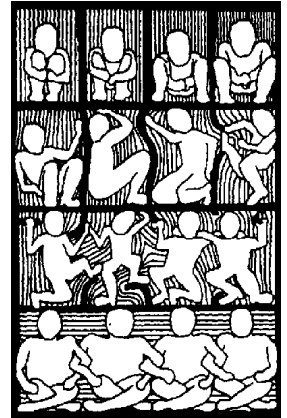


Making Waves

The newsletter of the Quaker *Turning The Tide* Programme for the understanding of active nonviolence, and its use for positive social change

No 16 Summer 2004

Edited by Steve Whiting



Plan, Act, Evaluate

We like to write nonviolence as one word, without a hyphen or a space. It's a way of suggesting something positive rather than the double negative "not violence"—a presence of truthforce rather than a mere absence of violence. The fact that computer spellcheckers don't like us doing this suggests that we've a way to go yet before this point is made. It seems that, in a culture that doesn't easily recognise the concept of an engaged and effective alternative to violence, we need to develop our own language, much as Gandhi did.

But we also need to develop our methodology. What *Turning the Tide* encourages in its work is the importance of harnessing passion and anger to careful strategy and focused action. We also require a sense of what works, what can be effective. For this we should take time out to evaluate what we have done. And this is the bit that many of us tend to disregard in favour of more urgent work.

But good evaluation is the key to subsequent good planning. We build on our experience; we develop our techniques and approaches; we increase our understanding. And we become more effective.

As disillusionment with conventional political processes rises, we see protest and

resistance taking a variety of forms. Last year's actions against the invasion of Iraq were unprecedented, both in numbers and types of action. A cursory evaluation might lead us to suppose that all this was ineffective: we failed to stop it. But let's dig a little deeper. Let's look at this over a longer time period; let's consider what might have happened without the protests.

Sophie Reynolds (page 2) calls for a process to bring some learning from these efforts for us to build on. Katy Turquoise (page 6) shares learning from her experience of being a wheelchair activist. The re-launched *Undercurrents* (page 4) can help us learn more, as can new books in the *Turning the Tide* library, (reviewed on page 9).

Sometimes we deny ourselves success; we disempower ourselves by our pessimism. And we are encouraged in this by those in power who don't see it as being in their interests for the people to be powerful. But, as Marianne Williamson said in that passage made famous by Nelson Mandela, "Our deepest fear is not that we are inadequate. Our deepest fear is that we are powerful beyond measure".

Looks like it's time to face our fears.

Steve Whiting

Learning from the war

by Sophie Reynolds

The illegality and injustice of the invasion of Iraq steadily returns to the government's door—and ours. Step by step it unravels the credibility of the government and our political system. The active role of our system in promoting and allowing oppression and aggressive violence is increasingly revealed. And the fact that this oppression gives birth to future violence is unavoidably in our faces.

There is a rise in cynicism, disempowerment, denial and anger in people, and consequently both engagement and dis-engagement in trying to influence events. Clearly there is much to be learnt at many levels—for 'us' the public; for the government; for 'us' the activists; for 'us' as actors in the political system and social web of beliefs and behaviours that we exist in.

While learning and change takes its time, the 'war machine' goes on—as daily 'structural' violence, as hot war, and in the cultivating of conditions which lead to future violence—frustration, fear, not being heard and disempowerment. What are our responses to living in/with a war machine?

In the UK during 'peace time' many people are working on underlying causes and repair work on symptoms, whether or not they identify this as peace work. Many UK peace organisations are involved with symptoms and underlying causes.

When war arrives, people who were not engaged at all in long-term work are compelled by the immediate horror of war to start inventing ways to try to stop it. Many peace organisations don't necessarily make the shift to strategies required for a looming or in-process war. It seems very difficult for them to move into a crisis response mode. Lots of activism happens, some familiar, some innovative, some desperate, some dramatic, much that is invisible. Many people reach out and make new contacts with others and act together. We often don't find out till later what effect it has had.

We are variously empowered and disempowered even within the same action, depending on our aims, needs, understanding and the outcome of the actions.

Anti-war activism aims to stop the war machine in all forms. What faces us is

—the immediate aim of stopping a war
—the long term aim of changing the underlying conditions that allow war.

Both are clearly related but call at times for different strategies.

Consider each war as one volcano on volatile fault lines long forged of militarism (culture of violence based on the notion that whoever can physically destroy the other wins), oppression and fear—fault lines of basic conditions that will throw up continually various forms of violence including wars.

For wise action either on immediate or long term aims we need insight into underlying causes, analysis of power, strategy, knowledge of our capacities, development and sharing of skills, creativity, courage and cooperation with others.

Millions of us demonstrated on February 15th 2003. This was positive and powerful. But the politicians still took us to war. This was disempowering for many. As a society we went along.

