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THE DIRECT ACTION NETWORK **AGAINST CORPORATE GLOBALIZATION**

The Direct Action Network is a network of local grassroots groups from Los Angeles to Vancouver BC formed this summer to mobilize our communities to creatively resist the WTO and to organize large scale street theater and mass nonviolent direct action at the WTO ministerial. Local groups of the Direct Action Network are located in Vancouver BC, Portland OR, Seattle WA, Olympia WA, San Francisco CA, Victoria BC, Santa Cruz CA, and Los Angeles CA. These groups along with others have teamed up with a broad alliance of national, regional and local groups to plan and create an infrastructure to support a nonviolent mass action and mobilization against the World Trade Organization (WTO). The cosponsors of the Nov. 30th mass action are: Global Exchange, Rainforest Action Network, Ruckus Society, Project Underground, National Lawyers Guild, Earth First (Seattle), IWW, the Green Party of Seattle, Mexico Solidarity Network, 50 Years is Enough, Animal Welfare Institute, Institute for Social Ecology, Adbusters, War Resisters League, and the Center for Campus Organizing. The action is also endorsed by People's Global Action.

Cultural Resistance and Nonviolent Action at the **World Trade Organization Ministerial**

"The role of the revolutionary artist is to make revolution irresistible" - Toni Cade Bambara

Envision...

Thousands of people theatrically processing through Seattle with giant images and puppets graphically showing the economic and ecological devastation left in the wake of global capital. Mass nonviolent direct actions and blockades shutting down roads and arteries leading to the ministerial of the WTO. Simple theater skits for people on the street breaking down corporate globalization and showing glimpses of the world as it could be -- global liberation. Reclaiming the streets with celebration: Mardi Gras style marching bands, street parties, West African dance, sounds of topical spoken word and hip hop. Vibrant sounds and images of community, life, creativity and resistance hurled in the face of thousands of deadening bureaucrats, business people and politicians at the WTO ministerial.

This is not a merely a dream. We have converged on Seattle as an unprecedented alliance of grassroots groups, street theater performers, national and international organizations, to join with Seattle residents and create this vision together.

Crisis of Corporate Globalization; Danger and Opportunity

Corporate globalization is arguably the most fundamental shift of the planet's economic and political arrangements since the industrial revolution. It steals power from individuals in favor of the transnational corporation: the most effective instrument for concentrating power and wealth ever developed. From Nov. 29 to Dec. 3 in Seattle, WA, thousands of corporate leaders and government officials--a veritable army of bureaucrats--will come to the WTO ministerial. Their aim is to accelerate the drive for profits and control our economic, political, environmental and cultural lives through the promotion of neo-colonization popularly known as free trade. However, free trade is anything but free. This expensive process creates horrendous living and working conditions, destroys the environment, and undermines national sovereignty. We refuse to pay this price. It is time to for us to expose their lies. Much of the rest of the world has been resisting the evils of global capitalism for years. Farmers in India burn their crops to protest the forced use of genetically engineered seeds. Indigenous people and peasants in Chiapas, Mexico reclaimed their ancestor's land in protest of the North American Free Trade Agreement. Students, anarchists, artists, and musicians in London threw a massive carnival against capitalism to counter the G8 summit on June 18 of this year. Yet the United States of America has remained (not surprisingly) silent, unaware, appearing to endorse or even embrace the erosion of democracy and standards of living worldwide. Until now.

Why Nonviolent Direct Action?

Because it works. Direct action has been an essential part of every successful social change movement in US history – labor, women's suffrage, abolition of slavery, civil rights, anti-war, anti-nuclear, environmental, lesbian/gay rights, AIDS advocacy, Central America solidarity, environmental, and more. When the established channels fail to respond to our needs, as they inevitably do, these movements are forced to raise the social and political cost to the powers that be. Well planned nonviolent direct action intervenes in political processes that exclude ordinary citizens, showing the depth of our opposition and forcing the issues into the public agenda. Plus, it is a hell of a lot of fun!

Forms of Cultural Resistance

In this ever shrinking world where corporations are attempting to homogenize us into passive, unquestioning consumers, our culture is our greatest weapon of resistance. Traditional demonstrations and protests, while essential, oftentimes alienate the general public, are disregarded by corporate media, bore many of the participants, and are ignored by policy makers. Taking to the streets with giant puppet theater, dance, graffiti art, music, poetry and the spontaneous eruption of joy breaks through the numbing isolation induced by wage-slavery and condescending media, and lights a fire in people's consciousness. Ordinary folks creating meaningful art and sharing culture captures the imagination of participants and observers, and deepens our vision of a movement reflective of the world we aspire to create. Corporate power is on the rise, and it is dangerously innovative in its assault on our communities and the earth. We must meet its innovation head-on, in its intensity and its effectiveness. We must break new ground as we build promising alliances across traditionally divisive barriers established and maintained by the ruling class. We must strive to utilize all of our skills in harmony to create an enduring symphony of

resistance. The cacophony against capital will be deafening when nine days of large scale street theater preparations culminate in the largest festival of resistance the world has ever seen. We will make revolution irresistible.

NOV. 30 NONVIOLENT DIRECT ACTION SCENARIO

The WTO Ministerial is scheduled to officially open at 9am on Tuesday, November 30. We are working together to creatively and nonviolently shut it down. The November 30 action is planned as a large scale, well organized, high visibility action involving hundreds of people risking arrest and reflecting some of the diversity of the groups and communities affected by the WTO and corporate globalization. We envision colorful and festive actions with street theater as a major element. We will make space for and encourage mutual respect for a wide variety of nonviolent action styles reflecting our different groups and communities.

ACTION GUIDELINES

All participants in this action are asked to agree to these action guidelines. Having this basic agreement will allow people from many backgrounds, movements and beliefs to work together for this action. They are not philosophical or political requirements placed upon you or judgements about the validity of some tactics over others. These guidelines are basic agreements that create a basis for trust, so we can work together for this action and know what to expect from each other.

