

Handful of Salt

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Dec 2016 - Jan - Feb 2017

After the election: Grassroots surge

By Liz Moore, PJALS Director



Hello to new members of PJALS holding our newsletter in their hands for the first time! We need you and welcome you as activists and leaders in our intergenerational grassroots

movement.

With the electoral college victory of President-Elect Trump, many of us woke up on November 9 with reactions including fear, worry, astonishment, grim realism, and outrage for ourselves and those we love and stand with. Though all the fault-lines and fractures of racism, xenophobia, misogyny, manipulation, and big money have been present since the origin of our country, I have felt the need to map the new landscape, which retains very familiar landmarks as well as new terrain formations after this earthquake.

We are seeing a grassroots surge now. Every day since the election, we are seeing new

members donating and new activists signing up on our email list and on

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Wake Up and Work: a reflection

By Taylor Weech



Over the past couple of years, something has solidified in my mind that I've had the uncomfortable pleasure of working on here at PJALS this past year. It probably

began when I was told by a comrade of color that undoing racism is fundamentally a white people problem, and by that logic, *my* job. Looking at that sentence now, it seems so obvious. Of course white people should be the ones to take apart the system of race from which

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“Vox nation” flag from Young Activist Leaders first

Affiliate of **Fellowship of Reconciliation & Showing Up for Racial Justice**

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The Handful of Salt is published quarterly by the Peace and Justice Action League of Spokane. Its name comes from Mohandas Gandhi's salt tax protest in India, a successful, nonviolent, grassroots action that created significant social change against overwhelming resource advantages.

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Our priority areas for 2016-17

As determined by our member priority survey responses and our Steering Committee!

1. **A Just Society:** Smart Justice and Police Accountability
2. **Peace:** Truth in Recruitment, Consciousness-Raising about Militarism, and Mobilizing against War!
3. **Human Rights Community Organizing:** Building collective power with targeted communities.
4. **Ending the Death Penalty in Washington** as our top legislative priority.

Exposing & transforming systems of violence & oppression to create beloved community.

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Rusty Nelson on Peace and War: “Making History”

For years, I have railed against the wholesale use and abuse of certain inescapable terms in the popular lexicon of American discourse. Along with certain obscenities that continue to nibble away at my own vocabulary, “The Economy” is one that stands out. Pundits, politicians and pedagogues seem to agree that the term has the same meaning for me that it does for Matt Shea, Bill Gates, and Domantas Sabonis. “The Economy,” of course, bounces off me differently than it does anyone else, including my children and their children, and I resent the implication that I’m just another naked chick in a crowded nest, open wide for whatever worm that differently-feathered parent figure dangles above me.

Today’s cliché is “Making History.” After all, haven’t we just made history? Maybe it seems more like history has happened to us or on us, but for most, it’s not our history. Maybe it will be the history of the next generation or just a footnote in an obituary, but I didn’t make history in 2016. Whether the recorders of our cultural stagnation tell us about Hillary Clinton being history or Donald Trump creating history, we need to consider how we’ve been wired to consider, digest, and comprehend history to spare our heirs the repetition of our assaults upon our neighbors and our planet.

Howard Zinn rescued many intelligent people from the quagmire of history written by the “winners” of wars, massacres, and struggles for control of The Economy. [A Peoples’ History of the United States](#), however, was published after I had begun disseminating the lines of those who wrote history the old way. And in the 21st Century, the American public still clings to that news and history that is pre-digested by the

White House, the Pentagon, The New York Times, and competitive news corporations, known by half our country as the Liberal News Media (of course, we who read and hear alternative news are quick to point out that corporate media are as liberal as the billionaires who own them). Although gently exposed to the concept of critical thinking, most schoolchildren are still taught that the survival of our species is dependent upon U.S. military superiority and the leadership of wealthy white men. Who among us learned Jeanette Rankin’s adage that we can no more win a war than we can win an earthquake, wisdom more ironic than she could have imagined as Oklahoma rattles itself to bits under a female governor (soon to be cabinet member?) pledged to victory through fracking?

