

Welcome to the 2012 *Peace News* Summer Camp & to five days of exploration, celebration and empowerment



Making Nonviolent Revolution

The camp will be a small self-governed society run by democratic camp meetings and volunteer-run working groups – a viable example of the kind of world we are trying to bring about. We aim to help build a radical movement for the future by building a living community today.

We will be learning from other movements, struggling with challenging issues and thinking about how we can all take action to create radical social change.

This year's theme for the camp is 'Making Nonviolent Revolution', the topic of two books *Peace News* is re-publishing this month.

This programme contains the schedule for the five days and details of all the workshops and sessions.

Please see the...

- **PRACTICALITIES SECTION** of this programme for important information that everyone needs to know.
- The **SCHEDULE AND PROGRAMME DETAILS** has information on workshops, sessions and evening events.
- There will be **SESSIONS AT THE BEGINNING OF EACH DAY** to discuss practicalities and organisational issues.
- See the **CAMP NOTICEBOARD** for updates and other information.



Peace News works for a nonviolent world – where war has been abolished and the roots of war pulled up, including the silent, routine violence of hunger, oppression and ecological devastation.

Making such a world will require a nonviolent revolution in every area of society, transforming relationships based on domination and exclusion into ones based on mutual respect. We need a nonviolent revolution in women's relationships with men, in children's relationships with adults, in relationships between races, between disabled people and non-disabled people, between animals and humans, between nature and the human race. *Peace News* believes in a nonviolent revolution in our economic and political lives, subordinating work and politics to human need, not human greed; to freedom and co-operation, not hierarchy and power.

Peace News is not just about the values that we campaign for, it is also about the way that we campaign, how we treat each other, and the way that we live. *Peace News* is for people who do not just hold their values in their heads, but who apply them in their lives. People who are trying to be the change they want to see in the world.

Peace News supports campaigns with limited objectives – these are urgent and necessary. But we also see these campaigns as part of a larger vision of a fundamental nonviolent transformation of society.

We reject organised violence, which perpetuates structures and relationships based on privilege, hierarchy and destruction. We urge collective nonviolent action to exert another kind of force, based on solidarity and empowerment and the ability of people to regain control of their lives.

In order to strengthen collective nonviolent action for peace and justice, *Peace News* aims to:

- 1 publicise the activities of people and groups working for peace and justice;
- 2 analyse the words and deeds of powerful institutions working for war and injustice;
- 3 support social and economic experiments which today are trying to create the society of the future, and support people trying to incorporate humane and nonviolent values into their everyday lives;
- 4 encourage debate and self-evaluation within the broad peace movement;
- 5 spread insights, techniques and methods between nonviolent movements for social change;
- 6 give a voice, wherever possible, to local, grassroots movements caught up in international conflicts;
- 7 promote nonviolence.

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- ☐ I would like to receive *Peace News* regularly for the next year, I live in the UK.
☐ I would like ☐ copies of *Peace News* regularly, to sell or give away.
☐ I read *Peace News* online, but would still like to donate.

Donate £15 or more and get a free copy of Howard Clark's pamphlet *Making Nonviolent Revolution*

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I would like to give the following donation towards printing, postage, rent and other overheads and staff wages.
NB – just to post PN to you costs £6.50 per year.

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Practicalities

How the Camp is run

This is a participatory camp (see below). Each morning there will be a camp-wide meeting for announcements, rota-filling and to deal with any issues that arise. Things that need to be done include: cooking, cleaning toilets, washing up, helping in the crèche, bar shifts and the gate tent rota. You won't be dumped into the middle of something that you can't handle, but helping out is a great way to learn new skills. There is no site-crew – the organisers have tried to think of everything we need to have a successful camp, but if there is something missing, or that you think could be better, please offer to help us run things better! Please note that the organisers are all volunteers who have also paid the fee to come, to help cover running costs.

The work needing doing will be announced at the main meetings, but it really helps if the rotas are full before hand, so please go to the relevant place to fill in rotas (most rotas are in the Welcome Tent, the Children's Space rota is in the Kids' Tent, and the kitchen rota is in the Veggies marquee).

Participation

Peace News Summer Camp is a participatory Camp. Some of you may have been to camps and events where 'participatory' means that everyone is involved in every decision. That is not how things are organised here.

Everyone in the camp is listened to and thoughts and ideas from everyone are welcome and valued. The camp couldn't happen without people getting involved. However, some people are only coming for a day to see what it's like, while others, such as those in the organising group, have spent over six months pulling the camp together. The organising group has responsibility for coordinating the camp as a whole, and is accountable to *Peace News*, which underwrites the camp.