- 1) We will use no violence, physical or verbal, towards any person.**
- 2) We will carry no weapons.**
- 3) We will not bring or use any alcohol or illegal drugs.**
- 4) We will not destroy property.**

AFFINITY GROUPS

Affinity groups, self reliant groups of 5-20 people, are the basic planning and decision-making bodies for the November 30 mass action. People should join or form an affinity group if they are considering risking arrest in the direct action. People can form affinity groups at the end of a nonviolent direct action training, or at an affinity group formation time held most days during the convergence from 6-7pm. Affinity groups may consist of people who are friends, coworkers, from the same neighborhood, city, workplace or school, or people who have a common identity or interest. An hour before each spokescouncil meeting will be set aside for affinity groups to meet. Each affinity group which includes people risking arrest should include support people who will support those arrested before, during and after the action (see the Handbook for Nonviolent Action, Affinity Group section, for a good support checklist). Affinity groups or clusters should also try to have some people trained in first aid, legal observing and communications/radio-- if their group will be using a radio.

CLUSTERS

A group of several affinity groups is called a cluster. We encourage people to organize themselves into clusters with other affinity groups from the same organization, movement, city or region, or who share something in common, want to work on a common project, action or blockade site.

SPOKESCOUNCIL MEETINGS

Affinity groups will coordinate the November 30 mass action, jail/court solidarity, and other actions through an Action Spokescouncil with spokespeople chosen by each affinity group. Spokespeople are responsible for carrying their group's plans, opinions and decisions to the spokescouncil and relaying information and decisions back to their group. Agenda items and proposals will be posted before each spokescouncil meeting so affinity groups can discuss them. At the meeting affinity group spokespeople will sit in a circle with their affinity groups and everyone else sitting behind them in an outer circle. Discussion and decisions making is limited to affinity group spokespeople. We encourage mass action participants to try and arrive by Sunday November 28 or as early as they can on Monday November 29th to get briefed and to coordinate. We propose having spokescouncil meetings at 7pm on November

21 and November 23 to December 3, except on Monday November 29, when we will meet at 1pm. We have scheduled the spokescouncil meetings on the evening of and after November 30 so affinity groups coordinate jail support and plan further actions. We will continue the spokescouncil meetings beyond December 3 if necessary.

ORGANIZING COLLECTIVE

The Organizing Collective is the decision making body for organizing, logistics and budget decisions about the Direct Action/Street Theater Convergence and the November 30 mass action. It is made up of spokespeople from each task group (such as fundraising, scenario, or food and spokespeople from cosponsoring organizations (like Rainforest Action Network, or The Ruckus Society) and from local groups that have been a part of organizing for the November 20-28 Convergence and the November 30 action. Organizing Collective meetings are open, but decisions are limited to spokespeople.

NOV 30 PROCESSIONS

People will gather at 7 am at two sites, west and east, of the Paramount Theater:

- 1) Victor Steinbrueck Park, downtown just north of Pike Place Market
- 2) Seattle Central Community College on Capitol Hill on Broadway at Pine.

At each gathering site people will be given basic information about what is planned for the processions and what to expect as well as some brief words and/or music of inspiration and intent. The information will also be written up and copies will be passed out.

The processions are intended be powerful, festive processions that will highlight our street theater and provide a place for people who do not wish to be arrested to support those who are willing to risk arrest. While it is our intent that the processions not be arrested, we also want people to be clear that there are no guarantees about what the police will or will not do and we have not asked for permission to express ourselves and assert our rights in our streets.

We chose to begin with two processions so that the processions could support people blockading the WTO on both east and west sides of Paramount Theater and to avoid being corralled on one or the other side. We have asked locked-out steelworkers to lead one of the processions and for international activists from People's Global Action (along with other internationals) to lead the other procession.

STAGES

Will have three stages to the processions:

- 1) We will gather, process to the Paramount Theater, and support those who are risking arrest
- 2) Participants who wish to join the afternoon labor march will go to the Memorial Stadium together.
- 3) Others will remain to support and participate in further nonviolent direct action.

TRAFFIC

During the procession traffic people will keep cars away from the procession, help the flow of the procession, let people know the route, and communicate necessary information, like route changes.

TACTICAL TEAMS

Two or more tactical teams of 3-5 people each will accompany each procession to make decisions about necessary route changes, etc. One will be near the head of the procession and the second will be half way back, and we could decide to have more. The teams will be approved by the spokescouncil. They will work closely with traffic people and be in touch with communications people to remain informed.

BLOCKADES

We will creatively and nonviolently shut down the WTO. One of the ways we will do this is by shutting down any traffic entering the Paramount Theater area-- corporate CEO's, government officials, trade bureaucrats, and support and service infrastructure. We are asking individuals to form or join affinity groups and to form clusters of several affinity groups to take on responsibility for blockading one section of the streets surrounding the WTO opening, so

that it is completely inaccessible. Affinity groups and clusters will choose how they want to blockade: sit-down blockades, lockdowns, street parties, mobile blockades, creative use of objects, theater performance, die-ins, etc.

OTHER ACTIONS

Many affinity groups will do other direct actions to creatively stop the WTO or target the corporations behind them.

COMMUNICATIONS

A cheap and effective way of getting useful information is to carry a text (or "alpha") pager. Let us know your # and we can keep you quickly informed during the events via "broadcast paging". Affinity groups (or clusters of affinity groups) might well find "walkie talkies" of value. We have a system in place to help groups talk with each other and share information. There will be some radios available however most folks will need to supply their own. There are newer cheaper "Family radio" walkie-talkies available: Kenwood UBZ-LF14Y is inexpensive and is compatible with the dozens we already have. JCRE at 800 568 752(www.jcre.com/confirm.htm) has them for \$60. If you buy any other kind, make sure it has all 14 FRS channels and 38 tones. Each cluster of radios need to be assigned channels so we can find each other, so please contact us at the convergence (jparnell@igc.org / 206 941 8620). Anyone bringing UHF/GMRS radios, please contact us for channeling recommendations. Likewise, if you have a cell phone, be sure to exchange #'s with communications center if you want to be a contact for an affinity group.

Direct Action Video

During a direct action activist video can be your number one safety tool onsite, communication tool to effect the action, and your number one legal tool defending against trumped up charges an cop lies in court later. Experienced videographers need additional training to get the shots out in a direct action situation. Video runners play an important role to watch for cops, see additional shots and get important tapes out of possible arrest situations. Trainings for experienced videographers without direct action experience and for those interested in becoming runners are being offered several times in the week before N30. An independent media center is being established, and can be reached at 262-0721. A video collective will be editing media around the clock during the ministerial and is interested in hearing from any videographer who is willing to pool tapes, call them at 282-6069. For more direct action information see www.viedoactivism.org.

