# LOVE AND ANGER




## an organizing handbook

Richard Morgan

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## An Organizing Handbook

for activists in the struggle for animal rights
and in other progressive political movements.

by

Richard Morgan

Westport, Connecticut
Animal Rights Network
1980

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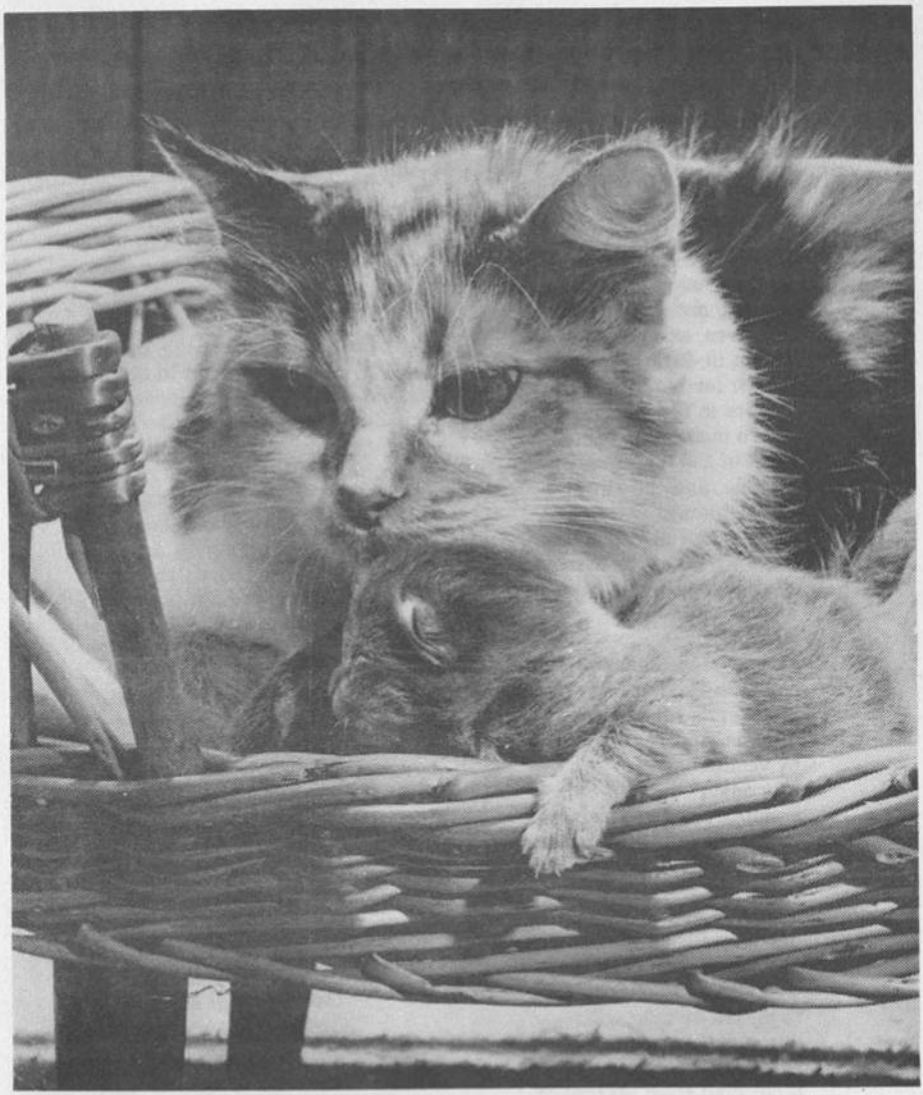


*Photo by John Gajda, Camera Press, London.*

*for Momma Cat, who started all this one night in West Allenhurst, New Jersey, by telling me the concerns of cats, and for Lissa, who helped translate.*

# the smiles of tiny birds

days become vipers that gnaw
joyously heart and lung
bringing nothing but blood
on leaves, and demons
hidden in dark grass. we
search for hand-shaped
flowers in the mountains
where memory is a
ghost of the hours, moons
tremble, and the stars
are nightmare candles
there is evil in the sight,
noise where cities blaze and
other sounds:

**new york**
a tiger paces ceaselessly
caged in waking insanity
grasslands recede into
dreams, and reality is marked
by vertical steel
**wisconsin**
a monkey chews flesh from
bones, rips off his fingers
in laboratory pain
**texas**
a coyote, dog of heaven
lies retching as poison shreds
and scalds her guts, screaming
while pups below are torn
to pieces by men with
wires and guns
**california**
a cat mad from starvation
swollen with kittens, runs
in terror, amid laughter and
the casual torture of those
who live in glittering neon
**georgia**
a fox with the bite of a trap
buried in flesh labors up a tree
falls, and hangs helpless
**new mexico**
a one-eared puppy cowers
in an albuquerque pound
never life at all, a world empty
but for filth, vomit, hunger
despair, and dies knowing no one

the last animal in the world
weeps as only silence can weep

alone and among
none of its kind; a drop
of life glistens on fur, stands
for a moment, then falls
to the ground; it is the
anguish of every hummingbird
that knows the world is dying

picture of a glass sparrow
on the anvil of the world;
all things living bleed,
bleed endlessly

then slowly, throbbing with the
heat of birth, night
answers to day. light makes known
a place which seems familiar
spotted with dim craters, as scars
from a near-fatal illness
a cleaving, softly
a joining, losses
gains, division
reconstruction
the apple's blossom
the fruit's white heart
the ashen, the
resplendent, the once-forgotten
the made-believable

picture of green time
death is nobody's lover today

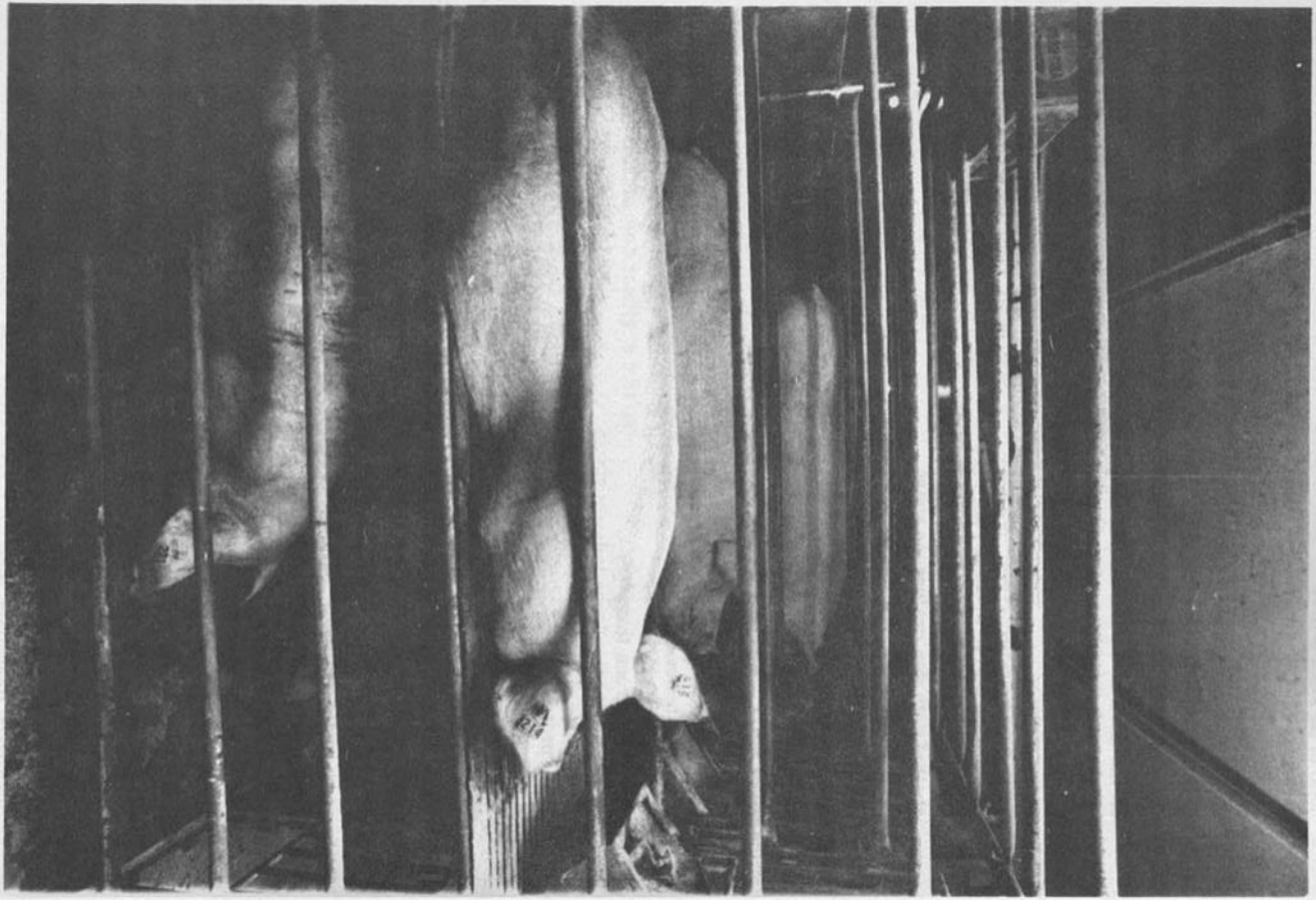
this i promise:
a calmness will come to your life
like winter in a valley, giving earth
rest from the tumult of spring
we are laid down upon the
dust and dust
covers us, but
far from the city, past
shifting wounds of time
there is a door

the handle is wrought most
carefully, of the smiles of tiny birds
and the wood fairly sings in its frame

open it
brings soft wind to
a land where delight forms
the corpus of law, and horror
is a stone buried in deep water

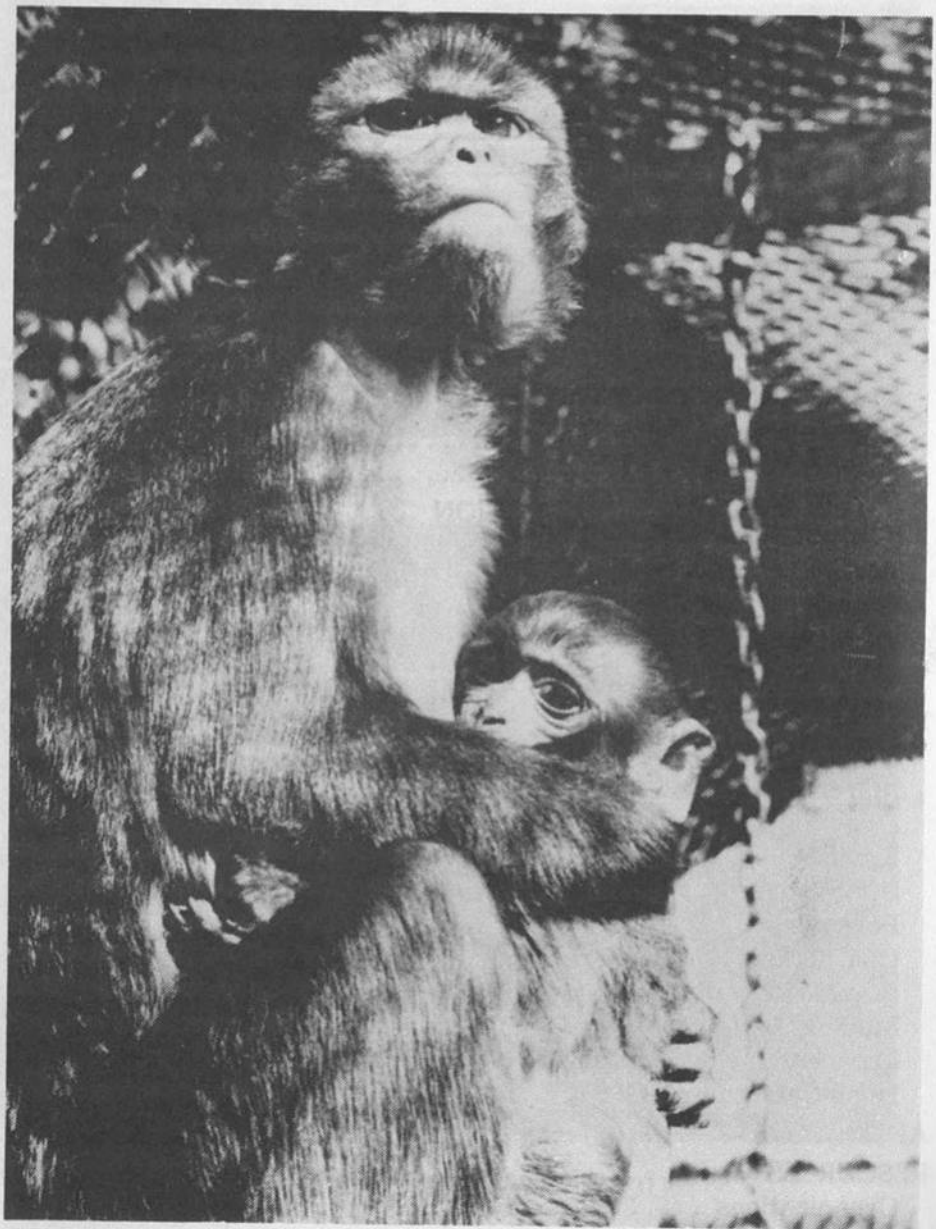
one by one we pass through
hundreds, thousands, then
millions of us
we look back, behind
us the sky is burning

ahead, by the road, violets
quiver and bloom



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*Monkeys undergoing psychological experiments at the Sub-Department of Animal Behaviour at Cambridge, England.*

# introduction

This book is written as an action. Action, struggle for change, is the logical and proper goal of all organizing, and the aim of this book is to provide the basic information necessary to engage in this struggle, to move from feelings and ideas, to understanding and analysis, to direct action. The focus is on organizing to end animal suffering, though the information is also applicable to work in other progressive causes.

Animals have rights, interests, desires, and needs equal, within the context of their lives, to those of humans, and we have an obligation to recognize this, and to act accordingly. Animal rights is a philosophical orientation, and a practical necessity, if creatures are to be spared the systematic cruelty to which they are currently subjected. But perhaps most importantly, the designation of and agitation for animal rights is part of a revolutionary political process aimed at restructuring the major institutions of our society. Indeed, in struggling to change the way humans treat animals, and one another, we work toward nothing less than the transformation of the world.

Millions of animals are the victims of bloody and senseless torture in laboratories. Cruelty is an integral part of our food production system; animals are increasingly raised in overcrowded and barbaric conditions and slaughtered hideously. Creatures of every kind die in leghold traps, by poison, and by clubbing to satisfy the desire for luxury apparel; others are pursued and killed for sport. Thirty million stray cats and dogs are born each year in America alone; half die in pounds and shelters, millions die on streets and highways, and most of the rest starve or die of other injuries. And countless creatures, both wild and domestic, are killed each day by cruelties for which there is not even a name or a neat category. The fate of all animals rests with us.

These cruelties are not accidents, or ignorance, or the isolated acts of depraved individuals; rather, they are a logical result, a profit-

able part, of the economic and social structure of our society. The treatment of animals relates to the construction of our institutions, and as a result the movement for animal rights and liberation must be seen in terms of its relation to other movements for progressive social change, and movements of all kinds which work to end suffering and pain. The same forces in society which allowed slavery to exist in America and elsewhere, which caused the Vietnam war, which result in the subjugation of women, children, and the elderly, which grant enormous power to amoral corporations, are the forces responsible for the pathetic place of animals in our culture.

The only way to eliminate cruelty in such a system is to force institutions to function in a different, more ethical, more socially-responsible manner. Power is never willingly surrendered by an institution, and ethics is rarely a consideration in the operation of any group organized for profit or dedicated to the maintenance of the status quo for the benefit of the rich. Change comes only through struggle, action, and pressure, and the material in these pages is pointed toward that end.

There are two major tasks in work with animals: caring for individual animals, and working for greater protection for all animals. Neither is an expendable task; both should be part of the life of anyone concerned with ending suffering. Thus far, most animal welfare organizations have been concerned primarily with the first task, and the result has been a tremendous growth in the number of animal shelters, spay-neuter clinics, and the like. We should always remember that finally the whole issue of animal rights and of animal liberation comes down to one cat starving on an urban street, one pathetic, frightened dog about to be killed in a county pound, one rabbit or fox or raccoon dying slowly in a trap or from a gunshot wound, one monkey held and tortured in a restraint chair, exposed to incessant suffering by scientists in white coats. Each of these animals is representative of a larger political situation, but each is also a suffering individual, requiring whatever attention we can offer. To focus on the struggle for change but to ignore the individual creatures, to say that one cannot or will not seek out, take in, care for, these animals directly, is failure, and will never lead to improvement on a larger scale. Direct assistance to animals on an individual level requires no organizing, merely an open heart, kindness, and a desire to live one's politics. As such, this handbook does not deal with that area. You know already whether you are doing it.

The second area is working for greater protection of all creatures, through small-group organizing, outreach and education, and direct political pressure. While direct assistance to animals treats products of cruelty or indifference, organizing and action is an effort to prevent the occurrence of cruelty or indifference. Such work requires skills,

collective organization, strategy, and tactics. Those are the topics we will deal with in the following pages. While people have been trying to help animals in one way or another for a long time, the movement to end animal suffering by mobilizing political support through agitation, confrontation, and mass action is really just beginning.

Any successful organizer, any good revolutionary, is motivated by and functions from two basic emotions: love and anger. If either of these is absent, the process breaks down. We must work through this process from a deep love for both animals and other humans, and at the same time maintain anger against those parties or those institutions which cause pain to any creature. Both emotions are necessary; neither alone is sufficient. People are drawn together in love, and people rise up in anger. The expression of anger is a useful organizing tool, and it's important in confrontation, but there must also be something more gentle and more rewarding. Once a certain stage of the goal has been reached, if all that has existed previously is an expression of anger, that's all there will be afterwards also, and a new kind of social order for animals or people cannot be built on that. If all that people outside a movement see is hatred, the base can never be broadened. At the same time, as we retain our love, we must lever lose the fire of outrage which also fuels our work against cruelty. Never give in, never be taken in, and never lose love and respect for those working with you.

* * *

The material in these pages is divided into four main sections: 1. Organizing; 2. Communication and Education; 3. Direct Action, and 4. Resources. The first three sections present cumulative information; in other words, they are meant to be read in sequence, rather than by reference to particular sub-sections, though it is my hope that the sections will prove useful for future reference after the entire work has been read. The last section provides a listing of sources for further information or assistance of various kinds. I will also be happy to personally assist organizers and groups in any way I can, by correspondence, by giving speeches or presenting lectures, and by conducting or participating in workshops and other activities. I can be reached at P.O. Box 337, Jonesboro, Tennessee 37659, or by writing c/o Animal Rights Network, P.O. Box 5234, Westport, CT 06880. Any comments on the handbook, and suggestions for improvements or of material for inclusion in future editions, are also most welcome.

* * *

This book is a form of payment. In the years I have been involved in political movements of one kind or another, I have been taught, helped, loved, confronted, and otherwise aided by many people (and other creatures). One thing I learned was that an organizer should always

strive to make herself or himself less necessary as a personal presence; so one point of my writing this handbook is to make as much of this information as can be put in concise, portable form, communal property, separate from myself. It is one way of paying a debt, and I hope it is a productive one.

As for more direct acknowledgement, so many beings, both two-legged and four-legged, have been important to me that their names alone would fill these pages and leave room for nothing else. Some I have thanked in other books, or in more personal ways. Some will never know how significant they were in my life; that is how life is. Those I have neglected have long ago either accepted my apologies or given up on me entirely. But all have given me enough cause for love that this book has been made possible.

So instead, I acknowledge you, the reader, who is the future of this work. Starting from wherever you are, do whatever you can, do all you can, and pass the word.

Richard Morgan
Williamstown, West Virginia
June 1980

**Postscript: Second Edition**

Since this book was written, the movement to end animal suffering and exploitation has expanded and developed in a great many positive directions. Ideas that were once but half-formed are now solid and convincing; strategies and tactics which seemed merely dreams are already being put in motion; an understanding of the needs, interests, and rights of animals is becoming part of the consciousness of the public. People are mobilizing. Structures long dormant are reviving, and other vital, active ones are being born. We are growing, we are training ourselves and those around us, we are feeling new purpose, new urgency, and new unity. We are learning to love, and we are learning to confront.

We can have a world where all the children of the earth, those with two legs, those with four, those who walk, or fly, or swim, or crawl, can move through life in peace and freedom. And by our actions we are bringing such a world into existence. Good luck to you, my friends; we have just begun, and will need each other's gentle strength for the many tasks ahead.

RGM
Jonesboro, Tennessee
September 1981

# organizing

Personal Commitment and Development
Recruitment
Meetings
Research
Outreach
  High Schools
  Colleges and Universities
  The Elderly
  Women and Racial and Minority Groups
  Labor
  Professionals
  Religious Institutions
  Your Family
Fund Raising

## Personal Commitment and Development

The purposes of political organizing are to work consistently toward a goal which will provide necessary change within a society, and to link the resolution of the issue involved to the growth and development of individuals engaged in the struggle.

It is important to decide, as early as possible, why one is organizing what. Much work that is done proceeds from crisis to crisis, or from fad to fashion, without this initial step, and the work itself can actually become counterproductive. At the same time, one must keep in mind that the most significant factor in determining what a group can do is how far and how quickly each person can move along both to a new consciousness and to the acquisition of new skills. Thus, both the immediate and eventual goals of a group, and what is happening to each individual member of it, should constantly be monitored and addressed.

