



The 99% Spring
TRAINING GUIDE

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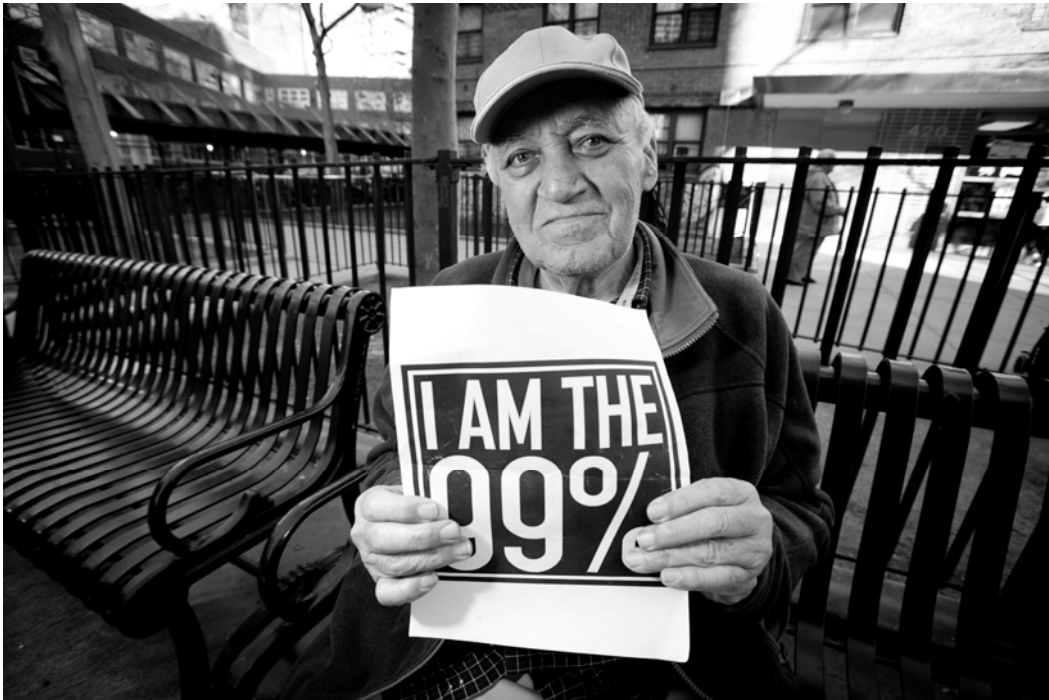
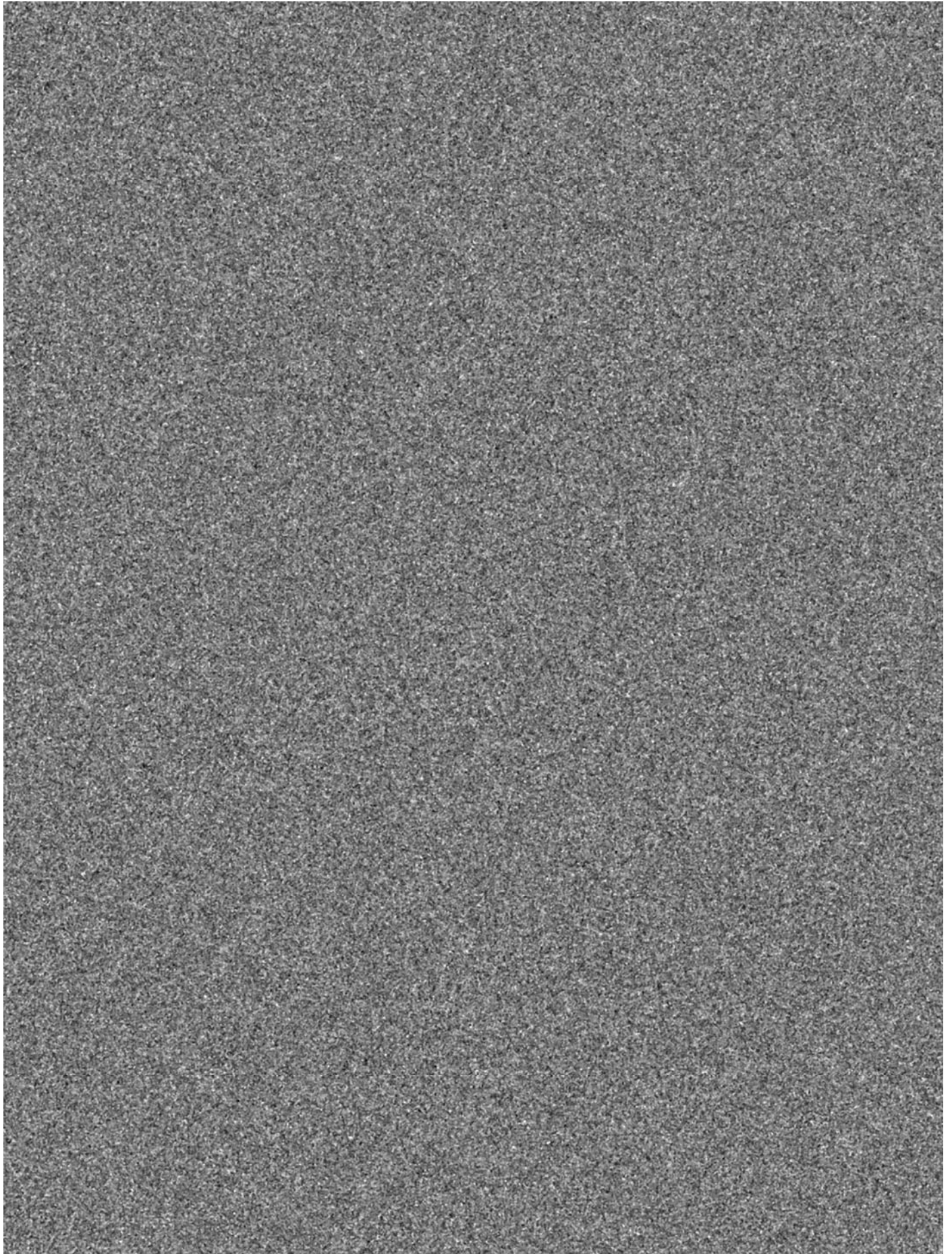


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Welcome

Why We're Here

Welcome to the 99% Spring! You are holding the participant guide for the 99% Spring Trainings. This guide provides notes, hand-outs, and tools for you to reference during the training and to carry with you beyond it to help you plan and design your own actions.

So why are we here?

We're here because our country is at a crossroads, and we have a choice to make.

As a generation we must choose between greater wealth for a few, or opportunity for many; tax breaks for the richest, or a fair shot for the rest of us; a government that can be bought by the highest bidder, or a democracy that is truly of the people, by the people, and for the people.

The choice is in our hands.

On February 15th leaders from across the country signed onto the letter that follows, and came together to launch the 99% Spring training program. Our goal is to train 100,000 people this spring in the history, philosophy and skills of non violent direct action

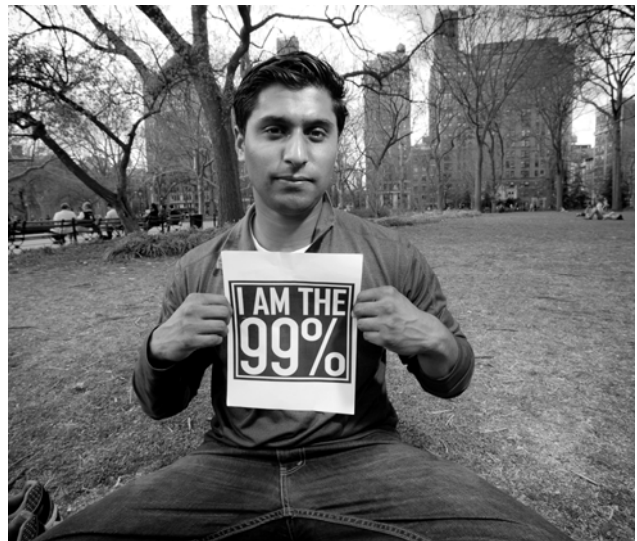


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Why?

For over 40 years a few in the 1% have been taking our wealth and now they're stealing our democracy. With the recent Supreme Court decision that allows corporations to spend unlimited money in the political process, we enter 2012 knowing that the stranglehold the 1% have on our democracy will only increase.

This year we will draw a line in the sand and say "no more!"

So this training isn't just about training. We know that change is only possible when our feet hit the street, our bodies rise up and our voices cry out. This training is focused on helping you build the community, focus and skills necessary to launch your own local 99% spring efforts to hold both corporate interests and our elected officials accountable to create an economy and a democracy that works for ALL of us.

To register your actions and to tell the story of your 99% spring, join us at the99spring.com.

99% Spring Launch Letter

February 15, 2012

Things should never have reached this point.

Every day, the American Dream seems a little farther away. More of our grandparents are being thrown from their homes. Our mothers and fathers can't retire because their pension funds tanked. Our brothers and sisters are burdened by student loan debt. For our children, budget cuts have resulted in crumbling schools, skyrocketing class sizes, and teachers being denied the support they need to do their best. Our friends and family are being denied collective bargaining rights in their workplaces and are falling further and further behind. Our neighbors are being poisoned by pollution in our air and water. The numbers are staggering: in recent years, millions of jobs have been destroyed, homes foreclosed, and an unconscionable number of children live in poverty.

And worst of all: this is no accident. It is a result of rampant greed—the deliberate manipulation of our democracy and our economy by a tiny minority in the 1%, by those who amass ever more wealth and power at our expense.

We are at a crossroads as a country. We have a choice to make. Greater wealth for a few or opportunity for many. Tax breaks for the richest or a fair shot for the rest of us. A government that can be bought by the highest bidder, or a democracy that is truly of the people, by the people, and for the people. The choice is in our hands. This spring, we will act on that choice and rise up in the tradition of our forefathers and foremothers. We will not be complicit with the suffering in our families for another year. We will prepare ourselves for sustained nonviolent direct action in the spirit of Mahatma Ghandi, Martin Luther King, Jr., Cesar Chavez, and many others.

From April 9-15 we will gather across America, 100,000 strong, in homes, places of worship, campuses and the streets to join together in the work of reclaiming our country. We will organize trainings to:

1. Tell the story of our economy: how we got here, who's responsible, what a different future could look like, and what we can do about it
2. Learn the history of non-violent direct action, and
3. Get into action on our own campaigns to win change.

This spring we rise! We will reshape our country with our own hands and feet, bodies and hearts. We will take non-violent action to forge a new destiny one block, one neighborhood, one city, one state at a time.

We know great change is possible. We inherit a history of everyday people standing up for their own dignity, freedom, and self-determination, shaping our direction as a country. The seamstress in Alabama who launched a bus boycott. The farmers in New England and Virginia who imagined we could be a free nation. The workers in Flint, Michigan who occupied their plant to win collective bargaining rights. The farmworkers in California who liberated our fields. The women in New York who dreamed they could one day speak with equal voice. The mother who stood up in Love Canal to stop the poisoning of her community. And the students who risked their lives during Freedom Summer to register voters.

In the last year alone we watched the teachers and fire fighters of Wisconsin stand for the rights of workers. And we joined those who Occupied Wall Street, inspiring us to stand with the 99%.

We will rise this spring, because we DO hold these truths to be self evident—that all men and women are created equal, that we are endowed by our Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness.

Will you rise with us? Can we count on you to join us April 9th to 15th to stand with the 99% for America?