POLICE

Some members of the Direct Action Network are meeting with the Seattle Police, not to negotiate or tell them anything they don't know or ask for permission, but to make it clear to them and to everyone that we that we are open, and our direct actions will be nonviolent. We believe this is politically essential so we don't allow ourselves to be marginalized, or allow the opposition to the WTO to be divided and conquered or set up by the media, the police or others.

BEYOND WTO

For all those who intend for this historic convergence to be the beginning of a continental radical and revolutionary movement--join the Post-WTO working group and make it a reality. Through this we hope to keep the tremendous energy that has gathered here in opposition to the WTO united. Thus far our objectives and future projects are as follows:

1. to initiate an ongoing network of affinity groups and organizations fighting this not-so-new world order
2. to create vehicles for this network to remain communicating and connected as well create as a representative counsel to facilitate decision making.
3. to provide a clearinghouse of resources and a speakers bureau
4. to publicize radical visionary politics and culture
5. to bottom line legal follow-ups for DAN direct action
6. to coordinate future collective direct action and projects, including: Mayday 2000, the North American

Peoples Global Assembly conference, a cross continental caravan of artists and activists, and a single-run publication of reflections on N30.

To this end, we ask that you consider contributing art and writing for the publication. It can be brought to the Post-WTO meetings during the convergence, or mailed later after time to reflect to: JW, 1122 E.Pike #463, Seattle, WA 98122

Health Insurance

why & how

We believe that health care should be available to all and that decisions regarding health should be made by individuals who have easy access to printed information, trainings, and well-trained providers who represent a broad spectrum of types and styles of health care. We want to take the decision-making process out of the hands of specialists and insurance companies, and we also strive to prevent low-income from meaning inadequate health care.

To this end we have established a free clinic located in the information center at 420 E. Denny Way. The clinic will be staffed by a wide range of volunteer health care providers. We have a small dispensary, first aid kits, a treatment room and reference materials on hand. Treatment will be limited to the scope of practice of each volunteer, so check the posted clinic schedule to match your needs with our abilities.

We are also offering basic trainings in first aid throughout the convergence which will focus on information relevant to our needs for November 30th. The trainings are not certification trainings, but are designed to brush up our existing skills and to enable us all to care for ourselves and each other. We strongly encourage everyone to train themselves in basic, easy emergency care.

Our final, and most important mission is to have trained and equipped people available on the streets for the N30 action. Volunteer medics and affinity groups may find each other during the AG work time daily, or may coordinate through the clinic. Volunteers will need to know some basic information about your plans, however, we are committed to provide health care, not to sit in judgement of your philosophy of direct action. Volunteer medics will also coordinate with clusters of lower risk affinity groups. It is strongly recommended that each affinity group have at least one member take a first aid training, regardless of presumed risk. As predictable as we think our own action may be, the actions of others never are. This brings us nicely into--

a few words about pepper spray.

There are many myths about pepper spray and CS gas preventatives and antidotes. Many of these myths are not only inaccurate, but also may worsen the situation if applied. Please don't risk your eyes and lungs based on untested information. We have detailed information just outside the clinic--PLEASE come pick it up, and if you have direct experience with this kind of exposure and have information to share, we would love to hear it.

3 Essentials:

- **Serious consideration should be made by people with asthma about risking exposure to pepper spray or CS gas. Permanent lung damage or death may result.**
- **Contact lenses also are problematic with pepper spray/CS gas exposure. Don't wear 'em, or at least attempt to avoid situations where exposure may occur.**
- **Be aware that the avoidance strategy is unreliable (unless you stay at home).**

and finally

Take care of yourself. If you are grounded, well-rested, fed and watered, and dressed appropriately for the weather, you will be able to provide much better care for others while maintaining your own level of energy. Dressing appropriately is key. Every rumor you hear about Seattle rain is true. It rarely relents. The weather can change from hour to hour, and from neighborhood to neighborhood. Our 2 morning gathering points on N30 are at the top of a hill and directly on the water. Think wind. Think persistent rain. Think layers. Don't even think of wearing

cotton. It absorbs moisture (your own and the rain), and rapidly pulls heat from your body. Hypothermia can occur in well over freezing temperatures, particularly when one is wet. Think GoreTex, or ponchos, or plastic garbage bags. Think mobility and comfort. Think dry. Have amazing experiences daily.

WHAT IS JAIL/COURT SOLIDARITY?

Jail/Court Solidarity is the name for a variety of tactics by which direct action arrestees influence the legal process and take care of each other through collective action. Through jail solidarity we can take power in a situation designed to make us powerless. We do this by making our decisions as a group, by acting in harmony with each other, and by committing ourselves to safeguard each other's well being. Jail solidarity has been used very effectively in the civil rights, anti-nuclear, Central American and other movements.

The power of solidarity lies in three basic facts:

- 1) In a mass arrest situation the authorities need our cooperation to process us--from booking to jail to court.
- 2) It is very expensive to keep us in jail.
- 3) There is little room for us in the already overcrowded jail and court systems. Thus we have great collective bargaining power. Additionally, continued publicity and public support for our release can place even more pressure on authorities.

WHY JAIL/COURT SOLIDARITY?

The reasons for utilizing jail/court solidarity are multifold:

- To get our court appearances and sentencing over with quickly, freeing us for work or other actions. This can also make it more possible for those from outside the area to participate without having to return for future court dates or risk receiving bench warrants if they can't make their court date.
- To ensure that all who participate in our action are protected from discriminatory treatment. Authorities will often single out a few activists for harsher treatment to intimidate people from engaging in future direct actions.
- To fight sentences of probation and large fines that are used to break movements.
- To face court and jail together with the strength of a group, rather than as single individuals.
- To extend the action, keeping the attention of the public and the media, and demonstrating our strong commitment to making change.

For these reasons and more, jail solidarity strengthens our movement and gives us a greater sense of community.

SOLIDARITY DEMANDS

Here are some goals for which solidarity has been used, but they are not the only ones that can be considered.

Equal treatment for everyone in jail and in court

No one should be singled out and subjected to harsher treatment, including repeat offenders, non-U.S. citizens, known organizers, those more difficult to arrest and remove, and non-cooperators, regardless of whether we receive state or federal charges.

