

1960s

Civil Rights Movement: SNCC young people occupy lunch counters & use consensus process across the South.

1970s

Liberation Movements use variety of strategies & tactics including occupations to address economic, racial, and gender injustice: Occupy Alcatraz, universities, polling stations.

Counter-movement forces attack leadership through FBI, COINTELPRO, & exploiting internal conflicts.

1980s

Movement forces reconfigure, & many leaders establish non-profits as vehicles for organizing.

2011: Occupy Moment Begins

Grows from the roots of movements in the US & inspired by indigenous occupations in South America, popular resistance in Africa & Middle East.

World Social Forum (WSF) developed as movement convergence to counter corporate & state convergences like the World Economic Forum, meets every other year

Battle in Seattle shuts down World Trade Organization ministerial, exposes realities of corporate globalization & financial institutions US

• Protests in Miami of FTAA
• WTO protests in Cancun converge global movements

Mass immigrant marches show popular resistance to federal legislation HR4437 that linked anti-immigration & anti-terrorism

US Social Forum in Atlanta, 15,000 people converge and show grassroots force in action. Communities connect across geography and issues

US Social Forum in Detroit gathers 20,000 and exposes 4 decades of corporate devastation as well as resiliency of community-based alternatives

• Zapatistas launch rebellion & establish zones
• US movements & organizations take on NAFTA, North American Free Trade Agreement

• 9-11 justifies corporate & state control of public sphere
• Growing global justice movements stalled & fragmented

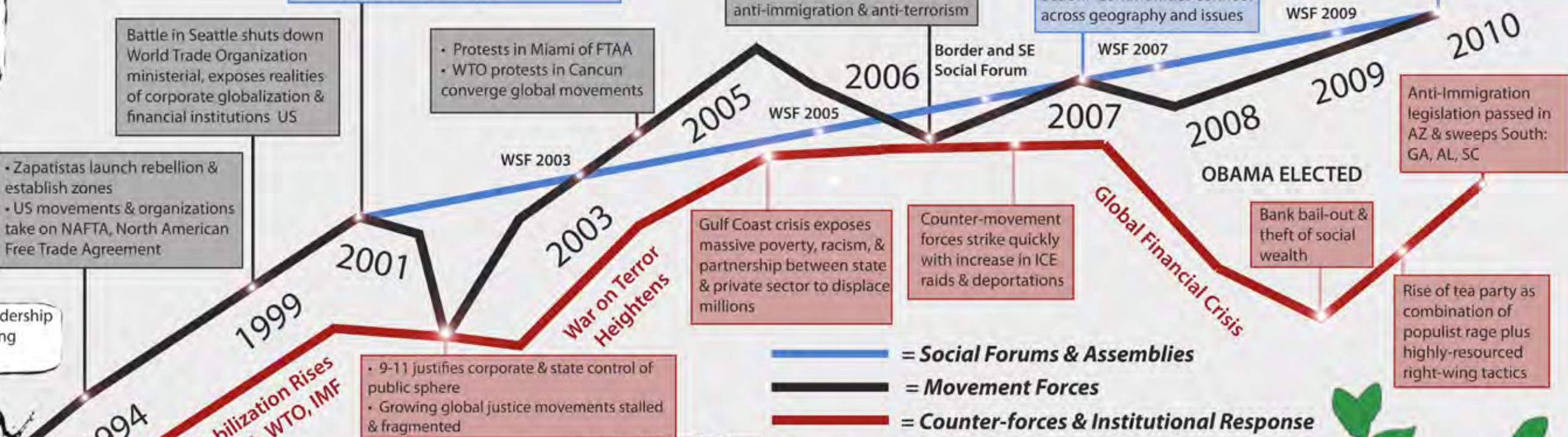
Gulf Coast crisis exposes massive poverty, racism, & partnership between state & private sector to displace millions

Counter-movement forces strike quickly with increase in ICE raids & deportations

Bank bail-out & theft of social wealth

Anti-Immigration legislation passed in AZ & sweeps South: GA, AL, SC

Rise of tea party as combination of populist rage plus highly-resourced right-wing tactics



Roots of this Moment...

