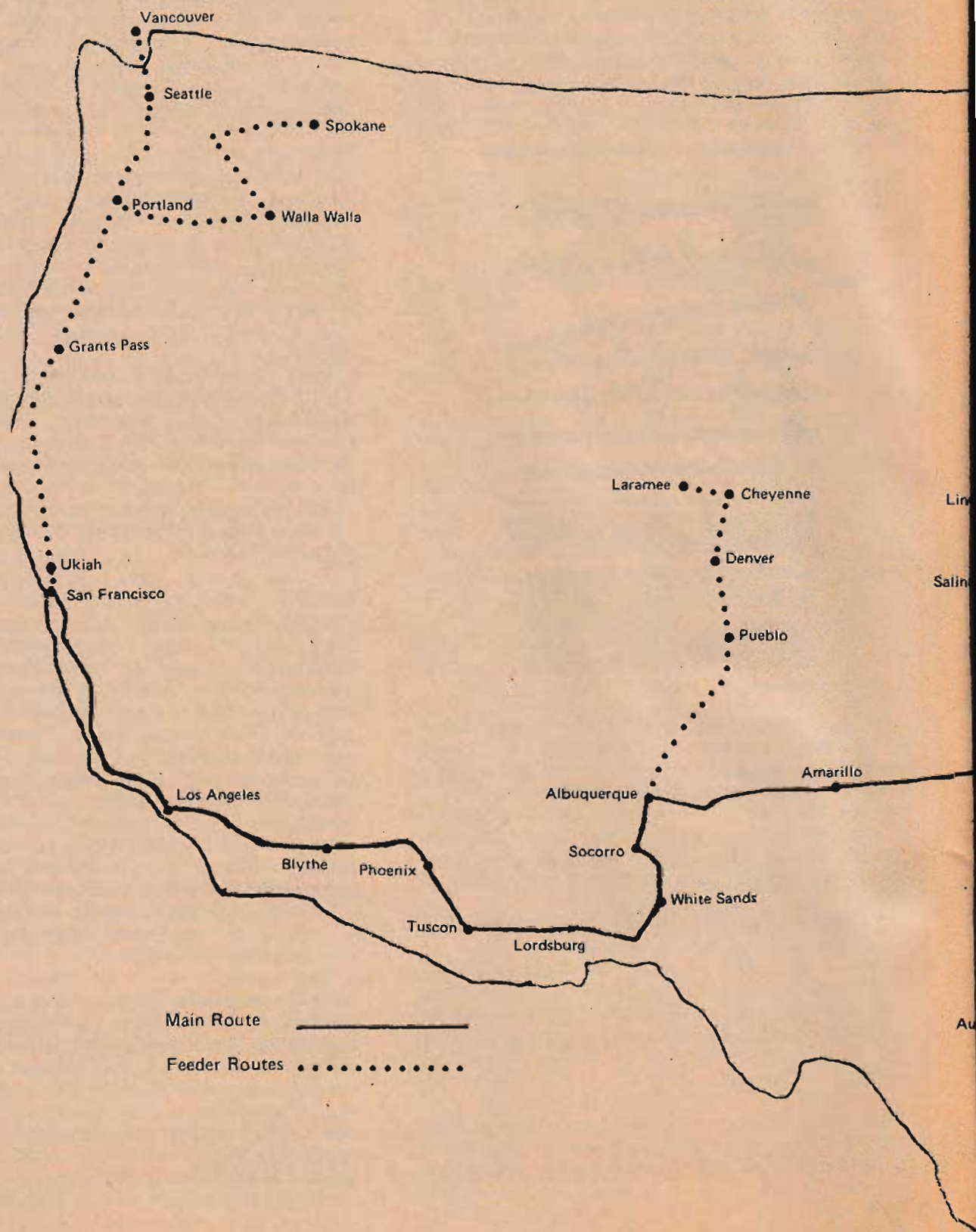
SEX

This is a harder one because many participate in sexual activity and are aware of many of the problems and difficulties of an honest open sexual experience in our own lives. Many of us have found our mates from such movement activity. To suppress sexual activity leads to problems as does open engagement. Energy can be fed into the project through healthy sexual activity. Energy can also be drained by many of the feelings generated, such as, rivalries, jealousies, manipulation, hurt feelings, and overly focusing on anticipating or arranging sexual activity. There are various kinds of sexual mating practiced, understood, and supported by people in the movement which have little outside social appreciation or acceptance.

Those are some of the problems. How to deal with them is difficult. But we venture forth with the following recommendation for agreement.

That people in the Walk engage in sexual activity sensitively and judiciously attempting to avoid the potential problems to the individuals, the group, and the local community. That if problems begin arising on the Walk, they be discussed and a new discipline be developed. That this matter be openly discussed with local organizing and support committees and the Walk agreeably abide by the needs of the local hosts even when more stringent than the general Walk policy -- such as separate male/female sleeping quarters, or no coupling in this facility or whatever.

It would seem that the practices of homosexual, bisexual and heterosexual liaisons need to be treated in the same fashion so as to not discriminate against particular participants.





LOCAL CAMPAIGNS

Conceptualizing, Planning, Organizing

The Continental Walk is being organized on national and local levels in order to raise issues and to develop organizations and actions. The Walk organizers hope the Walk will stimulate the development of local nonviolent social change groups. This section is to give ideas to local groups – *what you can do besides host the Walk or provide supporters when the Walk goes through the area*. We hope you and local groups will develop relevant campaigns or that the Walk will add energy and perspective to a campaign that you are already engaged in.

WHAT IS A CAMPAIGN?

A campaign is a process, a dynamic, a mobilization, a movement for an achievable goal. A campaign should accomplish that goal in a projected period of time and not be endless. In the early 1960's, the southern civil rights movement was built on a series of successes – first the integration of one lunch counter, then another, then another, then a chain, then a whole town, then all the bus depots – so that experience, momentum, people, and organization grew on success and hope, not failure or increased frustration.

There was a Lenten Campaign in Hawai in 1972 which is a helpful example for the peacemovement. In developing the campaign, there were two choices for a target – an army base with a mock Vietnamese village for Search and Destroy training, and Hickam Air Force Base, which was the location of Indochina bomb mission targeting. Because by that time the war had become primarily an air war, Hickam was chosen. It was a more relevant target for the campaign. Everyone wanted to end the war, but the group of 20 in catholic Action realized that they could not stop it in six weeks no matter what actions they took. So, they chose a limited goal of informing everyone in the state of Hawai that the Indochina air war targeting was done in their state and that the major economic source for the state was militarism, not tourism. All actions then were directed toward that goal; all the leaflets, speakers, marches, symbolic demonstrations, and resistance. Even after three people poured blood on top-secret targeting files, everything around the court case kept the same focus. For over six months, not merely the six weeks of Lent, there was speaking and press coverage of the air war and the targeting from Hickam. At the end of Lent and at the trial five months later, everyone involved thought they had conducted a successful campaign and achieved their goal. They were energized and not discouraged and frustrated as so many anti-war activists. Jim and Shelley Douglass, who helped organize that campaign, are among the signers of the call for this Walk. They are working against Trident, and with the Walk from Seattle/Vancouver.

Local groups should consider how the Walk -- before, during, and after it comes through -- can energize a local campaign of *aims, goals, strategy, objectives, and tactics*. Thus when we talk about a campaign, we don't mean merely a demonstration or two, but a process to accomplish some limited measurable social change. Relevant and helpful reading materials are referred to later in this chapter.

Each locality will present a different stage of organizational development for a campaign. For instance: —If there are local concerned people, but there is no ongoing organization or activity, the Walk could help bring those concerned people together to begin discussing potential local activities.

—Where there are ongoing groups looking for some campaign on local/national issues, or which are already in the initial planning stage, the Walk could give energy and ideas to initiate the campaign.

—Should some local group(s) be engaged in a struggle or campaign, the Walk should then add energy and public awareness to those goals and the campaign.

—The Walk might serve as a suitable culmination of a local campaign when appropriate and timely.

With the resources on the Walk, the potential public and press exposure on the Walk, the local/national focus, the energy of the walkers, the Walk should lend energy and organization to any local group at whatever stage in a campaign yours is at.