Sarita Gupta, <i>Jobs With Justice</i>	Brian Kettenring, <i>Leadership Center for the Common Good</i>	LeeAnn Hall, <i>Alliance for a Just Society</i>
Bob King, <i>United Auto Workers</i>	James Hoffa Jr., <i>International Brotherhood of the Teamsters</i>	Leslie Moody, <i>The Partnership for Working Families</i>
George Goehl, <i>National Peoples Action</i>	Randy Jackson, <i>UNITY</i>	Teresa Cheng, <i>United Students Against Sweatshops</i>
Ai-jen Poo, <i>National Domestic Workers Alliance</i>	Saket Soni, <i>National Guestworker Alliance</i>	Arturo Carmona, <i>Presente.org</i>
Justin Ruben, <i>MoveOn.org</i>	Bill McKibben & May Boeve, <i>350.org</i>	Robin McGehee & Heather Cronk, <i>Get Equal</i>
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Mary Kay Henry, <i>Service Employees International Union</i>	Rachel LaForest, <i>Right to the City Alliance</i>	Bob Nicklas, <i>American Federation of Government Employees</i>
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Van Jones & Natalie Foster, <i>Rebuild the Dream</i>	Richard Hopson, <i>Alliance of Californians for Community Empowerment</i>	Chris Gabriele, <i>People Organized for Westside Renewal (POWER)</i>
Rashad Robinson, <i>Color of Change</i>	Tim Carpenter, <i>Progressive Democrats of America</i>	Chris Hicks, <i>Student Labor Action Project</i>
John Wilhelm, <i>UNITE-HERE</i>	Bob Callahan, <i>Change to Win</i>	Corrine Fowler, <i>Colorado Progressive Coalition</i>
Phil Radford, <i>Greenpeace</i>	Michael Leon Guerrero, <i>Grassroots Global Justice Alliance</i>	Phaedra Ellis Lamkins, <i>Green for All</i>
John Cavanagh, <i>Institute for Policy Studies</i>	Roger Hickey, <i>Campaign for America's Future</i>	Lillian Walker Shelton, <i>DC Jobs with Justice</i>
Scott Reed, <i>PICO National Network</i>	David Donnelly & Nicholas Nyhart, <i>Public Campaign Action Fund</i>	Judy Hertz, <i>Midwest Academy</i>
Tracy Van Slyke & Ilana Berger, <i>New Bottom Line</i>	Aaron Ostrom, <i>Fuse Washington</i>	Eric Byler, <i>The Coffee Party</i>
Lawrence Guyot, <i>Veterans of the Mississippi Civil Rights Movement</i>	Jeff Ordower, <i>Missourians Organizing for Reform and Empowerment</i>	Victor Menotti, <i>International Forum on Globalization</i>
Julian Bond, <i>SNCC Legacy Project</i>	Karen Scharff, <i>Citizen Action of New York</i>	Joe Hansen, <i>UFCW International Union</i>
Leo Gerard, <i>United Steel Workers</i>	Marianne Manilov, <i>Engage</i>	Sulma Arias, <i>Sunflower Community Action</i>
Daniel Cantor, <i>Working Families Party</i>	Bruce Klipple, <i>United Electrical Workers Union</i>	Don Carlson, <i>Illinois People's Action</i>
Larry Cohen, <i>Communications Workers of America</i>	Pablo Alvarado, <i>National Day Laborers Organizing Network</i>	Jennifer Ritter, <i>Lakeview Action Coalition</i>
Victor Sanchez, Jr., <i>United States Student Association</i>		Bob Fulkerson, <i>Progressive Leadership Alliance of Nevada</i>
Becky Tarbotton, <i>Rainforest Action Network</i>		
Randi Weingarten, <i>American Federation of Teachers</i>		

OUR Goals for This Training:

- Form a local community of people committed to non violent direct action to forge a more just economy.
- Tell our family's stories to let go of our shame, discover what connects us and build solidarity.
- Learn how we got here—who broke our economy, and how others like us have responded in the past.
- Create a vision for a new, more just economy.
- Begin to prepare ourselves personally and as a community for non violent direct action.

YOUR Goals for This Training

What skills and expertise can you contribute?

What are you most eager to learn?

What are your plans for a 99% Spring?

A Beginning, Not an End

Nonviolent direct action includes a range of tactics, from protests to risking arrest in civil disobedience. The goals of this training include introducing ourselves to the history, mechanics, and strategic value of nonviolent direct action, and the training will offer some general action-planning tools. ***This training is a beginning, not an end:*** if you are interested in taking the next step in training, legal information, or learning how to design and implement a higher-risk action, please seek out the resources from our organizational partners who can offer more thorough training in this area. Resources are listed at the end of this guide.

We are the 99%

All popular movements are grounded in the suffering and hope of everyday people. Our stories capture both the challenge and the possibility in our lives. They move us to action, and help us form the community we need in order to build power to win.

Stories have been an integral part of the Occupy movement as a visit to the We Are the 99% tumblr blog will show you. By sharing our personal stories of struggle and triumph in these challenging times, we lay the groundwork for a deeper level of unity that honors our differences.

There are people from all walks of life in the 99%: poor people, middle class people and everyone in between, people of color, white folks, native-born and immigrants, women and men. We all have unique life experiences. For decades a few in the 1% have tried to divide us according to those experiences. As we join together now as the 99%, sharing our stories with each other will help us heal those divisions, creating solidarity while respecting our uniqueness.



Photo by Andrew Stern and Jeremy Baron of Starr Street Studios.

We are often isolated in our shame about our personal struggles, particularly around money, but each of our individual stories is part of a much bigger story. By collecting our individual stories of struggle and triumph together, we can see that our struggles are not about individual problems or bad luck; they are caused by a system that's been rigged to benefit the few at the expense of many. Even though we often experience these struggles alone, they are in fact collective problems.

Our stories motivate us to fight. They can also remind us to treat each other kindly since we are each facing our own challenges. We need each other to win.

Storytelling is a Practice of Leadership

This spring we are asking you to step up and lead locally, to rebuild our economy from the ground up. One definition of leadership from Marshall Ganz who organized with Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers is that leadership is accepting responsibility for enabling others to achieve shared purpose in the face of uncertainty.

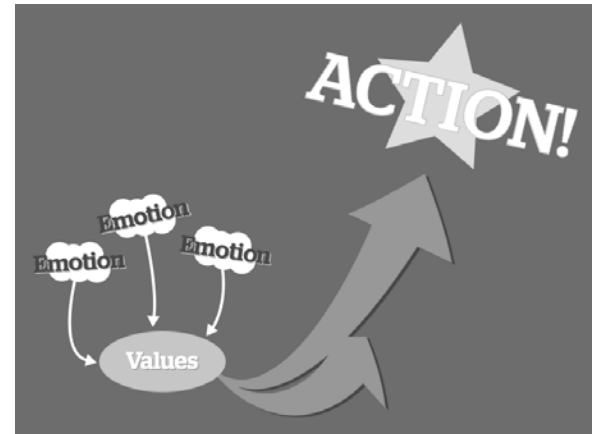
What do stories have to do with this definition of leadership? You can't ask others to follow you if they don't understand what your intentions are, and why you are called to lead. Also, stories are how we learn to make choices and construct our identities and purpose—as individuals, as communities and organizations, and as nations.

The Head & the Heart

There are two ways we understand the world: through our heads (strategy & analysis) and through our hearts (story & motivation). To achieve shared purpose, we as leaders must employ BOTH the head and the heart in order to mobilize others to act on behalf of shared values. In other words, we engage others in interpreting why they should change their world (their motivation) and how they can act to change it (their strategy). Public narrative is the “why”—the art of translating values into action through stories.

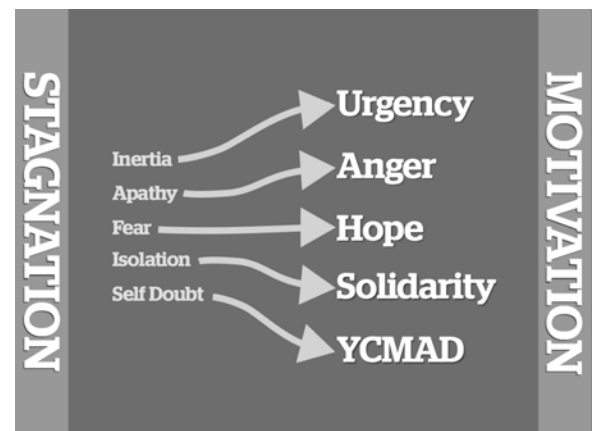
Values Inspire Action Through Emotion

We don’t think our values; we feel our values. Often we don’t realize what we value in the world until we hear a story or witness an injustice that stirs emotions within us. Emotions inform us of what we value in ourselves, in others, and in the world, and they enable us to express the motivational content of our values to others. Because stories allow us to express our values not as abstract principles, but as lived experience, they have the power to move others to action. As you listen to each others’ stories think about the values these stories convey.



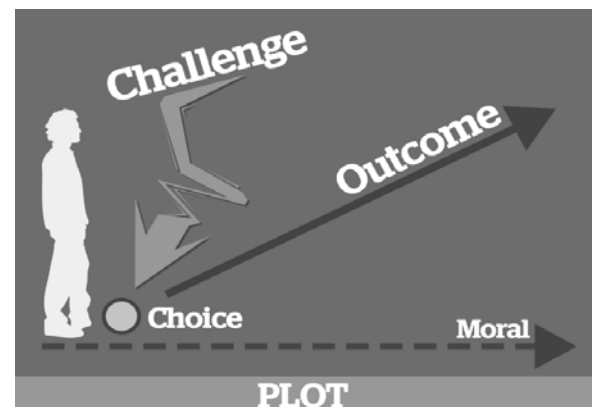
Some Emotions Inhibit Action, Others Motivate Action

As leaders we often encounter individuals or groups where mindful action is inhibited by inertia, fear, self-doubt, isolation, and apathy. The job of a leader is not to tell people to stop feeling this way but rather use storytelling to move people from feelings of stagnation to feelings of motivation - urgency, hope, YCMAD (you can make a difference), solidarity, and anger. The language of emotion is the language of movement—they actually share the same root word. Stories mobilize emotions of action to overcome emotions that inhibit us from mindful action.



Story Structure: Challenge, Choice, Outcome

Every human story has a plot. A plot begins with a challenge that confronts a character with an urgent need to pay attention, to make a choice for which he or she is unprepared. The choice yields an outcome, and the outcome teaches a moral. A good story allows the listener to empathetically identify with the character and “feel” the moral. We hear “about” someone’s courage; we are also inspired by it. The story of the character and his or her choices encourages listeners to think about their own values and challenges, and inspires them with new ways of thinking about how to make choices in their own lives.



Key Themes of Our Stories

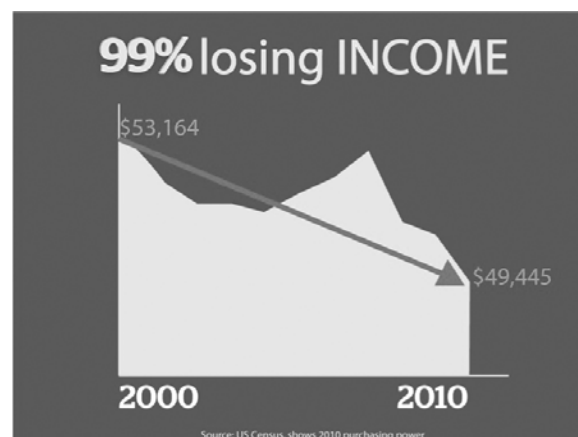
Our stories are individual, but they also reflect the time that we live in. As you hear others' stories think about the connections between us. What themes do you see?

Here are a few we know for sure:

The 99% Losing Income

The income of the typical American household was lower in 2010 than it was in 2000. Many workers live in poverty or just barely above it. One in five jobs in the United States today is a low wage job. The number of workers who are members of unions has fallen below 7% in the private sector; the erosion of collective bargaining has eroded wages for all workers, union and nonunion alike. Unemployment rates continue to be painfully high, and are even higher for young people and communities of color. A record number of Americans have been jobless for six months or longer.

The "99% vs. 1%" frame has sharpened the debate on economic inequality. But economic inequality is only part of the story. The story of our economic challenges is also shaped deeply by race, gender and nationality.



Racial inequality in the workplace means that African Americans and Latinos continue to earn less than white workers; workers of color are more likely to be channeled into low-wage jobs, and still face outright pay discrimination even when doing identical work. Women, too, are channeled into jobs that pay less than jobs dominated by men, and women continue to face unequal pay for equal (or comparable) work.

Persistent inequality by race and gender means there are stark differences in earnings and other economic outcomes for different groups in our society. In 2011, white men who worked full time earned a median of \$856 per week, while women (of all races and ethnicities) earned \$684; African Americans earned a median income of \$615 and Latinos earned \$549. Women – particularly women of color -- have significantly higher poverty rates than men; more than a third of women who head families lived in poverty in 2010. For African-American women, it was more than 40%.



In addition to facing widespread social discrimination and violence, LGBT people have higher poverty rates than the population at large. Studies have shown that LGBT people receive lower wages compared to their straight counterparts, and it is legal to fire an employee for being gay in many states. Transgender people and other gender non-conforming people have some of the highest rates of unemployment of any social groupings.

The 99% In Debt

To survive with lower wages and less job security, families have taken on more debt, leaving more families living on the edge of financial disaster. The U.S. poverty rate has risen to over 15%, and many families are only one or two paychecks away from slipping into poverty. Analysts believe that 43% of all households - and 65% of households of color - are living on the edge of poverty.

The 99% Insecure At Home

More than six million homes have been lost to foreclosure, and 29% of homeowners are underwater. Because of racially biased lending policies, the foreclosure crisis has hit homeowners of color even harder than others.

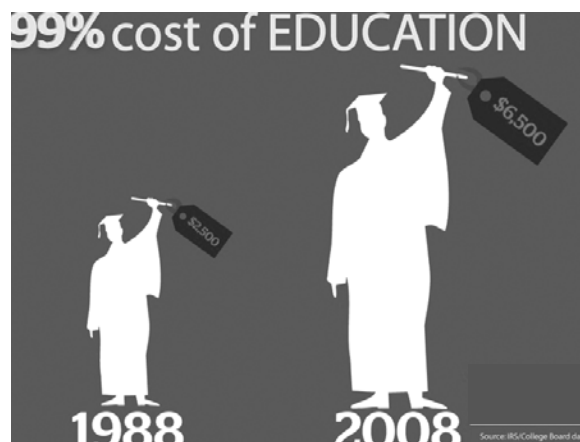
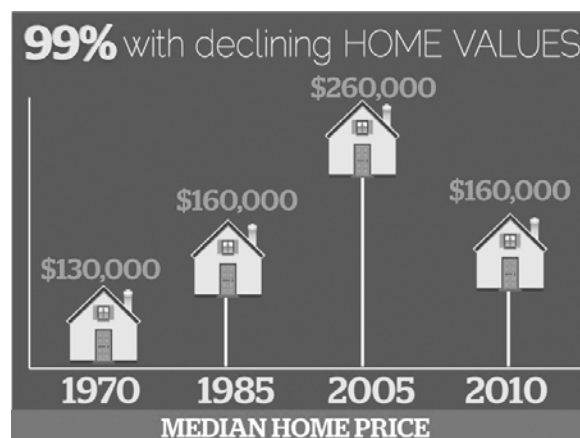
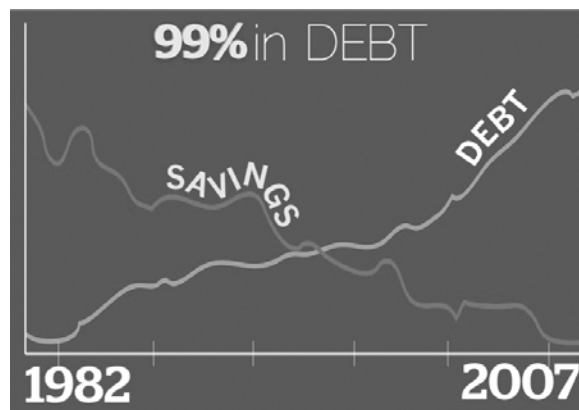
Many renters are struggling with the rising costs of rent, while others have lost their homes after their landlords were foreclosed on. Public housing continues to face cuts, causing more low-income families to face the prospect of homelessness.