As a reader of this handbook, you have already made a commitment to begin or continue work through this process of struggle, and the place where the process begins is within you. Any organization or organizing structure is only as effective as the capacities and skills of its primary organizer or organizers permit it to be. No group can progress beyond the emotional and political development of the people who are leading it. As a result, it's important to work on what you yourself are, whether you're working within a small group, a large group, or whether at this point you're working on your own. It's essential to have a clear picture of your own attitudes, your own biases, and any other factors which may relate to your work to end animal suffering. An organizer must be together personally and emotionally, as well

as politically, before she/he can properly influence others. An organization, if it's working properly, should mirror the highest level of political consciousness and conduct that you yourself possess and practice. If that's not a very high level, the group will not go very far, unless another leader emerges from it who has a more developed consciousness. It's very important to live your politics, and personal conduct regarding animals and other humans is the place to begin.

This doesn't mean you must be perfect right now. No one is, no matter how holy her/his self-image is. Everyone doesn't necessarily need to, and everyone is certainly not able to, go to the local pound and take in twenty or thirty animals. Yet there should be some inner consciousness that they are there. You should be able to explain, at least to yourself, if not to other people, why you cannot. The same thing is true of the eating of flesh and the wearing of various animals. Unless you either do not do these things or have an analysis of your own actions that accounts for these things to others, the contradictions between your political work and your personal conduct will make it impossible to produce change. Why do you eat animals? Or if you don't eat flesh but you do drink milk, why do you drink milk? Or if you refuse to ingest any animal products, why do you wear a leather belt? Or leather shoes? Why don't you personally care for more animals than you do? Why do you participate in institutions which oppress animals, such as the government or many corporations? Why do you use cosmetics which have been tested on animals? Or drugs which have been tested on or use animals? Why do you visit zoos or circuses or other institutions which use animals simply for human entertainment? It's important as a first step to gain an understanding of why those things happen, why you do or don't do them, or how what you do has changed over the years. If you can't find reasons, then that's perhaps a reason in itself. The best organizers organize themselves continually. As you understand these things within yourself, you can see better the reason behind the conduct of other people. And the same kind of political development which goes on within each individual should also go on within the core group, those people who compose the central working collective of people involved in your particular struggle, and which then should be extended to as many other people as possible.

## Recruitment

Perhaps you are already working with other people, or perhaps you are working entirely alone at this point; either way, getting other people involved remains an essential part of any struggle for change.

The place to begin, simply, is wherever you are. Make the emotional commitment to talk about issues with friends and co-workers. If you're involved in other organizations, find people who might be interested in working to end animal suffering. Make up a thousand copies of

a leaflet discussing the issue and give your phone number so people can contact you; stand on a street corner and pass them out, or post them at colleges, health food stores, the offices of other progressive political groups, or environmental groups. Follow the suggestions for other means of communication and action which follow in these pages. Write to national animal welfare organizations (addresses in resources section), tell them you are starting a local group and ask them for the names and addresses of their members in the area. If they won't send the names of their members, ask if you can send them copies of a form letter stating what you want to do, and setting up a meeting, along with money for postage, and ask if they'll send the letter to members in the area. If they won't do either of these things, confront them, and ask for other suggestions. Insist the group be responsible to its goals of work to help animals. One way or the other, with all of these methods, you'll quickly learn who you can work with and who you can't.

Whatever happens, you've begun to reach out. That's the first step. Start with people you know, move to people or groups you feel may be sympathetic, and then beyond that to everyone else in your area. And remember that the point of all of this is to act. Organizing which does not result in consistent action leads to stagnation and eventually causes people to leave the group through despair, boredom, or frustration.

## Meetings

Once there are several people who are interested in working, there should be a meeting. Meetings can be the source of growth, strategy and life in a group; but long, boring meetings resulting only in more long, boring meetings, all dominated by one or two people, are perhaps the single greatest cause of failure for a group and its goals.

A good meeting involves everyone present in the acvtivities, disseminates information, is a distinct step toward a goal in a program of education and action, and provides a kind of communal solidarity and warmth for people in attendance.

The first meetings should accomplish several goals:

1. Establish the need for the group; discuss the things which need to be done, both locally and generally.

2. Suggest a general program with both long-term and short-term objectives, with at least one short-term objective that has a high probability of success.

3. Discuss the structure of the group, how it will be coordinated, how decisions will be made.

4. Establish a regular meeting time and place, once a week if possible for about two hours, depending upon business and activities.

5. Gather information on people attending.

6. At the initial meeting, give everyone a specific task to accomplish and report on at the next meeting. This gives each person a sense of involvement, gives the group a chance to explore one another's talents and capacities, makes people realize there are things to be done. Every new person who attends subsequent meetings should also be given a task. These tasks can be anything: handing out leaflets, making posters, calling people, reading sections of a book or articles to be discussed at meetings, helping to organize a demonstration, or whatever else is a part of group activities.

7. Have each person invite other people to the next meeting; people should be encouraged to bring their friends.

8. Make everyone feel welcome. Give each person a change to duscuss her/his own objectives.

9. Plan an action (see Direct Action section) and/or an education project (see Communication and Education section).

10. Remember to keep love and anger directed toward their proper objects.

As with the general direction of a group, each meeting should be concerned with both the political goal and individual development. There are two basic types of meetings with which we're concerned, the core group meeting, which consists of the central group which does the work and plans the program, and public meetings, which are generally larger. Core group meetings usually range from three to five people up to fifty or more in the case of large organizations. Whatever the core group is, however, the structure and leadership should be similar. Public meetings can be of any size.

Political movements need strong active leadership to develop ideology, plan organization, and direct action. At the same time, exclusive, oppressive leadership can doom a movement to failure at an early stage. No single person should make all the decisions in a group, nor should a group, whether it consists of five people or 50,000, be considered the property of that person or identified solely with her/his work. Permitting this to happen invariably results in stagnation, because the person does not have access to different ideas which can enlarge her/his vision of the issues and of strategy. Leaders can be killed, jailed, bought out, immobilized by personal problems, or simply lose interest or ability over a period of time. Decision-making should be as open and communal as possible, and work assignments should be rotated to prevent anyone from being assigned repetitive, disagreeable tasks all the time. There is a tendency in organizations for certain people to make the decisions, and others to adhere to them or leave, for one person to chair the meetings, another to write the leaflets, another to do the leafleting, and another to do the shit work. This occasionally happens through convenience, especially in groups dominated by one person or groups that are always on the brink of hysteria rather than

working through a program toward a goal and toward individual development. Nothing we are involved in will be won tomorrow; we have the time and the need to teach as many people as possible how to do a variety of tasks. If someone doesn't know how to write a leaflet, rather than assigning her/him to address envelopes every day, show the person how to write leaflets. And *everyone* should help with the non-creative, repetitive work.

In addition, if a group insures that no one person dominates, there is a greater chance that additional leaders will emerge. If the types of work are spread around, more people can learn and develop skills which will help the group and the movement at large. In the absence of communal decision-making and shared tasks, many interested people will drift away, or simply be squashed, without the possibility of developing their capacities.

The central group should engage in an ongoing evaluation of all of its activities on several levels: in terms of its goals, the success of short-term activities, tactics, the progress of self-education in the group, and also how they feel about each other. That last item is probably the most overlooked part of the organizing process. An overly dominant or egotistical leader can encourage an adversary atmosphere around her/him which infects the entire group, but even groups with a more collective structure can reach a point when people in the group simply don't feel good about one another. The only way to deal with this situation properly and morally is to confront it directly, and to try to understand why these things are happening. Self-criticism and self-education are essential to any progressive group. While people should be involved in activities and accomplish things, they should also be encouraged to grow intellectually and emotionally. That's the point of individual political development. Activity without theory is as pointless as theory without activity. A group should be involved in its own continuing dissolution and reconstitution.

The meetings themselves are the heart of the continuing existence of the group. Successful political meetings involve planning and effort; they do not merely happen. As stated before, meetings should involve and inform, act and warm. These are the internal elements, which should occur every time a group of people gathers for a political purpose. A group must learn to balance the political and the personal. A meeting should accomplish business; it should also be a gathering of friends and comrades who draw strength and joy from one another.

A good way to retain the personal, social element, especially with core group meetings, is to combine the meeting with a vegetarian meal in which everyone brings food to share, or to occasionally hold meetings in a park or other congenial location. Meetings should, if at all possible, be held on a weekly basis, at the same time, so people automatically set that time aside, and begin to consider it a regular

part of their lives.

The functions of initial group meetings which were listed earlier remain important in every group meeting. As far as the content of meetings, a usual meeting might proceed as follows:

1. Preliminary: introductions, "settling-in"
2. Business: financial report, announcements, membership update, correspondence and contact with other groups.
3. Discussion of agenda for current meeting.
4. Reports of activities; questions and discussion.
5. Other agenda items.
6. Planning and decision-making; assignments as necessary.
7. Election of chairperson for next meeting; break.
8. Evaluation of meeting and other matters; planning and initial agenda for next meeting.

The same person should not chair meetings on a regular basis. Chairing a meeting automatically confers a certain amount of power, and can lead to inappropriate and destructive dominance. Ideally, a different person should chair each meeting, and people should face each other in a circle, rather than sitting classroom-style. Each new person should be approached and welcomed before the meeting begins, and should be given something to do before she/he leaves.

Lateness and length are two major problems most groups will encounter. It is inevitable that meetings will start late the first couple of times. Many people come late because they assume the meeting will start late, and so the cycle perpetuates itself. However, regular members of the group who are consistently late are demonstrating a lack of seriousness and collective concern, and this should be pointed out. Thereafter, meetings should start on time no matter who is or is not present. Meeting length can be controlled by setting time limits on agenda items, with a vote of the group necessary to extend the limit. Individuals should also be limited to a predetermined amount of time when they speak.

At the beginning of the meeting, in order to give people a chance to settle in, introductions should be made, with any new people given a chance to say something about themselves and their objectives.

Business matters should then be covered. Whoever is at that time responsible for the treasury and membership should give reports in those areas, and any necessary announcements should be made by the chair.

At this point, the chair should review the proposed agenda (which should include all items suggested by members at and since the last meeting). If possible the proposed agenda should have been duplicated for distribution to those in attendance, or should be printed in felt marker on large sheets and posted on a wall. People can then approve, rearrange, or change the agenda, and set time limits on various items if

they wish. This discussion should be kept as brief as possible.

Each person who has been assigned a task or who is coordinating a group project should report to the meeting. This report of activities is central to the meeting, as it demonstrates what progress the group is making, and how much individuals are capable of and willing to do. Reports should include the basic project or activities, progress, current needs, and proposed or future work in that area. At this point, people might be asked to volunteer for work, a list of tasks can be passed around or certain persons may be asked to do things directly. Or any or all of these things can be done at a later point in the meeting. If people are not taking responsibility for doing the work, that will be evident, and additional or different people may wish to become involved in the neglected activity. Discussion of the activities should take place. The chairperson should encourage new or quieter members to speak, at this time and any other time discussion is going on, and should remain sensitive to the feelings of all persons, making certain not to assert her/his will beyond the necessity of keeping order in the meeting.

After other agenda items have been introduced and discussed, the group should plan future work and make decisions. A useful way of beginning this process is by brainstorming, which is a means of generating large numbers of ideas by permitting imagination to work without the limiting factors of qualifying judgements or criticism. A certain period of time is set aside, during which people call out ideas and the chair writes them down. It is useful to keep certain parameters in mind:

1. The process is calculated to provide quantity, not quality, the more ideas the better, encouraging people to be spontaneous, not self-censoring.

2. Criticism and comments on ideas are not permitted until the brainstorming time is over.

3. Ideas should be stated briefly, with no defense or explanation; all that can come later.

4. People should feel free to build on other ideas, modify them, duplicate them, combine them, etc. The more this happens the better, so that it ceases to be a fight for one's "own" idea.

After the session, the ideas should all be recopied into a sheet which is posted for view by everyone. The group can then discuss and select the best ideas, and begin to implement them.

The process by which points are clarified, work is improved, and the group is strengthened must include the element of criticism. Criticism can be used to examine why something worked or why it didn't. Either way, it can be positive if approached in the proper manner, and should be a part of the function of any political group. Keep the following in mind: 1. Criticize yourself first, examine your motives, and never assume you are completely correct; 2. Examine ideas,

issues, and modes of conduct, rather than attacking personalities; 3. Start by finding and restating points of agreement; 4. Work to attain clarity, avoid misunderstanding, and be sure to listen closely to what the other person is saying; 5. There are no absolutes in the world; it is doubtful in any discussion that one side will be utterly "right" and the other completely "wrong".

Decision-making should be an open process within a group; everyone at a meeting should be encouraged to participate. The two primary ways of making decisions democratically are by voting and by consensus. Voting is generally quicker, and can help a group get through minor decisions about which group members do not have strong feelings or emotional commitments.

Though many groups also use majority vote for major decisions as well, others use consensus (or "sense of the meeting" as developed by the Quakers). The advantage of consensus is that, unlike voting, which tends to polarize opinion, and alienate the "losers," who then may feel they no longer have an honorable "face-saving" way of participating, it has a capacity to draw a group together with greater solidarity, and make differences of opinion on a single matter of less importance than work toward the general goal. Consensus decisions can also inhibit the separation of a group into factions.

Consensus is reached not when everyone is in total agreement with everyone else (that is nearly impossible); it normally means that those who disagree do not disagree strongly on matters of principle. It is more work than voting, but also can result in greater growth and better tactics.

Consensus starts with a poll on the matter in question. If there is a uninimous decision, obviously nothing further need be done. If there is disagreement, the reason for the disagreement is pursued by encouraging the minority to voice their opinions. Sometimes when this is done, the disagreement will be seen to be a misunderstanding, and the matter is then easily cleared up. Or minor changes in the plan may be necessary to clarify the situation fully.

If there is substantial disagreement, the group should split into discussion groups of four or five people, set up by counting off, to each discuss the problem, try to establish consensus within themselves, and then after a set period of time, come back to the larger group with a brief report. After each group has spoken, there is then one minute of silence for reflection, and a minute at the end. The whole group then takes a few minutes to reach a consensus. If it does not work the group may choose to repeat the process until there is general consensus, postpone decision until the next meeting, or try to follow one side of the decision and then the next time such a matter comes up do it the other way, in order to compare.

After ideas have been generated, decisions made, and necessary

assignments given, there should be a brief break in the meeting, particularly if the decision-making process has been lengthy, so that people may step aside from politics for a few moments and be people with one another. After the break, the group should choose a chairperson for the next meeting. The group should then discuss and evaluate the current meeting, and plan an initial agenda for the next one.

Though much of this is applicable to public meetings, a different perspective is necessary when a group plans a meeting which it hopes will attrace a larger number of people, or where it plans to announce a program of direct action. The meeting should remain open, politically principled, and friendly, but the group should exercize a greater degree of control over the proceedings.

Publicity should be sufficient to attract as large a number of people as the group feels is desirable. Do not expect miracles; many people who will unfailingly participate in direct action will never go to a meeting. Use the opportunity to gain exposure for your group and its ideas with the same intensity with which you would publicize a rally or a boycott.

Prepare an agenda, allowing time for discussion, select a chairperson who is generally acceptable to the type of people you expect to attend the meeting, and distribute copies of proposals. If it is a touchy factional issue, engage in discussion, and call for a vote when you feel the time and mood are right.

By the end of the meeting, get contact information (name, address, telephone, interests) of the people in attendance, and at the end of the general meeting have the people split up into smaller groups organized around specific tasks to be accomplished, each group coordinated by a member of your core group. There will then be a sense of accomplishment and forward motion. Announce a place, date, and time for the next general meeting, and for reports from the task groups, and remind all those whose names you collected to attend, by contacting them by mail and telephone just prior to the meeting.

## Research

Before taking action in a political area, one must know the social, cultural, economic, and logistic factors involved in the struggle. To acquire that information, one must do basic power structure research, and must become educated in political theory and practice. When we plan to develop an issue, confront a structure in society, and demand change, we must know how the institutions and persons running them are intertwined, where the pressure points are, and how this issue might relate to others.

Political and economic power in America and most of the western world is centered in the large corporations and funneled through government, the military, educational institutions, the medical/phar-

maceutical complex, and the media. The people who own and control your city or university will all have ties to one or more of these institutional structures, and all organized oppression of animals will be part of this system as well.

Basic references for this research are *Poor's Register of Corporations, Directors, and Executives: The Dun and Bradstreet Million-Dollar Directory;* and *Who's Who in Commerce and Industry.* These works will give you information on individual executives and on the activities of major companies. *Moody's* manuals (Banking and Finance, Municipal and Government, Utilities, Industrial) can provide information on the holdings of local business leaders, and also provide information on subsidiary status of local companies. Further information on who owns your local slaughterhouse, torture-chamber, pet store, or breeding station can be obtained through the *Directory of Corporate Affiliations of Major Corporations* and the *Fortune Plant and Product Directory.* Annual reports are available from all major corporations. *Who's Who in America,* and the regional editions of that work, provide information on socially- and politically-prominent individuals. Specialized editions such as *Who's Who in Commerce and Industry* may also prove to be of value.

For government research, the current edition of the *U.S. Government Organization Manual,* the *Congressional Directory,* and the *Federal Register* are essential tools. College trustees' names are listed in college catalogs, as corporate directors are in corporation annual reports, and their corporate, military, and government connections can be researched through the above cited works. Specialized directories exist for most professions; check the reference desk at your city or university library for these and the more general works listed. *The Lawyer's Directory* is an example.

At some point in your research, you will almost certainly encounter military connections, contracts or background. Defense contracts, which often involve animals, are listed in the *Government Contracts Directory.* The Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, at the Pentagon, can make available *Department of Defense Prime Contract Awards by State,* as well as *One Hundred Companies and Their Subsidiaries Listed According to Net Value of Prime Military Contracts* and *Five Hundred Contractors Listed According to Net Value of Military Prime Contract Awards for Research.*

In the specific area of animals, the National Institute of Health publishes *Animal Resources, A Research Resources Directory,* which lists major national centers for research inflicted upon animals. The NIH Research Grants Index, and other annual lists of awards and contracts, as well as those of the National Science Foundation, are an invaluable resource for political research. The Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service (APHIS) of the Department of Agriculture publishes

an annual list of research facilities which use animals, animal dealers, zoos and exhibitors, and other commercial users of animals, which is also an essential research tool, and is available from APHIS on request. The animal movement has yet to foster a group which will devote itself to researching and disseminating this information on a national level, as has been done for the military-industrial complex, and in other areas. Until that happens, local organizers must do their best to establish connections in their own cities and universities to supply the facts necessary to confront those abusing animals.

If you're at a university, check the treasurer's report, and find out where the money comes from. Find out who is on the board of trustees or the school board, what their holdings are, whether the holdings have anything to do with other university activities, and whether they profit financially, directly or indirectly, from the use of animals in some way. Most universities and colleges will have an office of grants, office of contracts, or office of institutional research; most of them publish a list of new grants, and all keep records of grants administered through their offices. You want to know what new grants are coming in involving animals; when you find out, you will then know what specific faculty member in which department is responsible, and have at least a basic idea of what the research involves. Since most of them don't think there's anything wrong with what they're doing, they might even be willing to discuss the research with you, as long as you approach them innocently.

For research in a community, the basic source is the Yellow Pages; consult it to find out what kinds of businesses involve the use of animals, and go from there until you find a likely target, using the reference works already discussed. Beyond that, be creative.

General library research is an important part of the process of gathering information. Most libraries have a wide variety of indexes and other reference works which are useful in finding background information in issue areas you may be investigating, and current publications dealing with specific recent experiments, developments, and perspectives.

The first place to go to find books is the card catalog of the largest library in your area. Check subject files under specific topics such as vivisection, experimentation, wildlife, conservation, or whatever category is relevant to your research. Material on animals is also divided into sub-categories under general headings such as Animals, Animals and..., Animals in..., Animals — Treatment of, and so forth. For books that are not held in your local library, make use of reference works such as the *National Union Catalog, Books in Print Subject Guide,* and the *Cumulative Book Index.* If you locate a book you wish to obtain which is not held in the library, ask that it be borrowed through the Inter-Library Loan system.

Government books and documents are listed separately in reference works which include the U.S. Government Printing Office monthly catalog of publications, and the Congressional Information Service. These works will normally be found in the government documents section of the library.

For periodical articles, the basic source for major magazines is the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature.* Articles in more specialized fields can be located by reference to the *Modern Language Association Bibliography, Chemical Abstracts, Biological Abstracts, Biological and Agricultural Index, Psychology Abstracts, Cumulated Index Medicus,* and others. Virtually every recognized academic field has an index to articles published in that discipline. Another useful reference work is *Current Contents,* which lists articles both by subject and by journal. Articles on individuals can be located through the *Biography Index.*

Newspapers such as the *New York Times, Christian Science Monitor,* and *Wall Street Journal* are fully indexed by subject, and these indexes are available in many libraries. In addition, the major regional newspaper for the area in which your library is located will probably also have an index in the library. Since libraries can purchase only a limited quantity of books and current journals, but can purchase entire sets of newspapers on microfilm, newspaper research is a logical part of the investigative process.

Perhaps the primary means of gaining specific information and documentation is through use of the federal Freedom of Information Act. With some exceptions, the FOIA provides for the release of all government documents, information, or files which do not involve "national security" matters or ongoing criminal investigations, to any member of the public who requests them. A copy of the full text of the Act is available in the government documents section of most university and city libraries, but attention to the following material should make reference to the complete document unnecessary.

In order to obtain the material you need, it is vital to contact the government agency which regulates or funds the specific industry or activity involved. Some areas are:

*Experimentation and Research.* The major agencies which fund research involving animals are the National Institutes of Health, the National Science Foundation, and the Department of Defense. These agencies will have records of grants, including categorized lists of expenditures for specific purposes, reports of work done under each grant, and evaluations of the projects both during their progress and following their completion. A Freedom of Information request can be used to get information on a specific experiment you have discovered through use of one of the reference works described earlier in this section, or another source, or you may seek information on all experiments

going on at a particular facility.

*Wildlife.* The Fish and Wildlife Service (land animals) and National Marine Fisheries Service (sea animals) are the agencies which control this area. Information on exhibitors, hunters, importers and exporters, and other persons or organizations which kill or use animals in the wild can be obtained from this source.