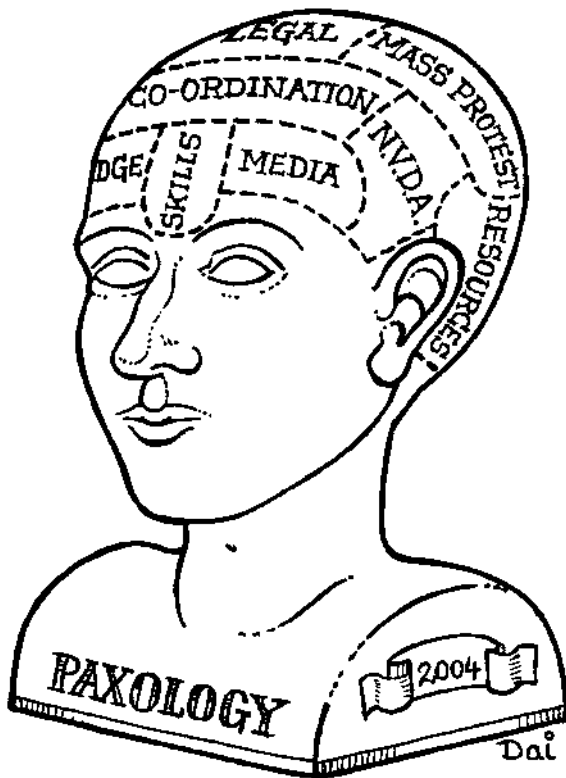
A slightly deeper analysis reveals how close the decision apparently was and the ways our activism did affect decision-makers. Perhaps this restores some value to that level of activism. It certainly highlights the complexity of the situation and moves us on from the limitations of the good/evil mindset.

This invasion of Iraq and the protest it provoked gives us a great chance for learning about important issues for anti-war activism. This can be about detailed concrete skills, our assumptions about what is effective, where to focus energy, what we really believe we are up to, what we don't know, the role and time for getting masses of people involved for political leverage, what is worth investing in and when.

Understanding this war as just one consequence of a deep and wide system of beliefs, habits and structures shifts the criteria on which we assess success and failure and informs what we see as the task, the targets, the points of influence. This in turn can bring out more points of influence and a wider variety of actions. It brings effective action within reach of each of us, changes the time scale, and reveals work we can do.

Thus we can use the invasion and occupation of Iraq as an opportunity to bring out underlying structures as a way of empowering ourselves.

Some Turning the Tide people are among a group



of activists wanting to investigate what we can learn from this last war and how we can do this learning.

While recognising that profound change takes time, (though dramatic moments of change can be sudden and appear to have come out of the blue, like the pulling down of the Berlin wall); we are part of whatever change emerges. We want to be effective and not be held back by being ill prepared, not understanding, not communicating, not taking up leadership, not imagining and realising what is possible.

The focus is:

- What can we discover in the UK about capacity and methods for preventing war when it's a volcano ready to blow? And for intervening in it once it is erupting?
- If the UK goes to war next year, how would we strategise for action before and during it?

We should look at:

- the strategy, what we learnt from our assumptions, choices of targets and actions, the way our attention and energy and time got used, what was worth investing in;
- the skills, media, legal, training, action techniques, communicating, group maintenance, support;
- what we learnt about our resources of energy and the use of the resource of people acting at different levels, eg how much it's worth to call upon the 'town', if two activists do a direct

disarmament action what opening does that make and what resources do we need to follow up behind them and maximise the value of their action.....

For example, I was in London with a group of 8 experienced and 'bonded' activists. We created several situations for people to join in mass nonviolent direct action (NVDA). This was linked to Justice Not Vengeance's Pledge of Resistance to the invasion of Iraq. We invested in training and creating conditions where people had a good experience and felt empowered to take a step. We were operating from the assumption that the more people involved the better, so planned events offering opportunities for people to come and act.

However this assumption is questionable in the immediate need to stop a war (as opposed to the long-term work). It may be that the efforts of 8 experienced bonded activists at this time would have been more effective doing some direct disarmament using the high level of skill and experience in actions, contacts, networking, press etc that we have in our tool bag, rather than creating introductory 'situations' for mass NVDA—which never were that 'mass'.

Or maybe some concentrated work on breaking the media blackout of disarmament actions that people did do may have got 1% of the millions of marchers on 15th February to go to USAF Fairford for a few days. There are many examples of printed sheets getting circulated around societies under oppression and changing public opinion and behaviour. For example, during the Nazi occupation a people's publication brought about Danish non-co-operation with Nazi weapons production.

We need to explore what we are really going for and believe is possible. Even a cursory reflection on what happened shows learning points and openings.

- a few direct disarmament actions eg Ulla's disabling of an aircraft in Scotland, the runway occupation and disabling of US transport aircraft at Shannon airport, the disabling of supply trucks to B52 bombers at Fairford,
- a lot of 'visible in the community' actions eg vigils, stalls;
- a growth in creative, colourful demos and street theatre;
- a use of variety of methods, including blockades, sit downs, the pledge of resistance

Did we follow up, use the new ground or opening, that the direct disarmament activists made; the

statements the public made in the massive marches involving millions of people; the actions made by individuals in other activists networks, for example the train drivers who refused to drive trains carrying military supplies?