The 99% Can't Retire

Our safety net is being torn apart just when it's needed most. Elders have lost pensions and medical coverage. Social programs are being cut at the state and national level because corporations and the wealthy refuse to pay their fair share of taxes. The cost of healthcare is rising, but Medicaid is being cut in state after state. The aging of the Baby Boomer generation means that more people will be in need of long-term care that fewer people will be able to afford. Already four of ten workers are not part of any employer-based retirement plan.

The 99% Education Gap

While our parents and grandparents can't retire, our kids can't afford a decent education. College is being priced out of reach for many. The costs of college are rising, while government support for education is dropping. As a result student loan debt has skyrocketed, while there are fewer good jobs for college grads when they leave school.



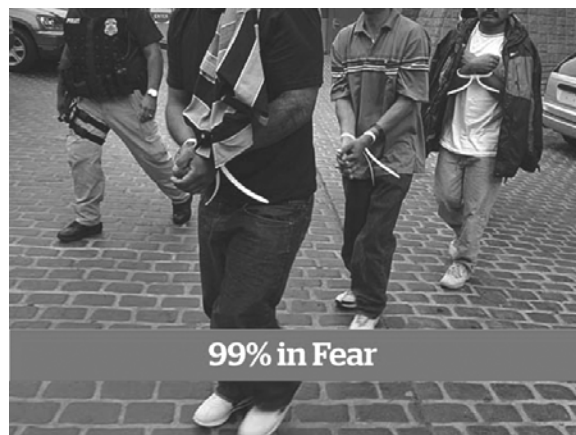
The 99% Poisoned

The 1% has been getting rich by destroying our planet and making all of our futures uncertain. The dirty energy that the 1% uses to power their system is creating many problems for the 99% and leading us towards a global climate crisis. Fossil fuels increase burdens on the 99% by creating health problems and environmental disasters. They are also fueling global climate change, which creates extreme weather and unstable conditions that intensify all the other problems we face. These burdens fall disproportionately on communities of color, Indigenous, and low income communities in the global North and in the global South.



The 99% Living In Fear

Twelve million people who work, pay taxes, and are part of our communities are excluded from the full American family because they are immigrants. Decades without immigration reform have created a second class of immigrant workers who are exploited by unscrupulous employers. While wages are stolen from immigrant workers on a regular basis, immigrant workers continue pay billions of dollars in taxes.



Which of these are themes of *your* story?

Additional Resources:

There are many sources of inspiration for this story-sharing methodology, and we encourage you to learn more about the important role that story-telling can play in struggles for social change.

1. "We are the 99%" tumblr, <http://wearethe99percent.tumblr.com>.
2. Marshall Ganz, Harvard University, <http://www.hks.harvard.edu/fs/mganz/publications.htm>. The New Organizing Institute has developed training materials to help community organizers and activists to draw on this framework; these materials are available at: <http://neworganizing.com/content/toolbox>.
3. Story sharing has played a critical role in the growing movement of domestic workers in the United States, helping different stakeholders in the struggle - domestic workers, employers, children of domestic workers and many others - to find sources of connection in their different stories of giving and receiving care. Ai-jenPoo, "Organizing With Love: Lessons from the New York Domestic Workers Bill of Rights Campaign," available at: <http://www.domesticworkersunited.org/media/files/287/OrganizingWithLoveFinal.pdf>

Small Group Agenda

Objectives:

- Practice telling your own story of the 99%
- Identify shared experiences and differences in your stories. Begin to identify shared challenges and shared hopes that bring you together as a local 99% community

1. Break down into groups of four, ideally with people you don't know from different backgrounds or life experiences.
2. Choose a small group facilitator and a timekeeper who will take responsibility for keeping time and letting everyone speak. 1 min.
3. Take five minutes to write your story on the "I am the 99%" card. Your story could speak to your past struggles, your triumphs, the experiences of your families or fears about your future. 5 min.
4. After five minutes, everyone in the small group should go around and read out your stories to each other. You will have four minutes to tell your story, elaborate on it and take questions. 4 min each, 16 min total
5. Use your remaining time to reflect together on the commonalities and differences in your experiences. Some possible questions to use for your discussion are: 5 min.
 - What were the similarities in our experiences?
 - What were the differences?
 - Who is the 99%?
 - What do we share in common?
6. During the break, take a picture of yourself with your story and post it to 99spring.tumblr.com/submit

Write your story here:

I am the 99%

Participant Worksheets: Creating our Shared Story

Fill in the blanks below, based on things you've heard during today's training.

We are _____, _____, and _____.
[write in different communities represented in this training]

We are struggling with _____, _____, and _____.
[write in different challenges people shared during the training]

We want a different future where _____.
[write in your shared hopes and dreams]

We are the 99%, and we are coming together to write a new story for our country.

Example:

We are union workers, immigrant workers, unemployed, homeowners facing foreclosure, students facing rising debt, seniors who can't afford the care we need to live with dignity, and parents worried about what the climate crisis will mean for our children.

We are struggling with losing our homes, not being able to take our child to the emergency room, trying to live on \$8 an hour, breathing in air from the coal plant down the street, paying \$500 a month in student loans.

We want a different future where we don't worry about the sheriff locking us out of our homes, where we feel dignity and respect at work, and where we can imagine again that our children will do better than us.

We are the 99%, and now we are coming together to write a new story for our country.

What Happened to Our Economy?

The Story of Our Economy

The story of our country is the story of a long struggle to make the promise of democracy real for the 99%, a struggle that has taken place against the active opposition of a few in the 1%.

For 250 years, generation after generation in our country has struggled for freedom and opportunity. From the Boston Tea Party to Mississippi Freedom Summer, from the sit down strikes of the 1930s to Occupy Wall Street today, we are part of a long tradition of people and movements working toward greater equality in our democracy and in our economy.

The Struggle Toward Democracy

There is a tension between equality of voice and inequality of wealth that goes all the way back to our founding as a country. In the Declaration of Independence Thomas Jefferson wrote that “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.”

These words moved the leaders of 13 colonies to form a new nation, the United States of America. But they didn’t move the leaders of the slave-holding colonies to recognize the unalienable rights of the men and women they enslaved, or the rights of the Native Americans whose lands had been taken to form those colonies. When the founders drafted the Constitution, they wrote slavery into the charter of our U.S. democracy, institutionalizing an extreme form of political and economic inequality by saying that each enslaved person only counted as 3/5 of a person.

When Harriet Tubman organized the Underground Railroad and Frederick Douglass risked his life to organize against slavery, they were fighting for representation in our democracy and opportunity in our economy at the same time. That’s the story of our country, repeated generation after generation. The struggle for a fair economy and for real democracy go hand in hand.

While plantation slavery was driving the Southern economy in the nineteenth century, industrialists in the North were building the first factories in places like Lowell, Massachusetts and Paterson, New Jersey to process the cotton and other materials produced in the South. These mills were powered by coal mined by poor whites and African Americans in Appalachia.

As factories went up, immigrants set sail from Ireland, Scotland, Germany, Italy, Poland, Russia and all over Europe to come in search of a better future. Farmers left their land to move to the growing cities.

At the turn of the 20th century, the U.S. economy grew faster than any other in the world and propelled our country to a position of world leadership.

As the economy grew, populist farmers, militant workers, anti-imperialists, advocates of women’s suffrage and middle class “good government” reformers sought to deepen our



"ABOLISH CHILD SLAVERY!!!" in English and Yiddish, taken during May 1, 1909 labor parade in New York City. George Grantham Bain Collection (Library of Congress)

What Happened to Our Economy?

political democracy and to democratize our economy. They were people like us: workers, farmers, women, immigrants, clergy.

Mine workers in Appalachia risked their lives to win fair wages for their families, and an 8 hour work day. Jane Addams started settlement houses where rich and poor could live together, and created public playgrounds where children of any family could play safely. Edgar Gardner Murphy, a pastor from Alabama, pressed for child labor laws so that young children could stop working in factories and instead go to school. The populist leader Williams Jennings Bryan, seeing wealth concentrating in the hands of a few, laid the groundwork for the progressive income tax, which became the 16th amendment to our Constitution and created reliable revenue for public services for the first time.

Suffragists like Alice Paul and Lucy Burns started a National Women's Party, picketed the White House, marched the streets of Washington, DC, and suffered imprisonment and force feeding before they finally won the right for women to vote in 1920.

For 30 years people organizing across our country opened up our government, our democracy and our economy.

But the 1% organized too. By the late 1920s, industrialists and mine owners had used force, coercion, and racial and ethnic division to beat back movements of workers and poor farmers. Wealthy business leaders and bankers were investing heavily in the stock market, borrowing money just to buy more stocks. They continued to amass more and more wealth. And while they grew wealthier, the poor just got poorer.

By the late 1920s, economic inequality was as extreme as it is today.

As economic inequality increased, so did the instability of the market. Through their greed, wealthy investors and bankers drove the economy off a cliff, and in 1929 the stock market crashed. One out of every four Americans couldn't find work anywhere, leading our country into a Great Depression.

The 99% Open Our Democracy and Our Economy

The 99% responded to the Great Depression by organizing movements of the unemployed. They formed human barriers outside homes to keep other unemployed families from being evicted.

Workers organized, too, like the autoworkers who staged a "sit-down" strike at the General Motors factory in Flint, Michigan in 1937. Men like Arthur Lowell occupied the factory floor to make it impossible for the company to hire other workers to re-start production. They maintained control of the factory for a month until the company gave in and recognized the United Auto Workers as the union of GM's workers. The union grew quickly and was able to negotiate higher wages, better hours and working conditions, and dignity for auto workers. The Flint strike inspired workers all over the U.S. and helped launch the modern labor movement, organizing over a third of US workers and lifting millions out of poverty.



Flint Sit-Down Strike, 1936, Flint Michigan

Those with the greatest interest in change came together to elect a new President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1932. Elected as a conservative business Democrat, but pushed along by populists movements, President Roosevelt in his first 100 days turned the power of the government to work directly for the American people. With the first New Deal he created programs to put hundreds of thousands to work building roads and dams, creating the infrastructure for a new, modern economy. President Roosevelt also signed a critical piece of legislation to regulate the financial sector—the Glass Steagal Act, which protected American consumers from the vagaries of the market by separating commercial banks, like those that offered mortgages and savings accounts, from investment banks that gambled on the market.

Through these programs unemployment steadily declined while market stability increased.

At the end of his first term, President Roosevelt passed the Second New Deal. He set up the Works Progress Administration to employ 2 million people directly, cutting unemployment in half. He signed the Social Security Act, providing a modest level of economic security for the elderly, the poor and the sick for the first time in our history. And he signed the National Labor Relations Act to expand workers' rights to organize for better wages and working conditions.

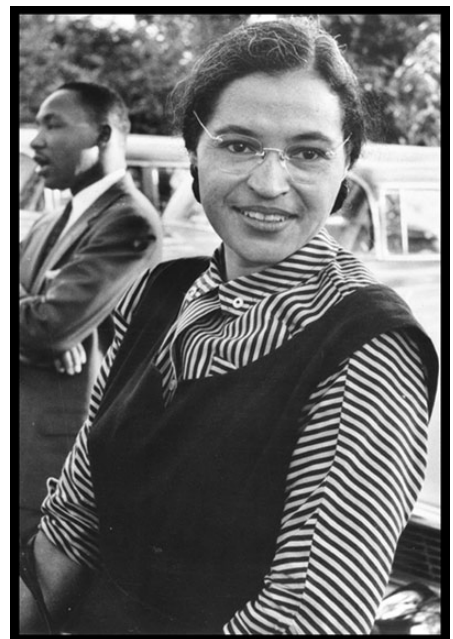
Through years of struggle, the 99% organized and took action, and the 99% won. We won Social Security, a more sound financial system, protection from greedy bankers, and the right to organize unions and bargain collectively.

Those policies led to a long period of rising incomes and greater equality for many Americans, the classic "American Dream."

But the American Dream remained out of reach for many people in this country. Legalized segregation and discrimination meant that racism and sexism continued to shape the economic and political structures of our country. Many workers - including farm workers and domestic workers, most of whom were African American, Mexican immigrants and women at the time - were excluded from the important rights and protections in the National Labor Relations Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act.