No probation or fines

Probation discourages those activists who receive it from participating in future actions. It gives the court system the right to interfere with our lives for months--sometimes years--and makes us liable for longer sentences if we're arrested while on probation. Paying fines or bail puts money into the system and drains the limited funds available to us for sustaining our campaigns. Fines and bail are a form of discrimination on the basis of income: people with money get out of jail, and people without money do not.

No isolation of individual or parts of the group.

We don't want the jail authorities to isolate the people they think are leaders or troublemakers.

Mass court appearances in the largest groups possible.

This way we know for sure that our demands are being met, so we can respond appropriately.

SOLIDARITY TACTICS

If we resolve to noncooperate peacefully or to stay in jail, we have great bargaining power. Here are some of the ways we can use our solidarity to achieve our goals:

Refuse "cite outs," also called citation releases. Refuse to sign or accept the citation.

In most actions individuals are offered a chance to sign a citation release, which is a promise to appear at a later date for court. The presence of our physical bodies in jail is the greatest leverage we have on the system. If we cite out and come back for court as individuals, we have no way of assuring that all of us will receive equal treatment.

Refuse to give identifying information (name, address, etc.)

This can deter the police from citing some of us out involuntarily, and keeping others in jail for harsher treatment, e.g.. repeat offenders, non-U.S. citizens, noncooperators, etc.

Noncooperation with processing or jail routines.

Refusing to walk, refusing to get on or off buses, refusing to eat, etc.

Risking re-arrest.

Second and third waves of arrests can be used to stay in solidarity with those singled out for unequal treatment.

Pleading not guilty (thereby threatening to go to trial) demanding a court-appointed lawyer, and not waiving our right to a speedy trial.

These powerful bargaining tactics, which are based on the threat of using up the system's limited courtroom time and resources and using the court as a soapbox for our issues, may pressure the court into granting our demands.

EXCEPTIONS

The use of jail solidarity should not deter anyone from participating in the action. Pressure, guilt and coercion for everyone to do the same thing is counter to the spirit of solidarity. People who employ jail solidarity tactics need to leave plenty of room for people who do not wish to join them. The strength of solidarity comes from the voluntary agreement of everyone who takes part in it. And solidarity

Because of the divisiveness it can cause., solidarity has not necessarily been kept with those who violate action agreements (such as remaining nonviolent), are caught carrying illegal drugs (never bring 'em to an action), or those with outstanding warrants (clear those traffic tickets).

PLAN AHEAD

For jail solidarity to be effective, decisions about demands and tactics must be made, to the greatest extent

possible, before reaching jail. Solidarity differs in degrees and types. On some issues the whole group may reach consensus. In other cases, one or more affinity groups may act autonomously. Keep others informed of your plans.

When consensus on solidarity gets difficult, remember that our tactics are means for achieving our demands, not ends in themselves. We cannot always achieve all of our demands, so it is good to act with a strength that is also flexible. Using solidarity for trivial matters can minimize its impact, but underestimating the groups' power can lead to fear and hastily considered actions.

SOLIDARITY AT EACH STAGE OF THE LEGAL PROCESS

These are sample demands and tactics, actual ones will be decided on by each affinity group or cluster and coordinated through the spokescouncil.

	ARREST	CUSTODY	COURT
DEMANDS	No separation of individuals or small groups. Sam charges for everyone.	No separation of individuals or small groups. Same charges for everyone. Same court appearance date for everyone.	Same charges for everyone Same sentence for everyone Proposed plea bargain: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ••••••• Everyone is charged with a traffic infraction, and all charges are dropped. ••••••• Everyone is sentenced to "time served"; with no additional jail time, no probation, no fines, and no restitution.
TACTICS	Stay in custody by refusing to give your name/address, and refusing to sign a citation	Stay in custody by refusing to give name/address, and refusing to sign a citation. Refuse to follow orders. Go limp. Sing, dance, strip, etc. Fast (liquid, not dry).	Insist on a trial, by pleading not guilty Insist on a personal, court appointed lawyer. Insist on a speedy trial, by "refusing to waive time."

Answers to Legal Questions

If I'm arrested at the Direct Action Network demonstration on Nov. 30, how will the Legal Team be working with me?

First, you have to help the Legal Team locate you, by calling in. You're entitled to make phone calls, after you're booked. All telephone calls you make while in custody can be monitored, so you must not discuss anything which is supposed to be a secret! Write important phone numbers on your body, because the authorities may take away any papers you have with you. Once you're detained somewhere, a representative from the group must call the DAN Legal Team office at (206) 632-9482, and report on how many people are with you; whether there are any problems; and what your group's solidarity agreements are. The Legal Team office will dispatch members of the Legal Team to see you, and the

office will also be able to keep you updated on what everyone else is doing and how the negotiations are proceeding.

During the initial stages of a mass action, lawyers are useful chiefly for passing messages between groups of protesters who are being detained in different places. When members of the Legal Team arrive, it's critical to use a facilitator to conduct your meeting (other than a lawyer), to organize questions and proposals. You control the decision-making process – not the police, not the lawyers.

Sometimes, the police or jail authorities lie and say there isn't a lawyer there for you. Also, the authorities may insist that you give them the name of a specific lawyer. The best solution, unless you know for sure that there's a particular lawyer waiting to see you, is just to keep insisting that the authorities bring you a lawyer from the DAN Legal Team. Very often members of your legal team will be waiting anxiously to talk to you, but won't be allowed in until you exert pressure. Be sure to call the Legal Team office to help coordinate Legal Team visits and to verify what the authorities are telling you..

When the Legal Team arrives, your group should have your reports and questions organized in advance. The Legal Team members have been instructed to address the following issues with you each time they come:

•••••• Are there any emergencies which must be dealt with before we can proceed with other topics?

•••••• Do you want a report on what other groups of arrested protesters are doing and on the state of negotiations with the authorities?

•••••• Have you made decisions about solidarity tactics or demands which you want communicated to other groups of protesters or to the authorities?

•••••• Is there any legal information you need which will help you make solidarity decisions?

How long could we end up in jail?

The amount of time served during mass actions in the past has ranged from two hours to two weeks. For the DAN action on Nov. 30th, plan on at least 48 hours in custody.