Meanwhile, we who had anticipated a female president this late into our herstory might find some solace in an election that is bound to shorten the trajectory of our political pendulum. Leaders and policy makers like Jean Kirkpatrick, Madeline Albright, Condoleezza Rice, not to mention Golda Meir, Maggie Thatcher, and Indira Gandhi had already demonstrated that a woman’s touch may be little different from an iron fist. The inevitability of violence will not be determined by gender, but by which lessons we refuse to learn from our male-dominated history.

My personal battle with unlearned lessons of history centers upon the illegal, undeclared and un-won U.S. war in Vietnam. Deployed as a true believer in the goodness of my country, the justice of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, and the righteousness of my military mandate, I was more shocked by the institutional poverty and corruption than the brutality of combat. I couldn’t help noticing the enormity of the mismatch, the colossal waste, and the moral vacuum, but I didn’t comprehend the shame and degradation, the slaughter and the earthquakes unleashed until I was safely civilian.

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The “Listening Session”

By Tim Connor



On a Wednesday in mid-November the City of Spokane did something it had never done before.

It convened a meeting to hear from the public about the City’s imminent contract negotiations with the Spokane Police Guild and the Lieutenants and Captains Association. Those familiar with the problem will recognize what a big deal this is. From coast-to-coast, the major obstacle to police reform has been a lack of transparency and the exclusion of a citizen voice in the collective bargaining process.

In that respect, the “listening session” at the Northeast Community Center could be a turning point in the 8-year struggle to achieve a semblance of independence and credibility for Spokane’s Office of Police Ombudsman (OPO). It was a long struggle even to get the meeting, the proposal for which started as a formal recommendation, four years ago, from the now-defunct Use of Force Commission. More importantly, in late 2012, the commission also recommended the OPO be invested with “the

authority and discretion to open and conduct independent investigations.”

Although Mayor David Condon attended and participated in the meeting, it remains to be seen whether the City’s negotiator (s) will actually be directed to push the independence issue with police union representatives when the negotiations get underway later this year.

If that does happen, citizens should thank Councilman Breean Beggs, who pushed for the meeting, and the City’s newly-chosen police ombudsperson, Bart Logue. Logue didn’t speak long at the meeting, but what he said spoke volumes. He quickly gave credence to the criticism that the current bargaining agreements and ordinance do not square with Proposition 1, the city charter amendment approved by an overwhelming majority of voters in 2013. He said the charter requires the OPO both oversee the police department’s internal investigations, and be responsive to citizen requests for independent investigations, and that he doesn’t have sufficient resources to do both.

Moreover, he specifically noted that the current language—both in the contracts and the ordinance—actually restrict him from being able to report fully and accurately on his investigative findings.

PJALS staff and members participated in the meeting as part of our continued involvement with the Spokane Police Accountability Reform Coalition (SPARC).

Where all are welcome

By Christina Walden

Hello PJALS Members! I am a new Intern at PJALS this years from the Eastern Washington University School of Social Work. I am so excited to be here working with you all to advance the causes of peace and justice here in Spokane, in our region, and hopefully throughout the nation. I am very passionate about equity in our society, especially for those

who are marginalized by race, socio-economic status, sexual orientation, and disability status. I have felt so welcomed already by those of you I have met at the events over the last few months, PJALS is truly a place where all are welcome!

I am a nontraditional student in that I am attending University later in life having finally found my passion to help others. As a women with invisible disabilities I was far too

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Fighting for justice and equity

By Bailey Russell



Hi, I am an intern with PJALS for the 2016-2017 academic school year. I am a senior at Gonzaga University and will be graduating with a B.A. in International Relations and a minor in French in May 2017. I will

head to law school in the fall of 2017.

I still remember how I found PJALS. My junior year was coming to a close, the school work had started to wear off, and I realized that my senior year needed to be important. I needed to use the extra time I knew I would have from an easier class schedule to do something worthwhile. So I started researching organizations in town that worked on issues that were close to my heart; criminal justice reform, anti-racism, anti-militarism, rights for undocumented immigrants, reproductive rights—human rights. That is how I found the Peace and Justice Action League. From there I applied to be an intern and haven't looked back since.