*Domestic and Captive Animals.* Licensing, inspection, and other regulatory material and information on animal dealers, zoos, circuses, breeding facilities, and animals held in laboratories is available from the Department of Agriculture, which administers the Animal Welfare Act and its amendments. Information on companies which deal with the commercial transport of animals for various purposes should be obtained from the Interstate Commerce Commission. In the latter case, a request to both agencies is usually necessary.

*You and Your Group.* As we become more committed and more successful in our activities, the government will increase its surveillance of us, and keep files on greater numbers of people in our movement. If you have been active in any political or social change work over a period of years, it is probable that there is already a file on you, and this is equally true for political groups of virtually every type. If you want a copy of the material on yourself or your group which the government has on file, contact the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and ask for all documents, information, files, or material relating to yourself or your organization.

In filing a Freedom of Information request of any kind, the more specific information on the experiment, company, institution, or individual you can provide, the more quickly the request will be processed. By law, the agency must respond to the request within ten days, but that response will be merely an acknowledgement that the request has been received. The actual material may take months, or longer, to get to you.

When making the request, be certain to contact the correct agency. Addresses can be obtained from the *U.S. Government Organization Manual* or the Washington, D.C. Telephone Directory. Address the letter and envelope to the Freedom of Information Office at the agency, and mark "Freedom of Information Act request" on both. Include the information you have on the grant, company, or facility, and either the specific information you want, or a request for all information on file. The government is authorized to charge a fee for processing the material, which ordinarily takes form as a per-page photocopying fee. In your initial letter, you should request a waiver of fee, stating that the information is not for commercial use, and that you are part of a non-profit group (if applicable). This request may be ignored, and often, you will get a letter informing you of the cost of filling the request before

the material is released to you.

When the documents arrive, it is likely that words, paragraphs, sections, or even whole groups of pages will be deleted, with reference to certain exclusions permitted under law. In such cases, you may appeal the deletions to the officer named in the document accompanying the material. The deletions will be evaluated on an individual basis, and you may succeed in gaining additional, information.

The better information we have, and the clearer our documentation is, the more convincing our appeals to the public will be, and our organizing will achieve far greater results. Be thorough, be specific, and use every method of research you can.

## Outreach

Without recruitment, expansion into whatever structure or community you are part of, without reaching out, no movement can grow. Once the core group or the group which has been developed from a meeting has been assembled, and information related to various animal issues has been obtained, the logical direction is to communicate that information to other people and to take action, and to encourage the community or parts of it to join in that action. Your main support must come from the people around you, not from those hundreds or thousands of miles away. Start with something which is relevant and significant to people nearby; that is the reason you will have done local power structure research, and investigation into the treatment of animals in your area. If you hold a public meeting, you are already beginning to work with other people. There are also ways to involve specific constituencies.

## High Schools

If you are a high school student, you can start by discussing issues related to animals with your friends, and within any group of which you are a part. Use student government and student publications to raise these issues. Form a club, or use an existing one, like a current-events club, or a political club of any kind. If you are organizing from outside the school, become acquainted with students, leaflet near the schools, invite students to your meetings. In either case, work out an initial demand, such as an end to the use of animals in science classes, or provision of a vegetarian choice in the cafeteria, and begin mobilizing support around that issue.

Ask permission to speak in an assembly; high schools often are looking for speakers for various occasions. If your topic does not seem too radical, the invitation may be accepted. Contact the editor of the school newspaper, and the president of the student government; try to get an article on animal rights in the student newspaper. Establish rapport with teachers, and get in touch with faculty advisors for the

newspaper, or the debate or current events club. Ask to speak at a faculty meeting, or at a PTA meeting.

Once contact has been established, and an issue has been chosen, make certain you encourage the students themselves to lead the struggle, involving them in activities of the larger local group, and offering all possible support, but not imposing control or direction.

## Colleges and Universities

Universities are the training ground and the stronghold of the economic and political structure of the society. The policies and programs of educational institutions mirror the assumptions and desires of the forces which govern the country. When corporations profit from war, university laboratories are turned to war research, and students are taught to help. When the suffering of animals is useful to the military and the medical/pharmaceutical empire, animals are routinely abused by academic scientists. If one would change the way the system functions, one must focus at least in part on the universities. And by the fact that most students have not yet made an irrevocable investment in the status quo, can be open to new concepts, and have greater freedom of action than many other segments of society, they can be, and have been, a potent force in any organizational effort.

If you are a student, put up notices and call a meeting on campus. Form a group, a Student Animal Rights Action Committee, or Students and Teachers for Animal Rights, or anything similar. On most campuses, it takes two or three students, and sometimes a faculty member who will agree to be listed as "advisor," to have a group formally recognized by the university. Once a group is recognized, it can reserve and use university facilities, sometimes have use of office space, and apply for funds from the student governing body. While this is going on, approach the people involved in groups on campus which might by sympathetic, and ask if you can share their space, or seek their help in any way you think might be useful.

If you are not a student, and are organizing from the outside, try to enlist the support of students. Arrange a meeting time and place (Tuesday through Thursday in the early evening is usually a good time) as close to campus as possible, on campus if you can somehow arrange it. Announce the meeting in the student newspaper, by putting up posters, and by leafleting the week of the meeting. Whoever comes to the meeting is the nucleus of the new group. Follow normal meeting procedures, and try to have the students take charge and form a recognized organization within the school.

Orientation week (mid-August for schools on the semester system, late August or early September for school on the quarter system) is a good time to begin work on a campus, as one can meet, talk with, and recruit beginning freshmen. The school calendar will provide the

frame for any efforts you engage in. It is rarely possible to do much organizing near the end of a term, during vacations, or during the summer, except to prepare for further organizing. Try to plan long-range projects which will extend past the academic year, but also plan things which can be accomplished within a single year, so there is a feeling of progress, and enough people will remain interested that the group need not start over again every year. Fast, mass recruitment on campuses is sometimes possible once a direct action campaign begins, but it is often necessary to start small.

Universities have enormous resources of all types, and any group which is in or near a university should put considerable effort into organizing that structure.

As with high schools, contact the editor of the student newspaper and ask for coverage of the group's activities, as well as general articles on animal issues. Talk to faculty members, particularly in humanities departments, to find out who might support your activities. A philosophy professor might be willing to devote a section of an ethics course to a discussion of animal rights, for example. Or another might be an advisor to the student group. One might become an integral member of the group. But one must reach out before any of this can happen.

Most large universities have a continuing education division, and it is sometimes not even necessary to be a faculty member to offer a course. Find out, and offer a course in Animal Liberation. If there is a free university or other non-credit institution, do the same thing. Ask to address faculty meetings, or any meeting you can think of at the school.

Once a student group has been organized, it should begin to function as part of the larger group, to formulate issues, plan a program, engage in education, and plan direct action. The manner in which such a campaign works will be discussed further in the section on Direct Action.

## The Elderly

Older people in our society are alternately oppressed and ignored, or both at once. But they have time, experience, a knowledge of suffering and alienation, and a desire to make a difference in their world. An effort should be made to publicize group meetings at senior citizen centers and other places, and to invite persons over sixty-five to participate in animal rights activities. Encourage them to establish their own group, and provide any assistance you can.

## Women and Racial and Ethnic Groups

Women and minority groups have been used throughout history by the white male power structure, and denied rights of every kind until their demands grew strong enough to force rights to be granted them.

Even now, we are far from equity in political or economic terms. The same arguments which are now used by the establishment to suggest that animals should have no rights are those arguments which were used by the governing structure to maintain that women were too easily confused to be permitted to vote, and that black people could not feel or think.

The movement to end animal suffering will require support from every major group before there is real progress. Attempts should be made to speak with feminist leaders and the leaders of racial and ethnic groups; animal rights organizers should ask to speak before meetings of all such groups. The object is not necessarily to have everyone join in organizing for animal rights, but at least to engender a consciousness of the issue in everyone possible.

## Labor

Workers are exploited by the greed and indifference of corporations, just as animals are. And workers may unknowlingly contribute to the suffering unless they are made aware of the issues. Make contact with union leaders and particularly if you are a union member, try to bring a particular animal issue up at union functions.

## Professionals

Organizing the professions (e.g., scientists, teachers, health professionals, doctors, lawyers) is very difficult unless you yourself are part of that group. People in the professions tend to be well paid and are so thoroughly socialized into believing in their work that agitation from the outside is seldom successful. If you choose to work in this area, the best hope is to directly contact prominent individuals in a profession, and try to get their support. The professions function as hierarchically and autocratically as the system of which they are a part, and if you can somehow win support from a few key people, others will listen to them.

Whether you are organizing from inside or outside, one useful strategy is to concentrate on professional conventions. Every profession has regional and national conventions, which attract a wide range of people in that field, from those looking for their first job to well-known, successful people. In this setting, there is a greater chance you will encounter people who might be led to agree with you than if you spent time contacting individuals, or working through individual offices or institutions. Many associations have radical caucuses or other divisions which could be sympathetic to your cause. Other techniques are leafleting, holding a counterconvention or workshops at a nearby location (which is then publicized by leafleting at the main convention), or asking to set up a debate or sit on a panel.

## Religious Institutions

While most religious institutions are very conservative, support establishment values and the corporate structure, and relegate true morality to a minor concern, most at least retain the pretense of humaneness. Some churches, on the other hand, such as the Quakers and some university ministries, have consistently been allied with progressive causes. Many Seventh-Day Adventists are vegetarians, and some reform Jewish congregations have been involved with progressive political work, as have some Unitarian churches.

It may be useful to meet with local religious leaders, and attend some of the services to gauge the character of the people involved in that institution. Youth groups are also a possibility, as they often deal with political issues. Ask to hold a workshop or lead a discussion, or speak at a meeting of some part of the service or some group within the institution, such as a breakfast group, or a men's group. It can frequently be worth the effort to try to work with religious institutions in your area; they may be led to give you a place for meetings, access to a mimeograph machine, or even office space for your group.

## Your family

Use the resources offered by your home and family. Talk with each family member with love and respect about the issues with which you are concerned. Seek their help in organizing your neighborhood. Invite them to your meetings, involve them in your activities, put them on mailing lists; don't assume they cannot be converted. Everyone is a member of someone's family; if you can work with the relatives of others, you should also be able to work with your own.

## Fund Raising

Every project, program, and organization requires money, even if all work is done by volunteers and expenses are kept to a minimum. So fund raising is an essential part of the activities of any group, and should start as soon as a group is formed. The raising of money for program activities also can be a means of education, and can bring new people into a group; it is thus necessary both for organizing outreach and for maintaining and initiating programs. There are an unlimited number of ways to raise funds. Here are a few that have worked in the past:

1. *Pass the Hat.* At all rallies, meetings, and other events open to the public, make an appeal announcement at some point, then pass around buckets with the group's name on them. When you make a fund appeal in this situation, mention specific costs, the time volunteered by people in the group, and the urgency of the situation.

This should also be done at least at the beginning within your own group, to start things off. Each person can pledge a certain amount per month, or perhaps donate one day's work (i.e., pay) each year. Everyone

in the group should be involved with fund raising in some way.

2. *Individual Solicitations.* It is common for groups to receive most of their money from a few sources, and you should not hesitate to approach heavy contributors to allied causes, if you can discover who they are. People who have signed newspaper ads, are directors of or affiliated with national groups, or other reform-oriented organizations, "counterculture" entrepeneurs (e.g. health food store owners, publishers of progressive or "new age" magazines), are a few possibilities. Be polite, be specific, take rejection gracefully, and be ready to try again another time.

3. *Advertisements.* Though ads seldom return more than two dollars for each dollar spent, they can also reach people you might not be able to get to in any other way. Choose the periodical with the largest circulation whose rates you can afford, but also put ads in liberal, progressive, and student-oriented publications. Ads placed on an outside, right-hand page are the most visible; try, in any case, to avoid having an ad placed close to the centerfold.

4. *Mailings.* As with advertisements, mailings generally do not return a great deal more than the amount invested. Nevertheless, occasionally they can produce one or more large donations, and are also useful for outreach and communication. A fund appeal letter should be sent to your whole membership two or three times a year, and to the mailing list of sympathetic groups who will let you use theirs whenever possible. The letter should include a description of your activities, a coupon with possibility both for writing a donation amount and for requesting further information, and a self-addressed return envelope. Again, be specific about what the money will be spent for. It is a good idea to list other items which are needed, as well as money. It is not unheard of for a group to mention it needs a car or office space, and have them donated as a result.

5. *Product Sales.* Literature is a reliable, if small, source of income for a group. A group can establish a literature list, and include in it all mailings, set up literature tables (see Comm. & Ed. section), or both. T-Shirts, posters, buttons, and prints can be sold in the same manner.

Bake sales, plant sales, and garage sales are another way of raising funds, and if done regularly can provide a steady income for a group. Some groups have built upon such activities and opened used-clothing stores to provide program funds. There are many variations possible. The group might sell coffee and rolls at offices in the morning, sandwiches and soft drinks at noontime at factories, offices, schools, or colleges. At any of these activities, choose high-traffic locations, check with the police first about permits, have large clear signs advertising both the product and the group, and have political material available.

6. *Speakers and Film Showings* are another way of raising funds; they are described in the next section. Singers, poets, theater groups,

bands, and other entertainers should be approached and asked to give a benefit (you might propose a split of the money raised). Set up a cocktail-party at the home of a sympathetic individual (preferably one with money), and ask the person to invite her/his friends; arrange a brief talk and a fund appeal by a member of your group, or by a well-known person if possible. Or arrange a party in a bar, and charge a donation at the door, or do the same thing at someone's house, with an ample supply of beer or other refreshments available.

7. *Foundations.* Corporations and certain wealthy individuals have established foundations which sometimes make grants for projects applicable to political work, particularly if the project is educational in nature or reflects a moderate political orientation. Foundations give away billions of dollars annually, and though working with them can be frustrating and demeaning, it is sometimes worth approaching this particular bureaucracy. *The Foundation Directory* (available in most libraries) is the basic reference in this area. There are also offices of the Foundation Center (which has a wide variety of services for the grant-seeker), in New York, Washington, San Francisco, Chicago, and other cities. Write to them at 888 Seventh Avenue, New York, NY 10019, for a listing of their offices. Another reference is *The Bread Game*, published by Glide Publications, 330 Ellis Street, San Francisco, CA 94102, which deserves a thorough reading before engaging in the grants process.

Pick the foundations you wish to approach, and write each a brief letter introducing your group and the specific project for which you are seeking funds. Or simply write and ask for the foundation's program policy statement and application information, then write the letter describing the project. Wait for a short time, and then call the foundations to discuss the project; if it is located in your city (most foundations give preference to local organizations) ask for an appointment.

By this time, you should have prepared a proposal of about ten typed, double-spaced pages. The proposal should include a statement of the problem, a detailed description of the project, information about the group and the individuals involved, and a specific budget. You might also choose to include a copy of the proposal when you send out the initial letter; you should always have it available when discussing the project with the staff of a particular foundation.

8. *Everything else you can think of.* Give up smoking, drinking, food, entertainment, or whatever for a specific period of time, donate the money to the group, and encourage others to do the same. A group fast on a particular day is one way to do this. Gamble, beg, or redirect. Collect money in church, at parties, in fraternities and sororities, from your family and friends. Hold an auction or rummage sale. Wash cars, mow lawns, sell blood, or do odd-jobs as a group around a particular neighborhood. Raise money, organize, struggle, and transform.

# communication and education

Publications
Leaflets
Newsletters and Newspapers
Posters
Information Centers and Literature Programs
Speakers
Local Speakers Bureau
Outside Speakers
Special Events
Mass Media

Significant social change occurs only when masses of people demand it, and act upon their demands. Such mass movements develop through campaigns of education, and through direct action tactics. Education is not an end in itself, but a part of the process which sets people in motion. Groups should work to raise the consciousness of others on political and social issues, and to translate that new knowledge into action. The tools of communication and education which are described in this section should be used as part of a general program which a group has developed.

## Publications

### Leaflets:

Leaflets are a direct point of contact between the organizer and the public; they can be part of a process of repeated contact, or be the only contact which occurs. They can be a very reliable and useful method of communication and education, and all organizers should master the art of writing, producing, and distributing them. A leaflet is normally a one-page, aesthetically-appealing statement on a single issue, or call for participation in a single action. An action leaflet promotes a program or publicizes an upcoming action, and asks for the participation of the person reading it; an education leaflet communicates ideas and information, and provides an analysis of them for the reader, to counter the assumptions or analysis she/he has been socialized into or taught by the establishment.

*Composition:* In the writing of a leaflet, complex problems and masses of facts must be reduced to one, uncrowded page which is directed toward a specific idea or action. All groups should keep organized files of factual information, quotes, and other explanatory and support material, so there is easy access to such things when a leaflet must be done quickly. It is also a good idea to have material indexed by

specific issues since leaflets will most likely concentrate on one area of concern.

The leaflet should begin with a short title, printed in large bold letters. The title should set off the message of the leaflet, attract attention, identify the subject or act as a catch-phrase, and interest the reader. Short titles work best, as they can be taken in quickly and tend to stay in the mind. Possibilities are to ask a question in the title, state a generally assumed fact, or anything else which makes the reader wish to continue.

The text of the leaflet should include an introduction; the context, or explanation of the situation; a brief summary of all these parts in which you draw conclusions; and a call for action, whether that is a call to attend a meeting, come to a demonstration, write a letter, make a donation, or confront the proper party about the problem. Always ask the reader to do something specific; that is the point of education, to bring people from understanding to action. At the bottom of the leaflet, make certain you identify your group, and give an address and phone number if possible, and a place to go or person to contact for further information.

*Design and Production:* In general, it is best to use standard 8½ x 11 paper, in white or a light color, to insure that the text will be legible. Larger paper is difficult to handle, and use of other than 8½ x 11 paper usually increases production costs. Double-space the text, or if the amount of material to be included does not permit that, leave space between paragraphs. In all cases, avoid cluttered, crowded leaflets. Leave plenty of white space, and use wide margins all around the page. Titles can be hand-lettered, or you can purchase press-on type on sheets in a variety of sizes and styles in art supply stores, larger university bookstores, and stationery stores. Check art schools and art departments; you may find someone willing, even eager, to help design the leaflet. An example, used as a combination leaflet and poster, is on the next page.

# Animal Rights and Human Ethics.

A PRESENTATION BY DR. RICHARD MORGAN

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON HUB AUDITORIUM - FREE ADMISSION

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FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 8 - 8:00 P.M.

ANIMAL RIGHTS VS. ANIMAL WELFARE - are they the same? What are our obligations? Dr. Morgan will discuss these questions and other topics in a revealing, thought-provoking presentation. Reception to follow.

RICHARD MORGAN teaches college English at East Tennessee State University. He was a regional & national organizer for the peace movement for eight years and has transferred much that he learned in that endeavor to his work for animals to end institutionalized forms of animal suffering. Currently, he is preparing a manual for animal rights activists which will be distributed nationally.



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MILLIONS OF ANIMALS are the victims of bloody and senseless torture in scientific laboratories. Cruelty is an integral part of our food production system; animals are increasingly raised in overcrowded and barbaric conditions and slaughtered hideously. Creatures of every kind die in leghold traps, by poison, and by clubbing to satisfy the desire for luxury apparel... and countless creatures, both wild and domestic, are killed each day by cruelties for which there is not even a name or a neat category.

They cannot speak. We can. Those who are articulate must be the voices of those who are voiceless. Please lend your name and your voice to these efforts. And pass the word.

*- Richard Morgan*

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Co-sponsored by University of Washington Department of Philosophy and the Progressive Animal Welfare Society (PAWS), P.O. Box 1037, Lynnwood, Washington 98036; (206)743-3845, 778-0681

The three basic methods of production are photo-offset, mimeograph, and photocopying. The best and most attractive method of production is photo-offset, which involves photographing the copy, transferring it to a metal plate, and printing it on a press. If you prepare camera-ready copy for the printer, the cost can be kept fairly low; if you simply give copy to the printer, for him/her to set in type, the cost will be much greater. If a group produces a great many leaflets, photo-offset may prove too expensive for continued use. Photo-offset is fairly fast, requires only that you prepare a dummy for the camera, and is attractive, so it should be kept in mind for particularly significant leaflets. Mimeograph reproduction is cheap and easy. One advantage of this method is that access to mimeograph machines is often available, and leaflets can thus be run off at any time by a group member; used machines can also be bought for relatively little money (check office-supply stores). Mimeograph stencils are used in this process, and one draws or types directly onto the stencil. Electro-stencil machines (call around to see which printer, office supply store, or bookstore uses one) produce a stencil directly from a dummy or mock-up. Finally, if you can safely gain access to a "friendly" photocopying machine (even if it's not a Xerox), make as many free copies as possible. Most people who work in offices can manage to make a limited number of copies, though obviously you should not count on this method of reproduction. Otherwise, photocopying is far too expensive, so you should use one of the other methods.

*Distribution:* Pick a place with good pedestrian traffic, but do not block anyone from getting through. Make contact with people, by looking at them, speaking to them, reaching out to them. Take the leaflets to them, don't wait for them to come and take one. Leaflet often, regularly in certain locations, and learn to deal with many different kinds of people. Keep leaflets simple, direct, and attractive, and keep putting them out.

## Newsletters:

Newsletters are useful as an internal communication device for a group, and can play a role in reaching out to a wider group of people. A good newsletter gathers and disseminates information and announces activities. Include news of local events, personal news about the people involved in the group, promote events, and new or useful publications, give reminders about meetings, the needs of the group, etc. Give the publication a name, print and distribute it regularly, and make it as attractive as possible. Should the group decide, for some reason, to print a more elaborate newsletter or a newspaper, refer to standard journalism references. Keep in mind, however, that such publications require a great deal of money and energy, and use every bit of a group's resources. Make certain there is a definite need for such a project, and that you are prepared to forego other activities.