Similarly, if someone takes on an area of responsibility they will be trusted to get on with it and make decisions and changes that seem appropriate. The organising group operates by consensus; it is an open group. If anyone is interested in being part of creating *Peace News* Summer Camp 2013 then please talk to us and get involved.

Car Parking: Due to recent heavy rainfall, Crabapple Community have decided (at time of going to press) that no vehicles can enter any fields or park on grass areas. Parking spaces are some distance from the camp.

Dogs: Unfortunately, **no dogs are allowed** onsite during *Peace News* Summer Camp.

Lifts to / from Shrewsbury Station

There will be a limited pickup service operating between the camp and Shrewsbury train station which will need to be booked in advance. This will only be operating, by arrangement, for those with lots of luggage, children, restricted mobility or who find it difficult to use the bus for other reasons.

Please book by phoning (or texting) **Emma Sangster on 07791 486484**, or by speaking to her in person at the Camp. If texting please include your name and arrival time, plus the number of places you need to reserve.

What everyone will need

If you are staying overnight at the camp you should bring a **tent**, **sleeping bag** and **sleeping mat** and any other equipment you may need. Bring **warm clothes** as it can get chilly at night. **Waterproof clothes, wellington boots** and **hot water bottles** are essential! You will also need **money for paying your contribution to the camp and for paying for food** (unless you have paid online). A **torch** will be useful. You **do not** need to bring plates/cutlery etc. The camp will be renewably powered and will have running water and basic washing facilities.

Children's Space

This year's Children's Space will be growing a community of younger campers. We will be starting each day with games to get to know each other, and have an extensive list of exciting activities planned, ranging from shadow puppetry, parachute games, a card game den, lantern parade, climbing, sherbet-making, secret writing etc...

Adults! We will make a rota at the beginning of the camp for adults willing to do a session in the children's space. If you have a skill or activity to bring to the Children's Space – or would like to come and help with the existing activities – then let us know at the beginning of camp by speaking to either **Gabriel (07783 226 987)** or **Emily**.

The Children's Space will be running during the workshop periods and the responsible adults will be knocking off for tea breaks and lunch, so if you have tiny ones then please come and relieve the volunteering adults at these times! We are cooking lunch and supper for the children in the Children's Space. They are welcome to eat either in the children's space (earlier meal times, fewer 'bits') or at Veggies. Please put a donation for the children's meals and snacks in a pot.

If you are leaving your children in the Children's Space then please make sure that you have informed either Emily or Gabriel of where you will be (and leave your mobile phone number, if you have one). If you have any children on site, then please let Em/Gabriel know their ages, names and any relevant medical conditions or food allergies (all food provided will be vegetarian).

Medics

If you are a first aider, please sign up in the gate tent.
If you need medical help, please ask either in the kids' tent or the gate tent, or contact one of the first aiders.

Food

Veggies of Nottingham are providing food for us.
If you booked your meal tickets online then please collect them from the Welcome Tent on arrival.
Otherwise, please purchase them between 8am–9 am each day from the Veggies Kitchen Tent.
Those without meal tickets at the start of a meal may be able to purchase a meal after all those with tickets have been served. There will also be a Veggies tuck shop in the Veggies Tent.

Rota: Veggies will need people to help chop vegetables, cook, serve, and wash up for each meal.

Money

We have asked for donations on a sliding scale to help cover our costs. If it looks like there will be a shortfall, this will be announced in the morning meeting.

Access and inclusion

We don't want anyone to be excluded from *Peace News* Summer Camp. We know that there is no one-size-fits-all solution to inclusion and there are as many barriers to inclusion as there are people.

Peace News Summer Camp is run on very limited resources and we try to allocate them in order to best support the people who might like to participate. Accessibility measures already in place include: step-free toilet, large-print programmes and tent-spaces allocated according to need.

We ask all Camp participants to be aware of inclusion issues during the Camp.

Bar

We will be running a bar each evening from Thursday to Sunday night. Glass should not be taken outside of the bar tent. If you do take or find a glass outside the bar, please try to return it to the bar tent as soon as possible to avoid breakages and injuries (and to help the bar function). Profits from the bar go to subsidise the cost of the gathering.

Smoking

No smoking inside any of the marquees (we don't want to burn any down!) and if you are asked not to smoke near people, please respect that.

We want to leave the field in the same good state in which we will find it so please remember to place all cigarette butts and any other rubbish into a bin.

Fire

We have one central fire pit, please do not build any other fires on site.

Entertainment

There will be entertainments and fun and participatory activities every evening. See page 7 for details.