To be honest, I didn't know what to expect when I started here. I was worried I wouldn't fit in, wouldn't find my groove or my passion, but I found all three aspects sooner than I anticipated. I get to work with some amazing individuals; Liz, Shar and Adrian. The events I get to help plan include so much learning and networking. I've learned new ways to organize, mobilize and protest. I'm learning how to fundraise and plan to learn how to grant write. The thing about interning for PJALS is that you're not just interning. You're learning at the same time

because all of the work we do requires hands on involvement, whether it involves calling people, talking to members and others face to face, attending events or going to rallies, protests and press conferences. You name it, I've been involved with it at PJALS. And I will be forever grateful for these opportunities.

I feel especially lucky to have formed such strong bonds with everyone at PJALS in the wake of election results. PJALS is one of the only completely safe spaces for me to grieve, discuss and evaluate this election. I also feel incredibly lucky to be with PJALS during this tumultuous time because I'm getting to see how activists mobilize in the face of adversity in real time. Some days are harder than others, some situations stickier than others, but it's the moments that I realize that I am in a place where I am surrounded by people who not only align with my values, but support me and are willing to fight for me, that I find the strength to keep fighting with others for justice and equity. Thank you PJALS. I'm buckling my seatbelt for next year.

Where all are welcome, from p 4



used to being dismissed and had to find my own voice.

I am also a single mother of an 8 year old son with special needs who has taught me so much about being a better person and fighting for those whose voice is not heard. I have also learned in my short time so far at PJALS that not only do we need to fight for others we need to fight with them to make sure their voices are the ones being heard. I look forward to learning so much more and meeting all of you at events throughout this year and beyond.

Wake Up and Work, cont from page 1

we benefit. Of course men should be the ones to examine and dismantle patriarchy. The onus is clearly on heterosexual people to end homophobia. Especially heightened during the mercifully-past election season, the divisions between our narratives and understandings have made simple conclusions like these and even honest conversation in general less possible.

But now, and always, we have a responsibility as people who believe not only in nonviolence, but in a better world where peace, equity, and justice are manifested in reality, to dismantle systems of violence wherever they are found. I've been very grateful to find an activist home in PJALS that centers the theory of intersectionality (a term coined by Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw in 1989)—the idea that unfair systems that privilege some and oppress others based on identity don't exist in opposition to one another, but rather stack and multiply in effect.

In the first workshop of the fall series we just completed, I led an exercise called "Intersectionality Twister" in which many colors of paper were scattered at random across the floor. "Find a pink square if you're a woman or genderqueer", "Find a yellow square if you grew up in or are currently living in poverty", "Find a blue square if you're a person of color", "Find a green square if you live with a mental illness or disability", and so on. Some participants stretched and contorted on the floor, reaching fingertips out to find paper sliding against carpet. Some participants never took a step. At



the end of the exercise, I asked how people felt. One of the non-movers, a straight, white, man with class privilege said, "We were kind of just on the sidelines." He paused and added, "Is that what we're doing?"

And because I know and like this man, I flipped his question back at him. "I don't know, *is* that what *you're* doing?". We continued to dive into that very personal terrain, talking honestly about anxieties, frustrations, hang-ups, and hopes for what we'd like to see emerge from a fair society. We practiced having difficult conversations, especially as white people trying to reach fellow white people on the topic of race, and we listened to one another's stories of both privilege and oppression, which was a powerful reminder that these aren't just theories to toss out at dinner parties, but each of our real lives.

That is why I want to ground our learning in collective action. Because analysis is important, but we are in an ongoing emergency that robs people of their humanity, their dignity, and their very lives. So we take on a strategy from our partner organization, SURJ (Showing Up for Racial Justice): accountability through action. Committing to learn from those affected

most by our actions (or inactions), we act from our best knowledge, actively listen to feedback, learn from that listening, and repeat. I'm excited to hear what other participants thought and

how I can improve for next time, and eager to act again with even more of you in a struggle for racial justice.

Being here has shown me what a community is

By Hawa Elias



I joined PJALS as a way to get away from the "Gonzaga bubble", a way to involve myself in the Spokane community to fully experience the city that I am living in. I am so glad that I chose to intern at PJALS because it ended up being the

perfect place for me to do that. Everyone here has welcomed me warmly and continues to support me.