## Posters:

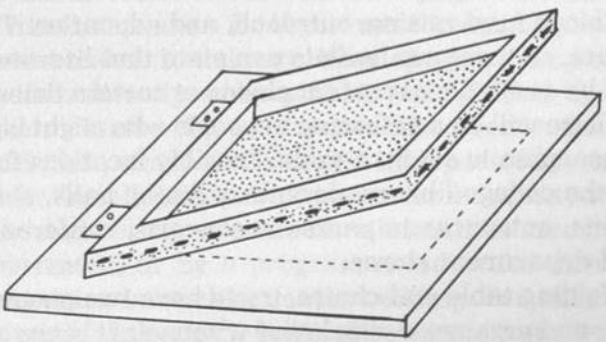
The primary use of posters is to announce or promote actions, meetings, and special events; they can also be used to keep issues in the minds of the public, and to popularize slogans and ideas. General posters can be purchased from national groups; those you make or have printed yourself should have a local, specific, or special activity focus. Whatever their subject, posters should be designed to attract interest and communicate their essential information at a glance.

Include only information which truly is essential. The most important information should be in larger letters. Center the material, and leave plenty of empty space. Where possible, use catch-phrases which the reader will fasten on and remember.

*Production:* The simplest way to make posters is to buy sheets of light-colored poster board (art supply stores or art supply sections of other stores) and print on them with felt-tip markers, in heavy block letters. If several people each work on portions of the poster, quite a few can be made quickly. Small posters can be made by drawing in large, block letters on mimeograph stencils, and reproducing them. If the message is brief, and you can use large letters, cut letters out from a sheet of cardboard until the copy is finished, then place the sheet over the blank posters, and spray over the cardboard with quick-drying spray paint.

If you will be making a quantity of posters, or if you make posters frequently, it is a good idea to make a silk screen printer. There are several books which describe the process, and at least one should be available in your local library or in paperback at a nearby book store. The basic process of building such a printer is fairly simple:

Nail together a frame of 2 x 2's, which should measure about 22" x 30" when done. Get a 10xx or finer mesh silk screen a couple inches larger than the frame in each direction. Stretch the screen over the frame until it is tight, and tack or staple down around the edges of the frame. Shellac the frame, and leave overnight to dry. Attach two hinges to the frame and then to a larger base piece of wood. The finished printer should look approximately like this:



Make certain the frame comes down flat against the base, and that all wood surfaces are smooth, to prevent snagging the screen.

You will then need to get plastic silk screen stencils, and cut letters out from them until the copy is complete. When this is done, use adhering liquid (purchase where you get the other supplies) to fasten the stencil to the frame, mask around the edges of the stencil, ink the stencil, put whatever you wish to silk screen (posters, t-shirts, ect.) on the base, press down, pull up, and you have begun to create silk screens. This is a very brief explanation of the process, and you will certainly want to consult a book on this topic. This should introduce you to the process. Silk screening can produce attractive and very effective posters and other items, and if you will be doing publicity, you should consider learning how to do it.

If you find yourself in a position where you need hundreds or thousands of posters, for example to publicize a mass action, you may wish to get them printed. In that case, as any time you deal with a printer, make certain you see proofs of the final copy before it is run, and proofread it rigorously. Typographical or printers errors can destroy the impact of a leaflet or poster.

*Distribution:* This will be dictated by the point of the poster, i.e., who you want to see it. Post them in the most visible, heavily-used areas possible. Ask store owners for permission to put posters in their windows. Don't destroy trees or other natural things by nailing up posters. Use both indoor and outdoor locations. Be creative, experiment with locations, ask people where they've noticed posters, and you'll soon determine the best locations. Check around periodically, and replace posters which have been removed.

## Information Centers and Literature Programs

An information center may be a complex, permanent institution, or a temporary educational tool. Probably the most useful form that such work takes, particularly in the initial stages of organizing, or with a relatively small or locally-centered group, is the literature table.

Distribution of printed material is an important activity for any political group. Setting up a literature table at locations where people gather combines fund raising, outreach, and education. Try to develop regular hours, so that your leaflets can state that literature and information will be available at certain places at certain times. In addition, whenever there will be a gathering of people who might be sympathetic to your cause, plan to set up a table. Possibly locations for a table are in front of the college library, dormitory dining halls, shopping malls, supermarkets, entrances to parks, at concerts, conferences, sporting events, and department stores.

Use a folding table and chairs, try to have two people at the table at all times, and arrange a display of whatever it is you are selling. If

you have other people available to you, leafleting can go on at the same time, and the table can function as a mobile headquarters and repository. Try to set up the display on several levels or at several heights, so the material can more easily be seen, have a sign identifying your group and the material for sale. Do not hesitate to be aggressive; call out to people and sell both your ideas and your merchandise.

## Speakers

### Local Speakers' Bureau:

Arranging for members of your group to speak to various organizations in the community is a valuable form of educational outreach. Many clubs, civic groups, and other organizations and institutions are eager to find interesting speakers, and this provides an excellent opportunity to spread your political message, and to promote your programs. You will need to work in two areas: training speakers, and arranging places for them to speak. It is desirable for as many of us as possible to develop speaking skills. To be properly prepared, a potential speaker should become very familiar with the issues, and with public speaking (there are many books available in this field). Skills can be further developed by giving a practice speech to the organizing group, which can be taped and played back for suggestions, or a person can speak directly to a tape recorder, and then critique her/his own performance.

Churches and synagogues are natural institutions to approach, as there is presumably an ethical basis to any religion, whether its adherents follow it or not. Prayer breakfasts, men's groups, Bible or Sunday School classes, and general forums are some of the possibilities. Contact the minister or rabbi directly, and suggest an appearance. Always be prepared to list several specific possibilities for talks, and keep at least the title non-inflammatory, unless you are addressing an openly sympathetic group.

Educational institutions are an important place to arrange speeches. Follow the general organizing suggestions in the previous chapter for these institutions, and then have the newly-recruited members invite the speaker. Or if you want to use a speaker to arouse general interest and do initial recruiting, approach responsible parties in the institutions directly. Ask social studies teachers if you can speak at one of their classes. Discuss a possible appearance in a school assembly with the principal. Or suggest the possibility to the student body president. In colleges, arrangements for university-wide speakers are generally made by a student lecture committee associated with the student government, or by a program or activities director working in the student union or student center building. For talks in individual classes, approach philosophy, political science, or government profes-

sors. Most teachers are happy enough to have a new, interesting activity in a class, particularly if they do not have to provide the activity themselves, so do not hesitate to approach individual teachers about speaking.

Community organizations include institutions such as "service clubs" (Lion's, Rotary, Kiwanis', Jaycees, and others), Women's clubs, the League of Women Voters, consumer groups, the YMCA, YWCA, and YMHA, Scout troops, and other kinds of social and social service groups. Though these groups are normally very conservative, you must reach this kind of person eventually if any meaningful change is ever to take place. Most of these groups have regular meetings, luncheons, and other gatherings, and often have a person who acts as "program chairperson" or "speakers chairperson." You can find out what organizations exist in your area, and get a telephone number for them, by looking in the Yellow Pages under "Associations." Call the group, ask for the person who books speakers, and give your pitch.

A few general suggestions: 1. Have a backup speaker ready, in case the original speaker cannot attend; 2. Confirm all arrangements a day or two prior to the talk; 3. Know your audience, and structure the speech accordingly. Have an idea of how long you are expected to speak, how many people will be there, who kind of people they are, and use that information to its best advantage; 4. Ask for a small honorarium. Most groups have a small fund to pay fees of $25-$50 to speakers. If the organization cannot or will not pay an honorarium, ask if you can take a collection at the meeting. If the answer is still no, do it for free; 5. Bring along literature to give away or sell, and make certain you give everyone at the meeting a basic leaflet, with the name of your group and contact information; 6. After the meeting, write a letter to the person who booked your speaker, thanking her/him for the opportunity to speak to the organization.

## Outside Speakers:

Bringing an outside speaker into your community provides a great many opportunites for organizing and outreach, if you make good use of the person's time. An outside speaker, particularly if she/he represents a national group, is particularly articulate, or is well-known, is generally regarded as special, or notably interesting, thus creating an event which can generate publicity.

Outside speakers are available through many national and regional groups; the author of this handbook, for example, is available as a speaker, and can also recommend other speakers (see the address in the introduction, or contact A.R.N.). If possible, you should ask people not connected with the group the speaker represents what they know of her/his presence, ideas, etc. You want someone who will work with you to promote your local organizing activities, not merely push

her/his own group, and whose ideas are basically compatible with yours, or at least not contradictory to them.

Before you actually contact a prospective speaker, or an organization which might provide one, decide how much you can afford to pay. Many speakers will come to your area for travel expenses alone; some also require an honorarium, which can vary widely in amount. Most dedicated movement people have very limited financial resources, and your group should plan to pay travel costs, and provide food and lodging. If you cannot afford to pay all travel expenses for a speaker, ask if she/he may be planning a tour of several places, or a general area, and have your name put on the list of potential locations. In this way, your group can share total travel expenses with other groups on the circuit, which will result in a far lower expenditure.

Once you have a commitment from a particular speaker, begin to set up activities as far in advance as possible, and make certain you make full use of the person's time. This is most useful if the person is an experienced organizer as well as speaker. Contact all the places you would contact as part of the activities of a local speaker's bureau, stressing in this case that you are bringing in an important person from outside the area. Also set up a special event, interviews, and organizing sessions with your core group.

The special event will be the main talk the speaker presents. This meeting will provide a forum for the speaker, promote your group and its programs, and work as both a fund raising and recruitment device. The meeting should be promoted as fully as possible, through posters, leafleting, radio spots if possible, notices in all periodicals which print calendars of events or announcements of any kind, and if funds are available, by advertisements in publications which are read by sympathetic people. Distribute index cards and ask people in attendance to write their names, addresses, and phone numbers. A member of your group should announce and take a collection at some point.

Make certain the meeting itself is well organized. Have a public address system set up and checked out beforehand, film or slide projectors if you will be using visual material, and have a literature table set up outside the entrance(s) to the room. Estimate realistically how many people you feel will attend, and arrange for a room which holds no more than that number. One hundred people in a room which holds five hundred breeds isolation and despair; one hundred people in a room designed for seventy-five to one hundred encourages feelings of success and solidarity. If you have a student group established, reserve an auditorium or other room at the college or university, or contact churches and other organizations which have meeting space.

Contact the producer of all radio and television talk shows in the area. This can be accomplished by looking through daily radio and television listings, getting the addresses and phone numbers of the sta-

tions through the telephone book; call and ask who produces the show in question (at some stations, the host may produce his own show). Address a letter to the producer, with information on your speaker, stating her/his availability for an appearance on that specific show. For television, also enclose a photograph if one is available. Give the letter several days to arrive at the station, then call the producer, and convince her/him that your speaker is significant, articulate, and interesting. This is also a good way to find people in the media who are or can become sympathetic to your cause.

On newspapers, call columnists or, if none of them appear interested, contact the city editor. When speaking with a columnist, tell her/him the speaker will be available for an interview, and ask if you and the speaker can come to the paper to speak with the columnist at a particular time. When talking with the city editor, stress the news content of the event, and ask her/him to send a reporter to the main talk. Follow the same pattern with college and high school newspapers, but in these cases, speak with the editor or managing editor.

The speaker is in town not only to work on educational outreach, but to act as a resource for you and your group. Arrange informal gatherings around meals; if possible have a party, and also a somewhat more structured discussion session about the organizing process and programs in which your group is engaged. Use the main talk for organizing also; make necessary announcements, and call for an organizing meeting a few days after the talk, at a specific place and time, so new people can get involved.

## Films

Films can be used as part of an event such as a speech or workshop or festival, or a group may choose to have a separate film showing, or establish a film series. If you plan a film series, you might consider having films on a variety of topics. Films with a progressive orientation can be ordered through the American Friends Service Committee; for films dealing specifically with animals, contact Argus Archives.

When a film is used as an event itself, keep in mind the joint purpose of outreach and fund raising. Select films carefully, taking into account the kind of audience you are trying to reach, and the length of time you feel you can hold their attention. Argus Archives publishes a booklet which reviews various films dealing with animals, and it is a good idea to read through it before you order a film.

The logistics of a film showing are similar to those of a special lecture. If you are near a college campus, you should be able to get a room already set up for film showings; make certain you check the school calendar to see what other events are scheduled for the time you wish to show the film, and avoid conflicts wherever possible. The college

might also loan or rent you a 16mm. sound projector; if not, try community groups. Wherever you get it, train at least two people in your group to run it, and to do minor repairs if something goes wrong during a showing. At some institutions, you may be required to use the services of a paid projectionist; you will want to know the costs involved so you can get a clearer picture of what the entire event will cost you. It is worthwhile to establish friendly, personal contact with the person who reserves rooms at the colleges in your area. This can be of great benefit in getting the best possible room for whatever event you plan, and for getting rooms on short notice. If you cannot get a room on a campus, try the types of organizations mentioned in the section on speakers.

Arrange all details well in advance. Get the film as early as possible, and screen it if possible. If you will be charging admission, have tickets ready, and make certain you have announced in your publicity that there will be a ticket charge. Or you might wish instead to make an announcement and take a collection before the film. Check on the projector, go to see the room, to make certain it will suit your needs; if the room is one without fixed seats, go well ahead of time to set up chairs. As with a speech, have a literature table there, and hand a leaflet of some kind (with your organization's name and contact information) to each person as she/he enters.

## Special Events

Special events, such as workshops, teach-ins, festivals, and conferences serve a number of purposes: self-education and education outreach; establishing collective spirit, and bringing people together; gaining experience in planning and coordination of activities, prior to direct action planning; publicity, and attracting media attention; recruitment and expansion of the group; and fund raising. Events can range from a one-day local gathering, which requires a fair amount of time but little money, to a week-long, national gathering requiring large amounts of time and money.

If you or your group have not coordinated such events before, it might be best to start with a small one, concentrating on local participants, with perhaps one featured speaker. Even a one-day teach-in or workshop requires about a month to organize properly, and initial planning should ideally start a month or so before that. A good local workshop should combine several activities.

1. Personnel development and preparation. This should be an opportunity for as many of your members as possible to develop skills in organizing, publicity, speaking, and personal interaction. Each active core member should develop an area for a workshop during the day.

2. Education and self-education. Each workshop session leader should prepare written handouts and oral material for session partici-

pants (which should also include other members of your group). If you invite an outside person or persons to come in for the day, try to get someone who can do a workshop in an issue area or organizing technique which complements and adds to the information core group members should also be getting from the workshop.

3. Strategy, direct action planning, and decision-making. Use the day as a means of doing further self-examination and development within the group. Turn the education which comes from the workshop into plans for taking action in some area.

Arrange several levels of meetings within the structure of the workshop. It is best to try to get a large room which divides into or opens onto smaller rooms, so that there is a way to have a full-group convocation, and smaller education and strategy sessions. Provide a general-use area, which can be used to set up coffee in the morning, and a vegetarian buffet lunch (collect donations, or charge a flat fee) at midday. It is important to provide food at the site; if people are left to go off and find lunch themselves, some may not return; even if they do, the process will take much longer.

Set up displays, and sell literature. Pass the hat wherever in the day it seems acceptable. Have people sign in, with names and addresses, and give each a badge or card with her/his name on it to wear during the day. Have someone take notes in each session, and, if no one objects, use a tape recorder, so you will have a record of the proceedings, and the group can use it later for self-criticism and future planning. Do extensive publicity, including contact with the mass media. Make certain the workshop is listed in the calendar of all community and student publications. Have a simple program printed to give each participant.

Get people from all sympathetic local groups involved if possible, both in planning and as session leaders. This is a time to promote unity and learn as much from one another as possible. Involve people who have not had experience in speaking before, as well as those who have. Remember, you want to use the event to develop personnel. On the day of the workshop, go to the site at least an hour before the scheduled time to begin to check the facilities, and to post large signs outside the meeting place, so that it will be easier to locate. If there are several entrances, indicate which one people should use. Have the sign- in program, identification tag, and refreshment facilities prepared before you think they will be needed, and have people ready at the table to welcome people.

A typical day-long schedule might go as follows:

8:00-9:00 AM. Core group meeting. Go over checklist for day, inspect and arrange facilities, review tasks for day.

9:00-9:30 AM. Task groups of core group should begin work for day, setup table, etc.

9:30-10:00 AM. Registration, literature distribution.

10:00-11:00 AM. Full-group convocation, introduction of group, explanation of activities, speech or other presentation.

11:00-12:00. Workshop sessions on issues, nuts-and-bolts organizing, tactics. Allow time for discussion.

12:00-1:00 PM. Free-form buffet lunch served by core group members.

1:00-2:00 PM. Workshop sessions.

2:00-3:00 PM. Film or other presentation for full group; at same time, core group should meet briefly to evaluate day thus far, and plan, review, or alter plans for evening.

3:00-4:00 PM. Workshop sessions. Organizing and direct-action training and planning sessions if desirable.

4:00-5:00 PM. Reports of workshops to entire group. Decisions on planning if applicable. Closing remarks, announcements, singing or other up-beat ending.

Evening or next day. Organizing and planning meeting, at the same or a previously-announced location.

This is only a suggested schedule, and workshops will vary widely in how they are organized and conducted. Remember such meetings can be tiring, and sometimes frustrating. To deal with this, you will want to provide some relaxed time, and try to have something specific come out of the day.

Your group may at some point wish to hold a longer, or more regionally or nationally-oriented special event. All that is involved in planning a local one-day workshop is also a part of a more complex event, but on a larger scale, and with greater need for advance planning, funds, and coordination. In addition to facility coordination, publicity, and preparation of materials, you will also have to organize the use of outside speakers and resource persons, a longer schedule of events, more extensive preparatory fund-raising, printing, coalition organizing, housing, and food. Organizing a large, successful conference or workshop is an intricate matter, and requires great dedication on the part of the organizing group.

If you intend to draw people to such an event from a region, or on a national or international level, the event should be used as you would a local meeting, but should also provide for greater exchange of information, ideological and theoretical discussion, and specific strategy and tactics planning sessions, decisions, and movement toward action. There should be a strong communal feeling expressed by participants, to build unity and establish direct action objectives.

Organizing for the event should begin six months to one year before you hope to hold it. At this early stage, you should begin contacting potential speakers and resource persons you might wish to involve, to determine what their free dates are, whether they might be inter-

ested, and in what role, how much it would cost to have them come, etc. Be as specific as you can about what you intend to do. This early stage should also include investigation of possible facilities for the meetings, open dates for them, and projected costs. All events should take place in one area, preferably in the same building, or in connected or adjacent buildings. Otherwise, transportation will be a problem, and participation wil be reduced. Check universities and colleges, large churches, and if necessary hotel or convention facilities (these last may be expensive, and should only be considered as a last resort).

The planning or core group should meet regularly every week if possible, starting at least two or three months before the scheduled event, once a date and place have been selected. The entire group should choose the theme and focus of the event, the title, decide on the arrangement of activities, and determine what task groups need to be formed. Most events will require task groups for speakers and resource persons, finances and fund raising, media and publicity, food and housing, and facility logistics. Someone from each task group should give a report to the whole organization at each meeting, so that everyone will be aware of developments, problems, and needs.

Speakers and resource persons should be contacted as early as possible. Send letters to everyone you might be interested in inviting to take a major role, describing your group and its activities, what you might want her/him to do, and what your projected date and place are. Most people will be willing to come and participate for travel expenses alone. Some will request or require an honorarium, or you may choose to offer an honorarium to some of them. Ask how long they might wish to stay, and encourage them to come for the entire event.

A long or nationally-advertised special event will take money to put together. If you anticipate holding the event on a campus, contact the university lecture committee, and try to get them to bring one of your speakers, offering to list them as a co-sponsor for the event. Another possibility is the residence hall association, which is the group representing all dormitory residents on a campus. Often these groups will agree to co-sponsor and provide partial funding for individual events or lectures. Ask other progressive groups in the area if they are interested in cosponsoring a specific part of the event, or perhaps the entire project, whether or not they can afford to contribute funds. And allow groups with similar viewpoints to participate by running sessions. Send out a mailing to your full membership asking for contributions for this specific project. Also ask other organizations in the area to send your notices to their members (this is another good reason to get co-sponsors). Use all the fund raising techniques previously described, and earmark the funds for this project. Charge a small registration fee, either payable in advance through the mail or at the conference or event itself; this can provide a substantial amount of the

money. And pass the hat at major meetings of the event itself.

The media and publicity task group should take responsibility for publicizing the event, beginning several months before it is to take place. Press releases should be written and mailed to major animal rights and welfare, vegetarian, progressive and "new age" publications as early as possible; some have deadlines for material which are two or three months before publication, most require "lead time" of at least one month. As the time gets closer, more specific news releases, including a schedule of events, and photos and biographies of major participants, should be sent to all area newspapers, magazines, and radio and television stations, and to selected regional and national media. Try to have each day's activities listed in all "calendar of events" sections of media published in your area. Write "public service announcements" for radio stations, and try to arrange appearances on campus and community talk shows to publicize the event. Treat each major speaker as you would if she/he were simply coming in alone, arranging interviews, press coverage, and resource meetings. Set up a press room at the event, and set aside time for a short press conference at the start and before the close of the special event. Use all direct publicity techniques that you would use for announcing an important speech or demonstration: posters, leaflets, direct mail, and anything else which seems to be of value.

If your special event will last more than one day, or you expect people from outside your community to attend, you will have to make arrangements for food and housing. Arrange to have major outside participants housed with members of your group or in inexpensive lodgings if they prefer and you can afford it. Other people coming in for the conference will require a network of housing. If the event is between school terms or during the summer, you may be able to use a university dormitory. Some colleges and universities also have conference housing available through continuing education centers. Make up a list of your members, call and ask if they can house people, if so, how many, and keep a list with names, addresses, telephone numbers, and the number of people the person can house, as well as any restrictions there may be. Prepare a list (with prices) of nearby hotels and student lodgings; talk to the managers and see if you can have a certain number of rooms put aside at a reduced rate. Some churches will allow you to use their facilities, providing space for people to roll out sleeping bags and use kitchen facilities there. When you send out meeting announcements, ask people if they will require housing, list the possibilities, and have arrangements available at the event. At the table where registration takes place, which is where people should come first, have a housing desk with lists of accomodations for those registering at the conference rather than by mail. Have subway and bus maps available, provide any other transportation information

necessary, and have a few people standing by with vehicles to provide initial shuttle service. Arrange housing within walking distance of the event site or at least as close as possible.