SOME QUESTIONS TO ASK

A local group might find it helpful to look at the following questions when working on a campaign and relating the Walk to it.

1. What military organizations, installations, or plants are in your area? Militarism at home!
2. What are the nuclear energy developments or plans?
3. What are local energy sources?
4. What are the local gut issues and needs -- social, economic, political, justice?
5. How does militarism relate to oppression? War production to poverty? Disarmament to unemployment? War production to energy use? Militarism to education? What is the local power structure connection to militarism and local oppression, poverty, injustice, racism, sexism?
6. What is the social change energy? Focus? Movement? Potential coalitions and cooperation?
7. What are the local social change resources? Concerned groups, self-interest organizations, churches, minority groups, peace, energy, consumer, student organizations.
8. How can the Walk help us bring some things together? What should we focus on during the time of the Walk? What would we have energy for? Who else might we get involved?

SOME TACTIC IDEAS

Most local groups will come up with really creative ideas for individual education, symbolic, and resistance actions. First determine what you want to accomplish in a specific action and an appropriate target or place for it. Then do some brainstorming about our historical, religious, cultural, political, and economic events and symbols that you could use to communicate your concern, perspective, and direction for solution. Look for issues, symbols, and forms which will communicate to your community. But remember that such tactics are part of a campaign, not a campaign in themselves.

Here are some ideas to stimulate your thought regarding tactics during your campaign and when the Walk goes through:

Street speaking and street meetings

Leafletting

Street theater or guerilla theater (manuals available from Quaker Project on Community Conflict, 331 W. 14 St, NY, NY 10014)

Speaking in high schools and colleges

Community and public meetings on local needs and political economy

Twelve Stations of the Cross -- current places of militarism, oppression, and injustice in your locality

Lenten symbolic actions

Peace, Conversion, Social Justice, or Women's fair or carnival

Bury a model of a B-1 Bomber or Trident into the ground

Mock nuclear disaster area with walking wounded

Read denominational statement on your issue during church service

Raise issues in local political structural meetings -- city council, county commissioners, other committees and boards

Music and speaking from a truck

Slide show (perhaps develop a local one on militarism and social justice)

Reenactment of some revolutionary nonviolent actions

Plant a garden or trees at military base or war plant

Demonstrate at a corporation that holds a B-1 contract or other defense contract

Mock trials of the FBI and CIA

Collect withheld tax money and present to a community project in need of funds

Present IRS a bill for taxes collected for war and military

Get local organizations to pass a resolution to stop the B-1 Bomber, invest money in human needs programs, and support economic security guarantees for unemployed defense workers (a sample resolution can be obtained from AFSC, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA. 19102)

LOCAL CAMPAIGN -- A PROCESS TO HELP

Here is a process which could be helpful in developing your own local campaign to tie in with the Continental Walk issues, goals, and energy.

The first step is to find people interested and willing to spend time meeting and working together. To move into a campaign development process, the following decision making model has been very helpful with other groups looking for a campaign.

The purpose of this process is:

1. To help a group distinguish between five different areas of decision: *aim*, *goal*, *objectives*, *strategy*, and *tactics*.
2. To provide a structure by which a group can make

decisions for each.

3. To democratize decision making, not by vote, but consensus, by maximizing everyone's ideas, input, reflections.

DEFINITIONS

AIM: One or two sentence statement of a broad, generally acceptable concept to which most people in the society would agree, i.e. "a just, peaceful, humane world" or "people controlling their own lives".

GOAL: A statement of what you want to accomplish with this campaign or within the next 3, 6, 12 months; i.e. develop a day care center or food coop, get A&P to sell only UFW lettuce and grapes, keep Jr. ROTC out of high schools, end B-1 Bomber local tie-ins. The goal formulation could separate into long range goal, an intermediate goal, and short range goals if you were to project a long campaign and found that helpful. If so, this campaign would relate to a short range goal. The goal (what you want to accomplish) relates to strategy (your plan for accomplishing it).

OBJECTIVES: What you want to accomplish today, right now, in this meeting, with this leaflet, this negotiating session, this demonstration, how to win these allies. Objectives relate to tactics.

STRATEGY: Is your projection of development of organization, momentum, and political-social-economic-moral pressure to accomplish your goal in a projected process or period of time. It is a projected scenario -- what you do week by week, month by month.

TACTICS: Specific short-term things you do to organize, win allies, energize people, and demonstrate. They might last a few minutes, hours, days. Tactics are what you use to accomplish specific objectives.

Now, what usually happens? Most people and groups mix these up in discussion and don't have approaches for dealing with them one by one or with their interrelationships. Consequently, groups talk about all five areas at one and don't get very far very fast in a positive direction at meetings. Some training and process approaches focus on group dynamics, sensitivity, and group task/maintenance roles. That approach takes time for people to develop those skills. Below is a proven process which by its nature and organization encourages and maximizes individual input and motivates people to listen and be sensitive to each other in a structured process.

THE PROCESS

A. AIM DECISION

1. In groups of three, decide on a proposed one sentence statement and write it on newsprint. (5-10 minutes)
2. Get reports from each group. Post statements. (10 min.)
3. Propose a consensus from all sentences. If none comes, go back into new groups of four for a proposed decision, remember trying to get a consensus, and reporting back for consensus testing by whole group. (15 min.)

B. GOAL DECISION

1. Brainstorm in groups of three, all the potential goals represented by people in the group around the area of concern (Farm Workers, student rights, Indochina, nuclear power, conversion, local community issues). (5 min.)
2. List potential goals on newsprint -- just check duplicates. (10 min.)
3. Have new groups of four decide on priority of the top three choices, listing them 1, 2, 3. (10 min.)
4. As groups report, put priority number left of goal. (5 min.)

5. Ask for whole group reaction and what do they make of this information. See if a consensus emerges and test for it. If none, move on to step 6. (15-30 min.)

6. In groups of 5, formulate the goal you five agree to and think the others would agree to also. (10 min.)

7. Hear reports from groups and record them if necessary. Test for consensus. If none, repeat 5, 6, and 7. (10 min.)

Now your group has a stated *goal* for the campaign arrived at in two or three hours; how's that? You are now ready to work on how to accomplish it -- the *strategy*. But since most people have had more experience with tactics than strategy, it seems more organic to move on to *tactics* for a few minutes.

C. TACTICS

1. In groups of three or four, brainstorm as many *potential tactics* you can think which might be useful for that goal. (5 min.)

2. List tactics as reported, or post newsprint lists made in groups as groups report to everyone on lists. (15 min.)

D. *OBJECTIVES* 1. In order to get people to start thinking about what tactics can be used for what purposes in the whole group, you could have people give what they think the objectives of each tactic could be. (20 min.)

2. If there were specific decisions that needed to be made for tactics in the near future, you could use the process in *strategy* 3, 4, and 5 (below) after *objectives* discussion.



A vast network of machinery,
devised & built by us, capable
of assuring overseas survival:
a few bosses control

it : our seas
smell of death, our
cities of hunger;
our schools & jobs
are prisons of despair; our
police are men they own,
our leaders men they choose:
business is bloated,
survival is scarce.

CRIMINALS DICTATE
THE TERMS OF OUR
LIVES: THE ONLY WAY
TO FREE OURSELVES
IS TO UNITE

INS

E. STRATEGY

Now you have decided on an *aim and goal*. You know the potential tactics you might use and the various objectives for each. Now you are ready to decide on a series of objectives and tactics in an organization-momentum building sequence to accomplish the *goal*. That plan could be called your *strategy* scenario.

1. A helpful tool before scenario writing is the Force Field Analysis. This is done in four steps. One, make a list of people, organizations, resources, forces in three categories -- (1) Known support and allies, (2) Neutral forces and

potential allies, and (3) Opposition forces to our goal. Two, after making the list, you can (a) Analyze what motivates the various forces. (b) What tactics and arguments will influence them? (c) What forces are likely to influence them? (d) How do these forces interact? Three, talk about (a) What you need to do to energize the allies or to keep them from becoming opposition forces. (b) How to keep the neutral forces neutral, or convert them into allies, and (c) How to neutralize or isolate the opposition of its influence. Four, does this discussion necessitate a change in the stated goal or our time projection for accomplishing it? (90-120 min.)