Journalists and taking photographs

After experience and discussion arising from previous camps, we will be allowing journalists on site as long as they are clearly identified. However, if any one person feels uncomfortable with having media in a workshop the journalist will be asked to leave.

Not everyone is comfortable with being photographed – even by friendly fellow campers – especially if the photos are to be put up on the internet! Please be aware of who is in the frame and ask them if they don't mind. We have an unofficial camp photographer who is documenting the camp for *Peace News*. Please let him know if you want to be excluded from these photos (he will announce himself at morning meetings).

Phone Numbers

In case of emergency, here are some mobile numbers:

Camp Coordinator: 07938 559 974

Shrewsbury pickup: 07791 486484

Thursday afternoon

Economics in Nonviolent Resistance: Part of the Problem, or a Terrain of Struggle?

Economics seems dominated by Free Market Fundamentalism (or 'Neo-Classical Economics'). Does this mean protest movements should consider it part of the problem? Or can we use historical and current theories to re-engage and rebuild a 'Nonviolent Economics'? To what extent have ideas broadly thought of as 'economics' been used by contemporary protest movements such as Occupy? And where could they go in the future?

James Beecher is an activist and PhD student at Cardiff Metropolitan University.

Expanding the Floor of the Cage: Reform and/or Revolution

Is reform a barrier to revolutionary change, or a necessary part of creating powerful social movements that can challenge the status quo? Must we sacrifice being right for being effective (or vice versa)? Join the debate!

Lucy Lant is an artist and land activist influenced by the Deep Green Ecology movement and a regular attendee at PNSC.

Milan Rai is co-editor of *Peace News*.

Meat – a Benign Extravagance?

Do we really have to all go vegan to 'save the planet', or is there a crucial role for livestock in our food system – albeit one radically different from today's industrial farming practices? Is importing proteins and fats from across the world to maintain a vegan lifestyle ethical, and could Britain feed itself?

Simon Fairlie has worked as an agricultural labourer, fisherman, and stonemason. He now runs *Chapter 7*, edits *The Land* and earns a living selling scythes.

Parking the Car... for Good

From climate change to obesity, 'car culture' is a major obstacle to addressing a broad range of social and environmental problems. Explore the issues – and what we can do about them – with anarchist cyclists' collective Bicycology, the 'living alternative to automobility'.

Patrick Nicholson and **Matt Wilson** are members of Bicycology

Sitting-in With Bertrand Russell (and Other Stories)

From his role in the Sahara Protest Team (opposing French nuclear tests in Algeria) to the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War and the Committee of 100 (including an 18-month sentence for his role in organising direct action at USAF Wethersfield), Michael Randle was at the forefront of the 1960s anti-nuclear movement. Come and hear him reflect on the lessons learned.

'The Most Urgent Problem': The Fight for Biodiversity

We are currently losing species at a greater rate than at any time since the birth of humanity. In 2010, the UN reported that the case for saving species was 'more powerful than climate change'. Find out why this is happening and explore the links between biodiversity loss and security, and find out how you can act locally to impact globally.

Dave Chanter is an environmental gardener and long-term activist.

Friday morning

Building Revolutionary Bases: Learning from the Movement for a New Society and Radical Routes

For nearly 20 years the US group Movement for a New Society (MNS) pioneered forms of consensus decision-making, direct action and communal living that are now central to today's activist groups. Like Radical Routes, the current British network of radical co-operatives, MNS tried to create a network of 'counterinstitutions' that could be small examples of what a future society could look like, and also help us to make radical social change today.

Stuart Field has long been involved in Radical Routes and its fundraising arm, Rootstock.

George Lakey was a co-founder of MNS.

Effective Affinity Groups

Explore what makes an effective affinity group by completing a group challenge! A fun and practical workshop that will give you a chance to share experience, look at group dynamics, affinity group roles, decision-making and more.

Rhizome is a co-op of trainers and facilitators that supports community activism in all its forms.

How to Create a Protest Camp

From iconic images of smiles at Greenham Common to mud and cold we all have our own impressions of Protest Camps. When are such camps useful? Why are

Contributing to Peace News

Peace News is always looking for more contributors. Would you like to write or take photos for us? Would you like to pick up or share tips on improving your writing/photography? Then **keep an eye out for this informal session, which will be taking place during the Camp**. A chance to talk to the co-editors – and other activists – about the nuts and bolts of making radical media!

Emily Johns and **Milan Rai** are *Peace News* co-editors

they often so removed from other campaigning groups? Can they create problems as well as solving them? An in-depth look at the positives and negatives of protest camps, followed by practical advice on how to set up and maintain one.