The organizing group should provide (at least) one meal per day at the event site, on a cash basis or as part of registration. Some facilities will be able to prepare this meal for your group, but you must be very specific about dietary requirements. For other food, you should also have available, as part of the registration packet, a map showing acceptable sources of food nearby (grocery stores, vegetarian or health food stores and restaurants, etc.).

Facility and site logistics will occupy the time of a task group immediately before and also during the event. This group should set up the registration area, coordinate acquisition and placement of literature and literature tables, make certain keys to the rooms are available, rooms have been arranged properly, and in general be ready to handle all circumstances and emergencies relating to the physical site, flow of people, medical and day care center operations, and anything else which may arise.

The format of the event, which all group members should help to formulate, should be at once theoretical and practical, educational and active, serious and festive. Vary the kinds of activities planned, including panel discussions, lectures, informal rap sessions, poetry readings, music and singing, films and dance, expressions of anger, and expressions of love. Schedule some open time and open rooms, so that groups of people can come together to follow up on earlier discussions, or plan specific activities. Have a fairly brief gathering of everyone at the beginning and the end of the day, to raise spirits, and to evaluate activities and discuss future plans. Schedule organizing sessions which representatives of groups can present, and let the event progress with a certain fluidity, rather than rigidly controlling every moment. Schedule direct action planning as well as informational workshops. You may wish to have an assembly of all persons near the end of the event, to formulate statements and plans to be released to the press, or you may wish to schedule a meeting of persons to organize around a particular strategy at a later date.

Work for maximum participation in all activities by all persons. Establish, and announce in your mailings and publicity, that there will be a day-care center for children (staffed equally by men and women, who are trained, competent, and sensitive), waive the registration fee for people who cannot afford to pay it, provide transportation for people who are handicapped or unsteady, and make certain no member of your group gets stuck working during the whole event, unable to participate in the activities.

## Mass Media

Before going into specifics in this section, a warning is in order: always keep in mind, that the mass media (television, radio, newspapers) is part of, subject to, owned by, and exists at the sufference of, the economic and political power structure. As a movement, we must learn to make use of the media as effectively as possible, in order to present our viewpoint to the maximum number of people and to advertise and promote our activities. At the same time, we must remember that our opponents, by virtue of wealth and position, will always have greater access to and credibility with the mass media; as a result, we cannot depend too strongly upon either a fair representation for our ideas or general coverage of our activities. Again, we must use the media where possible, but also use face to face contact and "street publicity" in our work.

To be covered by the media, you must either do something or be someone. Simple existence and a noble cause are not enough. You can try to get a story covered as "news," which relates primarily to an event, or as a "feature," which usually deals with a personality. Do something new, big, unusual, suprising, important, or locally interesting. Or be or find someone famous, authoritative, sexy (male or female), or bizarre. In the latter case, try not to let the personality become the story; keep the focus on your ideas, once you've attracted attention. The media like statistics, slogans, snappy quotes, and novelty. Supply these things.

Every political organizing group should have a media coordinator or press secretary, who should be fully aware of the group's ideas and activities, a good judge of what is newsworthy, able to write clearly, and be able to establish rapport with various kinds of individuals. This individual is responsible for contacting the media whenever necessary, building contacts with individual editors and reporters, preparing and issuing press releases, organizing press conferences and notifying the media of specific actions and activities. She/he should develop a press list, listing every magazine, newspaper, radio, and television station in the area, with address, telephone, names of persons to contact or to avoid, and other comments, such as issue deadlines.

A press release is a news story written by the press secretary or another person in your group (rather than depending upon a reporter). A release can be used to announce a noteworthy upcoming event (e.g., speaker, demonstration, picket, building occupation, conference or workshop, concert or poetry reading) or to report on an event which has just occurred, such as any direct action activity. Send out only news releases which actually contain news, rather than merely discussions of ideas, or they will be ignored and you will build a bad reputation.

The release should be on 8½ x 14 paper with your organization's

masthead or letterhead at the top (address and phone number should also appear here). Underneath the masthead, type "For Further Information" or "Press Secretary" and give someone's name and telephone number. Centered underneath that should be either "FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE" or the date and time you wish it to be released. A press release should consist of facts, and quotations, in other words, usable news which can be printed or edited for a story. Avoid propaganda (or even the appearance of it), and use quotations to make points about ideas, rather than including them in the text of the release. Cover the necessary who, what, when, where, why, but keep it as concise as possible, one page if you can. Type "more" at the bottom of every page but the last; at the bottom of the final page type "-30-". Put your organization's name, and the name and telephone number of the press secretary at the top of each page, and type the release double-spaced. Include a photograph (identified on the back) if you can.

Hand-deliver the release to the editor or managing editor at small papers, the city editor at large papers, the assignment editor at radio and TV stations, and to any individuals you know, or whose beat would be relevant to the content of the release. Send the release by mail to all places you cannot cover personally, including newspapers and electronic media in the surrounding area, weekly papers, county papers, and any other structure which disseminates information.

If you will be sponsoring a particularly significant event, or announcing a special campaign or direct action strategy, or will be hosting a well-known speaker, you should consider holding a press conference. Use a press conference only when you have something truly important to announce, or you will lose credibility with the media. Use a short press release to announce the upcoming press conference, and distribute it as you would any press release. Call key editors and reporters the day before the conference to remind them that it will be taking place. Hold the conference early in the day, so that reporters can meet their deadlines. You may wish to provide coffee in order to encourage a convivial atmosphere. Start on time, but allow a few minutes for people to set up and look over the material you have provided. Provide press packets at the beginning of the conference to provide details, quotations, and background so that the reporter will have material to draw from in writing her/his story.

A spokesperson should read a prepared statement; you might wish to have more than one speak. Brief, self-contained, quotable statements have a better chance of being covered by radio and television because of the limitation on air time for a particular story. Use charts, photographs, and any other visual material you might have, as long as they are large and clear enough to be eye-catching or recognizable. After you have finished speaking, allow time for questions (the group should have gathered beforehand to discuss what questions might be

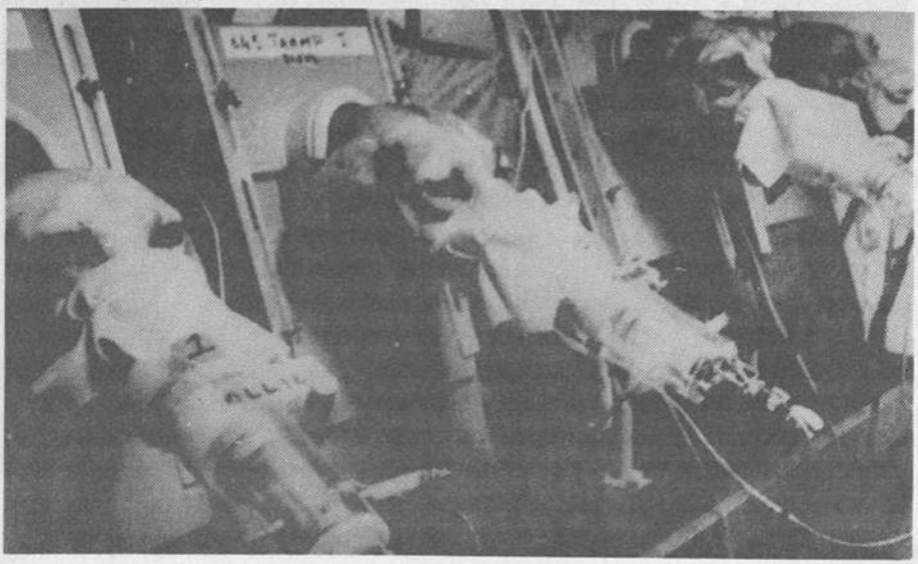
asked, and how to answer them).

Electronic media, radio and television, are the main source of information, political analysis, and ideas for most of the population. Using television well, in particular, can be one of the most important things your group learns to do. Learn how the media work and how to make use of them for your benefit. Try to get on talk shows, make use of equal-time and community editorial practices, provide public service announcements, cultivate your local newscasters, and if all else fails, picket the television station, and contact the station manager with a demand that your group's ideas and grievances be aired.

In technical terms, it is difficult to produce your own program for television, and expensive, but you might try contacting mass communications and film students at a university nearby. Radio is somewhat easier. Tape and exchange important speeches and programs, and try to get them played on radio. Learn to produce brief (ten to sixty-second) public service announcements, and ask radio stations to play them.

Newspapers provide other opportunities for coverage. Letters to the editor can be a very effective way of reaching the public, and some newspapers also provide for guest editorials or op-ed viewpoints from community members. Use these same methods with university and underground or counterculture newspapers. Another way to get your story out is to use the wire services: United Press International (UPI) and Associated Press (AP). The wire services use very straightforward stories, primarily composed of facts. Write and deliver a story to them, accompanied by photos if possible, and if you can get the wire to carry it, you may receive widespread regional or national coverage.

*Smoking beagles.*





# direct action

Basic Theory and Preparation
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## Basic Theory and Preparation

Organizations which do not take action either die or become useless (even detrimental) to a movement. Actions attract people to a movement, help a group to develop and clarify its aims, and educate the general population. No single tactic is best for every group or every situation; therefore, it is necessary for a group to define its objectives, go through a process of research and planning, and then determine which methods of direct action should be employed at what stages in the struggle.

There are innumerable issues involved in any struggle to free a group from oppression or prevent suffering; these issues will all form the background of the work of a group, and should be understood by the core group members. However, no single action or educational campaign can eradicate all ills, or even address them. At the local level in any particular phase of work, it is best to pick a clear, identifiable, divisible issue, ideally one which lends itself to being presented with two sides, of which one will appear the most moral or logical. In regional and national organizing, there must be a wider range of issues confronted, but even then they should be clearly interrelated and focused upon specific concerns. Most well-organized direct action campaigns will function according to a seven-stage process.

1. *Research the Issue.* Methods of research were covered in the

last chapter, and form a guide to this procedure. Our society is complex enough that those responsible for a certain situation, and the consequences of a change in the system must be the subject of investigation in order to determine how useful a particular issue is to a movement, and what institutions must be restructured in order to encourage change. Get the facts: contexts, history, number, and names, make certain that oppression and suffering are a part of the issue, and be sure about what person(s) or structure(s) hold responsibility.

2. *Write the position paper or manifesto.* This document, which should be the result of discussion among all core group members, and should be agreed upon by them, will reflect your analysis of the issue, an explanation of institutions, forces, persons, and ethical questions involved, the goals of your group in relation to the issue, and general public solutions. The paper should function as an operational statement, and once written, variations of it should be used for release to the press, distribution at the action, and reference by your members. Organizers should carry copies with them to give to people with questions about the issue and action.

3. *Establish strategic framework.* Determine on a temporary basis what kind of direct action campaign your group can sustain. Once a campaign has started, its momentum must be maintained, and the strategy must be continued after the initial action. If you are planning a march and rally, the energy for that event needs to be sustained only until the event is over, but there must be a sense of how that will be followed up. If you are planning a boycott or pickett or sit-in, there must be a commitment over a period of time geared to the goals of that particular action. Obviously, as new people come in to work on the action, and additional people are recruited through the action itself, your strength will grow, as will your ability to sustain a direct action strategy. The initial framework will certainly be altered and may even be discarded entirely, but it is useful to have a feeling for activity over an extended period of time. Keep this stage of the process short; the important thing is to act!

4. *Negotiate.* If this is a relatively new issue, you should go to your opponents, present your case in some form, and give them an opportunity to work out a solution with you. If it is an old or recurrent issue, you should be able to cite those facts. If no solution can be or has been achieved, you may wish to give notice that it is your intention to apply political pressure and engage in direct action, but that you are willing to speak with them further on the subject at some point in the future. There are some things to remember when negotiating, at this stage or any other: a) be clear and certain about what you want; b) negotiate only with those who are in a position to actually grant your request — don't negotiate with flunkies; c) bring as many of your own people as possible to the negotiations, but in no case leave the negotiating to a

single person, as one person can misunderstand with no possibility of corroboration by another, and can be taken in; d) if negotiations continue for any length of time, send different sets of people in to talk, to give the impression there are a great many of you; e) don't be taken in by polite behavior on the part of the opposition — part of their job and the way they deal with activists is to be "nice"; f) remain unified; g) ask for more than you believe you can get, but also have lesser demands; h) never settle for or allow the establishment of committees to study or resolve the problem. Formation of committees, use of protocols or appropriate channels, and administrative procedure are among the most effective weapons an institution has against a group which is working for social change; i) give your opponents a way out, a manner of participating in the solution, or of saving face. Make it easy for them to accede to your requests.

All of this information about negotiation, and the idea of negotiation itself assumes that you have not already approached and been rejected in your efforts to secure change by the establishment. Or you may feel that the issue you are confronting is of such long standing that negotiation is pointless. It is true that only in rare circumstances will the power structure permit any real change to occur unless it is forced to. On the other hand, particularly at the local level, it is useful to be able to say that you discussed the matter with whatever officials are involved and they refused to address your concerns, or that they refused to discuss the matter seriously, or at all.

5. *Educate and Mobilize.* Make certain your group continues to engage in self-education, and spread the work to the public in any manner you can. At this point, you should hold a public meeting and/or a press conference to announce initiation of building for an action. Use the various techniques of education described in the last section, to explain to people in the area what you are doing and why, prepare your own people for action by education and training, and recruit others to participate.

6. *Demonstrate.* March, picket, hold vigils, fasts, hand out leaflets, and engage in whatever other street activities you have decided are applicable to your situation. There should be a sense of progress to the arrangement of tactics; for example, if you are planning a mass demonstration, build up to it by smaller actions to gather support over a period of time, educate people about the issue, and gather strength. On the regional or national level, a mass action may tie together smaller actions at the local level, or bring new people into the movement who will then continue work in their own areas.

7. *Use Nonviolent Resistance.* As you progress through the other stages of the direct action process, you will gain a feeling for pressure points for resistance, and find people who will be ready for nonviolent training, dynamic resistance, and the exhibition of moral courage.

Resistance means civil disobedience, that is, defiance of law or custom, with the possible (or inevitable) consequence of arrest. Examples of such actions are sit-ins, interjection and obstruction, strikes, and other activities. Civil disobedience can be a distinct part of another type of action, such as a march or rally, in which certain persons elect to participate in one way, and other persons prepare for resistance. Success in the area of civil disobedience depends upon creativity, preparation and training, organization, and control.

Nonviolent direct action is both a tactic and a perspective on life. It is a life-affirming principle which is meant to appeal to people's consciences, and requires a desire to take personal risks to oppose injustice and suffering and do what one believes is right. As a nonviolent method, it strikes at the basic causes of oppression by confronting those parts of the economic and political system which foster suffering, hatred, and greed, and it is thus a truly revolutionary technique of working for change. Nonviolent civil disobedience has been used with success in many settings, including the struggles for independence in India and Ghana, union organizing by American farmworkers, the civil rights movement, and the campaign to end the war in Vietnam.

## Marches and Rallies

Mass marches and rallies can dramatize an issue, provide spiritual nourishment and a morale boost to people in a movement, draw new people into a struggle, unify disparate elements working toward the same general goal, attract media attention and other publicity, and educate people in the area where the events take place. Mobilizations of up to one million people have been organized in America in the recent past; there have been at least a dozen which attracted close to half a million, and many with smaller but still quite substantial numbers throughout the world. We may not always be able to stage actions of that size, but the basic principles for most marches and rallies are the same, and organizing a march and rally of 100 to 10,000 people is within the capacity of many groups throughout the country.

Mass action of any type requires extensive advance preparation and planning and usually legal advice. A successful event of this type will make use of all the techniques and skills described in this handbook, and requires dedication and an ability to do long-range coordinated work using all the resources of the organizing group and the community.

Though organizing a march and rally requires the completion of a number of tasks within the same time frame, the first decisions which must be made are where the march route should be and where the rally should be held. The march route should have a destination of symbolic or tactical importance, such as a place where an injustice is being

perpetuated, cover a route which will involve a neighborhood of particular importance, be on a thoroughfare which will attract general public attention, or some combination of these ideas. The assembly point, where the march will begin, should be a well-known or easily found location, if possible one which can be reached by both automobile and public transportation. The rally site, which will be at the end of the march route, should be similarly located, as some people might not be able to march but wish to attend the rally. Estimate (conservatively) the number of people you expect to march and to be at the rally, and arrange the route and site accordingly. As with a room booked for a speaker, you want to choose physical parameters for the activity which will be filled. In other words, if you expect a small number of people to march, plan the route for a smaller street, or one side of a main street, or similar thoroughfare; if you expect a large number of people, arrange for a street large enough that there will not be overcrowding. The same size rule is applicable to a rally site.

Give consideration to how long a distance you feel people will be willing to walk, and how much time you want the march itself to take. The longer the march route, the more people will be exposed directly to your issue, but the more dissipated the energies of your own people will be by the time they finish walking, so you will need to balance those two aspects of the time. Also remember that the time between the first step taken by the person at the beginning of the march, and the arrival of the last person at the end of the route will be longer, sometimes a great deal longer (depending upon how many people there are) than the time it takes you to walk the route. Keep this, and the fact that most marches start a little late, in mind when you set the time for assembly at the beginning of the march route and the time the rally is to begin.

The time of year is a significant factor in the success of mass actions. In general, it should be neither too hot nor too cold (October and April have generally proven to be the best months), should not conflict with the beginning of the school year (mid-August to mid-September) or the end of the school year (late May to mid-June) and should not be too close to a major holiday. Saturday or Sunday are usually the best days to draw people to a major action, though if you want to confront the normal work structure of a particular institution, Monday is a possibility. If you hold a mass action on a weekday, avoid rush hours (8:00-10:00 AM; 4:00-6:00 PM), both for your own sake and because no movement makes friends by delaying people going to or from work.

In most cases, you will need both a parade permit to have a march and an assembly permit or a permit to hold a public gathering to have a rally. These will be issued by the city clerk, the agency responsible for the place where you wish to have the rally (for example, if it will be in a park, you will need a permit from the parks department), or the police department. Normally, a permit is not required for a march which uses

the sidewalk (though it is a good idea to check city codes and inform the police regardless), but a street march will almost certainly require a permit. If you march on the sidewalk, leave room for pedestrians; if you march in the street, try to leave room for traffic. When you are issued a permit, make copies for several members of your group to carry with you in case your right to march or rally is challenged; if you are not using a permit, do the same with the appropriate local ordinance. If you are refused a permit, and decide to hold the march anyway, there may be a confrontation with the police, so in that situation, be prepared legally and medically for trouble (see sections at the end of this chapter).

The organizing group is responsible for crowd control; you don't want the people in the march to become, or even give the appearance of a mob. Coordination of the march can be achieved through the use of marshals or affinity groups; the smaller the march, the better affinity groups work, the larger the march the more useful some kind of marshal system is.

Marshals chosen should be representative of the kinds of people who will be involved in the march. Their basic role is to keep the march moving according to the plan, to assist people in the case of an emergency, to stop trouble if a problem arises, and to keep in touch with other sections of the march by runners, or some other communication system. The march should move at a steady but not excessive pace, and should not bunch up or gap, so part of the task is regulating the speed of the marchers, particularly if it is a large march. In a smaller one, this will probably not be a issue. Marshals should be even-tempered, self-assured but not authoritarian, and should be full participants in group activities. If possible, they should be trained in the aspects of nonviolence; in any case, they should all be fully briefed, and have an orientation meeting before the march commences.

Affinty groups consist of five or six people who have known each other prior to the demonstration and agree to stay together while it goes on. If enough affinity groups form, they will provide sufficiently visible order for the crowd to govern itself. Each group should select a leader acceptable to all persons in the group, who will direct the group should a difficult situation arise.

Both these methods are useful not only for maintaining a cohesive march formation, dealing with personal emergencies, and providing information to people, but also for preventing sporadic violence, and the disruption of the march. Occasionally, in a nonviolent march, a paid police provocateur or a person who wishes to work out her/his frustrations will throw a rock at a window, encourage people to leave the march route and engage in other action, or abuse a policemen. Any of these situations is dangerous, and can result in the deterioration of the march and the outbreak of unplanned violence. If a group is using the

marshal system, the marshal should go to the source of the trouble, move the person in question away, and calmly ask the crowd to remain dedicated to their original intention and continue with the march. In the affinity group system, enough groups will move away from the area of activity that the rest of the crowd should follow.

You may decide to have a rally or other type of demonstration without a march. Regulations on permits, as previously stated, apply also to rally sites, and it is of great importance that you check and re-check the scheduled use of the place where you intend to hold your rally. Speakers should be confirmed, and should be given information on the day's activities, order of speeches, and so forth. You should begin to set up the site in the very early hours of the morning if it will be a large rally, and at least a couple hours in advance even for a very small one. Make certain your stage or speakers platform has been erected, that sound equipment is present and functional, banners and signs are up, you have all leaflets you wish to distribute ready, literature tables (if applicable) are set up and there are people to stay at them, and all other facilities are in order. Plan to have refreshments available for people at the rally site. If it has been a long march, you might wish to have food available before the rally. If the rally is large, you may be required to have sanitary equipment. Even if it is not required, if there are very many people, you should plan to have such facilities available, and in all cases know where the nearest public facilities are.

