

# HUNGRY FOR PEACE

How you can help end poverty and war with Food Not Bombs



by Keith McHenry

Illustrated, designed and written by Food Not Bombs co-founder Keith McHenry  
All photos taken by Food Not Bombs volunteers with exception of back cover picture of the author  
taken by Henry Grossman. Preface by Food Not Bombs co-founder Jo Swanson.

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ISBN 978-1-937276-06-5

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**See Sharp Press**

P.O. Box 1731  
Tucson, AZ 85702 - USA  
520-628-8720  
www.seesharppress.com

You can contact Food Not Bombs at:

**Food Not Bombs**

P.O. Box 424  
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McHenry, Keith, 1957-

Hungry for peace : how you can help end poverty and war with Food Not Bombs / Keith McHenry—Tucson, Ariz. : See Sharp Press, 2012.

188p. ; 28 cm.

ISBN 978-1-937276-06-5

Abstract: The de facto how-to manual of the international Food Not Bombs movement, which provides free food to the homeless and hungry and has branches in countries on every continent except Antarctica, this book describes at length how to set up and operate a Food Not Bombs chapter. The guide considers every aspect of the operation, from food collection and distribution to fund-raising, consensus decision making, and what to do when the police arrive. It contains detailed information on setting up a kitchen and cooking for large groups as well as a variety of delicious recipes. Accompanying numerous photographs is a lengthy section on the history of Food Not Bombs, with stories of the jailing and murder of activists, as well as pre-made handbills and flyers ready for photocopying.—Publisher's Description.

1. Food not Bombs (Organization) 2. Food relief. 3. Peace movements. 4. Hunger—Prevention.

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**With over a billion people going hungry each day  
how can we spend another dollar on war?**

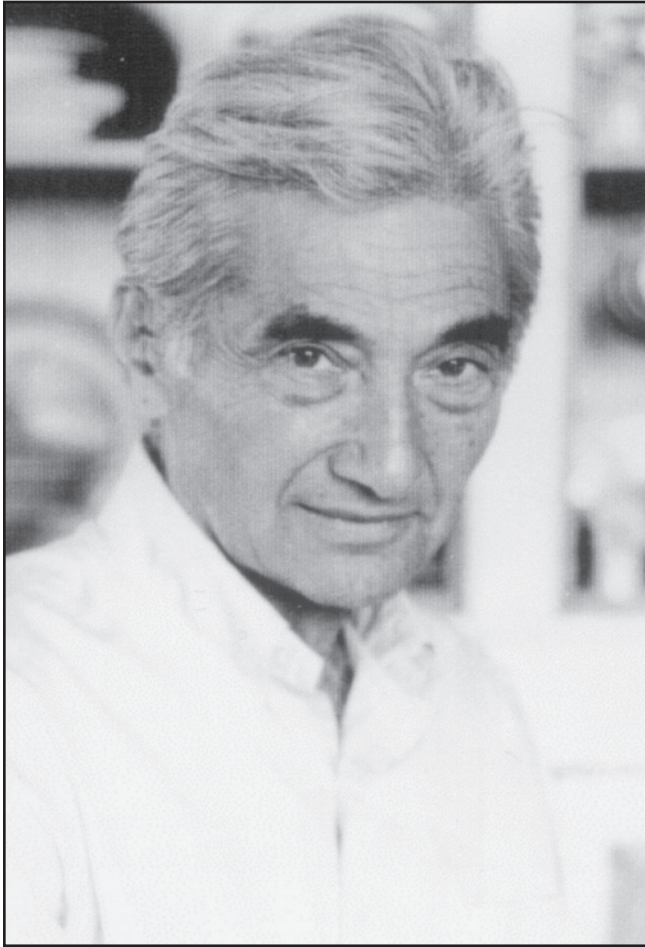
First they came for the Socialists, and I did not speak out—  
Because I was not a Socialist.

Then they came for the Trade Unionists, and I did not speak out—  
Because I was not a Trade Unionist.

Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak out—  
Because I was not a Jew.

Then they came for me—and there was no one left to speak for me.

Martin Niemöller (1892–1984)



### HOWARD ZINN'S FOREWORD TO THE FIRST FOOD NOT BOMBS BOOK

This is an extraordinary book, written by an extraordinary community of people. Their presence became known to me quite gradually, over a long period of time. I began to notice their tables, their signs, and cauldrons of hot soup and supplies of nutritious vegetables at meetings, at demonstrations, and on city streets. Then, one night I was invited to a gathering place for poets, musicians, and performers of all sorts who were possessed of some social consciousness, and there was a counter at the side of the room, and, again, that sign: Food Not Bombs.

This time, I paid more than ordinary attention, because I recognized the man behind the counter, Eric Weinberger. I had met him twenty-five years before on the road from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, in the great civil rights march of 1965, and again in 1977, in another march, this time of anti-nuclear activists, into the site of the Seabrook nuclear power plant.

Now another dozen years had elapsed, and he was with Food Not Bombs. I thought these Food Not Bombs folk are carrying on the long march of the

American people, moving slowly but inexorably towards a livable society. The message of Food Not Bombs is simple and powerful: no one should be without food in a world so richly provided with land, sun, and human ingenuity. No consideration of money, no demand for profit, should stand in the way of any hungry or malnourished child or any adult in need. Here are people who will not be bamboozled by "the laws of the market" that say only people who can afford to buy something can have it.

Even before the recent collapse of the Soviet Union, it was an absurd and immoral policy to spend hundreds of billions of dollars each year to support a nuclear arsenal that, if used, would bring about the greatest genocide in human history and, if not used, would constitute an enormous theft from the American people. Today, with no "Soviet threat," the policy of spending a trillion dollars over the next few years to maintain a nuclear arsenal, other weapons, and a worldwide network of military bases is even more absurd. The slogan "Food Not Bombs" is even more recognizable today as clear common sense.

This slogan requires no complicated analysis. Those three words "say it all." They point unerringly to the double challenge: to feed immediately people who are without adequate food, and to replace a system whose priorities are power and profit with one meeting the needs of all human beings.

It is rare to find a book that combines long-range wisdom with practical advice, but here is a treasury of such advice. It tells in specific detail how to form a Food Not Bombs group, how to collect food, how to prepare it (yes, wonderful recipes!), and how to distribute it.

Every step in this process is intertwined with the warning: do not allow self-appointed "leaders" or elites to make important decisions. Decisions must be made democratically, with as wide a participation as possible, aiming to reach a consensus. The idea here is profound. If we want a good society, we need not shout, but rather show how life should be lived. Yes, this book is truly nutritious.

*Professor Howard Zinn is the author of "A People's History of the United States. Professor Zinn told me he would love to write a new forward for this book and asked me to send him the final draft, but he, unfortunately, passed away two months after I spoke with at the him at Campaign to End the Death Penalty's ninth annual convention in Chicago.*

Because... FOOD is a RIGHT not a privilege! Because there is enough food for everyone to eat! Because SCARCITY is a patriarchal LIE! Because a woman should not have to USE HER BODY to get a meal or have a place to sleep! Because when we are hungry or homeless we have the RIGHT to get what we need by panning, busking or squatting! Because POVERTY is a form of VIOLENCE not necessary or natural! Because capitalism makes food a source of profit not a source of nutrition! BECAUSE FOOD GROWS ON TREES. Because we need COMMUNITY CONTROL. Because we need HOMES NOT JAILS! Because we need....FOOD NOT BOMBS



# PREFACE

## BY JO SWANSON

Once upon a time there was a small group of friends who thought they could change the world. They lived in a run-down house in a rough neighborhood. They had very little money and no political power at all. They had nothing to support their bold belief, other than youthful optimism and a marginal grip on ‘reality.’ With no heat, they sat around the stove through cold winter nights and talked about their ideas. They made plans. They dreamed out loud.

One day they cooked a pot of soup and went downtown. They set up a makeshift table and served that soup to hungry people, right in front of a big fat bank. The warm and well-dressed wealthy walked on by, pretending not to see. I was there that day. I brought a drum and played it. It was the only thing I could think of to do, besides occasional turns at the table, serving soup. Drumming was something I could do well and I happened to have a drum. So I played until my fingers bled, believing that, if I didn’t give up, I could make those people see us. Then maybe they would do something about the terrible injustice of hunger that was right before their eyes.

Thirty years later: I walked across the street to take a break from work. It was a warmish spring day, though there was still plenty of snow on the mountains. I bought a cup of tea and read flyers at the café, mostly announcements for concerts here in Durango and nearby Telluride. One of them had a familiar logo, a purple fist wielding an orange carrot. ‘Food Not Bombs Co-Founder, Keith McHenry, to speak at Fort Lewis College,’ it proclaimed.

‘Lunch will be served.’ I pulled out my cell phone and called my old friend.

“You’re coming to Durango?”

“I was going to call you, it’s been real busy around here.”

“You have to stay at my place.”

“Sure, meet me at the college.”

On the designated day I went to the college but Keith was not there. He had been delayed on his way from San Francisco. A handful of young people stood around a folding table with tea and soup. They looked a bit concerned. A small crowd waited on the benches nearby. After a moment of internal debate I approached the table.

“Listen, if you need someone to fill in, I can talk about Food Not Bombs. I’m a co-founder too.”

The kids were grateful, the crowd was polite, and I made it through the impromptu speech without too many side-trips into my own, personal stories. Of course, I could not talk about anything Food Not Bombs has done in the past ten years, since I left San Francisco and moved to this quiet mountain town. But before that time I was always in proximity to the action. I could talk about the long lines of homeless people waiting in front of City Hall, the arrests and beatings of volunteers, the buckets of soup and bags of bread hurled onto the sidewalk and smashed under officers’ boots. We had a radio station back then, unlicensed of course, from which we would broadcast Keith’s calls from prison. With each arrest, Food Not Bombs grew bigger. Oppression was like a fertilizer, every time that boot stamped down it only served to till the earth and push the seeds of resistance deeper. New groups sprouted up all over the world. When I left San Francisco, I knew Food Not Bombs didn’t need me anymore; it had a life of its own.



People come to eat with one of the Moscow Food Not Bombs chapters in the Russian capital



Food Not Bombs volunteers risk arrest sharing vegan meals in Orlando, Florida

After the speech, I hung out with the local FNB group for a while. Young, clear-eyed and kindhearted, they had abundant ideas for ways to build a better world. For the past decade, I have been concerned with building sheds, fences and garden beds. I have been writing, trying to make a difference with language; words are my drumbeats now. I had forgotten about Building with a big B. That's when you take a bold idea and step out into the world with it, to make it real by the sheer force of belief and action. That's what these kids were doing. I was proud of them, but didn't say so, hoping not to seem like a dotty old grandma.

Keith arrived late that night. He drove an aging, blue school bus, painted with flowers and 'Food Not Bombs' on its side. It rattled down the dirt road under moonlight, past silent fields, looking only a little out of place. It was great to see him again. We talked about our lives; he had been touring Europe, meeting Food Not Bombs groups and speaking in Paris, Berlin, Amsterdam. I had been doing the usual - working, building (small b), and writing writing—boom boom boom. We spoke of old friends, that long-ago group of dreamers. We didn't all stay with Food Not Bombs of course. We followed our individual paths. We became teachers, writers, dancers, clowns, even parents. The one common thread is that we're all still trying to make the world a better place.

Not long after Keith's visit, I went down to the riverside park on a Sunday where Durango FNB serves their weekly meal. The picnic tables were well populated, not only with people eating; this particular group had initiated a 'Free

Market.' Blankets were spread on the grass, with items that you could just take if you wanted. I got a couple of books and some seed potatoes for the garden. Then I grabbed a plate and joined a few of the older folks on a bench.

"Isn't this wonderful?" A woman asked me. I nodded, mouth full. "It's so nice to see young people doing something good with their lives. It makes me think there's still hope for this crazy world."

"Mmm Hmm," I replied. "That's the best thing about it."

The simple act of sharing is a powerful force. It is the opposite of greed. It exposes the lie of scarcity and necessary deprivation. If we can do away with greed, we will do away with hunger, poverty and war. Greed will not be wished out of existence, but we can shove it out with the practice of radical, public sharing. This book is a map, not the actual road. Take it and blaze your own trail to a better world. Let your dreams guide you and your heart always have the final say. If you do the best you can with whatever you have, you WILL find your way. Thirty years ago, that was just a bold belief, now I know it's true. Have a good time, bon voyage. . . and thank you.

Jo Swanson

Food Not Bombs Co-founder

Durango, Colorado, August 24th, 2010



Food Not Bombs sharing food at a protest for the right to squat empty buildings in Lithuania

# AN INTRODUCTION AFTER THE RIOTS

My young Serbian guide, Rebel Mouse, pried open a crack in the metal fence that surrounded the old brick mansion in central Belgrade. I followed him down a garden path, over piles of bricks to a skeleton of a stairway and up to the top floor. After stumbling around in the dark, Rebel Mouse suggested we enter one of the doors. Five young Food Not Bombs volunteers were sitting on water soaked mattresses in the only warm room of the building they called Rebel House. They warmed their hands over an electric heater. A dim yellow bulb lit our conversation which quickly turned to war. It started with their interest in the movie *Bowling for Columbine*. "Was Michael Moore's movie true? Do Americans have guns?" they asked. I had just finished Moore's latest book, *Dude, Where's My Country?* and reported he was supporting Wesley Clark for President. Emma was seventeen, dimly lit face framed with waves of natural red hair. She was dedicated to Food Not Bombs when she wasn't busy with her courses in medicine. "Wesley Clark for President? You must be kidding? Wesley Clark destroyed our country!" Emma couldn't contain herself. "I went to stay at my mother's apartment the first night of the war. She lives on the tenth floor. We sat nervously watching the war start on TV. My mother started to rock back and forth in her chair. I never saw her like this. As images of jets and missiles crossed the television screen she rocked faster and faster. Sirens were blaring outside. Then suddenly the apartment building rocked. The reporter announced that cruise missiles had destroyed a radio tower in the outskirts of Belgrade. Then an explosion and everything went dark. My mother screamed that we had to get to the basement. I took her hand and led her down the stairs, feeling the wall with my other hand. Other residents were also stumbling down the stairs. A few minutes after we arrived in the basement, there was another explosion and screams at the door. Someone opened the metal latch and my uncle fell into the room covered in blood. Shards of glass sticking out of his face."

Emma was also working as an intern at a hospital. "There are over 700 children in our hospital. The depleted uranium dropped on Serbia caused these children to be born without arms, legs, eyes . . . one child has an arm growing out of the top of his head. Americans should see what Wesley Clark has done." They shared story after story about surviving the war,

watching cruise missiles lumber slowly above the streets of Belgrade until they found their target. Everyone lost friends and family. Then I asked to use their toilet. "We use the crater in the room across the hall. Watch out that you don't fall in." Their toilet was made by a misfired cruise missile that crashed through the roof and failed to explode.

Back home in Taos, New Mexico, I was sharing lunch at the plaza. I noticed a friend, Mary, sitting with her bowl of rice and vegetables sobbing, tears streaming down her cheeks. "Keith, I can't take it anymore. I just can't believe we could lose our home." She wiped the tears from the right side of her face. I sat next to her and gently held her. "We had tried the Obama Administration's "Making Home Affordable Program," but it wasn't any help. Our application was shared with every mortgage modification company and they have been calling night and day with false promises of help." Her husband couldn't get work. No one was hiring builders and he was growing more frustrated each day. Her marriage was strained to the breaking point. She worried for her two young children. Her American dream had become the American nightmare.

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This book was written to encourage people like yourself to participate in Food Not Bombs. To work to end the tragic brutality recounted in stories like those shared by Emma; to end an economic and political system that causes the suffering of people like my friend Mary. I hope you will be inspired to rush out and take action as soon as you finish reading this book. This book also comes out at a time when people are rising up against the austerity programs that are increasing hunger and poverty. High food prices are sparking riots and driving dictators from their thrones. While the "Arab Spring" gave hope to millions it has also made it clear that the most important actions can happen "after the riots," when corporate power seeks to replace the fallen government with another one that they also control. The old communist dictators became the new democratic leaders with the blessings of global capital. Young activists face the same crisis in North Africa and the Middle East. Filling the power vacuum created by natural, economic or political crisis with a

compassionate, community-based system where everyone participates and no one goes hungry or lives in poverty, is the central objective of Food Not Bombs. More than collecting, cooking and sharing free food with the hungry and at protests, Food Not Bombs volunteers are practicing working together using consensus and implementing their visions independent of government or corporate control. This is one reason why we are considered a threat. Our efforts might be small, but they are the foundation of any sustained transition to a self-governed community.

Everyone needs food. Rioters need food. Communities freed from corporate domination will need to eat and the skills required to collect and share food can be translated into the growing of food, providing safe fresh water, providing shelter, healthcare, education, entertainment and all the things a healthy, free community would desire. Our groups strive to make decisions using consensus so that everyone has access to determining the direction of the community. We seek to build interest in our ideas by always displaying our Food Not Bombs banner and providing literature at every meal to encourage dialogue on the subjects most affecting the public. We also provide healthy food, making it possible for people to be free to follow their dreams.

There are many actions you can take. You don't have to volunteer with our group, but you might start by participating with the Food Not Bombs movement until you find what moves you the most. If your community doesn't have a local group you can initiate a chapter. There are organic gardens to cultivate, homeless families to house, and exploitive policies and damaging corporate activities to stop. There are environmental, peace and social justice campaigns to plan, and activists to feed. There is an emergency and it will take everyone working together in earnest to implement the changes necessary for a sustainable future. The more people that practice these skills with Food Not Bombs, the better prepared we will be to support one another after the riots and the less likely it will be in vain and our movement will be co-opted.

You can make a difference. When my friends and I first started Food Not Bombs, we couldn't have imagined the impact it would have thirty years later. We couldn't pay our rent, but we had the enthusiasm and desire to confront the policies of the Reagan Revolution. We tried to have the most impact possible on society by making the most of what little we had: time and imagination.

If we had any hope of changing society we had to make as powerful an impression as we could on as many people as our resources would allow. Our message would be ignored if it was confined to an office. We wouldn't motivate anyone if we didn't get their attention. So, we set out to show it was possible to feed the hungry, tasty, vegetarian meals under the banner Food Not Bombs while performing colorful spectacles illuminating the critical issues of the day to live music. To back up our ideas with deeds, we recovered soon to be discarded food and provided free groceries to hundreds of New England's hungriest families at housing projects, soup kitchens and shelters. We provided meals to protesters and helped organize marches, rallies and other actions

to protest the policies of Reagan and his corporate masters. It worked.

Before long, we attracted volunteers, food, donations, and invitations to share food at protests from Maine to Washington, DC. Our daily, dependable food collection and distribution built credibility. We walked our talk. At first we thought it would be fun, but experiencing the gratitude of the people we fed couldn't have been more rewarding. We thought we might wake a few people up to the idea that our world would be a lot better if we redirected some of our military spending towards domestic priorities, but we sure couldn't have predicted that in thirty years there would be volunteers organizing for social change and feeding the hungry with Food Not Bombs groups in over 1,000 communities around the world.

People really got interested in starting local Food Not Bombs groups when we faced intense police interference. First, when police made nearly 100 arrests in San Francisco in 1988. With each wave of arrests and beatings after that, there came another wave of new Food Not Bombs groups. Every campaign against Food Not Bombs inspired the creation of more groups, and existing chapters responded by adding meals to their schedule or by organizing Homes Not Jails housing takeovers. Arrests in communities around California inspired more groups all over the world. New arrests in other states were followed by the formation of more groups in every corner of the world. Economic crisis, strikes, wars, earthquakes, hurricanes, repressive laws, free trade agreements, racist attacks, animal abuse and threats to the environment motivated people to participate in Food Not Bombs. The arrests in Orlando, Florida and the support of cyber activists calling themselves the Peoples Liberation Front attracted more interest in Food Not Bombs. Most importantly, our literature tables and meals shared under the banner Food Not Bombs invited conversation and participation in our movement. The message of Food Not Bombs has traveled throughout the world by word of mouth, flyers, videos, fanzines, the Internet, web, music, news reports and, most importantly, by example.

The joy of sharing free food with the hungry has inspired volunteers to overcome the obstacles of personal poverty and bureaucracy. The dream of a world at peace with abundance can seem within reach while doing the work of Food Not Bombs. Food Not Bombs is an antidote to the sense of hopelessness that many people can feel with the magnitude of today's economic, political and environmental crisis. The joy of sharing food and working for social change is an inspiration for volunteers around the world. Both volunteers and the people that depend on our food have expressed that Food Not Bombs has changed their lives. A young mother with three girls came across the Food Not Bombs table I was staffing outside the Food Conspiracy Co-op on Fourth Avenue in Tucson, Arizona, in the days before the United States launched its "Shock and Awe" attack on Iraq. "Food Not Bombs! You saved my life!" As one of her girls tugged on her blouse to go and the other two squirmed, she opened her purse and pulled out a twenty

dollar bill and placed it into our donation can. “I was on the way to the bridge over the Sacramento River to throw my girls and myself to our death when I happened upon your people sharing food in the park. They were so nice and treated us with respect. The other agencies humiliated me and I couldn’t take it anymore, but Food Not Bombs was different, so I gave up my plan to end my life.”

The three principles of Food Not Bombs provide our strength and make it possible for people to organize local chapters in a variety of cultures and economic situations. In particular, most social movements that start in the United States are quickly crushed or co-opted by corporate interests or the government, but this has not happened with Food Not Bombs. Our decentralized, nonhierarchical structure and use of consensus for direct democracy has protected Food Not Bombs from co-optation. The founders of Food Not Bombs thought that there might be a way to encourage the public to seek an end to war and poverty, with a living theater and mutual aid on the streets. No lengthy theories and long winded speeches to bore the public. We also made sure there would never be any charismatic leaders for the authorities to discredit or leadership for them to replace. Food Not Bombs is about action, reliability, respect, trust and relationships in the community. We are about making sure everyone is free to express their best self and has the food, clothing, healthcare and housing they deserve. In short, we were searching for a way to reach a public unfamiliar with alternative ways of organizing society and of relating to our fellow animal and human beings. Every bowl of free food that a Food Not Bombs volunteer shares with their community is a step in that direction.

I started writing this book in Washington, D.C., during the first years of the Obama administration, sitting in an air-conditioned cafe, on breaks from baking bread in a solar oven on Pennsylvania Avenue outside the White House to encourage, as our banner said, “The Change We Knead Now!” Congress was creating a national healthcare bill. America was struggling with unemployment at levels near those of the Great Depression, and over three million families foreclosed on their homes. There were reports of a global food crisis, food riots and escalating wars against Afghanistan and Pakistan.

In November 2009, I received news of the police confiscating a Food Not Bombs banner during the weekly meal in Flagstaff, Arizona, and reports that health inspectors had ordered the Lancaster, Pennsylvania chapter to stop feeding the hungry after a land-mine manufacturer made a complaint to city officials. Police took plates of food out of the hands of hungry people who were hoping to eat with Food Not Bombs in Concord, California. The city of Orlando took Food Not Bombs to the eleventh circuit court of appeals in Atlanta after the district court ruled the city had violated the group’s right to free expression and ordered the city to pay our attorneys \$200,000. But Food Not Bombs lost the appeal on April 12, 2011. The court ruled that the First Amendment rights of Food Not Bombs were “protected” since the Orlando law let

us share food and literature twice a year per park. Phil and the other Florida activists called me in Taos reporting that the police had raided the Ft. Lauderdale Food Not Bombs house and that cities all over the state were about to pass laws against the sharing of meals with the hungry. I toured Florida in May 2011, helping each chapter collect, cook and share vegan meals. I also spoke to audiences about the history and principles of Food Not Bombs. While free, I spent my nights sleeping in my 1987 chevy van, drifting off to sleep listening to the news on the BBC: drone attacks mixed with environmental crisis including floods, droughts and extreme weather followed by reports of famine, economic failures in Europe, the United States and threats of another economic recession or even depression. The city of Orlando started arresting Food Not Bombs volunteers on June 1, 2011. I was arrested a second time on June 22nd and spent 17 days in the freezing cold Orange County jail. The news only became more dire once I was liberated from my media-free stay behind bars. One crisis after another encouraged me to complete this book and strengthen the Food Not Bombs movement.

Each year Food Not Bombs activists meet at regional and national gatherings and share news about the increase in people coming to eat and stories of new laws designed to drive poverty out of sight. Activists at the 2008 gathering in Nashville were already alarmed by poverty, but a few months after we met, the American economy crashed. As I traveled to help local Food Not Bombs groups, I saw more and more families arriving at our meals looking like ghosts from Dorothea Lange’s Great Depression photos. Children with smudged faces and large frightened eyes clung to their mother’s legs. “Food Not Bombs saved my son’s life,” explained one woman. “If it wasn’t for the Food Not Bombs kids in Gainesville, he would not have survived to birth.” People that had been living average middle class suburban lives were showing up to eat, having moved in with their families or friends after foreclosing on their homes. Some people reported that they were camping at the state park or told us they ate at Food Not Bombs so they would have enough money to pay their mortgage.

The picture is even more devastating globally. In 2011, the number of people who went to bed hungry grew from 800 million to over a billion in less than a year, not because it was impossible to grow enough for all to eat, but because of the selfish policies of corporate leaders and the governments they control. Over 25,000 people perish each day unable to get enough food. According to the World Bank, the cost of the seven most important food staples increased from December 2006 to March 2008 by 71 percent on average. Rice and grain prices increased by 126 percent, forcing families in the poorest countries to spend between 60 to 80 percent of their income on food. Sir John Holmes, undersecretary general for humanitarian affairs and the UN’s emergency relief coordinator, noted in 2008, that, “The security implications [of the food crisis] should also not be underestimated as food riots are already being reported across the globe. Current food price trends are likely to increase sharply both the incidence and depth of food insecurity.”

The June 16, 2010 edition of *The Guardian* (United Kingdom) published a report on the future of food prices, saying that, "Food prices are set to rise as much as 40 percent over the coming decade amid growing demand from emerging markets and for biofuel production, according to a United Nations report today which warns of rising hunger and food insecurity." Later that summer, fires and droughts in Russia reduced the country's wheat harvest, causing the government to declare that they would not export any of that year's harvest. 25 percent of the Russian wheat harvest was lost in 2010. Wheat prices climbed 50 percent in the two months after the United Nations announcement, in June, of their concern that food costs would increase by 40 percent during the next few years. Pakistan lost half a million tons of wheat as well as much of its rice crop because of the 2010 catastrophic floods. World rice prices increased in 2010 after 15 to 20 percent of Pakistan's summer crop was destroyed in that country's worst flood in a generation. There were droughts and then floods in Niger. The United Nations claims more than seven million people in Niger face food shortages because of the floods. Eleven million people were facing starvation in Eastern Africa in the summer of 2011. These are signs that climate change is already contributing to hunger. It was reported, "The world may be on the brink of a major new food crisis caused by environmental disasters and rampant market speculation, the UN was warned today at an emergency meeting on food price inflation," at the emergency meeting of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization on September 24, 2010. The "Food Outlook Report", issued in November 2010 by the UN FAO, predicted prices would increase dramatically to levels as high as the levels in 2007 and 2008 that sparked riots. On January 5, 2011, news headlines announced "Food Prices Just Hit An All Time High." World hunger was increasing. Commodities speculation, the increased use of food for ethanol, droughts, floods and extreme temperatures from the changing climate, and finally, corporate claims of ownership to tens of thousands of years of genetic history by patenting seeds were driving up food prices and hunger.

The cost of food is increasing from the seeds to the plate. The increased use of genetically engineered crops is one of the factors most contributing to the global rise in hunger. Corn seed prices rose 32 percent in 2009, and soybean seeds were up 24 percent from 2009 to 2010. Many farmers are not able to grow their own seeds and are now forced to buy new seeds every season from companies like Monsanto. These seeds often require special chemicals to germinate and additional designer chemicals are required as fertilizers, herbicides and pesticides. Farmers are under pressure to borrow huge sums from banks to purchase the chemicals and equipment required in their contracts with suppliers and buyers. Tens of thousands of farmers are forced off their land each year as they find it impossible to pay their loans. Hundreds of farmers commit suicide each year, notably in India, distraught over losing a way of life passed on from generation to generation. Thousands of acres of fertile land are sold to housing speculators or retail malls just to pay off loans incurred trying to farm genetically engineered produce.

With little in the way of competition, seed prices will increase. Just ten global corporations control 67 percent of the commercial seed industry with half of that being controlled by Monsanto, DuPont, and Syngenta. "We now believe that Monsanto has control over as much as 90 percent of (seed genetics). This level of control is almost unbelievable," said Neil Harl, agricultural economist at Iowa State University, who has studied the seed industry for decades. "The upshot of that is that it's tightening Monsanto's control, and makes it possible for them to increase their prices long term. And we've seen this happening the last five years, and the end is not in sight." If a farmer tries to harvest their own seeds they can be sued by Monsanto. The company claims they get as many as 500 tips a year about farmers harvesting their own seeds or otherwise failing to pay Monsanto for seeds that may have been contaminated with their genetic information. Percy Schmeiser might be the most famous farmer of Monsanto's victims after the company contaminated his canola crop, canola that was handed down from his father and grandfather, cultivated for nearly a hundred years on his family's farm in Bruno, Saskatchewan. Homan McFarling was also sued by Monsanto for planting seeds he had saved from the year before at his 5,000-acre farm in Shannon, Mississippi. Some farmers have even been sentenced to jail for "hiding" seeds from Monsanto, seeds contaminated by Monsanto. This contamination is not limited to commercial farmers. Hopi elders claim that 30 percent of their ancient corn may have been cross pollinated with genetically engineered crops.

Most genetically engineered crops are subsidized by U. S. taxpayers and fed to animals for use in fast food establishments or low-quality, packaged meals. According to the latest United Nations studies, industrial agriculture is responsible for nearly 70 percent of global freshwater consumption, using 38 percent of all land used for human purposes and causing 19 percent of the world's greenhouse gas emissions. This is largely due to corporate farming of subsidized meat. United Nations FAO's report "Livestock's Long Shadow," claims that 18 percent of all greenhouse gas emissions can be linked to animal agriculture. These are only some of the examples that hunger and poverty is an increasingly urgent crisis.

At the same time I was working on this book, the United States Congress was busy drafting a Federal Food Safety law. The U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention estimates that 76 million people in the United States get sick every year with food-borne illness, resulting in over 5,000 deaths nationwide. Massive industrial farming operations are responsible for most cases of illness from food. Even so, the new Food Safety laws do not address the most dangerous aspects of industrial agriculture. Millions of animals living in cramped conditions fed genetically engineered grains provide the perfect environment to promote disease in giant stockyards, airless poultry sheds, and high-speed slaughter facilities. The Food Safety Modernization Act was drafted with the aid of Michael Taylor, the Monsanto executive responsible for the com-



pany's campaigns to block the labeling of genetically engineered foods and conceal the dangers of rBGH growth hormones in dairy cattle. He not only helped draft the bill, but President Obama appointed him to be America's first Food Safety Czar. The Food Safety Modernization Act is supported by corporate interests like the Snack Food Association, General Mills, and Kraft Foods North America, while opposed by the National Family Farm Coalition and the Small Farms Conservancy. The cost of compliance for small organic farmers could force them out of business or underground at a time when many Americans are starting to support community based agriculture, buying their food at farmers markets as well as cultivating their own gardens. Some of the requirements might be both expensive and harmful to the nutrition of organically grown food. These policies also support the system that transports food an average of 1,500 miles from farm to plate. Disruptions in access to oil are already leading to food shortages with an increase in cost of healthy meals, food shortages only worsen. Many of these regulations require large amounts of money for compliance and favor industrial food producers, while threatening to bankrupt local agriculture. The Food Safety Modernization Act could contribute to an increase in the cost of food and may reduce its nutritional value as well. As food corporations seek more power, more people will go hungry, and what food people can afford will not be any safer to consume.

While hunger, homelessness and poverty increase, military spending is at an all time high. World military expenditures were estimated to be \$1.531 trillion in 2009. The United States spent over \$800 billion on its war against Iraq, while it increased its spending to \$6.7 billion per month in Afghanistan in 2010. Obama asked for even more military spending in 2011 while suggesting he would cut social security, medicare and other social services in a "budget compromise" with the Tea Party Republicans. Over 44 million Americans depended on food stamps as their country spent billions on its military. The global environment and economy are in crisis. We are facing unimaginable horrors under the current corporate and political leadership. Corporations are free to buy American elections. European governments are following America's example, cutting essential services while bailing out the transnational corporations. Chaos rules in every corner of the earth. By the time you read, this things could be so much more dire that these facts might look good. There has never been a more important time for people to participate in the work of Food Not Bombs.

This book is intended to replace our first book, *Food Not Bombs, How to Feed the Hungry and Build Community*, reflecting the changes Food Not Bombs has experienced over the past three decades. Food Not Bombs has grown to a global movement, so the details that once focused on the United States now seek to include all areas of the world from the ingredients in our recipes, legal issues that Food Not Bombs volunteers might face, to the data about hunger and food waste. Since we published our first book, there have been many changes in technology so this book includes information on how it is possible to use the web, internet

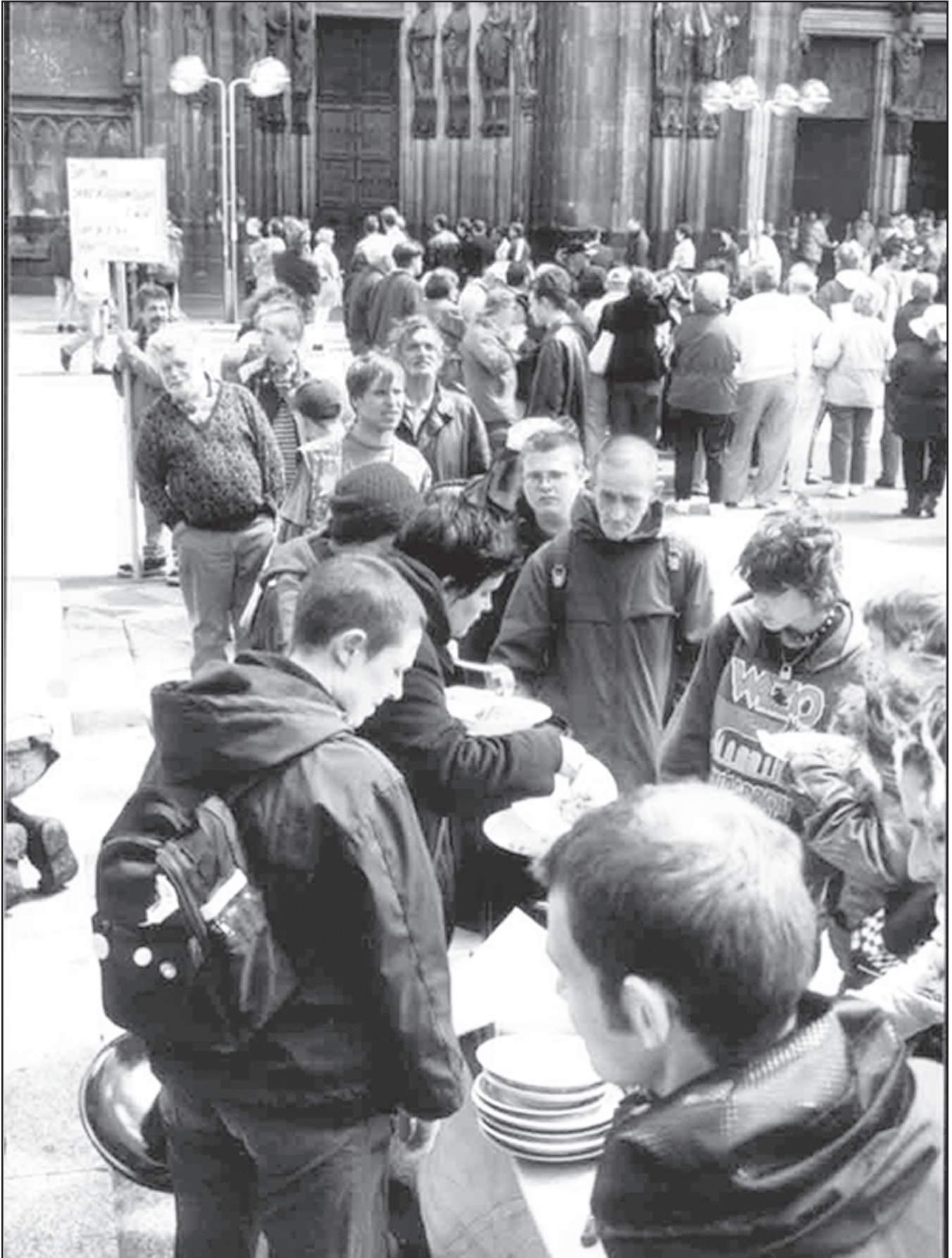
and mobile phones as tools in the organizing of your local Food Not Bombs chapter. People have also suggested that the book would be more useful if it included recipes for smaller numbers of people; therefore, we have included recipes for groups of four to six people. During my travels, I also found that volunteers in other countries used different measurements so I try to include all the major ways of measuring out the ingredient in each recipe. I briefly cover all thirty years of Food Not Bombs in this volume but intend to write a more detailed account in a second book. This book also includes a timeline of major events in the history of Food Not Bombs and samples of flyers, forms and other resources your local group can use to be more effective.

So many volunteers have dedicated years of their own lives to working with Food Not Bombs that many people are qualified and experienced enough to write books about the movement from their perspective. This book is in no way meant to be the "official manual" or last word about Food Not Bombs. Food Not Bombs is a living, dynamic global project, and this book reflects some of what I have experienced during my thirty years of volunteering with this inspiring movement. I have done what I can to incorporate the many lessons, ideas and innovations people have shared with me over the decades. This book also reflects information I've been blessed to receive from Food Not Bombs activists in many areas of the world and from my work helping people start local chapters or assisting with the many problems groups encounter. It is an honor to be a part of Food Not Bombs, and I hope you will be inspired to participate and consider dedicating your time and ideas to seeking an end to war, poverty, exploitation, and the destruction of the environment; while building a sustainable future free of coercion, violence, and suffering.

After seeing all that has been possible so far, who knows what the Food Not Bombs movement will achieve in the future? From our humble start sharing vegetarian meals during our performances in Harvard Square and daily food distribution to the residents of public housing in the Boston Area, Food Not Bombs has become a global movement sharing food and literature in over 1,000 communities. By organizing Homes Not Jails housing occupations, free radio stations, Food Not Lawns community gardens, and setting up Really Really Free Markets in local parks, we are on our way to building the world we know is possible. Is it possible that Food Not Bombs will move from being a colorful subculture to becoming part of the foundation of a new society of peace, justice and well-being? Time will tell.

Food Not Bombs can provide some direction after the riots, replacing the corporate dominated system with one that respects the ideas and rights of everyone in our community. We have the possibility of building a world where everyone is safe and has all they require. This is our time to make something better and lasting. We hope you will join us after the riots and help us make a world with food not bombs.

**Food Not Bombs co-founder Keith McHenry**



Food Not Bombs shares lunch outside the Cologne Cathedral in Germany

# SECTION ONE

## SOLIDARITY NOT CHARITY

### THE PRINCIPLES OF FOOD NOT BOMBS

1. The food is always vegan or vegetarian and free to everyone, without restriction, rich or poor, stoned or sober.
2. Food Not Bombs has no formal leaders or headquarters, and every group is autonomous and makes decisions using the consensus process.
3. Food Not Bombs is dedicated to nonviolent direct action and works for nonviolent social change.

*“They don’t want to feed the hungry, they just want to make an anarchist type statement and we aren’t going to allow it.”*

— San Francisco Police Captain Dennis Martel

The name Food Not Bombs states our most fundamental principle: society needs to promote life, not death. Implement the positive and end cooperation with the negative. Live in a world of abundance and stop fearing a future of scarcity. Celebrate with love, not hate; cooperation instead of domination; and compassion, not exploitation. Food not bombs. Devote our time and resources for the real security of food, shelter, education and healthcare instead of on weapons, military forces, prisons and social control. By sharing free food without restrictions, we illustrate the fact that there is an abundance of the things we need and that scarcity is a fiction that benefits a small minority. By sharing free meals under the banner Food Not Bombs, the founders of Food Not Bombs seek to educate the public with a message about the national priorities of the United States, pointing out that half the Federal budget was spent on the military, including debts from past wars, while millions went hungry every day. Our society condones, and even promotes, violence

and domination. Authority and power are primarily derived from the threat and use of violence. This affects our everyday lives through the constant threat of crime, domestic violence, police repression, war and even the threat of total annihilation from nuclear war and policies that speed damaging effects of global climate change. Such constant exposure to violence, including the threat of it, leads many people to feel hopeless, helpless, and have low self-esteem. Economic exploitation is another common form of violence, and the fear of poverty and homelessness causes many to work long hours for low wages under stressful or dangerous conditions. All of this would be unnecessary if it were not for the need of the wealthy to dominate and control the public so they can maintain their power and prosperity. The use of bombs is the ultimate tool of repression. The principle goal of Food Not Bombs is to mobilize the people to withdraw their cooperation from this system of violence and coercion. To change society so no one is forced to be hungry. Food Not Bombs has never been considered a charity. Our volunteers are dedicated to taking nonviolent direct action for human rights, animal liberation, the environment and an end to exploitation and war.

The economic and political systems themselves are violent. Poverty is their most pervasive form of violence, and one expression of the violence of poverty is hunger. Over a billion people struggle to have enough to eat because of the decisions of business and government leaders. Trade agreements and laws forcing genetically engineered seeds and chemicals on farmers, commodity speculation, and taxpayer subsidies to agribusiness directly increase hunger. The absence of democracy and access to information are the leading cause of hunger and poverty, not drought, pests and floods; and, therefore, the solution to ending world hunger is the dismantling of our political and economic systems. Of course, we need to make sure everyone has enough to eat today, but if we really want to end hunger we need more than charity, we need to withdraw our cooperation with those institutions responsible for global poverty and create our own democratic, self-sustainable communities.

The Food Not Bombs movement provides food and logistical support to activists protesting war, poverty, exploitation and domination, while replacing that abusive culture with one of abundance, cooperation, equality and peace. Our volunteers are working to replace an unsustainable political and economic system with a decentralized democratic set of grassroots solutions that address the real needs of everyone. Food Not Bombs is an organization devoted to developing positive personal, political, and economic alternatives. Revolutionaries are often depicted as working for the overthrow of the government by any means necessary. Food Not Bombs groups spend more resources building a sustainable future than attacking the current system, ready to help with a new vision, ready to create a world “after the riots.” However, this does not mean we never struggle to end militarism and consumerism. By simply exerting our basic rights to free speech and association, we expose the exploitive violent nature of the political and economic system. In 1988, corporate and government leaders in the United States started to fear that our message and ideas could become popular and threaten their control so they organized a campaign of arrests, beatings, disinformation and litigation in an attempt to silence us. After months of negotiating with the authorities, it became clear that they feared our message and fully meant it when the San Francisco Police told the media that they didn’t mind that we were feeding the hungry, but what did concern them was that we “are making a political statement, and that’s not allowed.”

It cannot be stressed enough that Food Not Bombs is not a charity and is working to inspire a dramatic change in society. Sharing food for free without restriction is a revolutionary act in a culture devoted to profit. Sharing food, clothing, time and compassion with no expecta-

tions has a powerful political impact. As the global economy and environment crash from one emergency to another, more people are discovering the folly of seeking wealth on the stock exchange or of relying on pensions, guns or gold and silver to provide security. People really need safe food, water, air, shelter, clothing and, most importantly, community. Food Not Bombs volunteers are building new alternatives and life-affirming structures from the ground up. We want to replace the consumerist death culture with a cooperative culture of “Daycare Not Warfare,” “Clean Water Not Chemical Weapons,” “Food Not Lawns,” “Homes Not Jails,” “Really, Really, Free Markets,” “Bikes Not Bombs” and “Health Care Not Warfare.” The Food Not Bombs model can be applied to all aspects of our community. As community after community experiences one crisis after another, more people are adopting the principles that have made it possible for Food Not Bombs to flourish for over three decades.

Food Not Bombs volunteers respond to poverty and lack of self-esteem in at least two ways. First, we provide food in an open, respectful way to whoever wants it without restriction, rich or poor, sober or not. We will not make people jump through any bureaucratic hoops designed to control, humiliate and often punish people without money. Second, we invite people who receive the food to become involved in participating in the collection, cooking or sharing of the food. Food Not Bombs volunteers work in solidarity with many members of their community and encourage everyone’s participation in all aspects of our local chapters, including help with decision making. People eating with Food Not Bombs should never feel that they are in any way inferior to those who are sharing the food. We are all equal. This isn’t charity. This provides an opportunity for people to regain their power and recognize their ability to contribute and make a change. This could be one of the most important ways Food Not Bombs contributes to social change.

The idea of food recovery, or food “recycling,” is not the invention of Food Not Bombs. Individuals have been “gleaning,” “dumpster diving,” or “skipping” to find food for a long time. From the “Diggers” of San Francisco in the last years of the 1960s to the “Diggers” of 1638 on Saint Georges Hill in England, and back tens of thousands of years to our hunting and gathering ancestors, people have been gleaning for food. Food Not Bombs is just a bit more organized and systematic about recovering surplus food. As a result, our volunteers can have more success at collecting larger amounts food, making it possible to make it available to more people. As the price of food

increases, store owners are starting to poison their discarded products, locking dumpsters, paying security guards to keep people from receiving what has been thrown out, and installing trash compactors to discourage this practice. A study published in 2009 reported that there was enough discarded food to provide all one billion hungry people with the nutrition they require to be healthy. Another study that same year showed that over 40 percent of the food produced in the United States was discarded. Food Not Bombs volunteers have overcome these obstacles by talking with produce workers, bakers and the owners of the smaller independent shops, and by organizing the collection of their surplus. Even with our system of collection, Food Not Bombs groups find that some of the food is just not fit to eat and must be composted. So the final destination for some of what our volunteers collect ends up in the compost piles at local community gardens, but not until all the edible food is distributed to the public. Therefore, it is a radical political act in today's wasteful society to recover large amounts of food in an organized and consistent manner to share with the hungry.

Although Food Not Bombs does not have a strict political platform, there is a general political philosophy with which it has become identified over the years. The three principles of Food Not Bombs were first formally suggested and adopted at the 1992 Food Not Bombs International Gathering in San Francisco. First, the food is always vegan or vegetarian and shared with anyone without restriction whether they are drunk or sober, rich or poor. Another principle is that each local group is independent and autonomous, has no leaders and uses consensus to make decisions. There is no president, headquarters, national office or board of directors. The third principle is that every Food Not Bombs group is dedicated to taking nonviolent direct action and social change. Every individual and group chooses its own values and politics within these broad set of principles. This chapter presents some of this philosophy from the author's own perspective gained from thirty years of interacting with Food Not Bombs activists from all over the world, but does not represent an "official" critique and makes it possible for every chapter to adapt to the local conditions and time in which they are operating, while providing a form of continuity and political philosophy at the core of our effort to change society.

## A New Society

*Food is a right, not a privilege.*

Like many other people, we are concerned about the direction in which the world is headed. Domination, violence, and killing seem to be the predominant choices of those with the most power in our society. This is what we often refer to as a culture of death. Acceptance of war, nuclear annihilation, environmental destruction, and genocide are widespread in popular culture, religious institutions, think tanks, corporate board rooms and the halls of government. More than ever, this death culture is pushing the idea that it is necessary for young people to join the army and kill to have peace. We have a society that suggests we can shop our way to a sustainable environment and poison our bodies to health. Peace through the threat of war is impossible, because using the threat of destruction as a way to prevent war is nothing but domination.

It is not lost upon us that the major contribution to stopping bombs is our withdrawal from the economic and political structures of the culture of death. As individuals, many of us engage in war-tax resistance; as an organization, we operate outside the dominant economic paradigm. We do not operate for a profit; in fact, we operate with very little money compared the value of the food we distribute. We generally ignore the authorities, having as little contact with them as possible; but, as we want exposure for our life-affirming alternatives, we never attempt to hide our intentions. It is unlikely that our plans and intentions could be hidden from the authorities anyway and, in fact, public knowledge of our plans for nonviolent direct action can become an essential aspect of our strategy. Dedication to our principles and an understanding of ourselves and our organizations as equals to the authorities are also essential to our ability to succeed at influencing positive social change. As Jonathan Schell wrote, "a new superpower possesses immense power, but it is a different kind of power: not the will of one man wielding the 21,000-pound MOAB bomb but the hearts and wills of the majority of the world's people."



Atlanta Food Not Bombs shares food near the birth place of Martin Luther King, Jr.



People waiting for Addas Ababa Food Not Bombs near Saint Georges Church in Ethiopia

*“Don’t ask me how to burn down a building. Ask me how to grow watermelons or how to explain nature to a child.”*

— Radical animal liberation activist Rod Coronado

### Nonviolence in Theory

Nonviolent resistance and noncooperation can be the most effective way to achieve long-lasting, positive social change. There is dignity in nonviolent resistance, a dignity needed to sustain change. To be effective, it is often necessary to have large numbers of supporters and be persistent. Your intentions should be clear to both the institutions resisting change and the people you intend to attract as supporters. Honesty and truth are your most important allies. While often difficult, compassion and respect for your opponents combined with truth and honesty are essential to undermining the power of even the most ruthless and inhumane institutions. The longer and more violent the repression, the harder it is to remain compassionate, but by retaining your integrity in the face of extreme conditions, you will often attract increased popular support and weaken the resolve of those forces hired to end your efforts. Your participants will also maintain their sense of pride and increase their feeling of empowerment the longer they remain dedicated to nonviolence. Nonviolence means responding to situations of injustice with action. However, nonviolence should not be confused with being passive. Withholding support and not cooperating with institutions and poli-

cies of violence, exploitation and injustice is a principal technique of nonviolent resistance. Just because your participants are dedicated to nonviolence, you can’t expect the authorities to restrain their violence. Often the state will increase its violence if it believes your campaign is becoming successful, but as repression grows so will your support. What might seem like months and maybe years of failure can change suddenly.

San Francisco Food Not Bombs persisted in sharing food every week for seven years of near daily arrests that became violent; and, in 1995, the local media, which had been very critical of our position, announced support for our work and ridiculed city officials for wasting money and resources on stopping our meals. Their reports reflected the perspective of corporate and political leaders in the Bay Area that came to see it was not possible to stop Food Not Bombs. Our persistence and dedication to nonviolence attracted public support. Our volunteers would not give up, knowing that, if we did, future efforts to silence Food Not Bombs groups in other cities could seem possible. The San Francisco Police officers hired to arrest and beat us withdrew their support for the campaign against Food Not Bombs and started to see themselves as allies of our volunteers against those ordering the repression. Seven years of building relationships with the officers caused the department leaders to first issue an order to “stop fraternizing” with our volunteers, and once it became clear that they could not count on their patrol men and

women to continue arresting and beating us with enough enthusiasm they called off the whole project. The officers grew to see we were honest, caring people and not the anti-American criminals bent on disobeying the law out of self interest as they had been told by their superiors. Corporate and government leaders ended the campaign in order to protect their illusion of control; worried that if it became clear to the public that our persistence and relationships with the police had worked, more sectors of the community might withdraw their support for their authority. Imagine if the patrol officers were perceived by the public as refusing orders. What would be next?

It is extremely important that we act in a manner which is consistent with our values. We want a future safe from violence and exploitation. It is never in our interest to use violence against the police or others. Campaigns of violence, even against the most unethical opponents, can be very disempowering and, even if successful at overpowering the opposition, they put in a new institution that relies on violence to protect its authority. If the power changes hands after a campaign of nonviolence, it is more likely that the new institutions will have popular support and maintain their power through consent of the people. On the practical side, the dominant power usually can muster significantly more violent force than we can. The authorities strive to engage their opponents in a realm where they have the advantage, such as armed conflict. But, more philosophically, we don't want to use power for domination in our efforts for social change. Imagine if San Francisco Food Not Bombs adopted a strategy of throwing rocks at the police when they came to arrest us. Instead of the public understanding our message that the government and corporations are intentionally redirecting resources towards the military while letting thousands go without food, the impression would have been that the police were justified in using violence to protect themselves and the community from criminals who have no respect for the public, let alone for the police. The media reported extensively for years about how violent our volunteers were after several frustrated activists tossed bagels over a line of riot police to hungry people blocked from getting to the food. We want to create a society based upon human rights and human needs, not dependent on the threat and use of violence. We do not want to dominate. We want to seek the truth and support each other as we work to resolve conflicts without violence.

Even the food we choose to serve is an expression of our commitment to nonviolence. We try to avoid using any animal products because we see the damage it does not only to the animals being exploited, but to ourselves, the environment and the economy. Mainstream food production is an inherently violent process, involving cruel living conditions and the slaughter of millions of animals and the poisoning of the air, water, soil and our own bodies with

chemical fertilizers, pesticides and genetically engineered food. The meat and dairy industries control government policies that primarily serve their own financial interests and not those of the public. We couldn't work for peace and ignore the violence of corporate food production that defines living beings as commodities and products to be manufactured and sold for profit. Our commitment to nonviolence also extends to working to end: the violence and pain of hunger and poverty; the fear of not being able to provide for oneself or one's family and friends; the violence that over a billion people barely survive every day as they seek enough nutrition to live another day; food that is withheld or too costly to purchase so corporate leaders can maximize their profits and power.

### **Nonviolence in Practice**

Food Not Bombs is a unique example of nonviolence in practice. When we were first arrested, supporters noted that sharing free food with the hungry is America's version of India's "Salt Marches." Even in 1988, hunger in America had become a national embarrassment. Arresting volunteers for sharing vegan meals with the hungry was a graphic example of the misguided policies of corporate and political leaders in the United States. Sharing vegan food in defiance of the state requires popular participation, just as with any other form of nonviolent resistance. Food Not Bombs adopted the use of consensus to make decisions as a key part of our practice of nonviolence.

As an organization, we strive to be very inclusive. Our decision-making process invites a diversity of participants to shape the direction of each Food Not Bombs chapter. There is room for all respectful political perspectives and for everyone to express themselves. For some, the decision to work for Food Not Bombs is a total change in lifestyle. For others, the decision is expressed through a commitment to life-affirming values while continuing to work at a job for pay in mainstream society. Still we are seeking to replace the current system based on violence. We try to value individuals for the contribution they offer, without any expectation that they be completely divorced from the status quo.

The practice of nonviolence includes respect for all cultural backgrounds. Our world is multicultural. Social and political structures should be sensitive to this reality. Challenging racism, classism, gender bias, homophobia and other oppressive behaviors is essential to creating a life-affirming, self-sustaining world. Everyone needs to be engaged in multicultural work, and this includes the members of Food Not Bombs, as well as those with whom we come in contact, both on the street and within the other service and political organizations with which we work.



Eating with Food Not Bombs in Reykjavik, Iceland



One of the unique ways in which Food Not Bombs engages in multicultural work is the creation of ways to share access to resources. Members identify and obtain food the wider community needs. We provide an example of how a small group of people with limited economic resources can make a big difference in the quality of life for many people by organizing and recovering a “waste product” of the existing society. It is our hope that the redistribution of resources other than food becomes an activity that is taken on by an increasingly larger number of people. After all, we are the people we are trying to serve.

Food Not Bombs groups are open and democratic. Regular meetings provide access for everyone to participate in the direction of the group. Meetings might not seem fun or necessary until your group learns to use consensus well and experiences the empowerment that can cultivate. Decisions are made using a process called consensus. Consensus creates an environment in which different opinions can be expressed without fear, and where conflicts can be resolved in a respectful, nonviolent manner. It is not a competition of ideas to see which one wins the favor of the group as happens with voting. Rather, it is working cooperatively to synthesize all ideas into the best possible decision for everyone involved. The consensus process strives to assure that everyone has an opportunity to share their point of view and to participate in decision making. Consensus does not mean that everyone thinks the same way, people can agree to disagree and still reach consensus.

People become empowered when encouraged to participate and take more responsibility for the decisions and actions of the group. This teaches them not only how to be powerful nonviolently, but also, how to seek access to power within Food Not Bombs and the other areas of society. We will never live in a society with equal power shared by all people. However, it is possible to imagine a world in which everyone has equal access to power, and along those lines, consensus is a process based upon the opportunity for all to participate in decision-making. The particular model your group chooses to use will be determined by your size and needs. Our use of consensus inspires dedication to the decisions of each Food Not Bombs group and makes it much more likely that everyone participating will have the greatest commitment to the goals and actions of our movement. It is hard for the authorities to successfully disrupt and stop Food Not Bombs since each volunteer has the experience of formulating the decisions of their chapter. The uprisings in early 2011 show how important it is to establish democratic organizations that are able to replace oppressive social structures before the vacuum is filled by a new set of dictators. The manual *On Conflict and Consensus* describes a model of consensus called “Formal Consensus,” the foundation for consensus used by many Food Not Bombs groups.



Food Not Bombs May Day action Germany



Eating lunch with Food Not Bombs in Poznan, Poland

# FOOD

*“A hungry man is an angry man”*

— Bob Marley, “Them Belly Full But We Hungry”

*“A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death.”*

— Martin Luther King, Jr.

The world produces enough food to feed everyone, if distributed equally. There is an abundance of food. In fact, in many countries, every day in every city, far more edible food is discarded than is needed to feed those who do not have enough to eat. Yet, over a billion people go hungry every day.

Consider this: Before food reaches your table, it is produced and handled by farmers, co-ops, manufacturers, distributors, wholesalers, and retailers. Some perfectly edible food is discarded for a variety of business reasons at every step. In the average city, approximately 10 percent of all solid waste is food. This is an incredible total of 50 billion pounds per year, or just under 200 pounds per person per year. Over \$100 billion worth of edible food a year is discarded in the United States. This is also true in many countries in Europe as well as in Australia, New Zealand, Japan and Canada. With the exception of Africa and parts of Asia, where the poverty is so great that little edible food is discarded, it is also possible to recover large amounts of food that can't be sold in nearly every community. Estimates indicate that only 4 billion pounds of food per year would be required to completely end hunger in the United States. A 2008 study by the Food Ethics Council in Eng-

land argues that excessive consumption of food by people in wealthy countries is increasing food prices for people in the developing world and that by utilizing the millions of tons of edible food that is thrown away each year in just the U.S. and U.K., more than a billion people could be lifted out of hunger worldwide. Clearly, there is an abundance of edible, recoverable food being thrown away. To recover this edible food and use it to feed people, three key elements must be combined. First, the food must be collected. Second, it must be organized or prepared in a form appropriate for consumption. Third, the food must be made easily accessible to those who are hungry.

The reason this is not already happening is no accident. We do not have a democratic say in how food is produced or distributed. People would certainly elect to have enough to eat, but in hierarchical economies where the threat of job loss allows owners to keep wages low, the intentional withholding of food helps increase its price. A policy of scarcity is essential to political and economic control. An underclass results from such policies that encourage domination and violence. In our society, it is acceptable to profit from other's suffering and misery.

Hunger, in the United States, is staggering. The U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) reported in 2008 that:

Of the 49.1 million people living in food insecure households (up from 36.2 million in 2007), 32.4 million are adults (14.4 percent of all adults) and 16.7 million are children (22.5 percent of all children). The U.S. Department of Agriculture report published in November 2010 showed that nearly 15 percent of all Americans or 49 million U.S. residents, including 17 million children, lacked adequate food at some point during 2009. The deterioration

in access to food during 2008, among both children and adults, far eclipses that of any other single year in the report's history.

It was reported that 17.3 million people lived in households that were considered to have "very low food security," a USDA term (previously denominated "food insecure with hunger") that means one or more people in the household were hungry over the course of the year because of the inability to afford enough food. This was up from 11.9 million in 2007 and 8.5 million in 2000.

"Very low food security" had been getting worse even before the recession. The number of people in this category in 2008 was more than double the number in 2000.

Race has a huge impact in the United States with 25.7 percent of black households and 26.9 percent of hispanic American households experiencing food insecurity in far higher rates than the national average.

Three-and-a-half million Americans over 65 years of age live in poverty and struggle to balance the needs of food, medicine, rent or heat each month.

The Agriculture Department said 39.68 million people, or 1 in 8 Americans, were enrolled for food stamps during February 2010, an increase of 260,000 from January of 2010. By February 2012, the number stood at 46, 224,722.

Global poverty and hunger is also increasing. The World Food Organization reports:

- 1.02 billion people in 2009 do not have enough to eat—more than the combined populations of USA, Canada and the European Union.
- 25,000 people (adults and children) died every day in 2009 from hunger and related causes.
- The number of undernourished people in the world increased by 75 million in 2007 and 40 million in 2008, largely due to higher food prices from speculation and the high cost of seeds and chemicals from introduction of genetically modified products that have forced many farmers into bankruptcy.
- 907 million people in developing countries were hungry during 2009.
- More than 60 percent of chronically hungry people of the world were women in 2009. Every six seconds a child dies because of hunger and related causes in 2009.

Clearly, the majority of people going hungry today are not the stereotyped homeless wandering America's streets or starving Africans. Hungry people are children and single parents (mostly women), the working poor, the unemployed, the elderly, the chronically ill, and those on fixed

incomes (such as veterans and people with physical and mental challenges/differences/disabilities). All of these people find themselves in the clutches of oppressive poverty even while trying to improve their condition. With the global economy in a state of crisis, many people who thought of themselves as middle class just a year or two ago are now finding that they must rely on soup kitchens and food banks to feed their families. Each month more and more people in the United States and other wealthy countries need to choose between paying rent, heat or food.

In 1988, Food Not Bombs published a flyer with the shocking information that the World Food Organization had reported that "15,000 people died every day from hunger and related causes." Every few years we found we had to change the number upwards. In 2008, our flyer said 24,000 died every day from hunger. In 2009, we changed it to 25,000 which the World Food Programme reports has remained unchanged in 2013.

In addition to the collection and distribution of surplus food to help solve this problem, Food Not Bombs has encouraged vegetarianism and a vegan lifestyle since the day we started in 1980. If more people were vegan and demanded organically grown, locally produced foods, this would encourage organic farming practices and support smaller farms.

This, in turn, would make it easier to decentralize the means of food production and to create democratic control over the quality of the food produced and encourage the stewardship of the land. More people can be fed from one acre of land on a plant based diet than on a meat based diet. Our society's current meat-based diet promotes centralized, profit-driven agribusinesses and a dependency on chemical fertilizers, pesticides and genetically modified crops, resulting in the declining nutritional value of the food that is produced, while contributing to the destruction of our environment. Mass-produced meats are full of chemicals, drugs, enhancers and preservatives, while our milk has been contaminated with radioactive fallout and chemical contamination from drugs and hormones.