Some examples of methods that could be developed:

- Pledges—looking around at the use of pledges in UK and Europe there are some conditions which seem to make this tool most effective and some circumstances in which this is not. Specificity seems to be one—next time a pledge for a very specific action like camping at USAF Fairford the day war is announced prepared to stay for 48-hour stretches or longer.
- Blocking Supply routes—effective German/Belgian/Dutch direct action has focused on supply routes; the munitions train drivers (work with the trades unions); the bomb run between the USAF bases at Welwood and Fairford.
- Attempts to get mass NVDA going—what could we cultivate as infrastructure for this or cultivating conditions for this?
- Energy—once the war is going on how was our energy sustained? What are the options for groups not feeling they have to continually roll out action after action? Could each week see an action in a different town so groups get a break from initiating? What can we perceive the impact of our activism to have been on our communities, on the government and on ourselves?

We want to analyse all this without excluding any approach—in the sense of assuming any of the approaches taken and tried out by anti-war activists so far is effective over others. Is UK activism a mix of organic anarchic spontaneously arising actions? Is there a place for being able to call ourselves together to co-ordinate at certain times? What would we need for that? Can we widen our imagination? Are we limited to so often finding ourselves reacting to war rather than leading with alternatives partly because of limits in our concepts and imagination?

Effective mass change has often had a positive clear image or value that people have known they trust, for example Solidarnosc, Gandhi, the Chilean people's ousting of Pinochet.

Are there different concepts and ways of thinking that would show openings and be more conducive to creating an alternative than language which is full of military terminology? Or, is a 'fight' a fight

and we want to reclaim tactics and language, strategy and methods that are currently associated only with violent challenge.

A starting vision for doing some of this is firstly to get people together to share experiences. These could be gatherings of 10-20 people who work on particular skills like media, legal issues, direct action training, and organising actions. Secondly, a longer gathering to learn and strategise together. All should be facilitated in atmospheres conducive to lively good thinking and exchange.

If this interests you:

- Tell your stories—maybe put them on the TTT website?
- Which were the issues with which you grappled?
- Where did you gain expertise?
- What topics would you'd like to get together with others on?
- What do you need/ want to learn more about?
- What do you think are ways ahead ?
- What could we do for the long/ short-term work, say a war in 2005 / the long-term change of culture?

Do you want to be involved? Do you want to work to help organise this? Contact the TTT office.

Undercurrents News Network

by Hugh Warwick

It's back! Undercurrents has re-launched with the Undercurrents News Network. Like the old Undercurrents ... only better!

Ten years ago the alternative news video magazine, Undercurrents, launched itself onto an unsuspecting world. For the first time the relatively new technology of the video camera and home editing systems were given a chance to prove their



worth. Documenting some of the of the most important environmental and social justice stories of the 1990s, the Undercurrents team became a legend in the protest movement.

Whether it was in-depth stories from the road-protest camps or a local campaign to stop a golf course, activists with video cameras were able to get their stories seen by thousands. This was not just achieved through sales, but by the tireless work of 'screeners' people who took on the task of ensuring what the Guardian dubbed as "the news you don't see on the news" was seen by as wide an audience as possible.

And now producers Zoë Broughton and Paul O'Connor, two of the original Undercurrents team, have found enough time, energy and money to get the project back off the ground.

But there is a difference: producing the old-school Undercurrents was a very labour intensive process; the films were often edited by Undercurrents in their office. The reason that the video has been renamed as a News Network is because there are so many excellent film-makers who have contributed their work to the final product. This is not just Undercurrents it is the combined work of many amazing people.

The step-change in quality is the first thing you will notice. This is only partly due to the massive availability of affordable home editing systems. There has also been a change in the video-activists themselves. They are realising that they are actually quite good! And they have begun to be more experimental. The opening sequence of animation is one of the most impressive things ever to appear on Undercurrents though the final explosion might raise a few eyebrows among Making Waves readers.

There is another difference: this video has moments that are genuinely entertaining. Sometimes the old videos felt a little like homework ... but this one has extremely funny moments, though not at the expense of a robust campaigning message.

If this is an indication of how Undercurrents is going to be from now on, then I think that it is going to become one of the most vital tools campaigners can get hold of. Just like the first time, only better!

Ordering and subscription details:

Subscription special offer 3 copies for £30 inc p&p (offer ends 31st August 2004) or Single video £10 + £1.50 post & packing.

By post, send a cheque payable to 'Undercurrents' to: UNN, Old Telephone Exchange, Pier St, Swansea SA1 1RY.

Or order online though:
www.undercurrents.org/unn.

For more information about videos and training call 01792 455900

Aldermaston 2004

Wow! Had I not done it for myself I would never have believed how powerful walking-until-you-ache can be! The weather was kind to us, our hosts in Southall, Slough and Reading were wonderful and, most powerfully, the people who marched together over those four days were amazing. And not because we all knew each other before. Or because we all had the same campaigning background. Or because we were the same age/gender/culture... It was an incredibly diverse group but very soon into the march we became a (rather large, extended, and not necessarily name-knowing) family, a unit who were going somewhere and had something to say.