These exclusions were the chickens that came home to roost in the 1960s. During World War Two, Black soldiers had fought side by side with their white counterparts, defending our country and fighting for democracy, against fascism. But when they returned home, they found the same structures of inequality they had left behind. They had separate restrooms and restaurants, were barred from employment in many department stores, and had to walk to the back of the bus for a seat.

On December 1st, 1955 an organizer and activist named Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat to a white bus rider in Montgomery Alabama. Black churches and women's organizations, Black unions and individual bus riders came together to defend Rosa by boycotting the city's bus system. They showed that even wealth as small as a bus fare, when aggregated and withdrawn collectively, could shift relations of power. Through the Montgomery Bus Boycott, everyday people turned their collective economic power into political power. Rosa Parks, Rev.



Rosa Parks photo. Creative Commons.

Martin Luther King, Jr. and others weren't just organizing to open up our democracy. They were organizing to open up our economy. Democratic freedom and economic freedom went hand in hand.

In the 1960s, hundreds of young civil rights organizers – like Diane Nash and Robert Moses – came together to build SNCC, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and organized hundreds of thousands of African American people around the South to participate in non violent direct actions like the lunch counter sit-ins and the Freedom Rides to desegregate buses. In 1963 Black unions, community groups and political organizations organized a March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom where Martin Luther King told the story of his dream for our country. For African Americans in the '60s, their economic and political freedoms were inherently linked, as ours are today. They sat down and they sat in, they marched and they boycotted, and they organized large voter registration drives, often to be met with extreme forms of violence. They acted with amazing courage and dignity and showed us all the moral force of nonviolence and its potential to open up both our democracy and our economy.

Inspired by the civil rights movement, immigrant workers in unregulated, insecure forms of employment, also joined together to challenge low wages and bad working conditions. The men and women, many of them Mexican and Filipino immigrants, who did the backbreaking work to put food on our tables had been deliberately excluded from many of the legal protections that other workers take for granted. In California Cesar Chavez organized the United Farm Workers to stand up for themselves. Through strikes, and a meticulously organized national grape boycott, farm workers built the economic power to force giant growers to negotiate with them, and the political power to get elected officials to pass legislation protecting them.

As millions of African Americans, farm workers and other new American citizens joined the electorate for the first time, they joined with organized workers to build the political power necessary to elect leaders who would pass legislation to improve economic security for all Americans. In the 1960s President Johnson designed the “Great Society” legislation that introduced Medicare and Medicaid, environmental protection, and aid to education.

At the same time we had no safe guards in place to protect our communities from industrial pollution. Things such as Rachel Carson's book, *Silent Spring*, which exposed the chemical companies for poisoning our soil, air and water, and the first Earth day with events around the country, motivated thousands of people to organize for government protection. This led to the passing of most of our cornerstone environmental laws including the Clean Air Act, the Clean Water Act, and the creation of the Environmental Protection Agency in 1970.

Many other movements also emerged in this moment. Native American movements for justice and sovereignty, student movements against the Vietnam War, the women's movement, the gay liberation movement – all across the country we stood up for our families, our communities, our dignity.

That story of the 99% coming together and taking direct action to win economic and political freedom is repeated over and over again in our history. These powerful waves of movements made real headway in opening up both our democracy and our economy to millions of families across our country.

The 1% Respond

But a few in the 1% didn't like this new balance of power. When we use the phrase, "the 1%," we don't mean all rich people. We mean the small number of extremely wealthy people who set out to build an economy and a government that would function in their interests, even if it meant tearing our communities and our planet apart. And those people had a serious strategy.

Starting in the 1970s, many corporations chose to cut workers' wages and benefits in order to increase their own profits. They chose to hoard their wealth in offshore accounts and tax loopholes, instead of paying their fair share in taxes to provide the safety net that would have protected us all. They chose to divide us by race, gender, age, sexuality and geography, pitting us against each other in our politics, our workplaces and our homes. We made this all easier by electing Ronald Reagan in 1980 and by embracing trickle down economics, the idea that giving the wealthiest more money would somehow create more jobs for the rest of us.

As we moved into the 1980s and 1990s, our exploitation of natural resources like oil powered global economic growth. With oil, suddenly corporations could traverse the globe, and we entered into a new era of "globalization" in which jobs in the U.S. were outsourced to countries with worse environmental protections and labor laws. Corporations were allowed to move freely between national borders, but people were not. This also meant an era of extreme methods to obtain more and more oil, displacing Indigenous people from their traditional land, and creating skyrocketing rates of cancer and asthma in cities and on reservations. These fossil fuels concentrated in our atmosphere to the point where we are now feeling the effects of climate change – manifesting in droughts, famines, floods, hurricanes, and other kinds of extreme weather. Communities who have been impoverished by the 1% economy are hit worst by these disasters.

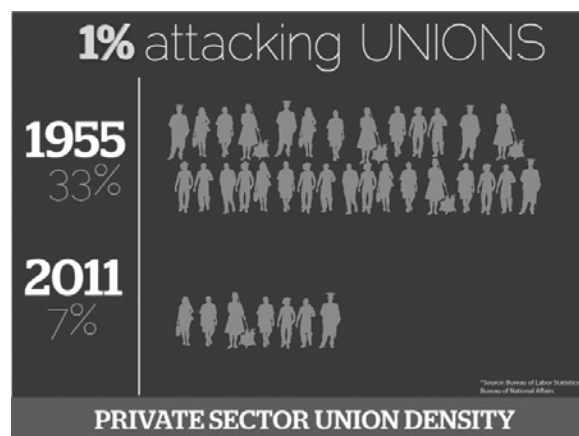
So how did we end up where we are today? How did we go from shared prosperity to an economy of, by and for the 1%? It's not because we're broke and can't afford better. In the last 40 years worker productivity has continued to increase even though our wages have stagnated. This is the 1% economy.

It wasn't an accident, and it wasn't a force of nature. It was because the 1% had a deliberate strategy that they used to roll back the gains we fought so hard for. Their strategy had three parts: 1) Attack unions and shift the burden to workers, 2) take control of our democracy, and 3) divide and conquer.



The 1% Strategy: Attack Workers

- **The 1% attacked workers and unions:** Collective bargaining has historically meant better wages for union members and raised wages for workers in general. So by weakening unions, corporate employers could depress wages and deny workers a larger share of our collective wealth. In the 1970s corporations took a harder line against workplace organizing. This was clearest in 1981 when President Regan fired 11,000 Air Traffic Controllers for going on strike to improve their working conditions. For the last 30 years corporate interests have systematically organized to roll back our rights to organize in the workplace, as we saw last year in Wisconsin and Ohio. In addition, job growth in recent decades has been concentrated in the service sector. Many of these jobs pay less and have fewer benefits than jobs in industries where unions had been able to make real headway in the past. And because of the way many of these jobs are structured, the worker rights and protections that were won in the 1930s don't apply. Most of these excluded workers are women, African Americans and immigrants. By attacking unions and workers' organizations generally, the 1% have made it harder for new service sector workers to organize to improve their wages and benefits the way workers in other industries did earlier in our history
- **The 1% found new ways to make money off of workers:** Even as productivity has continued to increase, many employers have shifted more of the responsibility for economic security to workers in the last 40 years, including health care and retirement costs, to increase their own profits. As a result our families bear the burden to pay for health care, pushing many of us into bankruptcy and debt. And now 4 out of 10 of us have no retirement plans through our employers.
- **The 1% went global:** To get out of having to pay the decent wages and benefits that workers had fought so hard for, employers closed down many of the factories in the United States, and they opened up new factories in other nations around the world - especially in Latin America, the Caribbean and Asia - where they could exploit workers more easily. This hurt workers in the United States *and* workers in these other nations. In response to the worsening conditions in their nations, many people from these countries immigrated to the United States to look for better work to help their families to survive.
- **The result: rising inequality.** Most income gains since 1979 have gone to the wealthiest 1% of the population. As a result, the share of our country's total income going to the top 1% is higher now than at any time since the 1920s. The distribution of wealth, as opposed to income, is even more lopsided. The gap between the pay of a typical CEO and the pay of an average worker became positively obscene. Just 1% of our population now owns 43% of the wealth in our country.



The 1% Strategy: Take Over Our Democracy

The second part of the 1%'s strategy was to take over our democracy. This wasn't something that happened overnight, but a series of choices made by corporate interests and by elected officials over the last 4 decades.



- **It started when we entered a state of permanent war.**

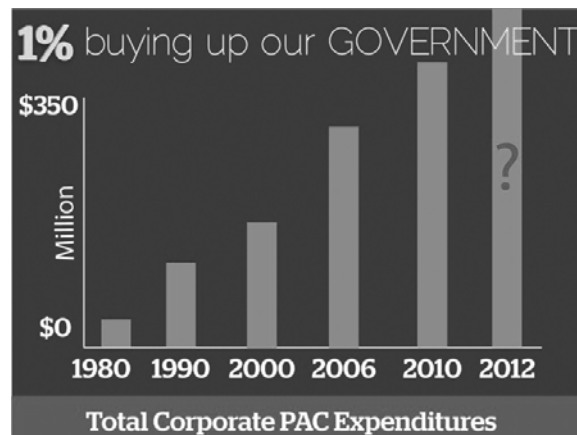
The war in Vietnam and the Cold War, followed by wars in the Middle East have gutted our federal budget, growing our deficit and squeezing the social programs that protect us all. President Eisenhower saw this coming over 50 years ago when he warned that, "Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed." So why would the 1% push for militarization? Defense contractors and oil companies need war to grow their profits. And U.S. military power helps to support and protect corporate interests around the world. As a result, nearly 60% of federal discretionary spending still goes to the Pentagon and its contractors. That budget has doubled in the last 10 years, while states and cities around the country are suffering extreme budget shortfalls, cutting teachers, community programs and services. But the impact on our economy is only a piece of the story. It is the 99% who are being asked to serve during wartime, bearing the brunt of war when we lose loved ones during military action.

- **The 1% are fighting the regulations and social programs that protect us:** Moving money from social programs to pay for war is only a piece of the 1% strategy for controlling our democracy. In the last 40 years a few in the 1% have systematically and relentlessly attacked every single government program that benefits the 99%, from Social Security to Medicare to nutrition assistance to the Environmental Protection Agency to Pell grants for college students. They also went after all the laws - like the Glass-Steagall Act - that were put in place after the Great Depression to stop big banks and big corporations from making profit at the expense of social stability. Financial deregulation meant that banks could make dangerous decisions - like the mortgage disaster - in the interests of making quick profit. These deregulations meant that banks could consolidate until they became "too big to fail." But their get-rich-quick schemes meant that they failed anyway, and they took the rest of economy down with them. They went after workplace regulations and environmental regulations so they could have free rein to do whatever they wanted to make more money, whatever the cost to our communities and our planet.

The 1% is attempting to destroy the environmental protection laws and enforcement methods that would get in their way from extracting the most profit from the environment at the expense of people. They are trying to ram through the construction of new oil pipelines without oversight so they can pursue increasingly extreme forms of energy, such as the Canadian tar sands, mountaintop removal coal mining, deep sea oil drilling, and hydraulic fracturing ("fracking") for natural gas. The consequences of scraping the bottom of the barrel for finite fossil fuels are dire – resulting in disasters like the BP oil spill, which destroyed local Gulf economies.

- **The 1% pay less taxes.** For thirty years we've heard corporate interests crying out for tax relief. As a result, while the tax rates of the 99% have changed very little, the tax rates of the 1% have dropped dramatically, pushing us further into debt while their personal and corporate profits skyrocket.

- **The 1% bought our government:** The 1% didn't do this on their own. Corporations spend hundreds of millions of dollars each year to influence politicians to serve their agenda. And politicians in both parties - including both Republican and Democratic Presidents - have responded by voting for free trade agreements, wars and military actions, financial deregulation, tax cuts for the wealthy and cuts to our safety net. And now, thanks to Citizens United and the perverse idea that corporations are people with free speech rights, they're able to spend unlimited amounts of money to influence elections. But that's not all. To make it that much harder for the 99% to have our voices heard at the polls, the 1% is trying to take away the most basic democratic right of all: the right to vote. They are driving state voter suppression laws across the country that are intended to keep low-income, minority and immigrant voters from exercising their right to vote.

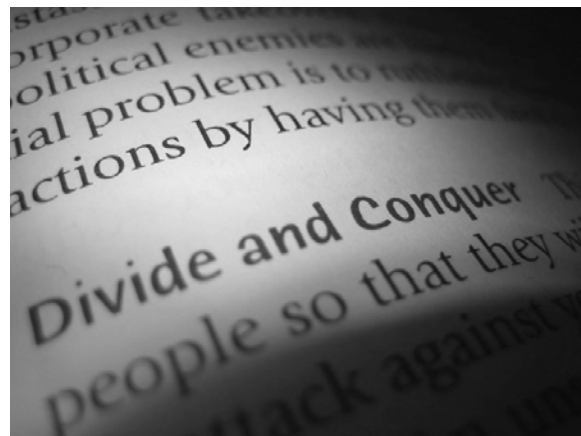


The 1% Strategy: Divide and Conquer

The final part of the 1% strategy for the last 40 years has been divide and conquer.