2. Expose the group to the concept of campaign strategy, either by some reading or talk covering such material. Ideas are listed at the end of this chapter. (The campaign strategy exposure and Force Field Analysis could be reversed.) (45 min.)

3. What is. Make a list of what exists -- information, resources, equipment, organization, newsletters, communication channels, etc. Also list relevant dates like opposition board meetings, ally and organizational meetings, vacations, etc. These are potential dates and deadlines for various phases of the campaign. Sometimes it is helpful to make a huge calendar. This can be done with the whole group. (15 min.)

4. Individual scenario writing -- how you would propose to develop the momentum and organization and actions of the campaign. It could be done in a step by step, or week by week, or month by month basis. (30-45 min.)

5. In groups of three or four, share individual and decide on a group scenario. (30 min.)

6. Put group suggested scenarios on blackboard or newsprint. A huge calendar with weeks and months and the relevant dates could be made up while individual and group scenarios are being written. (20 min.)

7. General discussion and reflection. Test for consensus. This might be sufficient. If not, you could either spend more time in the larger group or follow steps 8 and 9. (30 min.)

8. Back to groups of five for more reflection and refinement. (15 min.)

9. Hear reports from groups and agree on a consensus scenario which then is your campaign strategy for accomplishing the group's goal. (30-60 min.)

10. There could be general discussion and evaluation of the process and any necessary redefinition of goal and strategy. (15 min.)

F. TESTING THE SCENARIO

There are some training tools outlined in *Nonviolent Training - A Manual* which could be helpful at playing out the projected scenario. They are Strategy Game, Population Game, or Strategy Analysis.

Role plays and situation analysis could be helpful in testing out, not just preparation for, particular tactical ideas and plans.

G. HOW TO ORGANIZE

The next task is to figure out what committees are needed and who is going to do what. This could be a combination of small and large group decision processes as outlined above.

This process has been used at a number of training sessions, with groups developing a campaign, and in college classroom situations -- both in the concrete (for an actual continuing group) and in the abstract. Once you try this or a similar process, you could vary the time and develop additional tools from experience and the new situation.

When this process has been used, people have felt that they really participated and were listened to -- that their contribution was incorporated into the final decision and that they were not violated or misunderstood. Everyone feels a part of the final decision and organization and plans; consequently, everyone is ready to participate and give positive energy to the project and campaign. This process could be done in one long day, two days, or at successive meetings held weekly or every evening for a week.

WRITTEN RESOURCES ON CAMPAIGNS AND STRATEGY

Nonviolent Training - A Manual by Carl P. Zietlow, mimeo, \$4, from FOR, WRL, or author, 423 W. Nittany, State College, Pa. 16801.

Strategy Manual by Carl P. Zietlow, mimeo, .75, from FOR, WRL, or author, 423 W. Nittany, State College, Pa. 16801; 814-237-9223. (It is a chapter in *Nonviolent Training - A Manual*).

A Mini-Manual on Nonviolent Direct Action Campaigns, by Bill Moyer, mimeo, .30, 4719 Cedar, Philadelphia, PA. 19143; 215-SA9-3276.

Why We Can't Wait by Martin Luther King, Jr., Signet Books, \$1.50. This is the story of the Birmingham Campaign, 1963.

Conquest by Suffering: The Process and Prospects of Nonviolent Resistance, by Harvey Siefert, Westminster

Press, 1965. The first three chapters are excellent in describing the dynamics of a campaign between actionists, neutrals, and opposition.

The Politics of Nonviolent Action by Gene Sharp, Porter Sargent, 1973. Most comprehensive account of how political power is held and changed through nonviolent action. Excellent descriptions of dynamics, strategy, and tactics of campaigns.

There are two national campaigns to stop weapons systems being contracted for by the Pentagon.

"Stop the B-1 Bomber: National Peace Conversion Campaign" offers the following resources:

-B-1 peace conversion brochure, .10 each or 100/\$5

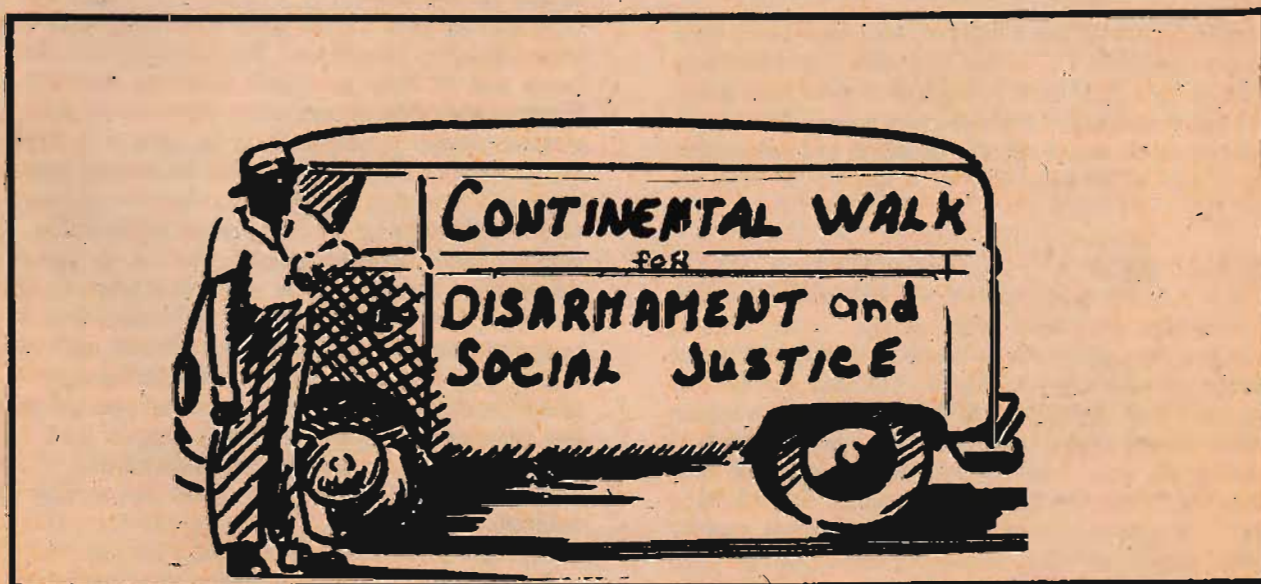
-Leaflet for mass distribution comparing B-1 Cost with human needs costs (free)

-Peace Conversion Packet, \$1 each

-B-1, Power of the Military-Industrial Complex, and Peace Conversion radio tapes, \$2 each.

The above can be obtained from: Stop the B-1 Bomber: Peace Conversion Campaign, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA. 19102.

The campaign against the Trident submarine, called "From Trident to Life", has an excellent brochure and leaflets. Write to them at 331 17th East, Seattle, WA. 98112 or call 206-322-2447.



PUBLICITY

Publicity, getting the word out, getting people to hear what you want them to hear – this is very vital to the project. In finding ways for people to listen to you, sometimes one way works and the other doesn't; so the more varied and creative ways you have for publicizing your events, the better off you are. This chapter will deal briefly with the mass media and what could be called "people to people" publicizing.

MASS MEDIA

The media will not cover anything at your say so: either the content or style of presentation will have to appeal to them. The story should cover an item of general interest (disarmament), urgency or excitement, personalities, difference of opinion, or strangeness. A story should have an element of either being new, surprising, creative, significant, or of local interest. The media likes pointed quotes and facts. When using gimmicks to make a story attractive, be careful that the gimmick doesn't become the story.

NEWS SECRETARY

If at all possible, have one person in charge of media publicity. This person gets the media contacted, releases out, deadlines met, copy properly written and photographs. It is very helpful if this person makes personal contact with the media and the project. The news secretary must be very careful to establish and maintain a reputation for accuracy in all the statements.

The news secretary should be aware of what is happening in the group at all times. S/he should be able to judge what is newsworthy, be able to properly prepare news releases and be familiar with individual reporters. Be accessible to the media. Be friendly, open and honest in conversations (lies or coverups can easily be spotted). Don't be ashamed to admit that you don't have specific information. However, promise to get it – then deliver it as soon as possible.