Particularly interesting for me were the differing levels of anti-nuclear campaigning that people had done. Along with the veteran campaigners were people who didn't have a huge background knowledge of nuclear weapons but who just knew



something had to be done to stop the next generation of nukes—and to get rid of the present ones as fast as possible. Again it reminded me of the horrible complexity of nuclear weapons: but at the same time, reminded me that the power of hundreds of people uniting and marching in a common cause is immeasurable.

The march was an organizational feat which was carried off amazingly well thanks to fantastic forward planning, a team of committed volunteers and stewards and understanding and adaptability by the whole march when decisions had to be made in a short space of time. Many discussions happened during the march about how one or two specific “crisis” situations may have been handled better (and the general agreement was that, any which way, there was never going to be a perfect solution for everyone!) and the continuation of this dialogue after the event has been a wonderful example of nonviolence decision making in action. And most excitingly, despite the sore feet, aching backs and blisters a-plenty, the enthusiasm for a similar march next year means if you missed it this year, you can join us next!

Me, My Wheelchair and Direct Action

by Katy Turquoise

Being an activist is a challenge at the best of times. We need to be prepared for any number of eventualities. Childcare needs, age and disability can make it impossible for us to be involved at all. As a Turning the Tide Resource Person with a debilitating illness, I thought I’d share some thoughts on problems I’ve encountered trying to protest in my wheelchair. Some of my thoughts will be transferable for people with other disabilities but I don’t pretend to make this universally representative.

In early September 2001, I received a phone call from Kiri, trying to recruit me to Turning the Tide. I’d had four years of living with ME and Fibromyalgia, curled up with constant pain, unable to walk 50 yards. I hadn’t been on an action for years and wasn’t sure I could do much. Kiri was sure I had something to offer. I’d had a lifelong commitment to nonviolent direct action (NVDA), an important criteria for new Resource People. As for current opportunities for protest, there’s a day of action at the arms fair in Docklands next week. Perhaps I could try that?

I’d lost a lot of confidence and it was an intimidating prospect, but I was motivated so I went along. Since then, I’ve attended several local anti-war demos and the big mass rally in London in February 2003. None have been easy. It is unbelievably exhausting to stay alert, outgoing and aware for more than an hour at a time, and I’m better off than many. But my disability means I have to drag a lot of other people into helping me and given that it takes resources away from other places, I’m compelled to question how worthwhile it is.

Here are some of the things I’ve learnt to take into account before I leave the house for an action, and examples of how well or badly I’ve achieved it.

Planning

Arms fair 2001: Flyers give meeting points and some idea of what might happen but by necessity give little information of anticipated outcomes. I considered getting in touch with the organisers in advance but they couldn’t have helped me much, as thinking on your feet and going with change is so essential at a demo. That never mattered before but in the wheelchair the uncertainty is frightening. Will I get left behind or separated from my support people? How would I cope without them? What if it all kicks off and someone gets injured or arrested? I’m surrounded by rows of people, hedged in at hip level, can’t see a thing. Suddenly the police push from behind. We are being tightly cordoned together. There is a route planned but the police have other ideas and there’s chaos and confusion as the group try to go one way and the police try to push us in another direction.

Mass rally, London 2003: I plan to meet up with Alison who is willing to walk the route with me. Coming from different places, we should start from different places but Alison is willing to cross London to meet me. When I get to Brighton station there are thousands of people pressing towards the platform and I suddenly realised that the scale of this demo is going to be unprecedented. The likelihood of my meeting Alison is next to none. We’ve been in contact throughout the morning but I’m getting worried and feeling very much alone in this enormous crowd. Luckily I meet some friends and their baby on the platform and they agree to stay with me so I call Alison and she’s glad to stay with her group.

We only get halfway round the route before my wheelchair batteries start running out and we

have to make a dash for Victoria where my friends are, thankfully, able to get me home safely. So, I can make as many plans as I want but in the end they are more than likely to go awry. Sometimes it's okay, sometimes not. If I hadn't met my friends at the station my chances of keeping safe that day would have been faint.

Support People: This is the most essential thing and I don't seem to be good at recruiting helpers. At the local demos last year I roped a friend in to walk the routes with me. That worked well, being on home turf and safe enough in my environment that I could be fairly independent if we got separated. I made new friends. When my batteries ran out I was fairly near home so it wasn't hard to find help. There was fun to be had too—I was able to give lifts to tired children and met another wheelchair user, the only one so far. It seems we're few and far between.

But for the arms fair I wasn't able to find anyone who was going. I took a friend's daughter with me and planned to meet up with Kiri, again coming from somewhere else. I learned the hard way that it's not fair to ask a teenager to push a manual wheelchair for miles! After lots of mobile phone calls we eventually caught up with Kiri, Chris and Ruth and I met lots of people I hadn't seen in years. Some of them were able to push a little way but the majority of the responsibility was still on Georgia and Kiri's shoulders. Georgia was exhausted from her earlier pushing and Kiri had to get home to pick the kids up from school. So I was relying on too few people who didn't have quite enough resources to support me as much as I needed.