- **The 1% is going after many of the basic rights that we fought for:** Corporate interests in the 1% aren't just out to make money. Many don't like the many gains that women, people of color and lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people have won over the years. So they have gone after programs like affirmative action, abortion rights, access to birth control and gay marriage. The private prison industry uses the courts and prison systems to keep many African American people and youth from low-income communities locked out of the economy. And they are threatening the basic human rights of immigrants in states like Arizona and like Alabama where people without documentation are denied access to basic human needs like water services.
- **The 1% is trying to set us against each other:** They appeal to racism, sexism and homophobia to keep us fighting each other. They say that immigrants are to blame for unemployment rates among native-born workers, to distract us from the fact that they are the ones eliminating good jobs. They set up false choices between good jobs and a clean environment, as though those are somehow at odds.

They know that when we turn on each other we don't have the power to challenge their hold on our economy and our democracy.



We are the 99%, and We Are Writing a New Story

This story isn't finished: it's up to *us* to write the next chapter. When we decide to fight back, we can draw inspiration from those who came before us, from the autoworkers who took over their factories and won, and from the thousands of peoples – Black and white – who organized against racism and segregation through the civil rights movement.

Today we can take inspiration from the many people in the 99% who are standing up to fight back.

A new story is being re-written by the 99% today, from the union members in Wisconsin who are defending their collective bargaining rights, to the immigrant service workers - like nannies and taxi drivers - who are fighting to improve their working conditions, to the students organizing to stop fracking in their communities.

A new story is being re-written by the people of Occupy Our Homes who are fighting against home foreclosures and evictions, and fighting for fair treatment for underwater homeowners.

The story of our economy is being re-written by community organizations across the country, who are calling on corporations such as Walmart, Bank of America, Wells Fargo, Verizon, Sallie Mae and others on Wall Street to pay their fair share so that we can earn a fair wage and restore the vital public services our communities need so badly.

We've seen that our economy and our democracy have evolved over the last 250 years, not in some predestined way, but as a result of specific choices made by individuals and institutions over time.

So what choices do we face now?

At this moment in history, our choice is to let differences of gender, race, faith and nationality weaken us, or to come together across our differences

Our choice is to accept the 1%'s idea that democracy ends when we enter the workplace, or to stand up for workers' right to organize and bargain collectively.

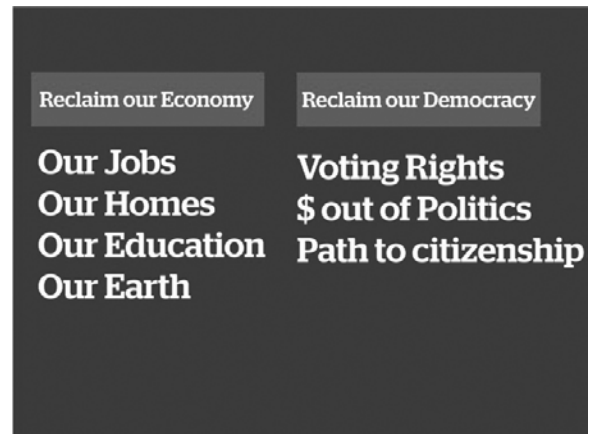
Our choice is to allow the 1% to control our political institutions, or fight for a real democracy by reversing Citizens United and beating back attempts at voter suppression.

Our choice is to be subservient to the banks and corporations, or to hold them accountable to us, the people, through regulation and progressive taxation.

Our choice is to stand by and watch while our planet accelerates its spiral into irreversible ecological crisis, or to demand new clean sources of energy to fuel our economy.

Our choice is to let wars and military spending bankrupt our government, enrich military contractors, and tear up communities around the world, or to put that money to work rebuilding our own communities right here at home.

Our choice is to try to scrape and struggle to save what little we have left...or to come together to demand a whole new economy.



What Happened to Our Economy?

Our choice is to sit back and wait, or stand up and act.

This spring we're choosing to rise up together. To say enough is enough. To write a new chapter in the story of our economy and our democracy. To make our country work for all of us not just for a few.

We know from our history that change doesn't come easy or fast, that it takes courage and commitment. We've seen in the last few years that politics isn't enough, organizing isn't enough, negotiating isn't enough. It's time to learn from those who came before us and take our struggle to the streets. It's time to stand up for our families, our communities, our dignity, our future. It's time to act.

What's your choice?

Today, we the 99% are coming together to rewrite the story of the 1% economy.



Photo by Andrew Stern and Jeremy Baron of Starr Street Studios.

Questions to Think About:

We know the 1% have money power. But we have power, too. The 1% need us. They need our consumer dollars, and they need our labor. When elections roll around, they need our votes for candidates who support their interests. Most of all, they need our consent to the status quo.

- What are some of the ways we cooperate with the current state of economic and political inequality?
- What are some ways we could stop cooperating?
- What would happen if we stopped cooperating and withdrew our consent to the status quo? How would things look different?
- What can we learn from the struggles of the 99% throughout our country's history?

Worksheet:

Here are some questions to reflect on when thinking about what happened to our economy.

During the Great Depression and New Deal era, our country made choices that stabilized the economy and improved the lives of many in the 99%. Regulation of the financial system and the right to organize unions and bargain collectively are good examples. Why did we make those choices at that moment?

The reforms made during the New Deal improved the lives of many, but they also excluded many. How have different groups experienced the last century in our country?

Organizers often say there are two sources of power: organized money and organized people. What are some of the ways “organized money” has tried to make it more difficult for *people* to organize?

What were some of the specific choices that created the economy we're all experiencing now? How could we in the 99% choose to use our power to create a different economy?

What Happened to Our Economy?

The tension between democracy and economic inequality has been very real the whole history of this country. Every time democracy made an advance, it was because the 99% made a decision to fight for it. What were some of those moments? And what kind of power did the 99% use in those moments?

Who fought for change and for our democracy?	What did they win?	How did they win? What specific power did the 99% exercise in those moments?
Abolitionists		
Suffragists		
Unemployed peoples' movements & workers 1930s		
Montgomery Bus Boycott		
Lunch counter sit-ins		
Farm workers		
Environmentalists		
LGBT		
Occupy Wall Street		

And every time that inequality made an advance, it was because the 1% made a decision to fight for their own interests. What were some of those moments? And what kind of power did they use?

Who stood up for the 1%	What did they win?	How did they win? What specific power did the 1% exercise in those moments?

The 1%'s system relies on us: our labor, our money, our consent. That means that we have the power to stop their system and build a different world. In the next section of the training, we're going to start thinking about what that different world would look like, and how to use our power creatively to forge the change we want to see.

A New Economy: Our Values, Our Vision

Let’s imagine a new economy grounded in our values.

The 1% economy isn’t just about reducing our standard of living, taking our homes, trashing the planet we depend on, wrecking our retirement savings, and reinforcing racism, sexism, and homophobia. As devastating as those things are, it’s also an attack on some of our most deeply held values.

Grounding ourselves in our values is a good way to begin to imagine a new and radically different economy. By imagining what an economy that reflects our values would look like, and making our vision of an “ideal community” as concrete as possible, we also gain a better understanding of what and who is standing in our way.

Our values and the economy

One of the reasons we tell stories is that they reveal our underlying values. Think back to the story you told earlier, and the stories you heard from others. What are the values represented in those stories? How does the current 1% economy violate your values? What would a new economy look like? The future begins with us.

A value I try to live by is . . .	The 1% economy violates this value by . . .	A new economy for the 100% based on this value would . . .

In the rest of the training, we will see the variety of ways we can respond with direct action when our communities, values, and hopes for the future are attacked. By reflecting on our personal experiences confronting injustice, we will develop a deeper understanding of our own power and what makes it easier (or harder) to act in a variety of situations.

Finally, by exploring the relationships between goals, strategies and tactics, we prepare to embody our values in actions to win freedom for the 99%.

Non Violent Direct Action: When Communities Come Together

Actions speak louder than words

Action is one way that we reclaim our world and remake our future to reflect our values. Non Violent Direct Action has been the engine of social movements for the history of human advancement. When any society's usual means of making change are inadequate, people turn to direct action to meet their needs and change their world. For centuries non violent direct action has been a way that the 99% can find each other, raise our voices, rediscover our humanity, and solve our problems together.

In our time, campaigns for social change often use non violent direct action as a tactic that can pressure a decision maker to agree to negotiate with us in good faith, or capitulate to a concrete demand. In these circumstances, we look at actions not as isolated events, but as part of a campaign – or part of a social movement's – trajectory. Actions have the power to both pressure power holders and create dramatic shifts in the balance of power in a whole society.

If you have come to help me, then you are wasting your time. But if you have come because your liberation is bound up with mine, then let us work together.

-Lila Watson

In *Why Civil Resistance Works*, Erica Chenoweth and Maria Stephan put a historical and empirical lens on non violence, from close examination of movements and campaigns for change all over the world for over 100 years. Between 1900 and 2006, campaigns of non violent resistance were more than twice as effective as their violent counterparts. Chenoweth and Stephan detail the factors that enabled such campaigns to succeed while others failed. They find that non violent resistance presents fewer obstacles to moral and physical involvement and commitment, and that higher levels of participation contribute to enhanced

I became convinced that noncooperation with evil is as much a moral obligation as is cooperation with good.

— Martin Luther King Jr.,
The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.

resilience, greater opportunities for tactical innovation and civic disruption, and shifts in loyalty among opponents' supporters, including members of the military establishment.

Non Violent Direct Action is also more than a tool to help us win campaigns; it's a moral grounding through which we can build community in a broken world. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. once called non violent direct action "the sword that heals" because taking action, despite the consequences, is a fundamentally *healing* act. Often, standing up to injustice and

taking action heals trauma more than talking about our trauma ever could.

Many choose non violence as a moral or spiritual commitment to remaking the world. Judaism calls this concept Tikkun Olam – "to heal the world." We see this moral steadfastness in opposition to injustice as a main thread in movements throughout history.

What is Non Violent Direct Action?

Non violent direct action is known by many names. Gandhi called it satyagraha (truth or soul force). Henry Thoreau called one form of it civil disobedience. Activists in North Philadelphia sometimes call it street heat. In the Philippines, democracy activists call it people power.

Underneath all of these definitions are similar themes such as a use of tactics outside of normal institutions (use of the street or fasting) and a commitment to refraining from violence. But even more core to all of these is that direct action is about power – bringing together people to make change.

In essence, people turn to non violent direct action after the institutionalized ways of settling disagreements are unsuccessful. In the civil rights movement, Black people turned to non violent action after years of fighting in the courts to end institutionalized segregation. The courts did not provide the relief needed, and so nonviolent action was born. The methods of non violent action lie outside institutionalized behavior.

In using these methods people either do what they're not expected to do or even forbidden to do, like demand coffee at a segregated lunch counter if they're African American. Or nonviolent action can be refusing to do what they are expected to do (or required to do), like pay a special tax to the English king for the tea they drink.

Edited Excerpt from Casino-Free Philadelphia's direct action manual written by Daniel Hunter.

Read the full article at www.trainingforchange.org

Direct Action is how ordinary people organize our resources into collective power. Through direct action we directly confront, disrupt or disobey situations, institutions, or laws that we oppose as morally unjust.

Civil Disobedience: Refusal to obey an unjust law in an effort to change it.

An unjust law is itself a species of violence. Arrest for its breach is more so.

-Mahatma Ghandi

Defining “non violence”

Many groups and movements define non violence differently. Some believe that cursing or carrying a loud tone is a form of violence. Others believe that clipping a lock to re-occupy a foreclosed home, destroying a draft card, or disabling a war machine is non violent. The important thing is that *your group* has a shared definition of what kind of behavior you will engage in together, and hold each other accountable to those decisions. The same group may choose different “non violence” agreements for different actions depending on context. There are some sample non violent action agreements in the action planning section of this guide.

Non Violent Direct Action: Vision, Goals, Strategy, Tactics

When we engage in strategic nonviolence our actions are part of a broader campaign to achieve something real and tangible that can improve our lives. In the context of a movement or campaign, actions are usually most effective when they are grounded in a broad vision, driving toward a clear goal, as part of a strong strategy that uses tactics to turn resources into power and make a demand on clear decision makers.

Defining Our Terms

Vision: The Vision is what you are ultimately working towards. The vision is big, transformative and inspiring, the promised land. For example, a safe and healthy community, work with dignity for all, affordable quality health care for all, or a new economy built on green energy.

Goals: The Goal is what you are working to win or change right now. It's a step toward your vision. For example, goals might include winning a moratorium on foreclosures in your state, winning principal reduction for homeowners from a bank, increasing the minimum wage, closing tax loopholes, or shutting down a coal plant.

Strategy: The Strategy is the overall plan for how to organize and deploy your resources to reach your goal. The strategy requires that you get clear on what you want, and on who can give you what you want (specific decision makers). Your strategy is your theory about how to build the resources you have into the power you need to move specific decision makers to make different choices. Strategy is a dynamic process tested through action. It's not a static document, but a constant process of developing a theory and testing it.

Tactics: Your tactics are any activities that turn your resources into power to get what you want. Strong tactics move you closer to your goal, develop organizational capacity, and bring in new people and resources.

Power: Power is our ability to make change. But our power doesn't exist in a vacuum-it exists in relationship to the power held by others, like the decision makers we are trying to move. Our ability to make change is determined in relationship to a clear decision maker. There are two kinds of power: organized people and organized money.

Strategy

Strategy is about turning the resources we have into the power we need to win the change we want. Think about that for a second. Strategy is simply turning our resources into power and then using that power effectively. So we don't need to wait until we have more. We just need to start organizing with what we already have now.

Power is not a "thing." It's a relationship, like a see-saw. Sometimes other people have what we need, and sometimes we have what they need. Both sides have resources. Whoever has more organized and desirable resources in a given moment has more power in that moment. When someone needs less from you than you need from them, then they have power over you. However, if you can figure out what you have that they want, then you can balance the power relationship.