US OCCUPY SITES



- Neighborhood Assemblies
- People of Color Caucus
- Council of Elders & Faith-based Civil Rights workers
- South Bronx People's Assembly
- Occupy the Hood
- Queer Caucus
- Student Strikes
- Airline Pilots March
- Haitians March to OWS
- Solidarity with El Barrio
- Language Interpretation (ASL, Spanish, Arabic)
- Women's Caucus

DAYS OF ACTION

- Nov 3 - Oakland General Strike
- Nov 1-5 - Anti-G20, Pull your \$ out of Banks
- Oct 15 - United for Global Change
- Oct 12 - Anti-Capitalist Indigenous Solidarity
- Oct 6 - DC Human Needs Not Corporate Greed
- Sept 17 - Global Day of Action Against Banks

CALLS TO ACTION

- Oct 5th - Unions & Students Call to join OWS
- Sept 15th - Hub Meeting Barcelona
- July 13th - Anonymous & Adbusters
- Feb 11th - Social Movement Assembly at WSF

MOBILIZATION

- Dec - Present - Arab Uprisings
- Feb - June - Wisconsin Protests
- May - Aug - European Mobilizations

BROADENING THE BASE

Communities in action are connecting this moment to existing struggles.

Movement Innovations

- Thousands practicing & facilitating community governance & direct democracy.
- Utilizing & inventing mass communications strategies, such as live stream global virtual assemblies to connect occupy sites.
- Detailed and timely documentation of meetings and actions available to the public on the web and at occupy sites.

What Next?

- Anticipate ways the police state will restructure in response.
- Remain focused on targeting the economic systems in new ways.
- Connect to and expand growing social movements.

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We are winning.

This Is A Movement Moment. What Happens Next?

By Stephanie Guilloud, Co-Director

“We are winning” was graffitied on a wall in Seattle in 1999. The same sentence was projected onto the stark Verizon building on November 17, 2011 so it could be seen by thousands marching on the Brooklyn Bridge. Allowing ourselves to envision what it means to win is essential to building movements. Also essential, is anticipating the effects of our collective impact and re-organizing to advance effectively.

After the fifth day of the WTO protests in 1999, all the folks who had been arrested were being released, the ministerial had failed, and we were exhausted. My friend and I were standing outside King County Jail welcoming folks out, and she said, “Everyone here feels like they made it happen.” She meant that thousands of people felt like we had accomplished something great, that we were part of something huge and powerful. We had won, but it wasn’t over.

Today, many more thousands of people are connecting to an ambitious and necessary call to shut down the engine of the financial economy. Collective outrage is boiling over about the current conditions of economic injustice, racial oppression, gender injustice, and the militarization of our public spaces. We do not have to look to these bold folks for every answer to every question of movement building at this moment. They are busting through old barriers, inventing new movement technologies, and interrupting a dangerous narrative that the Tea Party is the primary expression of the majority living in this country. We should be applauding their efforts and offering support to engage in new ways to move forward, together.

If we’ve learned anything since Seattle and over the last forty years of organizing in the US – it’s that surprise only works once. The police state reconfigures and trains on new methods of crowd suppression. The economy reacts and responds to the pressures of social movements. Racism changes shape and remains a dominant force we struggle against.

Social movements are alive and breathing at every level, but sometimes leaders are tangled up in outdated ideas or caught up in divisions manipulated by external political and social forces. Organizers and leadership within existing and emerging social movements are responsible for carving paths forward from this moment with a full arsenal of tools rooted in a clear understanding of how movement moments shift and turn.

In order to chart out our plans for 2012, we must anticipate and build smart multi-strategy approaches. We must resist the counter-attacks, co-optations, and distractions while we also build strongholds within communities and resist replicating tactics that work but need to evolve.

How do we flank & support a new generation of leaders, organizers, and facilitators who are currently engaging at mass scales?

What can we learn from historical patterns about how systems of white supremacy re-organize, inside and outside of our movements?

How do we identify new sites of exploitation, defend against the direct & local attacks and build new practices of community governance that de-legitimate a failed and corrupted state?

PULL-OUT POSTER TOOL


HOW DO WE UNDERSTAND THIS MOMENT
& HOW DO WE PLAN FOR WHAT COMES NEXT?

The two-part tool on the next 4 pages offers a way to think about impact and counter-attack during historic moments of collective action (chart) and the foundation of the last fifteen years of movement building that led to the current moment (visual timeline).

HOW DO WE UNDERSTAND THIS MOMENT?

This chart describes historic patterns. Each moment is unique, but broadstrokes help us to understand social movement impact as well as to prepare for counter-movement forces.