And for the mass rally in London I rang around everybody I knew throughout the country, all of whom were going but already committed elsewhere. I was unable to find anybody willing to make the journey and stay with me throughout the route. This had never mattered before as I had access to tube stations and would be bound to meet up with some of them. It served to remind me of my increasing vulnerability and decreasing independence.

I've learnt that if I'm to go on a demo I need to be with at least two strong individuals who can commit to staying with me throughout the event. What worries me most is that it feels as though I'm taking their energy away from where it is most needed, just to help me feel I'm doing something. This doesn't feel like a justifiable desire.

Energy Management & Communication: This is a problem in most disabilities. People with hearing impairment, for example, are likely to find it

difficult to communicate in a noisy environment. Noise is exhausting. It can be especially hard if the disability is invisible or its extent is not immediately obvious to observers. Many disabilities are likely to involve a degree of energy management as living with illness is inevitably tiring. For me, it is particularly helpful for my support people to watch for signs of flagging energy as I often don't notice it until too late, struggling on regardless.

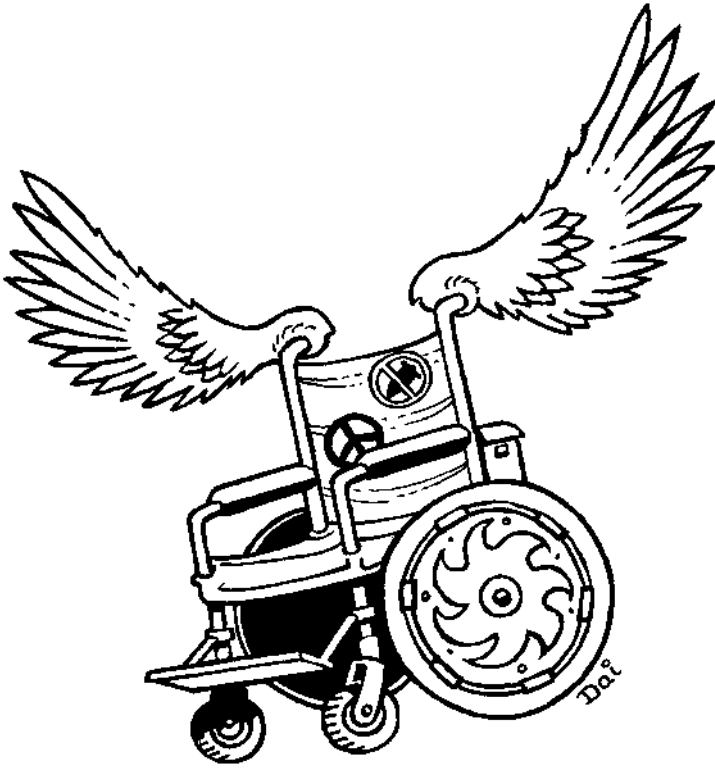
Police and Security

Arms fair 2001: the police are squeezing us tight again. I apply my brakes, trying not to squash the people in front of me, already bruised by my footplates. But Kiri, pushing me, is bent over me by the crush and people on all sides are falling over me or getting their feet run over. It's a truly hairy moment. Then the police bash Kiri on the head, grab hold of my handles & drag me out of the group. I cannot wriggle out of their grasp, there's nothing to lock on to. I could get out of the chair but then they might confiscate it, assuming it's a ploy. I might not see it again and be stuck on my own; exhausted, in pain and unable to move far. At last the press eases and we are moved on up the road. The police who dragged me out have moved on and forgotten me so Kiri and Georgia are able to rescue me and we rejoin the main group.

This was the most aggressive of the police actions I've encountered. It was frightening and demoralising. They really did render me powerless; there was nothing I could do, despite being friendly with them. Their excuse for manhandling me was "It's for your own safety." But they knocked me about so much I hurt a whole lot more than I did before. It was pathetic excuse and they'd obviously picked me out before the crush started. I was an easy victim for them. Prejudice? You decide.

Transport

Many train stations are still inaccessible, you can't use the underground in a wheelchair, it's impossible to get an electric wheelchair into a coach and driving is detrimental to energy and the environment... oh, and wheelchair battery life is unpredictable. It took 4½ hours just to drive from Brighton to Docklands; then we had to wander around for an hour looking for the group. It takes serious determination and energy to even get there in the first place! At my TTT resource people's induction weekend I raised these problems and we spent half an hour or more discussing ways that a wheelchair-user might be



useful in a variety of situations. The idea of locking the wheelchair on was an encouraging one -- I could cause all sorts of trouble doing that (!) and it invigorated me to think that there were situations where I might be useful. But subsequent experience suggests that to do anything really useful I would need a highly motivated affinity group, aware of all my abilities and limitations, absolutely dedicated to achieving a targeted outcome for which me and my wheelchair would be especially useful, fully committed to sticking with me throughout.