There are two basic types of power: power with and power over.



Power Over

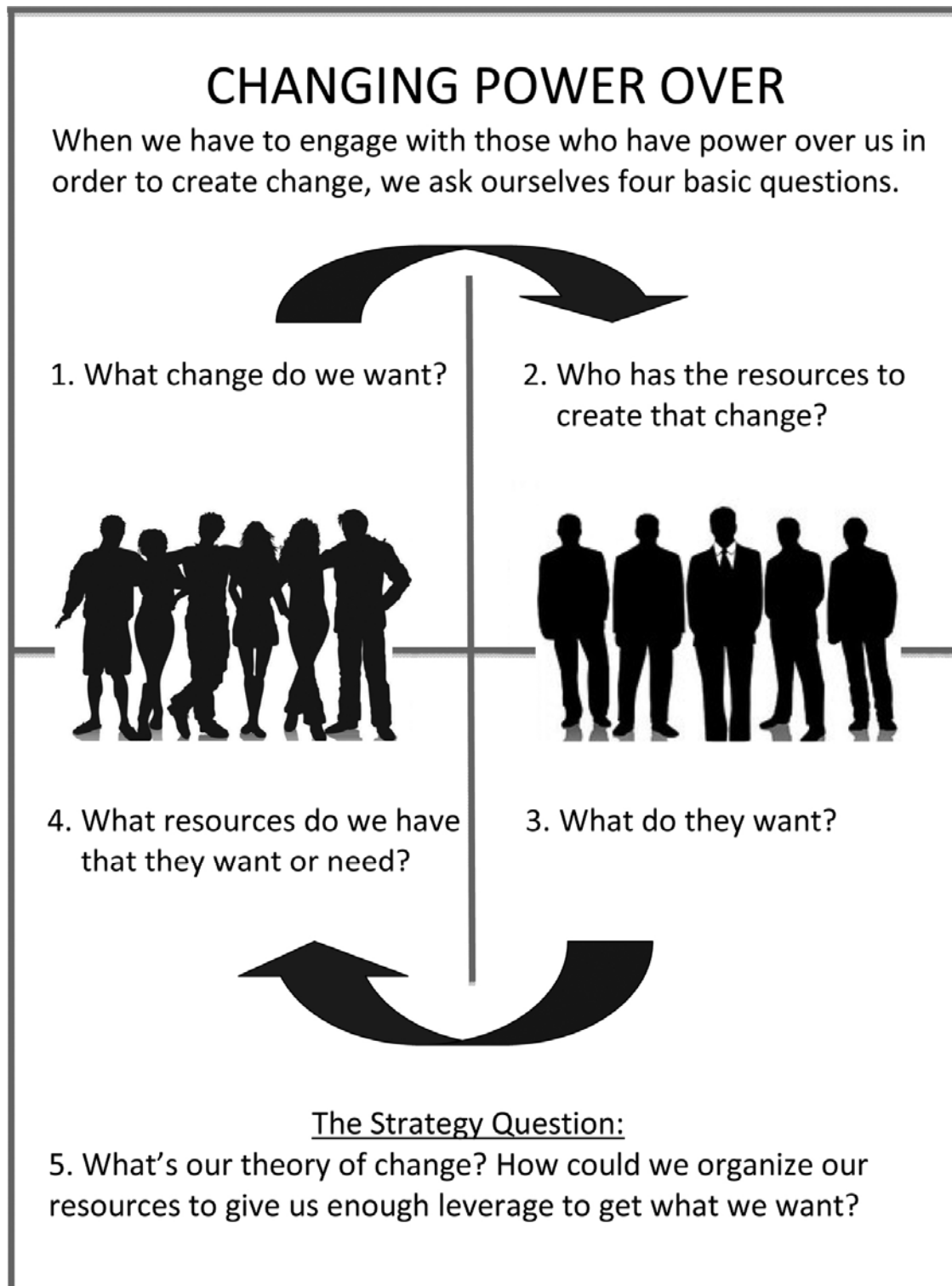
Sometimes others hold power over decisions or resources that we need in order to create change in our lives. In that case we have to organize our own power with others first. That gives us new power to make a claim on the resources or decisions that will fulfill our interests.



Power With

Sometimes we can create the change we need just by organizing our resources with others, creating power with them. For example, we might pool resources to create a cooperative day care, or a community credit union, or a volunteer service bank.

CHANGING POWER OVER



SOURCE: Adapted from the work of Marshall Ganz, Harvard University. Modified by the New Organizing Institute.

Case Study: United Farm Workers

Here's how Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers answered the power questions on the previous page when they built a movement to organize California Farm Workers.

1. **What change do we want?**

Fair working conditions, better wages

2. **Who has the resources to create that change?**

Farm bosses (growers), and elected officials

3. **What do they want?**

Farmers want to sell their grapes to make a profit, and elected officials want votes.

4. **What resources do we have that they want?**

Our labor, our votes, and the money our consumer allies spend on grapes.

5. **What's our theory of change? How could we organize our resources to give us enough leverage to get what we want?**

We can make the boss negotiate by going on strike. If that isn't enough, we can organize a national boycott of grapes in every major city so that our bosses feel economic pressure to negotiate a contract with us. We can also register ourselves and our allies to vote and turn out to vote so that elected officials can join us in putting pressure on our bosses and also change the laws that govern our work.

PUSH

What are some specific times that you've seen others organize to their resources to push into a relationship of power? For example, an extended sit-in, or getting out the vote?



PULL

What are some specific times that you've seen others gain power by organizing to pull their resources away? For example, strikes or boycotts, or withdrawing all their money from one bank at the same time?



Tactics: Turning Resources Into Power

There are four key methods of direct action that turn our resources into power. All of these methods are aimed at shifting the balance of power with those who can make decisions about our democracy and our economy.

Protest: registering our dissent

- *Examples:* rallies, marches, teach-ins, postcards, street theatre, banner hangs

Non-cooperation: withdrawing our resources from specific people or institutions so they realize that they need us.

- *Examples:* consumer boycotts, labor strike, general strike, student walk-outs, draft resisters, war tax resistance

Intervention: directly intervening in the functioning of the system to increase the cost of the status quo

- *Examples:* blockading roads or buildings, disrupting meetings or “business as usual”, bird-dogging (interrupting a decision maker’s public appearance with difficult questions), jail solidarity, tree-sits



Photo courtesy of UNITE HERE.

Creative Solution: developing alternative, community-based systems so that we rely less on those individuals or institutions we’re trying to change.

- *Examples:* community gardens, freedom schools, clinic defense, off-grid housing, worker cooperatives, peer counseling, community policing

Every system of injustice has distinct points that provide action opportunities-times when communities can make clear demands for change, stop the system, or create their own solutions.

SOURCE: Adapted from The Ruckus Society, www.ruckus.org

Source for “Ideal Communities” exercise: Karen Ridd, Training for Change, adapted from Pom, a Thai student environmental activist.

On the following two pages are a list of non violent direct action tactics from Gene Sharp, whose ideas about non violence have shaped successful non violent change campaigns in Eastern Europe, Egypt and around the world.

198 Methods of Non Violent Action by Gene Sharp

The Methods of Nonviolent Protest and Persuasion

Formal Statements

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

Communications with a Wider Audience

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

Group Representations

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

Symbolic Public Acts

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

Pressures on Individuals

31. "Haunting" officials
32. Taunting officials
33. Fraternization
34. Vigils

Drama and Music

35. Humorous skits and pranks
36. Performances of plays and music
37. Singing

Processions

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

Honouring the Dead

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

Public Assemblies

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

Withdrawal and Renunciation

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

The Methods of Social Noncooperation

Ostracism of Persons

55. Social boycott
56. Selective social boycott
57. Lysistratic non action
58. Excommunication
59. Interdict

Noncooperation with Social Events, Customs, and Institutions

60. Suspension of social and sports activities
61. Boycott of social affairs
62. Student strike
63. Social disobedience
64. Withdrawal from social institutions

Withdrawal from the Social System

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

The Methods of Economic Noncooperation: Economic Boycotts

Action by Consumers

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

Action by Workers and Producers

78. Workers' boycott
79. Producers' boycott

Action by Middlemen

80. Suppliers' and handlers' boycott

Action by Owners and Management

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

Action by Holders of Financial Resources

86. Withdrawal of bank deposits

87. Refusal to pay fees, dues, and assessments
88. Refusal to pay debts or interest
89. Severance of funds and credit
90. Revenue refusal
91. Refusal of a government's money

Action by Governments

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

The Methods of Economic Noncooperation: the Strike

Symbolic Strikes

- 97. Protest strike
- 98. Quickie walkout (lightning strike)

Agricultural Strikes

- 99. Peasant strike
- 100. Farm workers' strike

Strikes by Special Groups

- 101. Refusal of impressed labour
- 102. Prisoners' strike
- 103. Craft strike

- 104. Professional strike

Ordinary Industrial Strikes

- 105. Establishment strike
- 106. Industry strike
- 107. Sympathy strike

Restricted Strikes

- 108. Detailed strike
- 109. Bumper strike
- 110. Slowdown strike
- 111. Working-to-rule strike

- 112. Reporting "sick" (sick-in)

- 113. Strike by resignation
- 114. Limited strike
- 115. Selective strike

Multi-Industry Strikes

- 116. Generalized strike
- 117. General strike

Combination of Strikes and Economic Closures

- 118. Hartal
- 119. Economic shutdown

The Methods of Political Noncooperation

Rejection of Authority

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

Citizens' Noncooperation with Government

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

Citizens' Alternatives to Obedience

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

Action by Government Personnel

- 142. Selective refusal of assistance by government aides
- 143. Blocking of lines of command and information
- 144. Stalling and obstruction
- 145. General administrative noncooperation
- 146. Judicial noncooperation

- 147. Deliberate inefficiency and selective noncooperation by enforcement agents
- 148. Mutiny

Domestic Governmental Action

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

International Governmental Action

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

The Methods of Nonviolent Intervention

Psychological Intervention

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

Physical Intervention

- 162. Sit-in
- 163. Stand-in
- 164. Ride-in
- 165. Wade-in
- 166. Mill-in
- 167. Pray-in
- 168. Nonviolent raids
- 169. Nonviolent air raids

- 170. Nonviolent invasion
- 171. Nonviolent interjection
- 172. Nonviolent obstruction
- 173. Nonviolent occupation

Social Intervention

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

Economic Intervention

- 181. Reverse strike
- 182. Stay-in strike
- 183. Nonviolent land seizure
- 184. Defiance of blockades

- 185. Politically motivated counterfeiting
- 186. Preclusive purchasing
- 187. Seizure of assets
- 188. Dumping
- 189. Selective patronage
- 190. Alternative markets
- 191. Alternative transportation systems
- 192. Alternative economic institutions

Political Intervention

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

SOURCE: Gene Sharp, *The Methods of Nonviolent Action*, Boston 1973. Available from War Resisters League, www.warresisters.org.

Case Study: Montgomery Bus Boycott

Rosa Parks' action when she sat down on the bus and refused to move in 1955 was not just a spontaneous and random act of courage, and the year-long bus boycott that followed didn't just happen by accident. Rosa Parks' action was a courageous act rooted in a broad vision, focused on a clear goal, embedded in a sharp strategy, and built on tactics that revealed a sophisticated understanding of how to turn collective resources into power. The Montgomery Bus Boycott, for which Rosa Parks' action was a catalyst, was successful because it too was rooted in a vision of racial equality, a goal to get the bus company and city to desegregate the buses and a strategy based on aggregating the economic power of Black people in Montgomery.

Think about the following?

1. What was the vision that inspired and sustained the Bus Boycott?

2. What was the specific goal in Montgomery?

3. What was the strategy? How did Black leaders in Montgomery turn the resources of their community into power in relationship to the bus company, the city, and the federal government?

4. What was the power of the actors in the boycott in relationship to the decision-makers?

Case Study: Your Campaign

1. What is your campaign?

2. What is your vision?

3. What is your specific goal? What are you trying to win?

4. What is your strategy? How are you organizing your resources into power?

5. What is your power in relationship to key decision-makers? What do you have that they want?

6. Which direct action tactics could help you advance your strategy?

Some material taken from the Midwest Academy Manual for Activists and Marshall Ganz.

Characteristics of a Successful Campaign:

What are the over arching themes /commonalities you have noticed from our discussions about the case studies presented?

Unity

- ◆ Developing and communicating a unifying vision
- ◆ Building diverse participation
- ◆ Building domestic coalitions
- ◆ Building transnational solidarity-- all working on some part of a unified goal.

Nonviolent Discipline - maintaining nonviolence in the face of consequences, whether it's arrest or violence from authorities. We do this by using:

- ◆ Training
- ◆ Risk assessment
- ◆ Building an organizational culture that is supportive of non violence and clearly rejects violent behavior.

Planning – in other words, strategy!

- ◆ Analysis of self, opponent, environment and third parties
- ◆ What kind of organizational structure will be needed to be successful
- ◆ Developing campaigns that meet our goals
- ◆ Tactical choice and appropriate execution which allows you to innovate to respond appropriately
- ◆ Understanding that there will be different stages of your campaign

Stages of Your Campaign:

There are many ways to understand campaign cycles and stages. Here is Martin Luther King, Jr's framework.