Where would we be locked up, if we're actually detained?

They can't keep us all in the jail, because they only have room for about 200 more prisoners, and there are many, many more of us! Usually, in these situations, the authorities keep us in large buildings, like schools, gyms or armories.

What should I say to the police, the sheriffs, the federal marshals or the FBI?

Whenever law enforcement officials ask you questions, say: *"I'm going to remain silent; I want a lawyer."* Once you say these magic words, you've invoked the constitutional rights, and the authorities are supposed to stop questioning you. If they don't stop, just keep repeating the formula. Remember, anything you say to the authorities can and will be used against you and your friends in court. Make a habit of saying only the magic words, and letting everyone know that this is your policy.

Law enforcement authorities may try to engage you in a casual conversation or friendly argument. Don't be sucked in. Questioning people is what they do for a living. Be aware that the authorities are legally allowed to lie, when they're investigating! Sometimes the authorities tell you that it's okay to answer their questions because you're not under suspicion, you're just a witness. It's awfully easy to go from being a witness to being a suspect, once you start answering questions. Just use the magic words: "*I'm going to remain silent; I want a lawyer.*" Make sure, when you're arrested with other people, that all the rest of the group knows the magic words and promises to use them. Be particularly suspicious if you are in custody and an officer or an unfamiliar person comes and tells you that everyone else has agreed to a particular deal. Demand to see a trusted lawyer or another activist, to verify this information.

What happens during booking, and how much do I have to cooperate?

Booking is the process in which the police take your photograph, your fingerprints and information such as name and address. They usually take your property, too, and are supposed to give you a receipt for it. It is a misdemeanor to give a false name – or other false information – to a police officer, under both state and federal law. However, simply refusing to give information at booking is not a crime. It's perfectly legal to withhold any or all information, because you have the right to remain silent. You can just say the magic words: "*I'm going to remain silent; I want a lawyer.*" If you do not give the police your name and address, the police will be unlikely to release you with a citation – and this is critical to the solidarity tactic of packing the jail (which gives us the bargaining power to make sure everyone is treated the same and gets a light sentence). At the risk of pointing out the obvious, if you decline to give the police any information, but accidentally leave your wallet in your pocket, your plans will be foiled.

How do we plea bargain?

Plea bargaining is the negotiation process we engage in with the prosecutor and judge, in which we agree to plead guilty in exchange for a specific, advantageous sentence. The more people who are arrested and the stronger their solidarity, the easier it is to plea bargain. To use solidarity, you'll need to seek consensus on your *demands*, your *tactics* and your *proposed deal*.

Plea bargaining demands: A key demand in a mass action is that everyone who acted within the nonviolence guidelines gets the same charges and the same sentence, even though some people refused to cooperate with the police and/or have a record of prior criminal convictions.

Plea bargaining tactics: In a case involving multiple defendants, exercising the following rights creates leverage for plea bargaining with the prosecution.

1. Each defendant demands a court-appointed attorney.
2. Each defendant pleads "not guilty."
3. Each defendant refuses to waive time.

You're entitled to have the court appoint a lawyer to represent you if you're low-income and facing jail-time. When the court has to appoint lots of lawyers, it costs the government more money. And when there are lots of defense lawyers, there is far more work for the prosecution, which has to respond to all their written and oral arguments. Scheduling with all these lawyers also gets very tricky. (You're not obliged to work with a court-appointed lawyer, nor are there enough of these attorneys for everyone anyway, but you should ask

for one.)

When you plead "not guilty," your case is set for trial. The court system is not set up to hold trials in all cases. The vast majority of cases are settled through negotiation. Trials involving lots of defendants and lawyers can be particularly complicated and time-consuming for the judge and prosecutor.

You have the right to a speedy trial. When you "refuse to waive time," you're insisting on having a speedy trial (within 60 days if you're in jail, within 90 days if you're free). This creates pressure on both the court calendar and the prosecution.

In plea bargaining, we frequently exercise these three rights simply for tactical reasons. Once the prosecution agrees to our demands and our proposed plea bargain, we give up these rights, as part of the deal.

Proposed plea bargain for the DAN action on Nov. 30th: Each of us can plead guilty to a traffic infraction – such as jaywalking – in return for having all other charges dropped. Each of us is sentenced to time served (the time we already spent in custody), with no fines, no restitution and no probation.

What other vocabulary do we need, in order to plea bargain effectively?

When you're plea bargaining, you may be negotiating over the following elements of your sentence, any of which can be combined:

"Credit for time served": You normally get credit for any day (or part of a day) which you spend in custody, and this is applied to your sentence. It's great when you can negotiate a plea bargain in which the sentence is just the time already spent in custody, with no other penalties.

"Diversion": You do community service and/or pay an administrative fee, and when you complete the requirements, the charges against you are dismissed – so you don't get a conviction on your record. However, diversion frequently counts as a conviction for immigration or professional licensing purposes. Other names for diversion are "deferred prosecution" and "dispositional continuance."

"Probation": If you're on formal probation, you have a probation officer who make rules about whom you can see, where you can go, how often you get drug-tested, etc. If you're on informal probation, you don't have anybody supervising you; nothing happens unless you get arrested for something new (like another protest).

"Fines and Restitution": A fine is money you are ordered to pay to the government, while restitution is money you are ordered to pay to the victim. For example, the authorities might want to fine protesters for committing crimes, and also want protesters to pay restitution to the City of Seattle for damaging public property.

What crimes could we be charged with?

Be aware that the charges which the police write down when they arrest you are not necessarily the charges which the prosecutor uses. The police's charges are just a suggestion. It's the prosecutor who decides the real charges, and s/he can change them as part of a negotiated agreement.

Protestors are usually charged with infractions (not punishable by jail time) or misdemeanors (punishable by a year in jail or less). Typical infractions are: jaywalking; littering, or driving beyond the speed limit. Typical misdemeanors are: trespassing; minor property damage; or resisting an officer. Sometimes activists are charged with felonies (punishable by over a year in jail), such as assaulting an officer, or property destruction over \$250. Prosecutors will often pile up multiple charges, in order to be able to say: "We're charging the defendants with damaging property, resisting an officer, and trespass; but we'll drop the first two charges, if they'll plead guilty to the trespass charge." Do not bring weapons (including your trusty pocket knife) or illegal drugs to the action. You will likely get additional charges and put a major strain on solidarity.