If you are expecting participants from out of town, you will need to provide housing on the same basis you would for a workshop or conference. In such cases, have housing lists ready to refer to when people call or write for information about the demonstration, and be ready with additional housing for people at the rally who may have arrived late. In the case of a particularly large crowd, it is useful to have a truck at the assembly point for the march, where people can leave their belongings safely (to be driven to the rally site) to be picked up before they go to their housing assignment. If you are planning a smaller or more local march and/or rally, these things will not apply.

Publicity should follow the same patterns discussed earlier. In this case, however, you might also want to contact a film-maker at a nearby campus or in your community, and ask if she/he might be interested in filming your demonstration and rally. As with other events, use all possible techniques of advance publicity, to attract people before the event, and make certain you inform the press of the event, so you can get the maximum media exposure.

In the case of a local rally or demonstration, or one planned on short notice, or for which you will not be able to get a permit, many of these things will not apply. If you will not be able to get to a site beforehand to prepare it, possibilities are a flat-bed or standard pick-

up truck which can be driven to the site, with sound equipment on it, from which speakers can address the crowd. The sound equipment can be as simple as a bullhorn rented from an audio store. Failing all else, speakers can simply climb to the highest stable position (e.g. steps, statues, walls, etc.) and speak to the crowd from there. In these situations, your crowd will probably consist of people from the area only, advance publicity will be minimal, and the idea will be to have a quick, direct impact on that specific location and the people who are nearby. Such quickly-organized demonstrations are important when issues are to be presented or when they begin to heat up, and they can be very fruitful. Even under these circumstances, however, the core group should maintain order in some form, there should be a unified direction, leaflets should be distributed, and there should be a sense of when and how the demonstration will end.

Major mobilizations, demonstrations in which thousands of people will be involved, require a particular attention to detail and long-range preparation. The larger the crowd, the more resources are needed, the more problems can occur, and the greater resistance there will be from the established structure. But as the number of participants increases, so does the potential for effecting a real change. Planning should ideally begin twelve to eighteen months before the projected date of the action, and work should follow a carefully constructed timetable, such as the one which follows.

**Stage 1:** *Period from eighteen to six months prior to event.*

*Networking and Coalition Building*: Contact should be made with all groups which are likely or possible supporters of the mass action, and their representatives should be involved to whatever extent is possible in the formulation of the mobilization plan. National and regional groups may be asked for specific commitments of support in one or a number of areas, including fund-raising, promotion, office space, loans, staff support, or anything else they are able and willing to contribute to the progress of the action. A network of local contacts throughout the geographical area the demonstration intends to draw from should be established; this is best accomplished by working through both groups and individual key contacts. If possible, a system of regional travellers should be put in place during this stage, to establish groups where there are none, and to discuss the action with existing groups to gain their support. Unless these grassroots organizations make an effort to send people to the action, and to promote it in their cities, the number of people who will end up participating in the event will be substantially smaller.

*Planning*: Every logistical aspect of the action must be analyzed in realistic, practical terms. Make use of maps, records of climate, cost comparisons in various services, and all other factual information that can be obtained.

*Research and Documentation*: Do serious background research in the issue area and on the facility or institution which will be targeted in the mobilization. This should be done in a comprehensive manner, in order to draw on the material for preparation of position papers and demands.

*Organizing Group*: Putting together a mass mobilization is full-time work, particularly in the months prior to the action. A national office should be established as early as possible, and people must be there all day, whether the initial personnel consist of one or two full-time staff members or a larger number of part-time people. The visible, official presence should include installation of telephone lines, printing of stationary, and frequent internal briefings so there is always someone there who can deal with whatever questions are asked or situations arise.

*Logistics*: It is important to establish initial logistical frameworks as early as possible. This includes: housing for the people who arrive in the city; assembly and dispersal points for the action; food at the rally site; crowd control; sanitary facilities at the site; transportation, both as it applies to getting people to the city, and getting to and from the rally site after arrival; storage of hardware, signs, and equipment which will be used in the action; on-site medical assistance and facilities; legal support systems; sound equipment, involving public address systems for the rally, and internal communication equipment for the group directing the action; and collection of money.

*Permit Negotiations*: When a mobilization will be large, often negotiations take place first with a major government representative to establish basic parameters for the action, and after general agreement has been reached, second with the specific agencies which grant permits of various sorts. Before negotiations begin, the organizing group should prepare a description of the structure of the event, the organization(s) sponsoring it, and the specific individuals who are acting as staff for the action, logistical details in each of the areas just mentioned, and any other applicable information. Negotiations may extend over weeks or even months in some cases, particularly when an especially vulnerable or sensitive target is involved, so it is useful to begin the process as soon as the necessary decisions have been made and the necessary information gathered.

*Media Contact and Preparation*: The organizing group, or a press officer or media committee within it, should determine which newspapers, magazines, radio and television stations, and wire services should be contacted for promotion and/or coverage of the event. Where possible, individual contact persons should be sought, and a plan should be developed detailing the manner in which promotion will be done, and means of insuring coverage.

*Fund Raising*: This is perhaps the most essential part of the early

stages of preparation. In general, it has cost about a dollar for each participant in an action. Thus, if you expect 20,000 people, you will need to raise about $20,000. With inflation, it is possible that two dollars per person is closer to the total cost by now. This is a very rough estimate, however; depending on the type of action, the logistical arrangements, and the events planned, the cost must be adjusted accordingly. The planning group must make a realistic determination of expenses, and a plan for raising the necessary funds. Usually, there will be debts going into the action, and a useful way of rectifying that is to have a major collection of money at some point during the rally. Past mobilizations have raised half or more of the total funds used for the action in this way. However, this assumes that you can obtain loans where contributions are not available, or have creditors who will wait for their money.

**Stage 2:** *Six months prior to event.*

*Meeting.* At this point in the organizing process for the action, or as close to it as possible, a meeting should be held, comprised of representatives of all coalition groups, organizing staff members, local contacts, and all other persons intimately connected with the action. Reports on logistics and finances should be presented and discussed, any problems should be resolved, position papers and statements of demands should be formulated and agreed upon, and the network should begin working even more tightly and efficiently.

*Press Conference.* An initial formal presentation to the media should be held soon after the group's meeting. The background of the issue should be discussed, and the mobilization and its objectives and demands should be formally announced. By having a media presentation at this time, the press, through its coverage of it, will be assisting in advance promotion of the event. Further, by noting who attends this press conference, and what kind and extent of coverage they give it, you will have a guide for contacts and coverage for the mobilization itself.

**Stage 3;** *Period from six months to several days prior to event.*

*Site Logistics*: The information given earlier in this section gives a basic idea of the work to be done. Simply remember that the greater the number of people involved in the action, the more people on your staff will have to spend their time organizing services for their needs. Systems of individual and group housing should be set up, food made available at the rally site, either by the group or through concessions, transportation schedules coordinated, and plans for parking cars and buses made, platforms for speakers constructed and public address systems put in place, sanitary facilities in sufficient quantities provided, through rental of portable toilets stalls or other arrangements, medical aid stations established, lawyers made available on call, and everything else which results from bringing thousands of people from a

wide area, having them in one place for hours or days, and getting them back home again.

*Graphics and Text Preparation*: Successful mobilizations require the preparation and distribution of posters, buttons, bumperstickers, leaflets, pamphlets, and other material. A common theme and slogan should appear on all material related to the action. Quantities of the material should be shipped to coalition organizations and local groups for sale and distribution, posters put up all over the area people will be drawn from, stating the event, purpose, time, place, date, and address and telephone number for further information. The material, in addition to advance distribution over a wide area, can be sold by groups from street tables set up on campuses and in shopping districts, and by the mobilization group at the rally itself. Those preparing the material should keep in mind that it will be used both for information and for fund raising.

*Promotion*: Using as a basis the prior press lists and contacts which have been established, intensive local, national, and international publicity should be sought.

*Personnel Training*: People should be selected and trained to act as marshalls, at a ration of one for every hundred to two hundred people you expect. Their duties will include greeting people arriving in groups by bus, train, or plane, providing logistics information, keeping order and preventing trouble during the action, controlling stage area, collecting money at the rally (if the group has chosen to do so), and providing information and assistance in all other situations. Recruiting of marshalls can be done by local groups as well as the national office, and it is best if they can come to the city where the action will be held a day or two before the event itself, or even earlier. If civil disobedience is planned personnel training will include sessions on techniques and consequences of various forms of nonviolent resistance. Again, people planning to take part in such activities should arrive far enough in advance of the action to participate in this training. In addition, as the mobilization date gets closer, increasing numbers of people will begin to come into the city, and many of them will be willing and even eager to help with the work in any way they can. In fact, it is almost a certainty that there will be a great many volunteers available in the few days before the rally, and as long as the planning has been precise, there should be no problem in finding people to help out.

*Fund Raising*: This activity should continue and grow through the months before the action. In addition to funds raised for specific purposes, a contingency fund should be set aside for last-minute expenses.

*Intensive Local Organizating*: Whatever the eventual size of the crowd, a good portion of it will come from the immediate area of the action. A special effort should be made to establish mobilization groups at every college and university, and in every community, within one

hundred miles of the site. Much of the fund raising and marshall recruitment will also center on this area. No matter what other responsibilities the organizing group has, a substantial portion of the time of each person should be spent speaking and organizing in all possible institutions, groups, and gatherings in the area, and involving as many of those people as possible in the work of the mobilization.

**Stage 4:** *The event itself, and the few days preceding it.*

*Press Conference*: Hold a final press conference, with invitations to all local, regional, and national newspapers, magazines, radio stations, television stations, and wire services, one to three days before the event, depending on day of week, deadlines, expected effect, objectives, and other considerations. Provide logistical information, background of the event and its organizers, printed material such as position paper and demands, and projections for participation.

*Office*: Have office and telephones staffed twenty-four hours a day, or close to it, during the last few days. Make certain major staff people are always available on call, that contingency funds are available, and that staff members are ready to assist those arriving with housing and other information. Marshalls should be ready to meet buses, trains, and planes, and otherwise help out.

*Equipment*: Have sufficient equipment in storage in a single, accessible, controlled-entry location. Construct speakers platform as early as possible, have portable toilets and other structures set up, and have signs directing people to the rally site erected. Set up speaker system as soon as permissable, and as soon as people can be there to watch it continually.

*Communication*: Organizers should meet daily for at least the week before the event, and internal communications systems, by walkie-talkies, runners, or whatever the group has chosen, should be tested.

*Collection of Money*: If funds will be collected during the rally, prepare canisters with the logo of the group affixed to them, store centrally for distribution to those who will be taking them around the crowd, and arrange for a secure location to which funds, once collected, can be brought.

*Site Inspection*: Inspect assembly, rally, and dispersal site to make certain signs are clear, banners, tables, platforms are secure, parking areas, entrances, and exits are marked, and all other things necessary to smooth operation are ready.

*Check and Recheck Everything*: Enough problems will occur suddenly; any difficulties you can foresee and avoid or correct will at least put you in a position to deal with new problems as they come up.

## Picketing

Largely because of the trade union movement, picketing has

become established as an effective tactic, evidence of seriousness, and an aspect of freedom of speech, protected by law. With few exceptions, you have the right to picket anywhere you wish on public property (which includes sidewalks in front of stores, whether they are in town or in a shopping center). Picketing is very powerful in economic terms; if people see pickets in front of a store, many of them will not go in, particularly if there is a similar story nearby. In the case of public buildings, it "desanitizes" the activities which go on there, and calls attention to an issue.

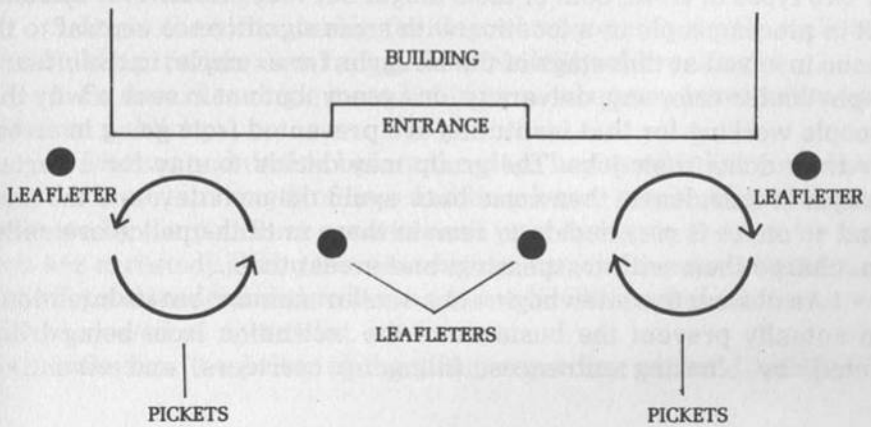
Though picketing is generally legal, you should if possible get a copy of the applicable local ordinance, and carry it with you in case you are challenged. Picketing does not require a permit, except under extraordinary circumstances. Pickets can be organized as a demonstration or boycott tactic, or as education. Demonstration or boycott pickets might be set up at a store, restaurant, factory, office, or other location to make the public aware of a repugnant activity which that company participates in, sponsors, or cooperates with, and to ask them not to go there while that situation continues. When used as education, it can raise an issue about the activities of a government agency or other institution, to promote pressure on the institution to change its policies. There are several other things to keep in mind when picketing:

1. Assemble at a place near the picketing site, and then go to the site, rather than meeting there. This gives the organizers the opportunity to pass out copies of the leaflet to be distributed, and communicate last minute instructions; it gives the feeling of solidarity, as everyone arrives at the site as part of the group, and prevents early arrivals from being accused of loitering as they wait for the others to arrive.

2. According to the law in most places, you must keep moving if you are picketing.

3. Do not block the entire sidewalk; allow people to go by. And do not block the entrance to the building; that is also illegal.

4. Here is a sample formation which seems useful in picketing:



This will vary depending on how many people you have available for picketing. If you have more than this, you might wish to have more leafleters. One person in each oval of picketers should be coordinator of that group, and all questions should be directed toward that person.

5. Pickets should carry signs or wear sandwich boards to let people know at a glance why you are picketing.

6. If you will be picketing all day, try to arrange shifts, so that people do not have to walk for many hours at a stretch. Also provide coffee in winter and cold drinks in summer.

7. People on the lines should remain serious, avoid loud laughter, profanity, smoking, or other things which might interfere with the communication of their intention, and remain unified through chants, songs, or other devices.

8. Leaders of the two lines should remember that their conduct sets the pattern for the others.

9. In spite of all these efforts, you may be threatened with arrest, or actually arrested. Whether you wish to remain if told you will be arrested is, as always, an individual decision. But since there is this possibility, the group should discuss beforehand what they will do if told to leave or face arrest, and be prepared.

## Sit-Ins

Sit-ins have been used in such settings as the struggle for independence in India, the desegregation of public facilities in the American civil rights movement, action against the presence of ROTC and military and corporate recruiters on campuses, movements for the rights of welfare recipients, victims of "urban renewal", and convicts among others, demands for free speech, and related issues at countless universities and in numerous communities.

Sit-ins are an effort to draw attention to and dramatize an issue; as such, they are primarily educational and symbolic. They are an important part of direct-action organizing, one used at some point by most major progressive movements in modern times. There are basically two types of sit-in, both of them illegal but very effective. A symbolic sit-in places people in a location with some significance central to the issue involved at that stage of the struggle, for example, in the office of a particular company, university, or agency, but not in such a way that people working for that institution are prevented from going in or out, or from doing their jobs. The group may decide to stay for a certain length of time, leave, then come back again the next day, and the next, and so on, or it may decide to remain there until the police are called in, charge them with trespassing, and arrest them.

An obstructive sit-in begins in a similar manner, but its intention is to actually prevent the business of the institution from being transacted, by blocking entrances, filling up corridors, and essentially

"occupying" or "liberating" the structure. The same thing can be accomplished from outside the building by blockading doors, though this is more difficult to do. Though both of these activities are useful, an obstructive sit-in is more dramatic, and brings the true nature of the activity in the institution to question more quickly and intensively. A sit-in of either sort ends in only two ways: you leave on your own, at a pre-arranged time, or when you're informed you'll be arrested if you don't, or you're arrested and taken away. Rarely does it end with instant victory or by everyone sitting in just giving up. In planning a sit-in, consider these ideas:

1. You want to have enough time inside to publicize the issue and establish negotiations, so surprise is a useful element, particularly in smaller sit-ins. Presumably, you have chosen a place which can be occupied with the smallest number of people, which is symbolic for your cause, and the disruption of which will cause major problems in continuing the work you oppose. You can have people quietly go into the place in small groups (two or three people) at an appointed time, organize the sit-in in advance but keep the time secret until shortly before it is to take place, or take a group in for a legitimate appointment, and simply remain, with other people coming in to join you shortly after that. In the case of a mass sit-in, at a public building following a major mobilization for example, the surprise will not be of great importance because of the large number of people who will be participating.

2. Prepare supplies to take in with you, in case you will be there for any length of time. Bring food, locate sources of water shortly after you arrive, and think of any other items you might need during a stay of perhaps two or three days should you be unable to get anything from the outside.

3. Organize the people who will be sitting-in into groups to take care of food, communications, guard duty, etc.

4. Make good use of the time you spend sitting-in. Organize workshops, discuss books, hold organizational meetings, sing songs, plan further strategies.

5. Begin the sit-in during the day when you can simply walk into the building, rather than facing the possibility of breaking in.

6. Be neat. Leaving a mess behind you when you leave will create adverse publicity.

7. Discuss and decide before the sit-in begins whether you plan to stay for a certain length of time and then leave, stay until you are told to leave by the police, or remain until your demands are met (or until you are arrested). When the sit-in begins, announce your intentions, so that if you have decided to leave after a limited period of time, it will not be viewed as surrender.

8. Discuss the policy of the group regarding arrest. Usually, it is

best if the entire group follows one path. However, if certain members of the group wish to leave at an earlier point, that should be arranged. Decide how you will be arrested, i.e., whether you will get up to go with the police, or whether you will go limp and force them to carry you out. It should be noted that going limp may add the additional charge of resisting arrest. Decide whether the group will accept bail, or remain in jail; if it is a large enough group, many people remaining in jail is an effective way of clogging facilities. Before doing anything illegal, you should be aware of, and prepared to accept the consequences. Read the legal defense section of this handbook. Seldom if ever has any important social change occured without people openly violating unjust laws, and it is doubtful that any ever will. Ultimately, however, an individual must determine for her/himself what course to take.

## Symbolic Actions and Individual Activity

*Vigils:* A vigil is similar to a picket line or rally in structure, but serves a different function. Normally, the tone is more solemn, for example, each person standing silently, or holding a candle, or singing hymns. Such an activity requires unity, seriousness, and discipline. A vigil can range from one person standing in silent witness outside a building to a half million people standing at night holding lighted candles in a public place, each to symbolize a dead or oppressing being.

*Fasts:* This is an activity requiring even greater discipline and understanding among its practitioners. A well-publicised fast can attract a great deal of attention, since it directly contradicts the well-fed, affluent ideal of the society, and as such, as an act of self-deprivation, directly confronts the conscience of the oppressor and the public at large. It is a good idea to get well-known people to participate if possible, if only for a portion of the time, in order to maximize publicity, but this is not essential. A fast should not be attempted by anyone without medical examination and supervision. In consultation with a doctor, a time limit should be set on how long a fast will continue, how you should prepare for it, and how it should be ended. Since this is a very quiet activity, good publicity is vital to its political purpose.

*Renouncing or Refusing Honors:* As with a fast, the publicity aspect of this tactic is most important, and it is most useful when a well-known person is involved, or a highly respected, conventional member of a community.

*"Haunting" and Other Harassments:* In order to constantly remind certain people of the immorality and repugnance of their behavior, people are assigned to follow them everywhere they go; there are many variations on this possible. Spray-painting slogans on various surfaces, personal confrontation, putting political quotes on every place one can find, particularly those associated with the injustice, bringing the

object of suffering to notice as a constant reminder to people engaged in oppression or unaware of it, are all tactics which have been employed by political groups. Write and perform simple little plays about the injustice you are fighting, and perform them where they'll hit closest to home.

*Basic Individual Activity: Live Your Politics:* If you are struggling to end suffering, make certain you are not contributing to it or participating in it yourself in some way. Do all that you can and everything that you can and never live with the illusion that you are pure. If you are working to end one form of oppression, examine your life, and be aware of ways in which you might be dealing unjustly or improperly with people or creatures in relation to other issues or ideas.

## Boycotts

The boycott has, in various periods and countries, been a useful tool for demonstrating disapproval and initiating change. To be successful, the tactic must be nearly absolute, and it is thus very difficult to organize. A boycott of a single landlord, product, or retail store in a local area can be very effectively arranged, though a boycott of any sort on a national level requires great organization, has very little chance of success, and necessitates the expenditure of far more money than is justified by the use of this tactic as opposed to others. As such, boycott work in a local community would appear to be the major useful application of this form of protest.

A boycott attempts to alter the economic structure of a situation by disrupting the competitive balance, in the same way that a picket line at a retail outlet functions. In fact, a boycott is usually combined with the presence of pickets at the target location. It is generally useful to be able to suggest an alternative to the use of the product or service which is the object of the boycott. Publicity is essential in boycott operations, as the weight of numbers is the factor which will show up in economic terms. One way of making the effect of the boycott known quickly is to have people sign printed pledge cards stating that they will not buy or use a particular product for the reasons you state on the card, and when you have a sufficient number, use them in negotiations with your opponent. The imposition of a boycott, as with a picket line, can also be used as a threat in the early stages of negotiation.

## Obstruction, Non-Cooperation, and Individual Confrontation

The heart of revolutionary nonviolence, or of civil disobedience, is refusal by an individual, you, to cooperate with or permit acts of injustice or oppression. Obstruction involves placing one's body between the oppressor and the object of oppression (examples are preventing a seal from being clubbed by protecting it with your body, blocking

entrances to buildings where war research is being conducted, lying down on railroad tracks leading to or from places where immorally-produced substances are manufactured or received, sitting in front of tractors preparing to bulldoze a person's home, or a truck preparing to take animals from a pound to a research facility). Non-cooperation means refusal to be an active part of any organizational work which results in cruelty or suffering (e.g., refusal to be inducted into the army, refusal to dissect cats in biology class). Individual confrontation is simply the act of bringing to attention the acts of an individual who is perpetuating suffering (such as confronting a person you see wearing a fur coat, or hear promoting war, or extolling the virtues of blood sports). In individual confrontation, you should use good judgement as to whether the person should be approached gently with explanations and education (particularly if she/he is alone) or put "up against the wall" verbally (if it is a particularly vicious individual who is among other people).