1. Gather information
2. Do education and leadership development
3. Negotiate with target
4. Increase motivation and commitment for the struggle ahead
5. Direct action
6. Create new relationship with opponent, which reflects the new power reality.

[Based on Martin Luther King-related campaigns in the Deep South of the U.S. Read more at <http://www.dfong.com/nonviol/nda.html>]

Non Violent Direct Action: Personal Preparation

Finding Our Courage

At one time or another, all of us have stood up for ourselves, someone else, or something we thought was right. By reflecting on our reactions (not just what we did, but how we felt), we can get a better understanding of where we draw our power and what makes it easier (or harder) to act.

My personal experience

What do you remember about standing up?

How did it make you feel physically?

What did you do?

What did you say?

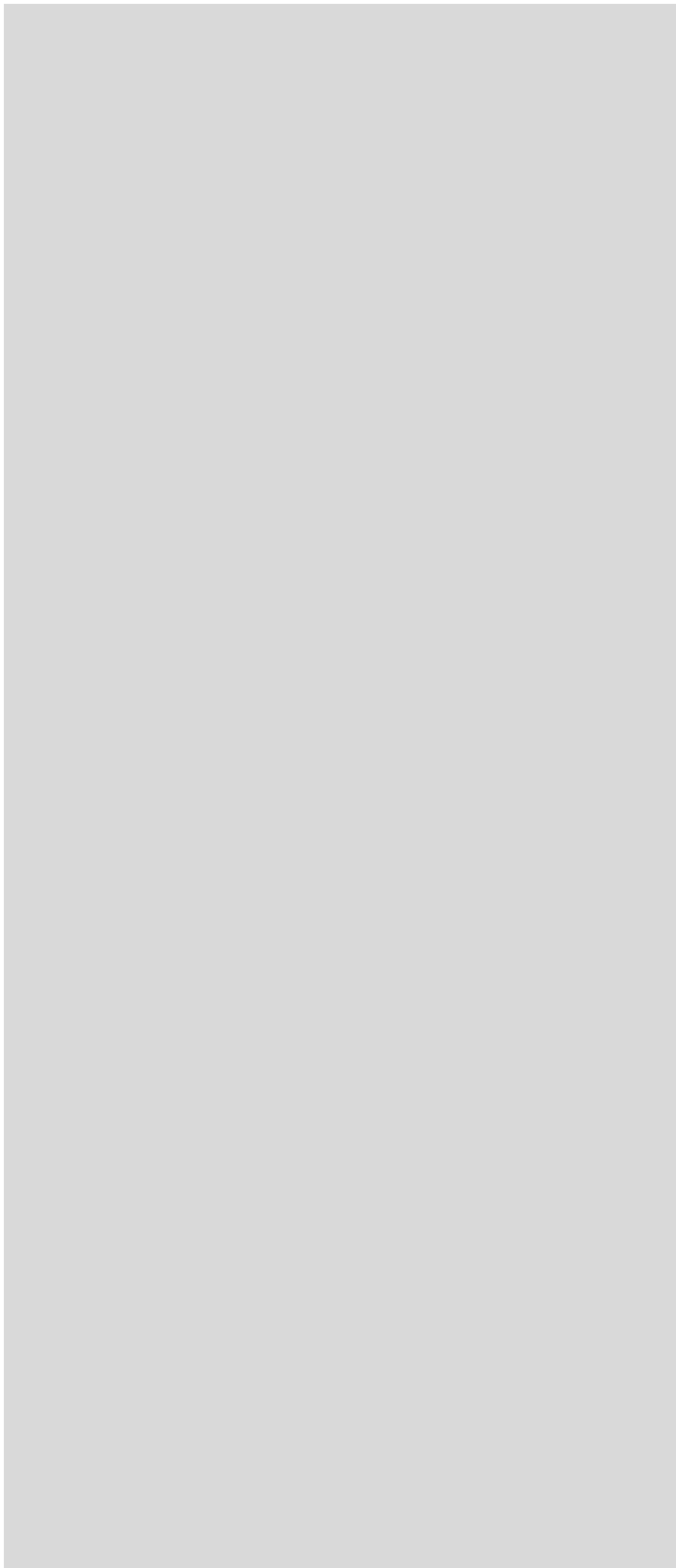
What do you wish you had done or said?

If you didn't act the way you wish you had, what prevented you?

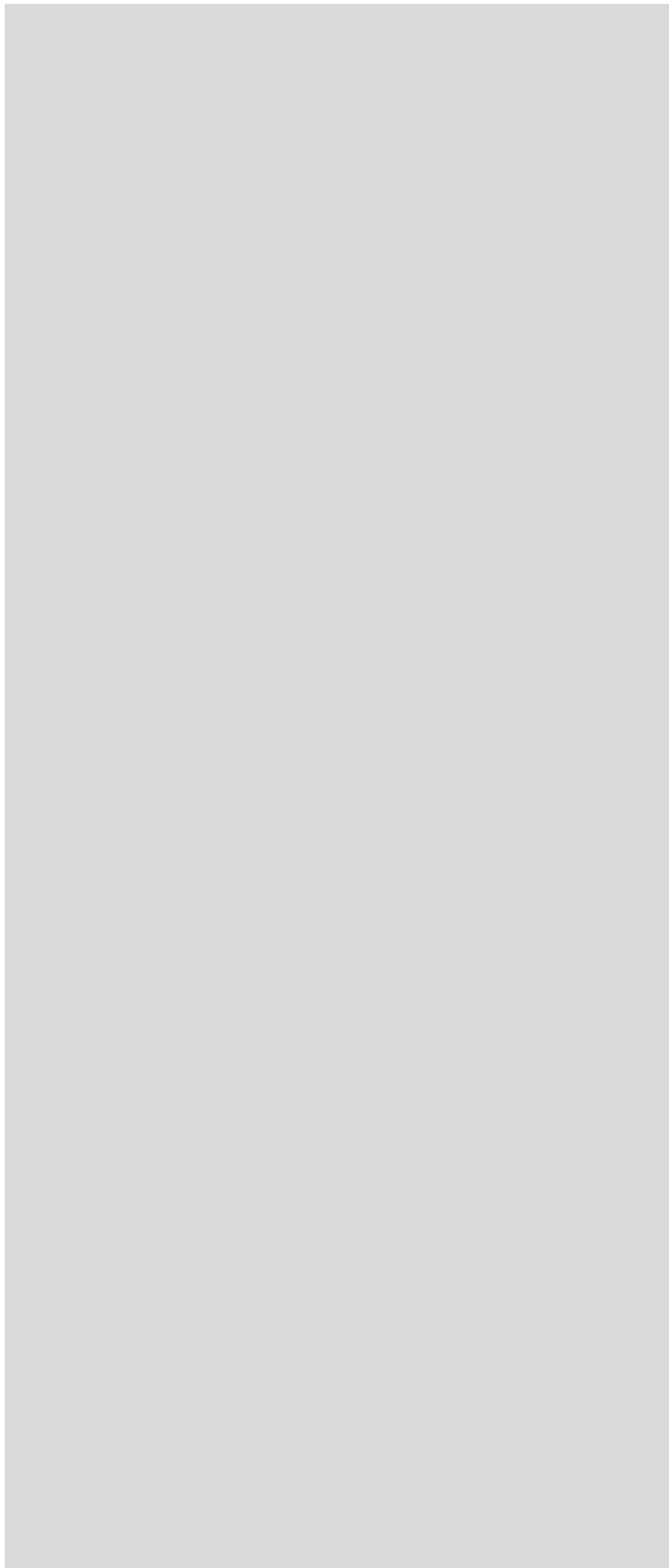
If you did act the way you wish you had, why were you able to? Was there anything that made it easier?

Small group exercise/sharing our personal experiences

What are some barriers to action?

A large, empty gray rectangular box intended for participants to write down their personal experiences with barriers to action.

What are some solutions to those barriers?

A large, empty gray rectangular box intended for participants to write down their personal experiences with solutions to the barriers they identified.

Principles of Non Violent Direct Action

From Martin Luther King, Jr., adapted by the Fellowship on Reconciliation

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. laid out four principles that he used during the civil rights movement. We offer them because when we use *people power* it does require that we act civilly, respectfully, and modeling the highest integrity we can muster:

1. **Define your objectives.** Injustice and violence are everywhere around us. A single campaign or action will not remove it all. One must begin by focusing on a specific injustice; it should be possible to discuss it in fairly simple and clear-cut terms. Decision-making and negotiations during a campaign will be helped immensely if you have defined clearly your short-range objective and your long-range goal.
2. **Be honest and listen well.** Part of your goal is to win your opponent's respect. Conduct yourself in a way which encourages that respect by showing your scrupulous care for truth and justice. A crucial part of nonviolent direct action is the understanding that no one knows the complete truth about the issues at hand. Listening with openness to what your opponents have to say about your campaign is very important in your pursuit of the whole truth. Similarly, listening carefully to those who are struggling at your side helps ensure that the oppression which you are fighting is not replaced by another oppression.
3. **Love your enemies.** No matter how deeply involved in unjust and violent systems some people are, your goal is to break down those systems, not to punish others for wrong-doing. Real justice is established when people refuse to maintain oppressive systems, not when the people in those systems are destroyed. Nonviolence requires a steadfast and conscious willingness to mentally separate respect for all people from disrespect for what some people are doing in a given situation.
4. **Give your opponents a way out.** By using nonviolence, you are showing a kind of strength that overcomes injustice. Avoid self-righteousness with opponents. Recognize their weaknesses, embarrassments and fears. In specific confrontations, as well as in the larger campaign, find a way to let them participate in finding a solution. Give them options to respond to, not non-negotiable demands.



Photo of Martin Luther King, Jr., Creative Commons

Non Violent Direct Action: Planning and Practicing Action

Action Planning

Planning for direct action requires purpose, intentionality and discipline. Those are things we can learn through practice. In this part of the training, we'll practice planning a nonviolent direct action, using tactics that reflect our values and move our strategy forward. We'll equip ourselves with tools and checklists to make our direct action strategic, purposeful and engaging.



Photo courtesy of National People's Action

Action Planning Part 1: Develop Your Tactic

Regrouping

How do we plan to celebrate our action once it's done?
What's our plan for debriefing the action?
What does success look like?
What we do want to measure?

Relationships

How will our relationships with key stakeholders be affected?
Will they likely move closer to our view or further away?
We will create new relationships?
Who should we communicate, consult, seek approval from, or collaborate with?

Organization

How will our group be affected?
How will this tactic affect recruitment, member-retention, and the acquisition of new skills?
Will the tactic build trust or exacerbate tension and burnout?

Tone

What is the tone of the action?
Solemn, fun, angry, calm?
How will people we want to engage (participants, passersby) react to the tone?

Goals & Strategy

Is the action part of an ongoing systemic campaign with SMART goals?
How will the action help us achieve our goals? What goals?
Is this tactic in keeping with our strategy, and what has been done before, and will be done after?
Does this tactic embody the lessons we've learned from previous work?

Target

Who is the target?
What influence does the target have on the goal?
How will this tactic impact the target?
How will the target react?
Are we prepared for the target's reaction?

Location

Where will the tactic take place?
Does the location show the problem and reveal the target?
Is the location at the point of consumption, destruction, or decision?

Message

What will the tactic communicate to our audience, target, or allies?
Is it understandable and persuasive?

Timing

When should we do the action?
Why?
Does the timing hold potential for us or vulnerability for our opponents?
Can we take advantage of current events or new developments?

Resources

Is this action worth the limited time, energy, and resources of our group?
Do we have the capacity to pull it off effectively?
Can/should we expand it or scale it back?

Tactic Star

Here is a tool that guides us through critical questions so we can craft a strategic action. Move around the star from the top, clockwise, refining your action design as you go.

SOURCE: Jessica Bell and Joshua Kahn Russell, *The Ruckus Society*, adapted from J. Matt Smucker, *Beyond the Choir*, www.beyondthechoir.org.

Developing Your Tactic, Continued

Here are additional steps you may want to go through to ensure your action plan is thorough.

Know the History and Identify the Opportunity: What has your group (or other groups) done before to address the issue? How can you build on the history? What is the particular action opportunity at this moment in time? Is there a new development on your issue or change in the political climate that you can take advantage of?

Choose a Tactic: Make sure it will move you towards achieving your campaign goal and action demands. What exactly will people do? How will this tactic put pressure on your target? Why is it perfect for this moment? When choosing a tactic, be sure to think realistically about the resources available to you -- skills, number of people you can get to participate, money and supplies. Also think about how can this tactic grow your resources by bringing in more people or partners.

Determine Your Audience: Who specifically do you want to mobilize with your action? Is it the public? Consumers? Shareholders? Government Officials?

Create Visuals and Audio: What will your action look and sound like? What imagery do you need to create? How will you amplify your voices and sound? How will the visuals and audio support your tone and convey your demands?

Choose the Location, and Scout It: Where will this action take place? What does that location look and feel like? Is it a community-based location or is it the decision-maker's territory? Are people familiar with the location? How will people get there? What goes on there in the course of a day? Is there security on site?

Make an Action Plan, and Practice It: Think through the action from start to finish. Assign action roles, make a time schedule, determine decision-making process, decide how your group will communicate during the action, list supplies and equipment needed, finalize logistics. Make backup plans just in case!

Debrief and Follow Up: What were the highlights of the action? Where was there room for improvement? How will you keep participants updated, and involved? How will you determine next steps for your campaign?