Currently celebrating its 30th anniversary, **Faslane Peace Camp** provides information about nuclear weapons, examples of low-impact living and a base for actions and activists.

Right On Our Doorstep: Local Campaigning Against the Military-Industrial Complex

Last year, British armoured vehicles, tear gas and weapons were turned on democracy protesters in the Middle East and North Africa. Despite this, the UK continues to arm these repressive regimes. The weapons are made in the UK, sometimes within miles of where we live. It's up to us to stop this happening.

Smash EDO, a Brighton based anti-arms trade campaign has been taking direct action aimed at shutting down their local arms factory, EDO MBM/ITT since 2004. ITT supplies weapons to the US and UK for use in Afghanistan and to Israel for its repression of Palestinians.

Come along to this workshop to learn from their campaign, find out how you can take part in **Campaign Against Arms Trade's** month of action against arms companies in September, and discuss other ways to take action 'on our doorsteps'.

Friday afternoon

Building at the Grassroots – Radical Community Organising

In Hackney, five families occupy the Housing Office to demand rehousing instead of eviction from their derelict home and are housed that day. In Haringey, a 5-year campaign by an alliance of residents groups and small traders prevents the 'clone town' demolition of a much-loved area and creates their own Community Plan for the site. Why are these kinds of struggles important, how do they happen, and what can we do to build radical community organisations, resistance and alternatives where we live?

Dave Morris is part of Haringey Solidarity Group.

Anne-Marie O'Reilly is active in London Coalition Against Poverty / Boycott Workfare.

Disobey! Nonviolence and Civil Disobedience

Nonviolence and disobedience are often seen as tools or skills which can be taught. This workshop will explore more deeply the thinking behind the practice of nonviolence. It will support you to develop, or build on, the state of mind of nonviolent disobedience – a solid foundation from which to put your values into action.

Rhizome is a co-op of diverse trainers and facilitators that supports activists, communities, agents for change, and those organisations that support them. Rhizome hosts the Fifteen Thousand project which plans to train thousands of people here in the UK in nonviolent disobedience over the next three years.

How (Not) to Burn Out (Parts 1 and 2): Sustaining Resistance, Empowering Renewal

Most activists will be familiar with the phenomenon of burnout: the 'exhaustion of physical or emotional strength or motivation usually as the result of prolonged stress or frustration'. Come and learn more about the symptoms, causes and ways to address it – and what we can do to build movements that nurture us rather than grind us down.

Seeds for Change is a collective providing support and training to activists, campaigners, and community groups.

Make Cakes, Not Wars

No activist skill is more essential to world revolution than the ability to bake vegan cakes and biscuits. A practical workshop. With sampling.

Veggies catering campaign has been supporting campaigns for humans, other animals and the environment since 1984.

Militarisation of the Borders

As the military become increasingly involved in policing the borders of Fortress Europe, the cross-over between anti-border and anti-militarist struggles are becoming ever more apparent. But does this struggle inevitably entail resistance against the state and capitalism, or can we achieve a world without borders whilst the latter still exist?

This workshop will discuss this and other related questions, drawing on recent developments in

the EU's border regime, as well as recent campaigns and actions by **No Borders** activists across Europe and beyond.

Resisting the Recruiters: the Militarisation of Young People

The armed forces visit thousands of schools each year, offering free resources, presentations, away days and pre-recruitment activities. Additionally, there is a current ideological push to increase the influence of the armed forces within education, e.g. 'Troops to Teachers', an expansion of cadets in state schools and military academies sponsored by the armed forces and the Ministry of Defence. These developments are based on the need for the armed forces to recruit the required number of young people and to create acceptance amongst 'future opinion formers' as a whole, and are fuelled by ideological assumptions that the 'military ethos' will provide a solution to problems within education and youth in society. Outside education, young people encounter the military in toys and games, public events, the products they buy, and news and entertainment.

ForcesWatch are currently campaigning to question the presence of the military in schools and to raise the minimum age of recruitment to 18; we are looking at how the process of militarisation is embedding the armed forces further into civil society and closing down alternative responses to conflict. We aim to create debate and challenge assumptions where there

is uncritical acceptance, advocate for policy change, to provide resources for local groups to challenge the military within their own communities and to help young people understand the realities of armed conflict.

This workshop will outline the concerns, explore some of the issues and share experiences. What is 'military ethos' and why is it inappropriate within education? How can teachers, students and parents be empowered to challenge the military? How can militarisation and the embracing of armed conflict that it represents be countered?