There are many incredible events, workshops, forums and discussions that PJALS is putting on. Every time I come in, I leave learning something new. There is a lot I am still learning - about Spokane, organizing, activism and being in a non-profit. As I am reflecting now, I'm realizing that being here has shown me what a community is and what it means to stand in solidarity with one another. I'm impressed by the amount of people that come out to engage in powerful community discussions and that are willing to dedicate their time for fighting against injustices in their city. Seeing this fills me with hope – this is how we will get past the times we see as "messes". I think this is something special about Spokane.



Candle light vigil for solidarity with targeted people, November 13, Spokane County Courthouse

Grassroots surge, continued from page 1

Facebook. Over 80 people gathered for a discussion on 8 hours' notice the day after the election. Young people moved to action have organized large community mobilizations with hundreds turning out. Our PJALS post-election discussion "Coming Together, Gathering Hope" bulged at the seams with over 200 people – 3/4 of them new to PJALS!

People Power Must Be Visible. We need to keep mobilizing, connecting, and growing! Our commitment is deep and unwavering: We will stand up against hate. We will speak up! We will challenge our own fears. We will be true to our values! We will act with courage, passion, and strategy!

We reject fear, hate, apathy, white supremacy, homophobia, patriarchy, militarism, narcissism, Christian supremacy, anti-Semitism, xenophobia, Islamophobia, violence, apathy, and despair.

We are rooted in and moving toward love, respect, community, peace, justice, youth, intersectionality, compassion, equity, dignity, equality, safety, empathy, understanding, graceful defiance, collective action, and liberation.

Every time in our country's history when we have succeeded in our struggles for racial justice, gender justice, economic justice, or peace, forces of corporate domination & exploitation, white supremacy, male supremacy, and militarism have pushed back, and pushed back hard! After the civil war and the end of slavery came Jim Crow. After the civil rights movement moved Johnson and Congress to pass key Civil Rights and Voting Rights legislation, Nixon won the presidency by inventing the Southern Strategy, appealing to white male conservative voters.

It helps a little to know this is not totally unprecedented – grassroots movements have

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Who made that history? Who learns it? Who repeats it?

Any history contrived in our recent presidential election is likely to be obscured by that produced during the Trump administration. I and many other peacemongers, however, have engraved upon our troubled memories a huge blank space representing debate and discussion about war and peace, the dozens of wars in which we participate and chimera of peace for which we claim to yearn. It is time to step up and be accountable to generations to come in case some of our antecedents survive. Nobody needs us to observe the next four years from a bunker, nor will random cursing and finger-pointing part the darkness.

I was particularly horrified by the Clinton campaign’s urging to imagine a President Trump with the nuclear codes always by his side. For one who remembers Reagan’s jokes, Poppy Bush’s war on Panama, Bill Clinton’s bombing civilians in the former Yugoslavia, W’s revenge upon Saddam Hussein for trying to kill his Daddy, and Obama’s continuing to take military direction from Israel, Trump’s finger on the trigger is not as frightening as the fact that the President of the United States remains constantly encumbered by the unspeakable codes as if the containing brief case is a teddy bear not to be scorned as an essential accessory in the emperor’s dated wardrobe.

Elliott Adams, one of the heroes of Spokane Veterans for Peace, shared some wisdom with us last Memorial Day: It’s not so important whom we vote for as what we do to hold the winning candidate accountable. That’s a quick paraphrase, but it means a lot to me. Not that I’ve had any influence over any of the foxes guarding the henhouse in the last 50 years, but it gives me something to do, short of staying in Mexico or building a bomb shelter in Idaho. The history of PJALS has been recalled over the past year as we’ve celebrated and reflected upon

the first 40 years. What now emerges from the detritus of my abused recollections of those years is the local strength we derived from our national impotence. On the other hand, we gained from our networking with national and international organizations which were similarly dismissed by those who held political power. In 12 years of Reagan-Bush, we felt throttled, but PJALS came of age, a beacon for those who refused to buckle under the cheap nationalism and extravagant me-too-ism that enthralled so many of our neighbors. We were able to organize and make meaningful contributions on issues that might have gone unnoticed in more progressive times. When Bill Clinton ascended to the White House as the answer to the prayers of voters who revered both Kennedy and Reagan, half of the progressives in Spokane celebrated by shaking off any affinity for PJALS and smothering those old hippie flames for peace and justice that had begun to smolder against the bald-faced fascism of the Always Right.