Shared patterns arise during social movement turning points

Historic moments of collective action	REALITIES EXPOSED Public Dialogue shifts	FORCES EMBOLDENED More room for new organizing	VICTORIES LEAD TO STRATEGIC OPPORTUNITIES Beyond initial tactics
<p>SNCC 1960-65</p> <p>Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee</p>	<p>More than just a hamburger: The occupation of lunch counters by Black Southern students exposes blatant, violent and irrational nature of racism and Jim Crow. Integrity of students is juxtaposed against the hatred and violence of racist whites.</p> <p>For people working within the Civil Rights Movement it becomes clear that the Federal Government is not an ally and in fact is complicit with the same state & local government officials that condone segregation and the violence that is required to enforce it.</p>	<p>The sit-in movement spreads like wildfire across the South and other forms of nonviolent direct action against Jim Crow become emboldened.</p> <p>Congress On Racial Equality (CORE) launches Freedom Rides to challenge the legality of segregation across state lines. SNCC workers and Nashville students organize effectively to complete the Freedom Rides in the face of violence and under the threat of death.</p>	<p>Ella Baker plays her position as a Southern movement anchor and convenes student sit-in leaders and supporters to coordinate strategy and tactics. This meeting facilitates the creation of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.</p> <p>In visits to the Deep South, SNCC workers listen to existing leadership on the ground and develop a voting rights strategy to break the back of Jim Crow.</p> <p>WIN: Legal Segregation Defeated</p>
<p>WTO Shutdown 1999</p>	<p>Massive demonstrations led by mostly local students and workers introduce the reality of corporate globalization & the destructive daily effects of global financial institutions into US public dialogue.</p> <p>Community organizers recognize the need for a grassroots, sustained fight against globalization.</p>	<p>One key reason that the ministerial collapsed was that the leaders from the global South were emboldened to resist the US/European policies.</p> <p>Rank & file workers participated beyond the official union marches in support of the young people and forged new alliances.</p>	<p>Success of Seattle led to phenomenon of "action-hopping" and attempting to shut down every trade meeting. Non-localized organizers were not as successful.</p> <p>Opportunities missed: to connect with global justice movements in the US & around the world in order to further de-legitimize and undermine financial institutions with innovative strategies.</p> <p>WIN: WTO Derailed & Delegitimized</p>
<p>Mass Immigrant Marches 2006</p>	<p>The numbers represented by millions marching on Mayday and throughout 2006, expose the population growth and potential power of Latino immigrants and migrants in all major US cities, including the South.</p>	<p>Day labor organizing is visibilized and increases force.</p> <p>Connections between communities affected by criminalization and displacement spark framing of shared imperative, "the right to remain."</p>	<p>Populist masses step ahead of existing movement infrastructure. Only a few organizations are prepared to connect to the momentum.</p> <p>Next steps are unclear as forces argue multiple strategies varying from universal citizenship to mild reforms.</p> <p>WIN: Federal Law Defeated. State-based legislation represent new battles</p>
<p>USSF I Atlanta 2007</p> <p>&</p> <p>USSF II Detroit 2010</p>	<p>Grassroots movements in the US, rooted in community struggles for racial, economic, and gender justice begin to connect after decades of isolation and fragmentation.</p> <p>Social justice movements in the US connect meaningfully to movements in the global South.</p> <p>Under-resourced financially, grassroots leadership achieves functional infrastructure for massive convergences.</p>	<p>Alliances are formed. Networks are created. Collaborations between and across communities deepen.</p> <p>South by Southwest Freedom Caravan and other organizing activities connect local communities to regional, cross-regional, and global visions of movement possibilities.</p>	<p>Two strategies emerge: to continue facilitating the Social Forum convergence process in key sites affected by neoliberalism and injustice AND to establish Peoples Movement Assemblies to organize strategic participation in the convergence space, sharpen movements' collective analysis, and develop action plans that strike at the intersections of oppression.</p> <p>WIN: Grassroots Movements Connect & Grow Alliances toward United Front</p>
<p>99% Occupy Wall St</p>	<p>Who is the target of 21st century resistance?</p> <p>Wealth inequities, income gap, massive unemployment, and the economy of lifetime debt exposed in a new moment by younger generation.</p> <p>Wall Street identified as target rather than Washington DC. Shifts in power recognized by general public.</p>	<p>How do frontline communities engage?</p> <p>Existing social justice movements, for the most part, support and stand in solidarity with the 99% actions, occupations, and assemblies.</p> <p>Dialogue sparked in every sector from neighborhoods and organizations up to the White House press conferences.</p>	<p>How do we expand on the success of the General Assemblies as a mass-based governance process?</p> <p>What are the strategic targets locally, regionally, and nationally?</p> 

IN ORDER TO PLAN WHAT COMES NEXT, WHAT FACTORS CAN WE ANTICIPATE?