Compile a press list (on a sheet or index cards) with each newspaper, radio and TV station, magazine; phone numbers (they often have "hot lines"); contacts at each publication (always get the names of reporters who cover your events), their phone numbers and address, deadlines and publication dates. A file of all news articles would be of value to collect.

NEWS RELEASE

If it is possible, print up legal size (14 inch) stationery with your own mast head (organizational name, address, and design). Always include someone's name(s) with phone number(s) on each release. Indicate the date and time of release or "For IMMEDIATE RELEASE". The release should be double spaced and concise (one page, if possible) containing the who, what, when, where, why, and how; newsworthy items; and some quotations are helpful. Type "more" at the bottom of each page except the last; end the last page with "-30-". Tell something about your group if appropriate.

News releases should be strictly factual and avoid propaganda (propaganda may be included when quoting someone). This will give the appearance of objectivity and is more likely to win the confidence of the news editor.

The purpose of a news release is to announce an event (e.g. press conference, demonstration, speaker, benefit), report on a happening (e.g. a demonstration), make charges (refuting a public statement made by someone else).

The releases can be distributed by mail, but it is better to do it in person. Look in the yellow pages under "newspapers", "radio stations", and "television stations" (or "broadcasting stations") for addresses of your local media. Drop one release off at each location (e.g. put the releases on the "city desk" of a newspaper). Make personal contact. If you get to know individuals in the media, hand it to them personally with a comment (if s/he is not busy) – this might help get your release printed or aired.

It is a good idea to include a photograph (or more) with your releases, particularly if the release is a report on a demonstration or announces a speaker. If after a demonstration, you rush to your local darkroom to develop your photos and then turn them over to the local paper with a story, they may carry the photo and story. In some instances, papers have been known to take your roll and develop it themselves at no cost. In any case, don't worry about how professional your photographs are – it's far better to have any photograph than none. A photograph can multiply the chances of coverage and interest.

NEWS CONFERENCE

News (or press) conferences should be called only for something especially significant or a major news event: the beginning of a special project, a major policy statement, the visit of a prominent figure, or some accusations backed up by new factual data.

A spokesperson for the group (preferably articulate and knowledgeable) should read the statement and field questions; and if there are guest speakers, introduce them. Speakers should be chosen whose presence will give you the greatest media coverage. Keep in mind that those who speak the shortest will most likely be covered because the radio and television stations want concise statements that take a minimum of air time. Nicely done charts, photographs, other exhibits, guerilla theater or some other eye-catching material can be very useful when appropriate.

Often it is useful to prepare information packets for each reporter ahead of time to give details not covered in the spoken statements (such as some background on your group. Be sure to come on time, but start your conference a few minutes late to give the press time to look over the materials so they can ask questions afterwards.

When possible, make sure there are outlets readily available for cameras, etc. If you can provide coffee for the newspeople, that will help establish a friendly atmosphere.

Use a news release to announce your conference (sent several days in advance). The day before the conference, phone the reporters as a reminder. Try not to schedule the conference during any major event that reporters might be covering. You can sometimes find out in advance from the reporters if there is anything else scheduled at the time of your conference. The conference should be held early in the day so that the reporters can meet their deadlines. Make a note of all the reporters who attend.

NEWSPAPERS

Besides the above, newspapers can be used to advertise through letters to the editor (don't underestimate this, since a lot of readers look at the letters), columnists, display ads, and the classified section. Letters to the editor are often one of the most effective means of reaching a newspaper audience. The letter should be brief and related to a current story (where possible). Display advertising often gets reduced rates in the campus paper (for campus organizations). Sticking a little ad in the classified section will often bring results. Don't forget your local underground paper.

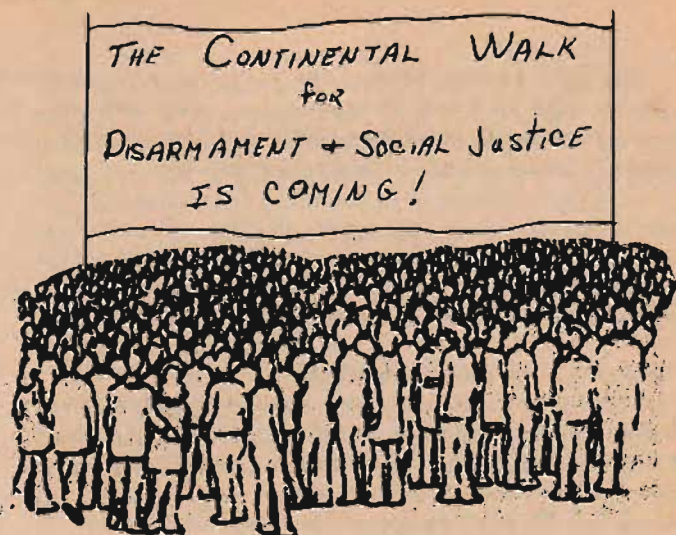
RADIO AND TELEVISION

In addition to the above, the electronic media often provides talk shows, has public service announcements, and allows rebuttals to editorials (or "equal time" to political statements). Talk shows can provide terrific exposure — warning: be well prepared with arguments and facts! But don't hesitate to admit ignorance when you don't have the facts. Articulatness is particularly essential. Call your local stations and ask if they have talk shows and the audience they appeal to. These are excellent to use for outside speakers. Public service announcements should be very brief (10, 20, or 30 seconds).

WIRE SERVICES

A good way to get your story spread to a greater area than your city is to use the Associated Press (AP) and the United Press International (UPI) wire services. AP and UPI tend to have very straightforward and factual stories. Sometimes they send out stories with photo and long caption only.

There are two wires that your story can get on: the "A" wire which goes out all over the country, and the local wire which goes through your region or state. For a special story, it is sometimes possible to call sympathetic people outside of your region to contact their wire services about your action. This might result in the story being carried nationally.



PEOPLE TO PEOPLE

Relying totally on the mass media for your publicity can be a drastic mistake. They are very undependable. Getting the word out yourself can be very rewarding and the creative ways of doing this are endless. Here are some:

1. Put posters up in the community. Walls, bulletin boards, telephone poles, trees (ask the tree's permission first), etc. Nicely printed posters are great; but, for lack of money, silkscreen your own.
2. Make a large banner. Get permission from the city or college and string a large banner across a street announcing the arrival of the Walk.
3. Print up leaflets and take to the streets. A good leaflet has a catchy front side (picture, big letters, etc.) and on the back side a longer explanation of your subject with a contact person or group and address and phone number. Hand leaflets out with a smile and take time to talk to people.
4. Do a "pre-Walk". Walk from one end of the city to the next or each weekend pick a neighborhood to walk thru, handing out leaflets all the way.
5. Set up a literature table on campuses, at churches, shopping malls, and at sympathetic benefits and concerts. Have plenty of those leaflets, books and pamphlets, and knowledgeable people behind the table.
6. Take advantage of display cases in the halls of colleges and churches.
7. Talk to professors, ministers, and sympathetic musicians and get them to give you a plug.
8. Put articles in church bulletins and community newsletters.
9. Write up a resolution and present it before the City Council.
10. Bring in speakers and films. Make a slideshow about the Walk and how it ties into your own local area.
11. Make a sandwich board and walk around ringing a bell, singing a song, handing out leaflets.
12. Do street theater. This always gets a crowd, especially if it's funny. Have 2 or 3 people in the crowd leafletting.
13. "Christmas Caroling" in neighborhoods anytime of the year singing peace and freedom songs and handing out leaflets.

FUNDRAISING

The Walk is going to take money in order for it to happen. Like any kind of organization, there are always unavoidable expenses; mailings, leaflets, salaries, etc. Each local organization will of course have their own expenses; so it might be helpful to sit down and figure out what they might be and what your budget is. Then start work on raising money (which this chapter is all about). Sometimes it helps to have one person coordinate it, and remember—fundraising can be great fun if you really get into it.