To conclude: what I do get out of maintaining my activism is social interaction with friends old and new. Sometimes I have fun and there is certainly a sense of at least having tried to participate, which can be euphoric. But these are side effects, not contributing to the common good. I'm not confident that in my state of health I will ever be able to manage a targeted action. Mass demos are easier because the risk of arrest is so much smaller and I know I won't let colleagues down. I can be one amongst many; my responsibilities are fewer and I need only be accountable to the people I'm with (if any!). If I ever do manage a small action, there may be a sequel to this article. Watch this space...

A few ideas for those working with wheelers:

- Be considerate but not patronising. Attempt to enable your colleague as far as possible.
- Make sure you know how best to help them and how independent they want to be.

This will be different for everybody so don't assume anything.

- Keep in close contact at all times. Stay close at mass demos. Plan routes in advance. Always keep safety in mind, look out for exit possibilities; you will have a better viewpoint than the wheelchair user.
- Keep an eye open for any hazards your friend may have missed. Watch for signs of tiredness. What indicates an oncoming fit or attack? How physically strong are they? Be prepared and know how to deal with the symptoms, if any, of the disability.
- When pushing a wheelchair, remember that your friend's feet stick out further than you can see. Leave at least a foot ahead of their knees to avoid knocking other people's ankles.
- Learn how to operate the wheelchair (electric or manual) before the action. Find out how to switch an electric wheelchair to manual in case of battery failure. Learn things like how to climb a kerb when pushing, which kinds of pavements are least painful to traverse (e.g. try to avoid cobbles!)
- Make a backup plan in case of arrest, yours or theirs. Are you willing to be their spokesperson and go with them to the station? Who will help your friend if you are the one arrested?

Points for any other wheelers out there:

- When working on an action, be clear about your needs and abilities with the group. Make sure they know in advance what you can and can't do and what you are willing or unwilling to attempt. Here's a challenge, if you're willing to get your kit off AND lock your chair on to something, you could really confuse the cops!
- Make backup plans and be sure you're prepared for all eventualities.
- Pack plenty of medication and/or equipment you might need in case of arrest, or make use of the police doctor at the station. (If you use cannabis for pain relief, you are now allowed to carry small quantities without fear of prosecution.) Make sure that the custody officer is aware of the nature of your disability. Enforce the message loudly if you have to. Keep notes of any ignorant, abusive or neglectful behaviour. Evidence of all this will help if you later go to trial, especially in cases of wrongful arrest.
- I find it helpful to carry a small card printed with a short list of do's and don'ts in case I'm too tired or the pain is too great to communicate at any point.
- Accept help when it's offered, don't waste your own energy if someone else has enough to share!

- As far as I have been able to work out, the Disabled Activists Network's web site is now defunct. I don't know of any other groups who support disabled activists so if you have any ideas it would be great if you could feed them back.

If anyone has further ideas or advice, I for one would very much welcome it. Please do feed them back via the Turning the Tide office.)

Turning the Tide

By Jane Norman

I sit in this quiet house
On a pale grey February day
Seeing the smudged outline of the
Winter-stripped willow tree
Beyond thick net curtains

There is a profound peace here
As the single candle flickers
And burns with a sunflower bright yellow flame
Of a tiny moment of heat and light

And I know not far away
There is no peace: no place
Where a child can quietly sleep
As my son does in the next door room
And I know there is no food
That a mother can give her dying child
For I cannot reach
To give her some of mine

And I know that words of gentleness and
compassion
Are drained in a wilderness sea of hate
And the desire for vengeance
And retribution

And I know I cannot reach
Across the gulf
To comfort and console
And reassure

But if I can reach
with an open heart
with an open mind
and with open arms
Then I may turn the tide
first within me
and then within others

Book reviews

Truth Force: the land rights movement in India

by Helena Drakakis

Published by Ekta Parishad and Action Village India. £4 inc p&p from AVI, 76 Wentworth Street, London E1 7SA

Reviewed by Zee-Zee Heine

The Forestry Department in India, especially since the Prevention of Tribal Atrocities Act 1989, uses the clamour for sheer survival of poor tribal people to entice them to illegally evict other tribal people on the promise of paltry rewards.

On 9th February 2003, some men from the Gond tribe followed by police and forestry officials entered a tiny hamlet in Dharipara, inhabited by Baiga tribes people. By the time the men folk had been called back from the forest everything they owned had been loaded onto Forestry Dept trucks and their house had started to be burnt. In the ensuing chaos, one man, Birju Baiga, was killed while the police just stood around watching. The Central Chronicle, the local English language newspaper, reported it as a simple inter-tribal dispute Gond against Baiga. Normally the story would end there.

Helena Drakakis, the author of this small book, was in India for the first time at the time of this incident specifically to learn about the work of Ekta Parishad, an organisation which, like Turning the Tide, trains people in nonviolent social change. On 9th February Helena and senior people on Ekta Parishad were two days travel from Dharipara, involved in a different campaign's "foot march". They immediately travelled to Dharipara. This book describes Ekta Parishad's struggle for justice for Birju's wife and children and land deeds for 6100 Baiga families.