What exactly is resisting an officer?

Resisting an officer is physical, not verbal (because you always have the right to remain silent). Struggling with the police is obviously resisting; even just touching an officer with your fingers is usually considered an "assault." Don't touch their cars, dogs or equipment either -- those are considered extensions of the officer.

What happens if I damage property?

One of the action guidelines for the Direct Action Network (DAN) demonstration on Nov. 30th is that we will not damage property. The penalties for property damage almost always include fines and/or restitution, as well as incarceration. In the federal system, property damage of over \$100 is a felony, while under Washington state law, property damage over \$250 is a felony.

What would they do with minors (people under 18)?

Those who are obviously minors are almost always separated from the adults upon arrest. Kids who are arrested in mass direct actions are rarely prosecuted – usually the charges are dropped. King County is unusual because the juvenile authorities normally release minors on citations, without requiring a parent to come "sign" for the kid. Obviously, minors can use the same solidarity tactics as adults, such as refusing to give their names and addresses, to prevent being cited out. One thing to keep in mind is that the authorities may not cite and release kids who are charged with violent crimes, like assault, or kids who don't appear likely to show up for court. In that situation, it will be helpful for the minor to use the juvenile consent form (available from DAN), to designate a nearby adult to whom to release the minor – this will require a parent's signature and must be done in advance! Make sure to have at least three signed copies of this form: one with your parent, one with your designated pick-up adult, and one with the DAN legal team. Occasionally, the parental consent form is not accepted by the authorities, and they might insist on having your parent or guardian come get you after all. Having your parent or guardian reachable by phone is highly advisable. For more information, get the [Memo to Activists Under 18 Years](#)

Old, available from DAN.

What could happen to people who aren't U.S. citizens?

Those activists who are not native or naturalized U.S. citizens face a higher risk. Most law enforcement officials are quick to turn over to the INS those they suspect of being non-citizens. If we use solidarity tactics well, the risk to international protesters is greatly reduced, particularly if we plea bargain for an infraction (which has no immigration consequences). For more information, get the [Memo to International Activists](#), available from DAN.

What are citing out, release on your own recognizance, bond and bail?

Citing out is a type of release from custody in which you sign a promise to appear in court, the "citation" (usually a form which looks like a traffic ticket). It's up to the police whether or not to offer you citation release, and it happens around the time you're arrested. In large actions, the police often desperately want everyone to cite out, because the authorities do not have the resources to keep everyone in custody.

Bail, bond and release on your own recognizance are other ways of getting out of jail. It's up to the judge whether or not to offer you these types of release, and it usually happens around the time you first get to court (having been in jail meanwhile). If the judge doesn't trust your promise to come to court for future appearances, s/he will demand bail (money which you pay to the court) or bond (collateral like a house or land) to be forfeit if you don't appear at scheduled hearings.

Release on personal recognizance (PR) is simply your promise to come to court for scheduled hearings, without your having to put up money or collateral. Usually, you will only be released on your own recognizance if you can prove that you: (1) are not a danger to society, (2) don't have a record of failures to appear, and (3) have ties to the local community, like a home, job, school, family, etc.

Will engaging in civil disobedience prevent me from getting jobs or getting into college?

If you have the qualifications for the job or school, a civil disobedience arrest or conviction is not likely to stand in your way – especially if the charges are dismissed or you plead out to an infraction. Besides, many institutions are actually interested in people who have consciences.

Could we lose our licenses (medical, teaching, etc.)?

Many teachers, lawyers and health care professionals have engaged in misdemeanor-level

civil disobedience, and we are not aware of any of these who have actually lost their licenses. Most licensing administrations are tolerant of minor "acts of conscience." However, felony convictions, as opposed to misdemeanor convictions, could well result in temporary or permanent suspension of professional licenses.

How do I handle disabilities so I can participate fully in the action?

Make sure your group members know about any access issues you face. If you have a hidden disability, your group needs to know that, too. For example, if you have dyslexia or seizures, your group members need to know how and when they can help you. Jail authorities frequently separate those of us with obvious disabilities (like people who use wheelchairs), putting them in the infirmary, where they're often neglected. It's an important solidarity issue that you refuse to let the authorities separate people with disabilities.

How do I handle medical needs so I can participate fully in the action?

If you have a potentially dangerous medical condition, wear a "medic-alert bracelet." You should be able to get them at most drug stores. People with asthma, diabetes, seizures, etc. should wear a bracelet while they participate in the action. This will make the police and jail staff take you much more seriously if you start to have difficulties.

The only way to ensure receiving medication while in jail is to bring a recently-dated doctor's letter explaining your requirements. Make four copies of the doctor's letter. Keep two copies of this letter on your person (one to keep and one to give to the jail medical staff), leave the third copy with your group supporters, and leave the fourth copy with your legal team.

If you use prescription medicine, bring it with you in its original container, with the pharmacy label on it. The police or jail staff will still probably take away your medication at some point, but at least you'll have it up until they take it away. Once you're in jail, the medical staff there is required to supply you with your regular medications from their own infirmary. If substitution is a problem, have your doctor specify "no substitutions" in his/her letter. A difficulty which we often encounter is delay in getting medication. Try to plan for this by taking your medication just before arrest, and by keeping your next dose somewhere safe and handy. Also, don't take all your medication to the demonstration – leave some at home for when you're released.

Do I have to tell the authorities whether I'm HIV+?

You do not have to tell the police or the jail authorities whether you're HIV+. Of course, if you're in jail and you don't want to interrupt your treatment regimen, you'll have to tell the

jail medical staff. Be aware that if the police claim that you somehow transferred body fluids to them, they may get the judge to order that you have a blood test. And the results of that test would then be revealed to others.

Can I get a special diet in jail, or vitamins and herbs?

They're not going to give you regular vitamins or herbs or homeopathic medicine. Sometimes they'll provide a vitamin supplement if you're pregnant or anemic, but you have to get a doctor's orders for that. As far as diet is concerned, you have a legal right to kosher food if you're Jewish and to a non-pork diet if you're Muslim. If you have glucose, lactose or gluten intolerance or severe food allergies, get a doctor's letter (and don't count on the jail kitchen staff being able to follow directions). Vegetarians are generally told, "Just don't eat the meat." Vegans, fruitarians and macrobiotics are completely out of luck. Supporters and lawyers cannot bring in food. The best advice is to eat well before the action and do your best to manage with the regular jail food.