SELLING A PRODUCT OR EVENT

Publicity is the key to making these fundraising efforts a success and this point cannot be emphasized enough. A lot of times your energy will be totally wasted if you don't have well-organized publicity.

1. **LITERATURE** does not usually bring in a great deal of money but can be a fairly reliable and steady source of income. Selling used books (donated by members and others) is particularly attractive to people on college campuses. (see literature list in this manual)

2. **UNUSUAL ITEMS** such as posters, T-shirts with silk-screened slogans and graphics, and buttons. All these are being made for the Walk and can be sold or auctioned off.

3. **BAKE SALES** are another fairly reliable, but financially small, way to bring in money. The idea is simple enough: several people volunteer to bake cookies, cakes, pies, and other baked goods that have sufficient eye appeal to sell. Then sell them.

4. **FILM SHOWINGS** are potentially excellent ways to raise money and effectively get across your message. Several essentials must be dealt with before putting on a showing: choose a film (important: make arrangements to insure it will arrive on time); find a place and time for the showing—are there any conflicts with other events; reserve projectors (usually 16mm sound); buy a roll of tickets or make your own; arrange for people to sell tickets, take tickets, show the film, be in charge of literature; advertise—sometimes having leaflets ready to distribute (just before showtime) to people hanging around nearby will draw more business. Before choosing a film, you should check into a few things: what is the cost? (It can be anything from free to \$15 to \$300 or 50% of the gross, whichever is higher—typical of major film distributors.) Was it recently shown on TV or by someone else? Will it draw people?

The *War/Peace Film Guide* is the best annotated list of war and peace films that we know of. Also, you can drop a line to some major film distributors for free copies of their catalogues.

6. **BENEFITS** for your group by bands, theater groups, singers, poets, and other sympathetic performers can be potentially good money raisers. Arrangements can be made where all the money raised from a performance of a running play can be set aside as your benefit.

7. **COCKTAIL PARTY** or a wine and cheese party with a well-known person. Have it in a person's home, and send out special invitations to supporters of your activities and potentially interested people. Have the well-known person talk about the Walk and have somebody else make the pitch for money. It's best to suggest a specific amount. In these parties find out if people are going to come, and make them feel like they are making a real commitment. The organizers should try to enjoy themselves.

Or buy a keg of beer and charge \$1 donation at the door, and people get all they want.

8. **FAIRS ON DISARMAMENT**, Peace Conversion, etc., set up in a central location can bring in hundreds of dollars, if planning and execution are done carefully. Have one area where a central platform can be set up for the entertainment. Literature tables, concession stands, booths of handmade articles, potted plants, and so forth should be set up.

Other sympathetic community groups should be invited to put up their own booths of literature, etc. This is particularly important as an additional attraction to potential fair-goers but also allows these other groups to spread word of the Walk around the community. Well-planned publicity (posters, leaflets, press releases, balloons) is essential.

9. **GARAGE SALES** (or yard, lawn, attic sales) can bring in hundreds of dollars. Get people to donate stuff, publicize the sale and sell the merchandise.

10. **PEACE WORK DAY** can be a day that everyone in the group is committed to doing odd-jobs (together if possible, separately if necessary) around the community. Mow lawns, wash cars, paint houses, sell flowers on street corners, etc.

THE DIRECT APPEAL

Effective fundraising through personal appeals depends on a number of related factors. People with large fortunes tend to be intelligent and well-informed, and since they are bombarded with requests, thoughtful. Appeals therefore should be concise and reasonable.

A successful personal appeal requires the ability to take 'no' for an answer and not be paralyzed by discouragement. Fundraising is partly a matter of percentage. If one person says no today, another may say yes. And the first may say yes to another appeal tomorrow. So accept the response, whatever it is, in a friendly spirit and move along.

1. **FOUNDATIONS** number in the tens of thousands and give away an estimated \$1.5 billion yearly to programs that are working for social change. Sometimes it is worth the bureaucratic hassles to approach the right non-profit foundations.

Foundations fall into several categories. Pick the foundations closest to your project idea. The *Foundation Directory* and *Foundation News* list several thousand foundations and is indexed by state. The Foundation Center compiles comprehensive information on nearly all the foundations and maintains a library. Glide Publications (330 Ellis St., San Francisco, CA 94102) puts out an invaluable book on foundations, *The Bread Game*. Read it thoroughly before proceeding.

2. **FUND APPEAL LETTER** could be sent to your whole mailing list or that of sympathetic organizations in your local area who are willing to let you use their list.

The appeal should be sent first class and it is sometimes useful to include a piece of literature as a token of appreciation for their support. The appeal should be brief, to the point, and neatly done, on letter-head stationery. An attached coupon makes an enormous difference in encouraging people to write for more information, in addition to raising money. Include a self-addressed return envelope.

Remember, most people who get your appeal get many

other appeals monthly—why should they contribute to you? The fact that you are working in their community is a strong impetus to appeal on. Also, it is easier to raise money for a specific purpose than it is by just sending out a general appeal.

3. **PASS THE HAT** at all meetings, marches, and rallies generally advertised to the public. Make an announcement and appeal sometime during the meeting, then pass around buckets appropriately labeled. Make sure you have enough 1-quart buckets, about one per 50 people is sufficient.

A fundraising speech at a rally should mention specific costs of the rally and the contrast between expenditures for war and those for peace, and the need for peace and justice.

One tactic that has been used with success has been to appeal for everyone to put all their pennies, nickels and dimes in the buckets—nothing more, no quarters, or larger coins or bills. Surprisingly, this has generated more generosity than usual.

4. **DONATE A DAY'S WORK** once a year on some symbolic day where everyone in the group and sympathizers donate their day's earnings to the group.

5. **SUPPORT COMMITTEE** formed of people in your community, particularly those who are influential and are not able to actively participate with you. This committee should meet with your group periodically to provide stimulus, support, and some guidance. Their abilities and influence may provide a means to reach more people more effectively.

6. **ADS** placed in the local paper or sympathetic magazine may be expensive but possibly worth trying. An appeal such as 'the average family pays \$1000 yearly for war; how much are you willing to contribute to peace?', then an explanation of the Walk may do the trick. If you get back just enough to pay for the ad, that is a good return, since you've reached new people with your message and some of them will continue to contribute in the future. Try to get some professional help in designing the ad.

7. **INDIVIDUAL SOLICITATION** is probably the hardest technique for a lot of people to get into, but it has a great deal of potential financially and educationally.

The person in charge of fund raising should make a card file on large contributors to peace and other left organizations. These names can come from signers of ads placed in nationally known newspapers; people who have spoken out in your community on peace and justice issues; writers of certain letters to the editor; liberal or radical college professors; lawyers who defend 'left' causes and individuals.

A detailed budget on the anticipated project would be useful to have. In addition, have on hand copies of literature put out by your group as well as a sheet on successful projects and activities the group has engaged in previously. Send a follow up letter after the meeting thanking for the contribution or for the opportunity to present your ideas. Formal receipts for all contributions should be sent promptly.

8. **PLEDGES** contributed monthly by group members and sympathizers might take care of basic monthly expenses if ten people agree to put in so much a month.

9. **GIVING UP** smoking, drinking, movies, food, etc., for a particular period of time and then donating the money saved to the group can bring in considerable sums with some groups.

SPECIAL FUNDRAISING EFFORT FOR THE CONTINENTAL WALK

One way to raise money for the Walk is to have individuals, groups, businesses, churches, whatever, pledge money to a walker. Approach potential 'sponsors', explain the Walk, and your participation in it. Tell them that one way they could participate in the project is to pledge a certain amount of money to the Continental Walk for every mile that you walk. Get as many sponsors as you can and have them sign a pledge card. For example:

The Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice

PLEDGE CARD

The United States was the first nation to unleash the horror of nuclear war. Now it possesses an arsenal of death unrivaled in human history. It is fitting that we should renew ourselves in 1976, the year of the Bicentennial, that we as residents of this country should lead the way in demonstrating that peace and disarmament are in our interest and the interest of all humankind. Every step taken by each person on the Walk across the nation will be a step toward the distant but vital goal of disarmament, toward survival, toward the alleviation of human suffering, toward the elimination of the causes of war.