The last three chapters of this book are about Ekta Parishad's other campaigns. Unfortunately, Helena is probably not a nonviolence campaigner as the book concentrates on the issues rather than looking at how nonviolent change happens and what it is about the way Ekta Parishad works that makes them successful. However, this book is well written and is only 63 pages including nice photographs, so it is worth reading.

Living in Hope: People Challenging Globalization

Edited by John Feffer

Zed Books, London and New York, 2002
ISBN: 1-842-77531 £11.50

Reviewed by Linda Leon

If you've ever played Monopoly, you know about globalisation. In a nutshell, globalisation is as if multinationals, especially U.S. multinationals own all the world's railroads and water supplies and have then built rental property on Mayfair. The rest of us pay rent. Or sleep rough. (By the way, did you know a Quaker invented Monopoly?)

Living in Hope: People Challenging Globalization is a collection of nine essays describing social change efforts around the world by the disenfranchised "little people" who derive no benefit at all from globalisation. Each chapter tells the story of a different group of people: Mexican textile workers, Cambodian woodcutters, small farmers in Honduras, urban poor in Bosnia, American anti-sweatshop activists, advocates for fair trade in Japan, credit and loan scheme workers in Vietnam and debt relief workers in East Africa. Each author describes the impact modernisation has had on traditional cultures and the attempts others are bravely making to create alternatives to globalisation.

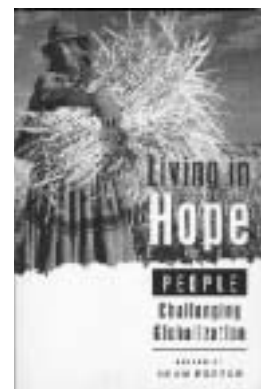
The editor, John Feffer, served as East Asia Quaker International Affairs Representative for the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and spent four years working in Tokyo. He worked as an associate editor at the World Policy Journal and is currently co-editor of Europe's New Nationalism and State of the Union. His previous two books are Beyond Détente and Shock Waves.

Living in Hope resulted from an AFSC programme called International Affairs whose mission is to counteract the impersonal yet debilitating effects of globalisation on poor communities by putting the human at the centre of an alternative economic system. All but one of the contributors to this collection are Quakers.

In his preface, John Feffer gives a succinct history of the origins of the globalised economy and explains the impact of its growth on the billions who do not benefit from its tenacious grip. He also includes a compendium of acronyms which helps the reader navigate the global alphabet soup of agencies and programmes working in this sphere.

In the essay entitled, "Bringing Globalization Home Is No Sweat" author Arnie Alpert connects the dots between sweatshop labour, low prices and the abuse of workers' rights to multinational corporate profit and globalisation. He also demonstrates the effect on Western workers as well. He describes a nonviolent social action he was involved in along with seven others at the opening of a new shopping mall in Manchester, Vermont. After they distributed leaflets detailing working conditions at factories that produced the goods on sale for stores at this mall, including Nike, Disney and J.C. Penney, they were arrested outside a Nike outlet store called the Footlocker and charged with criminal trespass (in the US, most malls are located on privately owned property).

They soon became known as the Footlocker Eight and successfully used the courts as an anti-sweatshop symposium to educate the public and advocate for the abolition of sweatshop labour and the right to free speech inside privately owned shopping malls. They were eventually found guilty, fined \$117 each and given a short jail sentence which was suspended for good behaviour. They immediately filed an appeal with the state Supreme Court and kept the issue in the public eye for another seven months. It was also an attempt to allow Americans to see that their jobs, too, are controlled and eliminated by globalisation. In a similar manner, each of the essays demonstrates the ways in which free trade, deregulation and privatisation benefit the Goliath called globalisation.



*In 1904 Lizzie J. Magie, a Quaker from Virginia, invented a parlour game called "The Landlord's Game" because she believed "renting of land and real estate produced an unearned increase in land values that profited a few rather than the many." We are a hundred years on now and we've gone far past unearned income from land rents—we're patenting the seeds of the earth and demanding poor farmers buy them back from the patent holders or go hungry. Amongst such realities, we need all the hope we can get that there are some alternatives.

September 11th Families for Peaceful Tomorrows: turning our grief into action for peace

by David Potorti with Peaceful Tomorrows

RDV Books/Akashic books 2003
ISBN:0-9719206-4-8 £10.99

Reviewed by Audrey Miller

When I read accounts of historical events that I have lived through I often feel disappointed that they have failed to capture “what it felt like for me”. With ‘September 11th Families for Peaceful Tomorrows’ however the real essence of what it was like for ordinary families to be caught up in such a catastrophic moment is captured by the writers.

The website <http://www.peacefultomorrow.org> also gives a real sense of the group being connected to a major international epoch.

Through a very powerful narrative one is able to follow their “people to people” links as they travelled to Afghanistan and Iraq turning their grief into action for peace. The moving story of the meeting with the Japanese survivor from the first “Ground Zero site” in 1945 pin-pointed the futility of war yet again.