Institutions adapt and respond in order to counter social movement gains			
Historic moments of collective action	POLICE STATE RE-ORGANIZES Violence used as counter-force	ECONOMY RECONFIGURES On local, regional, global levels	INTERNAL CONFLICT Lack of attention to race & other power dynamics allows for external attacks
SNCC 1960-65 Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee	In 1968, Nixon runs and wins on a “Law & Order” campaign platform to expand prisons and police controls. Conditions are set to increase and normalize constant police presence in Black communities. Drug trade introduced and guns appear in poor and working class communities.	Movement forces ensure the victories of a Voting Rights Act and desegregation of public spaces breaks the back of legalized Jim Crow across the South. The economy shifted to allow a small segment of Black people to be integrated into the middle class economy while using the same victories to dismantle Black economic and political power that existed during segregation. Education system reconfigured and Black teachers are fired en masse from Black schools while white teachers remain in place.	In a volatile movement moment and against a backdrop of FBI aggression SNCC workers developed a clear race analysis and practice to drive their work across the South. Although a radical call was made for almost all white SNCC workers to separate and organize among white Southern communities the larger realities of white supremacy limited that potential. Multi-racial SNCC women veterans correct a narrative that discounted the reality of gender liberation within SNCC.
WTO Shutdown 1999	Weapons, tanks, and riot gear purchased from private manufacturers. Police chief fired as scapegoat for excessive use of force. Seattle police department immediately writes report and police departments are trained in every major city. 9-11 justifies the establishment of Homeland Security, permanent war, and domestic surveillance.	Global trade and finance abandons “worldwide” institutions and re-focuses on bilateral trade agreements like FTAA and CAFTA and invite-only convergences like the G8. Market economies begin to overtake trade economies.	External: Some level of destructive critique from inside the US dismisses the protests as “white-led” and opportunities are missed. Internal to the leadership & local communities: white organizers struggle with the real effects of racism and power dynamics (and many abandon movement rather than articulate collaborative strategies with existing social movements.)
Mass Immigrant Marches 2006	ICE raids increase and terrorize communities. Deportations increase. Explicit anti-immigrant legislation passed in Arizona four years later and sweeps the South in 2011.	Agriculture owners and state programs look to prisons, probation programs, and Black high schools to replace immigrant labor. Guest worker programs legitimized and considered “solution.”	Media and right-wing forces drive and exacerbate historic divisions between Latino immigrant/migrant communities and Black communities. Muslims & immigrants from Caribbean, Africa, and parts of Asia often overlooked within many immig. rights conversations.
USSF I Atlanta 2007 & USSF II Detroit 2010	Negotiations with city officials minimize police presence but expose hidden tanks in multiple parts of the city. In Detroit, Israeli Zionist forces attempt infiltration but are countered by forum leadership.	Weeks after the Forum in Atlanta, city tries to shut down the largest shelter for homeless located on prime downtown real estate. Only public hospital in Georgia, privatized after long fight. Detroit Mayor introduces gentrification plan that would eliminate parts of the city and displace thousands. <i>(Prepared to respond: Collaborative Peoples Movement Assembly process stalls the attack.)</i>	Contradictions and tensions emerge between organizing styles, purposes, and analyses. Larger social institutions dismiss the Forum and do not invest in the process. Black leadership in both sites struggle with planning process and are sometimes invisibilized or undermined.
99% Occupy Wall St	<i>In what ways will the police state reconfigure to protect private interests and eliminate public spaces?</i> <i>How will checkpoints and barricades be used in cities and towns to reduce mass gathering spaces?</i>	<i>How do we identify clear & relevant targets while we build viable community-based economies?</i> Significant indicators of gains: Banks stall increases and additional fees based on public pressure. Obama introduces potential decrease in student loan debt.	<i>How do social movements understand and address racism in this new moment, not centering individual behaviors and prejudices, but by evolving our politics and practices to counter white supremacy and recolonization?</i>