I therefore pledge \$___ to _____
for each mile s/he walks, payable upon completion of those miles.

(date) (signature)

Then after you've completed your walking go collect your pledges promptly, share your experiences and feelings. This can be a wonderful way to get people involved, and just think - if you can get ten sponsors to pledge \$.20/mile and you walk 50 miles, that's \$100!

For long distance walkers, its been suggested that you get a sponsor for the duration of your walk. You could write letters about your experiences on the walk and keep up a personal correspondence. You would have to figure out what your daily expenses would be and make arrangements to receive their money. And then be sure and keep your commitments to write or whatever.



LEGAL ASPECTS

INTRODUCTION

In any political activity, the question of legal rights can be tricky. What restrictions can be placed on your actions? What can and can't police do? When you're told "you can't have a rally there", is that true or a lie?

While far from being a comprehensive guide, this chapter will seek to give a general outline of the legal aspects of marching and demonstrating. States vary in the restrictiveness of their laws, so organizers should consult their local ACLU and sympathetic attorneys for advice and information on their particular situation.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

The legal principles involved with the Walk, obviously enough, relate to the First Amendment protections of free speech and assembly. Although the Amendment says "no law" should limit those freedoms, the Supreme Court has long since held that the protection is not absolute: people can't literally say just anything, anytime, at any place, and in any way they choose. (The most famous, although not the most relevant, example of this is the "clear and present danger" doctrine.)

None of the restrictions, however, relate to the *content* of the speech. No government authority on any level has the right to exercise any control over the political content of what you say through speeches, leaflets, and the like. The Supreme Court has repeatedly held that authorities do not have the power to deny or limit freedom of expression, either through specific laws (which would be invalid "on their face") or through interpretation of laws designed as public protection (invalid "as applied").

At the same time, however, the Court has created a legal distinction between "speech" and "conduct": the former, relating to the content of communications, is beyond control (except for the restrictions listed in footnote 1); the latter, relating to how that communication is made, isn't. Picketing, rallies, demonstrations, and the like are "conduct" and can be subject to reasonable² restrictions (including, in some cases, permit requirements) placed on them by local authorities. The restrictions can't be applied in a manner as to prevent the actions, only to regulate them. In making such restrictions, authorities must be acting in obvious good faith to support some important public interest. Laws and regulations requiring permits for use of public areas or facilities for political purposes can't give

1. They can prevent speech that is slanderous, libelous, obscene, or contains "fighting words", defined as language likely to provoke violence. This latter exception looks like a loophole where police could (for example) tell leafleters that their advocacy of disarmament will provoke violence among conservative townspeople, and thus block leafleting. In fact, this "reason" is invalid, as it's directed against the content of the leaflet (its point of view) and not at its language.

2. "Reasonable" is a key word in court decisions about civil liberties. Courts often say authorities can deny use of facilities or limit political activities (i.e., rallies, etc.) so long as the restrictions are "reasonable" and/or the action can "reasonably" take place elsewhere. (See, for example, the section on shopping centers, below.) Usually, however, these decisions don't define what is reasonable, leaving that to later decisions. Which means that if a dispute arises about whether local officials are being reasonable or not, it often can only be challenged by civil disobedience.

arbitrary authority to any official or agency to deny use of such facilities to any individual or groups: there must in those regulations be *stated* standards for denial of permits, which can't rest on personal judgements. Such regulations must be applied equally: a city can't allow the Young Republicans to hold a rally and refuse you permission to do the same.

"Publicly owned streets, sidewalks, and parks are so historically associated with the exercise of First Amendment rights that access to them...cannot be denied absolutely."³

To sum up: authorities can't control *what* you say, directly or indirectly, but they can exercise some control over just *how* you say it.

SOME SPECIFICS

RALLIES

You *can* be required to obtain a permit for a rally in a public place if it would deny use of the area to other persons, or if you wish to use some public facility (e.g., a bandshell or amphitheater in a public park). You *can* be required to obtain a permit for a PA system or sound truck (usually applying to units above a certain power). You *can't* be required to submit a list of speakers or texts of speeches, etc., to police before or after the event. You *can't* be required to pay the city's costs of "protecting" the rally (e.g., police overtime).

MARCHING

You do *not* have to get a permit to march if a) the march doesn't block pedestrian or vehicle traffic, b) it occurs on public areas (i.e., sidewalks, roads, etc., and c) marchers follow traffic laws. You *can* be required to get a permit under other conditions (usually, wanting to march in a roadway). You *can't* be required to limit the number of marchers or signs. You *can't* be prevented from walking in any area pedestrian traffic is normally allowed (subject to the above restrictions).

PICKETING

You *can't* be prevented from picketing a site for arbitrary reasons. You *can't* block pedestrian or vehicle traffic, or access to the target (or anywhere else); and you *can't* be required to limit the size or length of the demonstration if those conditions are met. You are *not* guilty of "obstructing traffic" or "blocking the sidewalk" if cars slow down or people stop to watch you. It is questionable whether or not you can be required to keep moving, but it is equally doubtful that an occasion will arise where this will be a serious problem.

LEAFLETING

You *can* distribute political information in public places and to private residences, provided, again, you don't block pedestrian or vehicle traffic. You do *not* need a peddler's license or a soliciting permit. You *can't* be prevented from leafleting on the grounds that it would create litter, and if someone accepts a leaflet then drops it on the street, you are *not* guilty of littering. You *can't* be required to submit copies to police. Calling attention to yourself by thrusting leaflets forward or speaking ("Care for a leaflet?" "Here's something you should read." And so on.) *cannot* be considered "accosting" or "harrassing" passersby.

3. Lloyd Corp. v. Tanner, 407 US 551 (Supreme Court, 1972)

SPECIAL PROBLEMS

DEALING WITH POLICE

Police will vary in their willingness to let you express your views without hassle. Some police live in blissful ignorance of the fact that they can't tell you (for example) that you can't leaflet in "their" town. Therefore, regional organizers should consult with local organizers to get a feel for what kinds of reaction they can expect. Local authorities should be contacted beforehand with an explanation of what the Walk is and what's planned for that town. They should be asked if there are any problems with those plans; if there are, determine them and try to iron them out. Confrontations, especially the last-minute kind, should be headed off if possible.

Additionally, concern has been expressed that the FBI may send negative information about the Walk to local police chiefs, tending to brand it the "enemy". Suggestions have been made as to how to deal with this possibility, some of which the national office is acting on. If any local organizers have reason to feel they are facing hostile police, contact the national office.

INTERSTATE HIGHWAYS

Interstates are under a joint state-federal jurisdiction, and restrictions about pedestrians vary from state to state, so check with your local Highway Department.

Most states bar pedestrians from limited-access roads, but few have any restrictions about open-access roads, even of the "superhighway" class. If in doubt, check.

SHOPPING CENTERS

None of your rights necessarily apply to privately-owned shopping centers. The Supreme Court has allowed such centers to bar political activity on their premises so long as that activity can reasonably be accomplished elsewhere. It is doubtful that a center can pick and choose what political groups it allows: most likely, to make the restriction stick, it must bar all political gatherings.

DENIAL OF PERMITS

Simply, authorities *cannot* deny you a permit for a political activity if they normally grant permits to other groups under similar conditions. If they do, you may be able to challenge it in court, or if the regulation applied to you is unconstitutional, you may be able to proceed without it. But this and the related issue of court injunctions against the Walk are extremely tricky questions and require legal advice.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Because the Walk has set itself a goal and has a purpose, related not only to the symbolic act of walking across the continent but to the day-to-day effort to reach people along the route with the Walk's message, it is recommended that the Walk avoid confrontation about violation of the above civil liberties unless it is necessary for the continuation of the Walk or for reaching the people of an area. Minor points should be ceded if possible; compromises should be made. If no way around confrontation can be found, the walkers can proceed to civil disobedience.

More generally, although civil disobedience actions will no doubt occur as part of local demonstrations, it is advised that the participants be local residents who can stay behind to continue the struggle, while long-distance walkers, who have the responsibility of providing continuity to the Walk, should continue on.



Resources

The following items are available through the National Walk Office.