In all of these situations, there is greater strength, and less danger, when a large number of people are involved in the activity. But even one person alone can make a difference.

## Influencing Political Structures

Attempts to make changes through existing political structures can result in educational progress and can be a useful organizing tool; the organizer should keep in mind, however, that achieving fundamental change in institutional attitudes by this tactic alone is virtually impossible. The changes which result from legislative efforts, in the absence of visible public outrage and direct action will be minor at best, or even merely cosmetic. Keep in mind that no major social change in history has occurred without mass activity; gaining the vote for women required demonstrations and street actions; even modest civil rights for minority groups came only after a generation of marches, sit-ins, strikes, and riots; and it took a civil war to abolish slavery in the United States. Legislative action on ethical issues normally ratifies a situation which has already been forced upon the power structure by other methods.

Even so, group activity employing the political system is an important part of any overall strategy. It is a way of keeping doors open and knowing who sympathetic people are, to prepare for a time when change has become inevitable; it helps to educate people, and it aids in recruitment. Generally, the more local the effort, the greater the chance of meaningful success; lobbying efforts above the state level in behalf of progressive causes rarely work unless vast amounts of both time and money can be devoted to the task. When these things are available, basic change remains impossible unless there is also an atmosphere of struggle or a history of direct action. There are several

possibilities for activity directed at influencing political structures, for those who wish to engage in such work.

## Letter-Writing Campaigns

Mass letter-writing campaigns have been used successfully most often by groups on the political right, who can often send a torrent of millions of letters out to legislators on very short notice, for example, in opposition to gun control. Few progressive groups have been able to match this. This does not mean it should not be done, only that it is difficult and requires both money and organization if it is to be done on a mass basis.

Individuals can and should write letters to legislators who represent them whenever possible. Letters should also be directed to administrators, editors, and other officials. Again, the more local the official, the greater effect a single letter will have. And the better known or more influential the writer, the more notice will be taken of it. Mass letter-writing campaigns should consist of individual letters, rather than collective ones or group petitions. Often letters or documents with many signatures are only counted as one letter by legislators making a count of the views and responses of their constituents.

Each letter should be neat, typed or at least written legibly, and should refer to a specific bill (with number if possible), project, situation, or other specific reference. Identify yourself fully (as constituent if applicable, member of an organization or group, or other designation), and include your address and signature.

For mass group writing, one possibility is to set up tables on the street with sample letters, paper, pens, and information, ask people to stop and write a brief note, and mail them all yourself. The same thing can be done at meetings of your group, or at meetings of other organizations.

## Lobbying

The effectiveness of lobbying government officials and legislators depends upon competence and ability to present a case, by people involved in the effort, and upon access to and use of good factual information. Lobbying is the direct presentation of your views to the official concerned with resolution of your issue, with the intention of gaining her/his support. It requires extensive preparation and advance planning.

Some rules of lobbying are: 1. Have as much information as possible about the issue, and related facts and statistics; 2. Know precisely how you stand on the issue, and don't back off or change your mind when confronted with a powerful person; 3. Though facts are important, so is your emotional commitment to an issue, and that should also be made clear; 4. The people who will listen to you most closely are those who depend upon your vote, so start with people who directly represent you; 5. Get

information on past positions (votes and position papers) taken by the legislator — this information can be obtained from the League of Women Voters in your area; 6. Make an appointment, rather than arriving unannounced; 7. Particularly when dealing with national legislators, it is as important to speak with the legislative or administrative assistant as it is to speak with the legislator himself, as most congressmen depend upon information presented by staff members to determine how they will vote or what bills they will introduce.

## Referenda

A referendum provides for holding a vote on a specific issue or project; as with the other methods of using the political system, the more local the initiative, the greater the chance of success. If you wish to hold a referendum to bring an issue before the members of your community or state, an established procedure (which varies from town to town and state to state) must be followed; it is usually necessary to work with an attorney to make certain that all requirements are being met. Most referenda campaigns will then function as follows:

1. Write the referendum, considering what you hope to achieve. Moderate wording may gain a majority vote or at least a substantial portion of the people voting. More radical wording will probably gather fewer votes, but can be important in demonstrating that a sizable number of people agree with a strident stance on the issue.

2. Announce the referendum at a press conference, and publicize it throughout the community involved.

3. Gather signatures. You will need to get a specified number of signatures in order to get the referendum on the ballot. Always get far more than that number, as many signatures will undoubtedly be invalidated for a variety of reasons.

4. Once the referendum has been accepted for placement on the ballot, launch a massive publicity campaign, using all the tools discussed in the Communication and Education section. Keep lists of supporters, and make certain you get them out to the polls.

5. Whatever the result, publicize it in such a way that it supports your perspective on the issue; if the referendum does not gain majority support, try again in a couple years.

Referenda can be valuable organizing, outreach, and education instruments. They involve large numbers of people, give official status to the issue, bring it before the public, provide opportunities for "equal time" responses to your opponents, help raise funds, recruit people for work on other projects, and establish pressure on institutions to change.

## Medical Assistance

Whenever you are involved in an action which might provoke reac-

tionary or state violence against your group, such as in mass civil disobedience, it is important to take precautions to protect the people around you. Organize sympathetic doctors, nurses, medical students, and people with training in first aid to act as field medics during the action.

In an extensive street action, field medics should work in teams, with at least one of the persons in the team being experienced. It is a good idea to have the medics wear identifying armbands or shirts, so that people who have been injured will be able to find them easily. When the demonstrations will range throughout an area, first-aid stations should be established, if possible with a licensed doctor or nurse in attendance at each. The aid stations should receive injured persons (should trouble occur) and coordinate the activities of the field medics. Vans, station wagons, or other suitable transportation should be available to transport injured persons. In a more limited action, or one which will be confined to a single location, there should be an aid station, or several teams of medics stationed in various places. Medical personnel should also keep records of injuries treated, to provide information to be used in legal defense.

While providing professional assistance in major actions is very important, as many people as possible who will be participating in a large action which may result in trouble should have access to basic first-aid information. The mobilizing group should distribute information sheets or booklets, edited from a first-aid manual, giving basic information on the treatment of head wounds, wounds to the body, bruises, shock, and anything else which might reasonably be expected to occur.

Problems which may not be mentioned in a first-aid manual include tear gas and mace. Tear gas is used on a crowd in the form of canisters thrown toward a group of people, or sprayed from foggers in portable machines, automobiles, or helicopters. There are two common forms of tear gas, CN, which is weaker and normally is the canister type, and CS, which is a great deal stronger, smells of pepper, and generally is used in foggers. Both cause tearing and burning sensations in the eyes, headaches, an uncomfortable heat in exposed skin, irritation of the lungs, and sometimes nausea and vomiting. When possible, get away (calmly and quietly; panic in such a situation can cause injuries) from the gas. If you are exposed to it, rinse your eyes repeatedly with water (if you have not had airtight goggles on) as well as inside and outside your nose, irrigating the substance as quickly and completely as possible. Mace, as opposed to tear gas, is sprayed in a stream from a canister at close range. It causes severe eye pain, and sometimes temporary blindness and convulsions. Treatment is the same as for tear gas, rinse immediately with water for fifteen to twenty minutes, though a solution of diluted boric acid may work better. If pain or blurred vision continues after exposure to mace, see a doctor

as soon as possible, as mace has been known to cause permanently impaired vision.

Remember that these procedures are meant to help you to prepare to deal with medical situations which may arise. Be careful, and if you encounter a problem or are hurt, get to a doctor as soon as possible.

## Legal and Medical Preparation for a Mass Demonstration

1. In order to protect against exposure of the skin to gas, wear long-sleeved shirts and slacks. Make certain the shirt can be loosened in order to avoid being choked if you are dragged in the event of arrest.
2. Wear heavy shoes that lace, rather than loafers or other loose shoes which might be lost if a difficult situation arises.
3. If you cannot do without eyeglasses, either carry a hard case to put them in if trouble begins, or strap them to your head. Do not wear contact lenses, as they trap gas in your eyes.
4. It is a good idea to wear two sets of underwear and two pairs of socks. They provide additional padding to protect you from physical injury, and can help you remain clean if you are in jail for any length of time.
5. If it may be chilly, wear a sweater or jacket, particularly if there is a chance you will be occupyng a cell overnight.
6. Never wear earrings, or anything around the neck which could cause you pain by being pulled.
7. Wear or carry identification tags or cards which state any drug allergies you have, or medicine you must take regularly.
8. Write the address of aid stations, or medical emergency numbers, and phone numbers to call for bail or legal help both on a sheet of paper and, in ink, on your arm.
9. If you have not had a tetanus booster within two years, get one (check with your doctor). Tetanus resulting from injuries can be fatal. If you forget, and sustain a wound, go to a doctor for a tetanus shot as soon as possible.
10. You might wish to assemble and carry a "demo kit" with you in a light bag with a shoulder strap. Useful supplies include:
    a. Prescription medicine, fully and clearly labeled as such.
    b. Telephone numbers and other information, as previously stated.
    c. A small plastic container or squeeze bottle filled with water.
    d. Airtight goggles, for use in case of gassing.
    e. A clean cloth to use to cover mouth or as a bandage.
    f. Toilet articles such as toothbrush, small bunch of toilet paper, kleenex, and such, in case you are in jail for a day or two.
    g. Gauze pads and adhesive tape, and/or band-aids.
    h. A plastic bag with wet cotton balls and/or a wet cloth, to squeeze water from to relieve symptoms of gassing. (Only the water should touch your eyes, not the cloth or cotton.)

## Legal Defense

Question: what is illegal? Answer: anything the ruling structure wishes to be illegal. Question: what can they do to me? Answer: they can do anything you can't stop them from doing.

In theory, all persons are protected under the law by certain guarantees and procedures, and usually those guarantees are honored and those procedures followed. Practically, however, it has been shown that in mass arrest situations, a person's rights may be ignored. That does not mean that you have no recourse in such situations (and the successful law suits which have followed many mass arrests show that you do), but you should be prepared, at least psychologically, to have your rights ignored. There are certain things which you should do to protect your rights, and the things which should occur in an arrest situation can be described.

The organization sponsoring a mass action should have a legal defense fund, lawyers, and bail procedures set up well in advance of the action if it anticipates (or plans) any trouble which might result in arrests. Information about these matters should be provided to all participants in the action.

Arrest is the taking of a person into custody, to be held for trial for a specific crime. If you are stopped by a policeman, do not try to leave; ask for the reason you are being detained, but otherwise remain silent, other than providing your name and address. If you go limp, run away, curse at the policeman, or otherwise impede him, you can be charged with resisting arrest, which is a charge separate from the offense for which you are being arrested. Even if you are found innocent of the original charge, you can be convicted of resisting arrest. Further, if you resist arrest, a policeman can use force to place you in custody. At this and any other point, if you feel your rights have been violated, get all possible information, note who else may have seen the incident take place, and report it all to your lawyer.

After the arrest, you are taken to the station house, where a record of a specific charge against you must be entered; this process of "booking" can take several hours if a great many people have been arrested at the same time. You may be fingerprinted and photographed, and the police have the right to search you. Ask for a receipt for all items they take from you.

You have the right to telephone a lawyer, friend, or relative, as soon as you have been booked. You may be permitted to make a second call, to a bail bondsman. If you cannot reach your lawyer, one must be provided for you free. If you don't wish to use a lawyer appointed by the state, call the nearest office of the American Civil Liberties Union or the Legal Aid Society and ask for help. Until your lawyer arrives, do not say anything other than your name and address, and do not sign anything. If you are threatened or forced to sign a statement or respond to questions, report this to your lawyer.

You will be held in custody until you are brought before a judge to be formally charged, which must be within twenty-four to forty-eight hours. This is the arraignment, at which you have the right to be represented by a lawyer, and told what you are charged with. If you are being held on a felony or misdemeanor, the judge will decide whether or not you should be held for trial, on the basis of the evidence. If you are to be held for trial, you have the right to ask to have bail set. You will then either be released on your own recognizance (your word to return for trial) or permitted to post bail or pay a fee to a bondsman. Bail permits money or other property to be put up as a guarantee that you will return for trial. The amount of bail is set by the judge, though if you feel the amount is excessive, your lawyer can ask that it be reduced. Bail money is returned when you appear for trial. If you cannot pay the amount set as bail, a bondsman will put up the bail, for which you will pay a smaller amount, which is not returned.

If you are accused of a summary offense, the judge will decide your guilt or innocence at that time, and either release you or pass sentence. You have additional rights in this situation.

This review of customary procedures is intended merely as a guide to what you might expect to happen. If you find yourself in a situation in which you are taken into custody, do not depend upon your own perceptions of what your rights are. The only real defense you have is competent legal advice and representation, and you should seek that as quickly as possible.



# afterword

Nothing in this book is etched in stone; I reach up to you through these pages to offer what I can in perspectives, contexts, and suggestions. As soon as you stop reading and get up from your chair, to go out to confront and stop the suffering, you begin to re-write what is here. The next chapters are yours; tell me how they turn out (see address in introduction).

It will be a long struggle, and it will never end, only perhaps change. Stand still, close your eyes, and listen; in the silence you can hear the cries of pain and low moans of anguish of animals waiting to die. Few things living have peaceful lives; we must make certain that there is as little hurt as possible, for other creatures, for one another. Do everything you can, even if today it is just one small thing. There are no excuses for inaction, despair, egotism, or petulance that matter to the animals.

We stand at the beginning of a time of great hope in our movement. Events and people are in motion, but the grey demons of corporate cruelty and casual harm have existed too long to easily vanish. It may be that what you do today, or tomorrow, next week, or next year, will form part of what finally brings their blood-drenched age to a close.

A door opens. Look down the path which we follow, through these scenes of horror and endless weeping; the carnage diminishes. We awake from dark dreams of pain to find ourselves in new country. Ahead, by the road, people and animals rise up reborn.



# resources

I. Organizations
II. Books & Periodicals

## General Organizations

American Civil Liberties Union, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010. Legal defense group, with affiliates in every state.

American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry Street, Philadelphia, PA 19102. Pacifist service organization; extensive literature list and other resources for research and action.

Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271m Nyack, NY 10960. Group dedicated to solutions to establishing social justice through nonviolent action.

Institute for Social Justice, 628 Baronne Street, New Orleans, LA 70113. Social action group; publishes organizing materials, and sponsors workshops.

Movement for a New Society, 4722 Baltimore Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19143. Wide variety of printed material of new forms of decision-making and conflict resolution.

SANE, 318 Massachusetts Avenue NE, Washington, D.C. 20002. Old-Line peace group, distributes materials on research and organizing.

War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012. Radical pacifist group, involved in nonviolent direct action in a number of areas, on many levels. Publishes *Win* magazine, and pamphlets and books on many subjects.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1213 Race Street, Philadlephia, PA 19107. Group working for peace and justice, and against militarism in all its forms.

## Animal Welfare, Protection, and Rights Groups

(*note*: I have included here all international, European, and North American [both national and regional] groups of which I have knowledge. In an effort to work toward unity among all groups, I have made no judgements, and have chosen to exclude no active group. Most of the groups listed do their best to help animals in every way they can, and are comprised of honest, politically progressive, concerned individuals. However, inclusion of groups in this listing does not imply endorsement of their activities. A few of the groups here have been criticized in the past for excessive cooperation with opponents of animal welfare, high executive salaries, undemocratically-controlled structures run by a single person, large fee requirements for voting membership, or questionable fund raising practices. The best approach when gathering information or organizing is to find out as much as you can about a given group, ask questions which relate to the areas mentioned, and ask again if you are not satisfied with the answers. Do not rush to affiliate with any group until you know everything about them you can, but in the spirit of solidarity for animals, be willing to talk and work with any of them on matters of common concern.

If I have inadvertently failed to include any group in the list, or the information included is incorrect, or you are a member of a new group which should be listed, please send this information to the publisher or to me so it may be included in a supplementary list at a future date.)

ACT, P.O. Box 1875, Canberra City, Canberra 2601, Australia.

Actors and Others for Animals, P.O. Box 405, Beverly Hills, CA 90213. Composed of individuals in the entertainment field; works primarily in areas of humane education, pet adoption (locally), and endangered species.

Alliance to Protect the Coyote (see Writers for Animal Rights). New group in formation, to establish a unified opposition to the slaughter and abuse of coyotes, and to determine and enact solutions. Booklet on the coyote and its relation to and treatment by human society currently in preparation.

American Anti-Vivisection Society, 1903 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia. PA 19103. Oldest American anti-vivisection group (founded 1883); advocates complete abolition of operating or experimenting on animals for human benefit; publishes the *AV*, a monthly periodical.

American Defenders Against Animal Mistreatment, P.O. Box 904, Wilmington, DE 19899.

American Fund for Alternatives to Animal Research, c/o Dr. Ethel Thurston, 175 West 12th Street, New York, NY 10011. Promotes research and education to replace the use of live animals in experimentation, through grants, publications, and lobbying.

American Humane Education Society, 350 South Huntington Avenue,

Boston, MA 12130. Works against cruelty to animals by means of publications, classes, lectures and other educational projects.

American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, 441 East 92nd Street, New York, NY 10028. Earliest major humane group in the United States. Promotes kindness to animals by enforcement of anti-cruelty laws, animal care education programs, and pet adoption from shelters (in New York).

American Vegan Society, Box H, Malaga, NJ 08328. Organization of individuals opposed to the use of animal products for consumption, clothing, or in any other form designed simply for human benefit.

American Vegetarians, Box 5424, Akron, OH 44313

Animal Activists, P.O. Box 1, Biggin Hill, Westerham, Kent, England. Works to end all forms of abuse of animals; membership restricted to vegans and vegetarians. Produces a variety of pamphlets and decorative material.

Animal Aid, 111 Estridge Way, Tonbridge, Kent, England, Activist group campaigning for abolition of vivisection, by marches, demonstrations, and publications.

Animal Aid Action Group, Flat 3, 8 Shorncliffe Road, Folkestone, Kent, England, Coalition group acting to end animal cruelty; sponsors rallies, and other direct action events.

Animal Care and Welfare, SPCA, Box 8257, Pittsburgh, PA 15218.

Animal Liberation, 319 West 74th Street, New York, NY 10023. Composed of vegetarians, anti-vivisectionists, and others dedicated to animal welfare. Holds workshops, gives lectures, and engages in other educational work.

Animal Liberation, c/o Total Environment Centre, 18 Argyle Street, Sydney 2000, Australia.

Animal Liberation (Queensland), GPO Box 1787, Brisbane, Queensland 4001, Australia.

Animal Liberation (Victoria), P.O. Box 199, Glen Iris, Victoria 3146, Australia.

Animal Liberation Collective, Box 148, South Durham, Quebec JOH 2CO, Canada; northeast U.S. regional office, P.O. Box 333, Amherst, MA 01002. Radical direct action group, opposing all forms of animal abuse and suffering. Publishes informational pamphlet and other material.

Animal Liberation Front, Box 190, 8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham, England. Works to end exploitation of animals by humans through direct action tactics.

Animal Protection Association, 21 Warwick Court, Burley Lane, Horsforth, Leeds LS18 4TB, England. Working to purchase a ship to be used for anti-whaling and anti-sealing operations, as well as for education about marine life.

Animal Protection Institute of America, P.O. Box 22505, Sacramento,

CA 95822. Promotes animal protection through education programs and publication of pamphlets.

Animal Protectors Defense Group, 91 Home Close, Hockwell Ring, Luton, Beds LU4 9NS. Provides assistance to activists arrested or persecuted for animal liberation activities.

Animal Rights Association, 40 Francemary Road, London SE4, England. Provides contact and network information to people working against the exploitation of animals.

Animal Rights Network, P.O. Box 5234, Westport, CT 06881. Working toward establishment of a network of individuals and groups involved in the struggle for animal rights. Publishes and distributes this handbook, and is engaged in a variety of other projects.

Animal Welfare Institute, P.O. Box 3650, Washington, D.C. 20007. Main area of concern is use of animals in experimentation. Publishes pamphlets and books on several topics related to animals.

Anti-Cruelty Society, 157 West Grand Avenue, Chicago, IL 60610. Large humane organization, involved in pet adoption, humane education, and sponsorship of conferences on animal issues.

Anti-Cruelty Society, 447 Albert Street, Palmerston North, New Zealand

Argus Archives, 228 East 49th Street, New York, NY 10017. Screens, reviews, and provides ordering information on films dealing with humane education, animal rights, and forms of exploitation of animals.

Associated Humane Societies, 124 Evergreen Avenue, Newark, NJ 17114. Multi-city shelter operation. Active in disseminating information on a wide variety of issues. Publishes a substantial annual yearbook, detailing problems and solutions in many areas of animal rights and welfare.

Attorneys for Animal Rights, 188 Amherst Avenue, Atheston, CA 94025.

Beauty Without Cruelty, 175 West 12th Street, New York, NY 10011; c/o M.C Pearson, 10624 Nottingham Road, Edmonds, WA 98020; and 1 Caverley Park, Tunbridge Wells, Kent TN1 2SG, England. Distributes information about suffering by animals in process of testing cosmetics and being trapped or raised to be made into apparel, and provides alternatives to the use of animals for these purposes.

British League for Animal Rights, 5 Aysgarth Road, Dulwich Village, London SE21 7JR, England.

British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection, 143 Charing Cross Road, London W1, England.

Canadian Federation of Humane Societies, 900 Pinecrest Road, Ottawa, Ontario K2B 6B3, Canada.