Some of us would have celebrated mightily for a victory by Hillary or Bernie or Jill. Halfway through our dream administration, we would awake to a profound lack of change or a horrible choice by our joyfully chosen leader, or the realization that peace was not on the agenda, that Lincoln Chafee’s clownish fedora was the only peace hat in the ring. I’m not saying that I condone the choice of our almighty college of electors, or even that I saw it coming. I am saying to make the most of it.

Sure, the world may end tomorrow or in Trump’s first 100 days. We may exchange a few decent institutions for indecent ones. We may lose some more voice, additional civil liberties, and other necessities which had already begun to slip away. What we gain is opportunity. No -- Not the opportunity that we have squandered before by clinging to our change-resistant two-party system and our

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Grassroots surge, continued from p 7

been here before, and we can learn from their successes and their mistakes.

Frederick Douglass, in 1857, wrote this in the midst of struggle:

Let me give you a word of the philosophy of reform. The whole history of the progress of human liberty shows that all concessions yet made to her august claims, have been born of earnest struggle. The conflict has been exciting, agitating, all-absorbing, and for the time being, putting all other tumults to silence. It must do this or it does nothing. If there is no struggle there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom and yet depreciate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground, they want rain without thunder and lightening. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters.

This struggle may be a moral one, or it may be a physical one, and it may be both moral and physical, but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will. Find out just what any people will quietly submit to and you have found out the exact measure of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them, and these will continue till they are resisted with either words or blows, or with both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress."

How can we best struggle together now?

1. Connect with each other! Please invite your friends, family, faith community, and/or book club to come with you to PJALS events and actions! PJALS has a 40-year track record of engaging everyday people for peace & justice.

2. Make our circles bigger! Let's build our movement with strategic engagement beyond our current circles. As an organizer I was trained that an early (and repeated) step in

engagement is assessment. We often use a 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 assessment system. 5's are like Trump and other leaders of our opposition. 4's are mobilized by the 5's. On our end, PJALS leaders and our partners are 1's. 2's mobilize with us. 3's are undecided or sometimes move in one direction and sometimes in the other. So we don't need to spend time with 5's or 4's except to learn to improve our strategies. We need to

talk with and support the 2's so that together we can listen to, connect with, and move and engage the 3's. Most of our energy should go into mobilizing 2's and engaging 3's. Sometimes that means responding to 4's so that 3's hear what we are saying.

3. Commit right now to long term action.

We're not going to move toward LOVE and EQUALITY and SAFETY enough today, or next week, or in year 1 of the Trump presidency. We've got to commit NOW to keeping our eyes open, our ears open, and our hearts & bodies in motion permanently.

4. Choose a few points of focus. Our PJALS commitment is to stand with Muslims and the undocumented as people under immediate assault, as well as standing with all immigrants, refugees, Black people and other people of color, LGBT people, and minoritized religious communities; we will stand against Trump's promise to re-institute torture and speak out against escalated or expanded wars.

Do you want to work with PJALS and Showing Up for Racial Justice to mobilize white people as part of a multi-racial majority for racial justice? Do you want to work with PJALS for local criminal justice reform and police accountability? Do you want to work with PJALS and our partners in No Discrimination Spokane to

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Our voices can be heard

By Dena Brill



I moved here during the summer of 2015, alone and not knowing anyone. I am happy to say that I have found a community that is warm and welcoming.

As a person who has returned to the student life at a later time in my life I am excited to learn and become involved during these times and events. After attending Clark College in Vancouver, WA I came to the realization that although having my AA in Business Administration was wonderful, that is not where my heart lay. An instructor suggested I share my dreams, it was then that I realized that I had none. Upon further reflection I realized that I had dreams, but had actually stopped trying to achieve them. You see without knowing it I had stopped wanting and dreaming. Today I am happy to say that I have remembered a dream and am almost to the point of achieving the dream, that of becoming a Social Worker.

Throughout the years I have learned many things and would like to share those with people. Simply put there are too many people who do not dream and some might not even have goals. With help and support people are capable of so much. As my instructor helped me, I would like to be able to help people realize their dreams are possible.

Upon coming to the Peace and Justice Action League I have learned that it is not my place to speak for people, but rather be a support to people. When we all gather together our voices can be and are heard.