CALLS

This 4 page brochure includes the call to join the Continental Walk signed by over 80 individuals and sponsored by 15 organizations, the purposes of the Walk, and coupon.

.10 each, 5 for .25, 100 for \$3.50, 1000 for \$30 (includes postage)

BUTTONS

Black lettering with a red WALK on white.

.25 for 1 to 9

.20 for 10 to 49

.15 for 50 to 99

.10 for 100 or more (plus postage)



POSTER

A 14 by 22 inch poster depicting the U.S. with the headline:

Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice

Leaving San Francisco January 31, Arriving Washington, D.C. early fall, 1976

Space for local announcement at the bottom.

.50 for 1 to 9

.40 for 10 to 24

.30 for 25 to 49

.20 for 50 to 99

.15 for 100 or more (plus postage)

BUMPER STICKER

3½ by 7½ inches, saying "Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice", with the outline of the U.S. in the background.

.50 for 1 to 9

.35 for 10 to 24

.20 for 25 to 49

.10 for 50 or more (plus postage)

LEAFLETS

A one-sided 8½ by 11 inch leaflet explaining "Why We Walk", with paragraphs on disarmament, jobs, better health care, racial and sexual justice, world development and disarming ourselves. Includes a coupon for further information. Other side to be used for local leaflet.

.02 each, \$1.50 for 100, \$10 for 1000 (plus postage)

WIN MAGAZINE

WIN's issue on the Walk includes articles on organizing, disarmament and social justice. .10 each (plus postage)

ORGANIZER'S MANUAL

For more copies of this Manual:

.40 for 1 to 9

.35 for 10 to 24

.25 for 25 to 50

.20 for 50 or more (plus postage)

COMMUNICATION

All organizers should be on the Walk National Office mailing list and be receiving the *Continental Walk News*. You should also let us know your organizing plans so we can share them in the *News*. The national office will let you know your regional coordinators and send a list of people in your area who have shown interest in the Walk upon request.

The Continental Walk for Disarmament and Social Justice
339 Lafayette Street
New York, N.Y. 10012

Literature List

AFTER VIETNAM: CONNETICUT'S READINESS TO MEET THE IMPACT OF REDUCTION OF DEFENSE EXPENDITURES. Available from the Office of State Planning, Department of Finance and Control, State Office Building, Hartford, CT. 06115. An excellent example of the kind of study every state should be doing.

ARMS, DEFENSE POLICY AND ARMS CONTROL. Stephen Braubard (ed.) An updated edition of "Arms Control"(1960), F.A. Long's stocktaking of the changes 15 years brought is a particularly valuable contribution to this new 1975 edition. Other essays by Richard Falk, Marshall Shulman, Thomas Scheling and G.W. Rathjens. Daedalus, \$2.95.

COOL ARM OF DESTRUCTION. "Moral Weapons and Moral Sensitivity" Westminster Press (1974) \$5.95

DEFENSE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE, by Commander Stephen King-Hall. "A British military man offers a key to the H-bomb deadlock, Unilateral Disarmament plus nonviolent resistance." A good book written by a "non-pacifist" 243pp. \$2.75 (NSI)

THE DEPTH OF MILITARISM by Robert Bilheimer. Shows how the high priority given to military force in the U.S. is threatening the identity and character of the American people. free (FOR)

DISARMAMENT OR DESTRUCTION? Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (1975) Based on data from SIPRI 1975 Yearbook, reviews present state of military spending in the world, and existing arms control agreements. (CW)

THE ECONOMY OF DEATH by Richard J. Barnet. A handbook for the layperson concerned about the military-industrial complex. It contains suggestions for action. Antheneum, New York, 1969. \$2.95

EVERYTHING YOU EVER WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT DISARMAMENT, BUT DIDN'T HAVE THE TIME TO LEARN by Homer Jack. Excellent, a must. 1975 .25 (CW)

GAMES , STRATEGIES AND PEACE by Irving Louis Horowitz. The problem of moving beyond deterrence; discusses the "games theories" employed by Rand Corp. and others. 64pp. .35 (WRL)

IN ARMS WE TRUST *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* (April 1975) An argument for unilateral nuclear disarmament and conversion.

IN PLACE OF WAR. AFSC working party (1967) \$1.95 (AFSC or WRL)

LET'S REVERSE THE ARMS RACE by Bill Rose and Walter Clemens, Jr. These three separate essays argue that the strategy of peace initiative acts can reverse the arms race. 1975, 10pp. .25 (WWW)

MAY MAN PREVAIL? by Erich Fromm. Is peace still possible in an era of pathological political thinking? Contains chapter on "suggestions for peace", 252pp. \$1.45 (WRL)

THE MORALS OF EXTERMINATION by Lewis Mumford. The breakdown of our moral responsibility and initiative regarding new weapons of mass extermination. 14pp., .10 (WRL)

NATIONAL ECONOMIC CONVERSION COMMISSION, RESPONSES TO SUBCOMMITTEE QUESTIONNAIRE. September 1970. Available from the Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization, Committee on Government Operations, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510. Replies from industries, mayors, and labor unions to a questionnaire asking their views on S.1285 and conversion plans in progress.

NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT OR NUCLEAR WAR? by Frank Barnaby. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, states the case for nuclear disarmament as a first step toward a comprehensive program of disarmament. 1975, 27pp. \$2 (CW or WWW)

THE POLITICAL EQUIVALENT OF WAR by Gene Sharp from *International Conciliation*, 1965. Good article on nonviolent defense. .60 (CW)

POLITICS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION by Gene Sharp. Three volumes, Vol. 1 *Power and Struggle* \$2.95; Vol. 2 *The Methods of Nonviolent Action* \$4.95; Vol. 3 *The Dynamics of Nonviolent Action* \$5.95. Sharp describes the origins of power in consent and maintains that when that consent is withdrawn and nonviolent tactics employed a powerful instrument of social change is created. Porter Sargent, 1973. (WWW)

PREFACE TO DISARMAMENT by Marion H. McVitty. A description of where we are, the need for making general and complete disarmament the goal, given the nature of modern weapons, and the immediate steps which we can take now. 72pp., 1971 Public Affairs Press, \$1. (WWW)

PSYCHIATRIC ASPECTS OF THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR by the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry. Authoritative, quietly explosive indictment of war system. 94pp., \$2 (WRL)

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF POWER by Ronald Sampson. Sampson answers in detail: "What price do we pay politically, and morally once we let ourselves be controlled?" 247pp. \$1.95 (WRL)

RESEARCH SPONSORED BY THE U.S. ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY ON THE IMPACT OF DEFENSE AND DISARMAMENT IN THE U.S. Available from the Library, ACDA, U.S. Dept. of State, Washington, D.C. 20520. The Agency periodically compiles and gives precise and the availability of case studies on conversion.

ROOTS OF WAR by Richard Barnet. A comprehensive survey of the forces in American life that have kept this country in war for more than a generation. \$1.65 (FOR)

THE SIMPLE ART OF MURDER by Erich Prokosch. NARMIC pamphlet on anti-personnel weapons and their developers. 88pp. \$1 (WRL or AFSC)

SWORDS INTO PLOWSHARES: A PROGRAM FOR CONVERSION by Derek Shearer. How to shift from a war to a peace economy. .30 (FOR)

TAKING APART THE WAR MACHINE - PEACE CONVERSION AND THE B-1 BOMBER by George Lakey from the Oct. 2, 1975 WZN .30 (CW)

TO END WAR by Robert Pickus and Robert Woito. Annotated bibliography of 663 war/peace items plus material on organizations, periodicals, actions projects, etc. 261pp. \$1.65 (WRL and WWW)

UNILATERAL INITIATIVES AND DISARMAMENT by Mulford Q. Sibley. Proposes a policy for the U.S. which would release funds for national and world development. 64pp. .35 (WRL and AFSC)

WAR WITHIN MAN by Erich Fromm. Another significant contribution by Dr. Fromm on the study of deterrence and alternatives. 56pp. .35 (WRL)

WAR WITHOUT END: AMERICAN PLANNING FOR THE NEXT VIETNAMS by Michael Klare. The development of more "effective" methods for future wars. "Michael Klare shows that the real concern of the U.S. is not that of maintaining a precarious peace . . . but that of subduing or deterring liberation movements in the third world," says John Swomley. \$2.95 (FOR and WRL)

WAR WITHOUT VIOLENCE, NONVIOLENCE IN NATIONAL DEFENSE by Andres Boserup and Andrew Mack. Based not on moral judgements about what is right but on practical judgements about what will work, the authors maintain that a nation trained in nonviolent techniques would be more secure and less vulnerable to destruction than a nation trained in the techniques of nuclear deterrence. Shocken Press, 1975, 194 pp. \$2.95

WHY THE ARMS RACE? by David R. Inglis. Shows how the need to provide jobs, not military "security" is now the primary spur for the U.S. in the arms race. Better alternatives suggested. free (FOR)

WORLD MILITARY AND SOCIAL EXPENDITURES by Ruth Sivard. A detailed study concludes that some \$240 billion was spent globally for arms in 1973, while \$13 billion was spent for international development efforts. Institute for World Order, 1974, 30pp. \$2 (WWW)

Addresses of American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), and War Resisters League (WRL) are on page 31.