When we started, Food Not Bombs shared vegan food to encourage a move to a plant-based diet by showing that it is just as nutritious and tasty as the more environmentally destructive and unhealthy meat-centered diet. We had read Frances Moore Lappe's *Diet for a Small Planet* and became convinced that one way to reduce hunger and protect the environment was to introduce the public to a vegan diet. She reported startling facts about the pressure of meat production on water and land. She pointed out that, "An acre of cereals produces five times more protein than an acre devoted to beef production," and that, "It takes 16 pounds of grain to make a pound of meat." Since we first read *Diet for a Small Planet*, the need to encourage the public to change its eating habits has become more urgent than ever.



Food Not Bombs kitchen in Poland using equipment donated by groups in the Netherlands

Changing to a vegan diet is one effective way to reduce hunger since it is possible to feed many more people on less land and with less water on a plant based diet than one that relies on meat production. Cornell University scientists report that the U. S. could feed 800 million people with grain that is now fed to livestock. The grain that is currently fed to animals for global meat production could feed over 2 billion people. The World Watch Institute shows that it takes 49 gallons of water to produce a pound of apples, 33 gallons to produce a pound of carrots, 24 gallons to produce a pound of potatoes; 23 gallons for a pound of tomatoes and 2,500 gallons of water to produce a pound of beef.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture claims that one acre of farmland can produce 356 pounds of protein from soybeans, 265 pounds from rice, 211 from corn, or 192 from legumes. They report that when the same acre is used for animal production, these numbers drop drastically: only 82 pounds of protein are produced from milk, 78 from eggs, and only 20 pounds of protein if the acre is being used to produce beef.

Food production is also tied to solving the crisis of climate change. This urgent crisis can be slowed if everyone eats a more plant-based diet. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change urges the public to change to a plant-based diet to help slow climate change. A 2006 report by the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) found that worldwide livestock farming generates 18 percent of the planet's green-

house gas emissions, while all the cars, planes, trains, and boats on earth account for a combined total of just 13 percent of all greenhouse gas emissions. The clear cutting of forests for grazing lands adds to the destruction of our atmosphere, while the high concentrations of methane from factory meat production contribute gasses responsible for climate change. Factory meat farming dumps large amounts of toxic waste into our waterways, and the chemicals used for corporate agriculture wash into the rivers and oceans, killing fish and destabilizing ecosystems. A vegan diet would be better for the environment, consume fewer resources and be healthier for each of us.

While we encourage awareness of vegan living for political and economic reasons, this policy also has several more immediate and practical benefits. The potential for problems with food spoilage are greatly reduced when dealing strictly with vegetables, fruit and other vegan foods. Our volunteers tend to eat a more healthy diet as they learn more about veganism. Our diet reflects our desire to promote a nonviolent future. Teaching people about the health benefits of a vegan diet actually creates a healthy, caring attitude towards ourselves, others, and the planet as a whole. Therefore, all of the food we prepare is strictly from plant sources; that is, no meat, dairy or eggs. Introducing the public to vegan food is one direct way that Food Not Bombs seeks to influence change. Some of the bread or pastries might have eggs, honey or dairy, but otherwise our food is vegan. People know and trust this standard for Food Not Bombs food whenever they come to eat with us.



A volunteer with Bangkok Food Not Bombs cooks meal for the hungry in Thailand

# NOT BOMBS

*“The message is clear, there can be no peace until people have enough to eat. Hungry people are not peaceful people.”*

— Former President Jimmy Carter, June 17, 1999

The “Not Bombs” part of our mission is just as important as the food. The War Resisters League publishes a report showing that over fifty cents of every federal tax dollar is spent on the military. The Center for Defense Information and Friends Committee on National Legislation are among those issuing studies showing that about half the money the public pays to the U.S. federal government is spent on the military. Other governments and corporations also spend huge amounts on weapon systems and preparation for war. It will take imagination and work to create a world without bombs. Our meals always include the Food Not Bombs banner and free literature on subjects related to peace, social justice, animal liberation and the environment, encouraging discussions about these urgent issues among the people visiting our table. Our literature has inspired new projects and creative protests generated by the lively conversations during our meals. Changing society so no one needs to depend on charity is central to the “Not Bombs” aspect of Food Not Bombs.

The “Not Bombs” organizing of Food Not Bombs seeks to change society and redirect our resources from bombs to food. And we sure do spend a great deal on bombs. *The New York Times* reported world arms sales between countries by weapons manufacturers at \$55.2 billion in 2008. Jane's Defence Weekly reports that weapons exports totaled \$73 billion in

2012. Weapons contracts by the United States were valued at \$37.8 billion in 2008, or 68.4 percent of all business in the “global arms bazaar,” a large increase from U.S. sales of \$25.4 billion in 2007. This does not include the direct cost for each military. President Obama’s 2010 State of the Union Address said, “Starting in 2011, we are prepared to freeze government spending for three years. Changing spending related to our national security, Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security will not be affected.” Obama requested \$663.7 billion dollars for the 2010 Defense Department budget. Imagine how many people could be fed on \$600 billion dollars. The Tomahawk Land Attack Missile (TLAM); an all-weather, long range, subsonic cruise missile used for land attack warfare, costs approximately, \$569,000 per unit in 1999 and \$1.4 million per missile in 2010, according to the U.S. Navy’s official website. The total cost of the military “program” was \$11,21 trillion for the entire order of 4,170 missiles built by Raytheon Systems Company in Tucson, Arizona. Imagine how much food could be provided for the cost of one cruise missile. In 2008, the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, or SNAP, served 28.4 million people a month at an annual cost of \$34.6 billion. In February 2010, SNAP provided 39.68 million Americans an average monthly benefit of \$133.12 per person, the highest number of people receiving Food Stamps since the program began in 1962. In contrast, Food Not Bombs can provide over four meals per one dollar using recovered organic produce and high quality baked goods.



Volunteers cooking in Nairobi, Kenya

The Food Not Bombs table provides more than a healthy meal, it provides a space for inspiring discussion and action. A conversation drawn from one of our flyers on the dangers of genetically engineered food can evolve into a plan to organize a protest outside Monsanto and the creation of a local seed bank. Literature about the suffering of factory produced chickens and cattle might generate a discussion that leads to participation in the annual anti-McDonald's day action. It is not easy for the public to learn of the many issues Food Not Bombs is concerned with. The corporate media is not likely to introduce the community to the problems created by their sponsors. For many people, a visit to the Food Not Bombs table is their first introduction to a movement for social change. Many people believe they are alone in thinking something is wrong with our economic and political system until they happen upon Food Not Bombs. Food Not Bombs groups provide information about many issues and announcements for campaigns and protests, information not likely to be easily found any other place.

Food Not Bombs recognizes our part in providing sustenance for people at protests, demonstrations and other events so that they can continue participating in the long-term struggle against militarism. We build solidarity by sharing food and literature at events and actions organized by other groups. We also distribute literature at our meals that is provided by the organizations we support, promoting solidarity and the building of coalitions. Offering food and logistical support is a great way to create lasting relationships with activists working on issues related to the goals of Food Not Bombs. We are working against the perception of scarcity, which causes many people to fear cooperation among groups. They believe that they must keep apart to preserve their resources so we try to encourage the feeling of abundance and the recognition that, if we cooperate together, all become stronger.

Providing food at the center of the action is part of our vision. Sometimes we organize an event, sometimes we provide food at other organizations' events. Being able to provide food for more than one day is more than just a good idea, it is a necessity. Either the movement can seek food services from the outside and be dependent upon businesses which may not be progressive and may be susceptible to coercion, or we can provide for ourselves. Clearly, it is Food Not Bombs' position that providing for our own basic needs, in ways that comprehensively support the movement, is far more empowering. We have provided food at long-term direct actions, such as the peace encampments at the Nevada Nuclear Weapons Test Site; tent cities, which highlight homelessness and hunger in San Francisco, Boston, New York and Washington, D.C.; a 600 day farm workers vigil in Sarajevo; the 100 day tent city protest during the Orange Revolution in Ukraine; Border Camps in Europe, North America and the Middle East; base camps working to block logging or mining destruction; and, at tent embassy actions supporting native people's rights to relief efforts, as we did for eight months in nearly twenty cities wiped out by Hurricane Katrina. Food Not Bombs can help make it possible to take action for as long as it takes to influence change.

With sustained protest it might even be possible to overthrow a government, but then the resulting power vacuum needs to be filled. A 100 day tent city protest brought down the Ukrainian government. Food Not Bombs showed that by providing free meals to the protesters outside the parliament it was possible for them to sustain the protest for months. Carefully planned strategies of strikes, blockades, occupations and other mass actions, like tent city protests, can pressure corporations and governments to collapse, but then the real problem has been how to replace the failed system with a democratic process that respects the dignity and will of the people; while providing the basic needs of food, clothing, shelter, healthcare and education for everyone.



Is hunger and poverty really caused by the personal failure of those who find themselves poor or could it be as a result of intentional economic and political policies? Asking this question has brought Food Not Bombs in conflict with the authorities. (Business and retail interests can believe that the presence of homeless people will drive away shoppers and property buyers.) Food Not Bombs has also attracted the attention of military contractors as well as local, state and federal law enforcement agencies who appear to be fearful that the movement's message might influence U.S. taxpayers to see that their money could potentially be better spent on things like food, education and healthcare, instead of being wasted on over-priced and unnecessary military programs.

In the summer of 1988, Food Not Bombs volunteers started to get arrested for what the police claimed was "a political statement," by sharing free, vegan meals to the hungry in San Francisco, California. The San Francisco Police made nearly 1,000 arrests for feeding the hungry without permission. Volunteers were also arrested in Arcata, Los Angeles, Santa Cruz and other California communities, sometimes because of the group's message of redirecting taxes towards human needs and sometimes because officials believed the free meals were interfering with the city's efforts to drive the homeless out of sight. City police in Las Vegas, Nevada; Orlando and Tampa, Florida; Middletown, Connecticut; and a number of other communities in the United States were also arrested for sharing free meals without permission. In the first few months of 2012 people all over the United States asked for help after having been told they would be arrested for sharing food with the hungry. One woman, Kathy, started an online petition after police in Daytona Beach, Florida stopped her from sharing sandwiches. That same week another woman, Amanda, emailed us her petition after police stopped her in Dallas, Texas. Santa Monica, California, passed a law restricting gatherings of over seventy-five people, and the city of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania introduced restrictions on feeding homeless people. Food Not Bombs volunteers also found themselves under investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the American Civil Liberties Union and other lawyers have discovered internal memos showing that Food Not Bombs was considered a "terrorist" threat. A few Food Not Bombs volunteers were arrested as environmental and animal rights "terrorists" and charged with planning acts of arson or vandalism that were actually proposed or carried out by paid informants directed by the FBI, state police or agents with Homeland Security as happened with Eric McDavid, Brandon Baxter and Connor Stevens. Most times, the campaign to portray Food Not Bombs volunteers as criminals often backfires, inspiring people to join their local chapter, start new Food Not Bombs groups, or provide contributions of food and money. Efforts to silence Food Not Bombs help inform the public about the politics of food in our society and have inspired the growth in Food Not Bombs groups to every corner of the world.

## How Food Not Bombs Got Its Name

*"This slogan requires no complicated analysis. Those three words 'say it all.' They point unerringly to the double challenge: to feed immediately people who are without adequate food, and to replace a system whose priorities are power and profit with one meeting the needs of all human beings."*

— Professor Howard Zinn

When I started to collect the discarded produce from my job at Bread & Circus in Cambridge, I looked for people that might enjoy free food. I found a cluster of dilapidated public housing building a few blocks east of the grocery. Groups of skinny children and their mothers huddled in the cold on the steps of these broken buildings in the shadow of a group of modern glass towers where scientists were busy designing guidance systems for intercontinental nuclear missiles. This sure made it clear that what people really needed was food and not bombs.

At the time our collective started gathering discarded food, we were also reading publications from the War Resisters League and other organizations that reported that around fifty cents of every federal tax dollar was being spent on the military, interest for money borrowed for war, and care for veterans. The United States continues to spend more than half its federal budget on the military.

We were also influenced by Henry David Thoreau's protest against paying for war. Thoreau wrote that, "If a thousand men were not to pay their tax bills this year, that would not be a violent and bloody measure, as it would be to pay them, and enable the State to commit violence and shed innocent blood. This is, in fact, the definition of a peaceable revolution, if any such is possible."

One of our many activities was to spray-paint anti-nuclear and anti-war slogans on public buildings and sidewalks using stencils. One of our favorite statements during this time of high food prices was to spray-paint the words "MONEY FOR FOOD NOT FOR BOMBS" at the exits to large commercial groceries in our neighborhood. One night, after an outing of spray-painting, we had the inspiration to shorten the slogan to "FOOD NOT BOMBS" and use it as the name of our collective. We had been active with the Clamshell Alliance and found most people thought the group's main focus was the promotion of the clamming industry, not realizing we were an anti-nuclear group. To correct this problem we thought by calling ourselves Food Not Bombs, our message would be clear, and by repeating our name, over and over again, even the media would get the political concept of food and not bombs to the public.

But the most important aspect of calling ourselves Food Not Bombs is that we do not have to proselytize because our name says it all. When we arrive with the food, people simply say, "Hey, here comes Food Not Bombs."



Food Not Bombs activist sharing vegan meals in New Brunswick, Canada

## SECTION TWO

# LOGISTICS

*“When I feed the hungry, they call me a saint. When I ask why the hungry don’t have enough food, they call me a Communist.”*

— Hélder Pessoa Câmara, Roman Catholic  
Archbishop of Olinda and Recife, Brazil

### Starting a Food Not Bombs Group

Taking personal responsibility and doing something about the problems of our society can be both empowering and intimidating. Voting for the best candidate or giving money to your favorite charity might be worthwhile activities, but many people want to do more. What to do and how to get started can seem hard to figure out, especially with social problems as large as homelessness, hunger and militarism. This handbook will assist you in getting started on a path towards taking personal direct action on these issues. Above all, the Food Not Bombs experience is an opportunity for self-empowerment. In addition to the obvious political message we are trying to convey, the two major components of the day to day work of Food Not Bombs are the recovery and redistribution of surplus food and the feeding of the hungry. Political organizing is more rewarding and has more impact if it produces both greater political awareness and direct service.

At every step along the way you will be faced with many choices, some we will describe in this handbook, but others will be unique to your situation. You will need to make the decisions for yourselves which are the best for your local operation. We can tell you, from our experience, that it will be both hard work and a lot of fun, and we will try to share with you those things we have learned which might both assist you and help you avoid problems we have already encountered. This handbook is a beginning point from which to take off on your own adventure. This handbook is based on over thirty years of experience, but does not provide all the answers. Every day brings more challenges and new learning opportunities.

The Food Not Bombs experience is a living, dynamic adventure which expands with every person who participates in it. Even today, as more and more Food Not Bombs groups start in other cities, we are discovering that each group brings with it new ideas, new visions and new ways of developing its own identity. This handbook contains only the most basic information necessary for you to start your own group.



One of the two daily meals shared at Civic Center Plaza in San Francisco, California

## Seven Steps to Organizing a Local Food Not Bombs Group

At the outset, starting a Food Not Bombs might seem like more than you can handle. Work on the basics, take one step at a time. There is no need to feel pressured into accomplishing everything all at once. It might take a couple of weeks to get things rolling, or it may take months. One person cannot be a Food Not Bombs group, but one person can initiate a group.

Once you have made the decision to start a local Food Not Bombs group, pick a meeting date, time and place and gather everyone interested to talk about what you would like to do. You might start with a group of friends, or members of an existing group, or it could be people who respond to posters and emails announcing your intentions.

The following is a step-by-step process to get your food operation up and running. Because of your unique situation, you may need to add, ignore or reorder steps. Follow the path you feel will work best for your group.

**Step 1:** Start by organizing a weekly meeting where you will agree on contact information, choosing a phone number, email or postal address. By using voicemail, you can have an outgoing message with information about the next meeting time and place and receive messages so that you never miss a call. You can also create a MySpace, Facebook and/or Twitter account or other website for your group. Many chapters also create list serves on sites like Riseup, Google or Yahoo. Some groups use a commercial mailbox or post office box for their physical mailing ad-

dress. When you set up your contact information, you can have it posted on leaflets, flyers, etc. to help people locate your chapter.

**Step 2:** Make flyers announcing the existence of your new, local Food Not Bombs chapter with your contact information and time, date and location of your regular planning meetings. By handing out these flyers at events, posting them around town; and emailing the announcement of your next meeting to friends, classmates and other local organizations, you will get additional volunteers and donations of food and supplies. Encourage everyone including people who may rely on the food to participate in the meetings. Post the time, date and location of your meetings on your websites. We provide sample flyers that you can download at [www.foodnotbombs.net](http://www.foodnotbombs.net). The agenda for your first meetings can include: food collection, location for cooking, locations to deliver your food, consideration of a location to share your meals in the future, outreach to people who may want to volunteer and join the meal.

**Step 3:** Arrange for the use of a vehicle. Among the members of your group and friends, there might be enough vehicles of the right size for your needs, but if not, you might be able to borrow a van or truck from a sympathetic church group or similar organization. If none of the above succeeds, you can always hold fundraising events specifically for the purchase of a van or truck. Some groups use bicycles and bike carts to pick up food and take meals and literature out to share. Other groups use shopping carts and travel on public transportation.

**Step 4:** With flyers in hand, begin looking for sources of food. The first places to approach are the local food co-ops, produce warehouses, farmers markets, organic food stores and bakeries. These types of stores tend to be supportive and are a good place to practice your approach. Tell them you plan to share the food with the hungry, deliver food to shelters and soup kitchens, as well as provide a regular meal once the chapter is established and, if they are interested and willing, arrange for a regular time to pick up the food each week or as often as is practical. Where it is appropriate, leave literature which explains the mission of Food Not Bombs.

**Step 5:** Start by delivering your collected food to people in housing projects, shelters and local meal programs. It is important to get to know the food pantries and soup kitchens in your area. Learn where they are located, whom they serve, and how many they serve. This information will help you plan your delivery route and distribute the appropriate types and amounts of food to each program. This will also give you an idea of when and where your chapter should start to share your regular prepared meals. It is usually desirable to arrange a regular delivery schedule with each location. Building relationships with the other food programs is valuable.

**Step 6:** Once this network becomes established, start to skim some food out of the flow. Locate a kitchen and cooking equipment. With this food, prepare meals to serve on the streets with literature about Food Not Bombs as well as current issues and related events. It can be very helpful to share meals at rallies and demonstrations first; there your group can recruit more volunteers, and collect donations, as well as lift the spirits of those participating in the action. Giving out meals at a protest can build community and support for the cause in a very direct way.

**Step 7:** Once enough people are involved, consider sharing meals in a visible way one day a week to the hungry on the streets. Cooking and serving food together builds community within the group and is also great fun. Choose a time, day and location where you will reach the most people. Always be on time. Pick a highly visible location and time where the largest and most diverse population is likely to walk past your food and literature. The more people walking past your literature and meal, the more effective your group will be. The meal, banner and literature can be a powerful way to reach out to the community with the message of “food not bombs.” Talk with the public about the need for social change and direct their attention to your literature. Add music, art, puppets and theater to your meals.

### A SAMPLE AGENDA FOR THE FIRST FEW MEETINGS OF YOUR NEW FOOD NOT BOMBS GROUP

- 7:00 to 7:15 — Introductions
- 7:15 to 7:30 — Contacting food sources
- 7:30 to 7:45 — Visiting local soup kitchens and shelters
- 7:45 to 8:00 — Locating a kitchen
- 8:00 to 8:15 — Choosing a high visibility serving location, day and time for weekly meal
- 8:15 to 8:30 — Choosing contact information for local chapter
- 8:30 to 8:45 — Setting day and time to make your banner
- 8:45 to 9:00 — Posting flyers and placing announcements in local papers and radio stations
- 9:00 to 9:15 — Planning first benefit concert
- 9:15 to 9:30 — Critique meeting and choose location, date and time of next meeting





The Food Not Bombs "office" in Bandung, Indonesia

### The "Office"

Food Not Bombs reclaims public space for a few hours each week or even a few hours every day in some cities, creating a "Temporary Autonomous Zone" as described by the author, Hakim Bey, in his book *T.A.Z. The Temporary Autonomous Zone*. Our "office" arrives in a high visibility public location, providing a free space to share food, literature, music, art and ideas. Your Food Not Bombs group can be effective at inspiring social change if your volunteers make a point of engaging the public in conversation about subjects such as diverting resources from the military toward necessities like nutritious food, education and healthcare. While several volunteers are sharing meals and distributing groceries, another volunteer can staff the literature table. They can let people passing by know that Food Not Bombs shares free vegan meals with the hungry in over 1,000 cities around the world to protest war, poverty and the destruction of the environment, and ask why, with over a billion people going hungry each day, how can we spend another dollar on war? If you live in the United States, you might talk with the public about how half the country's federal budget is spent on the military and that many other countries also use their resources for war while their people struggle for food,

housing, healthcare and education. Your volunteers can suggest people take a flyer about a current issue and invite them to participate in a future protest or event. This is the most basic, yet most effective way to build support for social change. With all the problems we are facing today, it has never been more important to reach out to the public. Many people think they are alone in feeling that society is failing and relieved to discover that Food Not Bombs not only shares their concerns but is offering a path to seeking solutions.

It is the vision of Food Not Bombs to operate with as little money as possible. We strive to get the most out of our resources. One way to keep operating expenses low is to use only a mailbox, website, voicemail, and your regular meal as your office. Thus, by not having a standing office, there is no need to use valuable volunteer time staffing it as well as time raising money for the rent. Your "office" will reach many more people by its location being out on the street where the public will notice your project. This allows the volunteers to spend more time on the street sharing meals and distributing information, making our table the "office" where the group's business is conducted and where people who want to meet us can visit.

One of our goals in doing street work is to bring people with different economic, ethnic or cultural backgrounds directly into contact with each other. If your office is on the street, then you are very accessible and all your actions are public. Your message will reach many more people if your office is on a sidewalk, plaza or public park. The people who are forced to live on the streets will also, over time, develop a great deal of respect for your group because you are out on the streets with them. You will directly experience a piece of street life and you will develop firsthand knowledge of the opinions the public holds on the issues of the day. Consider the hours and location carefully so as to reach the most people as possible. Thousands of people might pass by your location during rush hour and an hour later you might discover that only a handful of pedestrians will pass your table. Sometimes security people will claim you are not allowed to table, but unless you are on private property it is your right to express yourself with a literature table. Your group will get more volunteers, more donations of food, your ideas will have more impact and you will feed more people if your table is placed at a location and time where lots of people pass. The cost of establishing this part of the Food Not Bombs operation is affordable for any group.

Food Not Bombs is not a charity. Our “office” is our stage where we can communicate our ideas. Our banner, literature and conversation with the public are as important as the food. You can direct visitors to a featured piece of literature, talk to them about a current example of misdirected policies, or educate them about projects that are contributing to positive social change. We are less likely to interest the public in joining our effort to end war, poverty and the destruction of the environment if we stand silently passing out meals. Our “office” can also include music, theater, poetry, dance, art and other cultural expressions encouraging positive social change. Our goal is to end the need to feed the hungry because we have inspired the public to take action to redirect our resources from the military towards real security where everyone has what they need to flourish.

## Decision-Making

Another goal of Food Not Bombs is the creation of opportunities for self-empowerment. The way to do this within each group is to create an environment where every member is encouraged to participate in decision-making, take initiative, and filling various roles necessary for the smooth functioning of the group. Each Food Not Bombs chapter is autonomous and independent and strives to include everyone in its decision-making process.

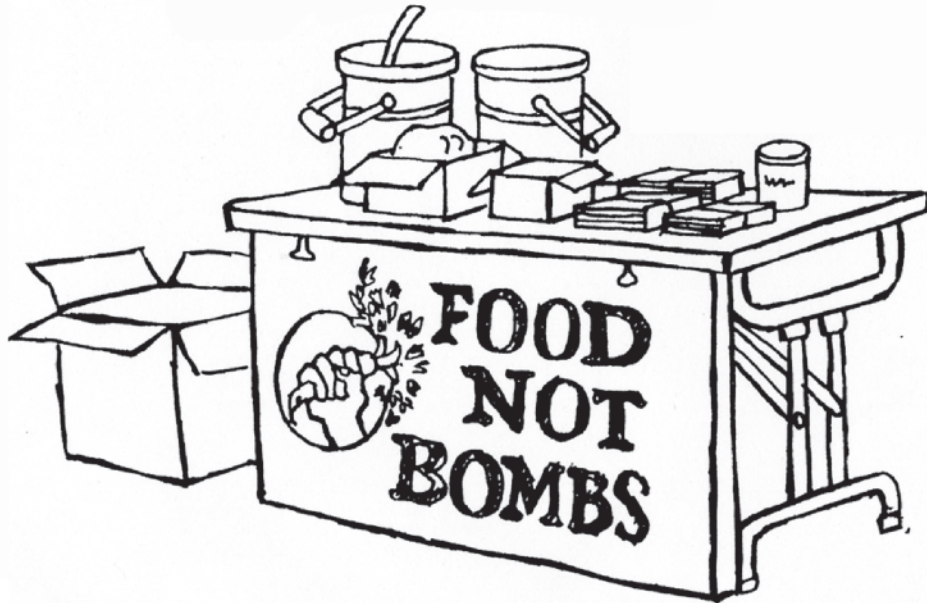
Each chapter makes its decisions by the process of consensus rather than voting or “Robert’s Rules of Order.” Voting is a win or lose model in which people are more concerned about the numbers it takes to win a majority than they are in making a decision that everyone in the group believes is best. Consensus, on the other hand, is a process of synthesis, bringing together diverse elements and blending them into a decision which is acceptable to the entire group and supports the principles of the participants. In essence, it is a qualitative rather than quantitative method of decision-making. Each person’s ideas are valued and become part of the decision.

When everyone participates in the discussion of an idea, trust is developed and people feel valued and committed to the result. A proposal is stronger when everyone works together to create the best possible decision for the group. Any idea can be considered, but only those ideas which everyone thinks are in the best interests of the group are adopted.

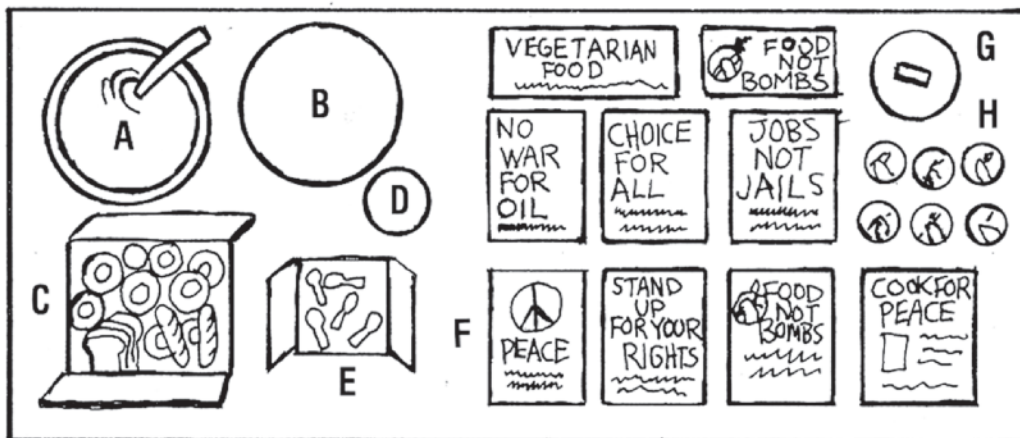
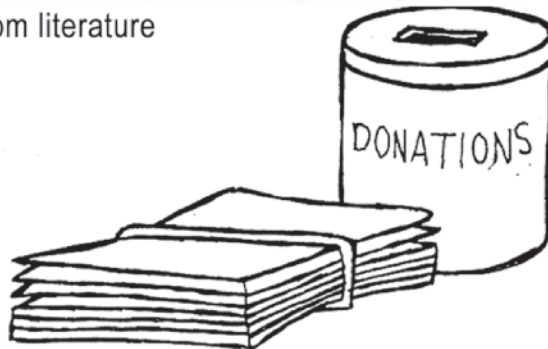
There are several models of consensus which your group might choose to adopt. It is most important, however, that whatever process you use is clear, consistent and can be easily taught and learned so that all can participate fully. The use of consensus can also reduce the ability of intelligence agencies to dominate the direction of your chapter. Peace, social justice and environmental organizations in the United States that use a hierarchical structure can be taken over by federal, state and corporate agents when they



# The Basic Food Not Bombs Table



- A. Hot soup (wet) - keep away from literature
- B. Salad or other dry food
- C. Bread and bagels
- D. Salt or other spices
- E. Spoons or forks
- F. Flyers, book & stickers
- G. Donation can
- H. Buttons



Suggest line pass by literature before the food so less food is spilled on the flyers





are elected to leadership roles selected as directors, or hired for key staff positions. If there is no director or president, authorities can use voting as a means to misdirect an organization, stacking meetings with paid informants and agents. After having participated in a number of peace groups that were disrupted by agents who used the voting process to misdirect the organization, the co-founders of Food Not Bombs were even more committed to the use of consensus. After nearly thirty years of dedication to a non-hierarchical consensus based process, it is clear that this is one of the important principles that have made it possible for Food Not Bombs to flourish. (See bibliography in the appendix for our flow chart.)

Many progressive grassroots organizations avoid having leaders who might dominate the group. However, it is a mistake to think a group does not need leadership. To avoid having power concentrated in the hands of a few entrenched leaders, encourage leadership skills in every member of the group and rotate all roles. This can be accomplished by holding skill-building training workshops and by encouraging and supporting people to be self-empowered, especially those who are generally reserved. This helps the group become more democratic and helps individuals feel more satisfied and, therefore, less likely to burnout or fade away. Some chapters have a “bottom liner” overseeing the spicing of the meals. Facilitators, note takers and spokespersons for committees should change from meeting to meeting. It can even be helpful to rotate food collectors, cooks and servers from time to time so everyone has a chance to enjoy every aspect of Food Not Bombs and the tasks remain fresh and inspiring.

The Food Not Bombs movement does not have a headquarters, director or president. The Food Not Bombs co-founders have no power over the direction of the movement or decisions of any group.

Food Not Bombs held its first international gathering in San Francisco in 1992, and those attending came to consensus that every group would be autonomous, have no leaders and each group would make decisions using consensus. They also agreed that the food would always be vegetarian or vegan and free to anyone, without restriction and our volunteers would be dedicated to nonviolence. In 1995, Food Not Bombs held its second international gathering, also in San Francisco, where we confirmed the first three principles and also agreed to organize a global coordination office to help the public start or locate local Food Not Bombs groups. The website and the toll free number, 1-800-884-1136, were designated as the contact points for this coordination, but this collective was not granted any power. All chapters can request their ideas and information be posted on this website. ([www.foodnotbombs.net](http://www.foodnotbombs.net)) The global coordination office directs the pub-

lic and media to their local Food Not Bombs chapter, as well as provide materials and suggestions on how to start a local group. Chapters or people participating in gatherings often ask the volunteers at the global coordinating office to post on the website and other publications announcements of events, campaigns or policies adopted by the group or gathering. While we have generally had only one global coordination office, it is possible for volunteers to organize other movement-wide websites, publications or other projects to promote the goals of Food Not Bombs. They could be based on shared languages such as a Russian, Spanish or Chinese based coordination office. Still, the responsibility of decision making rests with each chapter. It is best for ideas generated at gatherings to be introduced to each chapter so that the local group can decide whether or not to implement the proposal. Proposals for gatherings and tours are sent out to the Food Not Bombs groups that might participate to seek input from the community. Each chapter can include the proposal in the agenda of their next meeting. The global coordination office also responds to requests for information and mail out flyers, books, start-up kits, and other materials to help start or promote local Food Not Bombs groups. When a group starts, they will often email their contact information and the days, times and locations of their meals to the volunteers that maintain the website. Money raised by the global coordination office is contributed to local chapters based on requests using a questionnaire posted on the website. The office has contributed money to groups in Africa to buy seeds, cooking equipment and a vehicle. Money has been contributed to local groups organizing Food Not Bombs gatherings and tours. Funds are also used to finance relief efforts, like Hurricane Katrina, or to help support kitchens and convergence spaces at protests, occupations and other direct actions.

## Outreach

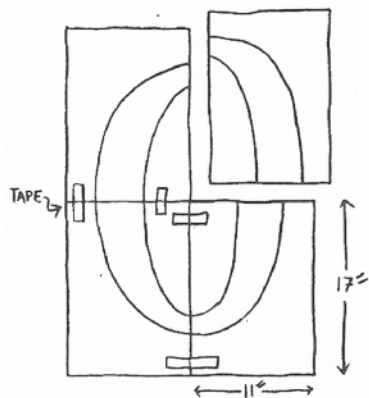
Outreach is very important, less expensive and more effective than you might imagine. Billions are spent on outreach for consumer products and the promotion of the current destructive economic and political system because outreach works. Our ideas and activities are important and should be promoted to as many people as possible. While we don't have the budgets of corporations and governments, we have something more powerful and that is an honest message that resonates with people.

The flyers and banner at your regular meal is one of the most effective forms of outreach. The web, email, and text messaging are valuable technologies for building our movement, but the simple flyer is still one of the most effective tools for social change. In a sea of electronic information your flyer provides a way for the public to find your group's blog, website, email and your meal and meet-

# How to make a banner

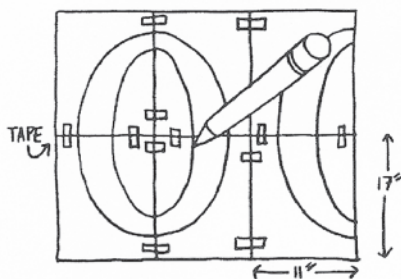
## STEP 1 Making a Pattern

Find a copy machine that has the enlargement feature and a paper tray that can hold 11" x 17" paper. Enlarge (blow up) the Food Not Bombs logo and words to the size you want them to be on your finished banner or sign. If the banner is very large, just blow up the logo and draw the words freehand with a ruler. The signs below our tables have 12 inch to 18 inch high letters. You may have to make several generations of enlargements and tape all the parts together, like so:



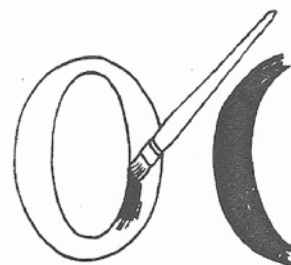
## STEP 2 Makeshift Carbon Paper

Trace the edges of the back of the enlarged, taped-together artwork with a soft lead pencil or some charcoal. Then, position the enlargement right side up onto your flat cloth or board and tape it into place with the pencil or charcoal (carbon) side facing the banner surface. Re-trace the outline of the words and logo with a pencil or pen, pushing down hard. You may want to lift up a corner occasionally to see if the image is being transferred to the surface of the sign or banner properly. (Optional: Paint the entire surface of the wood with white paint several days before doing this tracing.)



## STEP 3 Finishing

Paint in between the traced lines. The signs and banners pictured here were painted with One-Shot oil based sign pain. If you paint a sign on wood or metal you can protect your work by painting a layer of polyurethane over the entire surface. This makes your signs more durable and easier to wash. Painting cloth banners with oil based paint makes them washable. If you can't get oil based paint, latex isn't bad—it's just not the best. (Optional: To increase durability of cloth banners sew a simple hem around all four edges. Many laundries and tailors can help and also add metal grommets for a nominal fee.)





Wheatpasting and posting equipment

ing times and locations. Anyone passing your table who takes a flyer can share it, passing news of your group or your group’s ideas to a wider audience. Your chapter might want to put up its own website and include its address on the flyers and banner. You can set up an email listserv with groups like RiseUp, Google or Yahoo. The appendix of this book has several flyers you can use that have been effective in attracting new people to Food Not Bombs. We also provide flyers on the website you can download. You can use the flyers for your local chapter by putting your group’s phone number, email address, website or mailing address in the appropriate spots, or you can create your own flyers using any of the images from this book or off the website or any you might draw yourself.

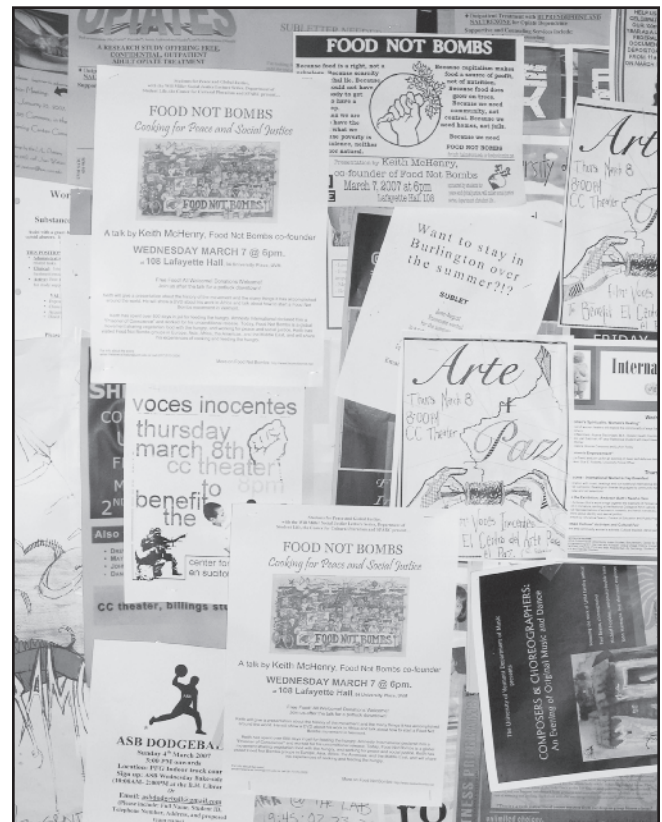
These flyers can then be put on bulletin boards or windows in local schools, cafes, groceries, libraries, shelters, social service agencies, offices of community groups, bookstores, and laundromats. Post flyers all over your community on a regular basis. It is good to continually bring in new people with fresh ideas and enthusiasm and to remind the public of your activities. With many people traveling, seeking work and new opportunities, you will always have a new audience, and it often takes more than one viewing for people to respond to a poster. Do not rely on postings to Facebook friends to announce events, meetings or meals. Events that are only announced on Facebook often have no participants. Distributing flyers will draw much more interest. Groups that add their contact information on every flyer often have many more food donations, volunteers and people participating in their meals than those that don’t.

During the years that we were being arrested for sharing food in San Francisco, I made my living by posting flyers for theaters and art galleries. My clients would buy advertisements on television, radio and in local magazines and newspapers, and they would ask everyone that bought a ticket how they heard of the event. Over half the people marked the box saying that it was a poster that alerted

them to the performance. I posted one Food Not Bombs flyer in the town of Ithaca, New York, at the Greenstar food co-op, and several months later I discovered that a woman who had seen that one flyer was inspired to start a local Food Not Bombs group. If one or two of your volunteers make a habit of posting Food Not Bombs flyers all over your community, your group will have substantial support.

You may want to organize a benefit concert to raise money for the printing. The flyers announcing the benefit will become yet another reason your community will hear about your group.

In addition to posting flyers in public spaces, visit all the environmental, animal rights, peace and social justice organizations in your community. Leave your flyers and collect a stack of their literature to place on your own information table. Also, go to all the soup kitchens, pantries, shelters, and advocacy groups for those suffering from economic injustice, and distribute your literature announcing the details of your meals and meetings. Don’t be discouraged by a lukewarm reception. At first, these groups might view Food Not Bombs as competition for scarce resources, or they may be strongly opposed to connecting the issues of hunger, homelessness and economic injustice with other political issues such as militarism. Many direct service agencies accept the role of caregiver to those most oppressed in our society without challenging



Flyers at the University of Vermont inviting students to attend a Food Not Bombs event



San Francisco Police take objectionable literature to silence Food Not Bombs

the root causes of that oppression. They may prefer to keep a low profile and support the status quo, and they will be very fearful of anyone who challenge, the system. The foundations they rely on might threaten to cut their funding if they believe the agency is associated with Food Not Bombs. However, because the vision of Food Not Bombs is the creation of abundance by the recovery of surplus food, your donation of free food can be a way to reach out to them and gradually win their support. This kind of outreach can become the foundation of widespread community solidarity and could be very valuable to your group in the future.

As your effort grows, you can organize and sponsor special events which will attract more people to join in the work and the fun. The range of events your chapter can organize is only limited by your imagination and could include concerts, knitting circles, poetry and book readings, fashion shows, art openings, sporting events, hikes, camp outs, plays, rallies, lectures, circuses, puppet shows, workshops, Really Really Free Markets, Reclaim the Commons and film nights. You can help your chapter flourish by organizing regular events. Your group may have a weekly film night and a concert once a month. Before these events, be sure to call all the media in your town, ask them to announce the details of the event and invite them to come to report on the outcome. Set up interviews with local radio programs, magazines, newspapers and local cable TV shows. Some radio programs may feature the type of music

that will be at your concert and you can invite several band members to join you on a show that airs before the event. Ask the band members to bring a CD, mpeg or their instruments so the audience can hear some of the music that will be featured at the event. News departments or other talk programs might be good to contact before your events. Even though the coverage can sometimes be unsympathetic, it is still valuable to have Food Not Bombs mentioned in the local media. In our experience, most people understand the concept “food not bombs” and are not misled by negative reporting.

Along with contacting the local media, post the announcement of your events on Indymedia and other websites, including your own chapter’s site. You can also email the announcement to your listservs, distribute flyers to local bulletin boards and store windows and arrange to speak to local organizations and clubs. If you are organizing a concert, invite the band to announce it on their website, on their email lists, and at the concerts they may be participating before your event.

Consider displaying a huge banner proclaiming “Food Not Bombs” at these events. This banner is very useful when the media is taking pictures because, if nothing else, the words “Food Not Bombs” will be displayed. You can use the Food Not Bombs logo of a purple fist holding a carrot as much as you want. Feel free to redraw the logo to show a unique image reflecting your area of the world or focus

of your local group. After all, if Food Not Bombs is anything, it is D.I.Y. (Do It Yourself). The Food Not Bombs global coordination office has buttons, bumper stickers, t-shirts and banners with this logo for you to use for fundraising and promotion. You can also download the flyers and images off our websites and use them to make flyers, banners, t-shirts, patches and anything else you dream up. You can add your group's contact information and website to all your publications.

While it is relatively rare, government officials and their infiltrators in the United States have been known to discourage volunteers from posting flyers around the community or providing literature and hanging the banner at the regular meals. Police infiltrators have been known to volunteer to bring the banner and literature to the meal so they can discard the materials in a dumpster on the way. Sometimes an infiltrator might suggest that it is "bad" to hand out information about your meal at soup kitchens, shelters or public events in an effort to discourage people from participating. Food Not Bombs groups in the United States have even been told they can continue to provide food to the hungry, without fear of arrest, as long as they don't hang a Food Not Bombs banner, remove all the political literature from the meals and end the practice of posting flyers throughout the community. The authorities have also sent infiltrators to help cook or share food with the goal of encouraging the local group to change the name from "Food Not Bombs" to something "less political" because after all, the main point is to "feed the hungry," or because, Food Not Bombs has a "bad reputation." Food banks have told Food Not Bombs volunteers that they will donate food to their chapter if they change the name to "something less political." Chapters that stop calling themselves Food Not Bombs find it difficult to get more volunteers and food donations and may even find that fewer people are showing up for the meals. Most groups that have changed the name from Food Not Bombs to a "less political" title generally stop feeding the hungry within a few weeks or months. These less political names are really just as political, but it is a politics that promotes the current system of domination, exploitation, hunger, poverty and war instead of a politics of abundance, peace and liberation. As the group changes from working for social change as part of a global network to becoming a local charity, the volunteers grow discouraged and figure they might as well help an existing charity or stop all together. If this happens in your community, one solution is to start a new Food Not Bombs group and continue the work. Many groups have been adding the phrase "Solidarity not Charity" to their flyers and banners to counter the effort to discourage our struggle to change society so no one is forced to eat at soup kitchens because they can't afford to feed themselves.

There are many creative ways to reach out to your community. Everything from flyers posted in cafes, bookstores and other shops, to graffiti, banners, interviews on local radio stations and newspapers, concerts, film nights, websites and puppet shows, to regular literature tables on the streets and at events will help bring new volunteers and food donations and build solidarity with other community groups. You will find volunteers eager to make one of these forms of outreach the focus of their work with Food Not Bombs. Everyone might not be good at cooking, but instead, may have a passion for art or public speaking. Food Not Bombs can use everyone's talents.

## Food Collection

Food recovery is a core feature of the Food Not Bombs project. One of the byproducts of our program is the reduction of waste in our society. Discovering sources of surplus food might at first appear to be a major challenge, but generally, it just takes confidence and patience. Every business in the food industry is a potential source of recoverable food, from farms and produce packers to wholesale distributors and retail stores, farmers markets and bazaars and from manufacturing to distribution warehouses. Studies show that over \$100 billion worth of edible food was discarded in the United States every year during the first decade of the 21st century. As much as 40 percent of all food is wasted in the United States. The United Nations reports that there is enough discarded food to feed the one billion people that go to sleep hungry each night. Sometimes it may take some creativity and persistence to convince a stubborn manager or produce worker to allow you to recover some of their discarded food, but in most instances, the businesses will be very cooperative.

Most of the time you can bring a flyer about Food Not Bombs to share with the people you believe might be interested in contributing food to your group. On occasion, you may need to decide if you want the business owners or managers to know that some of the food will be used for political organizing or the name of your group is Food Not Bombs. At most stores this will not be an issue, and they will be honored to contribute to Food Not Bombs; at others, it might be better left unsaid until they get to know you better. You can simply explain that you will be using their contribution to feed the hungry.

Start making arrangements to collect discarded food at organic produce warehouses, bakeries and natural food stores by talking with the employees that take the food to the garbage. If you visit the produce department at your local grocery you will find a worker standing by a cart trimming vegetables. You will see them dropping undesirable fruit or vegetables into a box on the lower level of their cart. That is the first person you can talk with about collecting discarded food. They may send you to a manager

and, even if you get permission from the management, it will be the person trimming produce that determines what produce your Food Not Bombs group receives as donations. If the manager turns you down, return another day and speak with the worker on the floor. They are the ones who have to drag all the unwanted produce to the garbage and, typically, they are more than happy to pass it on to you. Independently or locally owned stores are generally but not always more receptive than national chains. It is possible that the first few shops you visit will provide you with more than enough food to get started.

Ask the workers at these businesses if they have any edible food that they regularly throw away and would be willing to give you. You can point out that, by collecting this food, you will be saving them money on their waste disposal bill. Managers will certainly be aware of how expensive it is to have this surplus hauled away as waste and how costs keep growing each year as more and more landfills become exhausted. If you live in or near a city, it may be possible to collect food from the main produce distribution center. These are the warehouses where the local delivery trucks pick up their orders. Talk with a driver unloading at your grocery and they can tell you where to locate these centers. Early every morning they start to throw away cases of produce that they know will not make it on the distribution trucks the next day. You can collect truck loads of very good produce every morn-

ing from these locations. If the brokers are reluctant to donate, offer a dollar, euro or other small denomination for a case that they plan to discard, and before long, they will be dragging cases of great food to the loading dock. A couple of produce centers have required drivers to pay a small toll to get in, but it is well worth the price. Some groceries and bakeries in the United States may request a letter from the IRS so they can claim their contribution on their taxes. If so, the Food Not Bombs global coordination office can provide your chapter with required documents. Just email and request a tax letter for the collection of food.

While in the process of collecting contacts in the food industry, you can also start determining the availability of drivers, vehicles or bicyclers with bike carts. There needs to be at least one volunteer to make the pick-ups, but it is more rewarding if two or more people work together. Make a schedule which is convenient to both the store and the people collecting the contribution. It is important to be flexible, but also reliable; businesses will be hesitant to participate if they do not feel they can rely on this “waste” removal method to be consistent. It is a tradition with Food Not Bombs to always be on time; therefore, do not overextend yourself. It is actually more common to get too much food than not enough, but only do as much as is comfortable. After all, some recovery of food is better than no recovery at all.



Collecting discarded food by tricycle in Utrecht, Netherlands

Also, consider taking time to make friends with the workers at the places where you are collecting the surplus food. These workers make the day-to-day decisions about how much food is recovered, and they can make an effort to recover even more food if they feel comfortable with you. This also helps build community support, not only for the sharing of food, but for our message of peace, social justice and a sustainable future. Inviting grocery workers to participate by sharing their discarded food gives them the opportunity to feel they are helping the community. It is almost never necessary to dive into dumpsters and doing so deprives your group of developing a relationship with people that work in the food industry. There is rarely any reason to rummage through dumpsters because there is so much better food available by talking with those responsible for discarding the surplus food.

The variety of food that can be recovered is unlimited. Be creative. Any perishable food is going to be intentionally over-stocked so there will be a regular surplus destined to be waste. Look for sources of surplus bagels, bread and pastries, organic fruits and vegetables, tofu and vegan packaged foods. Sometimes you might need to buy non-perishables like rice, beans, miso, condiments and spices at local, natural food groceries or food co-ops, but then again, many of these stores may offer to sell these items at cost or even donate them for free. Food Not Bombs groups will organize benefit concerts to raise money for these items. Natural food distributors can provide bulk food at very low prices. In areas where natural or human caused crisis is more common, it may be wise to store hundreds of kilos of rice, beans, oats, cooking oil or other basic dry goods. A concert or other event could raise enough money to stock up for such a disaster. Your group could store this bulk food in metal trash cans or other bins so mice, rats and insects don't ruin your supplies.

Eventually, after setting up a regular schedule with local, natural food stores, produce markets and bakeries, your group may want to start collecting additional food from warehouses, farms, manufacturers and wholesale distributors. The volume of food available to recover is immense so be selective. Take what you can use from the highest quality supplied. In many places, there is no need to recover commercial produce because there is plenty of organic food to recover! In fact, one of our political messages is that there is more edible food being thrown away each day by the food industry than there are hungry people to eat it. We live in a world of abundance if we are willing to end profit and exploitation.

## Food Distribution

At first, deliver the bulk food you collect to soup kitchens, community centers, public housing and shelters in your area. Delivery of uncooked food is a very important step that is often neglected by new Food Not Bombs chapters. Delivering produce, baked goods and other fresh food is a powerful way to build community and support for your chapter without having to prepare meals. If delivery around the community is a problem because of the difficulty of obtaining a delivery vehicle or lack of volunteers free to drive around town, then another great option is to hand out your uncooked food at a street corner, plaza, park or other public location at the same time and days every week. This could be the location where you also intend to start sharing prepared meals.

From your earlier research and contacts, it is likely you will already know which kitchens or community centers are interested in receiving food. After a few months or more, your chapter can start to deliver bulk food to food pantries, striking workers, day-care centers, battered women's shelters, refugees, day laborers and the like. Contact organizations already working directly in the community and ask if their staff would take responsibility for equitable distribution of free food each week. Since they already have a base of operation in the community, their staff will know the people in need, how great their need is and how best to distribute food to them. Encourage them to use the free food distribution program as a way to increase participation in their other programs—use the food as an organizing tool. Once you start sharing prepared food, your chapter might continue to give out bulk uncooked food at your regular meals. It can be helpful to collect used shopping bags from local groceries so people who do not bring a cloth bag can collect what they need. If the people seeking food are desperate, it may be better to have volunteers pack the bags before you arrive to the distribution site. Pre-bagging the food may be helpful, particularly if there are items in limited supply. If people are relaxed, let them fill their bags themselves. The free groceries can be arranged by vegetables, fruit and baked goods. Many chapters also provide free clothing or blankets. Clean socks or soap and other sanitary items can be helpful. If your group hands out unprepared food at the time of your regular meal, consider sharing the meal after everyone has had a chance to fill their grocery bags. In some cases, it may be better to share the prepared meal first. Your chapter might invite musicians to perform during the distribution. If you are sharing meals with several hundred people who line up to eat, it can reduce tension by having volunteers hand out baked goods starting at the back of the line working towards the front where the main course is being shared.



Cooking for Food Not Bombs in the Nigerian capital Abuja



We want to discourage a hierarchy of those in need and those with privilege who have come to help. At the same time, it is not safe to let everyone serve themselves the prepared meals. Provide a way for people to wash their hands, and invite people who come to eat to help serve the food. Make sure those people that come to eat, but became servers, have all the food they want. If you have a huge line, let them be first and they will be finished eating in time to help dish out one of the courses to the rest of the people. You can also invite them to meet at the kitchen to eat before they go out and help you with the distribution. They might also want to help you cook. Some chapters eat together before they take food to the streets when they know they will be feeding hundreds of people. Your chapter will soon find regular support from those depending on the food, and this will have a powerful effect throughout the community. Erasing the “us and them” dynamic of the social service industry provides a solid foundation for social change.

Many Food Not Bombs groups print out a small flyer that announces the day, time and location of food distribution. They pass them out around the community the day before the meal or even that morning. Volunteers seek out places like train and bus stations, soup kitchens, social service offices and camps where people who may need free food are living. This can be a great time to ask if anyone would be interested in volunteering with Food Not Bombs.

Please start your distribution at the time you announce. For people depending on Food Not Bombs, each minute they wait can seem like an eternity. These people deserve our respect by our being on time, and our reliability can be one of the most effective steps towards building trust and community support. If we are prompt and can be relied on to be on time for our meal, we can be trusted to come through in a wide range of matters. If your chapter is consistently late, it can also have an impact on the trust and reputation of all Food Not Bombs chapters as news spreads that we are not reliable. If we are known for being prompt, this can build trust for times like rebellions.

One of our goals is to encourage the awareness of food’s abundance as well as the undermining of the market of scarcity that places profits before people. Another goal is to encourage the public to realize we can transform society, that it is possible to “do it ourselves,” and that we can be counted on to address the fundamental issues facing our community.

## The Kitchen

Once you have your network of food collection and distribution in operation, begin using some of the recovered food to prepare hot, vegan meals. You will need to find a kitchen to use, and you will also need several pieces of equipment which are necessary for feeding large numbers of people that are not found in the average kitchen. (A full equipment list can be found in the Recipes section.)

There are several methods of finding suitable kitchen space. Sometimes it is possible to arrange to use the kitchen in a community center, place of worship or public building. A large kitchen in a collective house or a number of average-size kitchens also might be sufficient, but sometimes cooking right on the street in a field kitchen is the best solution. Each situation has its advantages and disadvantages, and the demands of your meal distribution program will determine your kitchen needs. Often, a loose combination of kitchen spaces is necessary for different aspects of your schedule. You might use a church kitchen for preparing your regular meals for the hungry, a field kitchen for a large rally in a park and a volunteer’s kitchen for a catered lunch. The key is to find the right size kitchen for each event.

Since most Food Not Bombs groups do some amount of cooking outdoors, it is a good idea to acquire a camp stove. Propane seems to be the best fuel for cooking in field kitchens. Propane tanks can be refilled and even the smaller ones last a long time on one filling. It is worthwhile to obtain a strong, heavy-duty stove, and while it might cost more, it will last longer and be safer with large pots. It is also possible to cook on a wood fire. Some chapters build stone or brick fire pits and make grills out of found metal. All equipment needed for food preparation and serving can be obtained from restaurant supply stores, thrift stores, yard sales, kitchen auctions and friends.

In general, the most important pieces of equipment are the cooking pots. You will need all different sizes, but the most valuable are the very large pots of forty to sixty quarts or more. A couple hundred people generally can be fed from a pot this size, depending upon what is prepared in it, but these pots are hard to come by. Most people who have pots this size will not loan them out. The cheapest pots to buy are aluminum, but we discourage their use because of toxicity. If you must use aluminum pots, never prepare miso or tomato-based recipes in them — the aluminum will corrode and leach into the food. Try to have stainless-steel pots donated to you, and once you have a collection of pots and lids, be very careful with them. It is not uncommon to lose pots between the kitchen and the vehicle or between the vehicle and the serving table. Also, try to avoid having the pots in a situation which might lead to arrest. Transfer the food into smaller, less valuable pots, plastic buckets or sanitary ice chests

for these times. It might be a good idea to organize a benefit concert to raise funds to buy large, stainless steel pots.

Another valuable piece of equipment is the five gallon plastic bucket. These can usually be obtained free from natural food stores and co-ops. Ask them to save and give you peanut-butter buckets, tofu buckets and other large plastic containers in which food is delivered. Don't forget to collect the lids, too. These containers are valuable for food storage, transportation and serving, and they can be used for many other purposes. Some chapters use these buckets for washing their bowls, plates and utensils during the meal: one for warm soapy water, one for the rinse, and one with vinegar, hydrogen peroxide or bleach to sanitize the items. This way, fifty sets of plates and forks can be used by a couple hundred people. Because they are fairly easy to get, these buckets also are good to use in situations where you cannot be sure they will be returned to you.

Large coolers or ice chests are also a necessity. You can buy very large ice chests at camping supply stores. The coolers used on fishing boats can often be large enough for two or three pots. Ice chests will keep your food hot for several hours. They can also be used to keep fruit salad and other items cool.

Your chapter will also need sharp knives, cutting boards, spatulas, large serving spoons and ladles. If you have six volunteers that help cook, have six knives and cutting boards. You can also get large silver bowls at restaurant supply stores which are useful for holding food you are cutting to size before placing it into the cook pots. You can also use five-gallon, plastic buckets for this purpose.

Cleaning supplies like sponges, cloth rags, soap and sanitary solutions like vinegar, bleach or other germ killing natural antiseptic are needed. If your chapter plans to cook outside, it is helpful to have a five-gallon water jug to rinse the servers' hands. You might want to provide a few buckets or a box for people to return their plates and silverware for washing so the soapy water can be used in a more relaxed way.

### **Food Preparation**

The major issue to address, when considering preparing food at low cost for large amounts of people, is one of logistics. Getting the proper amount of food, the necessary equipment, a suitable kitchen, and the cooking team all together at the same time might sometimes seem like a miracle, but it can be done. Each local chapter will develop its own method of food preparation. The following is a general guide.

The volunteer cooking team will usually meet at the kitchen a few hours before the meal is scheduled to be served. They often help unload the food and equipment from the Food Not Bombs vehicles. Sometimes the volunteers that collected the food will have already stored it at your kitchen the day be-

fore. Always wash your hands and wrists with soap and warm water before cooking, and plan the menu by looking at what food you have and how many people you are planning to feed. Sort out all the useful food and wash it. (The most time-consuming job in this process is washing and cutting the vegetables.)

Each cooking team usually operates with whatever style of management they are comfortable with. Sometimes, one person becomes "the head cook" or "bottom liner" for the whole team, and at other times, each person takes one dish and prepares it from start to finish. The team may also choose to do everything cooperatively. New volunteers may need some direction. A "bottom liner" may suggest one volunteer wash and cut the carrots and ask another volunteer to work on the potatoes, but it is a good idea to encourage all volunteers to take initiative by seeing what items have been collected and preparing them for the meal. The recipes you use can be ones you already know or they can be from the recipe chapter of this book. Once the meal is prepared, the cooking team will clean the kitchen, package the food for transportation and load it into the Food Not Bombs vehicle, shopping trolleys or bike carts for delivery to the serving site.

Sometimes the serving team and the cooking team are the same people, but often, they may consist of different volunteers. The serving team may arrive at the serving site and organize the food distribution and the staffing of the literature table before the cooks arrive with the food. Always try to have a hand-washing bucket with soap and a rinse bucket with just a little bleach, so the volunteers can wash their hands before serving. Try to keep the food away from the literature. If a long line develops, have someone go up and down the line and hand out bread or muffins or maybe something to drink on hot days so the wait is not too unbearable. This also helps reduce the tension created by fear that the food might run out. If you can find musicians or other street performers to come and perform while you're serving, it will also reduce tensions and create a very positive, festive atmosphere. This could also be a great time to have a puppet show or other program to inspire the public to support a local action, protest or support a proposed law or policy, or highlight a community garden or bike repair workshop. The serving team is also responsible for cleaning up both the site and the equipment and returning the supplies to wherever they are stored.

The collection of cash donations at the food table is an ongoing debate. Sometimes it is completely out of place to ask for donations, but in other situations people insist on being allowed to contribute to the collective work. In any event, always encourage the idea that everyone can have as much food as they want without regard to their ability to pay for it. Food is a right, not a privilege.

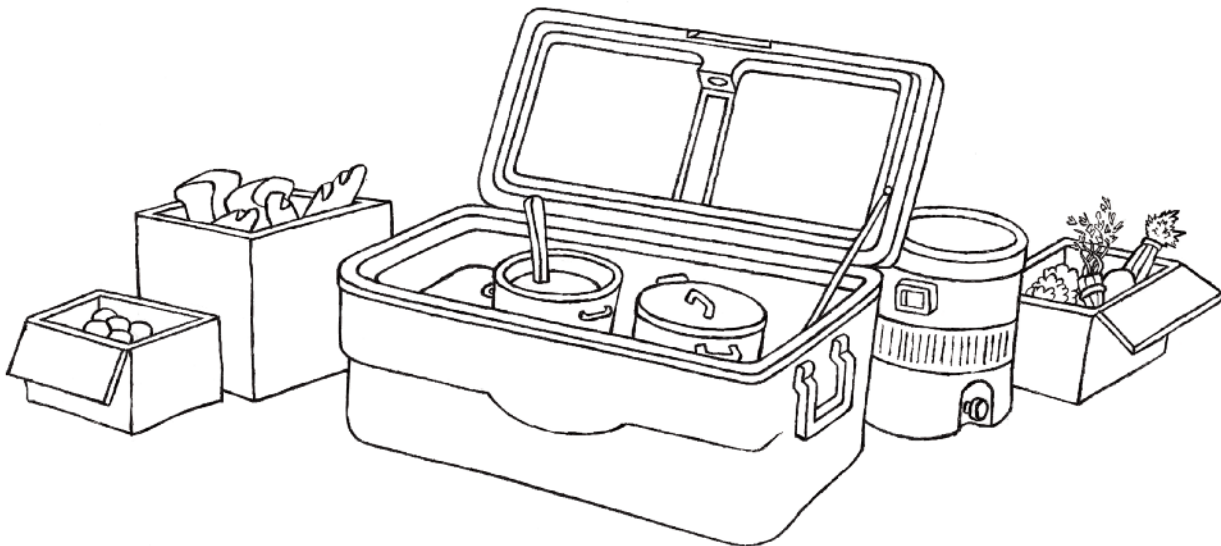
## Outdoor Tables and Field Kitchens

At every outdoor event, the first decision the group needs to make is where to place the tables. There are many important issues to consider to have the most impact. If possible, look at the location ahead of time. At demonstrations, placing the food table as close as possible to the focal point of the demonstration has been very successful. Being close to the action encourages people to stay involved and not drift away. Sometimes, the most desirable location is the one with the most foot traffic. Other times, it is the most visible, accessible location for the hungry. Often ten feet in one direction or another can have a big impact on the number of people that will visit your table.