What about contact lenses in jail?

It's generally much simpler to wear glasses to the action, if you have a pair. Jails usually don't let you keep your own contact lens solution. The jail may provide its own solutions to you, but they might not be what you need. The disposable contacts which you can wear for two weeks without removing are probably the best option.

A final word on lawyers...

In a mass civil resistance setting, your best protection is in solidarity, not in attorneys. Use lawyers mostly for communicating between groups of protestors who've been detained in separate places, or for dealing with problems like getting medication in jail. Lawyers can be helpful in negotiating plea agreements -- though it's important to have direct dialogue with the judges and prosecutors yourselves. Resist the temptation to turn to lawyers for advice on issues which are really political, rather than legal. This can be harder than it sounds, especially when you're dealing with difficult or unexpected events (and every civil resistance action has its tough moments). In the end, though, the best answers come from your own common sense and from the collective experience of the community. When in doubt, take time out. Get more information. Talk to your friends. Don't believe that your goals are impossible, just because someone in a suit or a uniform said so.

HANDLING DIFFICULT QUESTIONS

Develop answers to difficult questions before you attend demonstrations. Don't put it off, hoping that inspiration will strike at the moment when the microphone is thrust in your face. It's good to use the same answers as your friends – that increases the chance that sound bites you worked out together will actually get into print or on the air.

An additional reason for working out answers in advance, is that what you say to the press can be used against people who are arrested – such as you and your friends. Even if you

yourself are prepared to accept the consequences of whatever you say, you may be changing the fate of others. *Be particularly careful about questions that imply that you believe you're doing something wrong, or that you're acting with ill-will or carelessness.* For example:

Question: "Did you come here to get arrested?"

Answer: "I'm not 'here to get arrested.' We don't *want* to go to jail, but we're willing to risk our freedom to help people understand the danger the WTO poses to the environment, the worker and the consumer."

Don't feel obliged to answer a difficult question – you can reply with one of your sound bites, even if it doesn't answer the question. For example:

Question: "How many of these people are going to get arrested?"

Answer: "We're here to protect the environment, the worker and the consumer from the WTO."

Listen for negative assumptions underlying a question. Bring them out into the open and neutralize them. For example:

Question: "Are you kind of disappointed by the small turnout today?"

Answer: "Actually, we're amazed at how many people showed up, on such short notice."

Question: "Do you think your beliefs entitle you to break the law?"

Answer: "Sometimes we have to break a small law, in order to protect our liberty or our lives. That's the principle of disobedience, as developed by two great Americans: Henry David Thoreau and Martin Luther King."

Additional Difficult Questions:

"Aren't you concerned about the huge cost to the country, to arrest all these protesters?"

"Do you have a job? Do you pay taxes?"

"With all the legal ways to make your opinion known – marches, public speaking, petitions, letter-writing, voting etc. – why do you insist on breaking the law?"

"Doesn't being part of the WTO raise the standard of living for people in the United States?"

"Aren't you at all concerned about free trade?"

Additional Useful Answers:

"I'd rather not be interviewed. Would you like me to introduce you to _____, or media liaison?"

"The WTO makes it impossible to enforce our own environmental, labor and human protection laws. Essentially, what they're doing is taking power out of the hands of American people and their democratically elected leaders and giving it to multinational corporations – and nobody ever elected *them*."

"The WTO have already made it unnecessary for corporations to obey the U.S. Clean Air Act and The Endangered Species Act.

"The WTO have ruled in favor of big business over the environment in *every single* case they've heard."

"Right now we are breathing dirtier air, because the WTO decided that other countries are no longer bound by our Clean Air Act when they sell us oil. The WTO ruled that United States has to import oil from Venezuela that doesn't meet our own environmental standards."

"The WTO ruled that countries can't legislate against importing beef containing Bovine Growth Hormone, which may cause cancer. So the WTO is preventing democratically elected governments from protecting their own people."

"We are here to demand that the WTO assess the impact of their decisions on workers, consumers and the environment. They need to be held accountable to the people who are affected by their decisions."

SEATTLE POLICE TACTICS AND INFORMATION

Just as one of the first laws of physics is that every action creates an equal and opposite reaction, the same holds in resistance. Activists know that the bigger the protest, the more cops. Understandably, Seattle is awash in rumors about what the police are going to do on November 30. This is an effort to separate semi-fact from mostly fiction, while recognizing that the unprecedented nature of this event guarantees that only in hindsight will the policing strategy be clear. An attempt has been made to verify all the information in this report.

Information from previous international trade meetings suggests the pre-event policing strategy includes surveillance of activists, "community preparedness measures," and getting the respective law enforcement agencies own houses in order. There are numerous indications that the Seattle Police Department (SPD) and the interagency task force developed for the WTO are staying true to this pattern. It wouldn't be useful to speculate about the probability of activist surveillance (except to say it happens), but we do know that the police have been preparing the downtown business community for any level of activity on November 30. One memo from the SPD to the downtown business association includes measures to limit riot damages (placing expensive goods out of sight, having plywood on hand to cover broken windows, alternating the direction of hangers on the rack to slow looting, etc.). Presumably at the suggestion of the police, a number of large downtown businesses have circulated memos to their employees about the week of the WTO meeting. Bank of America, one of the corporate sponsors of the Seattle WTO meetings, warns employees, "Demonstrations and protesters are expected throughout the downtown area. They may be aggressive, so pay attention and avoid them if possible. In order to avoid potential confrontations, wear business casual clothes to work that week, but not bank identity shirts or jackets." Management suggests that "if you have unused vacation, this

would be a good time to use it, if your manager approves." [What? No walkout?] The memo adds that "[parking meters] that remain open may suddenly have legally parked cars towed away without warning." Similar memos and briefings have been sent to a wide range of employees working for groups as diverse as the Washington State Liquor Control Board, Pike Place Market and the bus system. In fact, there are indications that large parts of downtown Seattle could be essentially shut down on November 30 (by them, not us). The Seattle Post Intelligencer has reported that, "The potential for traffic problems has city and county governments working on contingency plans. The local governments are downtown's biggest employers with nearly 17,500 people working there... Some employees could be allowed to work at home. Work hours could be changed to keep some employees off the streets at rush hour... At the King County Courthouse, judges are so concerned about getting prospective jurors to trials that they have decided to have no jury trials that week..."