I recommend the book whole-heartedly to all who are working for peace and justice since the courageous stand that the group make when confronted by war-mongering politicians or media giants is inspiring to every activist to maintain the work for a Peaceful Tomorrow.

Video review

Nonviolence for the brave: gender aware active nonviolence training.

A Video produced by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation Women Peacemakers Programme

www.ifor.org/wpp/pub.htm#video
WPP, Spovrsbraat 38, 1815 BK Alkmaar, Netherlands

Reviewed by Sue Smith

This 30 minutes video weaves two threads—how to set up an active nonviolence training, and the relevance of gender equality to peacemaking. Sadly, it doesn’t do both at the same time.

The first thread is Diana Francis from the UK talking about active nonviolence training, with illustration from training events in Ecuador, Germany, the Netherlands, and USA. The second thread is Netsai Mushonga from Zimbabwe talking about why gender equality is a prerequisite for a truly peaceful society, how both men and women need to examine gender roles, and ideas about masculinity and femininity.

The frustration for me is that the two strands stay separate, and there is no illustration of what a gender-sensitive training would really look like. We get some tantalising tips—the need to invite both men and women and who is likely to come; holding separate workshops for men and women. We get some glimpses of how it might work—Netsai talks of examining the roots of gender-based violence, and what a culture of violence does to men.

There were two ways in which this video could have been improved. One is to demonstrate how in either single sex or mixed sex training, issues of gender and power could be explored in practical exercises. The other is to examine the relationship between gender myth and reality—are women really peacemakers? Are men naturally more violent than women?

Gender analysis has long established that gender roles are not born but made, they are different in place and time, and boys and girls learn the roles that are appropriate to their sex—there is nothing natural about either. Just today I heard an eyewitness account of women in Uganda playing a leading role in persecution and violence of those suspected of collusion with the Lord’s Army. There is more work to be done, and fundamental questions to be answered. What does it do to men to be conscripted? What does it mean for men and women, girls and boys, to suffer sexual and physical violence in war and conflict? How can men and women can work together using an understanding of their different roles in the cause of nonviolence?

This video makes a brave start. Using word “gender” to mean both women and men rather than just women—is a big plus, but it could have got further in illustrating how to do it.

All the above review books and videos and many more, are available for loan from the Turning The Tide resource library. Most of them are also available from the Quaker Bookshop, tel: 020 7663 1030, email: bookshop@quaker.org.uk

About Turning The Tide

Turning The Tide aims to advance the understanding of active nonviolence and its use for positive social change, using the experience of previous nonviolence movements.

We have a team of experienced trainers who work with campaigning groups on issues such as:

- Developing clear visions and shared values
- Developing campaign strategies and goals based on careful analysis of obstacles to change and power relationships.
- Developing creative methods for fulfilling the strategies
- Developing good group processes, valuing the contributions of all
- Individual skills for responding non-violently in situations of stress and violence

We work on the principle that the way we act / behave now shapes the world we will get when change happens.

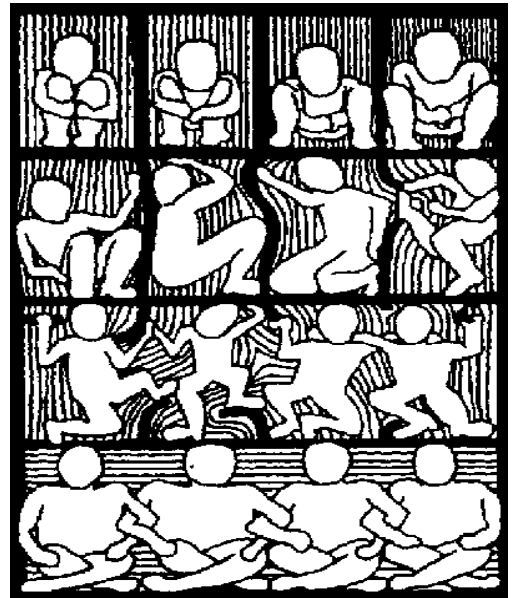
For more info contact:

Steve Whiting
Turning The Tide
Friends House
Euston Road
London
NW1 2BJ

Tel: 020 7663 1064 or 020 7663 1061

Fax: 020 7663 1049

Email: stevew@quaker.org.uk



‘We work on the principle that the way we behave now shapes the world we will get when change happens’

Nonviolence for a Change

- What is nonviolence?
- How do we measure effectiveness?
- What about democracy?
- Is property damage violent?
- Should all direct action be nonviolent?

All these questions and more addressed in a 25 minute video, accompanied by a discussion pack.

‘This is beautifully made and inspiring video, which everyone involved in campaigning should see’
George Monbiot – Guardian columnist

Available from: Quaker Bookshop for £5 (+ £1 postage & packing): 020 7663 1030 or bookshop@quaker.org.uk.

Next Issue of *Making Waves*

We welcome contributions, reviews and letters.

Deadline for contributions:
September 30, 2004

Editor: Steve Whiting

Views expressed in this newsletter and in any leaflets enclosed are not necessarily endorsed by
Turning The Tide
or Britain Yearly Meeting.