It is also important to choose the best time to start sharing your meal. It might be good to set up during rush hour or at noon when hundreds of people are likely to walk by. This way you not only have the chance to feed a great many hungry people, you will reach more of the public with our message and attract additional volunteers and donations from those passing by. It is always a good idea, however, to be sensitive to nearby restaurants and vendors with similar types of food; they might complain and try to have your operation shut down if they feel it is in competition with theirs. On the other hand, you may find that some vendors welcome you because you will be taking on a crowd that would overwhelm them at a festival or other event. These vendors can often donate their leftovers to your chapter towards the end of the event. Unless you are providing food at a protest of a certain facility, you may not want to set up right in front of a restaurant. If providing for a protest, you might want to start sharing food as the protesters march to the site, or share food at both the start of the march while people are gathering as well as at the end as protesters arrive.

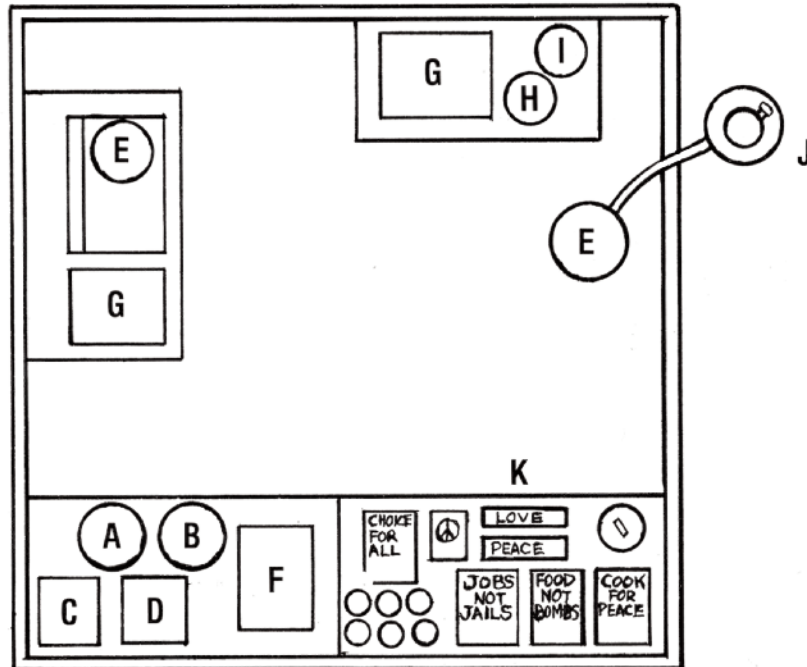
Food Not Bombs has been central to supporting actions such as strikes, occupations, border camps, base camps and tent city protests that can last days, weeks, months and, sometimes, years. The choice of your location and the times you share meals might be determined by the strategy being used during the action. There have been times where we had a main field kitchen at a central location and set up smaller serving tables with our literature and banner at key satellite locations. There have been times where we cook the meals outside a seized factory or occupied building, providing food to supporters outside while sneaking food inside to those taking over the site. You may need to organize a system of ropes and buckets that the occupiers use to haul in their food. The techniques and logistics for providing food support will often need to be developed as the action faces changes in the tactics being used by the police or management.

The following diagrams offer two possible layouts of your field kitchen. One is more basic, involving a minimum of equipment. The other involves more equipment and would be able to pass a health department inspection in most cities in the United States. In general, Food Not Bombs believes that our work does not require any permits. Sharing free food and literature is an unregulated activity. The government has no say on how we share ideas and gifts. However, the city or the police can use the permit issue as a way to attempt to harass your chapter into shutting down your meal. Therefore, it is sometimes a good idea to have a fully equipped field kitchen to take away their excuse that you may be violating a food sanitation law. There may still be attempts to shut you down, but you can point out that it is not a health but a political issue that they are raising. It is the Food Not Bombs position that we have a right to give away free food any time, in any public space, without any permission from the state.



## FOOD NOT BOMBS Field Kitchen

- A. Soup
- B. Salad
- C. Spoons or forks
- D. Bread or bagels
- E. Soup cooking on propane stoves
- F. Box of fruit
- G. Cutting boards
- H. Handwash with soap
- I. Handrinse
- J. Five-gallon propane tank
- K. Literature table





Giant puppets at the 1992 protest in San Francisco against Columbus Day celebration

## BEYOND BASIC FOOD COLLECTION AND DISTRIBUTION

### Street Theater

From the very beginning, the founding volunteers saw all of their street activity as theater. Influenced by artists like The Living Theater and Laurie Anderson, Food Not Bombs took its message to a public that was often not aware of the ideas the group was presenting. Most Americans had no idea their government was at war in Central America or that half the federal budget was used for the military. The idea that nuclear war was possible rarely entered the consciousness of most people, yet billions of their tax dollars were being diverted from schools and hospitals to fund the arms race. Unless you faced poverty yourself, it wasn't a concern. It was clear that the standard hour-long protest with signs and slogans had been ineffective at inspiring the public to join our movement.

Our performances were held in public spaces like Brattle and Harvard Square in Cambridge and in Boston at the Boston Commons or Copley Square. The theater of Food Not Bombs not only included vegan meals, but also literature tables, banners, signs, props, puppets, music and a variety of other expressive activities. From the beginning, we recognized that the personal is political. We wanted to dramatize the interconnectedness of the militarization of our society with the way we live our lives, highlighting the social costs of spending our resources on war and the human suffering caused by these policies. We created opportunities to expose these injustices through theatrical Depression era Soup Lines, depicting military generals holding a bake sale to buy a B-1 bomber, offering the “tofu challenge” instead of the “Pepsi Challenge” by sharing tofu fruit smoothies to students lined up to see if Coke or Pepsi was “best.” We even had a silent theater piece in which one volunteer dressed as a paper mâché missile chased a person dressed as a paper mâché world, threatening to bomb the Earth to its end. Our street theater didn't stop with the Boston chapter. The 1989 tent city protest in Civic Center Plaza included “the goddess of free food” and a “bombs not food” skit outside San Francisco City Hall. We organ-

ized a “Blood For Oil Exchange” outside the Pacific Stock Exchange in San Francisco in the days before the United States launched Desert Storm and staged a “Citizens Weapons Inspection” outside Raytheon Missile Systems factories in Arizona before the war on Iraq. We also baked bread with the sun in a solar oven outside the White House in Washington D.C. as part of “The Change We Knead Now” vigil, calling for a nationwide effort to address the crisis of climate change caused by consumerism and militarism. The Food Not Bombs banner, free food and literature can send a powerful message to all that happen to pass by.

The only limits to what kind of theater your chapter can present are the limits of your group’s imagination, time and pocketbook. Scenarios have included anything from setting up a food and literature table with some musicians and a banner; to full scale productions with amplified sound, light shows, movie projectors, puppets, clowns, poetry, free markets, dancers, signs, solar oven demonstrations and speakers all happening around your food and literature tables. Sometimes these events are planned entirely by Food Not Bombs, sometimes they are organized by other groups and we just attend with the banner, food and literature. You can also think of ways to include your audience in the performance.

Because we have always approached our work as theater, it has always been easy to adapt to various situations. Our theater is designed to help the public recognize and value the interconnectedness of all progressive issues. We try to expose how the policies of consumerism, militarism and imperialism affect our everyday lives from our diet and the items we choose to buy, to the policies supported by our taxes like the use of nuclear weapons for “defense,” promotion of genetically modified foods and a police system that imprisons millions while denying millions more access to education. Our theater also encourages the public to withhold its cooperation and support of the dominant political and economic system while participating in nonviolent direct action and other protests. When we participate in an event highlighting a particular issue, we try to show how it connects with the other issues Food Not Bombs is organizing around. Food is often an excellent way to show the connections between our daily choices and their relationship to the government and corporate policies that are threatening our future.

We share the ideas The Living Theater experimented with including involving the public in our performances in the “fourth wall,” an imaginary “wall” at the front of the stage or even the “fifth wall,” described by Peter Lichtenfels as “that semi-porous membrane that stands between individual audience members during a shared experience.” The impact can be profound. Even the impression made on a pedestrian seeing a line of 200 hungry people before a banner

stating “Food Not Bombs” can be so powerfully felt that the witness will have a deep and lasting understanding of our message. The impression is so strong that they are more likely to take action, so strong, that the state is worried that the experience could lead to public outrage or worse, rebellion and an end to their control. Add music and other elements and an even larger audience could be attracted to the goals of Food Not Bombs.

We promote and support many events in our community by carrying on our tables flyers that we have collected from other organizations. The flyers help change the dynamic of your program from a charity towards a place for discussion and social change. The simple presence of flyers will inspire conversation and community.

We strive to be as visible as possible so our work will have as much impact and reach as many people as possible. First, this means that our volunteers select the most visible locations to set up our table. Sometimes the ideal situation is in a park or plaza, and other times it is important to set up outside a bank, a corporate office, government building or military installation. How often to set up is equally important. The more we are outside, in the public eye, the more our message gets out, and we encourage all Food Not Bombs chapters to set up their literature and meals on a regular schedule to establish a reputation so that the public can pick up information about current events that they might not be able to find elsewhere. The Food Not Bombs table can be a landmark for activists and travelers seeking to connect with the movement in a new city. The corporations, military and governments promote their message of obedience to their agenda in all manner of high visibility methods and they are having real impact. We don’t have their billions and control of the media so we need to use what we have as effectively as we can to counter their propaganda. Our message is too important to hide.

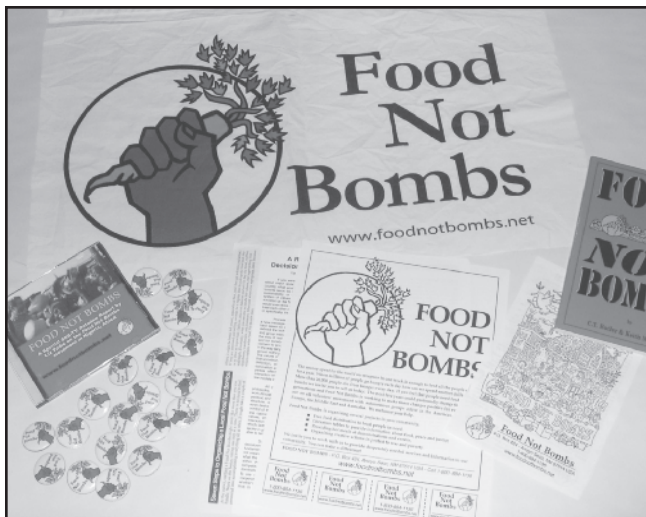
## Fundraising

Food Not Bombs has a long-standing tradition of being very relaxed about fundraising. We generally prefer to receive money in small amounts rather than large and difficult-to-manage donations from people or foundations that might be quite distant from us personally and politically. We feel it is better to have a wide base of support from the local community with whom we have direct contact than to rely on a few foundations or wealthy people who might manipulate or pressure us into catering to their special interests. Large contributors might threaten to discontinue their support upon discovering your group is planning to support an action they oppose, and if your chapter has grown dependent on that funding, you might find it difficult to ignore their concerns. While grassroots fund-raising is more difficult and

time-consuming, it allows us to remain on the cutting edge of political issues, and also requires constant direct contact with our supporters. For the most part, we don't really need much money anyway, as we have no paid staff and most of the food is recovered. Other than printing flyers, buying some gas for the delivery vehicles, and securing cooking equipment, spices and large bags of rice and beans, we have little reason to require much money. When we do need cash, we organize a concert or other creative fundraising event, print and sell t-shirts, patches and aprons, or sell buttons and stickers at rallies, protests and other events. Your chapter can also "cater" events you feel solidarity with and the sponsoring organization might be able to provide a dollar or two per person eating to help you guarantee items the organizers may require. In a number of situations this has helped local chapters acquire large pots, serving tables or extra bags of rice, beans, spices or oats for future meals. The people at the global coordination office can also provide support from the Dollar For Peace campaign and honorariums. This campaign provided funding for the Katrina Hurricane Relief Effort, bought a vehicle for Food Not Bombs in Africa and provided money for pots, pans, bulk food, and publications for Food Not Bombs groups and regional, national and world gatherings.

Selling merchandise, like buttons, patches and bumper stickers is one way to raise funds for your local Food Not Bombs chapter. Set up a literature table and request donations for buttons (badges), stickers, books, patches, and t-shirts at high volume pedestrian traffic commercial areas, community fairs, farmers markets, concerts or at political events.

Being regularly out in the public eye, exercising your right to free speech and collecting donations, has a tremendous effect beyond the raising of funds. For some groups, receiving donations for buttons and bumper stickers is a



Your chapter can silkscreen its own patches and t-shirts to raise funds or order items from [www.foodnotbombs.net](http://www.foodnotbombs.net)

major source of income. When people ask how much for a button in the U. S., we might use the phrase "a dollar, more if you can, less if you can't." In Europe it could be "one euro, more if you can, less if you can't," and so on, depending on the currency. Purposefully create a loose atmosphere so that people donate what they can without pressure or embarrassment. You will often raise more money and awareness if volunteers stand behind the literature and direct people's attention to a particular flyer or ask them a question like, "have you heard about our next event?" At large outdoor events, periodically remember to take the money out of the donation bucket as the day passes so that no one grabs the donation can and runs off with all the money you brought in that day. We have designs at the website that your chapter can print out and tape to your donation can to make it attractive. We also have a suggested price list, sign-up sheets and flyers you can add to your literature table. We have some flyers in a variety of languages, along with those in English. Your chapter can buy buttons, stickers, books, patches, DVDs, t-shirts and other materials to help raise money and awareness for your local Food Not Bombs group. You can also use the images and logos on our website to make your own t-shirts, badges, patches and other items to raise money. You can also design your own pictures to use on these materials. Food Not Bombs chapters have created many inspiring images to share our message and to use on materials to raise money. Many Polish chapters produced their own benefit punk compact discs. In the 1980s, Food Not Bombs groups in Czechoslovakia and Australia created a benefit album where half the songs were by Czech bands and the other half by Australian bands.

## Catering

Sometimes unions, community groups or political organizations ask Food Not Bombs chapters to provide meals to the people attending their events. It might be hot soup at an outdoor rally, lunch for a conference or full meals to activists participating in an ongoing protest in a remote, wilderness camp for the environment or against military training exercises. Most often we provide food for free even to the sponsoring organizations, but at times the sponsoring group might request food we are unlikely to find discarded or want certain meals guaranteed and provide us with a donation of a dollar or more per person in advance of the event. If a sponsoring organization has a special arrangement like transportation or housing as part of their conference or event, they might ask for additional contributions directly from the people you will serve—this is up to the organizers. However, if the event is outdoors or open to the general public, the food is always free and never denied to someone because of lack of money.



Food Not Bombs street theater in Wellington, New Zealand before the 2003 war on Iraq

At some events, food is cooked at the event site where there may be a commercial kitchen or other cooking facilities, while at other events food is transported already cooked. It is a good idea to visit the kitchen in advance to make sure you know what additional equipment you should bring when you arrive. Taos Food Not Bombs was asked to provide three meals a day for 200 students at a school that “had a kitchen,” only to discover that the kitchen had no stove. It is important to be on time at all events. Obviously, this is especially important when you are feeding 100 people lunch from noon to 1:00 PM during a conference. Also, it is usually possible to bring your literature table and set it up next to the food table or in the lobby or hallway at the venue. A Food Not Bombs banner posted on the wall behind your serving table is another great way to let those participating in the conference know that Food Not Bombs is providing the food. Catering is not only a great way to raise a little money for your chapter, but a way to show support for other movements it also provides an opportunity for other activists to learn more about the work of Food Not Bombs. We are in a position to speak to many of the participants just because everyone is eager to eat and will often relax near the food. This could be one of the most effective aspects of catering. We are often the one group that connects organizers to each other because we provide food to a wide range of groups working on a variety of issues.

### **Concerts, Protests, Gatherings and other Food Not Bombs Events**

Food Not Bombs chapters can sponsor concerts and cultural events to have fun and raise money or attention for important issues. Many Food Not Bombs chapters initiate and help organize protests. If you plan ahead, your event can be a big success. Whether for rallies, concerts or poetry readings, it is important to choose a location and date at least six weeks to two months in advance so the details can be listed in local magazines and newspapers. For larger events, it can be a good idea to start organizing as much as a year in advance.

Propose the event at the first possible Food Not Bombs meeting. Present the reason, goal and vision of the event to everyone in your group, maybe first by email and then formally at the next meeting. Include a suggested date, time and possible location as well as the type of performers, speakers or activities that could be considered part of your proposal. You might brainstorm the idea with a few Food Not Bombs volunteers before making your proposal. Your suggestions can inspire the other volunteers to add their ideas. You can then close the agenda item with commitments to tasks such as securing the venue, contacting performers, writing the press release and producing of flyers and web announcements. The progress of your plans can be reviewed at the next meeting, and if you see that some tasks have not been completed, see if additional people might be needed.



When making the arrangements, be sure to get the correct mailing addresses, email addresses and phone numbers of all parties involved so that you can stay in touch. Send a letter confirming the date, time and other arrangements to the managers of the venue as soon as you can, and once you have the space confirmed, contact the performers and send them letters and emails confirming the date, time, location and duration of their performance. It would be unfortunate if the performers did not show simply because they never received their letters of confirmation. If the event goes smoothly, these performers will support you in the future. If you are having a concert, find out if the venue is equipped with a sound system or ask the bands if they have speakers, amplifiers and a sound person. If not, they may know someone who does. Work out a complete schedule in advance with specific times for each performer, including set up and sound check, and be sure to send the schedule to all parties involved including the people whose space you are using, the people staffing the sound system, everyone in your chapter and the master of ceremonies. If the event includes puppets, fire dancing and special speakers or props, include those details in your schedule and make sure each aspect has someone responsible for bringing the proper items: setting up the necessary support such as electricity and extension cables, costumes, banners, backdrops, lights, video equipment, fire extinguisher etc. Create a time line for each aspect starting with the person that has the key to open the door and his or her arrival time. If organizing an event in a park or city building, you may need to reserve the space or get insurance. Because we are a low budget community group, the cost of such items can often be waived



Drumming during meal in Nairobi, Kenya

or reduced. In the United States, governments cannot require costly fees for free speech events in public spaces. Your volunteers may be so busy organizing the regular food and literature distribution that inviting bands, clubs or other performers and artists to take responsibility for the event can not only free you from these details, it is a great way to inspire more community members to have a deep connection to the goals of Food Not Bombs.

Another good idea is the distribution of flyers to advertise the event to local organizations six weeks in advance. A PDF of the flyer can be posted on your chapter's website and emailed to other community websites along with a text version of your announcement that can be posted to online calendars and blogs. You may have a local Indymedia site on which you can post the announcement, add the flyer as an attachment and email your lists and listservs with the text and ask everyone to forward the announcement to their lists. You can build an email list by having a sign-up sheet at your regular food and literature table. An announcement in monthly print newsletters or calendar listings can be very valuable. In addition, post flyers all over town and put them on your table for one month in advance. If you are organizing a concert, you may want to hand out flyers at other concerts in the weeks before your event. Make sure all the bands and other participants have copies to distribute themselves. Hand out flyers at protests and other events where people interested in your event might be attending. Email a thirty second public service announcement to local radio stations and make a follow-up phone call to be sure the announcement is received, suggesting it be put in their public service announcement folder. You may be able to arrange an interview with performers and volunteers of your chapter on local radio programs as well as with local publications, daily papers and weekly magazines. These larger news reports can attract not only a larger audience, but new volunteers and interest in your local effort.

Your group's volunteers can set up a literature table with flyers, buttons, stickers and shirts at the venue before the event. Depending on the type of event being held, you may want to ask for a donation at the door or "pass the hat" during the show. At bigger events, you may want to create a printed program that can also be an opportunity for fundraising. You can sell ads to local groups and businesses. And, of course, a table with refreshments provides a good opportunity to have a donation bucket to raise additional donations.

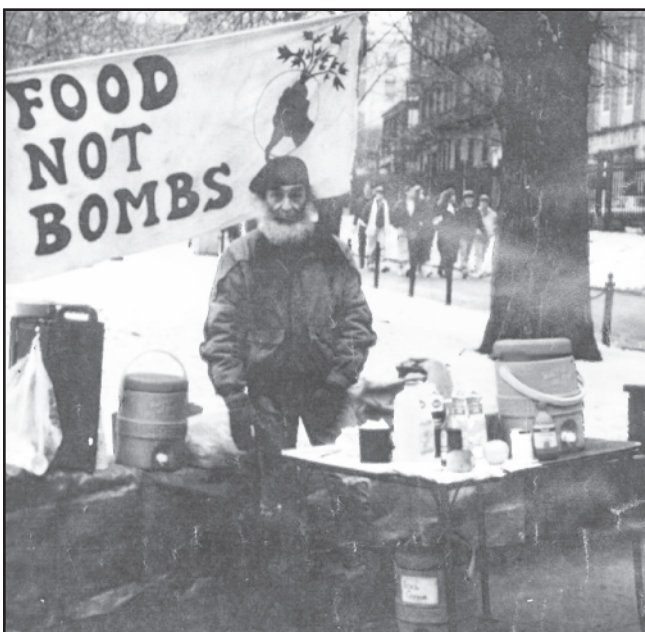
It might be good to organize events like this every month or two as a way to attract more volunteers and build support with people who would otherwise not learn about the work of Food Not Bombs. These events can energize your volunteers and provide an opportunity to have some fun and to meet new people.

## MODELS USED TO ORGANIZE A LOCAL FOOD NOT BOMBS GROUP

During the 30 year history of Food Not Bombs, local chapters have developed several models adapted to the needs of their community. These are a few that your chapter might adopt.

### Boston Model

The first model featured one collective working out of a couple of homes. Every morning Food Not Bombs volunteers would drive around the Boston area picking up unsold food from groceries, bakeries and produce markets. After collecting the food they would drive to public housing projects, soup kitchens, shelters and other food programs to distribute. There was a regular schedule of pickups and deliveries. We delivered groceries once a week to the community rooms of public housing projects and maybe every day to the larger shelters or soup kitchens. As volunteers delivered the groceries, other Food Not Bombs activists would be preparing vegan meals to share that afternoon and evening. While they were cooking, a couple of other volunteers would be staffing a literature table in Brattle Square or Park Street Station. Musicians and street performers would join the literature table during the late afternoon. The literature table might include a pot of hot cider being warmed on a propane stove. Once the food was prepared it would be delivered to the literature table. While the food was being shared, other Food Not Bombs volunteers would be playing music, performing with puppets or giving



Eric Weinberger shares food in the Boston Commons



Food Not Bombs in San Francisco, California

speeches. When the weather was good, other artist and political groups would join us with their information or artwork. We had a policy that we could not have two organizing meetings without sharing food inbetween. Other groups had meeting after meeting without ever getting out in the public. Boston Food Not Bombs met randomly, which made it difficult for new volunteers to join.

Boston Food Not Bombs also provided meals and literature at protests all over New England. This introduced many hundreds of other activists to Food Not Bombs and was a major way of attracting new volunteers and food donations.

### San Francisco Model

The volunteers in San Francisco collected discarded food every morning from groceries, bakeries and food warehouses. The food was dropped off at the kitchen where volunteers would gather to prepare that day's lunch. Huge sixty quart pots and other cooking equipment would be delivered with the food. While that crew was preparing lunch, the drivers would head back out and pick up more food. They would return in time to load up the prepared food and some of the cooks and head to Golden Gate Park, Civic Center or U.N. Plaza where they would unload the food, set up the tables, banners, signs and literature. Musicians and other performers might arrive at that same time and perform near the table. We would be greeted by 100 to as many as 500 people waiting in line. Some volunteers would take bagels or other baked goods to the back of the line and slowly hand out these items to each person as they walked from the last person in line towards the front. Boxes of produce, bread and other unprepared food would be set out near the literature table. We often brought used shopping bags for people to fill.



Food Not Bombs in Portland, Oregon

After lunch the driver would drop off the mid-morning pickups and cooking equipment to the kitchen preparing dinner. Any surplus food would be delivered to soup kitchens and shelters. The driver would return to pick up the prepared meals and volunteers and deliver the food, tables, literature and banners to Civic Center or U.N. Plaza. Once again bagels and pastries would be handed down the line, and uncooked groceries would be placed near the literature table for people to “shop for free.” The people visiting San Francisco Food Not Bombs included both the homeless and the housed so it was valuable to have both a hot meal and groceries. The homeless had no way to prepare food and the hot meal was also a great way to create a space for the housed to engage in conversation with Food Not Bombs and the unhoused about current issues. This provided a basis for building resistance to oppressive laws and exploitive policies and inspired involvement in projects like our free FM radio stations, Homes Not Jails, and campaigns against police violence.

About forty volunteers would meet every Thursday evening to plan that week's activities. The meeting would start with everyone introducing themselves and requesting, if necessary, that an item be added to the agenda. After the introductions, one volunteer would explain how to use the process of consensus, and another would state the three principles. The next agenda item was pickups, then kitchens and cooks followed by servers and pot washers. The next agenda item was called “Solidarity” where we discussed the actions we would provide with food and how we would fit these actions into our regular schedule. We sometimes had an agenda item to discuss the planning of our own benefit

concerts or strategies to address new anti-homeless laws. If we were being arrested during our meals, we might have an agenda item about our legal strategy. We had a note taker who could remind us of past decisions and details of where we had been in the discussion of agenda items that we had not yet come to consensus on.

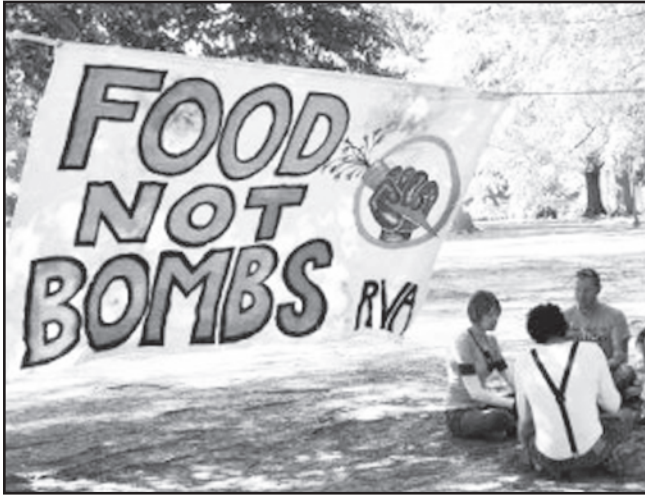
We also had committee reports. We had committees on increasing respect for women's ideas in Food Not Bombs, the planning of gatherings, benefit concerts, tours, the writing of pamphlets or flyers and the organizing of our nearly annual free concert called Soupstock. We encouraged the people that depended on us for food to participate in the meetings, and this created a powerful alliance and helped erase the usual hierarchy of charities. This model was very powerful because of the regular weekly meeting, which allowed new volunteers to participate fully in every aspect of San Francisco Food Not Bombs. We often shared food and literature as many as fourteen times a week between meetings maintaining the philosophy of Boston Food Not Bombs to never have a meeting without having taken action.

### Portland Model

Portland Food Not Bombs introduced the idea of having a kitchen for every meal so they had a Sunday Food Not Bombs where housemates would have their own pots and cooking equipment, pick up the discarded food to cook and distribute and their own literature and banner. This really reduced stress on those living at each house and it saved volunteers from burning out. It also encouraged housemates to participate and involved more people to take part. There were Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday Food Not Bombs groups. East Bay Food Not Bombs also had houses and kitchens for each day of the week, but they also added a regular meeting that brought all the volunteers together to discuss solidarity actions, publications and other projects. Portland Food Not Bombs provides food to a large homeless population and focuses on daily hot meals which they often share under a bridge near the river to help keep out of the rain.

### Richmond Model

Richmond Food Not Bombs volunteers collect discarded or surplus food in the days before their weekly meal. The food is delivered to a kitchen Sunday where volunteers gather to prepare the meal. For many years they cooked at a church. They also cooked in the homes of volunteers. Once the meal is ready they load it into their vehicles and drive it to Monroe Park where there



Food Not Bombs in Richmond, Virginia

are both homeless people and many students from the local college. Volunteers arrive at the park, set up a circle of tables; one for the main course, one for drinks, one for desserts, one for groceries, one for clothes and one for literature. They hang banners between the huge trees that shade the meal. Most of the people participating are homeless, but they do have students and low income people that are excited to get free groceries. The volunteers hold a meeting in the park at the end of their weekly meal. Richmond Food Not Bombs has provided support for many local efforts and often shares meals outside City Hall during public hearings on city policies against the homeless or other communities.

### Long Island Model

Long Island Food Not Bombs collects discarded food from all over the island, and they set up distribution sites once a week near transit stations or bus stops in different communities. Since most of the people depending on Long Island Food Not Bombs for food have housing, they focus on distributing free groceries and free clothing. The volunteers meet at one house to cook, prepare the meal and load their vehicles with groceries and the hot food. Volunteers participate in each of the distributions. They don't meet very often as the area of Long Island, where they share food, is huge and the volunteers often travel long distances to participate. They use a sophisticated website and phone system to communicate with one another. The website is also designed to encourage discussion with the wider community.

### Nairobi Model

Nairobi Food Not Bombs buys and collects food that could be discarded because they have the funds. They

hire a taxi to pickup both the food that they buy and the discarded food. At first they took the food and their cooking equipment to the location where they intended to share their meals. Since poverty and hunger is so widespread, they focus their distribution on orphaned children and the least advantaged youth living in the roughest shanty towns of Nairobi. Since the children were so excited when Food Not Bombs came to their community, they worried that the children might be injured by the propane stove so they started cooking at an apartment off-site and brought the prepared meal to the community center where they share their food. After sharing the meal, the organizers teach classes in journalism, writing and photography with the goal of fostering self respect among the children. Groups in other countries also teach classes during meals. Food Not Bombs chapters in the Philippines often hold art classes for the children who came to eat. The artwork would be hung on a wall during the meal for the children to see and comment on.

### Reykjavik Model

Like many Food Not Bombs groups, they collect their food in the days before their weekly meal. The idea they introduced was, in addition to providing flyers and a Food Not Bombs banner at every meal, they also display signs where they write out the text of their main flyers in Icelandic on one side and English on the other. Since it is so cold and windy, people have an opportunity to read about the principles and goals of Food Not Bombs without having to take off their gloves. Their location was in the most visible place in Reykjavik, and people that happen by are attracted to both the food and the signs, and they take time to read about our movement. Food Not Bombs stores their signs and table at a nearby club so they don't have to carry everything from the kitchen.

### Besançon Model

The volunteers in Besançon, France collect food during the days before the meal. They have constructed a system of boxes made with foam to keep their pots of food warm. They share food the first and third Saturday of each month in a popular plaza outside their city's infoshop where they store their tables, chair, signs and banners. They set out tables and chairs around the plaza. They hang several banners between trees and they have enlarged posters and mounted on large boards which they lean against the walls around the plaza. They share a huge number of dishes to people that sit at tables decorated with table clothes and flowers discarded by a local florist. At first, there is acoustic music, but once everyone is eating, the Capoeira music and martial arts begins. Capoeira is also spreading to other Food Not Bombs meals.

## FOOD NOT BOMBS AND THE STATE

### Non-profit, Tax-exempt Status

Food Not Bombs is considered an association and is almost never required to officially register with government officials. Each country has its own laws about fundraising, and in most cases, Food Not Bombs has little or no interaction with revenue or tax collectors. Some African countries require groups like Food Not Bombs to pay a fee to start up, but the details can be fluid with the governments changing. The United States is a special case. Every Food Not Bombs chapter is an association and does not need to be registered with the authorities. However, it is quite common for people in the United States to ask if we are a non-profit, tax-exempt organization. Generally, we are not interested in the bureaucracy needed to maintain such an organization. The amount of money we collect and spend is so small that each group can keep account of its finances at their regular meetings and record the small denominations in a notebook. At times, a local foundation or community group may want to make a larger contribution but this is so rare it does not require seeking non-profit, tax exempt status which, in 2010, can cost a few hundred dollars to start with and can invite interference by the U.S. Internal Revenue Service (IRS). Your local chapter might want to use an

“umbrella” or “fiscal sponsor or agent” to assist in arranging a particular donation of money that specifically needs to be given to a nonprofit, tax-exempt group. This is fine. It is usually not too difficult to find a local tax-exempt organization to be your fiscal sponsor. The people wishing to make a large contribution would make their check out to this fiscal agent or nonprofit group, and the fiscal sponsor would make a check out to someone in your group or pay directly for the items.

Your chapter needs to provide the name of the tax exempt group to the people making the contribution before they make out a check to Food Not Bombs. Specifically, however, we urge you not seek permission from any government agency to engage in the work you do. Once a group becomes a tax-exempt organization, the IRS or other tax collection agencies have the right to oversee all aspects of your chapter’s operation, and this can limit much of what you can do. Rather than try to hide from the IRS, we prefer to ignore them. The only time we ever need to provide proof of being a nonprofit group is when some national chain groceries or bakeries ask for an IRS letter. The global coordination office can provide your local chapter with a letter for food donations, but if you are receiving money, you will need to contact a local nonprofit or talk with the volunteers at the global coordination office to see if they can help. While it is fine to accept some funding from foundations, it is not wise to become dependent on them. To receive money from a foundation, your chapter



Police take literature and charging volunteers with possession of stolen property for the milk crates

will need to have a nonprofit group provide you with their tax letter and a letter from that group stating that they are your fiscal sponsor.

Foundations might use their financial support to influence the direction of your chapter by threatening to withhold funding if you provide food and support to groups taking positions on issues that may be objectionable to the board members or staff of these funding agencies. A foundation might suggest that your chapter not participate in a protest in support of the environment because their donation to you could threaten financial support to their foundation by local developers. An action outside a weapons factory might cost the foundation the support of wealthy defense contractors, or protests against anti-homeless laws could cut off economic support for foundations funded by the owners of local retail stores. The owners of fur coat stores might withhold contributions to a local foundation if they see Food Not Bombs is providing food to animal rights activists targeting their shops, ending future contributions to your chapter. It is better to be free to support the environment, peace, animal liberation and human rights actions than to rely on grants from foundations.

## Legal Tips

The act of sharing food and literature is an unregulated activity in most if not all countries. Government interference is rare in every country but the United States. Considering how many groups are active in the United States, we really have few problems, but they do arise from time to time. Food Not Bombs volunteers can face a number of legal issues in the United States with its more restrictive legal system. These legal issues may also be of interest for some of our chapters in other countries as well.

The first legal issue Food Not Bombs volunteers can face is that of permits. In most countries, the idea that anyone would be asked to apply for a permit to share free food and literature would never happen. In some countries, police may ask a volunteer to give their name, phone number or address the first time they come to the attention of the authorities, and after that nothing more happens between Food Not Bombs and the local government. Even in the United States it is understood that sharing free food and literature is an unregulated activity, yet government officials, police and security guards sometimes confront our volunteers in an effort to silence the meal with its message.

Another possible legal issue, mostly limited to the United States, is the legality of having literature and a banner visible while sharing food. The First Amendment of the U. S. Constitution protects the right to religion, free speech and assembly, but this has not stopped local, state and federal officials from taking our literature and banners. The police have taken our banners and literature after issuing tickets.

At times, volunteers are told that they can share food as long as they don't have a banner or literature "because then they are an organized group." Food Not Bombs always has the constitutional right to have a banner and literature at every meal. Any time our volunteers are arrested, issued a citation or have their literature or banner taken, it has inspired the community to rally to our support. So far, this has not been much of a problem outside the United States. Two volunteers were arrested and released on site in Brixton and police in New Zealand threatened to arrest volunteers one time during a Buskers Festival. Police also arrested over ten volunteers in Utrecht, Netherlands but claimed it was a mistake thinking they were selling food without permits at the train station. All other arrests outside the United States have been for participation in protests, not for the sharing of food. This could change as the global economy continues to fail and more countries adopt the repressive policies of the United States.

The third legal issue, also mostly concerning Food Not Bombs groups in the United States, is the federal government's claim that our volunteers are involved in plots and acts of terrorism or political violence. This third category of legal issues is very serious, and not only requires competent legal assistance, but political support from Food Not Bombs groups all over the world. Any Food Not Bombs volunteers arrested for any terrorist or political violence related charge should insist that their lawyers call the global coordination office and ask that their case be posted on the website. Nearly twenty Food Not Bombs volunteers have been sentenced to long prison terms after being accused of serious felonies in the United States. These volunteers might be free today had their lawyers known that their clients were victims of a nationwide campaign of infiltration, surveillance and political repression directed against the Food Not Bombs movement. A few Food Not Bombs activists in other countries have also been accused of terrorism. A volunteer with Minsk Food Not Bombs, Tatiana Semenishcheva, was arrested by the Belarus authorities in 2010, a few months before the national election, and charged with participation in a plot to fire bomb the Russian Embassy. Food Not Bombs activist Artyom Bystrov was arrested in February 2012 in Nizhny Novgorod, Russia and charged with organizing an "extremist community" under the exotic name of "Antifa-RASH." The Food Not Bombs community is taking a number of measures to make sure that all our volunteers will be safe from this type of government entrapment in the future.

## The Revolution Doesn't Need A Permit

Sharing food and literature for free with the public is an unregulated activity. The government would never issue a permit to have its policies challenged unless they intended to revoke the permit when the group's activities start to

threaten the power of the state. Common interpersonal activities like sharing coats, blankets, books, ideas and food between people for free does not require a permit, even in countries like the United States. People sometimes tell our volunteers that it is easy for projects like Food Not Bombs to get a permit from city officials and claim that it makes sense that the authorities would need to know that your group will be using a city sidewalk or park. They make it sound simple. You give them the name of the organization, your group's mailing address and a phone number, and they give you a permit. If the permit policy is really that simple, you might look into it, but we suggest you don't tell the city the identity of your group until you know for sure.

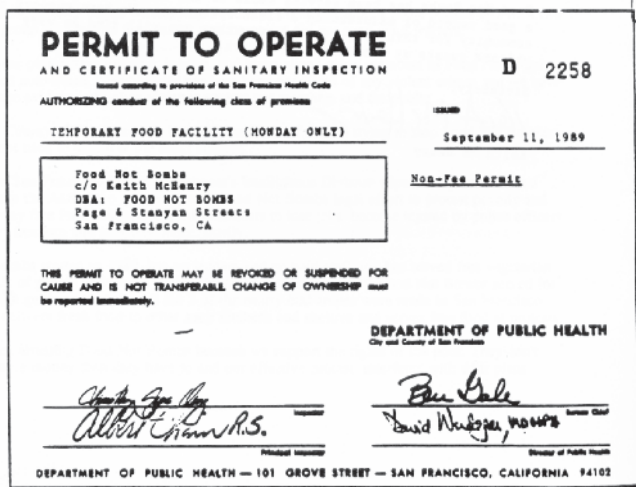
**A Case In Point:** In 1981, a Food Not Bombs volunteer filled out the street performers permit request for our food and literature table at Harvard Square in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The half size page asked for our name, mailing address and phone number. That was all. Some years we remembered to fill out the page and turn it into the clerk at Cambridge City Hall. Some years we forgot. Our activity was considered like that of any other musician, mime or juggler busking for money in Harvard Square. The police never restricted our activities in Cambridge.

The story was a bit different in San Francisco, California. On July 11, 1988, after serving for several months without city interference, the San Francisco Food Not Bombs group wrote a simple, one-page permit request to the Recreation and Parks Department at the suggestion of a community organizer believing San Francisco's permit policy would be the same as we had experienced in Cambridge. This unfortunately alerted the government to the meal distribution program and gave the city an opportunity to deny us a permit. On August 15, 1988, fortyfive riot police emerged from the fog of Golden Gate Park and arrested nine Food Not Bombs volunteers. The next week the police arrested twenty-nine volunteers, telling the media that they arrested us for making "a political statement." However, the charges were for selling food in the park without a permit. The police

arrested fifty-four people the first weekend in September. The mayor became worried and held two afternoon's of meetings with Food Not Bombs and community leaders. Mayor Agnos issued a six-week temporary Recreation and Parks Department permit so he could stop the arrests. The public was outraged at the arrests and so many people volunteered with San Francisco Food Not Bombs that the chapter added a Tuesday lunch at the Federal Building and a meal Wednesday at the farmers market at United Nations Plaza.

San Francisco Food Not Bombs was finally issued a food facility permit after a federal judge ordered the city to stop changing the rules each week. However, the next summer, the authorities believed that providing free meals to the hungry interfered with their efforts to drive the homeless from the city so our volunteers started to get arrested for not having permits to share meals at the Federal Building and UN Plaza. A huge earthquake ended the arrests in October of 1989, but when the chief of police won the mayor's race he tried to drive the homeless out of sight. Frank Jordan ordered the city attorney to get a court order against Food Not Bombs for sharing food without a permit, and ordered his Recreation and Parks Commission to "delete" the process for obtaining a permit and the food facility permit was "temporarily suspended" because the group couldn't get the "deleted" land use permit. San Francisco Food Not Bombs applied for a recreation and parks department permit over 100 times, but never received a reply from the city and the police continued to make arrests. The arrests continued even when the group moved to UN Plaza where the San Francisco Board of Supervisors had final say on permits. The board of supervisors voted twice to let Food Not Bombs operate at UN Plaza but that didn't stop the police from making hundreds of arrests at that location. In 1997, the city finally stopped arresting San Francisco Food Not Bombs volunteers. After nearly 1,000 arrests, many of which were very violent, and tens of thousands of tax dollars wasted, the chapter continued to share free vegan meals and literature in San Francisco.

Other city and state governments in the United States have also used the permit issue in an effort to silence Food Not Bombs. These officials have made claims that we are required to have permits for a number of items including the right to display our banner, the use of a public space or the operation of a food facility. As far as needing a permit to share meals, state laws claim that all food facilities are required to have a permit to sell food. On the other hand, sharing free food with the community is still an unregulated activity in those states. Government concerns about food safety are really an excuse to silence the message of Food Not Bombs. The origins of these problems generally start when a military contractor takes notice of our program or when a retail area embarks on an anti-homeless campaign.





San Francisco Police guard food from hungry at Golden Gate Park on August 15, 1988

There can be a progression of permit issues starting with a need to have a permit to use a public space, to a requirement to have a sign permit, to the well used excuse that we are required to have a Food Facility permit. In the only case of its kind, Connecticut General Statute 19A-36 was changed on October 3, 2009 to allow Food Not Bombs and all other residents of the state share meals without interference as a result of the arrests of the Middletown Food Not Bombs volunteers. The state was also ordered to pay Food Not Bombs \$15,000 for the illegal arrests.

Authorities will tell the media that they are worried about the safety of our food while permitting every type of hot dog cart and fast food operation. Salvatore Nesci, Chief Public Health Sanitarian of Middletown, Connecticut, testified that, “We have reason to believe that individuals have been taking food out of dumpsters in the name of Food Not Bombs. From the research we have done nationally on the Food Not Bombs movement, we’ve come to find they actually advocate for this. We just can’t approve something like this. That’s why we are being adamant.”

The August 12, 2009, article by Monica Polanco in the *Hartford Courant* reported that, “Rehm said he became

concerned when he saw that the national Food Not Bombs website mentioned dumpster diving as one way to collect food for the potlucks. In fact, that website, which I have maintained since its founding in 1997, has never suggested dumpster diving as a way to collect food, but has always encouraged volunteers to ask groceries, markets and bakeries for the food they can’t sell. We can recover better quality and larger amounts of food by working with employees in the food industry than by dumpster diving, even though the vegan food one finds in dumpsters is most likely just as safe. Many of the people we feed would have to rely on eating out of dumpsters if it wasn’t for our meals, so it makes no sense to stop Food Not Bombs.

The safety record of Food Not Bombs is very good. Health officials have no reason to worry. No one has ever been made ill eating with Food Not Bombs during the past thirty years in any of the nearly 1,000 locations where we share meals. Our food is vegan and vegetarian and often organic. We also share this fresh organic food within the three hours required for commercial food facilities to comply with sanitation laws, thus making our meals much safer than non-vegan,



commercial establishments. Food facility permits are designed to protect the public from becoming ill when commercial facilities cut corners to increase their income. Food Not Bombs has no incentive, financial or otherwise, to share food that is not safe. No one has ever been made ill because of the way the Food Not Bombs program is designed.

Our volunteers follow these simple steps to make sure our meals are always safe so the effort to close us down because of unsanitary conditions is not based in law or in a concern for the health of the hungry. The main safety measure we implement is that all our food is vegan. This fact alone reduces the risk that anyone will become ill. We also share the meals before harmful bacteria have a chance to threaten people's health. With so many people going hungry, it is not easy to have enough food prepared to provide meals for longer than the three hours it can take to make people ill. Bacteria multiply most rapidly between 40°F (4° C) and 140°F (60° C), a range known as the Food Temperature Danger Zone, and after three hours in this zone, bacteria may start to become a safety issue, particularly if the meal includes meat or dairy. Your meals will leave the stove above 140°F (60° C) and still be at that temperature by the time you are sharing it with your community. We also ask that volunteers that smoke to wait until they are finished cooking or serving the meal and remember to wash their hands after they take a smoke break before returning to cook or share food. Washing your hands with soap and warm water after going to the toilet is also an important way to protect the community when providing free vegan meals. On the other hand, industrial food sold with permits can be very harmful. Products like factory produced meats and corn syrup-based food are causing huge health problems. Governments are even issuing permits for genetically engineered products which are known to activate many life threatening illnesses. Simple, low-tech practices like washing our produce and our hands, and preparing only organic, vegan meals in a short amount of time, protects the community we are feeding. So while sharing food is an unregulated activity, we still don't want to make anyone ill.

If your chapter feels pressured to apply for a permit, don't let the government stop your group from sharing food. Although the government may create reasons for denying you a permit, you should not be intimidated. Make it clear that you are willing to adopt any proposal which will make your operation safer and more successful, but you also will not agree to any demand that makes it impossible for you to continue your operation. Remind the officials that sharing food, like sharing clothing, blankets, books and ideas is an unregulated activity. We have found that even after long hours of meeting with government officials, hard earned permits can be revoked at any moment. From the government's

point of view, a permit is something they can take away. If the government is pressured to stop Food Not Bombs, they can revoke your permit if you have one. If you don't have a permit they can't take it away and this can make it much more difficult for the government to silence Food Not Bombs. (Remember the history of "Indian Treaties" in the United States?) Because of this, we strongly recommended that you NOT contact the local government. As we have stated, "The revolution needs no permit."

The inability of the government to control the activities of Food Not Bombs can be very threatening to officials. Denying hungry people food is a strong way to control them. The authorities were not eager to have people provide food in New Orleans after Katrina. As the global economy fails, efforts to offer or withhold food to hungry people to control local populations may become more common.

Government authorities may use another tactic against Food Not Bombs chapters. They may tell our volunteers to move their meal to a less visible location. Officials are happy that your group is feeding the hungry, since they can't afford to provide meals themselves, but they also don't want your groups sharing food where the public will be able to see that there are so many people in need. The government may pass local laws with the goal of making it illegal to share food with the hungry in designated locations where you would be able to reach large numbers of people. This has been one strategy used since the first arrests of Food Not Bombs in San Francisco. After failing to end our meals by making nearly 100 arrests, they agreed to let us share food and literature, but claimed after two days of negotiation that we had agreed to set up our meals behind a wall of bushes in Golden Gate Park. It was not possible for people walking into the park to see us and not one person, other than those needing to eat, visited our table until we moved it back to the entrance at Haight and Stanyan when the city started arresting us in Civic Center Plaza. City officials all over the United States have made efforts to hide the homeless and meals to the homeless. In November 2009, officials in St. Augustine, Florida, moved Food Not Bombs to a parking lot behind city hall, making outreach, on the issues like redirecting military spending towards the needs of America's poor and working people, more difficult. The public passed by their location at Plaza de la Constitucion's gazebo and that was a problem for city officials. Business leaders were still unhappy. A story about the move in the October 21, 2010, issue of the *St. Augustine Record*, reported that "Glenn Hastings, executive director of the St. Johns County Tourist Development Council, said the new feeding site may keep attracting the homeless downtown."

The city of Orlando tried to move Food Not Bombs out of site and, like other cities, made a special homeless-free zone and city laws designed to hide their community's poor. If Food Not Bombs had complied with the desires of Orlando's business interests, they would have become invisible along with Orlando's homeless, making political organizing to change the policies causing America's economic crisis completely ineffective. Orlando is taking the first amendment right to freedom of expression through the federal courts. It is our right to be as effective as possible at influencing the public and that includes sharing food, literature and our intention to change society in a location where we can make an impression on as many people as possible, even if that location makes those who wish to silence our message uncomfortable. After all, they already control almost all other aspects of mass communication and have erased us from the public dialog in most other venues. Public space is one of our last platforms to share our vision to people other than our own friends and family. We shouldn't let the corporations and government deny us that too.

### **If The Government Tries To Shut Down Your Meal**

In most communities, the authorities will recognize that sharing free food and information is an unregulated activity. In the United States, Food Not Bombs is protected by the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. There are similar protections in most other countries and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights also protects our right to assemble and share food and information. Even though our right to free expression is protected, Food Not Bombs volunteers have been arrested in the United States for sharing food and literature. While this is rare, there have been times when Food Not Bombs volunteers have faced arrest and it becomes necessary to defend our right to free expression. Noncooperation with unjust laws and policies can be a powerful way to influence society. Feeding America's hungry is today's version of Rosa Parks sitting in the front of the bus or Gandhi's Salt March.

If the police or environmental health officials confront your chapter, this can provide you with a great opportunity to educate your community about hunger, militarism, capitalism and the power of noncooperation. It is also a great opportunity to attract interest in your local group, inspiring more people to volunteer and contribute food, supplies and money. If your group takes these simple steps, you will be able to use the threat of arrest as an opportunity to have greater impact, not only in your local community but, around the world. Your successful resistance will help future groups if they are faced with arrest. On the other hand, if the government stops your chapter, it will empower other cities to believe they have



Police take food in San Francisco

the right to stop Food Not Bombs. Follow these dignified steps and discover the power of nonviolent resistance. This could change your life.

When the police or other government officials ask your group if you have a permit, calmly explain that you are sharing food and literature, and that you are charging no money so that your activities do not require a permit. If the officials are persistent, you can politely ask the police officers to provide their names or badge numbers. Take pictures, even with a cell phone if that is all you have. After the authorities confront your Food Not Bombs group, call a meeting as soon as possible and invite the community to participate, letting them know the details of what happened, in your conversations, emails and flyers. Post these details, along with any photos of the authorities visiting your meal, to your group's website and email the account to the local media, other community groups and the Food Not Bombs listservs. The agenda can include a short report about the events surrounding the government's effort to silence Food Not Bombs. Ask members of your community to bring a video camera to the meal to film any possible arrests. Video footage of volunteers being arrested sharing food can be useful in court as well as in building support. The only arrest to go to trial in San Francisco was the one arrest that was not filmed. The district attorney realized a jury would not convict if they saw what was really happening. Then, discuss your plans and invite participants to volunteer to implement those plans.

The most effective strategy has been to announce that you plan to risk arrest at your next regular meal. Ask for people to consider risking arrest by sharing food. People on probation or with past serious convictions might want to volunteer to be support people. So far, there have been few convictions and the penalty has generally been mild. Each volunteer that is risking arrest should have their own support person who follows the server through the legal system. They should write down the badge number and name of the arresting officer; note the charges and time of arrest; and be prepared to feed their pets, water their plants and contact their employers if it turns out they may miss work. Each support person should have the correct name and birth date of the person risking arrest; should understand what that person intends to do once arrested; and they might have a key to their home and phone numbers of their employer, family and friends. Your Food Not Bombs group can also choose a volunteer who will speak with the media. They might note things about your right to share food and literature, and that your community has many people that need food while billions of dollars are being spent on the military. Some groups also point out that no one has ever reported having been made ill eating with Food Not Bombs, that the food is vegan and vegetarian and is designed to be safe. Keep the message focused on the most important points in a clear and simple way. Food is a right and not a privilege, and priorities can be redirected towards our basic needs and away from the military and profit.

Make a flyer inviting everyone to attend a rally at your next regular meal and point out that the authorities are threatening to shut down your program. Post the flyer all over town and email as many groups and individuals as possible that Food Not Bombs will be defending its right to free expression and association by risking arrest for sharing the regular meal. Email and call the local media to let them know that several of your volunteers plan to risk arrest. Contact local lawyers from groups like the American Civil Liberties Union and National Lawyers Guild and tell them what you plan to do. In most cases, the authorities back down when they see how much community support your chapter is getting and no one gets arrested.

When faced with the possibility of arrest for sharing food, we found it helpful to divide up each course of the meal into three parts; two small amounts that your group is willing to lose to the police and one last amount that your chapter can share with everyone that came to eat after the police take away your first two waves of volunteers. It might also be wise to make several rough “Food Not Bombs” banners for the police to take during each arrest as that is often the first thing they take. Then, bring out your regular banner after the arrested volunteers are removed from the area. Let everyone know they will get to eat before the police start to arrest your volunteers. If the people who depend on your

meal know that they will get to eat after the police have made several arrests and confiscated some of the food, you will be able to avoid panic and the possibility of violence. If the police arrive and confiscate the food but don’t make any arrests, then you may want to hold onto the food containers during the second wave of sharing. It can be very disempowering if the police keep walking away with the food you have prepared, but if you hold on to the plastic buckets and boxes of food when they attempt to seize your meal this will cause them to make arrests. These arrests will highlight the nature of the government’s true intentions and will build support. Each court appearance provides another opportunity to discuss the policies causing homelessness and hunger and also gives you a chance to share more food in defiance of the authorities.

Your group will attract many new volunteers, more people to your meals, and an increase in food donations as a direct result of the arrests. Each new wave of arrests will draw more people to your group, and before long, you will be sharing meals three or four days a week. If the arrests continue, you will have so many supporters your chapter will be sharing every day and people will be starting new Food Not Bombs chapters in cities throughout your state or region.

## Nonviolence Preparation

Once you have a number of people who have agreed to risk arrest, it would be a good idea to contact some knowledgeable local activists and supportive lawyers and tell them of your plans. Your chapter can announce that it will be holding a nonviolence preparation where you will spend a day preparing yourselves for the arrests by role-playing the scenario, discussing how you might respond to various situations, and considering the legal consequences of your actions.

In most areas, local peace groups will be able to direct you to people who can lead nonviolence training. The War Resisters League in New York City has a national directory of trainers and a handbook for preparations. If you cannot find an experienced trainer, gather the group together for a day and conduct your own preparation. We also provide several pages in the appendix you can use for your nonviolence preparation and the website provides materials to use as well. Talk about what might happen and some of the ways that events could lead to violence. Hungry people can get very distressed if they feel the police are going to stop them from eating so make sure you have a plan to reassure everyone.

Discuss how to respond nonviolently. Then do some role-playing and act out some of the possible scenarios, with some people playing the police and others the activists. This is both very educational and helpful for you to overcome your fear of arrest. Legal consequences, jail solidarity, and legal defense for trial, if any, can also be discussed at the preparation.

# IF THE POLICE START TAKING YOUR FOOD

Invite the community to participate; ask the National Lawyers Guild for legal observers; and alert the media to the possibility that the authorities may try to disrupt your meal. Before taking the food out to be shared, determine who is willing to be arrested and who wants to volunteer to be a support person. You may want to spend an afternoon in a nonviolent preparation workshop to practice. If the police start taking your food or arrest the servers, we found that dividing the meal into three parts and sharing a small amount of food the first two times works well. We put the soup and salad in 5 gallon plastic buckets with lids. If the police take all your food at once, it can be very discouraging.

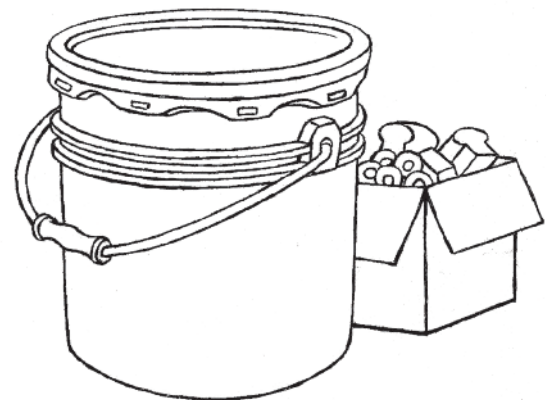
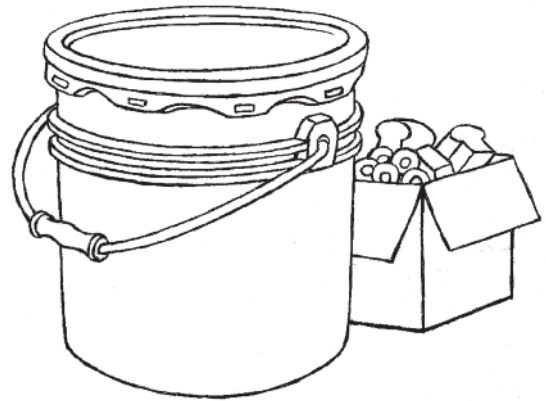
1. Tell those people who are waiting for food that they are welcome to stay after the first food is taken because more food is on the way. Let them know that the police are only taking part of the meal. This will help calm the crowd. If those waiting to eat feel that the police are taking their meal, the crowd can become very angry and give the police a chance to start fights with the hungry.

2. After the police have left the area, bring out more food but still leave some hidden so if the police come back you will still have more to share.

3. Very rarely do the police return a third time because they are already feeling very foolish by the second time.

4. If the police stay and guard the area, you can often get them to leave by sharing a token amount of food. After they try to stop the serving a few times they realize that it's better to leave the area rather than stay and show that their authority can be successfully challenged.

5. If you continue to stick to your serving schedule, the government will give up and you will build the respect of the people. Don't stop because of the police. Make each meal an event in support of the right to share food and invite the media and community members to attend. Call our toll free number as soon as you believe that the police claim they want to stop your meals.



**Food Not Bombs**

**P.O. Box 424 - Arroyo Seco, NM 87514 USA**

**1-800-884-1136**

**[www.foodnotbombs.net](http://www.foodnotbombs.net)**

You may organize nonviolence training for your local Food Not Bombs chapter even if you do not think you will be arrested for sharing food. Your chapter is likely to provide food at protests and may even participate in nonviolent direct action with other groups. Consider reading up on the history of nonviolent direct action. Author Gene Sharp has written many books that describe the principles that make nonviolent direct action and noncooperation with authority successful. His books review the history of nonviolent civil disobedience, from campaigns in defiance of dictators like Hitler to the United Farm Workers and the Civil Rights movement in the United States. Food Not Bombs has often initiated nonviolent campaigns in defense of local community issues, such as supporting the rights of the homeless or indigenous people. Your Food Not Bombs chapter can prepare to take action by holding regular nonviolence trainings. As the environment and economy grows more precarious, Food Not Bombs is more frequently asked to provide logistical and material support for a wide variety of campaigns. Your chapter might initiate campaigns like Homes Not Jails to house the homeless in your community or reclaim the public space outside a military base to call for an end to military spending. Your campaign might start by mapping out a year-long strategy, starting with simple techniques like petitions, literature tables and education to build popular support. Your strategy can systematically escalate until your campaign moves to more risky actions like occupations, sit-ins or blockages. Regular nonviolence trainings will help strengthen your chapter and your local activist community.

### **If The Government Arrests You**

Whether or not you think you actually will be arrested, willingness to suffer arrest can be very powerful. Your lack of fear of arrest actually makes it less likely. If you do get arrested for sharing free food with the hungry, you can engage in additional noncooperation while in custody to continue expressing your power to not be intimidated. It is good to consider the parameters of your noncooperation before you are arrested. It is possible that being arrested for feeding the hungry will have such a strong impact on you that you will not even be able to cooperate with the State once you are jailed. The most basic form of noncooperation, once arrested in the United States, is the refusal to give your name or address. Withholding your name and address must be considered carefully as it is becoming more common for governments, including the United States, to disappear political activists, so investigate this possibility before taking this form of noncooperation. In the first decades of Food Not Bombs, refusing to give your name and address was fairly safe. Refusing to identify yourself makes it more difficult for the State to dominate you while you are in custody. Some people will not give their names until they are brought before a judge. If you refuse to identify yourself, the police will often try to intimidate you by holding you in solitary confinement, refusing you access to a lawyer,

denying you transportation to court and engaging in similar threats and oppressive tactics. Politely but firmly tell them you won't give them your name; most of the time, the police will give up after one or two attempts to scare you. They will book you as Jane or John Doe and take your picture and possibly your fingerprints. In the past, most states in the U.S. limit the amount of time they will hold you, before bringing you before a judge for a bail hearing or arraignment, to forty-eight or seventy-two hours. During this time, they couldn't legally prevent you from seeing your lawyer if your lawyer requested to see you. Since the passage of the Military Commissions Act of 2009, the U.S.A. Patriot Act, and The National Defense Authorization Act of 2012, some officials may believe that they have to power to hold you longer before bringing you to a judge. However the political price may be too costly for any prosecutor when the public learns that they are denying you your rights in a case where you are accused of breaking the law by feeding the hungry.

Noncooperation during a nonviolent action can also include "going limp," or refusing to walk with the police. The officers can use pain compliance holds or roughly throw you around when you choose this type of response. The political atmosphere is growing more violent as the power struggle over resources and social control becomes more desperate, and it is possible that the authorities could use harsh techniques if you refuse to walk. However, it can be very empowering to retain control over your own body. For some, walking with the police feels too much like you agree you should be under arrest. Not walking or not giving your name are both empowering tactics, but even cooperating fully once arrested can be very powerful. You know you weren't doing anything illegal anyway, and it's unbelievable that you could be arrested for sharing food with the hungry.