Canadian League for Animal Rights, P.O. Box 5201, Station "B", Victoria, BC., Canada V8R 6N4. Works to end all forms of animal suffer-

ing through education and direct action.

Captive Animal Protection Society, 17 Raphael Road, Hove, Sussex Bn3 5QP, England. Concerned with rights and decent treatment for animals held in zoos, circuses, and other such structures.

Cats Protection League, 20 North Street, Horsham, West Sussex RH12 1BN England.

Chicken' Lib, 6 Pilling Lane, Skelmanthorpe, Huddersfield, England. Lobbies and engages in education to confront mistreatment of and suffering by battery chickens.

Citizens Committee for Animal Rights, P.O. Box 483, Jackson Heights, NY 11372.

Coalition to End Animal Suffering in Experimentation, P.O. Box 27, Cambridge, MA 02238. New England regional group promoting abolition of vivisection through education and direct action activities, and involved in other animal rights issues.

Collectif Parisien Anti-Vivisection, 65 Boulevard Arago, 75013 Paris, France.

Committee to Abolish Sport Hunting, c/o Luke A Dommer, P.O. Box 65, West New York, NJ 07093. Works to abolish all forms of recreational killing, by lobbying and public education; also maintains a wildlife refuge.

Compassion for Animals, 1 Commercial Road, Tunbridge Wells, Kent, England.

Compassion in World Farming, Lyndum House, High Street, Petersfield, Hampshire, England. Conducts educational programs against oppression of animal in factory farming.

Conquest, 16 Pembroke Road, Winklebury, Basingstroke, Hampshire, England. Agitates for protection of wildlife and animal welfare in general by direct action and dissemination of information.

Co-ordinating Animal Welfare, P.O. Box 61, Camberley, Surrey GU15 4EN, England, Network group, coordinating activists engaged in work against animal abuse.

Cornwall Badgers Protection League, 3 Lower Sharptor Cottages, Henwood, Liskeard, England.

Croyden Badger Protection Group, 63 Harewood Gardens, Sanderstead, Surrey, England.

Dartmoor Badgers Protection League, Spitchwick Manor, Pounsgate, Devon TQ13 7PB, England.

Defenders of Wildlife, 1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Dolphin Defense, Meade House, Limerstone Road, Brightstone, Isle of Wight, England.

Djurfront, Drottingggatan 12A, 37100 Karlskrona, Sweden. Anti-vivisection organization and publication.

Eastern Animal Liberation League, c/o Oak Villa, Newton St., Faiths,

Norwich, England.

Eurogroup for Animal Welfare, 38 Rue St. George Moreau, 1070 Brussels, Belgium. Coordinating structure composed of members from many European countries.

Farm and Food Society, 4 Willifield Way, London NW11 7XT, England. Promotes the use of humane techniques of farming.

Feline and Canine Friends, 505 N. Bush Street, Anaheim, CA 92805. Composed of individuals and organizations concerned with animal welfare. Engages in educational projects and direct assistance to animals in their area.

Friends of Animals, 11 West 60th Street, New York, NY 10023; 2713 Seaview Road, Victoria, B.C., Canada. Primarily involved with reducing domestic animal overpopulation through education and spay-neuter programs; also works on wildlife issues. Publishes pamphlets and other materials. Maintains a lobbying group, Committee for Humane Legislation. Has literature list.

Friends of the Earth, 529 Commercial Street, San Francisco, CA 94111; 9 Poland Street, London W1V 3DG, England. Environmental group, working through established political structures, and useful for information on animal-related issues.

Fund for Animals, 140 West 57th Street, New York, NY 10019. Active in animal welfare projects through education programs and occasional direct action, with regional offices around the country. Provides information and material on many subjects concerning animals.

Fund for the Replacement of Animals in Medical Experiments, 321a Worple Road, London SW20 8QU, England.

General Whale P.O. Box Save the Whale, Alameda, CA 94501. Educates and increases awareness of the situation of whales through media and production of information and other products.

Greek Animal Welfare Fund, 4-6 Whytecliffe Road, Purley, Surrey CR2, England.

Greenpeace, 36-36a Graham Street, London N1 2XJ, England. National office for work on behalf of marine mammals.

Greenpeace (London), 6 Endsleigh Street, London WC1, England.

Greenpeace South Australia, 310 Angas St., Adelaide 5000, Australia.

Greenpeace, 2108 West 4th Avenue, Vancouver, B.C., Canada; Columbo Street, London SE1, England. Environmental group involved with a range of animal and non-animal issues; employs education and direct action tactics, and has available a mail order list.

Gwent Badger Group, 28 Clays Road, Sling Coleford, Glos GL16 8LJ, England.

The Humane Crusade, P.O. box 31, Maryland Line, MD 21105.

Humane Society of the United States, 2100 L. Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. Promotes humane treatment of animals in all condi-

tions and circumstances, through education and other assistance. Sponsors humane youth organization, KIND. Has literature list, containing pamphlets and folders covering many areas of animal rights and welfare issues.

Hunt Saboteurs Association, P.O. Box 19, London SE22, England. Direct action and personal confrontation and liberation group, working to end organized fox hunts.

International Association Against Painful Experiments on Animals, 51 Harley Street, London W1, England. Coalition of organizations working to abolish painful experiments on live animals. Distributes materials on research alternatives, and conducts workshops on the topic.

International Council Against Bullfighting, c/o Alfred Weirs, 13 Graystone Road, Tankerton, Kent CT5 2JY, England. Individuals and organizations attempting to abolish bullfighting, and encouraging tourist boycotts.

International Defenders of Animals, 2538 Palm Avenue, Box 172, Hialeah, FL 33011. Concerned with all animal welfare issues, concentrating on abolition of vivisection and control of domestic pet overpopulation. Conducts humane education program and operates an adoption service in the area.

International Fund for Animal Welfare, P.O. Box 193, Yarmouth Port, MA 02675. Works against suffering inflicted upon animals in all areas, and promotes unification of groups with similar interests. Primary activities related to abolition of seal hunts.

International Primate Protection League, Regent House, 19-25 Argyll Street, London WiV 2DU, England.

International Primate Protection League, P.O. Drawer X, Summerville, SC 29483. Individuals and groups working for the protection of all non-human primates. Publishes pamphlets and reports.

International League for the Protection of Horses, P.O. Box 166, 67a Camden High Street, London NW1 7JL, England.

International Society for the Protection of Animals, 29 Perkins Street, Jamaica Plain, MA 02130; 106 Jermyn Street, London SW1Y 6EE, England. Composed of animal welfare societies with memberships of 10,000 or more; acts as international lobbying and conservation organization, and publishes special reports and other material.

Irish Council Against Blood Sports, 67 Newton Avenue, Blackrock, Co. Dublin, Ireland.

Japan Animal Welfare Society, Wisteria House, High Street, Ticehurst, Wadhurst, Sussex TN5 7AS, England.

Joint Otter Group, c/o SPNC, The Green Nettleham, Lincoln LN2 2NT, England.

League Against Cruel Sports, One Reform Row, London N17 9TW, England. Works for the abolition of all forms of sport hunting; publishes pamphlets and books in this area.

Leviathan, 41 Chelmsford Road, North End, Portsmouth PO2 OJY,

England. Anti-whaling group, coordinates organizations concerned with protection of marine mammals.

Lifeforce, Box 3117, Main P.O., Vancouver, B.C., Canada. Animal rights and human ecology group, involved in both direct action and publication activities.

Lifeline for Wildlife, RD 104, Ulster Heights Road, Ellenville, NY 12428. Wildlife rescue and rehabilitation group. Trains people in the field, conducts internship program, and engages in humane education work.

Marine Action Centre, 1 Marshall Street, London W1, England. Liaison group working for marine conservation.

Millenium Guild, 40 Central Park South, New York, NY 10019. Vegetarian organization dedicated to promoting peace through cessation of activities which cause suffering to other animals.

National Anti-Vivisection Society, 100 E. Ohio Street, Chicago, IL 60611. Conducts educational programs aimed at abolition of vivisection, maintains library, and publishes pamphlets and other materials.

National Anti-Vivisection Society, 51 Harley Street, London W1, England. British lobbying group attempting to end vivisection through pressure on parliament.

National Association for the Advancement of Humane Education, Box 98, East Haddam, CT 06423

National Cat Protection Society, 340 W. Willow, Long Beach, CA 90806. Promotes protection for all cats by working to control overpopulation, institute humane euthanasia for homeless animals, provide humane education and cruelty investigations, agitate for legal protection, and operate shelters; publishes pamphlets and other materials.

National Coalition for Alternatives to Animal Experimentation, Box Box 224, Springfield Gardens, NY 11413. Individual and groups involved in lobbying and education to eliminate painful experiments on animals.

National Equine (and Smaller Animals) Defense League, 138 Blackwell Road, Carlisle, England.

National Society Against Factory Farming, 42 Mount Pleasant Road, London SE13, England.

National Society for the Abolition of Cruel Sports, 33 Forest Rise, Jarvis Brook, Crowborough, East Sussex, England.

New England Anti-Vivisection Society, 9 Park Street, Boston, MA 02108.

New Hampshire Animal Rights League, 24 Center Street, Concord, NH 03301.

New Zealand Anti-Vivisection Society, P.O. Box 2065, Wellington, New Zealand.

Norsk Liga for Dyrs Retigheter, Boks 8380, Hammersborg, Oslo 1, Norway.

North American Vegetarian Society, P.O. Box 72, Dolgeville, NY 13329. Major American vegetarian group, promoting the elimination of flesh from the diet for reasons of both ethics and health. Publishes pamphlets, distributes other information, maintains mail order service.

North American Wildlife Park Foundation, Battle Ground, IN 47920. Wolf protection group. Distributes literature.

Northern Animal Liberation League, Gate House, 41 Church Gate, Bolton BL1 1HF, Lances., England.

PCAP, Hellmundstrasse 54, 6200 Wiesbaden, Germany.

People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, P.O. Box 56272, Washington, DC 20011. Active in the full range of animal rights and welfare issues, through organizing demonstration and other direct action activities, lobbying and letter-writing, publications, and similar work.

People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (Florida), 10830 SW 85th Street, Gainesville, FL 32601.

People's Trust for Endangered Species, 19 Quarry Street, Guildford, Surrey GU1 3EH, England.

Pet Pride, 15113 Sunset, Pacific Palisades, CA 90272. Concerned with protection of cats. Operates shelter and adoption services in area; publishes pamphlets and other materials, and engages in education projects.

Progressive Animal Welfare Society, P.O. Box 1037, Lynnwood, WA 98036. Regional animal rights and welfare group. Runs shelter, engages in legislative initiatives, direct action organizing, research, and publication of material on issues and activities.

Protect Animal Life, 1413 Wyoming Way, Madison, WI 53704.

Roc Saboteurs de la Chasse. 173 Faubourg St. Antoine, 75011 Paris France. Hunt saboteurs group, engaged in action to prevent hunts from occuring or continuing.

Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, The Causeway, Horsham, Sussex, England. Oldest animal welfare organization in the world. Publishes material on a wide range of subjects.

Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, The Lodge, Sandy, Bedfordshire SG19 2DL, England.

Sabahat Alam Malaysia (Friends of the Earth — Malaysia), 7 Canton ment Road, Penang, Malaysia.

Save a Cat League, c/o Judith Scofield, 245 West 25th Street, New York, NY 1001. Rescue and adoption service for New York area. Conducts education programs.

Save Our Seals, c/o 7 Thyme Court, Lumbertus Estate, Northampton NN3 4HY, England,

Save Our Strays, P.O. Box 1286, Brooklyn, NY 11202. Works to help

stray, abandoned, and injured animals in New York area through education, rescue, and adoption programs.

Scottish Anti-Vivisection Society, 121 West Regent Street, Glasgow G2 2SD, Scotland.

Scottish Society for the Prevention of Vivisection, 10 Queensterry Street, Edinburgh EH12 4PG, Scotland. Works against vivisection through educational programs and lobbying. Publishes information.

Sea Shepherd Fund, 3 Rosehill, Torrance, Glasgow G64 4EW, Scotland.

Seals Preservation Action Group, The Green, Scarton, England.

Society Against Elephant Exploitation, 3 Princess Crescent, Pentwyn, Crumlin, Gwent NP1 4JG, South Whales. Individuals and Groups attempting to stop cruelty to and exploitation of elephants; maintains library, publishes pamphlets, runs animal sanctuaries.

Society for Animal Protective Legislation, P.O. Box 3719, Georgetown Station, Washington, D.C. 20007. Lobbying group; publishes information on legislation relating to animals.

Society for Animal Rights, 421 South State Street, Clarks Summit, PA 18411.

Society for the Study of Ethics and Animals, c/o Harlan Miller, Dept. of Philosophy and Religion, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Blacksburg, VA 24061. Association of philosophers and other individuals concerned with theoretical ethics involving the place of animals in society. Publishes material.

Society for the Protection of Animals in North Africa, 15 Buckingham Gate, London SW1E 6LB, England. Operates hospitals and refuges in North Africa, and lobby for legislation to protect animals in that region.

Southern Animal Liberation League, (see Northern Animal Liberation League).

Traffic, 1601 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009; 1 Marshall Street, London W1, England. Monitors the international trade in endangered species.

United Action for Animals, 205 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017. Promotes use of alternatives to research using live animals, by lobbying and publication of material.

United Animal Defenders, P.O. Box 33086, North Royalton, OH 44133. Interested in all areas of animal welfare. Publishes series of informative leaflets on factory farming and related issues.

United Humanitarians, 16 East Hatcher Road, Phoenix, AZ 85020. Concerned with overpopulation of domestic animals; works for control through spay-neuter programs and licensing.

Vegetarian and Animal Liberation Society, 12 Antigua Street, Edinburgh EH1 3NH, Scotland.

Vegetarian Association of America, P.O. Box 86, Livingston, NJ 07039. Individuals opposed to the ingestion of flesh and flesh products. Con-

ducts education programs and workshops.

Vegetarian Information Service, P.O. Box 5888, Washington, D.C. 20014. Promotes vegetarianism through publication and distribution of printed material and lobbying.

Vegetarian Society, 53 Marloes Road, London W8 6LA, England. Publishes material and maintains a bookstore. In existence since 1848.

Whale People, 171 Peckham Rye East, London SE15, England. Anti-whaling group operating by direct action and education.

Wildlife Trade Monitoring Unit, IUCN Conservation Monitoring Centre, 219c Huntingdon Road, Cambridge CB3 ODL, England.

Wirral Badger Protection Group, 105 Fishers Lane, Pensby, Wirral, England.

Wild Animal Preservation Society, The Lee Centre, 1 Aislibie Road, Lee Green, London SE12, England.

World Federation for the Protection of Animals, Dreikonigstrasse 37, CH-8002 Zurich, Switzerland. Individuals and groups working for animals welfare in areas of experimentation, factory farming, domestic animal overpopulation and other areas. Publishes pamphlets and other material.

Writers for Animal Rights, P.O. Box 337, Jonesboro, TN 37659. Concerned writers (and others) working to end institutionalized forms of cruelty inflicted upon animals. Collects and publishes poems, stories, and essays dealing with animals from a humane perspective.

## Books/General

Commoner, Barry. *The Closing Circle*. Bantam 1971.

Dellinger, Dave, *More Power Than We Know*. Doubleday, 1976.

Goldman, Emma. *Living My Life*. Dover 1970.

Harrington, Michael. *Toward a Democratic Left*. Pelican/Penguin, 1965.

Hoffman, Abbie, *Revolution for the Hell of It*. Dial, 1968.

King, Martin Luther. *Stride Toward Freedom*. Ballantine 1958.

Lester, Julius. *Revolutionary Notes*. Grove Press 1969.

Marcuse, Herbert. *Essay on Liberation*. Beacon Press, 1969.

Oglesby, Carl, and Richard Schaull. *Containment and Change*. MacMillan, 1967.

Roszak, Theodore. *The Making of a Counter-Culture*. Doubleday, 1969.

## Research

Chomsky, Noam. *American Power and the New Mandarins*. Random House/Vintage, 1969.

Domhoff, William. *Who Rules America*. Prentice-Hall, 1967.

Hirsch, Seymour. *Chemical and Biological Warfare: America's Hidden Arsenal*. Doubleday, 1969.

Jones, W. Ron. *Finding Community: A Guide to Community Research and Action.* James E. Freel and Associates (577 College Avenue, Palo Alto, CA 94306).

Lens, Sidney, *The Military Industrial Complex.* Pilgrim Press, 1970.

Nader, Ralph, and Donald Ross. *Action for a Change: A Student's Manual for Public Interest Organizing.* Grossman 1972.

Noyes, Dan. Raising Hell: *A Citizen's Guide to the Fine Art of Investigation.* Raising Hell (607 Market Street, San Francisco, CA 94105), 1979.

*Animal Resources: A Research Resources Directory.* National Institutes of Health, Washington, D.C., 1978.

*U.S. Government Organization Manual.* Government Printing Office, Division of Public Documents, Washington, D.C. 20402, new edition every year.

## Communication and Education

Brigham, Nancy. *How To Do Leaflets, Newsletters, and Newspapers.* New England Free Press (60 Union Square, Somerville, MA 02143), 1979.

Burke, Clifford, *Printing It.* Wingbow Press (order from Book People, 2940 Seventh Street, Berkeley, VA 94710), 1978.

## Direct Action

Avorn, J., et al. *Up Against the Ivy Wall: a History of the Columbia Crisis.* Atheneum, 1968.

Bay, Christian, and Charles Walker. *Civil Disobedience: Theory and Practice.* Black Rose Books (3934 Rue St. Urbain, Montreal, Quebec) 1980.

Boudin, K., et al. *The Bust Book (What to Do Until the Lawyer Comes).* Grove Evergreen, 1969.

Dellinger, Dave. *Revolutionary Nonviolence.* Anchor/Doubleday 1970.

Ghandi, Mohandas. *Non-Violent Resistance.* Schoken, 1961.

Lynd, Staughton. *Nonviolence in America: a Documentary History.* Bobs-Merrill 1966.

Mailer, Norman. *Armies of the Night.* Signet NAL, 1968.

*First Aid Testbook.* American National Red Cross. Doubleday, 1957.

Pamphlets and other information from organization listed under "general" category.

## Animals

Amory, Cleveland. *Man Kind? Our Incredible War on Wildlife.* Harper & Row, 1974.

Giehl, Dudley, *Vegetarianism: a Way of Life.* Harper & Row, 1979.

Godlovich, Stanley and Roslind, and John Harris, eds. *Animals, Men, and Morals: An Enquiry Into the Maltreatment of Non-Humans.*

Taplinger, 1972.
Curtis, Patricia. *Animal Rights*. Four Winds Press, 1980.
Leavitt, Emily. *Animals and Their Legal Rights*. Animal Welfare Institute, 1978.
Magel, Charles. *A Bibliography on Animal Rights and Related Matters*. University Press of America 1981.
Mason, James, and Peter Singer. *Animal Factories*. Crown, 1980.
Pratt, Dallas. *Alternatives to Painful Experiments on Animals*. Argus Archives 1981.
Robertson, Laurel, and Carol Flinders and Bronwen Godfrey. *Laurel's Kitchen: a Handbook for Vegetarian Cookery and Nutrition*. Bantam, 1976.
Ruesch, Hans. *Slaughter of the Innocent*. Bantam, 1978.
Ryder, Richard. *Victims of Science*. London: David-Poynter, 1975.
Singer, Peter, *Animal Liberation*. Avon, 1975.
*Facts of Vegetarianism*. North American Vegetarian Society, 1980.
Additional and more specialized pamphlets, leaflets, brochures, and other material is available from many of the animal organizations listed in the previous category. It is a good idea to write to them and ask for literature lists.

## Periodicals

*Agenda*, a journal of animal liberation, P.O. Box 5234, Westport, CT 06881. Provides a forum for movement to exchange ideas and discuss problems and issues. Presents news of animal rights activities in America and elsewhere. $15. per year.

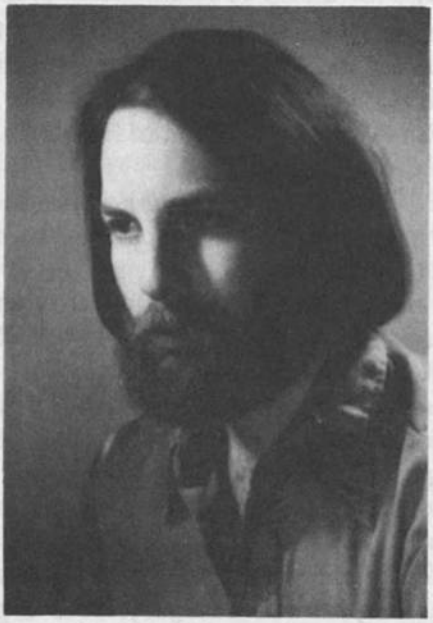
*The Beast* 2 Blenheim Crescent, London W11, England. Solid coverage of animal liberation activities and ideas around the world. $20. per year.

*The Black Cat*, Box 19120A ETSU, Johnson City, TN 37614. Literary periodical; publishes poetry and fiction about animals from an Animal Rights perspective.

*Vegetarian Times*, 41 East 42nd Street, Suite 921, New York, NY 10017. The major American vegetarian magazine. $12 per year.

*Voice of the Voiceless*. P.O. Box 17403, Foy Station, Los Angeles, CA 90017. Fine radical humane periodical. $5 per year.

*Win* Magazine. 326 Livingston Street, Brooklyn, NY 11217. Significant periodical of the movement for peace and social justice through nonviolent direct action. $15 per year.



Dr. Richard Morgan has been active in struggles for social justice for over fifteen years. During this time, he has worked as a college professor, editor, peace movement organizer, bookstore manager, political campaign coordinator, advertising director, technical writer, labor organizer, and taxi driver. He is the author of eight books of poetry, essays, and commentary, and his work has appeared in books and periodicals in several countries.

# additional credits

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