Continental Walk (CW), 339 Lafayette St., New York, N.Y. 10012

Nonviolent Studies Institute (NSI), 912 E. 31st St., Kansas City, MO. 64109 (816) 931-2093

World Without War Bookstore (WWW), 110 S. Dearborn, Room 820, Chicago, IL. 60603

IN ARMS WE TRUST?

Recently prepared by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, this brochure outlines the U.S. Military spending for 1976. This well done brochure tells us "What we are spending on military activities", "What we get for our money", and "What we could get for our money". .05 each, \$45 for 100, \$42 for a thousand, plus postage. Order through the Continental Walk office or the FOR, Box 271, Nyack, N.Y. 10960.

Sponsoring Organizations

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102. Founded in 1917. Quaker organization with regional offices across the country involved in research, education, training and action involving foreign and domestic issues of peace, social justice, and international relief. Films, speakers and literature available.

CATHOLIC PEACE FELLOWSHIP 339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012. Founded in 1964. Pacifist Catholic group affiliated with the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Initiates educational and action programs concerning peace and social justice issues in the context of Christian nonviolence, with an emphasis on lifestyle. Speakers and literature available.

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GRAY PANTHERS 3700 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104. Founded in 1970. A national movement to oppose ageism in its various cultural and institutional forms and to struggle for radical social change which will insure the possibility of freedom and dignity for all persons.

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR UNIVERSAL UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY 235 E. 49th St., New York, N.Y. 10017. Founded in 1973. National coalition with over 100 affiliates pressing the demand for total amnesty for all war resisters. Contacts in every state. Films, speakers and literature available.

PEOPLE'S PARTY 1 Thomas Circle, Washington, D.C. 20005. Founded in 1972. A national coalition of state and local organizations and individuals working together to build socialism. Working for a classless society, and for production for people's needs rather than for private profit. *Grass Roots* is their monthly publication.

PROMOTING ENDURING PEACE P.O. Box 103, Woodmont, Ct. 06460. Founded in 1949. Attempts to build 'bridges of understanding between people's of the world'. Conducts International Goodwill Seminars, sponsors annual Gandhi Peace Award, publishes reprints of articles on peace and social justice. Literature list available.

SANE 318 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20002. Founded in 1957. Peace organization involved with nuclear disarmament and the arms race, military spending, etc., especially focused on bringing constituent pressure on officials in Washington. Films, speakers, and literature list available.

SOCIALIST PARTY, U.S.A. 2921 North Second Street, Milwaukee, Wi. 53212. Founded in 1901. Party of Eugene Debs and Norman Thomas, committed to socialism and democracy. Provides speakers, literature on request.

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE 334 Auburn Ave. NE, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. Founded in 1957 by Martin Luther King Jr. Committed to nonviolent social change. Organizers of most of the nonviolent actions in the South, they are presently headed by Rev. Ralph Abernathy. Literature and speakers available.

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE 339 Lafayette St., New York, N.Y. 10012. Founded in 1923. Radical pacifist organization advocating revolution without guns, justice without jails, war tax resistance, and a more just economic order. Co-publisher of *WIN* magazine, speakers and literature available.

WAR TAX RESISTANCE 3359 Canyon Crest Rd., Altadena, Ca. 91001. Founded in 1969. An organization made up of people who are refusing to pay war or military taxes. Resisted income and phone tax money is then channeled into People's Life Funds, and lent or granted to community groups. Literature and counseling available.

WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE 145 S. 13th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Founded in 1961. Women's group concerned with social change issues, especially disarmament and new national priorities. Local groups work politically, picket, support peace candidates, etc. Literature available.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Founded in 1915. National women's peace group founded by Jane Addams, working for peace and social change with an emphasis on peace education materials. Speakers and literature available.

DO THE CONTINENTAL WALK

by Charlie King

(chorus)

If we gotta walk (walk) walk (walk) across this whole continent
that's what we'll do
If we gotta talk (talk) talk (talk) to every living soul in this country
we'll do that too
Cause we're tired of hiding, tired of paying,
and everywhere we go all the people are saying
Stop (stop) stop (stop) building H-bombs
and build a better home instead.

My bicentennial event is I can't pay the rent
but the Pentagon wants more bombs
We're blowing every last penny, every last chance,
so Jerry Ford can sit and watch the rabble dance
On a closed circuit TV from a concrete bunker
with his cronies all around him in his home beneath the mountain
The cities are dyin, the suburbs are paying,
but everywhere we go all the people are saying
Stop (stop) stop (stop) stop building H-bombs
and build a better home instead.

(chorus)

Lets have an underground test of the thing we do best
kill, kill, kill
Can we kill every earthling? We can do that and more
we can kill them ten times over don't that make you secure
We got a stockpile turn this world to a rockpile,
when the few survivors crawl out, we can zap'em with our fall-out,
We won't be led to slaughter like nice little sheep,
well Mr. Ford you better listen to the voice of the people saying
Stop (stop) stop (stop) stop building building H-bombs
and build a better home instead.

(chorus)

When Henry says we ain't doomed he's rubbing S.A.L.T. in our wounds
its a fifty megaton lie
Nobodies better off and no one's protected,
except the ghouls who make the bombs and the fools we elected
Our missile deployment won't stop unemployment,
and our taxes feed that glutton with his finger on the button,
We got the ultimate weapon, we know you can't beat'em,
but we'd like them so much better if we could just eat'em
Stop (stop) stop (stop) stop building H-bombs
and build a better home instead.

(chorus)

So come on vote with your feet, lets all take to the street
and do the Continental Walk
The people are walk'in across this wide nation
cause they never want to listen to that CONALRAD station,
Folks are getting bolder cause they want to get older,
got the power and we love it, take your mushroom cloud and shove it,
We're making for the White House and we're making it clear
the revolution that we want in bicentennial year is to
Stop (stop) stop (stop) stop building H-bombs
and build a better home instead.

(chorus)

DO THE CONTINENTAL WALK is one of 13 songs on an album by Charlie King entitled *OLD DREAMS AND NEW NIGHTMARES*. Songs include THE GOOD OL' CIA, WHIP INFLATION NOW BLUES, I DON'T FEEL SORRY FOR YOU MR. NIXON, THIS WORLD IS ONE, AN OLD AND SIMPLE DREAM, and others, all written and sung by Charlie.

This album is a collective effort of many friends and artists, including folks who are working on the Walk. It was produced independantly on a small scale. It is an anti-profit venture, all proceeds going to people's movements working for peace and justice.

The album is available through the national Walk office. Proceeds from the sale of these albums will go to the Walk. To order *Old Dreams and New Nightmares*, please send \$5 for each album, plus \$.75 postage & handling to:

Continental Walk

339 Lafayette St.

New York, N.Y. 10012

Organizers: If you wish to order 10 or more, please send \$3 (which includes postage & handling) for each album. Suggested retail price is \$5, with the proceeds going towards local organizing for the Walk.

The CONTINENTAL WALK
339 Lafayette St.
New York, NY 10012