Of course, **DON'T EVER TALK TO THE POLICE ABOUT THE ARREST.** The police have not been reading people their Miranda rights for years and the U.S. Supreme Court ruled early in 2012 that suspects are not required to have their rights read so it is up to you to know you have the right to remain silent. They might not only use whatever you say against you in court, they may also use it against the other volunteers in your Food Not Bombs chapter. While it can be difficult remaining respectful of the humanity of the police and jailers, it can be powerful for both yourself personally and for our movement. After years of arrests and beatings for sharing food in San Francisco, the police refused to follow the orders of their superiors. Our respect for them as people made a huge impression. Efforts to describe our volunteers as terrorists failed. As the economic, environmental and political crisis grows increasingly extreme, it will be more important than ever to maintain our dignity and to influence the police and military to rebel against their superiors.



San Francisco Police prepare to arrest Food Not Bombs at start of 1995 gathering at UN Plaza

Again, do not feel you have to take extreme measures of noncooperation during or after being arrested to be effective. Government officials around the world have become much more repressive since we first wrote about noncooperation in 1992, but noncooperation is still a vital way to exert pressure on a system that shouldn't be arresting people for feeding the hungry.

### Support People

The role of a support person is as important as being willing to risk arrest. It is essential for each person risking arrest to work closely with their support person. Support people make sure they do what they can to avoid arrest so they can do various tasks for those arrested. Such tasks include having the name, birth date and address of those arrested. The support people need to have the proper contact information before arrests so they can make phone calls to family, friends or employers as needed. They are also responsible for tracking those arrested through the legal system so they are not lost or mistreated; obtaining the exact charges and court dates; contacting the press with the details; managing legal support with attorneys; continued organizing in the community; and covering the tasks those arrested cannot do, such as feeding animals and watering house plants and gardens. It is possible that the detainee may need to have a phone bill paid or a child picked up from school. The support person should also know about medical needs, if any, and information about past legal cases in as far as it might impact the current arrest. It is best if the support person has some idea of how the arrestee plans to respond to the legal system, that is, noncooperation, jail-solidarity, bail solidarity and so on. This way, they can keep everyone informed of the progress of the arrest and be there with support when needed. It is also a good idea to leave with the support person your identification and some money, if you're arrested, just in case you decide you want to get out.

### Call the Media

In the weeks and days before your group plans to risk arrest you can email, fax and call the media about your action. Choose the people who will be your media spokespersons. Be honest about who would be best for this task. Don't be pressured to pick someone because they are popular or have some other quality. They must be trustworthy, articulate and knowledgeable. In some cases the government may try to provide an infiltrator to be your media spokesperson and as a result your message could become very distorted or even damaging. While preparing, it is also wise to make a contact list which you keep handy on the day of the action in case there are arrests. This list should include sympathetic lawyers, support people, the jail and the press. It might be helpful to direct the media to your attorneys. Getting coverage in the local press can be very instrumental in building community support.

News reports can be a valuable way to reach the public about the connection of hunger to military spending. Coverage in the media will also attract more volunteers, food donations and many other offers of support. If possible, remember the name of your contact at each media outlet and talk to the same person each time you call. Have your facts and statements ready, such as the number of people arrested, the charges, who you are and why Food Not Bombs was doing whatever it was you were arrested for doing. Remember, however, that you are not trying to convince the press person about what you were doing. Talk through the press, not to them. Just tell them what it is you want to say and end the conversation. Be polite but firm. Do not let them talk you into saying something trivial or irrelevant because they will often use this unimportant information and ignore all the good things you did say. Two important points some Food Not Bombs spokespeople stress is that food is a right and not a privilege and that

sharing free meals and literature are unregulated activities. You can also point out that by redirecting our resources from the military to food, housing, education and health-care, we could reduce hunger, homelessness and the pain of poverty.

## Jail Solidarity

After you have been arrested, it can be very inspiring and may influence the local authorities to end their arrests if those detained engage in jail solidarity. Jail solidarity has been very effective in encouraging the State to end their attempts to stop Food Not Bombs. It is best to discuss and plan this in advance. You may want to investigate how harsh your local police and sheriff department tends to be to determine what risk you may be taking. When arrested, each person has one of the following choices: not giving your name (noncooperation), giving your name but refusing bail (bail solidarity), or fully cooperating by giving your name and paying bail. Bail solidarity has been very common with volunteers arrested for sharing food. Of the over 1,000 arrests of our volunteers in San Francisco, not one was bailed out for a “food arrest.” In many cases, our volunteers were released in less than twenty-four hours. Some have been freed after processing, which can take as little as four hours. If several members of the group are willing either to not cooperate or engage in bail solidarity, then you can begin planning your jail solidarity. As a group, you can negotiate your cooperation for concessions from the jailers. For example, you can bargain for access to a phone, the press, paper and pencil or your lawyers; demand no bail money as a condition for your release (commonly called “personal recognition”); or try to prevent the segregation of some of the participants. The jail system is not designed to respond to a group, it is designed to isolate and demoralize you. The stronger you stand together, the sooner jailers will become exhausted and meet your demands or even let you go!

Unfortunately, because of the philosophy upon which the jail system operates, the jailers are trained to purposefully be vague and inaccurate as a security measure. You never know whether what they tell you is the truth or not. This keeps you disoriented and unable to trust any of the information you receive. Therefore, it is best not to believe anything the jailers say. Remain calm and polite, and use any dialogue with the jailers as an opportunity to explain why you believe in the actions of Food Not Bombs. During the years Food Not Bombs volunteers were in and out of the local jail, our friendly, honest interaction with the authorities helped bring the arrests to an end and built respect from areas of the community that might otherwise have never supported our goals. Highlight the ridiculous irony of arresting people who are giving away free food. In nonviolence theory, this is called “speaking your truth to power.” The jailers are generally not your arresting officer, but what you say can be used in court. Trust yourself and remain committed to the plan the group made before the arrest.

## Courts and trials

Every country has its legal process. Unless you are sharing food and literature in the United States you are not likely to have any problems. The pattern in the United States can provide an outline for the legal process in other countries with local variations based on historic and cultural traditions. After you are arrested, you will be arraigned, which means you will face a judge who will read out your charges. You may see the judge in person or on closed-circuit television. Generally you will plead not guilty. After you plead you will be given a trial date or other appearance date. You may get a lawyer at the arraignment. It is best to seek an activist lawyer before your arraignment so they can represent you. You might also choose to represent yourself, which can be very powerful and provide you with the opportunity to make much more politically powerful statements in court. Lawyers need to worry about your being convicted and can be more cautious than your case deserves.

If you know the date, time and location of your arraignment you can organize a rally outside the court house before your court appearance. Most Food Not Bombs groups provide food before every court appearance to stress our right to share food and literature without government interference. Because the media and other institutions take legal proceedings seriously, your arraignment, hearings and trial provides a great platform to highlight how misguided our political and economic system can be.

After your arraignment, you may have several more steps before trial. You may have discovery, where you will ask for the documents, photos, videos and testimony of the authorities in relationship to your arrest. You will at least get a police report from the day of your arrest, but it may be possible to get documents of meetings between city officials and the leadership of the police. You may even be able to get copies of the video that was made of their practice arrest in preparation of the real arrest and other planning documents showing that there was more to your being arrested than that you were just sharing food and literature without a permit.

Your case may include depositions where you are questioned under oath before the judge. You may want to answer the questions in as brief a manner as possible or plead the Fifth Amendment where you are making a claim that you will not testify against yourself. Then you will have the trial. You may have to pick a jury, or sometimes your case may be before a judge. The trial will involve witnesses both for and against you. You get to cross examine the state’s witnesses and the prosecutor will be able to cross examine your witnesses. The simpler you

make your case the better. You can make the point that with so many people hungry, it is only reasonable to provide the public with meals. Maybe point out that sharing food is really an unregulated activity and ask where the government plans to stop in controlling the exchange of assistance. If you learn that a military contractor or soldier was responsible for filing the complaint, you might be able to make a connection between the fact that so much money is being spent on war while people are going hungry. Your statements can be a short and powerful way to support our right to free expression and mutual aid.

You may need to return for the verdict, giving you another opportunity for a rally outside the court house and, if convicted, you get yet one more chance to make a statement both outside at your protest before sentencing as well as in court during sentencing.

Only one person was convicted in over 1,000 arrests in San Francisco and we showed up outside the jail with food and literature every morning until the pressure was too much for the legal system and they freed Robert Norse Khan. You are very unlikely to go through all these steps, but it is good to know what could be ahead if the state tries to stop your group from sharing food and literature. By the time you would be sentenced, your Food Not Bombs chapter will have so much support your group will be sharing meals seven days a week and people in every city near you will have started their own Food Not Bombs chapter in defiance of your trial. Your group will have access to media and the impact will far outweigh the harm done by attempting to prosecute you for your participation in Food Not Bombs.

### **False Allegations of Terrorism**

One sign that Food Not Bombs is an effective model of organizing for change is all the effort the United States government has taken to disrupt our movement. Federal authorities wouldn't waste millions of dollars trying to stop us if they weren't worried that we might inspire resistance to their policies by the simple sharing of vegan food and difficult to access information under the banner Food Not Bombs. Food Not Bombs volunteers can face other legal issues not directly related to sharing food. In an attempt to frighten away supporters, our volunteers have been accused of plotting acts of terrorism or arson. Even though our name is Food Not Bombs, and we are dedicated to nonviolent direct action and sharing vegan and vegetarian food; the police, federal agencies and military intelligence units in the United States have created elaborate plans to entrap volunteers and accuse them of being "terrorists." For the most part their plans have failed. Some of our volunteers have been arrested on terrorism charges, and on occasion, our cooks have been tried, convicted and sentenced years in prison. While it is hard to believe that the gentle nurturing tasks required of Food Not

Bombs activists could be considered terrorist threats, this seems to be the case. Internal government memos and statements of military contractors indicate that they are worried that we may influence American tax payers to start supporting policies that redirect military spending towards education, health-care and other domestic necessities, costing billions in weapons contracts. Providing food and logistical support at nonviolent protests could be another reason why U.S. officials assert we are a terrorist threat. Food Not Bombs has fed logging protesters at Red Wood Summer in Northern California and provided food to the thousands of people participating in Cindy Sheehan's Camp Casey outside George W. Bush's summer home in Crawford, Texas. Our meals supported many peace, environmental and anti-globalization actions which, unfortunately, could be labeled as "acts of terrorism."

Food Not Bombs activists in the United States can take some simple steps to protect themselves from being arrested and charged for planning or participating in acts of terrorism. The fact that we are not considering acts of terrorism can cause our volunteers to make light of statements about arson, bombings and rock throwing, but the FBI and Homeland Security have sent infiltrators to our meetings to talk about using violence. Months later, these statements can appear as evidence that our volunteers were plotting acts of terrorism. When the cases get to court, the prosecutors and media can point out that the accused Food Not Bombs activists didn't object to the comments made by the informants, "proving" that our volunteers were guilty. Food Not Bombs volunteers have been charged as terrorists after traveling with several infiltrators that were paid by the federal government to burn down research laboratories, lumber mills, model homes or auto dealerships. Sometimes federal prosecutors were able to get convictions because the Food Not Bombs activists were intimidated from expressing their dedication to nonviolence, fearing that they would be accused of being "weak" and not serious about social change, the wellbeing of animals or real concern for the environment.

The first step is to make it clear that you are not going to participate in acts of violence. If people are joking about using violence or talking about the virtues of acts that could injure or kill people, it is wise to make several statements that Food Not Bombs will not engage in any kind of violent activity. Point out that Food Not Bombs is dedicated to nonviolence and that anyone considering any other strategies or methods should meet elsewhere. To help protect your friends you might also point out that it is very unlikely that such plans could be concealed from the government. Another step your chapter can take is to include statements about nonviolence on your literature about any direct action you might be planning or supporting. On occasion, the media and prosecutors will claim that our literature didn't make any mention that our protest would be nonviolent and use that as "proof" we are terrorists. If your chapter is



planning an action, you can protect yourself by including text about nonviolence on your publications. This can be difficult when working in coalition with groups that might not share our principles of nonviolence, but you could publish Food Not Bombs' own literature on the action. It isn't necessary to exclude reference to nonviolent direct action just because people are arguing in support of a diversity of tactics. Nonviolent resistance is just as valid as other methods.

Nonviolent direct action, noncooperation and nonviolent resistance can be very empowering. It takes courage to organize and participate in campaigns of nonviolent struggle. Many government officials have expressed frustration and were forced to capitulate when confronted by a dignified campaign of nonviolence. Nonviolent struggle can build trust between participants and the public. Campaigns of nonviolent direct action and civil disobedience can be so effective that governments and corporations will try anything to influence our movement into adopting the use of violence. That is one reason Food Not Bombs has been the focus of infiltration and why the authorities rely on agent provocateurs to reduce the impact of nonviolence while sowing fear and alienation.

Don't let people intimidate you into silence. People can make comments about pacifists being "wimps" or "pussies;" that nonviolence never works; or that you are not really committed to change if you aren't willing to use rocks, bombs or guns. You might even hear that nonviolence is racist because people of color "have to take up arms," and that white, first-world people have the luxury to use nonviolence. Infiltrators or government agents may be talking to some of your volunteers outside Food Not Bombs at places like cafes, clubs or other public locations, seeking to introduce the idea that armed resistance or arson is the only solution. The state may also promote the idea that you are not serious about peace, animal rights, social justice or the environment if you are not willing to take violent action. Honest discussion of all tactics and methods, including types of violence, is fine, but make it clear that Food Not Bombs is dedicated to nonviolence. At the same time, it is not wise to make claims of infiltration or accuse someone of being an informant. It is best to not worry about infiltration and to stay focused on the work of Food Not Bombs. Just take the simple precautions of asking that all discussions of violent tactics be some place other than at public meetings, making it clear you are dedicated to nonviolence, adding that fact to your



The FBI raid the Minneapolis Food Not Bombs house before the Republican National Convention in 2008

publications and organizing nonviolence trainings. If you do this, attempts to convict you on terrorism charges will likely fail, and the fear and mistrust that so often destroys movements will be defused. The government can use the fear of infiltration as a way of destroying trust in your community.

Food Not Bombs activists can take some very simple actions to make sure they do not fall prey to the U.S. government's efforts to disrupt our work. First, stay focused on the fundamentals of Food Not Bombs. Don't feel guilty about refusing to take violent action. Since the world is facing so many dire crises it might seem rational to consider sabotage, arson or other acts considered violent by the corporate state, but these tactics can cause the public to withdraw any support they may have for our cause. The use of violence also breeds distrust among activists. As we have learned from people like Edward Snowden, it is nearly impossible to have any secrets in the United States.

According to the *Washington Post*, over eighty billion dollars is spent each year to spy on the enemies of corporate America. A campaign of violence would add to the disempowerment in our community and scare the public into greater support of the authorities. If you feel you must investigate tactics that include taking violent action, consider the entire strategy and how these actions would motivate change. Are you really ready to live fearing capture? How will you feel if your friends spend their life in prison while you and your friends are portrayed as crazy? Will your actions really inspire the public to rise up and save the earth? How will you feel if you kill someone or if one of your friends is killed? Can you really see yourself coordinating hundreds of people in campaigns of bombings? Are you really able to organize a group of trusted friends to wage a campaign of shooting police or politicians and how will this move society towards addressing the crisis? How will you feel spending the rest of your life in prison, seeing the stress this is putting on your family and friends? While it is also possible you could spend decades in prison for taking nonviolent direct action, you are likely to feel more empowered and have wider support on the outside. Unlike those people who are doing life in prison for a bombing or shooting, if you are sentenced to a long prison term for organizing or participating in a campaign of nonviolent direct action and noncooperation, you have a much greater chance of inspiring popular support and possibly achieving the desired results of your effort, leaving prison before your sentence is up.

In addition, mass nonviolent direct action based on a thoughtful strategy is more likely to be effective. Agent provocateurs can encourage drastic measures, knowing we are knowledgeable about the threats to the environment and economy. If pressured, you can remind your friends that many of the over twenty Food Not Bombs volunteers in prison were framed for similar acts and that we are dedicated to nonviolent direct action. Suggest your community study the history of nonviolent direct action in books by people like Gene Sharp, Martin Luther King Jr. and others who witnessed first-hand the power of noncooperation and nonviolence.

Another thing to be concerned about is jokes about using violence. These jokes became the evidence used for the arrests of the RNC 8 and many other Food Not Bombs volunteers. If people joke about armed revolution, bombings, rock throwing or other acts of violence at your meetings or while cooking, make it clear that Food Not Bombs is dedicated to nonviolent direct action and ask them to stop. You might remind your chapter that conversations and jokes about using violence have resulted in Food Not Bombs volunteers being framed and sentenced to long prison sentences. The volunteers that are joking about violence or making statements about the need to use violence are not necessarily infiltrators or police agents, so don't make any accusations. They may have been influenced by someone they met outside of Food Not Bombs or have read some of the many books promoting the belief that nonviolent direct action doesn't work. It is best to not worry and stay focused on the work of Food Not Bombs. The government can use the fear of infiltration as a way of destroying trust in your community. Again, simply remind your chapter that we are dedicated to nonviolent direct action and that we don't joke or talk about taking violent action while volunteering with Food Not Bombs.

While armed resistance has worked to overthrow governments and change the power structure of some countries, in most cases, the system that resulted from use of violence had to rely on the continued use of violence to retain its authority. For long-term positive change based on democracy and public participation of everyone, nonviolent social change offers the greatest hope.

# BASIC STEPS TO EFFECTIVE COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

## ORGANIZING LITERATURE TABLES, EVENTS MEETINGS, TOURS AND GATHERINGS

It is possible to have an impact on society if you take the time and ask others to help. Often, the simplest activities, organized in a consistent, regular manner; can be the most effective way to encourage political, economic and social change. A regular literature table can attract volunteers, support for your group's actions and donations. The people inspired by talking with you at the table can become participants in your well-organized, regular meetings and can help make your group's meals, events, tours, protests and gatherings more effective. One main reason Food Not Bombs is a global movement and is as effective as we are is because we staffed so many literature tables in locations where we were able to reach people who had no idea people who shared our ideas existed. Our literature tables have been the foundation directing people to our meetings, events, tours and gatherings.

### How to have a successful literature table

It almost seems too simple, but a consistent Food Not Bombs literature table is one of the most effective ways to inspire social change. The location and timing can be very important. Your group can reach the public with information about Food Not Bombs, volunteer opportunities, current issues and community projects by setting up in a high visibility location at a time with the most traffic so your volunteers have an opportunity to meet and talk with as many people as possible. You may choose a location where you can also hang your banner near your table.

You can make a banner that hangs over the front of your table. You may want to table at concerts, lectures and other events, as well as always setting up your literature at all your regular meals.

If you print a stack of at least 100 flyers, you can place a number "19" rubber band around the stack before setting the flyers out on your table. Number "19" rubber bands have the best tension and are best bought at local stationary stores as the ones from chain stores break with each use. If your volunteers maintain a neat and orderly looking presentation, the public will find out what your group is doing with ease and are more likely to consider your group organized and worth supporting. You can design your own flyers, download flyers from a Food Not Bombs website or collect literature from other organizations in your community. You can also request stacks of literature from many organizations by visiting their websites, giving them a call or sending them an email. They will be excited that you will be reaching hundreds of people with their message. The volunteers in your chapter can ask each person passing the table a question related to your present message; ask if they heard about the next event, or if they would like to participate with your group. Even ask their opinion of an issue currently in the news.

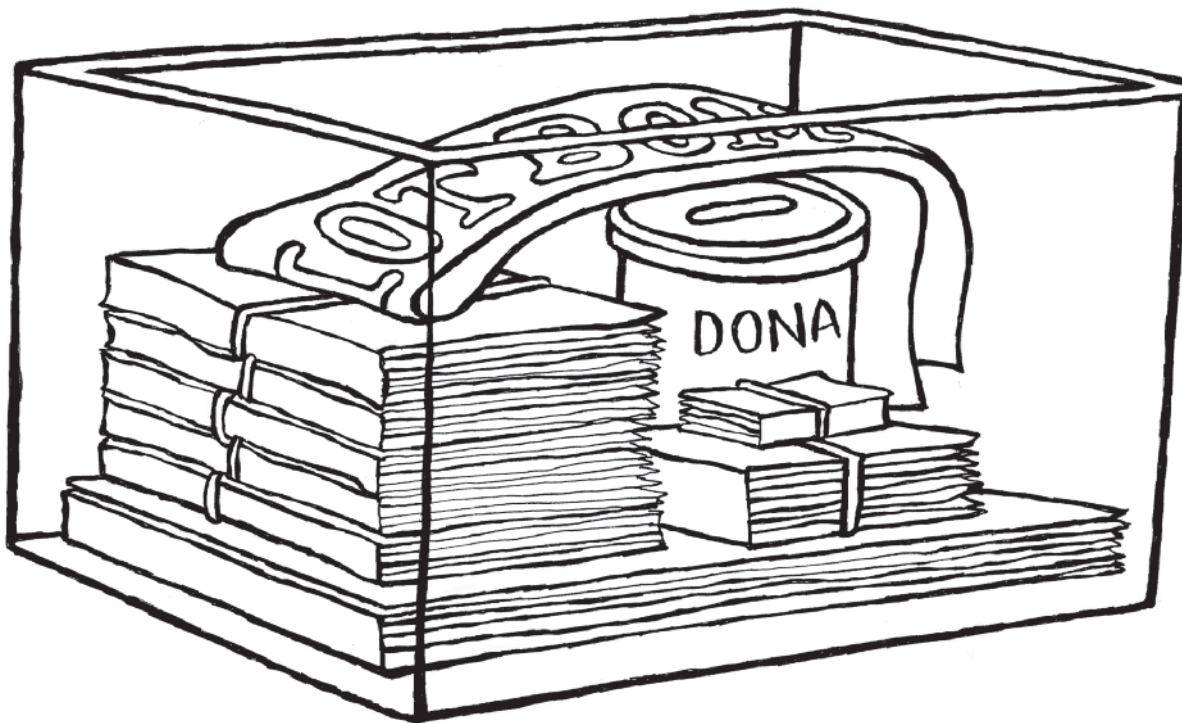
Your literature table can also include a plate of cookies or other baked goods. Offering cups of hot cider or refreshing sun tea is another way to make your literature table inviting. You may want to include a volunteer sign-up sheet and attract visitors by handing each pedestrian a quarter size flyer about your meals. We have an example of these flyers in the appendix.

One reason you can tell the Food Not Bombs literature table is effective is the effort the police use to try and stop our volunteers from setting up our tables. The banner and literature is often the first things the police take when attempting to stop our meals. The authorities have spread rumors that the literature and banner aren't important, claiming that the food is really all that the volunteers should focus on. Food Not Bombs activists in the United States have also reported cases where the police say we can share meals but are not allowed to distribute literature or display our banner. However, Food Not Bombs is not a charity and is working to change the political, economic and social systems that perpetuate hunger and poverty. Our right to distribute literature is even protected in the United States by the First Amendment to the Constitution. If you include your chapter's contact information on your flyers, you will provide an easy way for people passing by to reach your group in the future. Your literature will also help your group feed more people in the short run by inspiring more volunteers, food donations and popular support. Don't let anyone discourage you from always having literature and a banner at your meals. Even if we were not trying to create a culture where no one would be hungry, the literature with your chapter's contact information is essential to maintaining interest in your meals, attracting more volunteers and food donations. Food Not Bombs groups that don't bring literature and a banner to their meals often struggle to recruit help, but those groups that do have literature and a banner are more vibrant and find the flyers increase interest in their chapters.

### Packing the literature box

Your chapter can have a box of literature always ready to take to your meals or to use at concerts, protests or other events. If your group has a well packed literature box always on the ready, you will never arrive at your meal without it. Your group can keep your literature neat and inviting by packing the largest publications on the bottom of the literature box, then stacking the next largest literature and putting the smaller stacks on top. If your volunteers place business cards on the bottom of the box and add the larger stacks on top the literature will be bent or torn and may be too mangled to feel good about handing out your materials to the public. Wrap one or two number "19" rubber bands around each stack. Rocks don't work as well. When a rock is lifted off a stack of flyers, the wind can blow some of the papers off the table. The authorities might also accuse you of intending to use the rocks as weapons. A stack of 100 wrapped in one or two rubber bands will be heavy enough to keep the wind from blowing your flyers off the table. A stack of 100 will also encourage people to take a copy.

At the end of each meal or literature table, place the literature back into your box, large flyers first with each smaller size on top, with the banner folded on top. Then, the next time you need to table or when you are going to share your regular meal, your literature will be in good condition and it will just be a matter of adding your literature box to the items you are taking out to the meal.



Place the largest flyers and posters flat on the bottom and stack the next smaller flyers flat on top of one another. People will not take flyers that are bent and look like trash.

## HOW TO ORGANIZE A MEETING

Organizing a meeting for any purpose, from starting your local Food Not Bombs group to planning a protest, concert or political campaign, could be the most difficult, yet most important and useful skill described here. Meetings might not seem fun or important, but well-organized, regular meetings provide access to everyone interested in the direction of your group. They also contribute to distributing responsibility and tasks to more volunteers and can help reduce burnout. Meetings also provide a forum where new ideas, projects and innovations can be proposed, formulated and implemented. Meeting while cooking or sharing food is rarely as productive as when everyone's attention is focused. Using the process of consensus will also inspire the most from everyone participating at your meetings.

### Meeting Step 1: Time, date and location

Ask the venues you would be interested in using if there is a time and day that would be best for your meeting. Then ask the people you want to work with if they can meet at those given times, dates and locations. You may need to provide a couple of options. The size and type of location will depend on how many people and what you will be doing at the meeting. Your meeting may include an activity like sign painting or one that requires a special location. The less distraction and the more central the location, the better. The most common venues include cafes, bookstores, libraries, student unions or classrooms. Since you may be working with people that live outside, you may find it best to meet in a park or plaza. You may choose a time that is after people get off work, but before the homeless need to return to their campsites or shelters. It would be best not to choose a time and day when another related organization is holding their regular meeting. Sometimes you may need to adjust the day or time because of an event that would draw away interest.

### Meeting Step 2: Sample agenda

You can have an agenda planning committee and request agenda items from everyone you are inviting. Give them a completed copy of the agenda a day or two before the meeting. This one step can make the conversation and implementation of each agenda item very successful and effective. You can accomplish a great deal by sticking to the agenda and the times. Introduce an agenda item at one meeting and make the decision about that agenda item at one of the next meetings. Some agenda items may be discussed for many meetings before coming to the best decision. Rotate the tasks of facilitator, note keeper, time keeper and, if very organized, door greeters, vibe watchers and the many other possible roles one could fill at a meeting. Many groups fail to keep notes and this can cause confusion in future meetings. Your chapter may want to return the notes after each meeting to the same volunteer. If that volunteer moves or leaves the group, ask them to pass the notes on to another reliable volunteer.

## Sample Meeting Agenda

Date of the meeting

Facilitator's name and phone number

Note keeper's name and phone number

Time keeper's name

**7:00 to 7:10** — Introductions, agenda review and short description on consensus.

**7:10 to 7:30** — Food collection route and details

**7:30 to 7:45** — This week's cooks and kitchen

**7:45 to 8:00** — Servers and program at the distribution location

**8:00 to 8:15** — This week's clean up

**8:15 to 8:30** — Solidarity actions to support and provide food at.

**8:30 to 8:45** — Promotion with flyers, literature tables, media, web postings and emailing.

**8:45 to 9:00** — Financial report with benefit concerts and Food Not Bombs initiated events.

**9:00 to 9:15** — Review all communications with your group including email, phone calls and letters

**9:15 to 9:30** — Critique the meeting and choose date, time and facilitator of next meeting

### Meeting Step 3: Consensus Process

Food Not Bombs started using the process of consensus to make decisions at its very first meeting. Using the consensus process to make decisions has made it possible for people to organize local Food Not Bombs chapters without relying on a headquarters, directors or a leader to start and maintain a local group. Each decision is consented to by all the participants. To arrive at consensus, each proposal is made with the idea that it will accurately reflect the goals and interests of the group, trusting that it will evolve and change as everyone adds their input. It may take several meetings to discuss the proposal before the ideas have come together and the group arrives at consensus. By using this process, the participants are more likely to be committed to implementing each proposal. In contrast to "Robert's Rules of Order," which is used by most groups, there are no

winners and losers, and there is not an effort to win the most votes. Instead, the goal is to make the decision that is best for everyone participating.

Many groups start their meetings with the facilitator asking for everyone to introduce themselves and then asking for someone to give a brief description of the consensus process. Everyone is invited to participate fully in every meeting. Everyone is free to introduce agenda items and speak to that item. Everyone is also free to speak to every proposal. The facilitator will introduce the agenda item, asking those making a proposal to explain the details. Then the facilitator will ask for comments and open the floor to each person interested in speaking. Once everyone has spoken or when the time for that agenda item has been used up the facilitator can ask for five, ten, or fifteen more minutes to continue to discuss the agenda item or suggest the group move to the next item. When the time is up, the facilitator will ask for the proposal to be restated and then ask the group if anyone feels they need to “stand aside” because they can’t support the proposal, but won’t block because their opposition is not based on the proposal being contrary to the values and goals of the group. If anyone feels the proposal is contrary to the values and goals of the group, they can block the proposal. The facilitator can ask the people blocking what would need to change to make it so they would be willing to lift their block. That agenda item should be placed on the next agenda and a committee might be organized to re-work the proposal. It is possible the block cannot be lifted and the group cannot come to consensus. Most proposals are never blocked, but it can become necessary to obtain more information and return to the subject at the next meeting. Honoring the time dedicated to each agenda item shows respect for everyone in the group. Some proposals might remain on the agenda for meeting after meeting. Because the process honors everyone’s opinion and time the decisions are likely to be implemented effectively.

It can be very helpful to rotate facilitators each meeting to reduce the possibility of any one volunteer feeling that they are being seen as the leader. The more all volunteers participate in making the decisions, the more dedicated everyone will likely be implementing decisions. Food Not Bombs groups can organize their own workshops to study the use of consensus in the effort to nurture everyone’s skills at participating.

### **Spokes Councils**

It might be necessary to seek support and coordination among a number of Food Not Bombs groups or a coalition of grassroots organizations. Emerging global economic, political and environmental emergencies might require considerable inter-group coordination. The chapter making the proposal can invite the other groups to send two or more representatives from each chapter to a “spokes council” meeting to review the proposal and seek consensus and send that proposal

back to each chapter to address at their next meeting. Then the local chapters can adopt the proposal or send an adjusted proposal back to the next “spokes council” meeting. If the spokes council meeting comes to consensus, it is sent back to the local chapters to adopt and implement. One way to organize a “spokes council” meeting is to announce that your chapter would like to discuss an idea involving more than one chapter and suggest that the subject be included at the next Food Not Bombs Gathering. It has been suggested that Food Not Bombs organize regular regional and global gatherings with a “spokes council” meeting as a regular feature to help coordinate inter-group actions and communication. With so many Food Not Bombs groups active in every area of the world, inter-group coordination might be very effective at influencing social change.

The wave of uprisings in early 2011 show just how important it is to use consensus and the need to develop a strong culture of inclusive decision-making. As oppressive systems fall under popular pressure, your movement can fill the resulting power vacuum with an already well—established democratic community based structure.

## **HOW TO ORGANIZE AN EVENT**

Planning events could be one of the most often used and important skills you will use as a Food Not Bombs organizer. Your chapter could have monthly, weekly or even daily events and host events on a random schedule. If your group implements every step, your events will be well attended and have the impact your community desires.

### **Event Step 1: Venue**

Start by contacting all possible venues that might be appropriate to the type of event you plan to have. That may be a cafe, concert hall, a room in the public library, a loft, a squat or outside in a park, plaza, in front of a corporate or government office, or other locations. Agree to a date and time for both the event and preparation. Depending on your expectations of the event, you might want to set the date and location as far in advance as possible. Large events such as gatherings or festivals can be announced more than a year before to give you enough time to plan and promote the event. It is best to always allow six or eight weeks from the time your group confirms the date, basic talent and venue so your announcements can be listed in monthly publications. If there is a particularly important publication to be listed in, you may want to base the date of your event on the deadline of that publication so you can reach as many people as possible that might be interested. Several of your volunteers could visit the venue before agree-

ing to use it to make sure it will work for your plans. You may need to bring your talent as well. A circus or performance using fire may need a larger space or require special arrangements with the fire department. Find out the details about rent of the venue, including when the deposit is required. It may have a contract or require insurance. Food Not Bombs can often have rents and other costs reduced or donated. Ask the manager if they have the equipment required; or if you will need to provide things like video projectors, lights or sound systems. Write down the manager's name, phone number and email address, and send them an email confirming the dates and times. Remind the manager of the event two weeks and a couple of days before the event.

### **Event Step 2: Talent**

The talent could be bands, artists, athletes, healers, magicians, a speaker, poets, DJ, films, PowerPoint presentation, skill sharing, singing, drum circle, puppets, dancers or dancing, game facilitator or any combination of people, animals, objects or media. You may want to invite someone to film or record the event. Your talent may require sound or lighting equipment. Send the talent and other participants, such as sound companies, an email to confirm the date, time and location of the event. Also confirm details such as how much they will be paid, what equipment they may need and when you expect them to arrive to set up. Remind all the talent about the event one week and the day before the event. You may want to give them a call the morning of the event if you believe that would be helpful. Give copies of your posters and flyers to your talent. Invite them to schedule interviews with the media. You may join them at radio programs so you can talk about Food Not Bombs and the talent can talk about their performance. If they have a song that can be played on air live or as a recording, that can make the interview even more interesting.

### **Event Step 3: Promotion**

As soon as you have the date, time, location and talent, it is time to draft a Public Service Announcement (PSA). Keep the PSA short enough to be read on the radio in 30 seconds and no more than 60 seconds. Read it out loud and time it. The text of your PSA can become the text of your flyers, emails and announcements on websites. Send an email of this PSA to the local media and your group's contact list.

Ask a volunteer to design a flyer and post copies announcing the event all over your community. Your volunteers can start posting flyers as soon as your

group knows the details and can make a poster. You can make small quarter-size or half-size flyers to hand out at concerts or other events. Make sure you have posters in as many store windows and on as many bulletin boards as possible. Your volunteers may need to return to every location a week before the event to make sure there is a flyer at each place. You can also have a stack of flyers on your table at every meal. You may be able to set up a literature table at other events or at a high visibility location a few days before the event.

Call your local media and make sure the event is listed. Call your local radio stations and ask them if they might like to interview you and the talent on some of their programs. There may be music or feature writers at your local paper that would be interested in interviewing someone from your group or some of the talent. You might call into local talk shows and tell them a bit about Food Not Bombs and mention that the listeners can find out more at your next event and share the date, time and location on air. Colleges and local government offices might have electronic bulletin boards where you can announce your event. Venues might have a space where they announce upcoming events, and some communities have a place where your group is allowed to hang a banner announcing the event. Your volunteers can visit each media office and hand a copy of the flyer and Public Service Announcement directly to the staff. Your volunteers could also visit the offices of other community groups and invite them to set up a literature table at the event and ask them to post a flyer or include an announcement of the event to their email list. When you email the announcement to your group's listserv, you can end the post with a request to forward it to their lists. You can ask the venue and talent to email their lists and add the event to their websites. Your volunteers can also ask to announce the event at other groups' meetings, during concerts or at rallies and protests. You may want to send out your Public Service Announcement several times starting as soon as you have the date, venue and talent, a month before the event, two weeks before and during the week of the event. Always call the media to make sure they have your PSA in hand. Media outlets can get over a hundred PSAs each day and unless the employees are directed to yours it may be lost in the chaos. If you are friendly, they will make a point of putting your PSA at the top of the pile. This can be a great way to alert your community, not only about the event you are announcing, but it will let the public know there is an active Food Not Bombs group in your community.

This is the format most organizations follow for their Public Service Announcements.

### Sample Public Service Announcement

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Date and year

CONTACT: Food Not Bombs

Name of person to contact

Phone number to contact

Email address to respond to

Website

TITLE OF THE EVENT

Who will do what:

Day and time of event:

Location of event:

Cost of event even if free:

This is where you place the body of your PSA. Include a very short description of the event, details about the talent and a short statement about Food Not Bombs. Your PSA should never be longer than one page double spaced and you end it with the three number signs as shown below.

###

(Note that the ### is often centered and is the formal way used to end the basic PSA or section intended to be read or listed. You can add supporting information after the three number signs designed to supply details for longer articles or as background on the issue, talent or your Food Not Bombs group.)

### Event Step 4: The event

Once you have the date, time, location and the talent, it is a good idea to have the contact information of everyone involved including phone numbers and email addresses. Someone in your group can call the venue and talent a week before the event and the day before, making sure they all remember the details. You might want to confirm the time of when you plan to arrive to set up. Your chapter may organize committees to implement the various tasks or simply have “bottom liners” responsible for each task.

Your group can have two or three people responsible for setting up and staffing a literature table. You will also need volunteers to collect the tickets or donations at the door. Your chapter might want to hand each

guest a flyer about your meals and your group’s contact information. The volunteers at the literature table can ask each visitor to fill out their name, phone number and email address on your sign-up sheet. They can also provide each guest with a flyer inviting them to your chapter’s next planning meeting or protest. Hang your largest Food Not Bombs banner in the back of the stage above the heads of the performers.

You may want a volunteer to help with stage managing who meets the talent, provides them with the schedule of times and is responsible for making sure each performer is ready to perform and who makes sure the groups get on stage and off stage on time. That person could also be the “Master of Ceremonies” (MC) or that might be yet another person so the stage manager is free to find lost talent. There may be stage hands helping with the logistics of equipment and props.

Your group might want to provide food at the event and will need volunteers to collect, cook and share the food during the event. This might be a full meal or just desserts and drinks. Your chapter can schedule extra food pick-ups, as well as an additional time and location for cooking in advance of the event. Make arrangements with the management of the venue to make sure it is possible for your volunteers to arrive early to set up the literature table, food, props and banners.

As the event comes to the end, your group can start to clean up the venue, picking up trash and collecting the recycling. As soon as everyone leaves, be prepared to sweep and possibly mop the floor of the venue. Pack up all the equipment and help load the items in the appropriate vehicles. Pack up your literature box with the large flyers on the bottom and smallest items on the top. Don’t forget your banner. You could design and print out an event planning check list to make sure each task is assigned and completed, and you could keep that list with the notes of your meetings and other reports, flyers and news clippings so new volunteers are able to see what you have done so they don’t have to reinvent the process and can locate contact information for future events. Plan to have a critique of your event at your next meeting.

### HOW TO ORGANIZE A TOUR

Tours are a great way to build the Food Not Bombs movement and encourage support for protests or campaigns. If you are in a band, theater group, circus, or member of a puppet show you could organize a Food Not Bombs tour featuring your performance and encourage more people to participate as volunteers or participate in a future gathering or protest. You could invite other bands to join the tour and



invite local Food Not Bombs chapters to provide food and their local literature at the event. They can also promote your tour's visit, helping schedule radio and newspaper interviews, posting flyers and announcing your arrival at other concerts and events. These are the main steps to organizing a tour.

### **Tour Step 1: Create a theme**

When you consider organizing a tour, it is helpful to consider what message you hope to share and the goals you intend to accomplish. Some tours are organized to build interest in a future campaign or mass action. Other tours are organized to encourage interest in an organization or project. You may have published a book or magazine and want to organize a tour to encourage the public to read your publication. Choose the message you intend to get across during each presentation. Include an outline of the presentation with a pattern of who will do what and for how long. Your outline might include an introduction, a first speaker or act, and other types of media like a DVD or PowerPoint presentation, music, puppets, banners, solar oven or other props. The elements of each presentation can be organized to motivate your audience to take whatever action you intend. Consider choosing a title that is memorable, catchy and describes the intention of the tour. In addition to a title with impact, you might want to include a subtitle, descriptive paragraph and troupe name that is clear and supports the intention of the tour. These elements can be used in all your materials from your initial letters to host organizations and venues, to your Public Service Announcements, flyers and website. This part of the process of organizing your tour is fun and creative.

### **Tour Step 2: Propose a schedule and route**

Before contacting groups with your proposal, consider mapping out your route, being sure to give yourself the time to travel from one venue to another. You might propose a tour of one month and plan to perform every other evening. This would make it possible to have fourteen or fifteen events in fourteen or fifteen different communities. You may want to have more than one event in some of the communities and stay several days. You may plan to arrive in each city before noon the day of your event so you can staff a literature table or speak with the media to promote the event. Consider these possibilities in the proposed route and write out an itinerary with the date and city. Traveling from one community to another in order of their location is the most efficient way to plan a tour. You may be planning to drive, ride bikes, take trains, busses, ferries, walk, sail, ride horses or, in some cases, fly, so the choice of dates will depend on your mode of transportation.

### **Tour Step 3: Send proposal to possible hosting groups**

Email and/or mail the proposed title, theme and elements of the event, with the proposed dates of when you intend to hold the event in their community, to Food Not Bombs groups, other organizations or the management of venues to see if they would be interested in hosting your presentation or performance. You could provide a list of all cities and dates to everyone you contact so they can have an idea of your route and, therefore, understand why that particular date works best for their community. Include a questionnaire with questions about what they would be able to do if they wanted to host the tour in their community. Ask if that date would work and if it would be the type of event they would be interested in hosting. You could ask if the date listed was free or would another date be better. Your questionnaire could also ask if they would they be willing to post flyers around the community to advertise the tour, make arrangements for a venue, contact local media and help with other details required for the event. You could ask if they would have a place for you to sleep, take a shower or park your vehicle. Suggest some of the ways hosting your event could benefit their organization, venue or community. Ask that they respond by a certain date, and let them know if they choose to host the event that you will provide them with a letter of confirmation, publicity and the other materials necessary for a successful tour.

### **Tour Step 4: Confirm dates and venues**

Ask each Food Not Bombs group, hosting organization or venue to provide you with an email or letter stating that they are willing to host the presentation on the agreed date. Try to get these letters of agreement as soon as you can so you can start to publish the schedule in emails, posters and on your website. Request the starting time, complete name, address and contact information for the venue so it can be correctly listed on the publicity. Venues may have a website that you can also list in your promotional material.

### **Tour Step 5: Promotion of the tour**

Start by writing a Public Service Announcement. (See the sample above under planning events.) The text of your PSA can be used for your poster, emails and website. Create a contact list of local community groups and media in each city or town you have scheduled to hold your event. You can post a PDF of your publicity on the tour's website and include the poster as an attachment in your emails and ask the recipients to print out copies and post them in their community. Your local host can also email their listservs, post the information on their

websites, and post flyers around their community. They could email, call and visit their local media, posting flyers in their lobbies. Ask them to arrange radio and newspaper interviews.

### **Tour Step 6. Logistics**

In the weeks before you head out on the tour, practice the presentation and collect and pack the props, literature, equipment and other materials you will need on the tour. It is often helpful to print up business cards and bring copies of sign-up lists so you can collect the names, phone numbers and email addresses of those attending the event. Pack the appropriate amount and type of clothing. You may need to organize some benefit events or write grants to help with the costs. Estimate the cost of transportation, food, phones, materials and equipment you will need to complete the tour. You will need maps of the area you plan to be traveling through. Create a written list of dates, addresses, and contact people with their phone numbers and emails. Confirm that you will have a place to sleep, a shower or bath, and other details before heading out on the tour. Your host may provide food but you will also need to provide for yourself at times. If traveling out of your country, make sure you have applied for proper visas and that your passport is current. Determine if it will be necessary to have vaccinations or if you'll need to bring mosquito netting, heavy clothing or other special items. Make sure you have enough medicine or other items that may be difficult to obtain while on tour. You may need special adapters for electricity or need to have translators and literature in the local languages of the places you intend to travel. Call or email each host a week before you are scheduled to arrive and the day before your event to let them know your progress. Arrange the time and location of where you will meet your host once you arrive in their community. Consider bringing small gifts for each host and those who provide housing or other support.

### **Tour Step 7. After the Tour**

Send thank you cards to everyone that helped with the tour. Take all items such as posters, photos and other artifacts you might have collected on the tour and create a scrap book. You may want to write an account of the tour or organize an event to report back to your community. You may need to record logistics or plans created during the tour. Make contact with those that signed the contact list.

## **HOW TO ORGANIZE A GATHERING**

### **Gathering Step 1. Propose the gathering at your group's meeting**

Gatherings can be valuable in many ways. It is inspiring to meet activist volunteers from other communities and discover their clever solutions to issues common to many Food Not Bombs groups. It can be a chance to organize inter-group actions and share skills. The principles and projects common to many Food Not Bombs groups were initiated at gatherings. Food Not Bombs has organized regional, national and world gatherings which have been important in strengthening our movement. The Gathering will be most effective if the last day or afternoon is devoted to a gathering wide discussion where everyone can participate. One idea is to organize a regular annual world gathering with regional gatherings planned for six months or so before. Inter-group coordination of a movement as large and global as Food Not Bombs could inspire positive social change in a way that other groups are not able to achieve. (We have a video of the 1995 International Food Not Bombs Gathering on the Food Not Bombs website at [www.foodnotbombs.net/videos.html](http://www.foodnotbombs.net/videos.html).)

Include the proposal for a gathering at your chapter's next meeting and talk about the reason and theme of the gathering, dates, and other details you might want to propose to the other Food Not Bombs chapters. Include the geographic scope of the gathering in your proposal. Consider workshops, meetings, and the focus of the gathering that would be of most benefit to the chapters you plan to invite. Your gathering might be held during the days or weeks preceding another large protest or event for which Food Not Bombs would be providing meals.

Your group might consider choosing a date that is a year or more in the future for world or international gatherings and you need almost that much time for regional gatherings. The more time everyone has to prepare, the more everyone will get from participating.

### **Gathering Step 2. Contact other groups to see if they would support the proposal**

Once your chapter has come to consensus on the focus, theme, dates and location of the proposed gathering, your group can ask the other Food Not Bombs chapters if they would be interested in participating. Your chapter could produce a questionnaire to email to the other chapters. Your group might also include these questions on a website detailing the proposed theme, dates and location. Your chapter might ask if the other groups

would support the proposed gathering and, if so, what workshops, subjects, entertainment and additions the other chapters might suggest. The questionnaire might ask about the participants' need for housing, transportation or other details. Ask that the other chapters respond by a certain date.

### **Gathering Step 3: Developing the structure and schedule of the gathering**

As your group starts to receive responses to the proposed gathering, your chapter can organize committee meetings. Your group could have finance and fundraising, program, venue, housing, food, transportation, documentation, healthcare, childcare and outreach committees. At first, most of your volunteers may be on almost every committee, but it won't be long before your chapter starts getting more volunteers. News of the gathering will inspire additional interest in your chapter. The finance committee can develop a budget and start organizing benefit concerts and other events. The program committee can contact the other chapters to make sure they return the questionnaires. They can start to outline the programs by first making a framework for the daily schedule. The venue committee can secure a place to have the gathering. This may be one large facility like a school, place of worship, community center or a collection of spaces. The housing committee could write a letter to the community requesting housing for certain nights and make a list of all the possible places offered. This list could include the name of those offering the place to stay, their address, phone number, email address and the number of people they can accommodate. The transportation committee might take the information from the questionnaire about the transportation needs of people. If it is a world or international gathering, they may need to notify the participants that they will need to provide information to assist in the application of visas. The food committee can draft a letter requesting special food donations and create a contact list of all the possible food sources. They might seek a large kitchen located at or near the venue.

### **Gathering Step 4: Outreach**

The goal of outreach for a gathering is to attract as much interest from other Food Not Bombs groups as possible. The more input the participating Food Not Bombs chapters have in forming the focus and agenda of the gathering, the more support your gathering will have. After your group emails and posts the proposal for the gathering, then you can call each chapter to remind them to discuss the proposal and ask them to return the completed questionnaire by the deadline. Your chapter can email an announcement of each planning meeting with its agenda to all participating chapters and invite them to respond in person or by email. Remind the other chapters that they are free to make any proposal.

It is possible to organize regional meetings to share ideas which can be proposed to the host chapter. A gathering website can be posted with updates on housing, the programs, transportation, healthcare, childcare and other needs. Ask a volunteer to design a poster announcing the gathering, its dates, location, focus, workshops, entertainment and contact information. You can email a PDF to each chapter so they can include copies on the literature table and post it at other activist offices. You may use the image from the poster on t-shirts and other items.

### **Gathering Step 5: Creating the program**

The program committee schedules workshops, discussions and the agenda for the "meeting of the whole." Your chapter could propose a discussion around an urgent issue where inter-chapter cooperation would be important or you could propose a theme you think would help other groups. More attention to developing a well researched strategy for the future could be discussed. The committee can start to outline the programs by first making a framework for the daily schedule. For instance, opening the morning with yoga or meditation, then breakfast, a morning meeting of the whole, a morning workshop, lunch, an afternoon workshop, break-out meetings, dinner and an evening event.

The break-out meetings might be used to develop proposals for agenda items at a final afternoon plenary or meeting of the whole where the gathering could try to come to consensus on the details of each proposal that would then be sent back to all the chapters for discussion and decisions. The workshops could include some proposals directly related to the focus of the gathering and others could introduce the community to skills or issues with a less direct connection. The program committee can make space for discussions of proposals at a meeting of the whole or plenary often held the final day. This plenary could take an afternoon or an entire day. When a gathering comes to consensus on future actions or other proposals, they are more likely to succeed.

As soon as the committee knows what workshops and meetings are proposed, a schedule can be produced as a calendar or chart with the days, times, workshop or meeting names, facilitators and their contact information and the locations. This schedule can be published in the program guide. The facilitator of each workshop or meeting can also provide a paragraph or two describing the item to be included in the program guide. If the program committee is well organized, it might be possible to publish the schedule and description weeks or even a month or more before the gathering. Copies could be mailed to the participating chapters and posted on the website, providing additional time for everyone to discuss and contemplate the issues that will be addressed at the gathering.

## **Gathering Step 6: Venue, food, housing, transportation, healthcare, childcare and other needs**

The venue committee can secure a place to have the gathering. This may be one large facility such as a school, place of worship, community center or a collection of spaces. Make a list of all possible venues and include the contact person, their phone number and physical address. Make an appointment to visit each venue and meet with the people responsible for providing access. Ask about the cost and requirements necessary for securing the use of the facility. Ask if it will be available during the dates of the gathering and if insurance will be required. If you are able to use the venue, make arrangements to have one of your volunteers be the responsible party to stay in contact with the staff person responsible for the venue during the gathering. That volunteer should talk with the staff person a month, week and day before the gathering about entry to the venue. A venue should have one large room so everyone could participate in a meeting of the whole group and smaller rooms for workshops. The venue might have outdoor space for camping or be near public transportation. It should be accessible to everyone and free of distractions like noise, extreme temperatures or high winds so everyone can focus on the workshops and meetings. The venue committee should make sure there are enough seats, toilets, video projectors, chalk boards and large sheets of paper with markers.

The housing committee should write a letter to the community requesting housing for certain nights and make a list of all the places offered. This list should include the name of those offering the place to stay, their address, phone number, email address and the number of people they can accommodate. Volunteers can be on hand at the convergence space as the participants arrive so they can direct them to their housing. Each participant can be provided with a page that includes the name, address and phone number of the person offering them housing. The sheet can also include directions and a map to the housing. The housing committee might be able to secure school dorms, group camping or a gymnasium for the participants to stay. The committee may be able to send the housing details out to the participants in advance of their arrival. This information might indicate that the participants should bring their own sleeping bag, camping mattress or other items as required.

The transportation committee might take the information from the questionnaire about the transportation needs of people. If it is a world or international gathering, they may need to assist in applications for visas. The committee could investigate the visa requirements for people intending to attend from specific countries. The committee might write a basic visa letter inviting the participants, using their full names and address, to attend the gathering on specific dates for the purpose of working with other Food Not Bombs volunteers towards the goal of the gathering. The visa let-

ter would also state the name, address and phone number of the person responsible for hosting the applicant. A travel itinerary or plane, train or bus ticket may be required. In some countries you can provide a letter about your gathering to the office that issues visas so they will have this information at the airport when people arrive.

Your chapter will require additional food and may want to start collecting non-perishable bulk goods as soon as you have agreed to host the gathering. You can also request that the participating groups bring food to the gathering. The food committee can draft a letter requesting special food donations and create a contact list of all the possible food sources. Many sources that might not make regular contributions to your weekly meal might make a one-time donation for a special event like the gathering. The committee might seek a large kitchen located at or near the venue. It may be possible to organize an outdoor field kitchen. Along with bringing food, the participating chapters could bring some of their cooking equipment so it will be possible to provide food to everyone. A trick to feeding very large groups is to make many dishes or courses, instead of serving three items on each plate. Since most people participating in the gathering will be active with Food Not Bombs, the kitchen will be a great place to share ideas about cooking, and you shouldn't have any trouble finding people to help.

Many gatherings will organize a healthcare committee of medics and healers. The committee might designate a room or tent as the healthcare clinic. The clinic could provide water, aspirins, bandages and simple first aid. Your chapter might ask the community to donate services like acupuncture, massage and herbs. The healthcare committee could contact the local emergency room and ambulance companies to let them know you will be having the gathering, telling them the location and number of people you expect will attend.

It is really helpful to offer childcare. Choose a safe place a short distance from the rest of the gathering so your children can be loud yet not too far from their parents. Organize games, collect children's books to read out loud, provide costumes for dress up, balls for sports and work with the kitchen to have snacks and meals for the children before the adults.

## **Gathering Step 7: Convergence center and the orientation of the participants**

As soon as you have a date, seek out a place for your convergence center. This could be a room near the entrance of the gathering, or if the gathering is held in a number of locations, you may consider securing a space in an easy-to-locate building near public transportation. Try to have your convergence center at the same place as your gathering, if possible. In some cities it may be more important to locate your convergence center near a subway or bus station and provide directions to larger venues in difficult to find areas of town, particularly if you find it nec-

essary to use spaces located in many areas of the city. Remember, many of the people participating will not be familiar with the host city so make their first destination one that is easy for everyone to find. You can seek a free location with electricity and water or you may find it necessary to rent a space for one month. The convergence space is where you will be greeting participants and providing them with the program guide, directions to housing and information about other logistics. Many convergence centers will have a notice board for rides from the gathering, announcements of special workshops and meetings that might have been proposed during the gathering. Your Indy-media Center might also be housed at the convergence space.

### **Gathering Step 8: Workshops and meetings**

Your host chapter will receive many workshop and meeting proposals. Your group can organize a schedule that takes into consideration a number of issues. Your group might not want to schedule workshops that you know will be of interest to the same people at the same time. Your schedule could include one morning, two afternoon and one evening slot. Important meetings addressing the focus of the gathering or issues that might require the participation of volunteers from all participating Food Not Bombs chapters would be most successful if not scheduled at the same time as other workshops or other distractions. Food Not Bombs gatherings have offered workshops on vegan cooking for 100, how to start a Food Not Bombs chapter, using vegetable oil to power vehicles, composting, organic gardening, lock picking, water purification, train-hopping skills, wild food collection, giant puppet making, event planning, improving your use of consensus decision making, silk screening, stencil making and graffiti, racism and sexism in the movement, weaving, sanitation and food safety and building a strategy for a campaign of nonviolent direct action and nonviolence trainings. Many gatherings will also have workshops on proposed or current campaigns such as highway blockages, actions to stop mining or logging operations, sovereignty rights, efforts to stop genetically engineered food or protection of animals threatened by hunting or habitat destruction. The subjects of workshops are only limited by the organizers imagination, interest and schedule.

The meetings on topics concerning the interaction between Food Not Bombs chapters could be one of the most important features of any gathering. Each participating Food Not Bombs chapter can discuss the proposed agenda items at their local meetings in the weeks and months before the gathering in order to be prepared to offer well considered ideas during the meetings. The gathering could schedule a “meeting of the whole” or “spokes council meeting” near the end of the gathering to consider the ideas generated during the earlier meetings. An experienced facilitator can make the meeting of the whole more productive. Write down the decisions made at the “meeting of the whole” and make sure they are emailed to all participating chapters and posted on the gathering website so

all chapters can consider the proposals. Each chapter can review the proposals and seek consensus on their implementation. The gathering proposals might be modified, changed or blocked by one or more local chapters and returned to a future gathering to be considered before they are implemented.

### **Gathering Step 9: Closing and Critique**

The participants are likely to build close bonds with one another and be excited to return home to implement the skills and ideas generated during the gathering. Your gathering could end with a closing circle of all participants offering a critique of the gathering. Each activist could make suggestions of what could have been better and note what they believe was successful. They can also provide a short recap of the essential points or decisions addressed during the gathering.

## **PLANNING A CAMPAIGN OF NONVIOLENT DIRECT ACTION**

There is a proud history of nonviolent direct action that your group can study to help formulate the most effective strategy. As governments and corporations become more sophisticated in the use of violence to resist change, they are providing an opportunity for nonviolent direct action to be more effective than ever. (Author Gene Sharp has studied the history and theory of nonviolence for over fifty years and his books provide valuable information. We also provide a list of books and Gene Sharp’s list of 198 possible actions in the Appendix.) Governments and corporations are so fearful of the potential of nonviolent resistance that they are working to create the appearance that nonviolence can’t succeed and that nonviolent direct action is the same as being passive. Nonviolent direct action is far from being passive and is often the most effective strategy we have to respond to the global economic, political and environmental crisis. Food Not Bombs can provide a unique addition to any campaign, and that is food. We can feed a protest for as long as is needed, taking away one common limitation faced by people organizing protests. We also provide experience with collective decision making and practice with logistics: two essential skills required for implementing campaigns. There has never been a more important time to develop and implement well planned campaigns of nonviolent direct action. Careful preparation, the study of nonviolence strategy and persistence can result in success.

### **Campaign Step 1: Identify and Analyze the Issue**

Before starting any campaign, you might want to announce the formation of regular organizing meetings by posting flyers and emailing organizations and friends about your intentions. Early meetings can identify the issue and create a system or method to analyze all aspects of it. Identify the groups,

companies and individuals that would support or oppose your position. Consider why the public would either support or oppose each position related to the issue and investigate the relationship of each party to the issue. You might want to “follow the money” or investigate who would benefit and who would be harmed. What would be the motivation for favoring or opposing any given approach?

While the community might have a clear idea of the motivation and positions of each party, it could be wise to draft a public opinion survey to collect opinions and data. Avoid asking leading questions. That would reduce the value of the data you collect. Your group might seek support from graduate students majoring in the field of public opinion research. Your group can find a list of college departments that might be able to provide assistance in developing your survey from the American Association for Public Opinion Research by visiting their site at [www.aapor.org](http://www.aapor.org). There are similar organizations in many other countries that can provide access to graduate students. Other valuable organizations include the Institute for Policy Studies, based in Washington D.C., and Public Interest Research Groups (PIRG) started by Ralph Nader and his coworkers. Many Food Not Bombs groups in Canada are sponsored by PIRG chapters at local colleges. These projects can help your group clarify and identify the deeper aspects of the issue for your own group and introduce the public to the fact that the concern exists. This information can also be used to draft articles, posters, petitions and talking points. You can analyze the data collected in your public opinion surveys to see how people view the issue, determine the amount of support or opposition that already exists and what message or information might change the public’s opinion. This can also help your group identify the strengths and weaknesses in your opponent’s position.

While collecting responses to your well drafted survey, determine what actions would motivate your opponents to change their position. Can pressure be exerted against the people funding your opponents? Could supporters of your opponents be concerned about losing an election? Is it possible that negative publicity could threaten the prosperity of a corporation? What groups of people, government officials or corporate leaders depend on what kind of support and influence is exerted upon these parties to withdraw their support or cooperation?

As you collect this information, your group will become clearer about the strategy and message of your

campaign. At first, your group might have an absolute set of goals that need to be achieved before ending the campaign such as ending specific policies, the complete protection of specific rights or habitat or an end to a war or an environmentally damaging commercial enterprise. As your campaign continues, your pressure and tactics might increase, or your group may determine that even though the original goal was not achieved, the group’s opponents have modified their position enough to be satisfactory to adjust your strategy or even to claim victory and end the campaign.

The more clear and specific your demands, the more likely it is that you can build support and win concessions. Goals like “world peace,” “save the environment” or “love everyone” are so general it would be impossible for an opponent to change their policies and achieve any of these or many other vague demands. A campaign with focus and achievable demands would be more likely to succeed. “World peace” could be more likely be achieved by first organizing a campaign to convert a weapons facility to manufacturing solar power equipment. Targeting Congress to cut funding for a new generation of nuclear missiles is something that could happen, and once successful, it would inspire confidence that we can take yet another step towards ending militarism. Organizing a campaign to stop the clear cutting of an area of the forest with specific owners, habitat and boundaries or blocking the construction of a nuclear power station provides your group with a clear goal that everyone can recognize. Being clear about specific goals can then be followed by creating a path towards success.



Nonviolent direct action at Seabrook Nuclear Power Station in New Hampshire in 1980

## **Campaign Step 2: Outlining the campaign and strategy**

In many situations, building public support is essential in changing government policies or corporate behavior. Many successful campaigns start with a period of education. Literature is produced to explain the issue. Your group might organize a teach-in or public forum, inviting people from all sides of the issue to participate. Your group can organize other educational events like PowerPoint presentations, lectures with informed members of the community, puppet shows, websites, a documentary or staff regular literature tables outside groceries, in public squares and at events. A petition is also a great tool and, in some cases, is all that is needed to have an impact. Petitions are a simple way to involve the public, build a contact list and show your opponents that you have popular support. Your group can collect a certain number of signatures, such as half the people in town or 10,000 people, half the students at your school, or so many in one month. Once you reach this number, you can contact the media and organize a public event where you deliver the petitions, showing that the public backs your group's position. Sometimes a petition is all you need for your opponent to feel enough pressure to change their policies. This is particularly true if you acknowledge that your opponent has always been well intended and because of so much public support, they are eager to agree with your position. Even if your opponent fails to respond favorably to the petitions, your group can still remain positive that they will come around. Most campaigns employ an educational component during the entire effort even as the group escalates its tactics.