A partial solution to unwarranted police shootings of unarmed civilians.

By Nancy Street

Here is a partial solution to unwarranted police shootings of unarmed civilians.

Since most of the unwarranted shootings and killings have been carried out by white policemen and women against people of color, we should start to correct this awful situation by screening the police recruits. All those who are afraid of people of color, especially African-American and Hispanic males, should be screened out and not allowed to have contact with the public, especially since they are supposed to uphold the law and protect ALL citizens. Those already employed should undergo extensive diversity training and pass rigorous tests.

That way, these individuals who are given authority on our behalf to protect all of us would not be hiding behind, "I feel threatened" each time they encounter an African-American or Hispanic male, even when those individuals are lawfully going about their daily lives.

Since video now exposes police misdeeds, the public often sees clearly rampant disregard for human lives, and this terrible situation needs to stop now. Interestingly, at the first public meeting of the candidates for the Chief of Police of Spokane, this idea was submitted, but the woman in charge of the meeting refused to ask the candidates.



Engaging Everyday People: 40 years for peace and justice

Have you seen our 40th anniversary video?

Check it out at www.pjals.org/about/40-years-peace-justice

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Earth flag from Young Activist Leaders workshop

“Making History” cont from page 8

parochial self-interests. This time the change is not a campaign promise but history thrust upon us with plenty of warning that we will always consider inadequate.

And the opportunity? Be creative, kind, considerate. Be involved, outspoken, radical, subversive. Stop worrying about where your next dollar is coming from, and be concerned about where your neighbor’s next breath of fresh air and drink of clean water are coming from, where your child’s next raft of information is coming from, where your next tax dollar is going, your next consumer dollar. Make your needs known to your local officials and be tenacious.

In other words, be the person, the citizen, the neighbor, the parent you were going to be if the history some fool made hadn’t already been divided into kings, generals, peasants, winners and losers, allies and enemies, garden and desert, miracle and catastrophe.

I never made history, but I’ve read a little. And I don’t think it’s worth repeating.

Grassroots surge, cont from page 9

defeat anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim bigotry and racism? Do you want to join the teams to plan the People’s Inauguration on January 21 or our Peace & Justice Action Conference on February 24-25?

5. Work with a PLAN – A goal without a plan is just a wish. Learn who is already working on what you want to tackle. Listen with respect and accountability to folks who are directly affected by the problem you want to work on. Identify who can say yes to what targeted folks want. Decide how you will influence that person to the point where it’s in their self-interest to say yes. “Some policy makers need to see the light, and some need to feel the heat,” as the saying goes! Time spent planning is good cultivation and fertilizer to bring fruitful efforts.

PJALS’ Steering Committee is welcoming four energetic and committed new members, and now we’ll have 5 graduates of our Young Activist Leaders Program co-leading our organization. Our shared investment in supporting young people as leaders and in creating our 2016-2017 Intersectional Racial Equity Workplan to operationalize using this lens in all our work mean we are so strongly positioned to move forward as powerfully as possible!

6. Systematize your self-care! Support others taking care of themselves too. You can’t pour from an empty cup!

*Say it loud, say it clear,
 No hate, no fear!*

*Say it loud, say it clear
 Muslims are welcome here!*

*Say it loud, say it clear,
 immigrants are welcome here!*

*Say it loud, say it clear,
 trans folks are welcome here!*

*Say it loud, say it clear
 queer folks are welcome here!*

*Say it loud, say it clear
 Black lives matter here!*

*Say it loud, say it clear
 Women are respected here!*

You take one of us on, you take all of us on!

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PJALS Holiday Party & Potluck

Thursday, December 8, 5:30 pm – 8:00pm

Community Building Lobby, 35 W. Main

Join us for social justice carols and the warmth of our community of action.

Kids welcome! New folks welcome!

PJALS needs you!

The Peace and Justice Action League of Spokane is everyday people building a just and nonviolent world. We depend upon gifts and dues from members to continue to work for peace and justice, locally and globally. We welcome anyone who favors free exchange of ideas, community-building, and nonviolent action to war, inaction, or ignorance. PJALS, 35 W Main, Suite 120M, Spokane, WA 99201.

You determine your own level of support and participation. Members also determine issues and projects that get the most attention and effort. PJALS is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit corporation.

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