Swords into Solar Panels – How Can We Campaign Together Against Climate Change, and for Social Justice and Demilitarisation?

There are so many reasons why peace, climate change and social justice campaigners need to work together – and so many ways in which we can. In this session, activists from Sparkles not Shrapnel and the Climate Justice Collective will look at some of the ways these movements have worked together in the past, and come up with new strategies and actions for working together in the future to create a socially-just, ecologically-sustainable, peaceful world.

Clare Cochrane is part of Sparkles not Shrapnel.

Dan Viesnik is from the Climate Justice Collective.

Taking the Toys from the Boys: Militarism and Gender

Is militarism – the exultation of military virtues and ideals – a crucial prop for patriarchy and male dominance? Are men more 'warlike' than women, and how are notions of masculinity and femininity used to motivate people to support war? What is social militarisation? What are the bases or roots of obedience? Are women and men affected in the same way?

Yolanda Juarros Barcenilla is a teacher involved in Peace Education and antimilitarist groups.

What's NOT Being Cut: Military Projects in the Age of Austerity

We're all seeing the impact of austerity on our communities – whether it's a friend who has lost their job or a youth centre that's closed its doors. So it's difficult to believe that Trident submarines are being replaced at a cost of at least £25 billion and that the arms trade is propped up by £700 million of public funds a year.

Come to this workshop with CND's **Daniel Blaney** and CAAT's **Anne-Marie O'Reilly** to learn more about military spending and to discuss how we can broaden the cuts debate to question whether we make welfare or warfare our priority.

All day Saturday

Making Nonviolent Revolution

This whole-camp, all-day, highly-participatory workshop will give all of us at the camp a chance to explore together what might be involved in making a revolutionary transformation of society.

In order to create the strongest and most productive space for this exploration, we are asking everyone who participates to commit to the whole workshop, from beginning to end.

George Lakey, was the founder and director (1992-2006) of US training group 'Training for Change'.

Kathryn Tulip is part of the Seeds for Change training collective.



White Book of Peace

During lunchtime, we will have the chance to sign the *White Book of Peace*, brought from Carmarthen. A spectacularly beautiful book, handmade in Wales, using the very best materials, and a wonderful symbol of commitment.

Sunday morning

Contrasting Revolutions: Russia, China, Spain & Iran

What can we learn from the great revolutions of the 20th century? An invitation to explore the Russian, Spanish, Chinese and Iranian revolutions – all in a mere two hours!

Alexandre Christoyannopoulos is a lecturer in politics at Loughborough University and the author of *Christian Anarchism* (Imprint Academic, 2011)

Diversity of Tactics: Are Street Violence and Property Destruction Revolutionary – or Counter-Revolutionary?

PN readers come in three rough categories: absolute pacifists; people with a (strategic or tactical, but not total) commitment to nonviolence; and non-nonviolent folk who believe in a 'diversity of tactics', including the use of force for political purposes. We will be having a debate between these positions. Does pacifism simply ensure defeat for our movements? Is nonviolence an authoritarian imposition? Does 'diversity of tactics' lead to a self-destructive lifting of all limits at public actions? Three experienced activists will offer their points of view to start the discussion.

George Lakey is the author of *Nonviolent Action as the Sword that Heals: Challenging Ward Churchill's 'Pacifism As Pathology'*.

Mika Minio-Paluello is a solidarity activist based in Cairo; they were also in Palestine for two years of the second Intifada.

Chris Osmond has been involved in many direct

Sunday morning *continued*

action campaigns including campaigning for the closure of EDO MBM in Brighton for the past eight years, he has also worked as a solidarity activist in Palestine.

Protecting Jeju Island

In the last 2½ years, hundreds of people have been arrested and beaten, resisting the construction of a naval base on the South Korean island of Jeju. Though officially denied, the base seems destined for use by the US military in its strategic jockeying with China. Find out more about how you can get involved in the global campaign of solidarity with the islanders.

Angie Zelter is the co-founder of Trident Ploughshares. She was deported from Jeju in March after taking part in protests against the construction of the new base.

Sing Out! Protest Singing for Everyone

Singing lifts the spirits and inspires those who hear it. This interactive workshop – one of the most popular at last year's Camp – will draw on the rich tradition of peace and protest music stretching back to the middle ages and before! Bring an instrument if you have one.

Penny Stone is the compiler of *Now More Than Ever, Here More Than Anywhere: 50 years of Scottish Songs for Nuclear Disarmament*.