Your opponent's failure to change, after being presented with a substantial number of signatures from the people whose support they require, can provide your group with a solid foundation for the next more drastic action in your campaign. Increase the severity or militancy of your tactic by measured degrees. After the appeal by petition, consider a vigil outside the opponent's office, factory or other recognizable and highly visible location. Your group may announce that you intend to return until the demands are met or for one month, at which time your group will call for a boycott, strike or other escalation of tactics. The more deliberate and measured the increase in pressure, the more public support you can gain. Offer a way for your opponent to change its policies or position while preserving its dignity. If your opponent understands this, you are more likely to succeed at changing their policies. This can be a very difficult position to main-

tain, particularly if your opponent is generally ruthless, violent and uses dishonest tactics in its defense. If your opponents cause your group to perceive them without dignity, your struggle could become protracted and the members of your group could feel justified in taking actions that could erode their sense of self respect. It has been a common strategy of the powerful to project themselves as unreasonable and so disrespectful that their opponents believe them to be so evil that any action is justified in resisting their policies. If they succeed, your group will lose its sense of dignity, take extreme actions that can be used to justify repression and cause your campaign to lose its self respect. If the community sees that your group is maintaining respect and taking persistent dignified action, even though it is facing violence, dishonesty and even prison and death, you will undermine the power of your opponent and draw popular support for your cause. It is often at the point when an opponent is most brutal and is unable to undermine the self respect and dignity of your group that the opponent believes it must capitulate to the demands of the campaign.

A dramatic and even deserved increase in tactics can be used against your campaign and cost you support, so take care not to escalate your tactics until it is clear to the public that your next actions are justified.

## **Campaign Step 3: Discipline and persistence**

If your group can maintain a disciplined dedication to nonviolence, you are likely to attract support from the general community, and your participants are less likely to lose enthusiasm for the campaign. Your group can maintain discipline by organizing nonviolent preparations in advance of each new escalation in tactics. Your group might even start the campaign with a day of nonviolence preparation, even though your campaign is not expected to escalate to an action that will require a dedication to nonviolent direct action.

Your campaign may last months, years or even decades before achieving the desired results. While the crisis we are currently facing is urgent and it doesn't seem that we have much time to change the direction of society, it may be necessary to understand that the change we need could require determination and time to be successful.

## BASIC TYPES OF NONVIOLENT DIRECT ACTIONS

Governments and corporations have systematically discouraged protests, and made great strides in erasing the knowledge of nonviolent direct action. Textbooks might mention Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and his speeches, but there is little about the dynamics of the use of nonviolent direct action to end desegregation and improve the civil rights of Americans. Gene Sharp has a list of 198 types of nonviolent action. We include a list of books in the appendix to help you study more about the history, tactics and methods used throughout history. In our effort to change society so that everyone has the food they need without the fear of going without, the following can be among the most effective methods. Some of the most basic types of nonviolent direct action are described below.

### Marches and Funeral Processions

Marches travel through the community showing people along your route that you have support for a certain point of view or position. The first step to organizing a march is to announce the day, time and location to meet. The location, such as a government or corporate office, could be chosen because of its relationship to the issue being addressed by the march. A rally can be organized at the meeting point. People knowledgeable about the issue can speak as people gather. Once it is clear most people intending to participate have arrived, then the march can leave the assembly area. Your march should be led by a banner stating the essential point of the action. As an organizer, you might want to provide materials so people participating can make their own signs and banners during the speeches. You may end up blocking streets if you have a great many participants, but it can be valuable to let traffic pass so the public can see your message. On the other hand, if you have many supporters, the disruption of traffic can also have impact. The key is to reach the public through other methods so the disruption is not attributed to construction or obstruction by anti-social elements. The route of the march can be determined beforehand and pass by buildings, factories, meetings or other locations related to the issue. On occasion, if someone is killed during your struggle your group might organize a funeral march. Even if no one has died during the campaign, but people are dying or could die if your actions fail, your group can organize a symbolic funeral march. The march may end at a location that is the focus of the issue.

### Vigils, Tent City Protests and Occupations

Many times the strongest and most effective action can be the vigil, tent city protest or occupation. Tent city protests ended the rule of Arab dictators in 2011 inspiring a global wave of occupations. If there is one main location such as government or corporate offices that decision makers frequent, you might consider organizing a vigil and tent city protest. The action can start by simply standing outside the facility with banners, signs and literature. Your vigil might start out being just an hour once a week at the entrance of the target, then escalate to one hour every day, to all day, and then, if there has been no movement in the position of those your protest is directed against, you may consider a twenty-four hour vigil and tent city protest. Governments and corporations have little tolerance for this type of powerful protest. Your group may need to slowly introduce more elaborate props until you are able to set up the first tent. These props can be a literature table, large banners, giant puppets, flags and cardboard images of tents or symbols representing the intention of the vigil. Provide literature to all those passing. Your largest banners and signs can announce clearly the issue about which you are protesting. Vigils with many worthy messages can have much less impact. The power of this type of action is persistence. Your group may want to facilitate a nonviolence preparation for the participants. There may be times when the police are called in to remove the vigil and your group will want to be prepared for arrest. Returning to the site after being driven off by the authorities can be very powerful. You may need to return with banners and signs and replace your larger tents and structures once you have retaken the space.

Your group might want to offer regular events during the vigil such as concerts, poetry readings and other performances. There may be an appropriate time such as shift change or every lunch break where the event will have the most impact. Your group might announce special events on the weekends to invite less committed people to show their support. Many vigils will post a sign announcing the number of days of the action. Your vigil might include people that are fasting and they may wear a sign saying how many days since they last ate. Fasting can be very dangerous so it is wise to enlist the support of nurses or doctors to monitor the well-being of those who are participating in the fast.

Food Not Bombs can provide meals on site so people don't have to leave. Food Not Bombs has provided food at several successful tent city actions including a twenty-seven day vigil in San Francisco in 1989; the 100 day action during the Orange Revolution in Kiev, Ukraine; Camp Casey in Crawford, Texas; at a 600 day farmer's tent city protest in Sarajevo and Occupy Wall Street movement in hundreds of cities. Food Not Bombs joined the protests, setting up a field kitchen on site. Tent city protests were successful in ending the dictatorial rule in Tunisia, Egypt and the other repressive Middle Eastern countries in early 2011. As the global economic, environmental and political crisis grows more urgent, we might consider organizing more tent city protests as they have been very effective in the past.



## Occupations and Flash Mobs

After trying other tactics, it might be necessary to consider an occupation. Your group might choose to occupy an office, school, factory or your target may need to be a construction, mining or logging site. With the foreclosure crisis and increase in homelessness, the occupation of abandoned housing or land could be the most appropriate strategy. Your group could choose to occupy a building because of its symbolism to the issue being addressed. Your group might take over the offices of a government official or school administrator. Workers might occupy their factory during a strike.

Your group's strategy could involve an element of surprise or use the public announcement of the action's location for influence. Using text messaging to call a flash mob can be effective, but governments are starting to block cell phone service during times of unrest. Food Not Bombs was born from the founders' participation in the occupation attempts at Seabrook Nuclear Power Station in New Hampshire. Announcement of the occupation may have influenced the power company to mobilize a costly defense contributing to it's being the last nuclear power station to go online in the United States.

Food Not Bombs also participated in the founding of Homes Not Jails, taking over abandoned buildings in plain sight. Dressed as construction employees, the activists would break open the front doors of houses they discovered were empty because of ownership disputes with banks. Once they put their own locks on the front doors, they invited homeless families

to meet them at the targeted house at 9:00 AM. The activists would unlock the front door and let the new occupants in and help them clean and repair the house, pretending to be the management. At the same time, strategic buildings that could not be repaired with the meager resources of Homes Not Jails would be occupied on symbolic dates, with banners hanging from the windows to pressure the authorities to provide housing instead of jails to those living on America's streets. It may be necessary to have a support group outside the occupied facility that contacts the media, builds community solidarity, promotes the goals of the occupation through flyers and vigils outside the offices of decision makers and provides material assistance to those inside. Pre-planning sanitation and access to water and food is important. Your group can also organize legal support before the action. Food Not Bombs has provided water, food and material aid to occupants, making it possible for their occupations to survive days, weeks and even, sometimes, years.

## Blockades and Lockdowns

Disrupting the business or activities of those engaged in dangerous, unjust or cruel policies may require an escalation to a blockade or lockdown. Your group's strategy might require the blockade of an entrance to a factory, office, retail establishment, construction site or logging or mining road, slowing or stopping the operations. Your group might organize large numbers of participants who agree to arrive at one location, filling the streets or entrances with so many people it is not easy or



Citizen's weapons inspection at Raytheon Missile Systems in Tucson, Arizona

possible for the opponents to continue their activities. The blockaders could simply stand or sit in the way. A standing group might plan to sit or be urged to sit when facing repression. Your group's strategy might include linking arms or locking one another together or to heavy symbolic objects to slow the removal of the blockage. Sometimes activists have used heavy materials such as old cars, logs and concrete to block access. Locking yourselves to entrance doors, tractors or other implements needed to continue the offensive activity can be effective. A support team can promote the purpose of the action, speak with the media, coordinate with lawyers and provide the blockade with food, water and other materials.

### **Risking Arrest Sharing Free Meals**

When Food Not Bombs was first arrested for making a "political statement" by feeding the hungry, observers suggested that this was "America's Salt March," after the marches organized by Gandhi in India. When a state or corporation attempts to stop a basic activity like feeding the hungry or gathering sea salt, it can provide your community with an opportunity to expose larger truths. Nonviolent noncooperation with orders to interfere with basic acts of survival can be a powerful way to inspire resistance. Instead of letting the police walk off with our food, we can simply hold on to our containers of soup, salad, rice, beans, pasta and bread. Your group can divide the food into two smaller portions that are expected to be seized and a last large portion that can feed everyone that comes to eat. Your group can also make temporary "Food Not Bombs" banners for each expected act of police interference. The banners are often the first item taken by the authorities. The police might arrest several volunteers for sharing food without a permit and take the banner and food. Your group can return with another small amount of food and temporary banner and the police might interfere again. After the second wave of arrests and confiscations, your group can return with the rest of the food, your regular banner and literature, and proceed to feed everyone with little concern that the police will make more arrests that day. If they do return and seize your food and banner, then your group knows that they must divide the food and banners into fours. Your group can take video and photos of the arrests and confiscations, which can be helpful in court and in the publicity of the issue. It is helpful to organize legal support people who work with the lawyers and follow those arrested through the system. They can speak with the media, lawyers and public about the issue while those arrested are in custody. They can also contact employers, water gardens and house plants and feed and walk pets. Each court appearance is another opportunity to share food outside the courthouse. If volunteers are convicted and sentenced to jail, it is possible to continue the pressure by sharing meals every morning outside the courthouse, informing the public that the court had the audacity to jail someone for feeding the hungry. This can undermine the authority of the legal system and cause judges to release the imprisoned food sharer.

### **Strikes and Walkouts**

Strikes are the withholding of labor or cooperation with an employer or institution. Along with failing to participate in the tasks or activities required by the institution or employer, your associates and supporters can organize a picket line at the site of the conflict or in visible public locations with banners, signs and literature about the issue for which you are striking. A sit-down strike is one where the workers or students refuse, not only to participate in their work or studies, but also to leave the place of employment or school. A general strike is one where all workers and students refuse to work or study. A local strike can build to a general strike. Before calling a strike, you may want to take less dramatic steps to prepare the community with education about the conflict and provide opportunities for the issue to be resolved. A support team can help coordinate legal and logistical assistance. A strike will often be able to last until its demands are met if Food Not Bombs provides food to the families of those on strike.

### **Food Not Bombs Relief Efforts**

Food relief isn't often considered a method of nonviolent direct action, but the inability of governments to respond to emergencies has made it necessary for Food Not Bombs to fill that void. In doing so we also highlight the real priorities of the authorities. Food Not Bombs often finds itself at the center of economic, political or environmental crisis. Our volunteers can be the first to respond to disasters. Your group may live in an area prone to hurricanes, tornados, cyclones, earthquakes, floods, blizzards, fires, drought or other natural phenomenon that could require an emergency response. Your community might face a political or economic crisis, providing Food Not Bombs with an opportunity to provide assistance. Your chapter can prepare for disasters by organizing benefit events to buy bulk rice, beans, oats, flour and other dry goods. It can also be helpful to have a few large propane stoves, although your group can cook on fires fueled by scrap wood, coal or other flammable materials. Your chapter might include disaster relief as an agenda item at your meetings to discuss plans on preparation and implementation of local relief efforts. Try to imagine cuts in communication, water, power and other resources. Your group might want to store fresh water, solar electric generating equipment, bulk dry goods and first aid equipment. Consider organizing classes in first aid, water purification and sanitation.

Food Not Bombs can often respond to crisis at times when larger institutions are not able. Relief organizations, like the American Red Cross, will sometimes find it difficult to provide assistance and will give survivors our phone number so we can direct them to the locations of our meals. In the first few months after Katrina, we received dozens of calls from people seeking food, telling us that the American Red Cross directed them to our program. Large institutions may be required to follow government regulations and issues of legal liability. Their hierarchical command structure can also slow down their ability to respond quickly to disasters. Food Not Bombs is local, flexible and free from political or legal restrictions.

In 1989, the San Francisco Bay area was hit by a huge earthquake. San Francisco Food Not Bombs was preparing its regular dinner on an apartment stove when the earthquake rolled through the city. Gas and electricity were suddenly cut off. Fortunately, the volunteers had propane stoves and were prepared to cook outside. They collected all their equipment and drove down to Civic Center Plaza where the group expected to share dinner. They set up their tables and stoves and finished cooking dinner. Grocery stores and produce markets lost power to their walk-in refrigerators and some called Food Not Bombs to retrieve their perishable food. Hundreds of additional people showed up for dinner. The police had arrested the servers the day before, but this time they joined the line of hungry, shaken San Franciscans seeking dinner. The American Red Cross finally arrived in the wealthy Marina District three days after the earthquake. Until then, San Francisco Food Not Bombs provided meals to hundreds of people. Food Not Bombs also provided meals to the survivors of the 1994 Northridge Earthquake in Southern California and to survivors of the 2010 earthquake in Chile.

In August 2005, Food Not Bombs volunteers learned that a hurricane threatened the gulf coast of the United States. As soon as the hurricane was named they posted a Katrina page on their website and started an email conversation on their listservs. Hartford, Connecticut Food Not Bombs packed its blue school bus with food and equipment and started off towards New Orleans. Houston Food Not Bombs prepared to feed the refugees flooding into the Astrodome and Convention Center. Tucson Food Not Bombs sent a bus load of food, volunteers and equipment. Survivors and supporters called Food Not Bombs' toll free number. The volunteers organized contact lists of drivers, food collections and volunteers by routes. The website was updated many times a day with details of kitchen locations and other logistics. Hundreds of Food Not Bombs volunteers mobilized, traveling to the Gulf to set up kitchens, free survivors from the attics of their homes and provide food and support to communities ignored by the government and institutional relief organizations. Survivors had an opportunity to have direct experience of the principles of Food Not Bombs.

Food Not Bombs groups have provided food and logistical support for political and economic crisis. The election in the Ukraine was stolen, and Food Not Bombs provided meals to protesters of the Orange Revolution in November 2004 to January 2005. Volunteers also provided meals to striking farm workers in Sarajevo during a 600 day tent city protest. They fed striking auto workers in Korea and shared meals at protests during the 2008 economic collapse of Iceland.

Your chapter can make a huge impact by preparing to respond to local disasters. Food Not Bombs is one of the few movements that can respond swiftly to ease the suffering of survivors. Our rapid response can encourage community self-reliance and provide an example that the core principle of Food Not Bombs might be a good substitute for corporate and government domination.

## FOOD NOT BOMBS PROJECTS

Food Not Bombs has inspired a number of “do it yourself” projects. These projects share many principles with Food Not Bombs including a critique of the economic system, dedication to collective decision making, and a desire to provide a direct service or perform a task that introduces the public to our philosophies of a non-hierarchical, decentralized, social organization that encourages self-reliance and an independence from corporate and government domination. The most common projects are Food Not Lawns, Homes Not Jails, Free Radio Stations, Indymedia, Really Really Free Markets, and Bikes Not Bombs.

### Food Not Lawns

Food Not Bombs has been recovering abandoned lots to plant organic gardens for over twenty years, often calling them spiral gardens. We used rubble to build spiral mounds that provide micro climates. Volunteers organize festivals at an abandoned lot, bringing rakes, shovels and other tools and free meals for the gardeners. Food Not Bombs invites the neighborhood to participate. They might post flyers around the community. They remove the garbage from the lot, recycling what they can. Once cleared, they would start a compost, turn the soil and lay out the beds. The next festival might include the planting of flowers, vegetables and fruit trees. A schedule of watering might be organized and the community might hold weekly weeding and harvesting parties.

Food Not Bombs volunteers recovered lots in several California communities in the late 1980s and early 90s. They also helped revive the famous garden in People's Park Berkeley. New Brunswick Food Not Bombs started a community garden and produced a documentary detailing the progress and joy of organic gardening. Many other chapters also started local gardens, some on recovered land and others in cooperation with local schools and community centers. Food Not Bombs volunteers have also supported many other community gardens not initiated by their chapters.

In the late 1990s, Eugene's Food Not Bombs volunteer, Heather Flores, and her friends were working in their community garden. Truck loads of sod passed them daily on their way to become lawns in Las Vegas, Los Angeles and Phoenix. Heather was already inviting the community to help her garden. She brought the garden surplus to the Food Not Bombs meal. Seeing trucks of lawn heading to the desert as thousands of people were going hungry was too much to bear. Food Not Lawns was born.

Food Not Bombs volunteers could see the logic. Soon Food Not Bombs groups were starting Food Not Lawns gardens. Chapters have started gardens in over 200 cities. A Food Not Lawns gathering was held in San Diego, California. Peterborough, Canada Food Not Bombs started a garden that became a weekly news story in the local paper. Heather Flores wrote the book, *Food Not Lawns*, providing a detailed plan on how to bring your community together to plant their own Food Not Lawns organic garden.

## Homes Not Jails

Housing foreclosures are at record highs in many parts of the world. Still, many other people have never considered buying a house, and many millions live outside, unable to afford shelter of any kind. The United States faced a foreclosure crisis in the 1990s. City governments started programs designed to drive the homeless out as hundreds of buildings stood empty. The San Francisco police arrested Food Not Bombs volunteers to silence their defense of the city's homeless. Laws against people panhandling, sleeping outside and sitting on sidewalks were introduced. The mayor started his matrix program confiscating homeless people's shoes, blankets, and other belongings. Many were arrested for "quality of life crimes" such as sleeping in parks. New people arrived at the Food Not Bombs meal explaining that they had been evicted from a low cost hotel across the street from the Glide Memorial Church soup kitchen, and now had no place to live. We also learned that the mayor would be celebrating Thanksgiving with a photo opportunity serving turkey to the hungry at Glide. Food Not Bombs talked with the San Francisco Tenants Union about organizing an action to protest the evictions and hypocrisy of the mayor. Activists broke into the empty hotel the night before Thanksgiving. They brought food, water, blankets and banners. When the mayor arrived for his photo-op, the activists emerged from the hotel windows with banners. One said Homes Not Jails. The group had also broken into another abandoned building a block away. Food Not Bombs asked several families that frequented their meals if they would be interested in free housing. They were excited. Food Not Bombs suggested they meet them at a social service office near the empty building. They did and the group walked through the Tenderloin to their new home. The Homes Not Jails activists had put their own lock on the door so the families slipped in quickly once the door was unlocked.

After that success, Homes Not Jails started a program of riding bikes through the city, writing down the addresses of every abandoned building. They would take the addresses to the tax office at City Hall to find out who owned the structures. If a family owned the building, it was taken off the list, but if the building was in foreclosure and banks were suing one another for the mortgage, that building was listed. Volunteers would travel through

the streets with crow bars, bolt cutters, locks and hasps. They would break open each building and put a new lock on the door. Then, at dinner, Food Not Bombs would ask if anyone wanted a free place to live. They were instructed to meet the Homes Not Jails activists at a specific address at 9:00 AM the next morning. Once everyone had arrived, the Homes Not Jails volunteers, dressed in hard hats with tool belts, would unlock the door and let everyone in. They would also bring cleaning supplies, paint and tools to help make the abandoned house livable. The new tenants were given a lease to show the police if they happened to question their legality. Neighbors were pleased that the abandoned building was finally being rented. According to the book, *No Trespassing*, by Anders Corr, San Francisco Homes Not Jails had locks on hundreds of buildings and nearly 100 were occupied at times throughout the city. If a family lost their place, Homes Not Jails helped them move to one of their other locations.

Homes Not Jails started in other American cities. Boston Homes Not Jails started on Thanksgiving 1995 and organized four public takeovers in two years. There have been a number of Homes Not Jails groups organized in Washington, D.C. One of the last groups started in June of 2000, taking over a building at 304 K Street NE in February 2001. Three activists were arrested but found not guilty by a jury. Asheville Homes Not Jails started organizing actions in their North Carolina community in the winter of 2002. Food Not Bombs groups in Washington, D.C., Boston and other cities started their own Homes Not Jails programs during the Savings and Loan crisis of the 1990s. Food Not Bombs supported Take Back the Land actions in Florida and tent city occupations in California as housing foreclosures started to force families onto the streets. Soon, Homes Not Jails was starting a new burst of action responding to the foreclosure crisis that started in 2008. San Francisco Homes Not Jails continues to occupy property as the housing foreclosure crisis grows. On



Homes Not Jails takeover in San Francisco

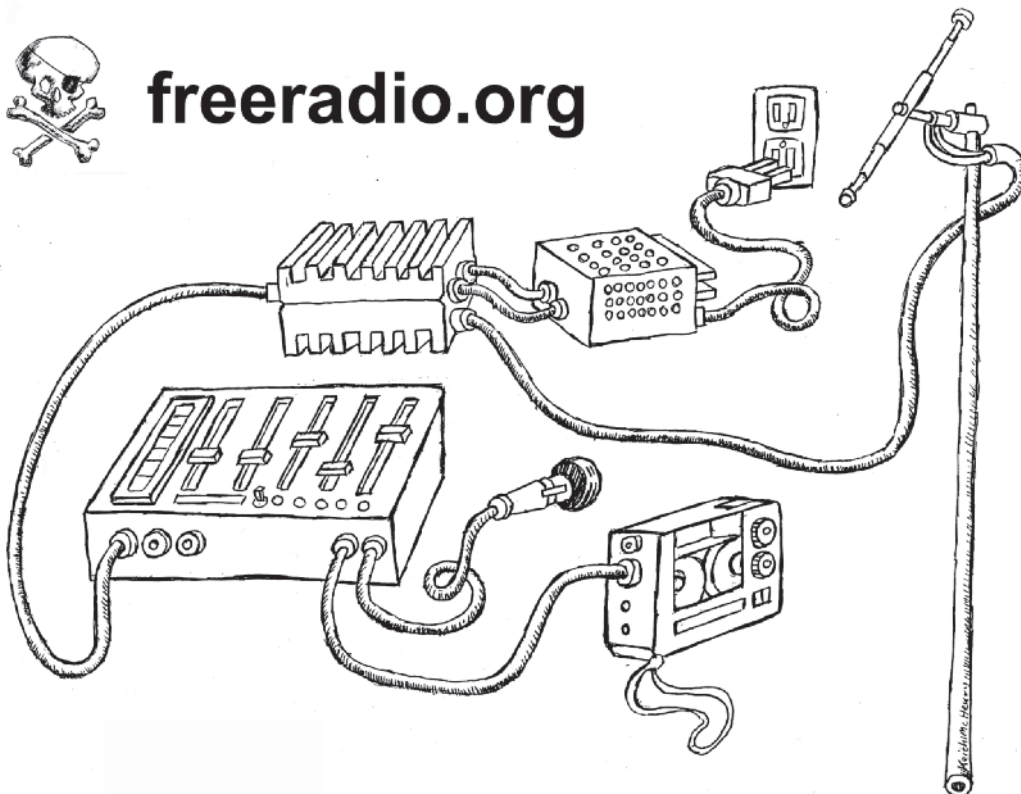
April 4, 2010, Homes Not Jails took over the former home of Jose Morales at 572 San Jose Avenue in the Mission District. The now 80 year old Mr. Morales spoke about his fourteen year struggle to stay in the home he had lived in for forty-three years. As is often the case, Food Not Bombs provide the food for the occupiers and their supporters. On July 20, 2010, San Francisco Homes Not Jails occupied the Hotel Sierra, a forty-six unit building in the Mission that had been abandoned for over a year.

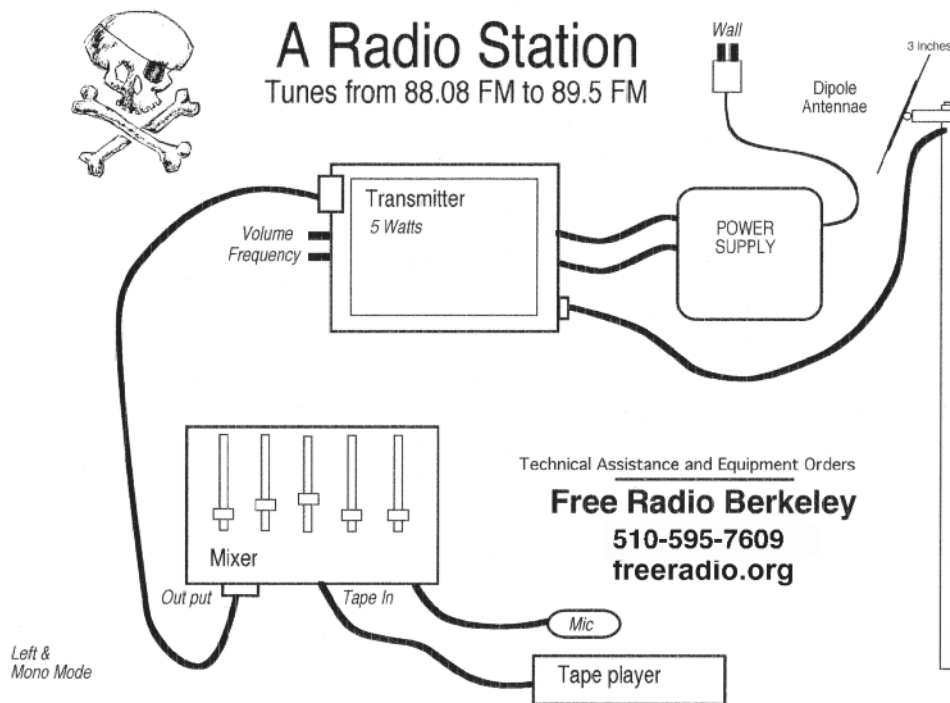
## Free Radio

The corporate media mostly ignores our movement, but in some occasions it distorts our efforts, or it wages propaganda campaigns against the communities that Food Not Bombs supports. So volunteers in the San Francisco Bay Area figured out how to build low power FM Radio Transmitters. Seizing the air waves was similar to seizing abandoned housing and defying orders against sharing food with the hungry. We had been hearing about Mbanna Kantako and Black Liberation Radio in Springfield, Ohio, which was broadcasting reports and commentary about the crisis of police violence in the community. Stephen Dunifer talked with Kantako to see how difficult it was. Stephen was trained as an electrical engineer and figured he would be able to build a transmitter. He started organizing workshops in 1993, inviting ac-

tivists to learn how to produce transmitters at home. Richard Edmondson was inspired by the classes and joined Stephen in building two radio stations: Free Radio Berkeley and San Francisco Liberation Radio. Stephen explained that, "in order to apply for an FM broadcast license, the station had to be at least a Class A station with a minimum power level of around 200 watts or so. With the removal of the Class D allocation there was no licensing process for stations under that power level. Until the enactment of the FCC LPFM in 1999, no licensing process existed for stations operating with less power than the minimum required for Class A stations" so we made transmitters that broadcast below 200 watts, obtained microphones, mixers, a power supply, tape players, coaxial cable, batteries and other materials. We climbed up into the hills above the bay to broadcast the news and information that was ignored by even the most progressive radio stations.

Free Radio Berkeley started broadcasting news about anti-homeless attacks, old labor songs, and information about protests in the Bay Area on April 11, 1993. San Francisco Liberation Radio first broadcasted from an apartment on Clement Street, San Francisco on May 1, 1993, but soon moved to the hills around the west side of the city. Before long, the station moved into fixed locations broadcasting from the homes of local activists. San Francisco Liberation Radio was stopped by the San Francisco Police under orders of





the FCC on September 22, 1993 after broadcasting from Twin Peaks, ending the mobile era. The FCC tried to get the federal court to grant an injunction forcing Free Radio Berkeley off the air, but on January 20, 1995, April 14, 1996; and yet again, on November 12, 1997, Federal Judge Claudia Wilkin declined the FCC's petition against the station. The ruling angered the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB). KFOG Radio engineer, Bill Ruck, reported on Free Radio Berkeley and San Francisco Liberation Radio at the National Association of Broadcasters conference, showing photos he had taken of the apartment housing San Francisco Liberation Radio. Free Radio Berkeley was broadcasting twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week at 104.1 FM with fifty watts of power until June 16, 1998, when Federal Judge Claudia Wilkin granted the FCC their injunction, silencing a vibrant voice of the local community.

A new station, Berkeley Liberation Radio, emerged to replace Free Radio Berkeley, defying the federal injunction. The FCC issued "notices of apparent liability," fining the operators tens of thousands of dollars, amounts so high there was no possibility of the government getting even a fraction. Food Not Bombs volunteers and their friends were starting their own micro-powered FM stations, including Radio Mutiny, Free Radio Santa Cruz and many others. Food Not Bombs took a five watt transmitter on the 1994 "Rent Is Theft" tour, broadcasting each evening's cooking demonstration and presentation to transistor radios placed around the room where the audience sat. Instructions and diagrams on how to build transmitters and assem-

ble low watt FM radio stations were distributed at each event. As news spread about the possibility of reclaiming the airwaves, activists were soon broadcasting on hundreds of low watt stations.

Judge Claudia Wilken's ruling in the summer of 1998 opened the door for FCC repression, silencing many of the stations by granting low power licenses to conservative churches and companies on the same frequencies our activists were broadcasting, knocking many free radio stations off the air. Activists applied for the new licenses with little success, and a new wave of free radio stations defied the new rules setting their frequencies to locations on the dial left empty by the FCC.

We can take back the air waves by contacting Free Radio Berkeley. While they don't broadcast anymore, they are eager to provide every community with a low-powered transmitter and antenna. A new wave of free radio resistance may reemerge. New FCC policies make it possible to apply for a low power FM radio permit, but many of those permits are being issued to large, extremely conservative religious broadcasters taking the frequencies once used by the free radio movement.

## Indymedia

The decentralized nature of the World Wide Web was making many technological advances, and its decentralized feature reflected the organizational structure of Food Not Bombs. Corporate media were championing anti-homeless campaigns, illegal wars and the

exploitation of the environment, animals and workers. Corporate media also distorted or ignored efforts by community groups like Food Not Bombs. The San Francisco chapter proposed Food Not Bombs hold a second International Gathering. Food Not Bombs volunteers were being arrested several times a week sharing meals at United Nations Plaza in San Francisco. At the same time Mayor Jordan announced he would be hosting the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the founding of the UN in June of 1995. He planned to dedicate a monument to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights several feet from where he was directing the police to make the arrests. There was broad support for a second gathering and San Francisco Food Not Bombs announced it would host the ten day event during the United Nations Celebration.

Several computer programmers that volunteered with Food Not Bombs suggested they could use the Web to post news of the gathering to the world. They secured several computers and set up an Internet connection in the convergence center and announced the founding of the D.I.Y. media project, Indymedia. A daily newsletter about the gathering was posted and emailed to a Food Not Bombs listserv, developed by volunteers in Toronto. The San Francisco Police seized cases of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights from Food Not Bombs, made arrests of participants delivering food to the gathering, rounded up activists during marches and detained people who occupied abandoned military housing at the Presidio. At the same time, volunteers facilitated workshops on cooking, gardening, the building of transmitters, housing occupations, the use of vegetable oil to power diesel vehicles, consensus decision making, the creation of Indymedia centers, and racism, sexism and homophobia. Over 600 Food Not Bombs volunteers participated and many shared time in the local jail. Many others witnessed the possibilities of Indymedia. Food Not Bombs volunteer James Ficklin produced the documentary, *Food Not Bombs International Gathering '95*, showing volunteers working at the first Indymedia Center in the convergence center near United Nations Plaza.

Activists started Indymedia centers in a number of communities soon after the San Francisco gathering. Programmers in Australia designed self publishing software so media activists could upload reports in text, photos, sound and video. By 1998, volunteers were putting up Indymedia websites in many major cities of North America, Europe and Australia. An Indymedia Center was organized on November 24, 1999, to cover the protests against the World Trade Organization in Seattle, Washington. The Seattle

IMC offered a grassroots view of the protests and countered the corporate media's spin. The small network of Indymedia Centers started to grow after Seattle, and two years later, there were eighty-nine Indymedia websites reporting from thirty-one countries and the Palestinian Territories. Temporary IMC centers started to be a regular feature of most anti-globalization actions, social forums and other large actions. On occasion, the police would attack the Indymedia Centers. Police shut down the satellite feed from the IMC coverage of the Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles on August 15, 2000 and violently attacked volunteers at the IMC center at the G8 Summit in Genoa, Italy in July 2001. Indymedia video was used in the trial of the activists charged during the protest. On October 27, 2006, New York-based Indymedia journalist, Brad Will, was killed covering the strike and occupation in the city of Oaxaca, Mexico.

Each Indymedia is collectively organized. The volunteers have various policies on the content, but generally; unless the information is clearly racist, sexist, homophobic or otherwise extremely disrespectful; anyone can post text, images, photos, sound files or video. Some collectives monitor their sites more than others, but each site posts clear guidelines that seek to provide as open access as possible. There is a central site that posts news from all over the world and provides access to local Indymedia sites organized by region. That site can also focus attention on specific sites covering prominent protests, uprisings or other major news events. News, in seven languages, is linked to the central site. It is possible for anyone to submit material to their local Indymedia site as well as the central site. Food Not Bombs volunteers are often active with their local Indymedia center. It is also possible to start an Indymedia center in your community and your chapter is encouraged to post news about your activities to your local site.

## Really Really Free Market

The first Really Really Free Market I heard of was organized around 2001 by Food Not Bombs volunteers in New Zealand taking the 1960s Height Ashbury Free Store idea outside to their local park. The volunteers organized areas of free clothing, music albums, furniture, appliances, books and other items across the lawn in a local park. Christchurch Food Not Bombs held markets four times a year. Food Not Bombs also provided free meals. The idea soon spread to Food Not Bombs groups in Asia. The Jakarta Really Really Free Market drew people from islands all over Indonesia. Volunteers not only provided free merchandise, they also offered free hair-

cuts and medical attention. The first Really Really Free Market in the United States was held during the protests against the Free Trade of the Americas Agreement summit in Miami in 2003, providing a unique response to the exploitive trade policies proposed by American rulers. A Really Really Free Market was also held in Raleigh, North Carolina, in solidarity with the Miami action. Many Food Not Bombs groups had been providing free vegan meals as part of their participation in Ad Busters' local Buy Nothing Day actions but, after the Free Trade of the Americas Agreement Summit in Miami, many groups added Really Really Free Markets to their annual activities. A number of Food Not Bombs chapters started quarterly or monthly Really Really Free Markets. Wilmington, North Carolina Food Not Bombs always included a Really Really Free Market at every meal. There have also been Really Really Free Markets held in memory of volunteers who have died or in solidarity with anti-globalization actions in other parts of the world. Your local Food Not Bombs group can attract more support by organizing

regular Really Really Free Markets. To make the day even more interesting ask local bands to play music and encourage other types of entertainment to participate. The Really Really Free Market is becoming a popular response to materialism, promoting sharing and the ideals of the gift society.

### **Bikes Not Bombs**

In 1979, Carl Kurz traveled to New England from Austin, Texas to participate in the actions to stop the Seabrook Nuclear Power Station in New Hampshire. After arriving he started working at the bicycle repair collective in Cambridge, Massachusetts and visited the Food Not Bombs house at 195 Harvard Street. Food Not Bombs co-founder, Mira Brown, also loved bike repair and soon Carl and Mira were talking about how they could use this interest for social change. The U.S. had a blockade of Nicaragua, making delivery of items like food and fuel difficult at the same time the Reagan administration waged the brutal Contra War against the new Sandinista government. Mira and Carl decided they could



San Francisco Food Not Bombs helps with the Really Really Free Market





Critical Mass ride in Barcelona, Spain

encourage resistance to the embargo by sending bike parts to Nicaragua. They called their idea Bikes Not Bombs, and started collecting old bikes, frames, wheels and other parts. Carl announced the founding of Bikes Not Bombs and by 1984, he was traveling to Nicaragua with bicycles and setting up workshops throughout the country teaching bike assembly and repair. Bikes Not Bombs delivered hundreds of bicycles to Nicaragua and trained Nicaraguans how to build and maintain their clean, fuel-free transportation.

Bikes Not Bombs set up a workshop in Boston in 1990 and started providing bikes to low-income children in the area. They also trained over 16,000 young people in bike safety and organized projects in Central America, Africa, the Caribbean and New Orleans, donating over 25,000 bikes to people in those communities.

Several collectives connected to the Boston Bikes Not Bombs workshop started in the United States, assisting Carl's project. At the same time, Food Not Bombs activists not aware of Carl and the Bikes Not Bombs workshop in Boston started local Bikes Not Bombs chapters all over the world, collecting, repairing and providing free bikes to low-income people in their communities.

Bikes Not Bombs volunteers organized their chapters using the same principles they had adopted with their local Food Not Bombs groups. They would use consensus to make decisions, volunteered their time and shared the bikes for free. Some Bikes Not Bombs chapters offer bicycle repair classes after the Food Not Bombs meals, while others organize free bike repair clinics promoted at the meal held at a volunteers' garage or back yard. Once a local Food Not Bombs chapter is established, the volunteers often add projects like Bikes Not Bombs, Food Not Lawns community gardens, Homes Not Jails, Really Really Free Markets, Indymedia Centers and low powered FM radio stations to their effort to build a sustainable future.

This model of building collectives that provide for all our needs based on the principles adopted by Food Not Bombs can create a foundation for long-term social change. Bikes Not Bombs provides the transportation aspect of our decentralized DIY (Do It Yourself) community. If we can organize local Bikes Not Bombs collectives, grow our own food in Food Not Lawns community gardens, share items at Really Really Free Markets, report our own news and house our friends in Homes Not Jails squats, we can also provide for many other items needed by the community. This kind of change is not easy for corporate or government interests to co-opt and is the most powerful way for us to replace the current failing political and economic systems.

# FOOD NOT BOMBS

## "We Never Sell Out"

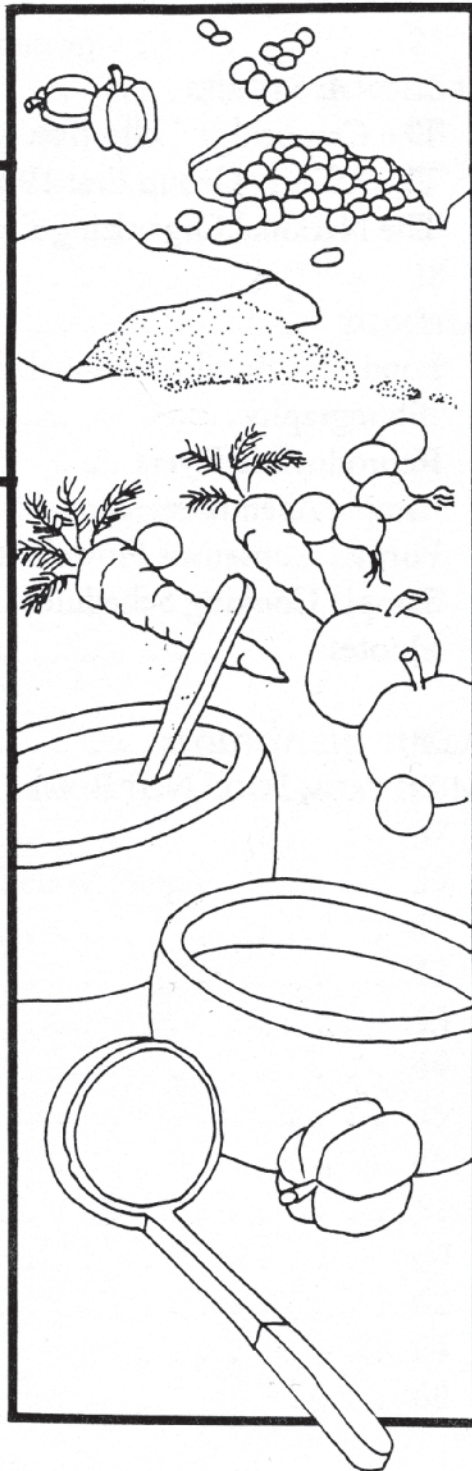
The Food for Free Committee believes nourishing food is a necessity for survival, and should be accessible to all. We look forward to the day when food is freely shared amongst us, and people are free to give society whatever labor they can. Until that day, the Food for Free Committee dedicates itself to preparing and selling nutritious food as cheaply as possible.

For environmental and health reasons, we cook with organic and unprocessed foods. For instance, in our pies we use honey instead of refined sugar, and tofu instead of milk and eggs. Tofu is a non-dairy product of soybeans, rich in protein. Delicious and nutritious, variations on tofu pie are among our specialties.

If you're organizing an event, please contact us. We do:

- issues conferences
- political rallies and demonstrations
- dances and fundraisers
- community fairs
- events for children

We will cater to your specific food needs and economic situation, because our food is for people, not for profit.



Food for Free Committee • Room 306 - 35 • 1430 Mass. Ave. • Cambridge, MA 02138 • 617-492-0878

Typography by Solar Graphics.

• 1981 by Brushfire Graphics.

A 1981 flier on our table in Cambridge.

## SECTION THREE

# THE STORY OF FOOD NOT BOMBS

*“Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed.”*

— Dwight D. Eisenhower, April 16, 1953

This is the story of Food Not Bombs from my perspective. There could be at least eight other stories about the founding of Food Not Bombs and many thousands of additional accounts detailing the many events in our history in the thirty year story of our movement. After originally writing the book *Food Not Bombs, How to Feed The Hungry and Build Community* in the third person, I decided it would be more honest to tell this account in first person. Food Not Bombs is a decentralized, non-hierarchical movement involving thousands of people, all of whom have been touched personally by their experience with Food Not Bombs. Who am I to write “the official history of Food Not Bombs”? I can only write the history from my own perspective.

### THE FIRST FOOD NOT BOMBS CHAPTER

One crisp fall evening in 1976, at Boston University, Professor Howard Zinn finished his American History class with details about The Public Service Company of New Hampshire and their plans to build a nuclear power station on a tiny marsh in the town of Seabrook. Professor Zinn was one of many New Englanders who were speaking out against the power station at town meetings, organizing marches and signing petitions, but the construction started. Local activists organized the Clamshell Alliance to mobilize the public to stop the project. I was inspired by Professor Zinn’s passion and arguments against the nuclear power station so I started to volunteer with the Clamshell Alliance in 1976. Soon marches became blockades and direct actions became occupation attempts in October 1979 through May 1980.

The eight of us who started Food Not Bombs were united by the events of May 24, 1980. On that sunny spring day, over 4,000 activists with the Coalition for Direct Action at Seabrook made an attempt to occupy the



Police use water cannons to protect Seabrook Nuclear Power Station

Seabrook Nuclear Power Generating Station, with the intent of non-violently stopping construction by putting their bodies in front of the bulldozers. As affinity groups cut holes in the fence surrounding the construction site, clouds of stinging tear-gas filled the air. National Guard troops rushed through the fence, beating everyone they could. Helicopters hovered above as the activists struggled to occupy the site. The next day, Boston University law student, Brian Feigenbaum, was arrested for assaulting a police officer, allegedly hitting him with a grappling hook. Concerned about Brian's legal problems, a core group of about thirty activists, including myself, formed to support his legal defense. Out of this effort

grew the collective that started Food Not Bombs. Therefore, this attempted occupation of Seabrook, on May 24, 1980, marks the beginning of the Food Not Bombs movement.

To raise money for Brian's legal defense, the collective set up literature tables and sold baked goods outside of Boston University and in Harvard Square, but sales were slow. An idea emerged that street theater might help. We had a poster that stated, "It will be a great day when our schools get all the money they need and the air force has to hold a bake sale to buy a bomber." We bought military uniforms at an army surplus store, set the poster next to our table and pretended to be generals trying to sell baked goods to buy a bomber. While we didn't sell many brownies and cookies, we did talk to many people about Brian's case and the risks of nuclear power. Eventually, Brian's charges were dropped for lack of evidence, and our collective had discovered a great way to organize.

With Brian free, the collective decided to organize its first protest to get the message across that the financial backing of Seabrook had links to the First National Bank of Boston. Many of the same people who were on the board of the bank, which was financing the nuclear power station, were also on the board of the utility that decided to buy the nuclear station, and many also sat on the board of the construction com-



Food Not Bombs table in Brattle Square, Cambridge in 1980 with Jessie Constable, Mira Brown, C.T. Lawrence Butler and Keith McHenry



Brian Feigenbaum and Jo Swanson lead march to Draper Lab in Cambridge, Massachusetts on August 6, 1981

pany building it. To the activists, this looked like the business practices that resulted in the Great Depression. To protest the bank's decision to pour money into this risky investment, we again used street theater. We planned to dress as Depression era hobos and set up a soup line outside the bank's annual stockholders meeting at the Federal Reserve Bank at South Station. The night before, worried that we might not have enough people to have a soup line, I went to the Pine Street Inn, the largest homeless shelter downtown, to talk with the homeless about the protest and invited them for lunch. The next day, we set up a soup kitchen in the plaza outside the Federal Reserve Bank where the board meeting was being held and, to our surprise, over fifty homeless people joined us for lunch. Many stockholders expressed anger and some laughed at the protesters. However, the people that lived on the streets excitedly talked with the servers. We invited the public to join us at lunch. Many people stopped, had a bite to eat and talked with one another about the reasons for the protest. Many took the flyers and expressed support. It was an exhilarating day.

While cleaning the pots and pans, my friends and I decided that distributing food could be a great way to organize for peace, the environment and social justice. We

agreed to quit our jobs, rent a house and start using food to organize. It wasn't long before we had rented a house together at 195 Harvard Street, and started a regular network of food collection and distribution sites. We picked up muffins and bread at bakeries, produce and tofu at natural food stores and surplus stock from the food co-ops. Each weekday, within hours of collecting the food, we delivered it to battered women's shelters, alcoholic rehabilitation centers, immigrant support centers and, once a week, to most of the housing projects in Cambridge, Somerville and several in Boston. One of our deliveries was to a dilapidated housing project near our home in Cambridge. Very thin children sat with their mothers on the steps of the projects in the shadow of a modern glass tower that housed Draper Laboratory where they were designing the guidance systems for intercontinental nuclear missiles.

After making our deliveries, our collective cooked vegan meals and, with our radical literature, much of which was overstock from a job moving the New England Free Press, we took it to Harvard Square to share. Our Food Not Bombs table became a "little town hall," where people expressed their ideas and became involved in discussions about current events. On summer evenings we brought giant puppets and set up two

full drum sets that our friends, Bobby and Sue would play, attracting large crowds and introducing the public to the wars in Central America and Reagan policies which redirected resources towards military programs, like Star Wars and the MX missile system. The nights were spent spray-painting graffiti for peace. Themes included stencils of nuclear mushroom clouds with the word "Today?" and white outlines of dead bodies which became the basis for the nationwide "Shadow Project." Outside grocery stores, we painted the slogan, "Money For Food Not Bombs." Eventually, this was shortened and became the name of our group.

One of the first flyers, published in 1981 by the founders, ended with the words, "the next few years could profoundly change the world for generations, and Food Not Bombs is working to make those changes positive for everyone." The understanding that the world is at a critical time in history and that average working people have the responsibility to make the world a better place, is as true today as it was when Food Not Bombs started.

In the first two years, Food Not Bombs focused on its literature and food tables, bulk food distribution and building momentum for the June 12, 1982 action, "March for Nuclear Disarmament" in New York City. Leading up to this event, Food Not Bombs co-sponsored, with the Cambridge City Council, three marches against nuclear arms. On Hiroshima Day, I burned the Boston phone book to dramatize that everyone listed would burn in a nuclear attack. In the fall of 1981, I designed the Food Not Bombs logo with the carrot and purple fist. The first banner hung above the table at a Halloween evening protest against Vice President George H. W. Bush who was giving a speech at M.I.T. During this time, one of the most complex events the Food Not Bombs collective organized was the "Free Concert for Nuclear Disarmament" at Sennot Park in Cambridge, in May of 1982. There was plenty of free food for everyone, and bands representing the ethnic mixture of Cambridge performed. There was an area with activities for kids of all ages called "The Land of the Younger Self." Artists, crafts people and local peace and justice groups had tables. It was a great success and another magical day for Food Not Bombs.

Over the next several years, the Food Not Bombs collective also helped organize direct actions to end the war in El Salvador, including one where 500 people were arrested for holding a "town meeting" in the lobby of the Boston Federal Building. Food Not Bombs co-founder, Mira Brown, was with Ben Linder in Nicaragua when he was killed by U.S.-funded "contra" death squads. Our group also participated at a sit-in at the Federal Court against the draft, and we organized the Boston Pee Party, a protest against drug testing which was mentioned in Abbie Hoffman's book, *Steal this Drug Test*. Another action Food Not Bombs helped organize was a protest against a "weapons bazaar" at the Howard Johnson 57 Hotel in downtown Boston. This

was an event where U.S. based corporations promoted the sale of weapons to the military of other countries. This particular one featured chemical weapons that were eventually sold to Iraq and used by Saddam Hussein on the Kurds and Iranians.

During the first half of the 1980s, Boston Food Not Bombs continued collecting hundreds of pounds of surplus food every day. During the week, we would distribute it to area housing projects, progressive social service agencies, battered women's shelters, and hunger relief agencies. These groups would receive this food once a week and be responsible for distributing it to their community. In the afternoons and weekends, Food Not Bombs would cook the food, making vegan meals and setting-up our table in Harvard Square, and at rallies, protests, conferences, and meetings; anywhere activists gathered we served free food, distributed literature and collected donations.

The marketing scheme "The Pepsi Challenge" showed up one day next to the Food Not Bombs table at Brattle Square, setting up a tent and sharing flat Coke and fizzy Pepsi to blindfolded college students. A dentist donated a case of small paper cups to Food Not Bombs. Someone added brochures about the Coca-Cola Company hiring death squads against labor organizers in Guatemala to the literature displayed for visitors. Fruit was put aside, and Food Not Bombs started the Tofu Challenge offering small cups of tofu smoothies. "There is more nutrition in this cup of tofu smoothie than all the Pepsi products in the world!" The tofu Challenge came to an end when the angry Pepsi employees pulled down their tent, packed up the soft drinks and rushed away yelling obscenities at the Food Not Bombs activists.

The Boston Red Sox had a winning year in 1986. The Kenmore Square Business Association asked me to take a picture of a local black man they passed each morning on their way to work, "We want you to make a poster using his photo with a red circle and line across his face under the title 'Wanted out of Kenmore Square.'" I suggested the association try another strategy. "I could share free meals in one of the empty buildings on Landowns Street before each game. Maybe this would reduce the number of people panhandling. There isn't any way we could drive away Mr. Butch and his friends. After all, his nickname is 'The Mayor of Kenmore Square' and Red Sox fans love him." When the Red Sox returned to Fenway for the American League Playoffs, Food Not Bombs organized a "Welcome to Kenmore Square" dinner in the park on Commonwealth Avenue, greeting the fans and sharing vegan meals with Mr. Butch and the other people that called the reeds and bushes along the Fens home. The association was not pleased and encouraged its members to end their business relationship with my company. Soon we were evicted from our office and apartment, so my then wife, Andrea, and I packed up our personal belongings and drove south with our pets. Eric Wienburger, and those left behind,

continued to share meals and literature throughout the Boston area. Eric worked for peace and social justice his entire life, working with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. on the Freedom Marches. He was arrested with nine others after crossing into Alabama and jailed at the Kilby Prison where he staged a thirty-two day hunger strike refusing to "cooperate with an unjust system." History professor Howard Zinn wrote of Eric, "Then one night I was invited to a gathering place for poets, musicians, and performers of all sorts who were possessed of some social consciousness, and there was a counter at the side of the room, and, again, that sign: Food Not Bombs. This time, I paid more than ordinary attention, because I recognized the man behind the counter, Eric Weinberger. I had met him twenty-five years before on the road from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, in the great civil rights march of 1965, and again in 1977, in another march, this time of anti-nuclear activists, into the site of the Seabrook nuclear power plant. Now another dozen years had elapsed, and he was with Food Not Bombs."

Tom Cohen's book, *Three Who Dared*, included a chapter about Eric that described his work with King, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and his work as a peace activist. Tom wrote that, "Much later, Eric discovered from his FBI file that he would have been indicted with the Chicago 8 for 'conspiracy to cross state lines to incite a riot'-except that the FBI couldn't figure out where and how he crossed the Illinois state line. Unlike the others indicted, he hadn't flown to Chicago but had driven, characteristically unnoticed, in a truck with the sound equipment." He dedicated the last two decades of his life volunteering with Boston Food Not Bombs. He was passionate about the need for Food Not Bombs to be dedicated to nonviolent social change, and he taught many new activists about the importance of including a literature table and banner at every meal.

## THE SECOND FOOD NOT BOMBS CHAPTER

In 1988, Bay Area Veterans for Peace activist Brian Wilson helped organize the "Nuremberg Action," to blockade weapons shipments destined to Central America at the Concord Naval Weapons depot. The activists sat on the tracks before each train load of weapons left the base for ships docked in the Sacramento River. One afternoon the train didn't stop, and ran over Brian, cutting off his legs. I had met Brian at a "fast for peace" in Boston, and went to the protest that weekend. I was so moved by Brian's dedication that I decided to start a second Food Not Bombs in San Francisco. This time I decided to take notes on how the group started to help other people start chapters in their community. The first action for San Francisco Food Not Bombs was to provide meals to the protesters at the Nevada Test Site. While serving miso soup to activists blockading the nuclear workers, a group from Long Beach, California reported that they had started to collect produce and bread, and were sharing meals in a local park, "We heard about Food Not



Feeding the protesters at the Nevada Test Site

Bombs in Boston and thought the name might be copyrighted so we are calling ourselves, Bread Not Bombs. "

We said "Call yourselves Food Not Bombs, and we will have three chapters;" which they did.

I returned to San Francisco to organize a weekly meal. It was the perfect city for Food Not Bombs, with good weather and a history of radical activism. During a meeting at a Chinese restaurant, the San Francisco activists realized there was no free meal served in the Haight Ashbury on Mondays, so that week we set up a food table at the entrance to the Golden Gate Park, at the foot of Haight Street. There was always a nice little crowd of people sitting on the lawn, and they welcomed the free lunch and the message of peace.

That July, the director of the Haight Ashbury Soup Kitchen suggested the volunteers could get a permit from the Recreation and Parks Department office, which was a block from where we were serving. On August 15, 1988, our small group of dedicated Food Not Bombs activists was surprised when forty-five riot police marched out of the woods and arrested nine volunteers for sharing food with the hungry without a permit. The police had tipped off a reporter from the *San Francisco Chronicle*, who filed a story and photo about riot police arresting our volunteers for feeding the hungry. People all over the Bay Area were shocked, and asked if they could be of help. The next Monday, nearly 200 people joined a march down Haight Street banging pots and pans on their way to risk arrest at Golden Gate Park. The police made twenty-nine arrests. News of these arrests made CNN, the *London Times*, the *New York Times* and many other media outlets around the world. The next week, the police told Food Not Bombs that they didn't mind that they were feeding the hungry, "it's just that they are making a political statement and that isn't allowed." The police told the media that the group could feed the hungry in an armory out at the ocean, but not in public. On Labor Day, over 1,000 people came to Golden Gate Park to risk arrest.

Fifty-four activists were jailed, and a number of people were injured by the police, including a TV cameraman, who was disabled for decades. Facing a crisis, Mayor Art Agnos held two afternoons of meetings with members of Food Not Bombs, the ACLU, city officials and neighborhood activists. The



Hungry family looks on at police blocking lunch at Golden Gate Park.



mayor issued a permit to end the arrests. So many people were inspired by the resistance of Food Not Bombs, that the group not only returned to the park, but also started to share their ideas and food without police interference on Tuesdays at the Federal Building and the United Nations Plaza on Wednesdays. People in other cities wanted to know how they could get arrested sharing vegan meals, so the volunteers in San Francisco took their notes and made a flyer called *Seven Steps to Starting A Local Food Not Bombs Group*. New Food Not Bombs chapters started in Washington D.C., New York City, Seattle, Victoria and Vancouver, B.C. and in several other cities.

All went well until the next summer, when the police started a campaign to arrest the homeless for sleeping in the city parks. One Monday, people eating at Food Not Bombs told stories about the police ordering the Fire Department to soak their camp and of the police taking their sleeping bags, blankets and personal belongings. The next day, the volunteers heard more stories of police repression. The homeless started a tent city protest at Civic Center Plaza, across from city hall. On Wednesday, the hungry asked Food Not Bombs to join them in Civic Center Plaza. That evening the volunteers started a 24-hour-a-day vegan soup kitchen in solidarity with San Francisco's homeless. The homeless organized concerts, dances and rallies every weekday at noon. After several weeks, and lots of news coverage, the Police Activities League hired a carnival to set up bumper car rides, a Ferris wheel, and other attractions in the plaza, but this didn't stop the protest, now called "Tenement Square" in solidarity with the Tiananmen Square protests in China. New York Food Not Bombs was busy feeding a Tompkins Square Park tent city protest on the lower east side of Manhattan. On the morning of the twenty-seventh day, the mayor of San Francisco opened an additional shelter, declaring that all the homeless now had a place to stay and ordered the arrest of any of the homeless unwilling to sleep in this converted auto dealership. Riot police surrounded Civic Center Plaza as the campers rolled up their tents and packed away their belongings. For many though, the shelter was not an option. Men had to leave their families on the streets. Women and people with pets were not allowed to stay at the new shelter. They had to bring their own cardboard box to sleep on. The police started to arrest Food Not Bombs again and harassed homeless people all across the city.

Mother Theresa and her organization, The Sisters of Charity, stopped their meals at Civic Center Plaza so San Francisco Food Not Bombs decided to take their place and share food across from city hall every day at lunch and dinner. The group organized a system where the food was divided into thirds. Several volunteers would start to share a small amount of rice, beans, soup and bread, and the police would make a few arrests. Then another group of vol-



Police arrest 54 for sharing food at the east end of Golden Gate Park on Labor Day 1988

unteers with a little more food would arrive, and they would be arrested. While the police were busy booking the people they had arrested, the rest of the food would emerge and Food Not Bombs would feed everyone who had come to eat. After a few months of near daily arrests, the volunteers came up with a program called "Risk Arrest One Day a Month with Food Not Bombs," and invited members of other groups to risk arrest sharing meals. Nuns and priests were arrested, as were students, peace groups and labor organizers, but when members of the National Lawyers Guild shared food, the police arrested the people eating and left the lawyers free.

The arrests were virtually a daily event. On October 17, 1989, at 5:05 p.m., San Francisco shook with the largest earthquake since 1909. Rice and beans were cooking on the stove at the time the gas and electricity went out. Food Not Bombs still had its propane tanks and stoves from the days of the tent city protest, so the volunteers loaded up the truck and set up a field kitchen outside city hall. This time when the police arrived, they joined the soup line and had a bite to eat, and the arrests ended for the rest of Mayor Agnos' term.

The first President Bush launched the "Desert Storm" attack on Iraq on January 16, 1990 and tens of thousands of people joined the evening demonstrations in San Francisco to be followed by blockades of Interstate highways, Federal Buildings, the Bay Bridge and the Pacific Stock Exchange in San Francisco. Over a million protesters filled the streets each weekend of the U.S. assault on Iraq. San Francisco Food Not Bombs shared meals across the city for forty-five days, making it possible to keep the Federal Building, Chevron World Headquarters and other key sites shut down for days. Food Not Bombs provided meals at hundreds of protests all over the world during "Desert Storm."

The U.S. Congress voted for San Francisco to be the host city of the 500th anniversary of Columbus arriving



Food Not Bombs marches down Haight Street to see if the police would make more arrests

in the new world, and Chevron Oil won the right to sponsor the planned celebration. Native American activists announced they would organize a protest. Food Not Bombs called its first international gathering for October 1992. Around seventy-five people came to the gathering from many of the nearly thirty active groups, including several volunteers from Food Not Bombs chapters in Canada. New Society Press had asked us to write a book when they read the flyer; *Seven Steps to Starting a Local Food Not Bombs Group* and the book, *Food Not Bombs, How to Feed The Hungry and Build Community*, was published just in time for the first gathering. The principles of Food Not Bombs were a major focus of the gathering. The activists agreed that every chapter would be autonomous, there would be no leaders, and they would use the consensus process to make decisions. They also agreed that the food would always be vegetarian and free to anyone without restriction. The third principle was a dedication to nonviolent direct action. The activists closed the gathering by agreeing to return home and help people start new chapters in neighboring cities. The next day, the Food Not Bombs volunteers cooked a huge amount of food and provided vegetarian meals to the Native American protesters, some of whom pushed "Columbus" back out into the San Francisco Bay. Five hundred years was enough.

Food Not Bombs activists returned home and started organizing more meals and new chapters. Grassroots punk bands such as Fifteen, J Church, Good Riddance, Propa-

gandi, and MDC, put information about Food Not Bombs in their lyrics and liner notes. On top of all this grassroots dissemination and organizing, the Internet was just becoming popular and became a major tool for spreading the word about Food Not Bombs. Chapters started everywhere almost like magic. Groups started in Melbourne, Australia; Prague, Czechoslovakia; Montreal, Canada; London, England; and in cities all across the United States.