As part of getting their own houses in order, the various law enforcement agencies have also been delegating tasks and coordinating amongst themselves. The SPD has disclosed that it has set up a WTO planning commission, which is working with the fire department, the US Secret Service, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the State Department, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms and the police department's SWAT team (called "zebras"). Different agencies have different responsibilities. The fire department is responsible for chemical weapons hazards, among other things. All of the SPD, King County and State Patrol motorcycle officers are detailed to motorcade escort. A thousand officers from the Seattle Police Department have undergone special training for the WTO. Exercises have included Secret Service and FBI training about how to defend a motorcade from attack. They have been trained to use pepper spray and CS gas. De-escalation trainings aim to prevent the police from responding to provocation. A nine-hour crowd control training includes information about how to move "a crowd from point A to point B without inciting the crowd or causing injuries," how to walk in a three-sided-box formation and how to hold riot shields, among other things. The Seattle Weekly reported that, "A July 28 King County Council memo estimates the county's share of security costs, including itemized expenditures for things like bomb suits, 'NATO ballistics shields,' and riot boots and helmets as well as the usual escort services for dignitaries at well over \$1.1 million." SPD officers and sheriff's deputies are not being allowed to take vacation during the ministerial and will have to work 12-hour shifts.

The SPD has made a number of contradictory statements to the press about how it plans to police protest events. Sentiments have ranged from Captain Bret Wingstrand's (who heads the SPD's WTO detail) that, "Seattle has a long history of trying to work with groups that want to express opposing ideas and help them do that without it being illegal, disruptive or violent. And that's our aim again this time," to reports in the Wall Street Journal that, "Seattle police officers say they are prepared for whatever happens. 'We have access to pepper spray,' says Officer Carmen Best, a spokeswoman for the department... Officer Best says Seattle's aim is to let protesters exercise their right to free speech, but notes, pointedly, 'Our SWAT team is flexible.'"

Certainly, the Seattle police will have some say in the tenor of the protests on November 30. Regardless of whether we abide by a code of conduct, the police will decide what constitutes "illegal, disruptive or violent." It behooves every person in Seattle to put their ears to the ground to get the skinny on the street, question sources to short circuit rumors and prepare ourselves for any level of police response.

Seattle Corporate Offices and Locations

Arco (Atlantic Richfield Company)

Local Office:

Arco NW Govt' Relations

601 Union Street
Seattle, WA 98101
(206) 682-0224

Local Terminal:

1652 SW Lander
Seattle, WA 98134
(206) 623-463

Bank of America

Bank of America Capital
701 5th
Seattle, WA 98104

Bechtel Group Inc., Bechtel Corporation

Bectel Hanford, Environmental Restoration
3350 George Washington Way, Richland, WA 99352
(509) 372-9041

Boeing

Headquarters
7755 E. Marginal Way S.
Seattle WA 98108.
206-655-2121

Cargill

Local Distribution:
955 Alaskan Way West, Pier 86, Seattle, WA 98119
(206) 284-4251

Chevron

Local Plants:
Asphalt Division Refinery 20555 Richmond Beach Drive NW
Richmond Beach, WA 98177
(206) 542-3121

Local Offices:

Lubricants Group
24041 NE 29th,
Redmond, WA 98053
(425)836-3885

Lubricants Group
22525 SE 64th Place
Issaquah, WA 98027
(425) 557-3668

Citibank

Local Office:
Citibank Private Bank
2 Union Square
601 Union Street Suite #3710
Seattle, WA 98101
(206) 382-6246

The Fisher Family (The GAP, Banana Republic, Old Navy)

Gap Stores:
411 Broadway E.,
(206) 325-3852

4th & Pine,
(206) 625-1470

2730 University Village Ct,
(206) 525-1559

Banana Republic:
1506 5th,
(206) 622-2303

4325 U Village Plaza NE,
(206) 525-5560

Seattle District Office
500 Pike St
(206) 343-0173

Old Navy
601 Pine St
(206) 264-9341

Fluor Daniel

Headquarters:
555 S. Renton Village Pl.,
Renton, WA 98055
425-228-9645

Longview Fibre Company

Headquarters
300 Fibre Way
Longview, WA 98632
360-425-1550

Locally:
5901 E Marginal Way S,
Seattle, WA
(206) 762-7170

Kaiser Aluminum (owned by Maxxam Inc.)

Local Office:
30818 Pacific Highway S.,
Federal Way, WA 98003
(253) 941-2901

Microsoft

Headquarters
One Microsoft Way
Redmond WA 98052

(425) 882-8080

Mitsubishi

Local Address:
1201 3rd Ave. Suite 3700
Seattle, WA 98101
(206) 682-0744

Monsanto

Local Address:
1001 4th Ave
Seattle WA 98101
(206) 516-3853

Nike

Local:
Nike Town
1500 6th Ave.
(206) 447-6453

Nordstrom

Headquarters and store:
1501 5th Ave,
Seattle, WA 98101
(206) 628-2111

Nordstrom's Rack
1601 2nd Ave.
Seattle, WA 98101

Perkins Coie, LLP

Local Addresses:
1201 3rd Ave.
Seattle, WA
583-8888

411 108th NE,
Bellevue, WA
425-453-6980

Plum Creek Timber Co.

Headquarters:
999 Third Ave.
Ste. 2300
Seattle, WA 98104
206-467-3600

Procter & Gamble

Local Subsidiary:
Millstone Coffee, Inc
729 100th St., S.E.
Everett, WA 98208

Safeco

Headquarters:
Safeco Plaza 4333 Brooklyn Ave. N,
Seattle WA 98185
206-545-5000

Starbucks

Headquarters:
2401 Utah Ave. S
Seattle, WA 98134
(206) 447-1575

Coffee Shops - Almost every street in Seattle

Weyerhaeuser

Headquarters
33663 Weyerhaeuser Way Federal Way, WA 98003 253-924-2345

Downtown office:
Weyerhaeuser Realty Investors
601 Union St # 3010
Seattle, WA
(206) 224-4333