Eyewitness Afghanistan

Photojournalist Guy Smallman has been to Afghanistan four times, working independently of the NATO media system. In this presentation with slides, Guy will talk about his work documenting the everyday realities faced by ordinary Afghans (and often ignored in mainstream media coverage): poverty, drug abuse and unemployment, as well as the direct effects of the war.

Guy Smallman is the only western journalist to have visited the scene of the Granai massacre in which 147 people, including 93 children, were killed by NATO bombing.

Sunday afternoon

Chomsky's Politics

His opposition to the Vietnam war, support for Palestinian rights, and critique of the mainstream media ('The Propaganda Model') have made Noam Chomsky one of the most-recognised radical thinkers in the world. Find out more in this always-popular workshop (run three times at PNSC 2011).

Milan Rai is co-editor of *Peace News* and the author of *Chomsky's Politics* (Verso, 1995).

Don't Owe, Won't Pay: An Activists' Guide to the EU Debt Crisis

What is happening in Greece, Ireland, Spain and Portugal today mirrors what has been happening in the global South for 30 years – faceless financial institutions demanding a pound of the people's flesh while bailing out banks and rewarding speculators. Come and find out more about what activists around Europe are doing to resist the rule of debt, and discuss what we can do here in the UK.

Jonathan Stevenson works for Jubilee Debt Campaign.

Getting to the Mountaintop?: Making Nonviolent Revolution & Strategy

What strategies should we employ in our attempts to create systemic social change? This workshop will compare and contrast two well-known frameworks from across the pond – Bill Moyer's 'Movement Action Plan' and George Lakey's 'Strategy for a Living Revolution' – as well as the ideas in Howard

Clark's pamphlet – recently republished by PN – *Making Nonviolent Revolution*.

Former *Peace News* co-editor **Howard Clark** is the chair of War Resisters International

Hand in Hand: Giving Practical Solidarity

Whether its benefit claimants, Travellers or asylum seekers, working actively alongside people affected by injustice can be one of the most rewarding – and challenging – forms of activism. But what are the pitfalls, when does it become charity under a different name, and how do we deal with clashes of values?

The **Traveller Solidarity Network** works with Roma / Traveller communities throughout the UK.

The **London Catholic Worker** are currently supporting destitute asylum seekers in London and the surrounding area.

If Not Now, When? Lifestyle Politics & Social Change

How much difference can our individual choices make? Are the ways we live, travel, buy and eat crucial elements in creating social change, or self-indulgent distractions from the "real" work of organising and activism? Discuss the pros and cons of using lifestyle as a route to changing the world, and explore the strong feelings evoked on both sides.

Matt Wilson works in a micro-brewery and recently wrote on the subject of lifestyle politics in *Shift* magazine.

Occupy and the Limits of Consensus

From Climate Camp to the Occupy movement, consensus decision-making has become a dominant organisational form in many activist circles, despite its pitfalls. A rigid commitment to consensus played a key role in the demise of the Movement for a New Society (MNS), which had done much to popularise the form. Come and explore the lessons learned and how we can apply these to today's movements.

Sam Halvorsen and **Alison Playford** have both been involved with the London Occupy movement.

Movement for a New Society (MNS) co-founder **George Lakey** is currently involved in the campaign to stop mountaintop removal coal mining.

Matt Wilson is an activist, writer and brewer.

Prison – Gulag or Holiday Camp?

In the UK, prison is the state's ultimate sanction against activism. Dispelling some of the myths about being incarcerated at Her Majesty's pleasure, this workshop will explore what it's like to go to prison as an activist, as well as how those on the outside can show solidarity with the incarcerated.

Susan Clarkson (Oxford Catholic Worker) and **Martin Newell** (London Catholic Worker) have both been to prison several times.

The Oil Road: A Journey from the Caspian to the City

Europe imports more oil & gas than the US, China and India combined – driving war, pollution and poverty. This massive daily intake of fossil fuels relies on a web of pipelines, tanker routes and gas terminals – as well as military force, strong-arm diplomacy and corporate capitalism. From BP executives to Somali pirates, bureaucrats in Brussels to revolutionaries in Egypt, these structures are constantly defended and contested. We'll explore BP's pipeline from the Caspian, militarised gas grids and oil company lobbying for new warships in the midst of the cuts. This interactive and participatory workshop will search for pathways towards dismantling our current energy reality and replacing it with alternative energy futures.

Emma Hughes, **James Marriott**, and **Mika Minio-Paluello** are members of the art-activist-research group Platform. Our book *The Oil Road* will be published by Verso in September.

Monday morning

Making Our Own Revolutions

We come together to reflect on what's happened at the camp, to think about what's likely to happen over the next year, and to make some plans for ourselves and for our campaigns.