Not long after the Food Not Bombs 1992 Gathering, there was about to be an election in San Francisco and the man who led the arrests of Food Not Bombs, Chief of Police Frank Jordan, ran for mayor on an anti-homeless platform, claiming he would round the homeless up and put them in work camps. Once elected, Jordan started what he called "The Quality of Life Enforcement Matrix Program." Attorney General Janet Reno's Justice Department donated a military plane, which the city outfitted with thermal imaging cameras so the police could see the body heat of people living in the parks. The program started in August 1993 with raids throughout the city's parks. The police ordered people to throw their shoes, sleeping bags and blankets in trash trucks. Many were arrested for sleeping in public. San Francisco's homeless were told to leave the city. Food Not Bombs volunteers were horrified to see this abuse of police power, so they joined with the San Francisco Coalition of the Homeless and other community groups in organizing protests for the human rights of people living on the streets. Food Not Bombs volunteers bor-

rowed a video camera from the ACLU to film the human rights abuses. They filmed police confiscating shoes, and an officer struggling to tear a photo album from the arms of an older woman. The activists gave the footage to the local TV stations, and Oakland's Channel 2 aired some of the shots on their evening news. This angered the mayor, and in retaliation, Jordan ordered the city attorney to get a restraining order against Food Not Bombs sharing meals without a permit, and he ordered his Recreation and Parks Commission to delete the permit process. The courts agreed to issue an injunction, and the volunteers started being arrested and charged with "felony conspiracy" to share free food in violation of a court order.

One morning, I made calls to the local media, inviting them to cover our protest for the rights of the homeless, but a staff person at the Bay City News Service explained that the management had posted notices claiming that it was illegal to take calls from Food Not Bombs because it "would be aiding and abetting in a felony." An electrical engineer, Steven Dunnifer, was starting to teach classes on building low-power FM radio transmitters. Food Not Bombs volunteers joined Steven in making transmitters



Food Not Bombs banner hangs from balcony of the mayor's office in San Francisco, California.

for Free Radio Berkeley and San Francisco Liberation Radio, unlicensed, low-power or "pirate" radio stations. The free radio stations reported on government efforts to make it illegal to be homeless, and police violence against Food Not Bombs volunteers. The Federal Communications Commission tried to shut down the stations, but this only encouraged more people to start their own stations. At one point there were over 350 unlicensed, low-power FM radio stations in the United States, many started by Food Not Bombs activists.

Food Not Bombs was still getting arrested almost every day and decided to add another project to its "Risk Arrest One day a Month" campaign. We talked with the San Francisco Tenants Union, and proposed to occupy an empty hotel across from Glide Memorial Church on Thanksgiving. The mayor's friend had evicted nearly 200 low-income people to turn his building into an expensive tourist hotel. As the mayor arrived for his televised turkey cutting at Glide's soup kitchen, activists dropped banners saying "Homes Not Jails," declaring housing as a human right. That same evening, several homeless families moved into an abandoned office a block from Glide.

After the success of this first action, activists started to ride around the city writing down the addresses of empty buildings and looking up the properties at city hall. If the properties were in litigation by banks fighting over the ownership, the volunteers would break open the building and put their own locks on them. Volunteers would ask people eating dinner with Food Not Bombs if they would like a place to live. The activists would invite the homeless to meet them at 9:00 the next morning at the address of an empty building. The activists would arrive with a key, tools and cleaning supplies, unlock the door and invite the homeless families to move in. Neighbors were often happy to see the empty building occupied, not realizing that the "Homes Not Jails" volunteers were not really the owners. According to the book, *No Trespassing*, Homes Not Jails had keys to over 400 houses, and housed people in nearly 100 of those buildings. Homes Not Jails also organized a campaign to house homeless veterans by occupying abandoned housing in the Presidio, a former army base near the Golden Gate Bridge.

The day the North American Free Trade Agreement went into effect, January 1, 1994, several Bay Area micro-radio stations received an email from the Zapatistas about an uprising in Mexico. That evening, San Francisco Liberation Radio broadcasted the Zapatista's communiqué from the top of Twin Peaks, while Free Radio Berkeley read the manifesto from the Oakland Hills. The next day, Food Not Bombs volunteers held a "Viva

Zapatista, No NAFTA" sign as they shared their daily lunch. The mayor's film commissioner stumbled out of City Hall and started yelling at the people serving food. He took out a cell phone and called a tow truck to take away the Food Not Bombs truck. I set aside the sign and went to a pay phone in city hall to call the towing company. The film commissioner followed me to the phone booth and started pushing me against the inside of the booth. Unable to finish the call, I went upstairs to another phone booth and made arrangements to retrieve the truck. Two business men and a police officer stood at the bottom of the stairs and asked me to come and speak with them. "Yes, how can I help you?"

"You're under arrest for assault, battery and strong armed robbery. That happens to be a strike under the California Three Strikes law. " Once bailed, I continued to get arrested for sharing meals until May when I was arrested handing out literature to the Board of Supervisors. This time I was charged with assault with a deadly weapon and possession of stolen property, twenty-four Berkeley Farms Dairy milk crates, and faced twenty-five years to life in prison.

## FOOD NOT BOMBS BECOMES GLOBAL

Even as San Francisco Food Not Bombs volunteers were being arrested every day, the news inspired people all over the world to start local chapters. Volunteers who were hauled off to jail often suffered beatings and torture techniques used by the Special Operations Unit of the San Francisco Police.

On a couple of occasions, plain-clothes police officers took me to their office, stripped me of my clothes, lifted me by my arms and legs until my ligaments and tendons ripped, then stuffed me into a tiny stress position cage that hung from the ceiling where I stayed unable to stretch my legs straight for three days. The police also pushed volunteers to the ground during meals, beating them with clubs and flashlights, as well as choking others during their arrests. I required two surgeries after being clubbed between the eyes. Another activist was sent to the psychiatric ward at San Francisco General, tied down to a bed and drugged. The police also used pain compliance holds when arresting servers, and made threats to kill volunteers if they didn't stop. Instead of stopping, Food Not Bombs spread word of this harsh repression and moved defiant activists to join the movement, starting new groups and inspiring respect from many of the people living on the streets.

Things had gotten so bad that Amnesty International, in an unprecedented move, declared that all Food Not Bombs volunteers would be considered "Prisoners of Conscience" if they were convicted. The United Nations Human Rights Commission in Switzerland also started an investigation into human rights violations against the group. Robert Norse

Kahn, a Food Not Bombs volunteer, was the only one of over 1,000 people arrested for sharing food that was ever convicted and was the only arrest not filmed. He was sentenced to sixty days in jail but was released after only two weeks because of a massive outpouring of support. Volunteers sharing food and literature outside the jail were interfering with business as usual, and the warden thought it was ridiculous that, with the jail overcrowded, he had to hold someone who had simply given a bagel to a homeless woman.

I settled my "Three Strikes" case with a conviction of "felony disruption of a police commission hearing," in exchange for the city dropping all other charges. To stay out of the reach of the San Francisco police, I started to tour North America and Europe, promoting Food Not Bombs. In 1995, the "Rent Is Theft Tour" introduced people in fifty cities to a vegan cooking demonstration, set-up and broadcast the program on a low-powered FM radio station, and helped organize local Food Not Bombs and Homes Not Jails chapters.

In June 1995, San Francisco hosted the 50th anniversary celebration of the founding of the United Nations. A second Food Not Bombs international gathering was held with nearly 600 people registering at the Convergence Center. Every day, Food Not Bombs volunteers were arrested serving food at U.N. Plaza, under the shadow of the obelisk honoring the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which reads, in part: "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services." Several Food Not Bombs activists set up the first Indymedia center at the convergence center. The gathering started with dozens of Food Not Bombs activists arrested when they built a colorful shantytown on U.N. Plaza, to show that there are homeless people even in the wealthiest nation on earth, while highlighting that the city had removed San Francisco's homeless from sight. Still others were arrested on felony arson charges for a nighttime march with torches against the death penalty and in support of death row inmate Mumia Abu-Jamal. During the ten-day gathering, Food Not Bombs activists from all over the world cooked together, protested together and were jailed together. They attended workshops on consensus decision-making, banner painting, bio-diesel (lard-cars), building micro-FM radio transmitters, sexism and racism, compost making and cooking.

In 1997, three activists from Spain, Sara, Manolo, and Salva joined Seth, a musician from southern California and myself on the "UnFree Trade Tour." We talked about organizing against the globalization of the economy, and the need to protest the North American Free Trade Agreement and the World Trade Organization. We visited 60 cities in the United States and Canada, and encouraged people to shut down the WTO whenever it meets in North America. A 337-page book about the

tour, *Journey to the Heart of the Beast (Viaje Al Corazon de La Bestia)* was published in Spanish. When it was announced that the WTO would meet in Seattle in November of 1999, Food Not Bombs chapters around North America started to mobilize, posting flyers, hosting events and urging communities to head for the Northwest. Seattle Food Not Bombs helped secure a convergence center, joined Seeds of Peace in preparing meals for the protesters, helped set up an Indymedia office and welcomed thousands of activists that came to Seattle to shut down the WTO in the now famous "Battle of Seattle."

The first decade of the 21st century saw a world in crisis, providing Food Not Bombs volunteers with many challenges. By 2000, Food Not Bombs was worldwide and growing fast. Food Not Bombs activists were cooking for big anti-globalization actions in Europe and the Americas. Food Not Bombs celebrated its 25th anniversary with the annual Soupstock concert in Dolores Park, San Francisco. Over 15,000 people attended the free concert that featured musicians like Fugazi, Michael Franti, Sleater-Kinney and thousands of free vegan meals. Gothenburg, Sweden Food Not Bombs founder, Eric Westerlan, was shot and arrested during a protest in his hometown against the G-8. Food Not Bombs in Australia helped free refugees from a detention center. German chapters helped organize and provide vegan meals at Border Camps and Castor Nuclear Waste Blockades. Chapters started in Argentina in response to the collapse of their economy. Food Not Bombs chapters joined in Anti-McDonald's Day protests sharing vegan food on October 16 outside McDonald's in cities all over the world. Many Food Not Bombs groups also served free food on the annual Buy Nothing Day. The end of centralized Communist power in eastern Europe inspired an explosion of Food Not Bombs activity in Poland, Ukraine, Serbia, Croatia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Russia. Several Polish students moved to East Berlin to publish the magazine *Abolish the Borders From Below*, with numerous reports about the activities of Food Not Bombs across the region.

Food Not Bombs groups in New Zealand focused on ecological crisis caused by the consumer based society, organizing the first Really Really Free Market. Food Not Bombs' volunteer, Tony, produced a documentary on the work of Food Not Bombs in Kuala Lumpur. Activists from Food Not Bombs chapters across the Philippines organized yearly gatherings. Indonesian chapters also organized their own gatherings, concerts and built a do-it-yourself culture. Meanwhile, Knoxville Food Not Bombs coordinated the meals at the annual School of the Americas Watch protests in Fort Benning, Georgia, designed to pressure the U.S. government to end the training of torturers, feeding hundreds of activists before they were arrested in civil disobedience actions.

Not long after George W. Bush was placed into the White House, the world woke up to the 9/11 disaster. New Brunswick Food Not Bombs rushed to take vegan food to the rescue workers at the Staten Island Ferry. At the same time, Food Not Bombs was providing meals to rescue workers near the site of the World Trade Center.

In the months before the attack on Afghanistan, Food Not Bombs chapters provided free vegan meals to thousands of peace activists at protests all over the world. Before long, Food Not Bombs was again feeding people at the huge protests against the invasion of Iraq. Hundreds of protesters were served hot meals by Food Not Bombs in Budapest, Belgrade, Warsaw, Poznan, Amsterdam, Kuala Lumpur, Sidney, Washington, DC, Boston, San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York, Tucson and dozens of other cities. Along with feeding protesters, Food Not Bombs also continued to share free vegan meals with the homeless every week in hundreds of cities all over the world.

Police attacked the Miami convergence center and arrested and beat several Food Not Bombs volunteers during the demonstrations against the Free Trade Agreement of The Americas Ministerial in November 2003. Food Not Bombs also introduced the Really Really Free Market to the United States at this action. Activist Starhawk remembers, "I'm sitting in another gray cement-walled warehouse in yet another city. Already the walls are full of signs, schedules, lists of the scarce housing resources here in Miami, of the workdays and marches and puppet fests planned for the next few days, sign-up grids for staffing and security, a small pile of tarps that will be used to catch rain and to cover the serving area in the parking lot where Food Not Bombs will feed us all."

In 2004, I traveled to Europe and the Middle East, visiting local chapters collecting, cooking and sharing meals. When I arrived in Croatia, activists with Zagreb Food Not Bombs



Marie Vesco shares food in Brixton, London

told me about how they had provided over 1,000 meals to protesters outside the U.S. embassy during the global days of protest against the war on Iraq. They also told me that Food Not Bombs chapters were sharing meals in six Croatian cities and suggested I visit the groups in Serbia. Belgrade Food Not Bombs told of their effort to support the protests during the NATO bombing of their city. We cooked in a house made empty by a direct hit from a U.S. missile that failed to explode but damaged the roof and passed into the basement. I traveled to Denmark and learned that Copenhagen Food Not Bombs had been given the Danish Peace Award. I visited Food Not Bombs in Slovakia where my presentation in Bratislava was broadcast on National TV and Radio. I also learned that Food Not Bombs had started animal rescue shelters in over twenty cities. Food Not Bombs chapters from towns all over Ireland brought food to Shannon Airbase to protest the war. We also discovered that many benefit Food Not Bombs CDs and videos had been created and sold to support the various chapters' actions. A group of Dutch and German Food Not Bombs activists visited four Food Not Bombs chapters in Poland and made a powerful documentary about their trip.

When I traveled to Tel Aviv, I learned that Food Not Bombs had been started by a group of students that had refused to join the Israeli Defense Forces. They organized a Refusnik Conference, and started a chapter to provide meals to the participants. After the conference, they were invited to provide food at a two month long peace camp on the West Bank. During the camp, they started a group called Anarchists Against the Wall. The day I arrived in Tel Aviv, Food Not Bombs activists and their friends were cutting through a gate in the Separation Wall between Palestine and Israel while being shot at with live ammunition by the Israeli Defense Forces. One of our friends, Gil, was shot and rushed to the hospital.

While I was traveling in Europe, I learned that several Food Not Bombs chapters in Mexico were sharing food at an anti-globalization protests in Guadalajara. Eleven Food Not Bombs volunteers were arrested and brutally beaten at the Guadalajara protest, generating worldwide protests and calls for their freedom. The co-founder of Food Not Bombs in Mexico disappeared for weeks in the prison system. Around that same time Amnesty International called for the release of the nine Filipino Food Not Bombs activists arrested during a camping trip and charged with participation in a New People's Army assault on a military base.

Richmond, Virginia Food Not Bombs called for an International Gathering during the Republican National Convention in New York City. They worked with the volunteers that cooked each week at ABC No Rio to or-

ganize the logistics. The FBI visited Food Not Bombs activists in Denver, Colorado and Lawrence, Kansas, and infiltrated Richmond and New York Food Not Bombs, instigating an argument against the gathering, causing the workshops and other activities to be canceled at the last minute. Still, Food Not Bombs activists arrived to cook at Saint Mark's Church, and provided hundreds of meals to the protesters. An FBI memo claimed that Food Not Bombs had twenty-four slingshots that could be used as Wrist-Rocket against the police. The slingshots were copies of a paper called Slingshot published in Berkeley, California. The ABC News program *20/20* quoted the FBI saying that "a prominent" Food Not Bombs volunteer had come to destroy the city. Several of us spent three or four days jailed in the Tombs after being arrested near Madison Square Garden.

When the leader of Ukraine, Viktor Yanukovich, refused to accept the vote for his removal on November 21, 2004, Food Not Bombs joined the protest. Food Not Bombs volunteers set up a field kitchen outside the Parliament building in Kiev. The Orange Revolution occupation forced a new run off giving Yanukovich's rival the victory ending the protest with Viktor Yushchenko inauguration on January 23, 2005.

In June 2005, in the days before the protest against genetically engineered organisms called Biodemocracy 2005: Reclaim the Commons!, Food Not Bombs activists met in Philadelphia to talk about the future of the movement, but the meeting was disrupted by a number of infiltrators, including a woman named "Anna" who was recruited by the FBI because of a college paper she wrote for a community college course against those protesting



Timur playing with his band Sandinista



Neo-nazis set off a time bomb before a meal in Russia. The volunteers were late so no one was hurt.

the World Trade Organization in Seattle. Anna posed as a medic at the violently repressed protest against the Free Trade Agreement of The Americas Ministerial in Miami, argued against the New York Gathering and became "friends" with Philadelphia Food Not Bombs volunteer, Eric McDavid, who was sentenced to nineteen years in prison, after the FBI gave Anna a wired car and house, plans on how to build a bomb and blasting caps. Anna argued that Eric and his friends, Wren and Zachary, weren't really serious about saving the Earth if they weren't willing to bomb a dam on the Sacramento River. When the FBI realized they would never go through with Anna's plans, they raided the house on January 13, 2006. The three Food Not Bombs activists were arrested and charged with the plot. According to journalist Jennifer Van Bergen, "The affidavit, which was written by FBI Special Agent Nasson Walker, shows that the agency has identified the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) as 'a recognized eco-terrorist group,' which Walker states has been involved in over \$200 million worth of damage since 1997." The activists volunteered with Food Not Bombs, not with a group the F.B.I. calls the ELF.

The FBI claims that Anna has "provided information that has been utilized in at least twelve separate anarchist cases" and that her "information has proved accurate and reliable."

President George W. Bush started a six week vacation at his ranch in Crawford, Texas in the summer of

2005, as Americans and Iraqis died in the hot Mesopotamian sun. Cindy Sheehan's son, Casey, had been killed in Iraq on April 4, 2004, and she went to Texas to ask Bush "for what noble cause" had her son given his life. She set up a tent outside Bush's ranch and started the protest Camp Casey. A week into her vigil, she called the Food Not Bombs office in Tucson seeking support. Food Not Bombs arrived a week later, setting up a kitchen across from Cindy's tent. While providing three meals a day to thousands of protesters, Food Not Bombs volunteers learned about a huge hurricane spinning across the Gulf Of Mexico. The cooks met with the Veterans For Peace activists and decided to mobilize volunteers to help with the relief effort after the hurricane passed. I posted a web page that evening asking all chapters to collect food and supplies to take to the survivors of Hurricane Katrina. Food Not Bombs chapters started to call in with offers of volunteers, bus loads of food and supplies. We got reports of fundraising concerts and garages full of dry goods and clothes.

A few days after New Orleans was flooded, the volunteers from Hartford Food Not Bombs arrived in their bus and set up the first kitchen. Thousands of volunteers organized food drives, gathered volunteers and drove to the gulf region to help. Rainbow Family buses and volunteers with Veterans For Peace joined the relief effort. Colleges donated the use of their vans, and gave class credit to their students to volunteer with Food Not Bombs. Buddhist Temples filled Food Not Bombs trucks with their emergency food. The Tucson Food Not Bombs office was flooded with calls for help after one survivor told CNN, "Where's the Red Cross? Where is FEMA? What we need is Food not Bombs." New Orleans City Councilors emailed Food Not Bombs for help. The state emergency management agencies called Food Not Bombs frantic for updates.

Reporters, rescue workers, police and Federal Emergency Management employees joined the survivors for breakfast, lunch and dinner at the Food Not Bombs



Tucson bus shares food with truck drivers



Food Not Bombs kitchen at Common Grounds in New Orleans

kitchen in New Orleans. Volunteers provided food to survivors in nearly twenty communities. The American Red Cross gave our office phone number to anyone needing food. Houston Food Not Bombs provided food outside the Red Cross Center in the Astrodome and Convention Center. They helped Indymedia set up a low powered FM station in the Astrodome, making it possible for families to reach one another. Criticism from the survivors broadcast through the relief center caused concern for the American Red Cross, who responded by shutting the station down.

Eight months after Katrina, filmmaker and Food Not Bombs volunteer Helen Hill answered a loud knock on the door of her New Orleans home. An unidentified man opened fire on her and her husband Paul. She died of her wounds leaving Paul a widow.



Food Not Bombs visits farm in Nigeria

Food Not Bombs activists shared free vegan meals every week for several years in Saint Petersburg, Russia, attracting a regular crowd. One afternoon in November 2005, a group of young neo-Nazis attacked the servers as they were finishing lunch. The neo-Nazis stabbed several volunteers, killing the Saint Petersburg founder, Timur. His murder inspired a nation-wide resistance with marches and the creation of a strong movement in inspiring the founding of groups in over fifty cities across Russia, and new chapters in the Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania and Latvia. The neo-Nazis continued to attack Food Not Bombs, stabbing another volunteer to death while he was preparing food for activists at an anti-nuclear camp in Siberia. Nazis also stabbed several other volunteers in cities throughout Russia, and they set off a time bomb at the Saint Petersburg meal. The volunteers were several minutes late and no one was hurt. Russian speaking Food Not Bombs groups created a communications network, a system of websites and coordinated actions. They organized and fed participants at marches and campaigns to protect the environment. They organized the 2007 World Gathering in Ukraine, inspiring the creation of more chapters and activities across Europe.

Food Not Bombs volunteers also provided the meals to farm workers at a 600 day tent city vigil in Bosnia Herzegovina Park in Sarajevo. Across the world, Food Not Bombs was sharing free vegan meals with striking auto workers in Seoul, South Korea. Chicago Food Not Bombs delivered meals to workers who started to occupy the Republic Windows and





Eric Montanez arrested in Orlando, Florida

Doors factory in Chicago, Illinois on December 5, 2008. Food Not Bombs activists in Japan shared free vegan meals to people protesting the G-8. Food Not Bombs in Holbrook, Tasmania provided food to activists defending the wilderness protesting the clear cutting of old growth forests. At the same time, Reykjavik Food Not Bombs was providing meals at a protest against an increase in the number of Alcoa's aluminum smelters proposed to be opened in Iceland.

The global economic collapse inspired another surge of interest in Food Not Bombs. People emailed and called Food Not Bombs to tell us they were starting new chapter often adding that they had experienced the impact of the housing foreclosure crisis, been laid off or had family members struggling to survive.

In March 2007, several hundred Food Not Bombs activists met in Nashville, Tennessee to discuss what local chapters could do to respond to the crisis. Ideas included helping start new chapters, adding regular meals to each group's weekly schedule, working on a campaign to make local laws to end the destruction of food in trash compactors, the creation of more Homes Not Jails groups reclaiming abandoned housing for the homeless, the organizing of regular Really Really Free Markets and the creation and the planting of more Food Not Lawns community gardens. Food Not Lawns gardens were planted in nearly sixty more communities that summer. Really Really Free Markets flourished after the gathering. Groups started re-occupying foreclosed homes and many more chapters started as other groups added meals to their weekly schedule. In April 2007, food prices increased so much that the United Nations announced that over 800,000 additional people were struggling to eat. Even wealthy countries, such as Iceland, felt the crunch. After Reykjavik Food Not Bombs provided meals to climate change protesters outside an Alcoa

smelter, they found the numbers of people coming to their weekly meals increasing. Food Not Bombs had been sharing every week to a mystified public in central Reykjavik who told our volunteers that they could not understand why we would give away free meals when everyone was economically secure. That was until the Icelandic economy collapsed and hundreds started to lose their jobs. Soon, angry community members came to the weekly meal to eat and express their outrage at the failed system. The literature provided by Food Not Bombs encouraged discussion about the government's policies and helped inspire a weekly protest after the meal. Before long, government leaders were resigning and the people of Iceland started a process of writing a new constitution.

Food Not Bombs activists organized concerts and gatherings to celebrate the 30th Anniversary of Food Not Bombs in a number of cities. I participated in a four-day gathering that ended with a concert in Monterrey, Mexico. Volunteers made a proposal that we organize a better system of inter-group communication and cooperation. Two weeks later, on May 24, 2010, I traveled to the Boston Commons where hundreds of people listened to music and attended workshops. A memorial to Boston Food Not Bombs



Food Not Bombs shares a meal in Romania



Buenos Aires Food Not Bombs shares food with their community in Argentina

activist, Eric Weinberger, was set up on the Commons near where he had shared meals for over twenty years. His ashes were poured on the site.

The struggle for the right to share food continued in Florida. Orlando Food Not Bombs volunteer, Eric Montanez, was arrested on Wednesday, April 4, 2007 during dinner at Lake Eola Park, charged with violating a new "Large Group Feeding Law." The law required that people and groups wanting to share meals to groups larger than twenty-five would have to request a permit and would be limited to sharing meals only twice a year per park. Orlando Food Not Bombs had been sharing meals twice a week at the Lake Eola picnic area for many years.

Eric won a jury trial and the group took the city to Federal Court where a district judge ruled the law violated the group's First Amendment Rights to Free Speech and Assembly. The city hired a private law firm for \$150,000 to appeal the district court ruling. The city won their appeal to the Eleventh Circuit Court of Appeals on April 12, 2011, writing that the restrictions did not violate the U.S. Constitution. The city started making arrests again that June, jailing twenty-four volunteers. The arrests made news all over the world as a cyber activist with Anonymous shut down websites in protest. David Rovics wrote the

Ballad of Lake Eola, and people all over the world organized protests, petitions and other actions to support an end to the arrests. Many other cities in the southeastern United States were interested in the Orlando case, wanting to implement similar laws restricting the sharing of food with the hungry. After Orlando made twenty-four arrests in June 2011, the other cities seemed to back off.

I believe there are several reasons why this movement is still so strong after thirty years. Food Not Bombs has no leaders or directors, and each chapter is autonomous, making decisions involving everyone in the group, using the process of consensus. The authorities have not been able to discredit the movement by directing its attention on a charismatic leader or take it over by placing their own people into positions of leadership. Because Food Not Bombs is a task-based movement, volunteers find the work rewarding. It is very empowering to collect, prepare and share free food, all on your own and to do it with little money and few resources. Sharing food is powerful and magical. The fact that we are seeking to change society rather than participate in maintaining a system that requires charity encourages more passion and dedication. Additionally, when average people realize they have the power to make a difference, it can change their lives.

This is the foundation of social change and the authorities know it. In fact, several San Francisco Police Department memos expressed concern that if they were not able to stop Food Not Bombs, the public might come to believe that they could solve their own social problems and start to ignore the policies of government and corporate leaders.

The self-empowerment of tens of thousands of people may be Food Not Bombs' greatest achievement. Every chapter is independent and shares the unifying principles of Food Not Bombs, a commitment to nonviolent action, sharing free vegan food with anyone without restriction, and making decisions by participatory democracy or consensus. These ideals play an important role in the success of this movement. Food Not Bombs volunteers know they are expected to participate in the decision making process of their chapter. A manager, director or president is not going to tell them what to do. This leads to a strong sense of responsibility for the actions of the group and pride in what they accomplish. These lessons are often spread to other kinds of community organizing efforts. Many affinity groups addressing basic human needs and social injustice have used Food Not Bombs as a model for their organizing. People often note that the process used by Occupy Wall Street is similar to the model used by Food Not Bombs. That may be because many of the people participating in the occupations were also active with Food Not Bombs or had been involved with their local chapter at some point in their past.

The chaos of our economic and political system is inspiring many people to volunteer with their local Food Not Bombs group. Volunteers often have a close relationship with many people in the community and are trusted. We show up with our food and literature every week. Local groceries know we are reliable and will do our best to pick up their discarded food. When the occupations started, local participants knew their local Food Not Bombs group would help. This trust, reliability and persistence are essential to our ability to build support for social change. Our local Food Not Bombs groups are generating the spirit and vision



Food Not Bombs meal in Ponti, Indonesia

needed to create a new world that can flourish while seeking solutions to the crisis of climate change, economic failure and a corporate dominated political system. Just by participating once a week, recovering food from your local bakery or taking responsibility to set out the literature at the weekly meal, you can have a huge impact. The transformation you will experience can change your life and the lives of those touched by the activities of your Food Not Bombs group.

This simple movement, started by eight students in 1980 with a vision and no money or leaders, is gently inspiring a change in society based on peace and participatory democracy, guaranteeing the rights of every one and respect for the Earth and all its beings. Food Not Bombs volunteers are eager to support the transformation of our society and work to build a world free from domination, coercion and violence. We are demonstrating that food is a right, not a privilege and that scarcity is a violent myth causing much unnecessary pain and suffering. Our banner proudly announces that our world needs food, not bombs.



Elders talk with Food Not Bombs in Lagos



Sharing vegan meals on the Seattle waterfront

## The Next Thirty Years of Food Not Bombs

The work of Food Not Bombs is needed now more than at any time in our thirty year history. Our steady persistence providing both tangible solutions and clear critique of the issues provides Food Not Bombs with the real possibility of fostering positive change over the next thirty years. The trust we have built with our communities by showing up, sharing food and standing by our principles, even in the face of violent repression, provides us with an opportunity to provide a positive influence. The global economic, environmental and political crises are inspiring people to seek change.

Nearly a billion people go hungry each day as access to seeds and agriculture is controlled by fewer and fewer transnational corporations. As the cost of food increases, forcing low income people to spend ever larger percentage of their wages to feed their families; governments, corporations, religious leaders and gangs are relying on the use of violence to enforce these policies of resource scarcity.

Total military spending in the United States continues to take over fifty cents of every tax dollar paid by individuals. Military spending by the U.S. is equal to half of all spending in preparation for war—resources that could be used by

these countries to reduce hunger and poverty. Military spending is not only draining resources but represents the many damaging policies that rob our communities of vital programs such as education and healthcare. While your county may not be the world's leading arms merchant, policymakers are often making decisions that are not in the best interest of everyone who will be effected.

Building a strong Food Not Bombs movement is one effective way to help all groups that are organizing against corporate domination. It is also a good way to reach people that would not otherwise know about actions like the occupations or efforts to end hunger, poverty and war. We are out in the public square talking to people that are often strangers to the many issues we are organizing around. Food Not Bombs is active in over 1,000 cities around the world and often the most visible project accessible to the mainstream.

There are a number of areas we could work towards. One is to increase our visibility by making sure we always have banners and literature at every meal. Food Not Bombs chapters might consider if they are sharing their meals at the best location or could adjust the time or day of their meals to reach the most people. We could also establish a more reliable system of inter-group communication and coordination among chapters in a region, state or country. Another

improvement to make our communication more effective is to add an agenda item where all emails, phone calls and other communications with your group are discussed. Food Not Bombs groups are often invited to support strikes, occupations and other actions, but we can also initiate protests and invite others to support our actions.

The next thirty years of Food Not Bombs could be critical. Each chapter could increase its ability to make decisions using consensus, and stronger more effective systems of inter-chapter communication and coordination could provide the foundation for the transformation of our society. When I wrote the first draft of this book in 2009, I included this vision of what Food Not Bombs could do in the future, “Imagine if Food Not Bombs organized tent city protests outside city halls in all 1,000 communities...” A couple of years after I wrote that we might want to dream big and help organize occupations, Food Not Bombs was already realizing that goal. On September 17, 2011, hundreds of people arrived at Wall Street in New York City responding to *Ad Buster Magazine’s* call to “Occupy.” In preparation for the occupation, Food Not Bombs volunteers participated in the General Assemblies. Those participating agreed to make decisions using consensus, decided to have no leaders and adopted the principles of nonviolence. Even after the first wave of evictions in 2011, I still believe the strategy that long-term occupations of public space is sound and I encourage people to consider adjustments to minimize the authorities’ ability to covertly disrupt this powerful method of nonviolent direct action.

I went on to suggest that we plant “Food Not Lawns organic gardens in the grass at each tent city protest with a message that all the vacant lots be used to grow organic food for the community could inspire a revolution in food.” As it turned out, I was also getting ahead of myself. Food Not Lawns gardens were cultivated at Occupy Miami and other more temperate occupations. I also suggested that “solar and wind powered FM radio stations at all 1,000 occupations could make sure news of the action was impossible to ignore.” It turned out that live streaming the occupations was also effective. Food Not Bombs could help organize “other coordinated actions to inspire communities to adopt programs like those described in the *Transition Town Handbook* and the programs like Democracy Schools started by The Community Environmental Legal Defense Fund.” That too happened as the occupations continued to evolve.

While I noted that, “Many of the principles practiced by Food Not Bombs were adopted by the people that occupied the squares of the Arab world, bringing an end to one dictator after another,” I didn’t realize events would change so quickly.

Many of the principles practiced by Food Not Bombs were also adopted by Occupy Wall Street. General Assemblies

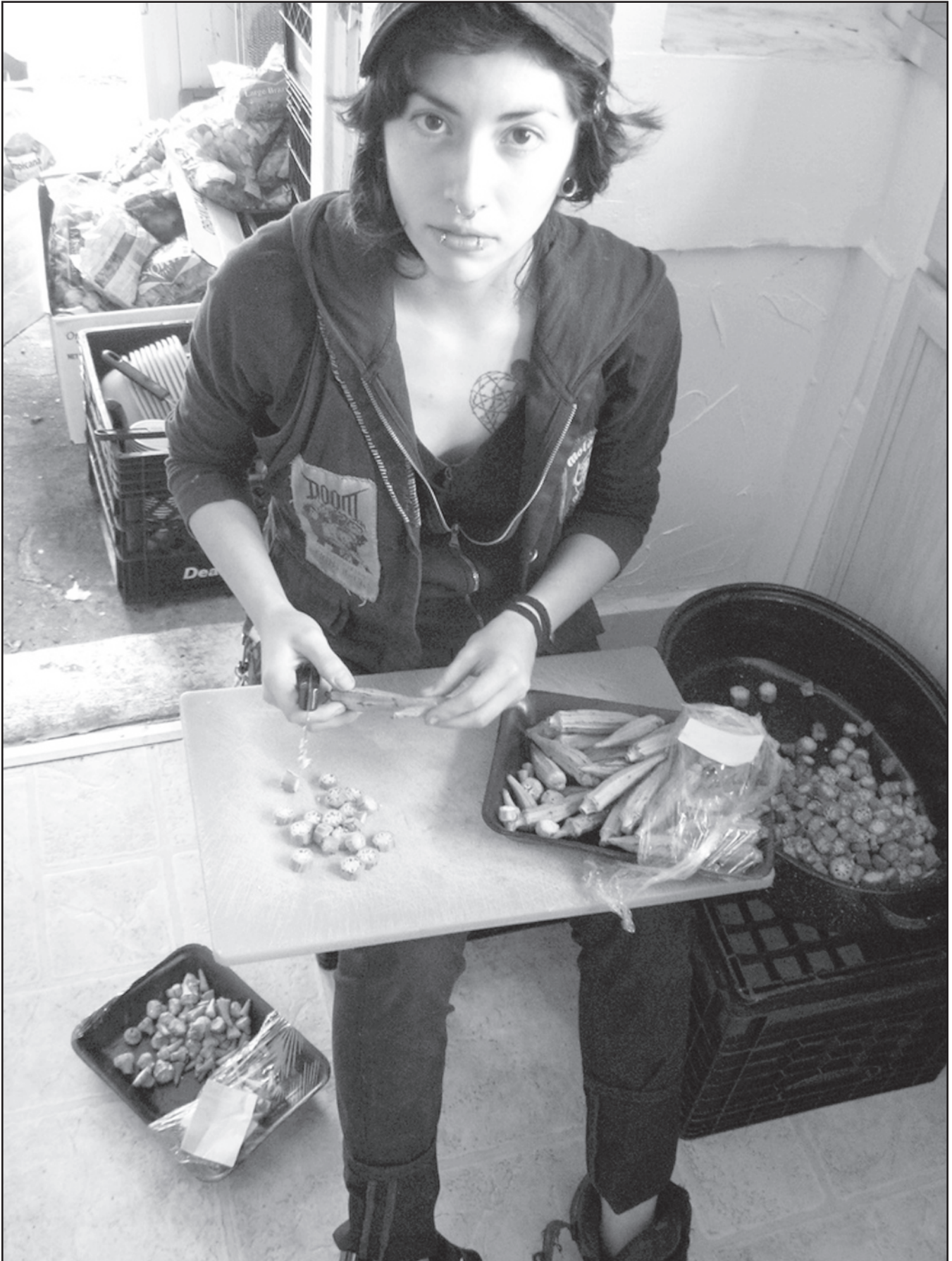
used a form of the consensus process, were dedicated to taking nonviolent direct action and made their food available to everyone. Just like Food Not Bombs, the occupation has no leaders or headquarters. The occupations reclaim public space and seek to make fundamental changes in the economic and political system.

The exploitation by the unelected wealthy at a time when food prices were causing hunger was more than people could take. To regain our dignity, millions of us started to occupy the streets and public squares, challenging the political and economic power of repressive governments all over the world.

The occupations of 2011 could be the initial step in the journey towards a post-capitalist society based on compassion and mutual aid. Food Not Bombs can provide food and logistical support for a number of trends growing out of the occupations. At times, the community might be facing a state- or province-wide policy that could be harmful, and all the Food Not Bombs groups in that area could coordinate a regional campaign using our ability to provide food and other logistics. Just as we saw in 2011, Food Not Bombs might find itself feeding protests all over the globe.

Instead of acting as a charity, we are feeding the movement to end the policies that cause poverty and hunger. At the same time, people who wouldn’t eat otherwise can enjoy a healthy meal made with love. Most Food Not Bombs groups have deep roots in their local community and are respected by people with diverse backgrounds providing a unique set of possibilities that many other organizations can only hope to have. This provides Food Not Bombs with the possibility of organizing towards a compassionate future both locally and globally at the same time.

With all the urgent crises facing our communities, we would be irresponsible if we didn’t take advantage of these strengths and work to build a more reliable system of inter-group communications and develop a more effective means to coordinate our activities among groups so we can organize regional and global actions. Now that we know that the occupations can have a powerful impact, we can build on that and take nonviolent direct action to even more powerful levels. We can experiment with new ways of applying pressure while introducing solutions to social crisis caused by a political and economic system of exploitation. The institutions responsible for the crisis need to adjust to our influence. Evictions from public space or foreclosed homes are not acceptable in a future that understands that dignity, compassion and concern for our environment are always of greater value than profits and corporate domination of the government and society. The next thirty years could be crucial to building a free and sustainable future. You are encouraged to help us make the changes we need.



Preparing okra for the Food Not Bombs dinner in Orlando, Florida

# SECTION FOUR

## FOOD NOT BOMBS VEGAN RECIPES

### Food Logistics

Collecting food is the first step in logistics. Every community discards edible food. Make a list of all the possible sources for produce, bread, baked goods and other perishable items. This includes produce warehouses, groceries, fresh daily bakeries, farmers markets and local farms. You won't need to collect food from dumpsters. Making arrangements to collect food that can't be sold will provide you with a greater amount and better quality of food and will help your local Food Not Bombs group build stronger relationships in the community. Your food pickups will help determine your menu. Once you have an idea of what food you can collect, you may want to buy some items to supplement your food recovery program.

Cooking for large numbers of people can be very intimidating. It is very different to cook a dinner for six at home than for several hundred on the street, but don't be overwhelmed. It can be done, and with the right equipment and a few skills, it can be easier and more fun than you might think.

It isn't necessary to always make huge pots of two or three items, although that is one way to provide hundreds of people with a meal. Your group can make a variety of foods dishing out five or six items to each person. It can be surprising how many hundreds of people you can feed when you prepare many different dishes. Your visitors will enjoy your tasty vegan meals as much as they love your welcoming conversation.

### Equipment

The first task is getting together a few people who are willing to help with food preparation, transportation, and serving. These are not jobs to be done alone. The second task is the acquisition of the proper equipment. Most people don't have five- or ten-gallon pots or extra-large mixing bowls in their kitchens. However, most churches do, as do many community centers, food service programs and restaurants. Sometimes, one or more of these organizations will allow you to borrow their equipment; at other times, you might have to buy it. Used restaurant equipment stores, going-out-of-business auctions and rummage or yard sales are excellent places to obtain the necessary tools.

Your group can start by getting a few very large pots, large bowls or plastic buckets, large spoons and a cutting board and knife for each cook. Your chapter can organize a benefit concert announcing your goal of buying two large stainless steel cooking pots. You can set up a literature table at the concert and ask people to sign your contact list. If you have a flyer with your group's contact information and the times, days and locations of your regular meal, that will also be helpful. People may deliver some of the equipment you need to your meal. The benefit can also be a great way to get more volunteers and food donations.

**In general, the equipment you will need includes:**

- 2 or 3 very large pots
  - 2 or 3 large cast iron skillets (or woks)
  - Several large bowls for mixing and serving
  - Large kitchen spoons and ladles
  - 2 or more large vegetable knives for chopping
  - Several cutting boards
  - Several plastic containers with lids of various sizes for the storage, transportation and serving of food
  - 1 bread box with lid and attached pair of tongs for self-service
  - 1 coffee urn with spout for serving liquids
  - 1 or 2 large ice chests or coolers for keeping perishables cold on hot days
  - 1 or 2 propane stoves
  - 3 trash bins to clean the dishes and silverware, one for soapy water, one for disinfectant and one for rinsing
  - Sponges or cloth to clean spills and the dishes and silverware
  - 1 or more portable tables
  - 1 or more Food Not Bombs banner(s)
  - Literature in a box with number 19 rubber bands
  - Personal eating utensils (plates, bowls, cups, spoons, forks, and napkins).
  - Optional — Musical instruments, puppets, signs, recovered flowers, tablecloths, folding chairs, circus equipment, soap bubbles, solar ovens, flags
- The next-to-the last item involves an ongoing debate about environmental appropriateness. New groups will usually start off using paper plates, foam cups and plastic spoons and forks. However, there is a good deal of concern about the waste involved in this method. Using paper products made

from post-consumer waste paper, avoiding Styrofoam, collecting used plastic-ware for recycling; and encouraging people to reuse their cups, plates and plastic-ware addresses some of the concerns around excessive waste and the consume-and-throwaway mentality. Some Food Not Bombs groups collect large numbers of durable plastic plates, bowls, and metal flatware from flea markets and yard sales at very low prices, cheap enough that if you lose a few at each event it is not much of an economic loss. Even though these items will need to be washed during or after each meal in a sanitary way, it is a great way to inspire a move away from a disposable society.

In some cities, the number of people coming to eat can be huge and washing the dishes and silverware can be very hard, so at times, using paper plates and cups along with plastic spoons and forks might be necessary, but it is possible to bring three buckets of water, one with soap, one with disinfectant and one for rinse and use 100 dishes to feed 500 people. While there is often no perfect solution to feeding large numbers of people without creating paper and plastic waste, whatever you can do to cut down on the volume is an opportunity to educate the public about the need to reduce, reuse and recycle.

Portable tables are another story. You can get six-foot portable tables at most building supply stores. They even have ones that fold into a three-foot square. To save money, ask if they have one they have already been using for display or other reason and ask if they would be willing to sell it to you so you can feed the hungry. A forty dollar table can become a twenty dollar table just by asking. The surface of the table will be scratched soon enough so that really won't matter to your Food Not Bombs group. Another way to make a portable table that is sturdy consists of a plain, hollow-core interior door (without the doorknob) and a pair of sawhorses made from metal joiners and lumber. The door and the material for the saw horses can all be bought at a hardware store or lumber shop for less than fifteen dollars. The hollow-core door is very light, and the joiners allow the sawhorse legs to be easily assembled and disassembled, also allowing easy transportation. Some groups have turned to borrowing plastic milk or drink crates stacking them to table height. People have been arrested and accused of stealing milk crates so consider this fact before using them to make a table. Using items you don't mind losing can be necessary if the police are taking your equipment.

The recipes you use can be from this book, another cookbook, family or made up experimentally on the spot. In general, strive



**Food  
Temperature  
Danger Zone  
Between 40°F (4° C)  
and 140°F (60° C)**



to make food that tastes as good as you can. It is just as important to respect the dignity of the people we serve as it is to give them nutrition. A tasty vegan meal is a great way to encourage more people to eat less meat and dairy. The better the food tastes, the more enjoyable the experience Food Not Bombs will be.

## Tips on Cooking for Large Numbers

Cooking for 100 is not much different from cooking for 10, except that most of the quantities are 10 times greater. However, for a few things this is not true. Spices and salt in particular should not just be multiplied when increasing the quantity of a recipe. Much less is needed in most dishes—let your taste-buds be your guide. Some Food Not Bombs groups have a “bottom liner” who adds the spices so that the dishes are not over spiced. Every once in awhile, a group will find that four or five volunteers are all adding pepper, salt or another popular spice, and before long, the meal is too spicy. The same is true for the amount of preparation time each dish requires; the larger the volume, the more efficient so the overall prep time is reduced. In fact, when a particular ingredient is in several dishes on the menu, prep enough of this ingredient for all the dishes at the same time. This can often be done for events over several days, depending on your available storage space and labor.

Again, always strive to be on time for every event where you serve food. Sometimes this is difficult or impossible, but when time is short, you can do the prep work for easy, quick dishes in advance. Your group can also do the actual prep and cooking for the longer, more complex dishes at the site itself.

Soup is one dish which lends itself to cooking at an event where people might be participating for several hours or even days. Upon arrival, set a pot of water to boil. While it is heating, start chopping and adding vegetables. Once the vegetables start to soften, remove half the soup and serve it. With the remaining half, add more water and vegetables and keep cooking. This can go on indefinitely and becomes a never ending pot of soup.

This same concept can be used in a kitchen setting when there is a short amount of time to cook a large amount of soup or when the stove is too small for several large soup pots. Follow the normal recipe for vegetable soup, and when the vegetables have been added and the broth just begins to boil, drain off most of the broth and save it in another container. Add more vegetables and a small amount of water to the pot and continue cooking. This pot should now contain enough vegetables and spices for two or more pots of soup, but little broth. When the vegetables are cooked, mix them and the broth together again in several containers and transport to the serving site. This can make two or more pots-worth of soup using only one pot and only a little more time. If you have a donation of tofu, wheat gluten or tempe, you can sauté that in another pan and keep adding that to the soup as the day goes along.

As more and more people come to eat with your chapter, you can make sure everyone has enough by preparing more courses. If you have been making a pot of rice and a pot of beans with stir fry, add a pot of steamed squash with carrots, a pot of soup and a garden salad. Each additional dish makes it possible to feed more people without having to make more of the same item. Before long your chapter can be providing nutritious meals for 400 or 500 people at a time.

## Recovering Food and Shopping

It is possible to recover most of your food by speaking with the employees at groceries, produce markets, bakeries and food manufacturers. Ask them if they discard any food. Inquire if they would be willing to contribute any of their surplus food to feed the hungry and ask them when it would be the most convenient time to recover the discarded food. If the manager is unwilling to be helpful, consider returning and speaking directly with the people responsible for taking the food to the bin. You may want to visit the establishments closest to where you plan to cook. Ask the workers if they discard any food, and ask if they would be willing to put it aside so that you can collect it. The produce distribution centers finish loading the delivery trucks early in the morning so you might visit them at seven or eight o'clock. There will be rows of wholesale vendors and you can walk to each stall and ask if they have any food they can't sell. Explain that you are collecting to feed the hungry. At first, you may want to offer to give them a couple of dollars, euros or such for a case of whatever they can't sell. Before long they will be donating cases of produce, often in better quality than the food that is for sale at local groceries. You can also ask bakeries if they have baked goods or bread they can't sell. You may have a tofu or other food manufacturer or distribution center in your community that can also contribute.

At most times of the day, you can find a worker standing next to a cart in the produce department setting out fruit or trimming the browned stems from chard and lettuce and ask them if they have items that they plan to throw away. You can gesture to the box of wilted produce on the lower level of their cart and it is likely they will be pleased to help. Many produce workers are not aware that the food they are discarding can be used to make great meals. The management might claim that they can't donate any discarded food because the store could be sued if someone were made ill, but you can remind them of the Emerson Good Samaritan Act, which protects all companies from liability from being sued for food donated to groups feeding the hungry. About 1,400 calories worth of food is discarded per person each day in the United States which adds up to 150 trillion calories a year. A study published in the journal, *PLoS ONE*, in 2009, finds that about 40 percent of all the food produced in the United States is tossed out. Timothy Jones, a University of Arizona archaeologist, conducted an eight-year government-financed study documenting that more than 40 percent of food

grown in the United States is lost or thrown away at a cost of at least \$100 billion annually to the economy and over-taxing of the soil and environment. While the United States is the most wasteful country, every society, including those in many parts of Africa and Asia, discards edible food every day.

Try to obtain all the food you use through recovery or donations; however, not all the ingredients for every recipe can be obtained in this way. In particular, cooking oils, spices and dry goods are often difficult to come by as discarded food. Therefore, some shopping will probably be necessary. Even though it might cost a little more, shop at your local co-op or health food store, buy organically grown food when possible, and avoid packaging as much as possible. Also, bring your own containers if the shop offers items in bulk.

Every city has a produce distribution center where all the independent groceries and restaurants buy their fruit and vegetables. The delivery trucks head off to the grocery stores and restaurants early each morning, and by 8:00 or 9:00 AM the markets are discarding what they can't sell. Some distribution centers discard so much great food that they use large tractors to scrape up all the produce dumped off the loading docks. If you can get a van, truck or other vehicle and arrive at the distribution center as they are ending their morning shift, you can likely get as much food as you could ever use just by asking. Produce warehouses and farmers markets might provide not only their discarded food but can sell you cases of fruit and vegetables for next to nothing, making it possible to collect enough to feed hundreds of people with ease. We have found that if a vendor is reluctant to make a donation, offer five or six dollars for a case they might not be able to sell otherwise and they will start to add more cases for free. In a few weeks you will not even have to offer any money once they see that you are reliable.

If someone donates food that includes meat, we urge you to donate the meat to other food programs that are not concerned about what they provide. They will be able to handle the meat more safely than we can. Sharing discarded meat can harm the people eating with us, cause the health department to disrupt our work and send the message that we are not dedicated to nonviolence and have little concern for the environment and other beings.

In the long run, try to shop as little as possible. Identify your regular food needs and study the food industry to find places where waste is created. Go to these places and arrange to recover food or to have it donated. There is no end to the number of programs you can support with free food if you can successfully learn this process. The vision of Food Not Bombs is that of abundance, not scarcity.

## Food Handling and Storage

There are health and safety concerns related to food handling and storage you should bear in mind. Keep the length of time that you handle or store food as short as possible. If you do not handle any animal products and if the length of time between food pickup and delivery is a matter of hours rather than days, there is almost no danger. Keep the food in a cool, dry place out of the sun, and wash your hands before handling it. Always wash vegetables before cooking them. If you are out in the field, this can be accomplished by having a fire gallon bucket of water into which you dip and scrub produce. And obviously, anybody who has a cold or the flu should not prepare or serve food until they are well.

After events, there is sometimes food left over. Try to donate this to a local soup kitchen, smaller neighborhood shelter or group home rather than trying to find ways to store and refrigerate it. In general, stored food is less nutritious and more susceptible to spoilage. It also requires additional energy to keep it refrigerated or frozen. Meanwhile, the food industry continues to produce more surplus every day. If you have no one to feed your prepared food to, divide it up among the volunteers and take it home.

A number of Food Not Bombs groups have placed refrigerators with public access providing a way for people to help themselves between meals. In some locations the low temperatures during the winter have made it possible to store food on enclosed porches or basements using the spaces as natural refrigerators. In warm climates shade is important for items you intend to keep from becoming warm, even if it is just while you are sharing the meal.

Our volunteers follow these simple steps to make sure our meals are always safe. Again, the main safety measure we implement is that all our food is vegan or vegetarian. We also share the meals before harmful bacteria have a chance to threaten people's health. We generally share our meals so fast there is little chance bacteria will have a chance to grow to harmful levels. Bacteria multiply most rapidly between 40°F (4° C) and 140°F (60° C), a range known as the Food Temperature Danger Zone; after three hours in this zone, bacteria may start to become a safety issue, particularly if the meal includes meat or dairy. Your meals will leave the stove above 140°F (60° C) and still be at that temperature by the time you are sharing it with your community. Your chapter can place the prepared food into coolers to keep the food outside the Food Temperature Danger Zone. Some groups prepare their meals on propane stoves or over wood fires on site, which also protects the public from harmful bacteria. We also ask that volunteers who smoke to wait until they are finished cooking or serving the meal and remember to wash their hands before returning to cook or share food. Washing your hands with soap and warm water after going to the toilet is also an important way to protect the community when providing free vegan meals. Simple low-tech practices like washing our produce and our hands, and preparing only vegan meals in a short amount of time, protects the community we are feeding.

## Composting

Food Not Bombs often collects food that can't be made into something edible. These scraps are perfect for compost. Your group can make arrangements to donate the food waste that can't be used in your meals to people with compost piles or your chapter can start a compost bin of your own. When you are cooking, you can place the slimy produce in a bucket or empty produce box. Carrot tops, apple and pear cores, wilted collards and all the sections of produce you can't use can be collected and taken to a compost bin after you finish cleaning up after your regular meal. Your contribution to the compost completes the circle so nothing is wasted. Compost will provide great nutrition to your garden and, in turn, this nutrition will be transferred to the produce and grains you harvest.

Place the food scraps in the compost bin and add an equal amount of leaves, grass clippings and dirt. Use a shovel to mix it all together. Terri Compost of East Bay Food Not Bombs notes, in her gardening workshop at Peoples Park, "half browns and half greens, half browns, half greens and mix it all up." Food Not Bombs has so much green material that we often need to import our browns. It is possible to add manure although there are discussions about whether this will mean your garden is not vegan. All animals produce manure and we found our friends who have horses provide great manure. We used the oldest dry waste and mixed it with the compost for our Food Not Lawns Garden, and we were very impressed by the health of our vegetables.

For best results, you can have two or three bins with different ages of compost. As your first compost is becoming close to decomposing, you can start to place your greens into the newer compost bin. As your compost breaks down, the pile will get smaller. You can water your compost if it does not get rain. It is good to let it dry out sometimes so don't water your compost bin too often. You can add earth worms or you may add your compost to your gardens before you plant your seeds and after your harvest. It is also possible to add it around your plants as they grow. There are many great books on composting, and as your chapter will be able to contribute to your community's composting needs, it might be good to read a book or two to get more ideas on the value and process of being a good composter.

While all our food scraps are great for healthy compost, don't add ashes from your grill, animal fats, newspapers, magazines or feces from your cat's litter box or from your dogs. This can add poisons to your vegetable garden and harm the decomposition of your browns and greens. If you live near bears, remember to mix the fruit scraps in really well with the browns and a little soil so the bears are not tempted to destroy your compost bins.

## Food Not Bombs Recipes

### How to Use These Vegan Recipes

Over the years, Food Not Bombs has developed recipes specific to the food that is recovered and easily available in quantities required. Some groups may find these recipes useful; others may want to invent their own, based on the food available and the need in their area. These recipes are a selection: some easy and others more challenging, some for events and others for street actions. All are inexpensive, feed a large number of people, and if prepared with care, taste great.

The suggested number of servings for each recipe is based upon a somewhat small serving, approximately six to seven ounces or 250 ml. for soups and drinks and eight ounces or 227 grams for solid foods. If you serve a larger portion, be sure to adjust the numbers accordingly. The measurements are based on those used in the United States and don't need to be exact but will provide you with a good idea of the amounts we have used for over thirty years.

We suggest using large utensils. Every recipe requires a sharp vegetable knife, a cutting board, assorted mixing bowls, and spoons and so on. If you do not have access to large cookware, the recipes can be cut in halves or quarters, and several crews can operate simultaneously and produce the same volume. It is possible to feed 4,000 people with four two-burner propane stoves and a hose for running water. The times given for prep work and cooking are for more experienced cooks. If it is your first time with a recipe, then you can expect to take as much as twice the time suggested here. The prep time is also for one person and can usually be shortened with more volunteers. All quantities are to taste. If using oils, use enough to cover the bottom of the pot. Spices are light, so if your community likes spicy food, increase the amount of spices used. Keep the salt light; use a small amount, as it changes the chemistry of the recipe. You can also leave out the salt, oil and sugar for a very healthy diet called the "SOS free" plant based diet. Let people salt and pepper their own portion. Use more of the main ingredients if you have them or if you can afford them.



Tel Aviv Food Not Bombs is ready for dinner

## DRINKS

### Sun Tea

Sun Tea is magical and provides a refreshing touch to a day at the literature table, tabling at concerts or the enjoyment of your groups' regular meals. Nothing brings renewed enthusiasm to the picket line during a strike or blockade of logging trucks more than refreshing Sun Tea.

Collect empty gallon or four-liter glass jars from restaurants, or you may need to buy them from discount or dollar stores. Fill them with fresh water and shake in loose leaf tea or seven or eight tea bags per gallon of water, and set in the sun for two to three hours.

The most refreshing teas are Mint, Hibiscus, Darjeeling, Oolong, and green. Organic teas have the best flavor and can provide the most enjoyable drink.

Dry tea per gallon of water — 113 grams / 4 oz.

### Almond milk

Soak almonds in water for six hours in a cool place, like a refrigerator. Drain and rinse the soaked almonds. Place almonds in a blender or food processor and add water. Blend and strain the large parts out pouring through cheesecloth, very loosely woven gauze, or silkscreen.

5 cups / 1.2 kg / 40 oz. — almonds

### Tofu Smoothy

This is the smoothy used in the Tofu Challenge. Take your discarded fruit and cut out the bad parts and cut up the rest in small chunks. Add the fruit to water and soft tofu in a blender or food processor. Blend until smooth. Add more water to make it the best texture for drinking.

5 cups / 1.2 kg / 40 oz.— fruit

1 cup / 227 grams / 8 oz.— soft tofu

1 cup / 250 ml.— water

### Simple Recipes

The following recipes are based on the kinds of food you are likely to receive from your free food recovery. These recipes are easy to prepare for beginners and are vegan, with no dairy, eggs or meat. Try to collect organic produce whenever possible. In some areas of the world it may be difficult to find some of these ingredients, and other items may be very common. Maple syrup can be difficult to get, yet vegan sweeteners such as sugar cane or beet sugar may be easy to find. Other items like tofu may be hard to locate, but soybeans are not hard to come by in most parts of the world, so we are providing a tofu recipe.

## Bread and Pastries

The easiest item to prepare for serving is day old bread and pastries. After collecting day-olds and seconds from local bakeries, place the cut loaves in a large, clear plastic container with a lid. Attach a set of tongs to the container with a wire or a string. (Utensils are easily lost, so tying them down is desirable.) Tongs are used so that people do not handle the bread with their hands. It is also possible to bake your own bread in a solar oven. The typical solar oven needs four to six hours of time in the summer sun and six to eight hours in the winter sun. If you make a large solar oven you can design it to bake many loaves of bread. The typical commercial solar oven bakes two loaves at a time and with some planning you could prepare eight loaves in two days. A large homemade solar oven could bake a dozen or more loaves in two days. While it is easy to collect huge amounts of day old bread, baking solar bread on site at your regular meal can be an interesting attraction, and it could inspire interest in the subject of a solar powered future.

### Solar Uprising Bread For The Change We Knead Now! (four loaves)

2 tbsp. / 28 grams / 1 oz. — dry yeast

5 cups / 1.25 liter / 40 oz. — hot water

1/2 cup / 125 ml. — oil

1/2 cup / 125 ml. — warm water

2 tbsp. / 30 ml. — salt

1/2 cup / 113 grams / 4 oz. — organic sugar or apple juice

12 cups organic whole wheat, organic unbleached white flour or organic rice flour (or 7 cups whole wheat flour & 5 cups white flour or any combination of flours adding up to 12 cups)

Sprinkle yeast into 1/2 cup warm water. It should not be boiling or close to boiling when adding the yeast or the bread will not rise. Let stand 10-15 minutes. Add 1 tablespoon of your sugar or juice to the warm water and yeast. Slowly combine the remaining 4 1/2 cups hot water with 7 cups flour in a large bowl. Add salt, oil, sugar and prepared yeast to mixture and blend thoroughly. Continue mixing until well blended. Continue to add flour and water until it is a ball of dough.

Knead the dough for ten minutes or until there is a consistency like cookie dough. You may add flour as you go. A stickier dough will result in moister bread.

Oil hands and divide dough into four parts and place in pans.

Cover loaves with damp cloth or pot lid and let rise 1/3 in bulk. Place loaf pans in dark pans with lids, or insert an empty loaf pan on top of each loaf of dough. Cover. Place in solar oven by 11 a.m. Cook 4 to 6 hours turning stove towards the sun. As the aroma of baked bread drifts from the oven you know it won't be long before it is time to unlock the oven to remove your four loaves. Remember the bread pans will be hot enough to burn your fingers so use pot holders to lift the pans out of your oven.

## Raw Vegetables

You will usually collect a large amount and wide variety of fresh, raw vegetables. Most of these raw vegetables can be served as they are after a simple rinse. Many soup kitchens do not offer fresh vegetables at their meals, so they are greatly appreciated by people on the street. Be sure to have them available in abundance.

You can make many different kinds of raw vegetable salads depending upon what kind of vegetables you receive on any particular day. Wash any vegetables, which can be eaten raw, and cut them into bite-size pieces. Mix the vegetables together, especially with cabbage or lettuce, and serve as a salad. Add dressing, if any, to salad just before serving, but do not dress the entire salad at once. A dressed salad becomes soggy and unappetizing and will not stay fresh overnight. You can also make a jar of vinegar and oil dressing and provide it on the side so people can add as much as they need. For those who do not use oil you can provide lemons, vinegar and nutritional yeast. Root vegetables can be used for stir fry, stews and sandwiches, steamed or in soups. Do not use any part of vegetables that are moldy. The mycelia (roots) of molds spread throughout the whole vegetable and are invisible and often tasteless so they are difficult to detect. Many people are allergic to molds, and they could have a reaction from even the "OK" part because of invisible mycelium.

## Sprouts

Sprouts are a great way to provide additional nutrition and a living food to sandwiches, salads and many other items on your menu. Sprouts increase the protein, fiber and vitamins of the seeds, nuts, beans or grains, significantly. Take free or inexpensive food and increase volume, nutrition and energy with just these few simple steps.

Inspect the seeds, nuts, beans or grains and remove the broken, shriveled ones. You may find tiny rocks. Rinse them and place them in a bowl of fresh filtered or spring water. Tap water, if not from your own well, can reduce the value and may even contribute to illness over time. The water should be two or three inches or five to eight centimeters above the seeds, beans, nuts or grains. Leave overnight or, for the seeds and grains, eight to ten hours and the beans and nuts twelve to twenty-four hours depending on the size or hardness.