SOURCE: Adapted from The Ruckus Society, www.ruckus.org

Action Planning Part 2: Develop Your Structure, Teams and Roles

ROLE	BEFORE ACTION	DURING ACTION	AFTER ACTION
Action Team	Coordinated by a member, campaigner or organizer responsible for the big picture of the action and making sure the action is inclusive. Prepare action participants through training. Lead development of contingency plans.	At the front lines of the action. Most at risk for arrest. Action team members should have on their body the phone number for legal support.	Debrief the action.
Outreach Team	Make sure members and allies know about the action and are invited	Pass a sign-in sheet before the action begins so that you can follow up with all participants.	Share the outcomes of your action with allies, members and the general public.
Legal Support Team	Recruit and prepare legal observers. Recruit someone to remain offsite as legal support	Legal observers observe and record what happens during the action, especially interactions between the action team and law enforcement. Off-site legal support tracks any arrests and provides support to anyone in jail.	Follows up on any arrests and provides support for any legal cases resulting from the action.
Media Team (Traditional and Online)	Send out media advisory and press release. Create media kits for the press. Train and support media spokespeople. Recruit volunteers to take pictures and video at the action.	Greet the media and introduce them to your spokespeople—people who can give testimony about why you're in action and clearly articulate the main goals.	Make sure the story of your action is getting coverage. Provide photos, articles, videos, interviews, or write letters to the editor. Compile all independent media created at the action for your archives (video, photos).
Logistics and support	Gather supplies and materials for the action. Take care of permits, paperwork and other action prep tasks.	Support the action with food, water and materials. Provide off site logistical support for child care, pet sitting, etc.	
Additional Action Roles	<p>Researchers: Learn about the target and gather facts for the campaign before the action.</p> <p>Scout: Find out logistical information about the location and how the action could take place there.</p> <p>Fundraisers: Hold events and get donations to cover all action expenses.</p> <p>Artists & Writers: Make props, signs, banners, political theater, flyers, chants, website, etc.</p> <p>Direct Support People: provide direct emotional or logistical support to those risking arrest. Often at risk of being arrested with the person they are providing support to</p> <p>Police Liaison: maintains communication or negotiates between police and demonstrators</p> <p>Peacekeepers/monitors: another "layer" of support for the demonstration, specializing in nonviolent de-escalation techniques</p> <p>Diversion Team: can be used to draw attention away from the action team as they deploy</p> <p>Communication Team: (also called tactical team) uses radios or other forms of communication to relay information between action team, coordinator, media outreach etc.</p> <p>Demonstrators/Participants: people to hold signs, chant, hand out literature, sing, etc. to convey the action goals and demands. Provide fun and morale.</p> <p>Medical Team: Street medics or EMTs who are there to support the action team and participants.</p>		

SOURCE: Adapted from RANT Collective, www.rantcollective.net

Action Planning, Part 3: Develop a Non Violent Action Agreement

Before you get into action it is important that as a group you develop your own non violent action agreement about how participants in the action are expected to behave together. As part of your conversation you should also decide whether or not participants are willing to engage in civil disobedience and risk arrest. Solidarity is critical to our success, and individuals need to follow the agreements established by the group in advance of the action.

Risking Arrest?

Does your action have a component where people are risking arrest? We decided not to include this component in the role-play section of this training because it requires good local legal advice. If you are interested in taking this step with your action, we highly recommend getting the support you need to make informed decisions. Laws are different in each county and town, so consequences to taking arrest in an action can vary widely. Here are some great legal resources:

- **National Lawyers Guild:** www.NLG.org/resources
- **Midnight Special Law Collective:** www.midnightspecial.net
- **Center for Constitutional Rights:** www.crrjustice.org/faqs
- **DC Justice & Solidarity Collective:** <http://www.dartt-online.org/jsdemomanual.pdf>

Actions in which some members of your group risk arrest require more than legal advice. They require additional planning and practice steps (and sometimes unique props and gear!), and a heightened awareness of how race, class, and gender play out in these sorts of scenarios. For example, people of color are treated much differently by the prison system than white people. Immigrants, transgender people and others have different levels of risk. If you are doing a human blockade, the authorities will first try to break your solidarity by targeting people they perceive as “weak” – smaller people, women, etc.

Please plan carefully if you plan to engage in civil disobedience or ask others to join you.



Occupy Oakland

Sample Non Violent Action Guideline from ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power):

These direct action guidelines describe limits required for us to set a minimum level of safety for ACT UP demonstrators:

1. ACT UP cannot guarantee the safety of participants at our demonstrations.
2. Yet, we try to protect each other at demonstrations by setting up a support and advocacy structure that can react quickly if problems should arise or if arrests occur. We recommend that all people considering civil disobedience go to a direct action CD training and that they join an affinity group.
3. At the demonstration, we ask that participants act according to the love and caring that we have built for each other. Individual or group actions that endanger the physical well-being of other demonstrators should not be done. Generally actions that might endanger the safety of others at the demonstration include:
 - a. Physical violence directed against others, including the police, spectators and other ACT UP members
 - b. Actions that cause panic such as running and throwing rocks
 - c. Bringing weapons or anything that can be construed as a weapon to the demonstration site; weapons include but are not limited to: guns, knives, nail files, mace, letter openers, scissors, etc.
 - d. Bringing recreational drugs to the demonstration
4. We ask that anyone or any group considering acts of property alteration (i.e. graffiti) commit such acts openly, taking responsibility for these acts, and taking care that these acts endanger no one. If secrecy is necessary, the action should not be part of this demonstration.

Sample Non Violent Action Guideline from the Nuclear Abolition Summit, Nevada, 1996:

For the purposes of building trust, a common foundation for safety, setting the tone for our action and honoring the stewardship of our Western Shoshone hosts, participants in the Nuclear Abolition Day of Action agree to the following:

1. All activities will be strictly nonviolent in action and tone. Our attitude will be one of openness and respect toward all people we encounter.
2. All participants in direct action will have taken an action oriented nonviolence training in preparation for the event.
3. We will honor the request of the Western Shoshone to apply for and carry Western Shoshone permits during our visit to the nation of Newe Segobia.
4. Weapons are antithetical to the practice of nonviolence, therefore we will bring no weapons to any Summit or related activity.
5. Participants will not bring or use any alcohol or controlled substances. Any legal drugs brought or used will be for specific medicinal purposes only.
6. All participants freely accept the legal consequences of their actions and will not seek to evade those consequences beyond legitimate legal recourse.

While acknowledging that destruction of property has a historical precedent in the history of nonviolent direct action, we affirm the principle of affinity group autonomy. We recognize that affinity groups will work within the guidelines for this action and will respect the opinions and mores of the larger community. Affinity group actions will have repercussions on all Summit and Healing Global Wounds participants as well as on the Western Shoshone Nation.

Action Planning and Practice: Sample Scenarios for Action Planning

Now it's time for you to plan your own action! You may already have a campaign and action in mind. If not, here are some suggested scenarios.

Scenario 1: Move Your Money

- **Issue/Context/Background:** Big banks have taken billions in taxpayer bailouts, engaged in predatory loans, foreclosed on people's homes, funded dirty fossil fuel energy that poisons people, invested in for-profit immigrant detention centers
- **Campaign Goal:** Foster a national shift in money from the big banks into local credit unions
- **Tactic:** A "move your money" event – you have a group of 20 people who enter a bank to close your accounts in unison together. You then deliver a letter detailing why you are closing your accounts to the manager. You then take a group photo outside with a sign that says why you did what you did.
- **Action Goal:** Highlight the issue for the public and press, economically pressure the bank by connecting your action to thousands of other groups doing the same thing, demonstrate to others that they can do it too.

Scenario 2: Fossil Fuel Subsidy Sit-Ins

- **Issue/Context/Background:** Oil, gas, coal, and other fossil fuel corporations are poisoning people, trashing the planet, cooking the climate, and displacing Indigenous communities. And yet even in this time of "austerity" during which the 1% wants to slash funding to all social services, they give these corporations over \$20 billion in subsidies that could be going to renewable energy sources that don't poison anyone.
- **Campaign Goal:** Slash billions of dollars in fossil fuel subsidies and redirect it to clean energy initiatives
- **Tactic:** A sit-in at a congressional office of a politician who has been bought by the oil industry
- **Action Goal:** Attract media attention from a national outlet to change the conversation around subsidies, win new allies to your campaign. You intend on sitting in as long as possible without arrest; you plan to leave after the police issue your final warning to leave.

Scenario 3: Send Wall Street the Bill on Tax Day April 17th!

- **Issue/Context/Background:** Corporations are paying record low taxes while our social services get gutted.
- **Campaign Goal:** Hold tax dodging corporations accountable – get them to pay the taxes they owe, or face legal consequences like everyone else.
- **Tactic:** Go to corporate headquarters with small group, with banners, bullhorns, and present them with a giant cardboard "bill" – the people are demanding they pay!
- **Action Goal:** Attract media attention and raise awareness about how much the 1% is costing our country, have fun, build alliances for the next action.

Action Planning: Group Exercise

This is your chance as a group to start planning a real action. You have a short amount of time here, but often in real life we have little time too! Remember the three parts that go into your plan: 1) Develop your tactic, 2) Develop your structure with clear roles and decision making processes, and 3) Develop your non violent action agreement.

Use the tactic star to plan your tactic. What's the goal? Who's the target? What's your location? Etc.

Now develop your structure. First choose roles. Based on the nature of your tactic, what roles do you need? Who will coordinate each team?

As the second part of developing your structure decide how you will communicate with each other during action, and how you will make decisions under pressure.

Finally, draft your non violent action agreement for this action.

Role Play Your Action and Debrief:

What was your action goal?

Did you reach your goal? What did you do to achieve it?

If you didn't, what was your plan? What could you have done differently?

What roles did people play? Why? Were there any roles missing?

What was decision-making like? What was communication like?

Did everyone follow your non violent action agreement? Why or why not?

What from this role play do you want to remember for the next time you practice an action?

What's Next

This training is only the beginning. The change we want to create in our communities is going to require a lot from all of us. The more we come together as the 99% to create change, the more we can win. In order to begin to turn the tides and hold the 1% accountable we are calling for 6 weeks of 99% Spring actions immediately following the training.

STEP 1: FIND OTHERS TO JOIN YOU.

At the end of your training you will be setting up local action coordination teams to help drive action for the next 6 weeks in your local area. People will be standing up across the country doing nonviolent direct action targeting the members of the 1% who are stopping real change for the 99%, including major corporations such as Bank of America, Wells Fargo, Sallie Mae, Verizon and Walmart. Engaging in these actions will be fun, but requires leadership and coordination.

STEP 2: PLAN YOUR ACTION.

We have created a few toolkits to help you in planning your actions. You'll find below a short description of the toolkits. You can find and download these toolkits at the99spring.com.

STEP 3: SIGN UP FOR ACTION.

Actions across the country will be registered on this actions map: actions.the99spring.com. This will be a great tool for you to register actions you are planning locally so that other people can RSVP to attend, and so that press and decision makers can see how many people are rising up this spring to take action. PLEASE post all your actions as soon as you decide on who you are targeting, what your action will be, and where and when it will occur. You can also sign up to join others' actions on the same site.



Photo by Andrew Stern and Jeremy Baron of Starr Street Studios.

Campaign Toolkits Available at the99spring.com

What Banks and Financial Institutions are Doing to Our Families and Economy . . . And How the 99% Are Fighting Back

Read this toolkit to learn how you can be part of campaigns working to hold banks and financial institutions accountable for bankrupting our economy, hurting our communities, and bankrupting our families. This toolkit include tips for planning actions to:

- Fight Foreclosures: "Occupy Our Homes"
- Move Your Money

Corporate Tax Dodging: How Corporations Are Bankrupting America by Not Paying Their Fair Share...And How the 99% are Fighting Back

Read this toolkit to learn how you can help make sure corporations pay their fair share. This toolkit includes tips for planning actions to:

- Send Wall Street, Corporations and the 1% the Bill on Tax Day April 17th
- Bring the 99% to Corporate Shareholder Meetings: Hold Corporations, CEOs and board members accountable

How Money in Politics Affects the 99%...And How the 99% Are Fighting Back

Read this toolkit to learn about how you can help build the movement to get big money out of politics. Our elected officials should be accountable to the 99%.

This toolkits includes tips for planning actions to:

- Expose Dirty Money: Fossil Fuel Subsidy Sit-Ins
- Crash Fancy Fundraisers

Use these toolkits to find resources to help you plan a local action. Once you've decided on an action, register it at: actions.the99spring.org

Action Planning Resources

Below is a list of resources to support you in your next steps as practitioners of nonviolent action. They include support for planning and doing medium and higher risk actions, legal information, and deeper trainings on the subject.

- **Alliance for Community Trainers** – www.trainersalliance.org
- **Midwest Academy** – www.midwestacademy.com
- **New Organizing Institute** – www.neworganizing.com
- **Praxis Makes Perfect** – www.praxismakesperfect.org (click “resources for organizers”)
- **The Ruckus Society** – www.ruckus.org
- **School for Unity and Liberation (SOUL)** – www.schoolofunityandliberation.org
- **smartMeme** – www.smartmeme.org
- **Training for Change** – www.trainingforchange.org
- **Organizing for Power** – www.organizingforpower.org
- **War Resisters International** – <http://wri-irg.org/>
- **Canvass** – Canvasopedia.org



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