A whole-camp high-participation workshop to help prepare us to make the best use of the months ahead.

Evening entertainments

Thursday

8.30pm: GEORGE LAKEY'S LIFE & TIMES

US peace activist George Lakey helped stop seaborne US arms sales to Pakistan that were to be used to crush the Bangladeshi independence movement; he's trained Burmese guerrillas, Virginian coalminers and German Greens, and he co-founded the ground-breaking Movement for a New Society. For the first time anywhere, George will be reading publicly extracts from his memoirs-in-progress.

Friday

8pm: LIVE MUSIC

Friday sees the return of Street Lighting Man to Summer Camp, supported by Chris B and the Peaceniks. Plus other special guests to be confirmed.

9.30pm: FILM SCREENING

(At least) Two options. You decide!

The Square: The Seed of the Occupy Movement

(a film about Spain's indignados movement that grew from the occupation of the Puerta del Sol in Madrid)

Paths Through Utopias (documentary road movie visiting 11 European utopian projects from occupied self-managed Serbian factories to a free love commune in an ex-Stasi base)

Saturday

8pm: DOCTOR WHO & THE EXILES

An interactive play. Can you help the Exiles find a new home on an alien world? Help create The Doctor's latest unofficial adventure. Drawing on Augusto Boal's Forum Theatre, the audience will watch a short drama, which is then replayed. At any time members of the audience can stop the story and suggest different actions in an attempt to alter the outcome and make a happy ending.

9pm: QUIZ NIGHT IN THE BAR

Just like a regular pub quiz but better. Held in the Camp's own licensed bar.

Sunday

8.30pm: TALENT SHOW

A Camp tradition. Music, poetry, acrobatics, escapology, dance, whatever your talent – last year's show included a rap in Esperanto about Open Source Software! Your chance to shine. Please let us know if you're interested in performing so that we can add you to the billing.

| | 8.30 Breakfast | 9.30–10.15 Meeting | 10.30–12.30 Workshop | 12.30–14.00 Lunch | 14.00–16.00 Workshop | 16.30–18.30 Workshop | 19.00 Supper |
|-----------------|------------------------------|---|---|----------------------|---|---|--|
| | Evening entertainment | | | | | | |
| Thursday | | Practical introduction to the day (30 mins) | Set-up Collectively putting up structures and preparing for the camp | | Expanding the Floor of the Cage: Reform and/or Revolution Lucy Lant & Milan Rai | Sitting in with Bertrand Russell (and other stories) Michael Randle | George Lakey's Life and Times 8.30pm start |
| | | | | | Parking the Car for Good Patrick Nicholson & Matt Wilson | Economics in Nonviolent Resistance James Beecher | |
| | | | | | 'The Most Urgent Problem': The Fight for Biodiversity Dave Chanter | Meat – A Benign Extravagance Simon Fairlie | |
| Friday | | Welcome to the Gathering | Right on Our Doorstep: Local Campaigning Against the Military-Industrial Complex Smash EDO / CAAT | | Building at the Grassroots – Radical Community Organising Dave Morris / Anne Marie O'Reilly | Militarisation of the Borders No Borders | Music with Street Lighting Man and others 8pm start Film screening 9.30pm start |
| | | | How to Create a Protest Camp Faslane Peace Camp | | How (Not) to Burn Out Part 1 Seeds for Change | How (Not) to Burn Out Part 2 Seeds for Change | |
| | | | Building Revolutionary Bases Stuart Field / George Lakey | | Make Cakes, Not Wars Veggies | What's NOT Being Cut? Daniel Blaney / Anne-Marie O'Reilly | |
| | | | Effective Affinity Groups Rhizome | | Disobey! Nonviolence & Civil Disobedience Rhizome | Taking the Toys from the Boys: Militarism & Gender Yolanda Barcenilla | |
| | | | | | Swords into Solar Panels Clare Cochrane / Dan Viesnik | Resisting the Recruiters ForcesWatch | |