Put the soaked seeds, nuts, beans or grains into your gallon or four liter glass jar and tightly stretch cheesecloth, very loosely woven gauze or silkscreen across the top. A strong thick rubber band is the best way to attach the cloth but produce ties, bailing wire or string can work. With the beans or nuts it's a good idea to drain them into colanders or strainers first before putting them into the jar. Fill the jar of items with water, drain through the cloth, and shake out as much of the water, as possible. If the seeds, nuts, beans and grains are too wet in the first few days, they could rot. You can lean the jar on its side with the top tilting down on the first day or two to make sure the items are not sitting in water. Rinse each morning and evening, shaking out all the water, for four to five days or less if the weather is warm, and you will start to see the items sprouting. Rinse them one last time and they are ready to eat. Add them to your solar bread, salads, sandwiches, top off your rice and stir fry or use them in any of dozens of other ways.

Use organic seeds, nuts, beans or grains. Seeds: alfalfa, clover and sunflower. Nuts: hazelnuts and almonds. Bean: mung, lentils, fenugreek and chick pea. Grains: wheat berries, and rye.

## Steamed Vegetables

The mainstay of Food Not Bombs donated food is fresh vegetables. Lots and lots of chard, broccoli, mustard greens, summer squash, carrots, beets, rutabagas, turnips and winter squash. Many vegetables, especially dark-green leafy and root vegetables, can be washed, steamed, and served as they are. Chop the vegetable into bite-size pieces and place in a metal colander. Place the colander inside a large pot which has a small amount of water (an inch or so) in the bottom and turn on the gas. First add the harder vegetables like carrots, turnips, parsnips and rutabagas. After they steam until soft, add the leafy vegetables. Cook until soft, and serve immediately. You can steam vegetables in your solar oven by adding a bit of water before closing the lid on your pot. To make your steamed vegetables even more tasty, sauté finely chopped garlic and onions in oil or dry pan, then add the steamed vegetables. Swish the vegetables, garlic and salt around in the oily or dry pan at a pretty high heat for a couple of minutes at most and then serve. Add some sunflower or sesame seeds to the sautéed garlic if you happen to have those in your donations.

## Pasta

Pasta is a great food to prepare when you are running late, short on volunteers or just want to add variety. Fill pot with water. Bring the water to a boil. Add pasta and stir a couple of strokes to keep pasta from sticking. Keep the water boiling until the pasta is soft. You can take out a piece of

pasta to taste to see if it is cooked. The time will vary with the size of the pasta you are cooking. Once the pasta is soft, turn off the stove and drain the pasta by pouring into a colander.

You can let the pasta cool and use as pasta salad or share as a hot dish with tomato sauce, or topped with vegetable stir fry.

### Tomato Sauce

There will be days when your local produce market is donating an abundance of very ripe tomatoes. It's time to make tomato sauce. In a sauce pan, sauté garlic and onions in a small amount of oil or dry pan. Add spices like oregano, basil, thyme, bay leaf, rosemary and so on. Add fresh, chopped tomatoes, and if you like, include vegetables like carrots, beets, green peppers, broccoli and so forth. Stir often and cook on a pretty low heat until all the vegetables are soft and the sauce becomes thick. Serve over pasta, rice or bread, or use as a base for chile or vegetable stew.

### Rice and Beans

Start with two pots, one for rice and one for beans. For best results, soak your beans in three to four times the amount of water to volume of dried beans the evening before. Pour off the bean water and then pour the plump beans into a half gallon or two liters of water and boil for forty-five minutes to an hour, or until soft. In the second pot, add four liters or one gallon of water, and turn up the heat high, and as it is boiling, pour in

two liters of dry rice, and reduce the heat as low as possible. If you are making rice at a high altitude above 1,500 meters or 5,000 feet in elevation, you can add 2 more liters or a half a gallon of water to this formula. Let the beans boil for forty-five minutes, or less if you soaked them beforehand. Cover the rice pot, lower the heat, and continue slowly boiling over low heat until all the water is absorbed, or approximately forty-five minutes. At higher altitude you might turn off the heat after twenty to thirty minutes. Do not stir at all after the rice is cooking.

In a large pot, sauté garlic and onions in oil or dry pan until clear. Once clear, add about a quarter-to-half cup of coriander or cumin, some pepper, salt and any vegetables you desire, such as carrots or tomatoes. Sauté the vegetables until soft. Turn off all pots and mix in the vegetable sauté to the rice, followed by the beans. If it is cold out, you might want to dish out each item when sharing the meal so they stay as hot as possible, as mixing them could cause the items to cool.

You can also make rice and beans in the same pot, which can be a great way to prepare this complete protein in the cold of winter. In a large pot, sauté garlic and onions in oil or a dry pan until clear. Add water and beans. The proportions are one-part beans to two-parts rice to five-parts water. More water if at a high altitude. Let the beans boil for forty-five minutes, or less if you soaked them beforehand. Add rice, one-quarter cup of coriander or cumin per gallon or four liters, some pepper, and any vegetables, if desired, such as onions, carrots or dried tomatoes. Cover the pot and return to a rapid boil. Stir the beans up from the bottom at this point, then lower the heat and continue boiling over low heat until all the water is absorbed, or approximately forty-five minutes. Do not stir more than once after the rice is in so it stays fluffy.

### Fruit Salad

Wash and cut the fruit, then mix together. (It can be better for digestion to serve melons separately, but not absolutely necessary.) Add raisins, nuts, shredded coconut and/or sunflower seeds. Lemon juice can be used to prevent fruit from turning brown and to add flavor. Mint can also be a great addition. This is a very popular dish when the weather is warm. Cut off the stems and overly ripe parts into a compost bucket. If you live near bears, mix your discarded fruit based compost with as much dirt and leaves as you can, or bears will come and destroy your compost pile. I know this from experience.



Sharing meals on May Day in Melbourne, Australia

## BREAKFAST

### Oatmeal for 100

Makes: 100 servings

Need: 24-quart / 24-liter cooking pot

Prep time: 1 minute

Cooking Time: 10-12 minutes

3 gals / 11 liters — water

1 cup / 250 ml. — vanilla

1 cup / 250 ml. / 227 grams / 8 oz. — maple syrup,  
molasses, dark agave nectar, bananas, raisins or apple cider

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — sea salt (Optional)

50 cups / 12,500 ml. / 11,300 grams / 400 oz. — rolled oats

Other Options:

10 cups / 5 lbs. / 2.3 kg. — raisins or chopped apples

8 cups / 4 lbs. / 1.8 kg. — shredded coconut

4 tbsp. / 57 grams / 2 oz. — nutmeg

Bring water to a boil in a large pot. Add remaining ingredients, return to a boil, then turn to low heat. Stir often. Cook for two to five minutes. Remove from heat. You can serve with margarine and sweetener or substitute bananas or apple juice to sweeten the oatmeal.

### Oatmeal for 6

Makes: 6 servings

Need: 2-quart / 2 liter — cooking pot

Prep time: 1 minute

Cooking time: 10-12 minutes

1/2 gallon / 64/ oz. / 2 liters — water

2 tbsp. / 28 grams / 1 oz. — vanilla

1/4 cup / 57 grams / 2 oz. — maple syrup,

molasses or dark agave nectar, bananas, raisins, or apple cider

3 tbsp. / 43 grams / 1 oz. — sea salt (Optional)

4 cups / 908 grams / 32 oz. — rolled oats

Other Options:

1/2 cup / 113 grams / 4 oz. — raisins or chopped apples

1/8 cup / 28 grams / 1 oz. — shredded coconut

1 tbsp. / 14 grams / 2 oz. — nutmeg

Bring water to a boil in a large pot. Add remaining ingredients, return to a boil, then turn to low heat. Stir often. Cook for two to five minutes. Remove from heat. You can serve with vegan margarine and sweetener or substitute bananas or apple juice to sweeten the oatmeal.



Cooking in Buenos Aires, Argentina

### Granola for 100

Makes: about 20 lbs. / 9 kg. of granola

Need: large mixing bowl; medium saucepan; several flat baking trays. Preheat oven to 300 degrees Fahrenheit / 150 Celsius Prep Time: 30 minutes Bake time: 45 - 60 minutes.

40 cups / 20 lbs. / 9 kg. — rolled oats

40 cups / 20 lbs. / 9 kg. — barley flakes

10 cups / 5 lbs. / 2.3 kg — almonds

10 cups / 5 lbs. / 2.3 kg. — shredded coconut

5 cups / 2.5 lbs. / 1.1 kg. — sunflower seeds

2 cups / 1 lbs. / 454 grams — sesame seeds

6 cups / 3 pints / 1.4 liters — olive oil (Optional)

5 cups / 300 ml. — maple syrup, molasses or  
dark agave nectar, bananas, raisins or apple cider

1/2 cup / 125 ml. / 4 oz. — vanilla

10 cups / 5 lbs. / 2.3 kg. — raisins or chopped apples

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — salt (Optional)

Alternatives - wheat flakes or rye flakes

Mix dry ingredients together in a large bowl. In a saucepan, heat oil if using it, maple syrup and vanilla only until warm enough to soak into the dry ingredients. Pour this mixture over the dry ingredients and mix thoroughly, then spread into several flat baking trays. The layer of granola should be no more than 1-inch thick. Toast in a 300 degrees Fahrenheit / 150 Celsius oven for fifteen to twenty minutes, stirring every few minutes. Granola is done when golden brown. Mix in raisins at this point. When cool, serve granola with soy milk or fruit juice and sliced fresh fruit.

**Granola for 6**

Makes: about 4 lbs. / 2 kg. / 1,000 grams / 62 oz. - of granola

Need: large mixing bowl; medium saucepan; two flat baking trays

Preheat oven to 300 degrees Fahrenheit / 150 Celsius

Prep time: 30 minutes

Bake time: 15 - 20 minutes

2 cups / 450 ml. / 454 grams / 16 oz. — rolled oats

2 cups / 450 ml. / 454 grams / 16 oz. — barley flakes

1/4 cup / 60 ml. / 45 grams / 2 oz. — almonds

1/4 cup / 60 ml. / 45 grams / 2 oz. — shredded coconut

1/8 cup / 30 ml. / 28.3 grams / 1 oz. — sunflower seeds

1/8 cup / 30 ml. / 28.3 grams / 1 oz. — sesame seeds

1/4 cup / 60 ml. / 45 grams / 2 oz. — olive oil (Optional)

1/4 cup / 60 ml. / 45 grams / 2 oz. — maple syrup,  
molasses or dark agave nectar, bananas, raisins, or apple cider

1 tbsp. / 15 ml. / 4 fl oz. — vanilla

1 cup / 225 ml. / 227 grams / 8 oz. — raisins or apple

3/4 teas. / 4 ml. / 15 grams / 1/2 oz. — salt (Optional)

Alternatives — wheat flakes or rye flakes

Mix dry ingredients together in a large bowl. In a saucepan, heat oil, if using it, maple syrup and vanilla only until warm enough to soak into the dry ingredients. Pour this mixture over the dry ingredients and mix thoroughly, then spread into several flat baking trays. The layer of granola should be no more than one-inch thick. Toast in a 300 degrees Fahrenheit / 150 Celsius oven for fifteen to twenty minutes, stirring every few minutes. Granola is done when golden brown. Mix in raisins at this point. When cool, serve granola with soy milk or fruit juice and sliced fresh fruit.



Food Not Bombs in Bandung, Indonesia



Enjoying lunch in Nairobi, Kenya

**Scrambled Tofu for 24**

Makes: 24 servings

Equipment: very large skillet

Prep time: 15 minutes

Cooking time: 30-40 minutes

1 cup / 240 ml. — olive oil (Optional)

2 heads garlic, pressed

5 onions, chopped

10 lbs. / 4.5 kg. — tofu

3 tbsp. / 43 grams / 1 1/2 oz. — turmeric

1/4 cup / 57 grams / 2 oz. — garlic powder

(optional — add more fresh garlic)

1/4 cup / 60 ml. — tamari or soy sauce

2 cups / 1 lbs. / 454 grams — nutritional yeast

1 cup / 227 grams / 8 oz. — sesame seeds

Heat a very large skillet. Sauté garlic for thirty seconds, then add onions and sauté until clear. Squeeze tofu like a sponge until all excess water is removed, then crumble into skillet and sauté until tofu starts to brown. Add turmeric, garlic powder, Tamari or soy sauce and nutritional yeast. Mix well and remove from heat. Serve hot with dry roasted sunflower and sesame seeds and/or catsup. (To dry-roast sunflower and sesame seeds, heat a dry, clean skillet and add enough sunflower seeds to cover bottom. Stir constantly once they start to brown. They may smoke some but keep stirring until both sides of most seeds are brown. Then add sesame seeds. Keep stirring. The sesame seeds will start to pop, and some will pop right out of the skillet. Roast the sesame seeds for one or two minutes more, until the popping starts to decrease. Remove seeds from skillet immediately and let cool in a metal or ceramic bowl. Tamari or soy sauce can be added to the seeds at the very end, if desired.)



## Scrambled Tofu for 6

Makes: 6 servings

Equipment: large skillet

Prep time: 15 minutes

Cooking time: 30-40 minutes

1/8 cup / 30 ml. / 1 fl. oz. — olive oil (Optional)

2 to 3 cloves of garlic, pressed

1/2 onions, chopped

3 lbs. / 1,35 kg. — tofu

3 teasp. / 14 ml. / 14 grams / 1/2 oz. — turmeric

6 teasp. / 28 grams — garlic powder (Optional - fresh garlic)

6 teasp. / 30 ml. / 1 oz. — tamari or soy sauce

1/4 cup / 57 grams / 2.oz. — nutritional yeast

1/4 cup / 57 grams / 2 oz. — sesame seeds

Heat a large skillet. Sauté garlic for 30 seconds, then add onions and sauté until clear. Squeeze tofu like a sponge until all excess water is removed, then crumble into skillet and sauté until tofu starts to brown. Add turmeric, garlic powder, or soy sauce and nutritional yeast. Mix well and remove from heat. Serve hot with dry roasted sunflower and sesame seeds and/or catsup.

To dry-roast sunflower and sesame seeds, heat a dry, clean skillet and add enough sunflower seeds to cover bottom. Stir constantly once they start to brown. They will smoke some but keep stirring until both sides of most seeds are brown. Then add sesame seeds. Keep stirring. The sesame seeds will start to pop and some will pop right out of the skillet. Roast the sesame seeds for one or two minutes more, until the popping starts to decrease. Remove seeds from skillet immediately and let cool in a metal or ceramic bowl. Tamari or soy sauce can be added to the seeds at the very end, if desired.



Sharing lunch in San Francisco, California

## Homefries for 100

Makes: 100 servings

Equipment: 40-quart / 40-liter pot, 1 very large skillet

Preheat oven: 150 degrees Fahrenheit / 65 Celsius

Prep time: 2 hours

Parboiled potatoes

Cooking time: 1 hour, 15 minutes

6 gals / 24 liters — water

100 potatoes, washed and cubed

1/4 cup / 57 grams / 2 oz. — sea salt (Optional)

In a very large pot (40-qt or larger), bring water to a boil (approximately one hour). Carefully add potatoes so there is no splashing and bring to a second boil. Continue boiling until potatoes just start to turn soft, about ten-fifteen minutes. Drain and cool, or immediately sauté. Cool potatoes by running cold water over them in a colander or just fill the pot with cold water after draining it.

2 cups / 1/2 liter / 1 pint — olive oil (Optional)

4 heads garlic, diced

15 onions, chopped

4 cups / 2 lbs. / 910 grams — nutritional yeast

2 cups / 1/2 liter / 1 pint — tamari

or soy sauce

1 cup / 1/2 lb. / 227 grams — cumin

Over high heat, sauté about 3 TBSP of diced garlic for 30 seconds in oiled or dry skillet. Add about two cups of onions and sauté until clear, about three to five minutes, stirring often. Then add enough potatoes to fill the skillet and fry until they start to brown. Keep stirring, and scrape the bottom of the skillet occasionally. Sprinkle in some of the yeast, cumin, and tamari or soy sauce while stirring. (Hint: mix tamari or soy sauce with equal parts water for more even distribution when sprinkling.) Mix well and empty skillet into a large metal serving bowl. Place in a 150 degree oven to keep warm. Repeat the process until all the potatoes are cooked or everyone is fed. Serve homefries hot with dry roasted sunflower and sesame seeds and/or catsup.

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### WHAT ABOUT MEAT DONATIONS?

Food Not Bombs shares vegan or vegetarian food to protect the safety of those eating our meals as well as the safety of the animals and the earth. Breads and pastries are the only items that might be vegetarian. If you find that someone has donated meat to your group, you can give it to another food program that does give out meat.

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**Homefries for 6**

Makes: 6 servings

Equipment: 4 quart/ 4 liter pot 1 large skillet

Preheat oven: 150 degrees Fahrenheit / 65 Celsius

Prep time: 2 hours

Parboiled potatoes

Cooking time: 1 hour, 15 minutes

5 cups / 1.2 liters / 40 oz. — water

6 - 8- potatoes, washed and cubed

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — sea salt (Optional)

In a large pot, bring water to a boil (approximately one hour). Carefully add potatoes so there is no splashing and bring to a second boil. Continue boiling until potatoes just start to turn soft, about ten-fifteen minutes. Drain and cool, or immediately sauté. Cool potatoes by running cold water over them in a colander or just filling the pot with cold water after draining it.

1 cup / 250 ml. / 225 grams / 8 oz. — olive oil (Optional)

4 cloves garlic, diced

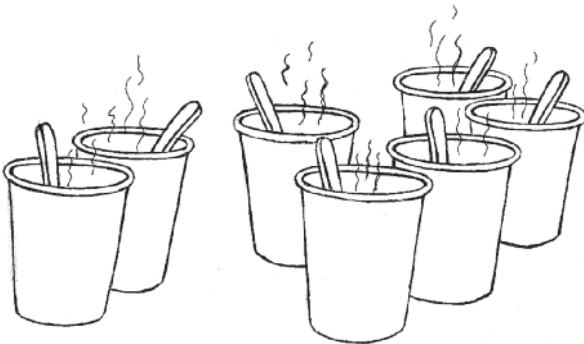
2 - 3 onions, chopped

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — nutritional yeast

4 tbsp. / 56 grams — tamari or soy sauce

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — cumin

Over high heat, sauté about three TBSP of diced garlic for thirty seconds in enough oil or dry skillet. Add about two cups of onions and sauté until clear, about three to five minutes, stirring often. Then add enough potatoes to fill the skillet and fry until they start to brown. Keep stirring, and scrape the bottom of the skillet occasionally. Sprinkle in some of the yeast, cumin, and tamari or soy sauce while stirring. (Hint: mix tamari or soy sauce with equal parts water for more even distribution when sprinkling.) Mix well and empty skillet into a large metal serving bowl. Place in a 150 degree oven to keep warm. Repeat the process until all the potatoes are cooked or everyone is fed. Serve homefries hot with dry roasted sunflower and sesame seeds and/or catsup. You can cook the potatoes without oil.

**LUNCH AND DINNER****Tofu Sandwich Spread for 100**

Makes: 100 sandwiches

Equipment: medium mixing bowl, very large mixing bowl

Prep time: 2 hours

3 cups / 1 1/2 lbs. / 680 grams — miso

3 cups / 1 1/2 lbs. / 680 grams — water

8 cups / 2 liters — tahini

25 lbs. / 11.35 kg.— crumbled tofu, firm can be the best

25 lemons, juice of

Other Options:

2 tbsp. / 28 grams / 1 oz. — cumin or coriander

1/2 cup / 113 grams / 4 oz. — garlic powder

8 cups / 4 lbs. / 1.8 kg. — diced onion

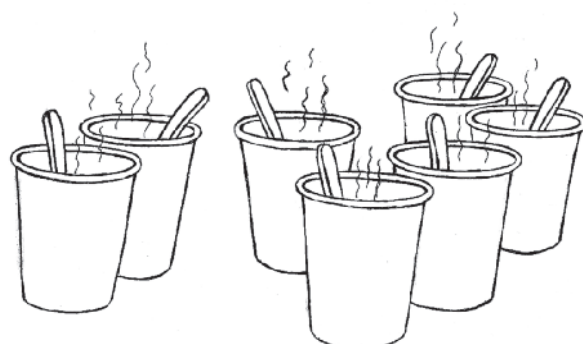
8 cups / 4 lbs. / 1,8 kg. — diced celery

3 cups / 1 1/2 lbs. / 680 grams — Alaria, Dulse, Kelp,

Nori or other seaweed

The process is the same for making tofu spread for a hundred as you would for six people. In the medium bowl, mix the miso and water into a smooth paste, then add tahini to the mix (add additional water to make a smooth, creamy paste). Drain tofu of excess water and crumble by hand into the very large bowl. Squeeze the lemon juice over the tofu. Add miso/tahini mixture, and mix well. Add optional ingredients if desired, and spread on your favorite bread with lettuce, sprouts, and tomato slices.

Vegan tuna-like tofu spread - crush seaweed into the tofu spread to give it a tuna like taste. You can use Alaria, Dulse, Kelp, Nori or any edible seaweed you happen to find. Again harvesting seaweed yourself can also be rewarding. It is important to stay clear from areas where the seaweed could be contaminated with oil, radiation or other toxins



## Tofu Sandwich Spread for 6

Makes: 6 sandwiches

Equipment: mixing bowl

Prep time: 2 hours

1/4 cup / 57 grams / 2 oz. — miso

1/4 cup / 60 ml. — water

1 cup / 250 ml. — tahini

2 lbs. / .9 klg. — crumbled tofu,

soft can be the best

2 lemons, juice of

Other Options:

2 tsp. / 10 grams — cumin or coriander

2 to 3 cloves crushed garlic

1 small onion — diced

2 stalks ( 114 grams / 4 oz.) — diced celery

1/8 cup / 28 grams / 1 oz. — Alaria, Dulse, Kelp,

Nori or other seaweed

In one bowl, mix the miso and water into a smooth paste, then add tahini to the mix (add additional water to make a smooth, creamy paste). Drain tofu of excess water and crumble by hand into the very large bowl. Squeeze the lemon juice over the tofu. Add miso/tahini mixture, and mix well. Add optional ingredients if desired, and spread on your favorite bread with lettuce, sprouts, and tomato slices.

Vegan tuna like tofu spread - crush seaweed into the tofu spread to give it a tuna like taste. You can use Alaria, Dulse, Kelp, Nori or any edible seaweed you happen to find. Harvesting seaweed yourself can also be rewarding.



Eating with Food Not Bombs in Minsk

## Rice and Beans together in one pot for 100

Makes: 100 servings

Equipment: 40 quart / 38 liter pot with a tight fitting lid

Prep time: 30 minutes

Cooking time: 50 minutes

8 gals. / 31 liters — water

1/4 cup / 57 grams / 2 oz. — sea salt (Optional)

4 cups / 2 lbs. / 900 grams — cumin or coriander

1/4 cup / 57 grams / 2 oz. — black pepper

10 lbs. / 4. 5 kg. — pinto beans (Soak the night before)

15 lbs. / 6. 8 kg. long-grain brown rice (dry)

10 onions, chopped

Bring water to a boil in a forty quart pot with a tight fitting lid. Add beans and boil for forty-five minutes, then add rice and spices. Bring to a rapid boil again, stir once, being sure to stir the beans up from the bottom. Then cover, reduce to very low heat, and let simmer for another forty-five minutes. Do not stir or open cover until it is done so the rice is fluffy. Remove from heat and serve hot, plain or with cooked vegetables or tomato sauce.

## Rice and Beans together in one pot for 6

Makes: 6 servings

Equipment: 4 quart / 4 liter pot with a tight fitting lid

Prep time: 30 minutes

Cooking time: 50 minutes

5 cups / 1.2 liters — water

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — sea salt (Optional)

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — cumin or coriander

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — black pepper

2 cups / 1 lbs. / 454 grams — pinto beans

(Soak the night before)

2 cups / 1 lbs. / 454 grams — long-grain brown rice

1 onion, chopped

Bring water to a boil in a four quart / four liter pot with a tight fitting lid. Add beans and boil for forty-five minutes, then add rice and spices. Bring to a rapid boil again, stir once, being sure to stir the beans up from the bottom. Then cover, reduce to very low heat, and let simmer for another forty-five minutes. Do not stir or open cover until it is done so the rice is fluffy!! Remove from heat and serve hot, plain or with cooked vegetables or tomato sauce.

**Tomato Sauce with Vegetables for 100**

Makes: 100 servings

Equipment: 24 quart / 22 liter pot with a lid

Prep time: 1 hour

Cooking time: 1 hour or more

1 cup / 240 ml. 8 oz. — olive oil (Optional)

1 head garlic, diced

10 onions, chopped

10 - 16 oz. / 4.5 kg. / 454 grams / cans of tomatoes

( Also make your own tomato paste )

10 lbs. / 4.5 kg. / 160 oz. — assorted vegetables,  
chopped finely

2 tbsp. / 114 grams / 4 oz. — basil

2 tbsp. / 114 grams / 4 oz. — thyme

10 bay leaves

2 tbsp. / 114 grams / 4 oz. — sea salt (Optional)

2 tbsp. / 114 grams / 4 oz. — black pepper

Heat a heavy, twenty-four quart pot dry or with oil. Add garlic and sauté for thirty seconds. Add onions and spices and sauté until onions are clear. Add tomatoes, bay leaf, salt, and pepper. Chop any vegetables you have on hand, especially broccoli, green peppers, beets, carrots, mushrooms, eggplant and so on, and add to the sauce. Cover and simmer on medium-low heat for at least one hour, stirring occasionally. Add salt if you desire. Serve over rice, pasta, bread, or use as a base for vegan chili.

**Tomato Sauce with Vegetables for 6**

Makes: 6 servings

Equipment: 4 quart / 4 liter pot with a lid

Prep time: 1 hour

Cooking time: 1 hour or more

1 cup / 240 ml. / 8 oz. — olive oil (Optional)

2 - 3 cloves of garlic, diced

1 onion, chopped

1 - 16 oz. / 454 grams can of tomatoes

( Also make your own tomato paste )

6 cups / 1.35 kg. / 3 lbs. — assorted vegetables,  
chopped finely

2 tsp. / 28 grams / 1 oz. — basil

2 tsp. / 28 grams / 1 oz. — thyme

3 bay leaves

2 tsp. / 7 grams / 1 oz. — sea salt (Optional)

2 tsp. / 7 grams / 1 oz. — black pepper

Heat a four quart / four liter pot dry or with oil. Add garlic and sauté for 30 seconds. Add onions and spices and sauté until onions are clear. Add tomatoes, bay leaf, salt, and pepper. Chop any vegetables you have on hand, especially broccoli, green peppers, beets, carrots, mushrooms, eggplant and so on, and add to the sauce. Cover and simmer on medium-low heat for at least one hour, stirring occasionally. Add salt, if you desire. Serve over rice, pasta, bread, or use as a base for vegan chili.



Food Not Bombs shares vegan meal in Tel Aviv, Israel



People waiting for Food Not Bombs in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

### Trident Subs for 100

Makes: 100 sandwiches

Equipment: 20 quart / 10 liter or larger pot

Prep time: 30 minutes

Cooking time: 1 hour or longer

2 heads garlic, diced

8 to 12 onions, chopped

1/2 cup / 125 ml. / 4 oz. — olive oil (Optional)

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — thyme

2 tsp. / 10 grams — cayenne

2 tbsp. / 28 grams / 1 oz. — sea salt (Optional)

2 tbsp. / 28 grams / 1 oz. — black pepper

3 or 4 16 oz. cans tomatoes, or 20 to 30 fresh tomatoes, chopped

4 to 6 squash (zucchini, summer, winter, etc. )

12 to 15 any root vegetable (carrots, potatoes, daikon, etc. )

2 bunches any dark green leafy vegetable

(collards, kale, spinach, etc. )

2 cabbages or 6 eggplants

100 sandwich rolls

Sauté the chopped garlic and onions in a dry pan or in oil over medium high heat in a twenty quart / ten liter or larger pot until the onions become clear. Add spices, then all the chopped vegetables and either fresh or canned tomatoes. (If you do not have any tomatoes, add a little water to start the vegetables cooking. ) Stir often to prevent sticking. Once the liquid in the bottom starts to boil, lower heat to medium low. Cook until the vegetables are soft and the sauce is thick like stew, usually about 1 hour, but simmering longer enhances the taste. Adjust seasonings, especially salt, pepper, and cayenne. Serve on a sandwich roll, or over bread or brown rice on a plate. We call this a trident sub because it is spicy “hot”!

### Trident Subs for 6

Makes: 6 sandwiches

Equipment: 4 quart / 4 liter pot

Prep time: 30 minutes

Cooking time: 1 hour or longer

2 to 3 cloves of garlic, diced

1 to 2 onions, chopped

5 tbsp. / 75 ml. / 2. 5 oz. — olive oil (Optional)

2 tsp. / 10 grams / 1 oz. — thyme

3/4 tsp. / 4 grams — cayenne

1 tsp. / 5 grams — sea salt (Optional)

1 tsp. / 5 grams — black pepper

1 or 2 16 oz. cans tomatoes, or 2 to 4 fresh tomatoes, chopped

1 to 2 squash (zucchini, summer, winter, etc. )

3 to 5 root vegetables (carrots, potatoes, daikon, etc. )

1 to 2 bunches any dark green leafy vegetable

(collards, kale, spinach, etc. )

1/2 cabbage or eggplant

6 sandwich rolls ( can be baked in your solar oven)

Sauté the chopped garlic and onions in a dry pan or in oil over medium high heat in a four quart / four liter or larger pot until the onions become clear. Add spices, then all the chopped vegetables and either fresh or canned tomatoes. (If you do not have any tomatoes, add a little water to start the vegetables cooking. ) Stir often to prevent sticking. Once the liquid in the bottom starts to boil, lower heat to medium low. Cook until the vegetables are soft and the sauce is thick like stew, usually about one hour, but simmering longer enhances the taste. Adjust seasonings; especially salt, pepper, and cayenne. Serve on a sandwich roll, or over bread or brown rice on a plate. This trident sub is spicy “hot”!

**Hummus for 100**

Makes: 100 sandwiches

Equipment: 40 quart / 38 liter pot, very large mixing bowl

Cooking time: 2 hours

Prep time: 2 hours

20 lbs. / 9 kg. — cooked chick peas

3 tbsp. / 43 grams — sea salt (Optional)

20 cups / 5 liters — tahini

50 lemons, juice of

2 heads garlic, diced

6 gals/ 23 liters — water

Other Options:

10 cups / 2.5 liters — diced fresh parsley

4 cups / 1,000 ml. / 908 grams / 32 oz. — diced onions

1 cup / 250 ml. — toasted sesame oil (Optional)

Soak chick-peas overnight. (Note: They will double in volume so fill the container full of water and only half full of dry chick peas. ) Drain the water and place chick-peas in a forty quart / thirty-eight liter pot with six gallons or twenty-three liters of fresh water and salt, and bring to a rapid boil over high heat. Reduce heat and simmer for at least one hour (or until chick-peas are easily mashed between fingers). In a very large mixing bowl, combine all ingredients and, with a food masher, mash chick peas until smooth. (An alternative is to place all ingredients into a food processor or blender and blend until smooth.) Be sure to add water as necessary to create a creamy consistency. Let cool, and serve as a sandwich in pita bread with sprouts and/or lettuce and cucumbers, or as a dip for cut vegetables and wedges of pita bread. If used as a dip, sprinkle paprika over top. If using oil drip it on top.

**Hummus for 6**

Makes: 6 sandwiches

Equipment: 4 quart / 4 liter pot, very large mixing bowl

Cooking time: 2 hours

Prep time: 2 hours

2 lbs. / .9 kg. — cooked chick peas

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — sea salt (Optional)

2 cups / 500 ml. — tahini

5 lemons, juice of

1 head of garlic, diced

5 cups / 1.25 liters / 40 oz. — water

Other Options:

1/4 cup / 45 grams — diced fresh parsley

1 small onion — diced onion

5 tbsp. / 75 ml. — toasted sesame oil (Optional)

Soak chick-peas overnight. (Note: They will double in volume so fill the container full of water and only half full of dry chick peas. ) Drain the water and place chick-peas in a four quart / four liter pot with four quarts or four liters of fresh water and salt, and bring to a rapid boil over high heat. Reduce heat and simmer for at least one hour ( or until chick-peas are easily mashed between fingers ). In a very large mixing bowl, combine all ingredients and, with a food masher, mash chick peas until smooth. ( An alternative is to place all ingredients into a food processor or blender and blend until smooth. ) Be sure to add water as necessary to create a creamy consistency. Let cool, and serve as a sandwich in pita bread with sprouts and/or lettuce and cucumbers, or as a dip for cut vegetables and wedges of pita bread. If used as a dip, sprinkle paprika over top. If using oil drip it on top.



Food Not Bombs shares breakfast in London, England

**Macaroni and Cheeseless for 90**

Makes: 90 servings

Equipment: 40 quart / 38 liter pot, very large mixing bowl,  
3 12" x 18" / 30 cm x 46 cm baking pans

Preheat oven: 350 degrees Fahrenheit / 176 Celsius

Prep time: 1 hour, 30 minutes

Baking time: 30 minutes

Elbow Macaroni

8 gals / 30 liters — water

5 tbsp. / 70 grams — sea salt (Optional)

20 lbs. / 9 kg. — elbow macaroni (soy semolina)

Bring the water to a rapid boil in a forty quart / thirty-eight liter pot. Add macaroni and return to a boil. If you use salt, you can add it to the boiling water. Cook for about ten minutes. Macaroni ought to be al dente or firm but not hard; do not over cook. Drain and rinse with cold water until all macaroni is rinsed and cold, then set aside.

**Cheeseless for 90**

36 cups / 8.2 kg. / 18 lbs. — nutritional yeast

12 cups / 5.5 kg. / 12 lbs. — unbleached white flour

1/2 cup / 114 grams / 4 oz. — garlic powder

1/2 cup / 114 grams / 4 oz. — sea salt (Optional)

4 1/2 gals / 17 liters — boiling water

6 lbs. / 2.7 kg. — vegan margarine (Optional, margarine has oil)

1 cup / 250 ml. — wet mustard

In a large mixing bowl, combine nutritional yeast, flour, garlic powder and salt if desired. Mix well. Add boiling water, one quart at a time, using a whip to stir. Add mustard and mix well. You may also add margarine.

Place the prepared macaroni in each of the baking pans. Cover with cheeseless sauce, making sure to coat each piece of macaroni. Sprinkle toasted sesame seeds or bread crumbs over top, and bake in 350 degrees Fahrenheit / 176 Celsius oven for thirty minutes or until it is hot and bubbling. Serve hot. (This dish freezes well.)

**Macaroni and Cheeseless for 6**

Makes: 6 servings

Equipment: 4 quart / 4 liter pot, very large mixing bowl,  
1 12" x 18" / 30 cm x 46 cm baking pans

Preheat oven: 350 degrees Fahrenheit / 176 Celsius

Prep time: 1 hour, 30 minutes

Baking time: 30 minutes

Elbow Macaroni

4 qt. / 4 liters — water

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — sea salt (Optional)

2 lbs. / .9 kg. — elbow macaroni

(soy semolina)

Bring the water to a rapid boil in a four quart / four liter pot. Add macaroni and return to a boil. If you use salt, you can add it to the boiling water. Cook for about ten minutes. Macaroni ought to be al dente: firm and not over cook. Drain and rinse with cold water until all macaroni is rinsed and cold, then set aside.

**Cheeseless for 6**

3 cups / 680 grams / 24 oz. — nutritional yeast

2 cups / 454 grams / 1 lbs. — unbleached white flour

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — garlic powder

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — sea salt (Optional)

4 cups / 1 liter / 1 quart. — boiling water

1/4 cup / 57 grams / 2 oz. — vegan margarine (Optional)

3 tbsp. / 45 grams — wet mustard

In a large mixing bowl, combine nutritional yeast, flour, garlic powder and salt if desired. Mix well. Add boiling water, one quart at a time, using a whip to stir. Add mustard, and mix well. You may also add margarine.

Place the prepared macaroni in each of the baking pans. Cover with cheeseless sauce, making sure to coat each piece of macaroni. Sprinkle toasted sesame seeds or bread crumbs over top, and bake in 350 degrees Fahrenheit / 176 Celsius oven for thirty minutes or until it is hot and bubbling. Serve hot. (This dish freezes well.)



Food Not Bombs joins march against the crisis of capitalism in Poland



Food Not Bombs provides vegan meals in the Florentin neighborhood of Tel Aviv, Israel

### Cauliflower Curry for 100

Makes: 100 servings

Equipment: large skillet, large metal serving bowl

Pre-heat oven: 150 degrees Fahrenheit / 65 Celsius

Prep time: 1 hour, 15 minutes

Cooking time: 1 hour, 20 minutes

4 cups / 1 liter / 1 quart — olive oil (Optional)

3 heads garlic, diced

20 onions, chopped

24 heads cauliflower (1 case), chopped

1 cup / 227 grams / 8 oz. — curry powder

1 cup / 227 grams / 8 oz. — cumin

1 cup / 250 ml. / — tamari

4 tbsp. / 56 grams — white pepper

Sauté about three heads of diced garlic for thirty seconds in a dry skillet or in oil over high heat. Add the twenty chopped onions and sauté until clear, or about three to five minutes. Stir often. Add enough cauliflower to fill the skillet and fry until it starts to brown. Keep stirring, and scrape the bottom of the skillet occasionally. While stirring, sprinkle in some of the curry, cumin, pepper, and tamari. (Hint: mix tamari with equal parts water for more even distribution when sprinkling.) Mix well, and empty the skillet into a large metal serving bowl. Place in a 150 degree oven to keep warm, and repeat the process until all the cauliflower is cooked. Serve hot over brown rice.

### Cauliflower Curry for 6

Makes: 6 servings

Equipment: skillet, metal serving bowl

Pre-heat oven: 150 degrees Fahrenheit / 65 Celsius

Prep time: 1 hour, 15 minutes

Cooking time: 1 hour, 20 minutes

1/8 cup / 30 ml. / 1 oz. — olive oil (Optional)

2 to 3 cloves of garlic, diced

2 onions, chopped

2 heads cauliflower, chopped

4 tbsp. / 56 grams — curry powder

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — cumin

5 tbsp. / 70 grams — tamari

1 tsp. / 5 grams — white pepper

Sauté about two heads of diced garlic for thirty seconds in a dry skillet or in oil over high heat. Add about a cup or so of onions and sauté until clear, or about three to five minutes. Stir often. Add enough cauliflower to fill the skillet and fry until it starts to brown. Keep stirring, and scrape the bottom of the skillet occasionally. While stirring, sprinkle in some of the curry, cumin, pepper, and tamari. (Hint: mix tamari with equal parts water for more even distribution when sprinkling.) Mix well, and empty the skillet into a large metal serving bowl. Place in a 150 degree oven to keep warm, and repeat the process until all the cauliflower is cooked. Serve hot over brown rice.



## Brown Rice for 100

Makes: 100 servings

Equipment: 20 quart / 19 liter pot with a tight fitting lid

Prep time: 30 minutes

Cooking time: 50 minutes

3 gals. / 11.5 liters — water

3 tbsp. / 42 grams — sea salt (Optional)

15 lbs. / 6.8 kg. — long grain brown rice

Bring water to a boil in a twenty quart pot / nineteen liter with a tight-fitting lid. Add rice and bring to a rapid second boil. If using salt, add it to the water. Stir once, cover, and reduce heat to very low. Let simmer for exactly forty minutes. Do not uncover or stir until done so it will be fluffy! You can add one quart / one liter of water if cooking at high altitudes and turn the heat off after twenty to thirty minutes.

## Brown Rice for 6

Makes: 6 servings

Equipment: 4 quart / 4 liter pot with tight fitting lid

Prep time: 30 minutes

Cooking time: 50 minutes

8 cups / 2 liters / 1/2 gallon — water

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — sea salt (Optional)

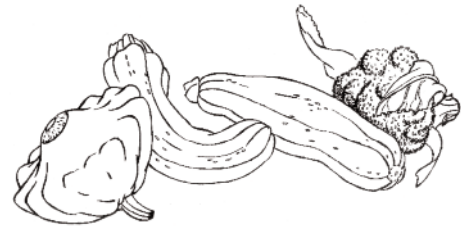
4 cups / .9 kg. / 2 lbs. — long grain brown rice

Bring water to a boil in a four quart / four liter pot with a tight-fitting lid. If using salt, add it to the water. Add rice and bring to a rapid second boil. Stir once, cover, and reduce heat to very low. Let simmer for thirty to forty minutes. Do not uncover or stir until done so it will be fluffy!

You can add one cup / .25 liters of water if cooking at high altitudes and turn the heat off after twenty or thirty minutes.



The first Food Not Bombs meal in Lagos, Nigeria



## Potato-Pea Curry for 100

Makes: 100 servings

Equipment: 40 quart / 38 liter pot, large skillet, large metal serving bowl

Pre-heat oven: 150 degrees Fahrenheit / 65 Celsius

Prep time: 2 hours Parboiling potatoes: 1 hour, 15 minutes

Cooking time: 1 hour, 15 minutes

Parboiled Potatoes

6 gals. / 23 liters — boiling water

1/4 cup / 57 grams / 2 oz. — sea salt (Optional)

100 potatoes, washed and cubed

In a very large pot (forty quart / thirt-eight liter or larger), bring water to a boil (approximately one hour). If using salt, add it to water. Carefully add potatoes so there is no splashing and bring to a second boil. Boil until potatoes turn soft, or about fifteen to twenty-five minutes. Drain.

## Curry for 100:

2 cups / 500 ml. / 454 grams / 16 oz. — olive oil (Optional)

4 heads garlic, diced

15 onions, diced

6 cups / 1.35 kg. / 3 lbs. — nutritional yeast

6 cups / 1.35 kg. / 3 lbs. — curry powder

4 tbsp. / 56 grams — sea salt (Optional)

16 oz. / 7.25 kg. — (25 boxes frozen peas) or fresh peas

6 lbs. / 2.7 kg. — margarine (Optional, margarine has oil)

Sauté 4 heads of diced garlic for thirty seconds in a dry skillet or in oil over high heat. Add onions and sauté until clear, or about three to five minutes. Add yeast and curry. If using salt, add it too. Stir often. Add enough potatoes (already prepared) to fill the skillet. Mix well. (You can add a little water, if desired.) When the spices are thoroughly mixed with the potatoes, add two packages of frozen peas and 1 stick of margarine if you wish. If you wish, after the margarine has melted and mixed in, empty skillet into a large metal serving bowl. Place in a 150 degrees Fahrenheit / 65 Celsius oven to keep warm, and repeat the process until all the spices, potatoes, and peas are mixed together. Serve hot.

**Potato-Pea Curry for 6**

Makes: 6 servings

Equipment: 4 quart / 4 liter pot, skillet, metal serving bowl

Pre-heat oven: 150 degrees Fahrenheit / 65 Celsius

Prep time: 2 hours

Parboiling potatoes: 1 hour, 15 minutes

Cooking time: 1 hour, 15 minutes

Parboiled Potatoes

1 gallon / 4 liters — boiling water

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — sea salt (Optional)

5 - 10 potatoes, washed and cubed

In a large pot (four quarts / four liter or larger), bring water to a boil (approximately one hour). If using salt, add it to water. Carefully add potatoes so there is no splashing and bring to a second boil. Boil until potatoes turn soft, or about fifteen to twenty-five minutes. Drain.

**Curry for 6:**

4 tbsp. / 56 grams — olive oil (Optional)

4 cloves of garlic, diced

1 - 2 onions, diced

1 cup / 227 grams / 8 oz. — nutritional yeast

1 cup / 227 grams / 8 oz. — curry powder

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — sea salt (Optional)

16-oz. / 280 grams — 2 boxes of frozen peas

1 cup / 227 grams / 8 oz. — margarine (Optional, has oil)

Sauté 4 cloves of diced garlic for thirty seconds in a dry skillet or in oil over high heat. Add onions and sauté until clear, or about three to five minutes. Add yeast and curry. If using salt, add it to water. Stir often. Add enough potatoes (already prepared ) to fill the skillet. Mix well. Add a little water, if desired. When the spices are thoroughly mixed with the potatoes, add peas and margarine if you wish. After the margarine has melted and mixed in, empty skillet into a large metal serving bowl. Place in a 150 degrees Fahrenheit / 65 Celsius oven to keep warm, and repeat the process until all the spices, potatoes, and peas are mixed together. Serve hot.



Bangkok Food Not Bombs shares food

**Tofu-Spinach Lasagna for 100**

Makes: 100 servings

Equipment: 24 quart saucepan/20 liter, 20-quart pot/19 liter

2 largeskillets,

4 12" x 18" / 30 cm x 46 cm baking pans

Preheat oven: 350 degrees Fahrenheit / 176 Celsius

Prep time: 3 hours

Baking time: 1 hour or more

**Sauce:**

1 cup / 250 ml. / 8 oz. — olive oil (Optional)

1 head garlic, diced

10 onions, chopped

10 16 oz. / 500 ml. — cans of tomatoes

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — sea salt (Optional)

3 tbsp. / 43 grams — oregano

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — basil

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — thyme

10 bay leaves

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — black pepper

Sauté garlic dry or in oil in a heavy twenty-four quart saucepan for thirty seconds. Add onions and spices, and sauté until onions are clear. Add tomatoes, bay leaves and pepper. Add salt if you wish. Cover and simmer on medium-low heat for thirty minutes, stirring occasionally. Add water, if needed.

**Filling:**

1 cup / 250 ml. / 8 oz. — olive oil (Optional)

1 head garlic, diced

10 onions, chopped

20 lbs. / 9 kg. — tofu, drained

10 oz. / 280 grams — 20 boxes of frozen spinach

or about 6 lbs. / 2.7 klg. — fresh spinach

3 tbsp. / 43 grams — thyme

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — basil

3 tbsp. / 43 grams — oregano

2 cups / 500 ml. — tamari

Sauté about the diced garlic for thirty seconds over high heat in a dry skillet or oil. Add about two cups of onions and sauté until clear, or about three to five minutes, stirring often. Add enough tofu to fill the skillet and fry until it starts to brown. Keep stirring and scrape the bottom of the skillet occasionally. While stirring, sprinkle in some of the thyme, oregano, basil, and tamari; then add thawed, drained spinach. Mix well and cook until the excess water evaporates. Empty skillet into a large metal mixing bowl. Repeat the process until all the tofu is cooked. Mix all the tofu and spinach thoroughly and set aside.

**Noodles:**

4 gallons / 15 liters — water

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — sea salt (Optional)

8 10-oz. / 280 gram — boxes lasagna noodles

Bring the water to a boil in a twenty quart / nineteen liter pot, and cook the noodles about ten minutes, following the directions on the box. If using salt, add it to water. Noodles ought to be al dente (still firm when bitten); do not over cook. Drain and rinse with cold water and set aside.

**Soy cheese:**

20 lbs. / 9 kg. — soy cheese (mozzarella style), grated (Add more soy cheese if you like)

Place a thin layer of tomato sauce in the bottom of each baking pan, and place one layer of noodles over the sauce, completely covering the bottom. Place a layer of tofu-spinach mixture over the noodles and then sprinkle about two cups of soy cheese evenly over it. Cover completely with noodles. Place a generous layer of sauce over these noodles and repeat, starting with the mixture and ending with sauce. Sprinkle remaining soy cheese over top and bake at 350 degrees for one hour or until soy cheese starts to brown. Remove from oven and let stand for about fifteen minutes before serving. The cheeseless sauce from the Macaroni and Cheeseless recipe can be used as a substitute for the soy cheese. Many soy cheeses contain casein or sodium caseinate, milk proteins which are animal products.



Cooking at School of America's Watch protest

**Tofu-Spinach Lasagna for 6**

Makes: 6 servings

Equipment: 4 quart / 4 liter saucepan, 4-quart / 4 liter pot,

1 large skillet, 1 12" x 18" / 30 cm x 46 cm baking pan

Preheat oven: 350 degrees Fahrenheit / 176 Celsius

Prep time: 3 hours and baking time: 1 hour or more

**Sauce:**

4 tbsp. / 56 grams — olive oil (Optional)

1 or 2 cloves of garlic, diced

1 onions, chopped

1 16 oz. / 500 ml. — can of tomatoes

or 3 or 4 fresh tomatoes

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — sea salt (Optional)

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — oregano

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — basil

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — thyme

2 or 3 bay leaves

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — black pepper

Sauté garlic for thirty seconds in a heavy four quart / four liter saucepan. Add onions and spices, and sauté until onions are clear. Add tomatoes, bay leaves and pepper. Add salt if you wish. Cover and simmer on medium-low heat for thirty minutes, stirring occasionally. Add salt or water, if you wish.

**Filling:**

4 tbsp. / 56 grams — olive oil (Optional)

1 to 3 cloves of garlic, diced

1 to 2 onions, chopped

2 lbs. / .9 kg. — tofu, drained (Freeze for great texture)

10-oz. / 280 grams — 2 boxes of frozen spinach or

6 cups / 1.35 kg. — fresh spinach

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — thyme

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — basil

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — oregano

1/8 cup / 30 ml. / 1 oz. — tamari

Sauté diced garlic for three seconds over high heat in oil or a dry skillet. Add onions and sauté until clear, or about three to five minutes, stirring often. Add enough tofu to fill the skillet and fry until it starts to brown. Keep stirring and scrape the bottom of the skillet occasionally. While stirring, sprinkle in some of the thyme, oregano, basil, and tamari; then add thawed, drained spinach. Mix well and cook until the excess water evaporates. Empty skillet into a large metal mixing bowl. Repeat the process until all the tofu is cooked. Mix all the tofu and spinach thoroughly and set aside.

## Noodles

12 cups / 6 liters / 1 1/2 gallons or more water

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — sea salt (Optional)

2 lbs. / .9 kg. — lasagna noodles

In a four quart / four liter pot, bring the water to a boil, and cook the noodles about ten minutes, following the directions on the box. If using salt, add it to water. Noodles ought to be al dente (still firm when bitten); do not over cook. Drain and rinse with cold water and set aside.

## Soy or nut cheese

4 lbs. / 1.8 kg. — GMO free soy or nut cheese (mozzarella style), grated (Add more soy cheese if you like. )

Place a thin layer of tomato sauce in the bottom of each baking pan, and place one layer of noodles over the sauce, completely covering the bottom. Place a layer of tofu-spinach mixture over the noodles and then sprinkle about two cups of soy cheese evenly over it. Cover completely with noodles. Place a generous layer of sauce over these noodles and repeat, starting with the mixture and ending with sauce. Sprinkle remaining soy cheese over top and bake at 350 degrees for one hour or until soy cheese starts to brown. Remove from oven and let stand for about fifteen minutes before serving. The cheeseless sauce from the Macaroni and Cheeseless recipe can be used as a substitute for the soy cheese. Many soy cheeses contain casein or sodium caseinate, milk proteins which are animal products so look for vegan GMO free soy cheese if you want to skip the cheeseless step. You can also find nut based vegan cheeses.

## SALADS

### Tossed Salad for 100

Makes: 100 servings

Equipment: very large mixing bowl, smaller serving bowl

Prep time: 2-3 hours

8 heads lettuce, torn

10 lbs. / 4.5 kg. — carrots, chopped

3 heads celery, chopped

6 lbs. / 2.7 kg. — tomatoes, chopped

2 heads red cabbage, shredded

6 lbs. / 2.7 kg. — green pepper, chopped

6 lbs. / 2.7 kg. — cucumbers, sliced

Other Options:

3 cups / 680 grams / 1 1/2 lbs. — sunflower seeds

8 cups / 2 liters — alfalfa, sunflower or other sprouts

4 cups / 910 grams / 2 lbs. — tempe cubed sautéed

in olive oil until crispy brown (tofu if you don't have tempe)

3 cups / 680 grams / 1 1/2 lbs. — cranberries

Wash all vegetables and chop into bite-size pieces. (For ease of tossing and transporting, use thirty gallon plastic food storage bags, but be sure to double them to be on the safe side. ) Use additional vegetables which might be on hand, such as broccoli, cauliflower, onions, zucchini, beets, mushrooms, spinach, sprouts, apples, raisins, sunflower seeds, cooked whole beans (such as chick-peas, kidney beans, and green peas), and so on. Use a smaller salad bowl for serving and only dress the salad in that bowl. Keep the rest on ice or refrigerated. Salad will keep overnight if undressed.



Eating with Food Not Bombs in Buenos Aires, Argentina

## Tossed Salad for 6

Makes: 6 servings

Equipment: very large mixing bowl, smaller serving bowl

Prep time: 15 to 20 minutes

1 to 2 heads lettuce, torn

2 cups / 454 grams / 1 lb. — carrots, chopped

3 - 5 sticks of celery, chopped

3 cups / 680 grams / 1 1/2 lbs. — tomatoes, chopped

1 head red cabbage, shredded

2 cups / 454 grams / 1 lb.. — green pepper, chopped

2 cups / 454 grams / 1 lb. — cucumbers, sliced

Other Options:

1/8 cup / 28 grams / 1 oz. — sunflower seeds

1 cup / 250 ml. — alfalfa, sunflower or

other sprouts

1 cup / 227 grams / 1/2 lb. — tempe cubed sautéed dry or in olive oil until crispy brown (tofu if you don't have tempe)

1 cup / 227 grams / 1/2 lb. — cranberries

The directions are the same as for 100 servings. Wash all vegetables and chop into bite-size pieces. Use additional vegetables which might be on hand, such as broccoli, cauliflower, onions, zucchini, beets, mushrooms, spinach, sprouts, apples, raisins, sunflower seeds, cooked whole beans (such as chick-peas, kidney beans, and green peas), and so on. Use a smaller salad bowl for serving and only dress the salad in that bowl. Keep the rest on ice or refrigerated. Salad will keep overnight if undressed.



Volunteer in Indonesia grinds chilies



Food Not Bombs provides meals in Finland

## Carrot Raisin Salad for 100

Makes: 100 servings

Equipment: large mixing bowl

Prep time: 1 to 2 hours

25 lbs. / 11.35 kg. — carrots

6 lbs. / 2.7 kg. — raisins

10 cups / 2.500 ml. — "Nayonaise" or make your own

20 lemons, juice of

Grate carrots, then mix all ingredients in a large mixing bowl. Serve cold.

Nayonaise is a brand name of non-dairy mayonnaise made by Nasoya. It is an excellent substitute for mayonnaise. However, you can also make your own by blending ten pounds of tofu with lemon juice, vinegar, and two teaspoons of garlic powder. You can add a touch of olive oil if you wish.

## Carrot Raisin Salad for 6

Makes: 6 servings

Equipment: large mixing bowl

Prep time: 15 minutes

6 cups / 1.35 kg. / 3 lbs. — carrots, grated

1 cup / 227 grams / 1/2 lb. — raisins

1 cup / 250 ml. — "Nayonaise" or make your own

1-2 lemons, juice of

The process is the same as when making this salad for 100 servings. Grate carrots, then mix all ingredients in a large mixing bowl. Serve cold.

You can make your own vegan mayonnaise by blending one cup of tofu, lemon juice, vinegar, and two teaspoons of garlic powder.



Belgrade Food Not Bombs shares vegan meals

### **Coleslaw for 100**

Makes: 100 servings

Equipment: large mixing bowl

Prep time: 1 hour

10 lbs. / 4.5 kg. — carrots, grated

16 cups / 3.6 kg. / 8 lbs. — “Nayonnaise” or make your own

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — sea salt (Optional)

4 heads green cabbage, shredded

2 lemons, juice of

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — black pepper

Shred cabbage and grate carrots, then mix all ingredients in a very large mixing bowl and serve immediately. Serve cold.

### **Coleslaw for 6**

Makes: 6 servings

Equipment: large mixing bowl

Prep time: 15 to 20 minutes

6 cups / 1.35 kg. / 3 lbs. — carrots, grated

8 cups / 1.8 kg. / 4 lbs. — “Nayonnaise” or make your own

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — sea salt (Optional)

2 heads green cabbage, shredded

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — lemons, juice of

2 pinches of black pepper

To make coleslaw for six people you follow the same process as when making coleslaw for 100 servings. Shred cabbage and grate carrots, then mix all ingredients in a very large mixing bowl and serve immediately. Serve cold.

You can make your own vegan mayonnaise by blending one cup of tofu, lemon juice, vinegar, and two teaspoons of garlic powder.

## **SALAD DRESSINGS**

### **Traditional Oil-and-Vinegar Salad Dressing for 100**

Makes: 100 servings

Equipment: 2 quart / 2 liter jars with lids

Prep time: 1 hour

8 cups / 2 liters / 2 quarts — olive oil

2 cups / 1/2 liter / 1 pint — balsamic vinegar

10 lemons, juice of

4 tbsp. / 57 grams / 2 oz. — fresh garlic, diced

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — thyme

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — basil

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — oregano

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — sea salt (Optional)

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — black pepper

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — ginger powder

Put half of all ingredients in each jar and shake well. Shake again before every serving. Variations include leaving out the oil, using only lemon juice and no vinegar; using tamari instead of salt; adding nutritional yeast; adding apple or orange juice, and so on. (Go ahead, be creative!)

### **Traditional Oil-and-Vinegar Salad Dressing for 6**

Makes: 6 servings

Equipment: 1 quart / 2 liter jars with lids

Prep time: 15 minutes

1/2 cup / 120 ml. / 4 oz. — olive oil

1/4 / 60 ml. / 2 oz. — balsamic vinegar

1 lemon, juice of

4 tsp. / 10 grams — fresh garlic, diced

2 tsp. / 7 grams — thyme

2 tsp. / 7 grams — basil

2 tsp. / 7 grams — oregano

2 tsp. / 7 grams — sea salt (Optional)

2 tsp. / 7 grams — black pepper

2 tsp. / 7 grams — ginger powder

Just as you do when making dressing for 100 servings put half of all ingredients in each jar and shake well. Shake again before every serving. Variations include removing the oil, using only lemon juice and no vinegar; using tamari instead of salt; adding nutritional yeast; adding apple or orange juice, and so on. (Have fun making your dressing tasty!)

**Tahini-Lemon Salad Dressing for 100**

Makes: 100 servings

Equipment: blender or whisk

Prep time: 1 hour

5 cups / 1.2 kg. — tahini

5 lemons, juice of

1 cup / 227 grams — nutritional yeast

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — toasted sesame oil (Optional)

7 to 14 cloves of garlic

2 cups / 500 ml. — water

Other Options:

apple juice or cider

Place half of all ingredients in a blender and blend until smooth. Add more water, or lemon or apple juice as necessary, to make a thick, creamy dressing. Repeat.

**Tahini-Lemon Salad Dressing for 6**

Makes: 6 servings

Equipment: blender or whisk

Prep time: 15 minutes

1/2 cup / 125 ml. — tahini

2 lemons, juice of

1/2 cup / 114 grams — nutritional yeast

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — toasted sesame oil (Optional)

2 or 3 cloves of garlic

1/2 cup / 125 ml. — water

Other Options:

apple juice or cider

Again this is the same process used when making dressing for 100 salads. Place half of all ingredients in a blender and blend until smooth. Add more water, or lemon or apple juice as necessary, to make a thick, creamy dressing. Repeat.



Cleaning strawberries in Cologne, Germany

**Tofu Dill Dip for 100**

Makes: 100 servings

Equipment: blender or whisk

Prep time: 1 hour, 15 minutes

10 lbs. / 4.5 kg. — tofu, drained

5 cups / 1,250 ml. — olive oil (Optional)

2 cups / 500 ml. — vinegar

20 lemons, juice of

20 cloves garlic

10 onions

1 cup / 227 grams — dill

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — sea salt (Optional)

2 tsp. / 10 grams — white pepper

Other Options:

apple juice or cider

Squeeze tofu like a sponge to remove excess water, then crumble two and a half pounds of it into a blender. Add one quarter each of the remaining ingredients. Blend until smooth, adding water (or apple juice) as necessary to achieve a thick, creamy consistency. Repeat three more times. Chill, and serve with cut vegetables or chips.

**Tofu Dill Dip for 6**

Makes: 6 servings

Equipment: blender or whisk

Prep time: 15 to 20 minutes

1 lb. / 454 grams — tofu, drained

5 tbsp. / 75 ml. — olive oil (Optional)

5 tbsp. / 75 ml. — vinegar

2 lemons, juice of

2 - 5 cloves of garlic

1 onion

5 tbsp. / 70 grams — dill

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — sea salt (Optional)

1 tbsp. / 15 ml. / 14 grams — white pepper

Other Options:

apple juice or cider

Follow the process used to make 100 servings. Squeeze tofu like a sponge to remove excess water, then crumble it into a blender or bowl to use with a whisk. Add one quarter each of the remaining ingredients. Blend until smooth, adding water (or apple juice) as necessary to achieve a thick, creamy consistency. Repeat three more times. Chill, and serve with cut vegetables or chips.

## SOUPS

### Miso Soup for 100

Makes: 100 servings

Equipment: 30 quart to 50 quart soup pot

Prep time: 40 minutes Cooking time: 1 hour

1 cup / 250 ml. — olive oil (Optional)

2 bulbs fresh garlic, diced

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — thyme

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — basil

4 gals. / 15 liters — water

2 lbs. / .9 kg. — miso

Other Options:

1 tbsp. / 20 grams — cayenne

2 cups / 454 grams / 1 lb. — arame (sea vegetable)

1 head cabbage, shredded

6 lbs. / 2.7 kg. — tofu, cubed

4 cups / .9 kg. / 2 lbs. — chopped scallions

Sauté diced garlic and spices for thirty seconds in oil or in a dry soup pot. Add water and any combination of optional ingredients. Bring to a boil. Remove from heat. Draw off one to two quarts of broth and in a large mixing bowl, mix with miso paste (miso varies in strength so use about two to three tubs or pounds). When all the miso is smoothly mixed into the broth, return it to the vegetables, stir, and serve. (Note: Do not boil the miso; this kills the beneficial microorganisms.)

### Miso Soup for 6

Makes: 6 servings

Equipment: 4 quart / 4 liter soup pot, tea kettle

Prep time: 20 minutes Cooking time: 30 minutes hour

1/4 cup / 60 ml. — oil (Optional)

2 to 3 cloves of fresh garlic, diced

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — thyme

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — basil

10 cups / 2.5 liters / 5 pints — water

2 cups / 454 grams / 1/4 lb. — miso

Other Options:

1 tsp. / 5 grams — cayenne

1/8 cup / 28 grams / 1 oz. — arame (sea vegetable)

1/8 cup / 28 grams / 1 oz. — cabbage, shredded

1/8 cup / 28 grams / 1 oz. — tofu, cubed

1/8 cup / 28 grams / 1 oz. — chopped scallions

Sauté diced garlic and spices for thirty seconds in oil or in a dry soup pot. Add a small amount of water and any combination of the ingredients except the miso. Bring to a boil. Remove from heat. You could heat the water in a kettle and pour it into each cup, mix in the miso and add the sautéed ingredients stir, and enjoy. You can also pour the water heated in the kettle into the pot of ingredients and stir in the miso. (Again Note: Do not pour boiling water over the miso; this kills the beneficial microorganisms.)