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|----------|-----------------|---|--|--|---|
| Saturday | Morning Meeting | Making Nonviolent Revolution George Lakey / Kathryn Tulip | Making Nonviolent Revolution George Lakey / Kathryn Tulip | Making Nonviolent Revolution George Lakey / Kathryn Tulip | Dr Who & The Exiles (Interactive Play) 8pm start Quiz Night in the Bar 9pm start |
| | | | | | |
| Sunday | Morning Meeting | Protecting Jeju Island Agnie Zelter | Prison – Gulag or Holiday Camp? Susan Clarkson / Martin Newell | Getting to the Mountaintop? Making Nonviolent Revolution & Strategy Howard Clark | Talent Show: Everyone Brings Out Their Hidden Talents! 8.30pm start |
| | | Sing Out! Protest Singing for Everyone Penny Stone | Chomsky's Politics Milan Rai | Hand in Hand: Giving Practical Solidarity Traveller Solidarity Network / London Catholic Worker | |
| | | Diversity of Tactics Discussion with George Lakey / Mika Minio-Paluello / Chris Osmond | The Oil Road: A Journey from the Caspian to the City Platform | Don't Owe Won't Pay: A Guide to the EU Debt Crisis Jubilee Debt Campaign | |
| | | Contrasting Revolutions: Russia, China, Spain, Iran Alexandre Christoyannopoulos | Occupy & the Limits of Consensus Sam Halvorsen / George Lakey / Alison Playford / Matt Wilson | If Not Now, When? Life-style Politics & Social Change Matt Wilson | |
| | | Eyewitness Afghanistan Guy Smallman | | | |
| Monday | Morning Meeting | Making Our Own Revolutions Whole Camp Session | Closing Circle / Tat Down | | |

The Art of Revolution

by George Lakey

“Most of what we need to know to make a revolution, we have yet to learn.” That was a favorite slogan of the Movement for a New Society (MNS), a group from the 1970s and 80s whose influence on progressive movements is still felt although often unrecognized. What we meant by “revolution” was not a simple replacement of one regime by another, nor even a democratic re-structuring of government. We meant transformation: economic, political, environmental and cultural changes that put societal institutions decisively on the side of life, participatory democracy, and sustainability.

Activists don't make revolutionary situations; only history can do that. What activists can do is use the opportunity a revolutionary situation provides. To make the most of the opportunity, some people step up ahead of time, preparing for the opening to come. That's the reason for this book. I want to help activists to learn and practice the art of revolution while in this time of oppression, violence and ecological crisis, to prepare a living revolution.

I could revise our old MNS slogan quoted in the first sentence of this chapter. I now believe, “Most of what we need to know to make a revolution is already within our global collective experience. A lot of us haven't caught up with each other's learning. And new knowledge is waiting to be found.”

Take, for example, the brilliance of the Occupy movement's 2011 framing of the historical moment as a conflict between the 1% and the 99%.

The brilliance of Occupy was not only in the framing but also in the boldness of presentation: the choice to do nonviolent direct action while naming the elephant. The specific tactics were not the point; it was the boldness that resonated. Labor union members and others who had watched their leaders hold back looked at Occupy and found boldness – and what a relief it was!

Occupy Wall Street came from a combination of influences. New York activists were unhappy with the lack of large-scale bold response to the economic crisis. They met with activists who had participated in spring mobilizations in Greece and other European centers. Spanish comrades stimulated them with accounts of the general assembly as an innovative way to make decisions. Launching an occupation at Wall Street was intriguing, but there wasn't a longer run strategy in place.

Then the Canadian magazine *Adbusters* called in July for “a Tahrir moment,” creating buzz and proposing the date of September 17. Tahrir Square in Cairo was the focal point of what was in reality a country-wide movement that brought down dictator Hosni Mubarak.

U.S. mass media reporting from Tahrir Square presented the Egyptian movement as if it arose from the thin desert air. Now we know that Tahrir Square was at the end of a long process motivated by widespread dissatisfaction with Egypt's corruption and oppression; Egyptians did a whole lot of organizing to get to Tahrir Square. Among other things, middle class people needed to learn how to be in solidarity with factory workers, as in the textile strike of 2006.

The lesson about class from Egypt and other campaigns makes the art of revolution far more promising, although not necessarily easier for diversity-resistant activists. I know, for example, of an Occupy movement where an association of African American clergy was so inspired that a group of them visited the site to dialogue. The pastors offered to encourage their largely working class church members to visit and even join the movement. They had one condition: the Occupy people needed to let go of the habit of using the F- word in every sentence; the pastors knew their church people couldn't handle that.

The Occupy members in that city couldn't agree to such a condition. For many white, middle class Occupy members the invitation would open a new world of experience across race and class lines, and increase Occupy's impact, but giving up a favorite word was too much of a sacrifice.

It's rare that a choice gets made so explicitly. Usually the radical activists who establish a dominant cultural trait remain oblivious to the many, many people who check out the group in hope and then find, in more subtle ways, that the door is closed.

Excerpted from George Lakey, *Toward a Living Revolution*, published by Peace News Press, July 2012. Available at the special discount price of £12 (normal price £15) during Peace News Summer Camp.