People come to eat with Food Not Bombs in Coruña, Spain



**Yellow-Pea Soup for 100**

Makes: 100 servings

Equipment: 20 quart / 19 liter soup pot

Prep time: 1 hour

Cooking time: 1 hour or more

1/2 cup / 125 ml. — olive oil (Optional)

2 heads garlic, diced

5 onions, chopped

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — thyme

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — basil

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — oregano

3 gals. / 11.5 liters — water

12 lbs. / 5.5 kg. — yellow peas

2 lbs. / .9 kg. — barley

3 tbsp. / 43 grams — sea salt (Optional)

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — black pepper

10 potatoes, cubed

2 lbs. / 1 kg. — carrots, chopped

2 heads celery

Sauté garlic for thirty seconds in oil or dry soup pot, then add onions and spices. Sauté until onions start to brown on their edges. Add peas and stir until heated and coated spices; then add water, barley and pepper, and bring to boil. If using salt, add it to water. Add chopped vegetables and bring to a second boil, then reduce heat to low and cover. Stir occasionally and simmer for forty-five minutes or until peas are cooked to desired softness. Serve hot. (Note: The soup can simmer for as long as you like, if you continue adding additional water. It can also be made with any bean or combination substituted for the yellow peas. For the grain, barley works best, but rice, whole oats, wheat berries, or another whole grain will also work if you do not have barley.

**Yellow-Pea Soup for 6**

Makes: 6 servings

Equipment: 4 quart / 4 liter soup pot

Prep time: 20 to 30 minutes

Cooking time: 1 hour or more

5 tbsp. / 75 ml. — olive oil (Optional)

2 to 3 cloves of garlic, diced

1 onions, chopped

1 tsp. / 5 grams — thyme

1 tsp. / 5 grams — basil

1 tsp. / 5 grams — oregano

12 cups / 6 liters / 1 1/2 gallons — water

2 cups / 454 grams / 1 lb. — yellow peas

1/2 cup / 114 grams / 4 oz. — barley

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — sea salt (Optional)

1 tbsp. / 15 ml. / 14 grams / 2 oz. — black pepper

4 - 5 potatoes, cubed

1/2 cup / 114 grams / 4 oz. — carrots, chopped

2 to 4 stalks of celery

Follow the same process used to make 100 servings. Sauté garlic for thirty seconds, then add onions and spices in a soup pot. Sauté until onions start to brown on their edges. Add peas and stir until heated and coated spices; then add water, barley and pepper, and bring to boil. If using salt, add it to water. Add chopped vegetables and bring to a second boil, then reduce heat to low and cover. Stir occasionally and simmer for forty-five minutes or until peas are cooked to desired softness. Serve hot.



People line up to eat with Food Not Bombs in Finland



People line up to eat with Food Not Bombs at the School of the Americas protest in Georgia

### Vegetable Soup for 100

Makes: 100 servings

Equipment: 30 quart / 30 liter soup pot

Prep time: 1 hour, 30 minutes

Cooking time: 1 hour or more

1/2 cup / 125 ml. — olive oil (Optional)

2 heads garlic, diced

12 onions, chopped

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — thyme

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — basil

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — oregano

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — tarragon

3 gals. / 11.5 liters — water

1/4 cup / 57 grams / 2 oz. — sea salt (Optional)

1 tbsp. / 10 grams — black pepper

5 bay leaves

6 lbs. / 2.7 kg. — potatoes

18 tomatoes

2 lbs. / 1 klg. / 500 grams / 32 oz. — zucchini

2 heads celery

2 lbs. / .9 kg. — carrots

Other Options:

4 cups / .9 kg. / 2 lbs. — cooked macaroni

4 cups / .9 kg. / 2 lbs. — cooked chick-peas

4 cups / .9 kg. / 2 lbs. — peas

Almost any other vegetable

Sauté garlic for thirty seconds, then add onions and spices in a dry soup pot or with olive oil. Sauté until onions start to brown on their edges. Add water, pepper, and bay leaves. If using salt, add to water. Bring to a boil, and add chopped vegetables and other ingredients. Bring to a second boil, then reduce heat to low and cover. Simmer for forty-five minutes or until vegetables are cooked to desired softness. Serve hot. This soup can simmer for as long as you like, if you keep adding water. Serve hot.

### Vegetable Soup for 6

Makes: 6 servings

Equipment: 4 quart / 4 liter soup pot

Prep time: 30 minutes to 1 hour

Cooking time: 1 hour or more

5 tbsp. / 75 ml. — olive oil (Optional)

2 to 3 cloves of garlic, diced

1 to 2 onions, chopped

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — thyme

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — basil

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — oregano

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — tarragon

12 cups / 6 liters / 1 1/2 gallons — water

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — sea salt (Optional)

2 tsp. / 9.4 grams — black pepper

1 bay leaf

1 lb. / 454 grams — potatoes

2 tomatoes

1 lb. / 454 grams — zucchini

2 to 3 stalks of celery

1 lb. / 454 grams — carrots

Other Options:

1/4 cup / 57 grams / 2 oz. — cooked macaroni

1/4 cup / 57 grams / 2 oz. — cooked chick-peas

1/4 cup / 57 grams / 2 oz. — peas

As well as almost any other vegetable

This is a great soup to make with the produce you have left over from your regular Food Not Bombs meal. Follow the same directions you would use if making vegetable soup for 100 people.

## Potato Soup for 100

Makes: 100 servings

Equipment: 30 quart / 30 liter soup pot

Prep time: 1 hour

Cooking time: 1 hour or more

1/2 cup / 125 ml. — olive oil (Optional)

2 heads garlic, diced

12 onions, chopped

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — thyme

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — basil

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — oregano

3 gallons / 11.5 liters — water

10 lbs. / 4.5 kg. — potatoes, cubed

3 tbsp. / 43 grams — sea salt (Optional)

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — white pepper

4 lbs. / 1.8 kg. — carrots, chopped

Sauté garlic for thirty seconds dry or in oil in a soup pot then add onions and spices. Sauté until onions start to brown on their edges. Add water, potatoes, carrots, and pepper. If using salt, add to water. Bring to a boil, then reduce heat to low and cover. Simmer for thirty minutes or until potatoes are soft. Ladle some of the soup into a blender and blend until smooth. ( Be careful to hold the lid very tightly onto the blender; the soup is very hot and will burn you if it splashes out. ) Blend about half of the soup, leaving some chunks of potato. ( Note: add half to one cup of dill and make this Potato Dill soup.)

## Potato Soup for 6

Makes: 6 servings

Equipment: 4 quart / 4 liter soup pot

Prep time: 20 to 30 minutes

Cooking time: 1 hour or more

5 tbsp. / 75 ml. / 70 grams / 2.5 oz. — olive oil (Optional)

2 to 3 cloves of garlic, diced

1 to 2 onions, chopped

1 tbsp. / 15 ml. / 14 grams / 2 oz. — thyme

1 tbsp. / 15 ml. / 14 grams / 2 oz. — basil

1 tbsp. / 15 ml. / 14 grams / 2 oz. — oregano

12 cups / 3,000 ml. / 2,724 grams / 192 oz. — water

2 lbs. / 1 kg. / 500 grams / 32 oz. — potatoes, cubed

1 tbsp. / 15 ml. / 14 grams / 2 oz. — sea salt (Optional)

1 tbsp. / 15 ml. / 14 grams / 2 oz. — white pepper

1 lb. / .50 kg. / 450 grams / 16 oz. — carrots, chopped

Your potato soup for six is prepared following the same directions you would if you were making soup for 100 people. You don't want to add too much salt and pepper. I love to remove the salt and use additional dill to my own soup. You might also enjoy the flavor of dill.



Düsseldorf Food Not Bombs provides vegan meals in the city center

## DESSERTS

### Fruit Salad for 100

Makes: 100 servings.

Equipment: large mixing bowl, small serving bowl, plastic storage buckets with lids.

Prep time: 1 hour

100 pieces assorted fruit (apples, oranges, pears, peaches, bananas, pineapples, berries, raisins, and so on)

20 lemons, juice of

Cut fruit into bite-size pieces. In a large mixing bowl, mix fruit together with lemon juice, coating all pieces. The lemon juice helps retard the browning which occurs when fruit is exposed to the air. Store fruit in plastic "tofu" buckets with tight fitting lids and refrigerate, if possible. Serve in small portions using a small serving bowl. This salad also tastes great with granola, shredded coconut, or Ice Bean (Ice Bean is the brand name of a nondairy ice cream substitute made by Farm Foods. It is made from soybeans.)

### Fruit Salad for 6

Makes: 6 servings.

Equipment: mixing bowl, small serving bowl, plastic storage buckets with lids.

Prep time: 10 to 15 minutes

10 assorted fruit (apples, oranges, pears, peaches, bananas, pineapples, berries, raisins and so on)

2 lemons, juice of

To make fruit salad for six you follow the same directions you would use to make 100 servings. You will have much less compost when you make fruit salad for six. There are many wonderful coconut based yogurts and other vegan toppings you can add to your fresh fruit. Go wild!

#### FOOD NOT LAWNS GARDENS

If your chapter can't find everything it desires in the waste of your society consider growing it yourselves. Invite the people eating with your local Food Not Bombs group to help reclaim the vacant land in your city. Starting a Food Not Lawns organic community garden could be another step towards a future of food security. Your group can learn more about gardening by attending the Food Not Bombs Free Skool in Taos, New Mexico.

### Apple Pear Crisp for 100

Makes: 100 servings.

Equipment: 3 - 12" x 18" / 30 cm x 46 cm baking pans.

Preheat oven: 350 degrees Fahrenheit / 176 Celsius

Prep time: 1 hour, 30 minutes. Cooking time: 1 hour

Filling:

40 apples

40 pears

10 lemons, juice of

5 cups / 1,250 ml. — maple syrup, agave nectar (Optional)

1/4 cup / 60 ml. — vanilla

1/2 cup / 114 grams / 4 oz. — cinnamon

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — powdered ginger

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — nutmeg

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — allspice

Core and slice apples and pears. (Peeling is not necessary) In a mixing bowl, mix sliced fruit with remaining ingredients until every piece of fruit is covered. Place into baking pans in an even layer.

#### Topping:

20 cups rolled oats

20 cups whole wheat flour

1/2 cup / 114 grams / 4 oz. — cinnamon

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — nutmeg

2 tbsp. / 28 grams — allspice

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — ground cloves

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — sea salt (Optional)

4 lbs. / 1.8 kg. — margarine

5 cups / 1,250 ml. — maple syrup or agave nectar (Optional)

1/2 cup / 125 ml. — vanilla

In a large mixing bowl, mix the oats, flour and spices. Break margarine into small pieces and work into the dry mixture with your hands. Mix syrup and vanilla together, then add to the topping and mix very well. Crumble the topping over the fruit in the baking pans and bake in oven at 350 degrees for at least 1 hour, until the topping is golden brown, the fruit is soft, and there is liquid on the bottom. Serve hot with Ice Bean.

#### THE SOS FREE DIET

If you start to eat a plant based diet free of all salt, oil and sugar your health may improve. Removing wheat and processed foods from your meals can also help you feel your best. I adopted this diet after a 20 day water fast at True North in Santa Rosa, California and recovered from 19 years of extreme pain of fibromyalgia caused from having been injured by the San Francisco Police.

## Apple Pear Crisp for 6

Makes: 6 servings.

Equipment: 3 - 12" x 18" / 30 cm x 46 cm baking pans.

Preheat oven: 350 degrees Fahrenheit / 176 Celsius

Prep time: 1 hour, 30 minutes. Cooking time: 1 hour

Filling:

5 apples or 5 pears

1 lemon, juice of

1 cup / 250 ml. — maple syrup or agave nectar (Optional)

3 tbsp. / 45 ml. — vanilla

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — cinnamon

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — powdered ginger

1 tsp. / 7 grams — nutmeg

1 tsp. / 7 grams — allspice

Core and slice apples and pears (Peeling is not necessary). In a mixing bowl, mix sliced fruit with remaining ingredients until every piece of fruit is covered. Place into greased baking pans in an even layer.

### Topping:

2 cups / 454 grams / 1 lb. — rolled oats

2 cups / 454 grams / 1 lb. — whole wheat flour

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — cinnamon

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — nutmeg

1 tbsp. / 14 grams — allspice

2 tsp. / 7 grams. — ground cloves

1 tsp. / 4 grams — sea salt (Optional)

1/4 cup / 57 grams / 2 oz. — margarine

1/4 cup / 57 grams / 2 oz. — maple syrup, molasses

or agave nectar (Optional)

5 tbsp. / 75 ml. — vanilla

In a large mixing bowl, mix the oats, flour and spices. Break margarine into small pieces and work into the dry mixture with your hands. Mix syrup and vanilla together, then add to the topping and mix very well. Crumble the topping over the fruit in the baking pans and bake in oven at 350 degrees for at least 1 hour, until the topping is golden brown, the fruit is soft, and there is liquid on the bottom. Serve hot with Ice Bean.

## MAKE YOUR OWN TOFU

Tofu may not be easy to find or may cost too much in some areas of the world. First, you will need to make soy milk. To make 800 grams of tofu, you will need to make four liters of soy milk. Make sure your soy is organic and GMO free.

To make the soy milk, soak 500 grams of dried soybeans for ten to twelve hours. Add the soaked beans to water in a blender and pour the soybean, water mixture through cheesecloth, very loosely woven gauze or silkscreen. Boil the soy milk for five minutes, and let cool to 158 to 176 degrees Fahrenheit 70 to 80 degrees Celsius. Mix four teaspoons of nigari or natural bitters made of calcium sulphate, magnesium sulfate or epsom salts into two cups of warm water. The longer you let this mixture sit, the harder your tofu will be. Stir in the sulfate to the warm soy milk and let stand for fifteen to twenty minutes. Pour the resulting curds into a mold lined with cheesecloth, very loosely woven gauze or silkscreen pushing it flat into the mold. The remaining liquid will be pushed through the holes in the bottom of the mold. Once it has cooled down, dump the tofu into a container of water and place in a refrigerator or other cool location. You can make a tofu mold from a wooden or plastic box, drilling or poking holes in the bottom. Some plastic boxes will come with a lid, and if you cut the edges of the lid a little, it will slide into the box. You can use it to press the moisture through the holes by pushing it down on the curds. Tofu presses can also be bought.

You can place your tofu in a freezer overnight and return it to the refrigerator to give it a tough texture if you want to mimic meat in some dishes.

Equipment - Blender or food processor, tofu press, cheesecloth, very loosely woven gauze or silkscreen, large mixing spoon, sauce pan and mixing bowl.

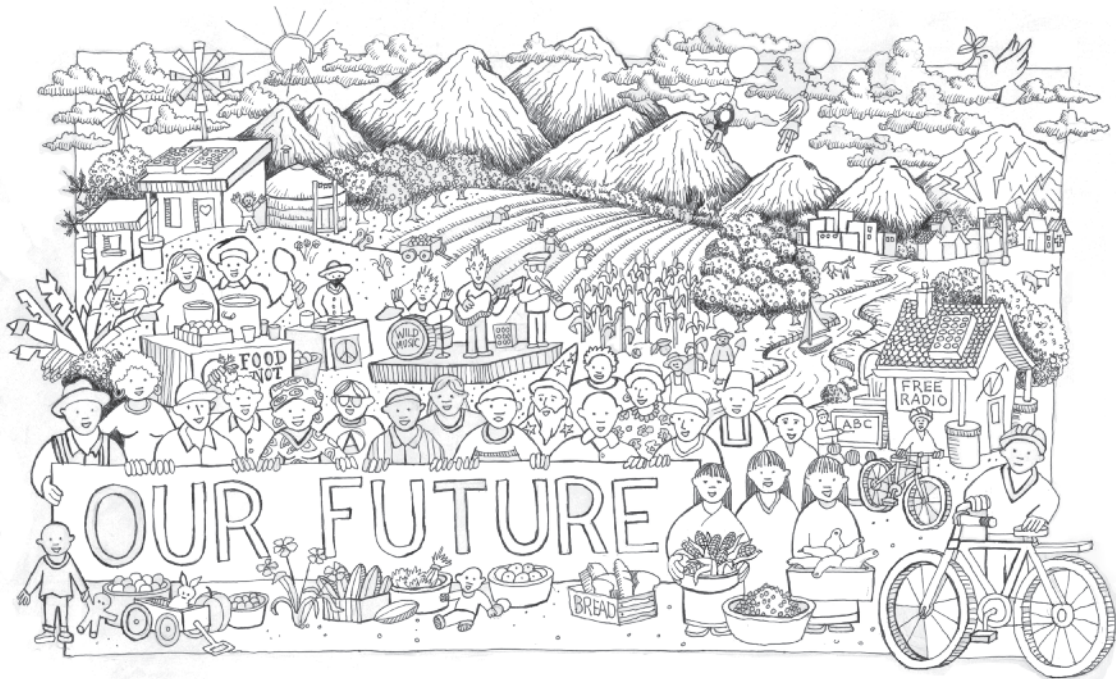
4 tbsp. / 56 grams — Calcium sulphate, magnesium sulfate or epsom salts

Dried soybeans 500 grams

Makes 1 1/2 pounds/ 4 cups / 680 grams of tofu

### A final word on cooking

Cooking together with the other volunteers is fun and provides a great opportunity to build friendships and share ideas. There are many more great meals that your Food Not Bombs chapter can prepare. After your group uses a few of these recipes, strike out on your own and see what you can create out of the bounty discarded from our, at least up to now, abundant system of agriculture and food production. Your chapter can also have fun altering our recipes.



## AFTERWORD

### A GLOBAL SPRING

Eight young anti-nuclear activists set up a "soup kitchen" outside the March 26, 1981 stockholders meeting of the First National Bank of Boston in an effort to stop Seabrook Nuclear Power Station. It was a pleasant early spring day. Ronald Reagan had just come to power promising to dismantle many of the programs that benefited average Americans; he would cut social services and transfer the nation's resources to his wealthy friends. We were attempting to build popular support against his economic and political policies, which included investment in nuclear energy and weapons, Seabrook being our local example. We hoped our street theater would encourage a popular campaign that would cause the board of directors to end their policy of investing their depositor's money on risky and dangerous projects. During our years of protesting, we learned that many of the board members of the Bank of Boston were also sitting on the board of Babcock & Wilcox, the company that was building Seabrook Nuclear Power station, and that many of the same men also sat on the board of the Public Service Company of New Hampshire, that was buying the power station.

These bankers also profited from the nuclear weapons industry by sitting on the boards of Raytheon Missile Systems, Lockheed Martin, and others. We believed that these policies of lending themselves billions of dollars with little public oversight was reminiscent of the banking practices that lead to the hardships of the Great Depression in the 1930s. We decided to make that point visible by dressing as hobos and setting up a soup line outside the

annual stockholders meeting. I trimmed produce at an organic grocery and discarded several cases of vegetables every morning, so sharing a huge pot of soup was an easy vehicle to dramatize our protest. As we prepared the kettle of tasty soup, we became concerned that there would not be enough people participating to represent a Depression era soup line and that much of it could go to waste, so I went down to the only shelter I knew, The Pine Street Inn, and told the assembled homeless that we were planning a protest at noon outside the Federal Reserve Bank at South Station, and would be providing free food to everyone that participated. They responded with excitement about the protest. "Wow, A protest like the 60's sounds good!" one man told me. Even so, we were surprised when over 50 people showed up to partake of the first Food Not Bombs meal.

Thirty years later, as I am about to finish writing this book, the world is facing the most lethal nuclear disaster since the atomic bombings of Japan. The Fukushima Daiichi nuclear power station continues to release lethal levels of radiation. The global economy is in crisis due to the same short sighted banking policies we were protesting in 1981. Experts might be calling it a "Great Recession," but for billions of people it feels more like a "Great Depression." Executives lobbied for deregulation, sold bad mortgages, paid no taxes, laid off millions of workers, reaped the profits, and let the economy collapse. Things are so turbulent that by the time you read this, the corporate media may even be reporting that we are in a Great Depression. Food prices are increasing at the fastest pace experienced in over thirty years as speculators move to invest in commodities. The United Nations and Oxfam reported food prices will double in the next 20 years. This too may be old news at publication time.

The world started to change when a young Tunisian produce worker, Tarek al-Tayyib Muhammad Bouazizi, set himself on fire on December 17, 2010, fed up by police abuse and the high price of food. His death sparked waves of uprisings. The revolt spread from Tunisia and Egypt, Oman, Libya, Bahrain, Yemen, Algeria and Morocco, and to the rest of the world. British Prime Minister David Cameron's government was in crisis due to its corrupt relationship with Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation. One week the police are helping Britain's corporate and government leaders loot the public, and the next week the police are killing an unarmed young worker named Mark Duggan in the Tottenham district of London sparking riots all over England. While England burned, Wall Street crashed. From Tunisia to the United Kingdom, people are clearly fed up with a system that makes it increasingly difficult to survive. There is an urgent desire to bring democracy, dignity, basic necessities, and some sanity to our world.

The richest two percent already own over half the world's wealth and resources. The wealthy are seeking to squeeze every last cent out of an increasingly desperate people. Their greed is endless even though nearly a billion people go hungry each day.

During the years it took for me to write this book, we experienced an unprecedented wave of disasters. A complacent public let the billionaires lead us to this point. Too many of us bought their products and their philosophies and now we are paying, paying with our future.

The top two percent must be laughing all the way to their gated communities in Dubai. The owners of BP continue to live in splendor after one of the world's worst oil blowouts. Military contractors looted their national treasuries as world leaders start one war after another just for profit. Wall Street executives plunged millions of people into unemployment, homelessness and hunger, while the taxpayers bail out the rich so they can maintain their opulence. Funding for social security, health care, education and all other social services are cut and given to the very wealthy people responsible for destroying our economy, democracy and environment. We are becoming a world of consumers without money,

shelter, food or dignity. What does our future have in store for us: constant war, radioactive fallout, oil covered oceans, minimum-wage jobs, toxic "food," ecological crisis, global corporate downsizing, unaffordable medical services, or debilitating college tuition hikes? Will we sit and wait or will we have enough self respect to join the others, rise up and start to create a future where we can feel both safe and proud?

While ladling soup outside the stockholders meeting in 1981, we were concerned that we could face a future of nuclear disasters, environmental catastrophes and a global economic collapse. We urged those visiting our first Food Not Bombs meal to join us in building resistance to the policies that could bring ruin to our world. Our literature and speech invited them to withhold their support of what we called the "culture of death" and join us in transforming society. We thought that by working together, practicing the democracy of consensus to make decisions, and sowing a spirit of hope and abundance by sharing a nearly inexhaustible quantity of tasty organic food, we could have some influence in our community. Thirty years later it is clear that our concerns were well founded and the need for change couldn't be more urgent.

We could not have predicted that our tiny theatrical soup line would ultimately spring up on hundreds of street corners and parks all over the world, continuing to share healthy, vegan meals, encouraging conversation and solutions to the same issues we faced on that first sunny March day in 1981. Thirty years later I would find myself delivering food to Occupy Boston, staffing a literature table a few feet from where we had shared our first meal. I was greeted by Food Not Bombs activists from as far away as South Africa highlighting the progress of 30 years of activism.

Three decades later, the theater has become more reality than theater with many more "actors" seeking to end their own painful hunger, rushing to participate, having been forced into poverty or inspired to insurrection by the untenable conditions they experience around them. Food Not Bombs is eager to welcome you to our table. Help us make a world where no one needs to stand in a line to eat at a soup kitchen and everyone has the health care, education, housing and dignity they desire.



Indymedia class at the Korogocho community in Kenya



Young woman holds the meal donated by Nairobi Food Not Bombs



# APPENDIX

## THE EIGHT FOUNDERS OF THE FOOD NOT BOMBS MOVEMENT

The eight founders of Food Not Bombs are Mira Brown, C. T. Lawrence Butler, Jessie Constable, Susan Eaton, Brian Feigenbaum, Keith McHenry, Amy Rothstien, and Jo Swanson.

## QUOTES RELATED TO FOOD NOT BOMBS

*“They [Food Not Bombs] feel they can manipulate the homeless issue to set the stage for some kind of radical new social order.”*

— San Francisco Mayor Art Agnos, August 26, 1988

*“This policy of non prosecution is very frustrating and distressing . . . there are also inherent problems if the department ceases enforcement . . . [Food Not Bombs] would no doubt, ‘rub it in the face’, with visible, blatant, and untimely distribution of food. It could result in a chaotic situation and set a dangerous precedent for other groups who refuse to abide by the law . . .”*

— Captain Dennis Martel, February 9, 1990, San Francisco Police Memorandum

*“Many of those interviewed said the frustration and anger on all sides of the issue is likely to mount unless more money is found for services.*

*Without more money, they say, this fall’s skirmish between police and Food Not Bombs could be just mild warnings of conflicts to come. “*

*‘If the homeless were organized, if they received some heavy leadership . . . you might have social unrest’ said Harry de Ruyter, director of social services for the Salvation Army in San Francisco. ‘You might have an uprising.’”*

— San Francisco Chronicle, October 31, 1988

*“They [Food Not Bombs] never sell the food, but always give it away for free. Again, in over eight years, we have never had any public health related complaints or difficulties with this program. They enjoy broad-based community support. In fact, this group works cooperatively with the city in our mutual agenda of educating the public about the dangers of nuclear war and encouraging peace through nuclear disarmament.”*

— Alfred E. Vellucci, Mayor of Cambridge in a letter to the City of San Francisco on January 20, 1989

*“Since when did feeding the homeless become a terrorist activity?” asked ACLU Associate Legal Director Ann Beeson. “When the FBI and local law enforcement target groups like Food Not Bombs under the guise of fighting terrorism, many Americans who oppose government policies will be discouraged from speaking out and exercising their rights.”*

— Documents obtained by the ACLU expose FBI and police targeting of political groups, May 18, 2005

*“Food Not Bombs is perhaps the best, single idea to come out of the Anarchist Movement in the last fifty years”*

— *Eating Fossil Fuels: Oil, Food and the Coming Crisis in Agriculture* by Dale Allen Pfeiffer, page 80 (New Society Books, 2006 )

*“There has to be some kind of (police) action. At this point it seems to be a political statement on their part, not a food give away issue.”*

— San Francisco Police Spokesperson Jerry Senkier, 1988

*“They don’t want to feed the hungry. They just want to make an anarchist type statement and we aren’t going to allow it.”*

— San Francisco Police Captain Dennis Martel, 1989

*"Against the overwhelming power of corporate wealth and governmental authority, the spirit of resistance was kept alive in the early nineties, often by small-scale acts of courage and defiance. On the West Coast, a young activist named Keith McHenry and hundreds of others were arrested again and again for distributing free food to poor people, without a license. They were part of a program called Food Not Bombs. More Food Not Bombs groups sprang up in communities around the country."*

—*A People's History of the United States* by Howard Zinn

*"I know Keith McHenry, and he's a gentle soul—imperturbable, would never pick a fight with someone,"* Birnie said. *"I think it's a matter that the authorities are trying to downplay the voice of opposition to the war. It appears to me that the judges are inclined to support the authority symbols—more so than to be open to opinions different from the authority figures."*

— Pat Birnie in Tucson, Arizona, on the conviction of Keith McHenry for assault

*"The Diggers' philosophy influenced the thinking of a young man named Keith McHenry, who would go on to become one of the most important figures in the freegan movement. McHenry, who is now 53, came from a family with a prestigious pedigree; his ancestor, James McHenry, was one of the signers of the Constitution. Keith McHenry, however, was a nonconformist almost from birth. Throughout his 20s, McHenry traveled the country, dumpster-diving and crashing with artists and hippies. The pivotal moment in his life came in 1980, when he was working at an organic-food store in Cambridge, Mass. "At the end of each day, I was throwing away these crates of produce - apples, lettuce, cabbage - stuff that had been bruised or was slightly imperfect in shape," McHenry told me. So he asked his boss if he could distribute this produce at shelters, churches and soup kitchens. McHenry's efforts were a success, and he helped found Food Not Bombs, a nonprofit whose mission was to salvage discarded but edible food and feed the poor. Today, the organization has more than a thousand chapters around the world and has probably been the most active force for spreading the ethos of freeganism."*

— *New York Times Magazine*, Jake Halpern, June 6, 2010

*"We don't fault the city of Orlando for being in this dilemma, because it really is a national problem. There needs to be a national solution."*

— Keith McHenry as he was being arrested on June 1, 2011, as reported in the *Orlando Sentinel*

*"Yes, I think they are Food Terrorists. I think they are using food or the feeding of the homeless for different purposes,"*

— Orlando Mayor Buddy Dyer, June 8, 2011

*"This is a Message to the Orlando City Government --"*

*"We have watched with dismay as all across the USA more and more cruel and illegal laws have been passed against the homeless street people. Your recent arrest of Food Not Bombs activists is the line in the sand, and the Peoples Liberation Front will tolerate no more."*

*Tomorrow morning at precisely 10:00 AM EDT the forces of the PLF will remove the Orlando Government web site from the internet. It will remain a smoking crater in cyber space for exactly two hours, when we will give the cease fire order and allow it to return to normal function."*

*Consider this a warning. If you persist in the despicable practice of arresting people for feeding other people, we will permanently remove ALL your official web sites from the internet. You have been warned, do not make us return. Cease your persecution of Food Not Bombs and leave the street people alone."*

*"SIGNED -- Commander X - PLF Field Commander "*

— Commander X emailing for the cyber protest group Anonymous on June 17, 2011

*"The crime should not be feeding more than 25 people, but that more than 25 people need food. "*

— Amy Goodman, June 29, 2011

*"Food Not Bombs changed my life."*

— Eric Justin Levinson, SUNY Buffalo, 2010

*"Food Not Bombs is the coolest thing ever thought up. Thanks so much for starting something so beautiful."*

— Ronda Vanderzanden, Redding, California, 2011

*"There are a lot of street kids who have gotten fed healthy meals because of your work. I am not a kid anymore but I am always on the street or close to being homeless and I love Food not Bombs. I even loved the name the first time I heard it."*

— Red Riotdog, 2012



Food Not Bombs banner at a London, England meal

## MAJOR EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF FOOD NOT BOMBS

### FIRST DECADE OF FOOD NOT BOMBS 1980 — 1989

**May 24, 1980** — Food Not Bombs co-founder, Brian Feigenbaum, was arrested at the May 24th Direct Action to Stop Seabrook Nuclear Station in New Hampshire, inspiring bake sales to raise money for Brian's defense and the Bake Sales to Buy a Bomber.

**March 26, 1981** — Food Not Bombs shares food at its first action protesting the interlocking directors at the Bank of Boston and local nuclear industry by dressing as hobos and setting up a soup kitchen outside the stock holders meeting at South Station with the message that their policies could cause another Great Depression. Over 50 people came to eat.

**August 6, 1981** — First Food Not Bombs march for nuclear disarmament co-sponsored by Cambridge City Council leaves from Cambridge, Massachusetts, City Hall traveling to Draper Laboratory near M.I.T., where a volunteer burned the Boston white pages as an example of all the people who would die in a nuclear attack like the bombing of Japan.

**August 20, 1981** — Food Not Bombs shares food outside a weapons bazaar at Boston University. The day before we spray-painted the outline of "dead" bodies on the ground, stenciled mushroom clouds with the word "Today?" and wheatpasted "War is Murder for Profit" posters along the route that the weapons buyers and sellers would take from their hotel to the conference hall.

**October 30, 1981** — First night that the first Food Not Bombs banner was used while sharing food at a protest, this time at a torch light march against Bush speaking at M.I.T.

**December 20, 1981** — "Walk For Peace," organized by Food Not Bombs, marches down Massachusetts Avenue through Harvard Square, on one of the coldest days of the winter.

**May 2, 1982** — The "Free Concert for Nuclear Disarmament" in Senot Park, Cambridge, Massachusetts organized by Food Not Bombs.

**June 12, 1982** — Boston Food Not Bombs shares food with thousands of protesters in Great Lawn in Central Park, New York, during the Second United Nations Special Session on Nuclear Disarmament.

**May 7, 1985** — Food Not Bombs helps organize the occupation of the J.F.K. Federal Building in Boston with Pledge of Resistance in a protest against the war in El Salvador, and provided food to many of the 500 protesters that sat in the lobby.

**October 29, 1985** — Food Not Bombs organizes the "Boston Pee Party" to protest President Reagan's new drug testing laws, mailing urine collected outside the Federal Building in Boston.

**October 23, 1986** — Boston Food Not Bombs organizes the "Welcome to Kenmore Square" meals to defend the rights of the homeless during the American League play offs and World Series between the Red Sox and Mets.

**March 11 - 20, 1988** — San Francisco Food Not Bombs participates in its first action by feeding the protesters at the "Reclaim the Test Site" action at Mercury, Nevada, at the gate of the Nevada Nuclear Test Site. Over 8,000 people participated and nearly 3,000 were arrested during the action making it a record for most civil disobedience arrests in a single protest. A giant banner saying "Food Not Bombs" was placed across ground zero held down with rocks.

**August 15, 1988** — The first nine Food Not Bombs volunteers arrested for sharing meals at the entrance to Golden Gate Park in San Francisco, California.

**August 22, 1988** — Police arrest 24 volunteers for "making a political statement" by sharing free food with the hungry at Haight and Stanyan Streets in San Francisco.

**September 4, 1988** — Fifty-four Food Not Bombs volunteers arrested "for making a political statement" by sharing free food at the entrance to Golden Gate Park in San Francisco, California.

**September 6, 1988** — Mayor Art Agnos issues San Francisco Food Not Bombs a "temporary" permit to share food at the entrance to Golden Gate Park.

**September 27, 1988** — San Francisco Police memo written by officer Richard Holder reporting that he was able to gain information about an October 15th protest against the war in El Salvador by wiretapping the Food Not Bombs telephone.

**October 15, 1988** — Food Not Bombs co-founder Keith McHenry arrested and beaten after sharing food with protesters at a demonstration in San Francisco against the war in El Salvador.

**June 28, 1989** — Food Not Bombs starts to share meals 24 hours a day in solidarity with the homeless at their Tent City Protest outside San Francisco City Hall.

**July 16, 1989** — Eleven Food Not Bombs volunteers arrested sharing food at San Francisco City Hall in defiance of a court order because of the group's support of the Tent City Protest.

**September 11, 1989** — San Francisco Department of Public Health issues first Permit to Operate, numbered D2258, to certify Food Not Bombs field kitchen at Golden Gate Park.

**October 17, 1989** — San Francisco Food Not Bombs feeds the survivors of the Loma Prieta Earthquake in Civic Center Plaza for three days, even sharing meals with the police ending this round of arrests.

## **SECOND DECADE OF FOOD NOT BOMBS 1990 — 1999**

**March 13, 1990** — San Francisco Department of Public Health issues second Permit to Operate, numbered D2260, to certify Food Not Bombs field kitchen at Civic Center Plaza.

**June - July, 1990** — Food Not Bombs provides food at the Earth First! base camp during Redwood Summer in the forests of Northern California.

**July 19, 1990** — The San Francisco Recreation and Parks Department deletes the permit process for sharing free food in city parks in Resolution 15585 Section 1, subsection IV.

**September 13, 1990** — Food Not Bombs co-founder, Keith McHenry, beaten and injured in an elevator of police headquarters in San Francisco.

**January 17, 1991** — San Francisco Food Not Bombs starts to feed hundreds at Civic Center Plaza protesting Desert Storm as the giant Food Not Bombs banner travels up the Bay Bridge and throughout the city as tens of thousands blockaded the Federal Building for five days and others blockaded the Pacific Stock Exchange. Food Not Bombs groups provide meals at local actions in a number of other cities in the United States and Canada.

**June 24, 1991** — San Francisco Police rush up to a rally against health care budget cuts, smash Gloria La Riva's head into a stone wall as the officers beat and injured Food Not Bombs co-founder, Keith McHenry, as he was requesting signatures on postcards asking to be placed on the next Recreation and Parks Department agenda.

**March 22, 1991** — Food Not Bombs wins first civil contempt of court case before Judge Daniel Hanlon in San Francisco and then police arrest Richard Edmondson, Keith McHenry, Eric Warren and Tom Osher during a police riot where those jailed were accused of stealing a gun from officer Broadnick.

**March 3, 1992** — First anti-police brutality protest one year after the videotaped beating of Rodney King. Van Jones's first arrest at San Francisco march nearly reached police headquarters.

**September 1, 1992** — First edition of *Food Not Bombs - How to Feed the Hungry and Build Community* published by New Society Press in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

**October 7 - 11, 1992** — First International Food Not Bombs Gathering held in San Francisco where the three principles of Food Not Bombs were adopted — free vegetarian and vegan meals without restriction, dedication to nonviolent direct action, and every group autonomous without leaders and using consensus to make decisions.

**November 1, 1992** — The first Food Not Bombs Radio Network radio program "Puerto Rico: Nation, State or Colony?" produced by Richard Edmondson.

**November 26, 1992** — First Homes Not Jails occupation of hotel at 90 Golden Gate Avenue and empty business in the Tenderloin of San Francisco to protest mayor Frank Jordan's anti-homeless policies as he came to have his photo taken carving a turkey at Glide Memorial Church on Thanksgiving Day.

**September 2, 1993** — Fifteen Food Not Bombs volunteers are arrested outside San Francisco City Hall to stop the group's effort to protest the mayor's Quality of Life Enforcement Matrix Program against the homeless and charged with felony conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor.

**January 4, 1994** — Food Not Bombs co-founder, Keith McHenry, arrested on his first "Three Strikes" charge after being attacked by the mayor's film commissioner, Nick Roomel, while calling a towing company to retrieve the Food Not Bombs truck.

**January 24, 1994** — United Nations Human Rights Commission letter announcing an investigation into human rights violations against Food Not Bombs by the government in the United States.



Food Not Bombs shares Christmas meal with over 600 people in Santa Cruz, California in 2013

**May 10, 1994** — Food Not Bombs co-founder, Keith McHenry, arrested for felony assault with a deadly weapon against a public official at San Francisco City Hall and possession of stolen property consisting of 24 Berkeley Farms Dairy milk crates, now facing 25 years to life in prison.

**July 11, 1994** — Eight arrested on felony charges for sharing food at Civic Center Plaza on the opening day of Food Not Bombs co-founder's "Three Strikes" trial in San Francisco.

**September 26, 1994** — All nine city councilors of the City of Cambridge, Massachusetts, vote to adopt a resolution in support of Food Not Bombs.

**October 20, 1994** — Arcata Food Not Bombs volunteers issued first summons ordering the group to stop feeding the hungry.

**October 28, 1994** — Amnesty International letter about arrest and violence against Food Not Bombs volunteers declares all those arrested would be considered "Prisoners of Conscience" and that it would work for their unconditional release if convicted.

**February 15, 1995** — Food Not Bombs co-founder, Keith McHenry, settles California Three Strikes case ending possibility of a 25 to life sentence.

**June 15 - 27, 1995** — Second International Food Not Bombs Gathering held in San Francisco during the 50th Anniversary Celebration of the United Nations. San Francisco police make over 600 arrests during the gathering. Food Not Bombs sets up first Indymedia Center to report on the gathering.

**September 2, 1995** — "The Rent Is Theft Tour" starts at Olympia, Washington with Food Not Bombs co-founder, Keith McHenry, demonstrating the making of Tofu Spread and sharing the history of Food Not Bombs over a low watt FM radio station, visiting 35 cities in the United States and Canada

**February 25, 1996** — Robert Norse Kahn convicted and sentenced to 59 days in jail for handing out food to the homeless without a permit after being arrested October 1993 outside San Francisco City Hall.

**October 5, 1997** — "The UnFree Trade Tour" starts at Long Haul in Berkeley traveling to 60 cities in the United States and Canada calling for direct action to shut down the next World Trade Organization summit in North America.

**November 28, 1999** — Food Not Bombs helps organize the action against the World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle and provides food to the protesters.

**December 15, 1999** — Los Angeles Food Not Bombs organizer, Dan DiPasquo, was arrested by the Pershing Square park rangers and the Los Angeles Police Department.

**December 26, 1999** — Seven more Los Angeles Food Not Bombs volunteers arrested sharing food at Pershing Square.

### THIRD DECADE OF FOOD NOT BOMBS 2000 — 2010

**June 4, 2000** — Soupstock 2000, a free concert in Delores Park in San Francisco, is held to celebrate the 20th Anniversary of Food Not Bombs, with over 15,000 people coming to see Fugazi, Tilt, Ali Khan Band, Bonfire Madigan, Vic Chestnutt, Michael Franti, Sleater-Kinney.

**February 15, 2001** — Nineteen-year-old Long Island Food Not Bombs volunteer, Connor Cash, arrested by the F.B.I. and indicted on the charge of arson conspiracy in first false terrorism case of a Food Not Bombs activist.

**June 15, 2001** — Gothenburg Sweden Food Not Bombs co-founder, Hannes Westberg, shot in the chest by police during the protest against the EU Summit and jailed for 5 months.

**February 7, 2003** — The Danish Peace Foundation awards the Danish Peace Prize to Copenhagen Food Not Bombs.

**February 15, 2003** — Food Not Bombs chapters in hundreds of cities shares meals with thousands of people protesting against the U.S. invasion of Iraq.

**April 19 - 21, 2003** — Melbourne Food Not Bombs provides meals to the protesters outside South Australia's Baxter Immigration Detention Centre near Port Augusta.

**August 1, 2003** — Denver Police Raid Food Not Bombs House without provocation and eight are arrested.

**September 10 to 14, 2003** — Food Not Bombs volunteers from around the world share food outside the Ritz Carlton at the start of the World Trade Organization's meeting in Cancun, Mexico, and provides vegan meals in downtown Cancun to the protesters all week.

**October 8, 2003** — Australian filmmaker, Elizabeth Tadic, and Food Not Bombs co-founder, Keith McHenry, arrive in Milan, Italy, at the start of "The Drop Bush Not Bombs Tour."



Long Island Food Not Bombs provides over 1,000 people a vegan Thanksgiving

**November 20-21, 2003** — Food Not Bombs volunteers provide free meals to the protesters at the Free Trade Area of the Americas Summit in Miami, Florida.

**March 21, 2004** — Tampa Food Not Bombs volunteer, Mark Parrish, arrested on charges of trespassing in Massey Park in downtown Tampa, Florida, while sharing food.

**March 28, 2004** — Tampa Food Not Bombs volunteers, James Dunson and Lily Lewis, both USF students, were also arrested on charges of trespassing in Massey Park.

**April 18, 2004** — Tampa Food Not Bombs volunteers, Amberly Banks, James Dunson, and Christopher Ernesto, arrested and jailed on charges of trespassing on public property.

**December 7, 2004** — The F.B.I. Joint Terrorism Task Force memo written on investigation of Denver Food Not Bombs and volunteer, Sarah Bardwell, before the national political conventions in Boston and New York.

**May 18, 2005** — “Since when did feeding the homeless become a terrorist activity?” asked ACLU Associate Legal Director Ann Beeson. “When the FBI and local law enforcement target groups like Food Not Bombs under the guise of fighting terrorism, many Americans who oppose government policies will be discouraged from speaking out and exercising their rights.”

**August 9, 2005** — Food Not Bombs volunteers start to provide the food at Cindy Sheehan’s Camp Casey in Crawford, Texas, outside Bush’s summer home.

**August 31, 2005** — Food Not Bombs volunteers, Dave Rozza and Ross Harmon, arrive in New Orleans and start feeding the hungry displaced by Hurricane Katrina. American Red Cross gives out Food Not Bombs’ toll free number.

**November 13, 2005** — Food Not Bombs volunteer, Timur Kacharava, stabbed to death by 8 to 10 neo-Nazis while sharing meals for Food Not Bombs on Ligovsky Prospekt in St. Petersburg, Russia.

**December 7, 2005** — In the most serious case of framing Food Not Bombs volunteers as terrorists, FBI agents arrest Chelsea Gerlach, Bill Rodgers, Kendall Tankersley, Kevin Tubbs, Daniel McGowan and Stanislas Meyerhoff, framed by informants in “Operation Backfire.”

**January 13, 2006** — Food Not Bombs volunteers, Eric McDavid, Zachary Jenson, and Lauren Weiner, arrested by F.B.I. and charged with Conspiracy to damage and destroy property by fire and an explosive after the F.B.I. paid an informant \$65,000 to frame them. Eric McDavid was sentenced to 19 years even though he was innocent of any crimes.

**February 14, 2006** — Eleven Food Not Bombs volunteers arrested and tortured in the Philippines while hitchhiking from Buguias to Sagada, Mountain Province. The Food Not Bombs campaign SAGADA 11 wins their freedom after 11 months in prison.

**March 8, 2006** — In a guest lecture at the U.S. Law and National Security course at the University of Texas School of Law, FBI Supervisory Senior Resident Agent G. Charles Rasner listed in his powerpoint Indymedia, Food Not Bombs, and the Communist Party of Texas as three of the ten Terrorist Watch groups they were infiltrating in Austin.

**June 11, 2006** — Food Not Bombs activist, Peggy Lee Kennedy, arrested at the meal in Venice, California.

**August 12, 2006** — Food Not Bombs volunteers from groups around Florida provide meals to protesters at the statewide action in Orlando against the Israeli war on Lebanon

**January 4, 2007** — Food Not Bombs volunteer, Helen Hill, was murdered by a random intruder at her home in New Orleans. Helen started the Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada chapter and volunteered with New Orleans Food Not Bombs both before and after Hurricane Katrina.

**April 4, 2007** — Eric Montanez, a member of Orlando Food Not Bombs, arrested sharing food at Lake Eola Park in downtown Orlando, Florida.

**June 27, 2007** — Six members of Orlando Food Not Bombs were arrested for drumming outside a fundraiser for Orlando Mayor Buddy Dyer in protest of his support for an ordinance that bans the serving of food in public parks. They were arrested on charges of violating a City of Orlando noise ordinance even though it is not an arrestable offense.

**August 11 — 20, 2007** — First International Food Not Bombs Gathering outside the United States held near Transcarpathia, Ukraine at the No Border camp.

**November 25, 2007** — Di pepi Free Food Gang/Jakarta Food Not Bombs organize huge Really, Really Free Market on Buy Nothing Day with people coming from all over Indonesia to participate.

**March 28-30th 2008** — Food Not Bombs gathering in Nashville draws over 150 volunteers who agree to start more Food Not Lawns gardens and seek ways like Homes Not Jails to address the dramatic increase in food prices and the housing foreclosure crisis.

**July 5, 2008** — Reykjavik Food Not Bombs provides meals at the Eat the G8! Solidarity action in Iceland.

**August 29, 2008** — Joanne M. Smith, Judge of Ramsey County District Court, signed the warrants for raids on the Food Not Bombs cook houses in Minneapolis. Food Not Bombs houses raided by F. B. I. and Homeland Security the day before the Republican National Convention, eight volunteers arrested on Patriot Act charges as terrorists.

**September 26, 2008** — Federal judge Gregory Presnell in Orlando, Florida rules — for the first time in the USA — that sharing food with hungry and homeless people in public spaces is expressive conduct protected by the First Amendment.

**March 6, 2009** — Jonathon Gerhardt with the New Mexico Environment Department issue Albuquerque Food Not Bombs with \$3,000 fine and arrests.

**March 13, 2009** — East Bay Food Not Bombs volunteer, Tristan Anderson, shot in the head with a tear gas projectile from around 60 meters by Israeli forces during a demonstration in the West Bank village of Ni'lin.

**May 3, 2009** — Food Not Bombs volunteer, Abe Bobman, arrested sharing food in Middletown, Connecticut.

**October 3, 2009** — Connecticut General Statute 19A-36 changed to allow Food Not Bombs to share meals without interference by the state as a result of the arrests of the Middletown Food Not Bombs volunteers.

**December 17, 2009** — The 11th Circuit Court of Appeals in Atlanta hears arguments on whether sharing food with hungry and homeless people in public spaces is expressive conduct protected by the First Amendment. Orlando Food Not Bombs was represented by lawyer Jacqueline Dowd.

**April 24, 2010** — Food Not Bombs/Food Not Corporations solidarity action for the Victims of Lapindo Mud - Porong, Sidoarjo in East Java, Indonesia.

**May 23, 2010** — Boston Food Not Bombs celebrates the 30th Anniversary of the movement at Soupstock on the Boston Commons. Concerts also in Europe, Australia, and other areas of the world.

**July 6, 2010** — The 11th Circuit Court of Appeals in Atlanta rules against Orlando Food Not Bombs, claiming the city can restrict the group's right to free expression.

**August 30, 2010** — The 11th Circuit Court of Appeals in Atlanta vacates its July opinion in favor of the City of Orlando and grants a rehearing en banc on February 15, 2011.

**March 1, 2011** — Andrew Zimmern's Bizarre Foods airs segment on the work of San Francisco Food Not Bombs on the Travel Channel.

**April 12, 2011** — The 11th Circuit Court of Appeals in Atlanta rules in order No. 08-16788 that the City of Orlando can restrict Food Not Bombs to sharing food and literature to twice a year per park.

**June 1, 2011** — The first three of 29 volunteers arrested for sharing vegan meals to the hungry in opposition to the city of Orlando's Large Group Feeding Law.

**June 24, 2011** — Democracy Now! interviews Orlando Food Not Bombs volunteer, Ben Markeson, and the groups attorney, Shayan Elahi, about the arrests and legal issues around the City of Orlando and the law against sharing meals with the hungry.

**July 8, 2011** — Food Not Bombs co-founder, Keith McHenry, freed from the Orange County Jail after 17 days behind bars for sharing food and trespassing at Lake Eola Park.

**August 15, 2011** — Orlando Food Not Bombs invited the city to amend the Large Group Feeding Laws to exclude Orlando City Hall from the list of parks where free meals are limited to twice a year. City ignores Food Not Bombs.

**August 30, 2011** — Long Island Food Not Bombs shares nearly 110,000 pounds of food with tens of thousands of people effected by Hurricane Irene.

**September 17, 2011** — Food Not Bombs helps provide food at Occupy Wall Street at Zuccotti Park, New York.

**October 1, 2011** — Food Not Bombs starts to provide free meals to the protesters at the Occupy D.C. at McPherson Square in Washington, D.C.

**October 6, 2011** — Food Not Bombs starts to provide free meals to the protesters at the Human Needs, Not Corporate Greed occupation at Freedom Plaza in Washington, D.C.

**October 16, 2011** — St. Petersburg Food Not Bombs and The People's Share take down the Russian flag and replace it with a Jolly Roger flag that features a skull and crossbones, with a slice of pie on the mast of the Aurora cruiser, a national relic and tourist attraction docked in downtown St. Petersburg.



## BOOKS THAT INCLUDE FOOD NOT BOMBS

These books range from detective novels, adventure stories, young adult books, interviews, and books of nonfiction.

*FOOD NOT BOMBS How to Feed the Hungry and Build Community*, Keith McHenry and C. T. Butler

Italian, French, Russian and several Spanish Editions

*A Peoples History of the United States*, Howard Zinn

*No Trespassing*, Anders Corr

*Interviews With Icons*, Lisa Law

*Vegan with a Vengeance*, Isa Chandra Moskowitz

*Sunfood Living: A Resource Guide For Global Health*,

John McCabe

*One Can Make a Difference* Ingrid E. Newkirk - PETA

*Food Not Lawns*, Heather C. Flores

*The Revolution will not be Microwaved*, Sandy Ellix Katz

*Rising Up: Class Warfare in America from the Streets to the*

*Airwaves*, Richard Edmondson

*Walking to Mercury*, Starhawk

*Where's Home?*, Jonathan London

*Homes Not Jails*, Michael Stienburg

*The Book Case*, Stephen Greenleaf

*Nine Gallons*, Susie Cagle

*50 American Revolutions You're Not Supposed to Know*, Mickey Z

*Anarchy Farm*, Jane Doe

*Softly On This Earth*, Ethan Smith

*My World: Ramblings of an Aging Gutter Punk* by Jeff Ott

*Tales of a Punk Rock Nothing*, Abram Shalom Himmelstein and Jamie Schweser

*Reclaiming San Francisco - History, Politics, Culture*,

James Brook, Chris Carlsson, and Nancy J. Peters, eds.

*Por el Reparto del Trabajo y la Riqueza*,

Jose Iglesias Fernandez

*Eating Fossil Fuels: Oil, Food and the Coming Crisis in Agriculture*, Dale Allen Pfeiffer

*At Home on the Street: People, Poverty, and a Hidden Culture of Homelessness*, Jason Wasserman and Jeffrey Michael Clair

*Recipes for Disaster*, the CrimethInc Collective

*Black Flags and Windmills: Hope, Anarchy and the*

*Common Ground Collective*, Scott Crow

*Lost in Space: The Criminalization, Globalization, and*

*Urban Ecology of Homelessness*, Randall Amster

*Circles of Compassion*, Dr. Will Tuttle, Editor

*No Bosses No Masters: Anarchist Perspectives on Animal Liberation*, Anthony Nocella and Richard White

### Why are we sharing vegan food?



# VEGAN FOR PEACE

## Why are we sharing vegan food?



We want you to enjoy the flavor and well being of a healthy vegan diet that reflects your desire to live a conscientious life. A life that respects the dignity of all living beings, reduces animal suffering, helps slow climate change, protects our fresh water and oceans and supports the health of you and your family.

## What is a vegan person?



A vegan is anyone who respects all life and seeks to end the exploitation and suffering of all animals. Vegans eat a plant-based diet, with nothing coming from animals—no fish, poultry, meat, milk, eggs or honey. A vegan person also makes the effort to avoid using leather, wool, silk and other animal products for clothing or any other purpose. Many vegan people seek to enjoy whole organic meals cultivated and harvested by farmworkers who are treated with respect and paid a living wage. Most vegans also support efforts to protect the rights of all animals by volunteering at sanctuaries and shelters, campaigning to stop genetically engineered crops, and in their support of groups like Food Not Bombs, Farm Animal Rights Movement, PETA, and their local vegan restaurants and grocery stores.

## It's a healthy choice.



A vegan diet or plant-based diet can be balanced and improve your health because it includes fruit, vegetables, and whole grains that have less chemicals, cholesterol and saturated fat. Vegan diets can be rich in vitamins, antioxidants, and fiber, and they can decrease the chances of suffering from many diseases such as heart disease, stroke diabetes, and many cancers. You can prepare or buy healthy vegan meals for everyone in your family from the youngest children to their great-great grandparents and everyone in between. A vegan diet of whole foods is great for people of all races, cultures, and genders. Many athletes thrive on a complete vegan diet. Everyone can enjoy more of a plant-based diet and experience the rewards of better health.

## A vegan life style is a compassionate way of life.



Industrial agribusiness has taken animal suffering to unimaginable levels with millions of birds living tortured lives in tiny dark cages, cows forced by the tens of thousands in to filthy feed lots or even worse killed brutally soon after birth just because they are not profitable to the dairy industry. Millions of sheep, pigs, goats and other animals are treated as commodities, suffering brutal lives shortened in unsanitary slaughterhouses by the thousands. The meat industry claims that nearly twenty thousand animals are slaughtered every minute in the U.S. alone. Along with the suffering of livestock, thousands of animals are murdered for fur and leather or used in experiments. The crowded factory conditions are not only horrific for the animals but these conditions are responsible for the increase in food born illness, the increase failure of antibiotics, heart disease, pain, and other conditions that lead to the suffering of many people who eat these products.

## It's better for the environment.



A vegan lifestyle can be one of the most effective ways to protect the environment. The production of meat is a leading cause of climate change gasses. A University of Chicago study found that a typical meat based diet in the United States generates the equivalent of nearly 1.5 tons more carbon dioxide per person per year than a vegan diet. The livestock industry is responsible for more than 18% of all global greenhouse gas emissions by producing 90 million tons of carbon gas emissions through the use of fossil fuels each year along with causing over 8 percent of the most deadly climate change gas: methane. Even exceeding all cars, busses, planes and trains combined.

The founders of Food Not Bombs were moved by the details in Frances Moore Lappé's book, *Diet for a Small Planet*, which noted that a plant-based diet requires around one third of the land and water needed to produce a typical meat-based diet. Lappé also points out that vegetables, grains, and fruits—properly balanced for amino acids—can provide more protein per acre than meat. Each sixteen pounds of perfectly edible human food in the form of grain fed to cattle produce only one pound of beef. The 4.8 pounds of grain fed to cattle to produce one pound of beef for human beings. An acre of cereals produces five times more protein then an acre devoted to beef production. Scientists at Cornell report that the U.S. could feed 800 million people with grain that is fed to livestock. It takes 2,500 gallons of water, twelve pounds of grain, thirty-five pounds of topsoil and the energy equivalent of one gallon of gasoline to produce one pound of feedlot beef. Over 10 billion animals are raised on land for meat and dairy every year often destroying fragile eco systems. Because of over-harvesting fish, all seventeen of the world's major fishing areas have reached or exceeded their natural limits. One-third of the world's fish catch is fed directly to livestock. Animal agriculture is a chief contributor to water pollution. America's farm animals produce ten times the waste produced by the human population. Many species of wildlife are becoming extinct because of industrial farming, and we are losing our rain forests to corporations like McDonalds and Burger King who require every increasing land to grow feed and graze cattle. Eating more of a plant based diet is essential in our effort to protect our environment.

## A vegan diet is delicious!



Many cultures have wonderful vegan dishes and also experience less health problems than the meat and dairy based diets. When Food Not Bombs first started to share vegan meals at our literature tables people mostly thought that our food was limited to India with their tasty vegetable curries and dhals, or considering Asian cuisine with tofu, tempeh and rice dishes. However, we found that enjoyable vegan meals could be found in every corner of the world and be introduced to the public. Mediterranean meals of pastas, salads, hummus, babaghanoush or a Mexican meal with rice and beans on tortillas. The first Food Not Bombs group used the *Farm Cookbook*, *The Book of Miso*, *Laurel's Kitchen*, and *The Moosewood Cookbook* to guide them in preparing healthy vegan meals. We have many tasty recipes and other resources in our new book *Hungry For Peace - How You Can Help End Poverty and War with Food Not Bombs*. Please visit our booth and get a copy today or order on line at [www.foodnotbombs.net](http://www.foodnotbombs.net).

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# FOOD NOT BOMBS

The money spent by the world on weapons in one week is enough to feed all the people on earth for a year. When millions of people go hungry each day, how can we spend another dollar on war? More than 25,000 people die because of hunger every day. If you feel that people need food more than bombs, we invite you to call us today. The next few years could profoundly change the world for generations and Food Not Bombs is working to make those changes positive for everyone. We are an all volunteer movement with autonomous groups active in the Americas, Asia, Africa, Europe, the Middle East, New Zealand and Australia. We welcome your help.

Food Not Bombs is organizing several projects in your community.

- Free food distribution to local people in need.
- Literature tables to provide information about food, peace and justice.
- Providing hot vegan meals at demonstrations and events.
- Organizing creative actions in protest to war, poverty and environmental destruction.

We invite you to work with us to provide desperately needed services and information to our community. You can make a difference!

**Food Not Bombs** - P.O. Box 424, Arroyo Seco, NM 87514 USA - 1-800-884-1136

[www.foodnotbombs.net](http://www.foodnotbombs.net)

**Food  
Not  
Bombs** 

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YOUR CONTACT

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[www.foodnotbombs.net](http://www.foodnotbombs.net)

**Food  
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1-800-884-1136

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# COOK for PEACE

When a billion people go hungry each day, how can we spend another dollar on war? Food Not Bombs is an all-volunteer movement that recovers food that would otherwise be discarded, and shares free vegan meals with the hungry in over 1,000 cities around the world in protest to war, poverty, and destruction of the environment. We also provide food and supplies to the survivors of natural disasters, and people participating in occupations, strikes, marches and other protests.

Food Not Bombs is not a charity but seeks to end the crisis of corporate domination and exploitation through nonviolent direct action so no one is forced to stand in line to eat at a soup kitchen or live in the streets. We have no formal leaders and strive to include everyone in our consensus decision-making process. Each group recovers food that would otherwise be discarded; prepares fresh hot vegan meals that are shared in visible public spaces with everyone without restriction, and distributes groceries, clothing and other supplies with the community.

The first group was formed in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1980 by eight college-aged, anti-nuclear activists. A second group was started San Francisco in 1988 where the police started to arrest our volunteers for the "crime" of making a political statement making over 1,000 arrests. The police have also arrested our volunteers for feeding the hungry in a number of other cities in the United States including Middletown, Connecticut, Tampa and Orlando, Florida, Arcata and Los Angeles, California. Police also made arrests in Belarus. In 1994 Amnesty International declared that any Food Not Bombs volunteer sentenced to prison would be considered a "Prisoners of Conscience" and that they would work for our unconditional release. Nearly a dozen volunteers are currently in prison in the United States, framed or entrapped in FBI plots.

Volunteers have shared food at anti-globalization protests in many cities including Seattle, Cancun, Miami, and Toronto. Food Not Bombs organized the food relief effort for the survivors of Hurricane Katrina and Sandy. Volunteers also fed the rescue workers in New York after 9/11; started animal rescue shelters in Slovakia; provided food for 100 days during the Orange Revolution in the Ukraine; fed Camp Casey in Texas, border camps in Palestine, Poland and Mexico; help change the government of Iceland; supported kitchens at hundreds of occupations including Occupy Wall Street, Boston, Washington DC., Moscow and Budapest.

Food Not Bombs works in coalition with groups like Earth First!, Farm Animal Rights Movement, the IWW, and Anti Racist Action. Food Not Bombs activists have started projects like Indymedia, Bikes Not Bombs, Homes Not Jails, Food Not Lawns, the free radio movement, Really Really Free Markets, Anarchists Against the Wall and many other grassroots efforts. The movement has a 184 page book "Hungry For Peace" that provides the information to help people start and maintain a local Food Not Bombs chapter. A copy is available on the website. You can join Food Not Bombs in taking direct action towards creating a world free from domination, coercion and violence.

**Food is a right, not a privilege...Solidarity not charity.**



# FOOD NOT BOMBS

P.O. Box 424, Arroyo Seco, NM 87514 USA  
 1-800-884-1136  
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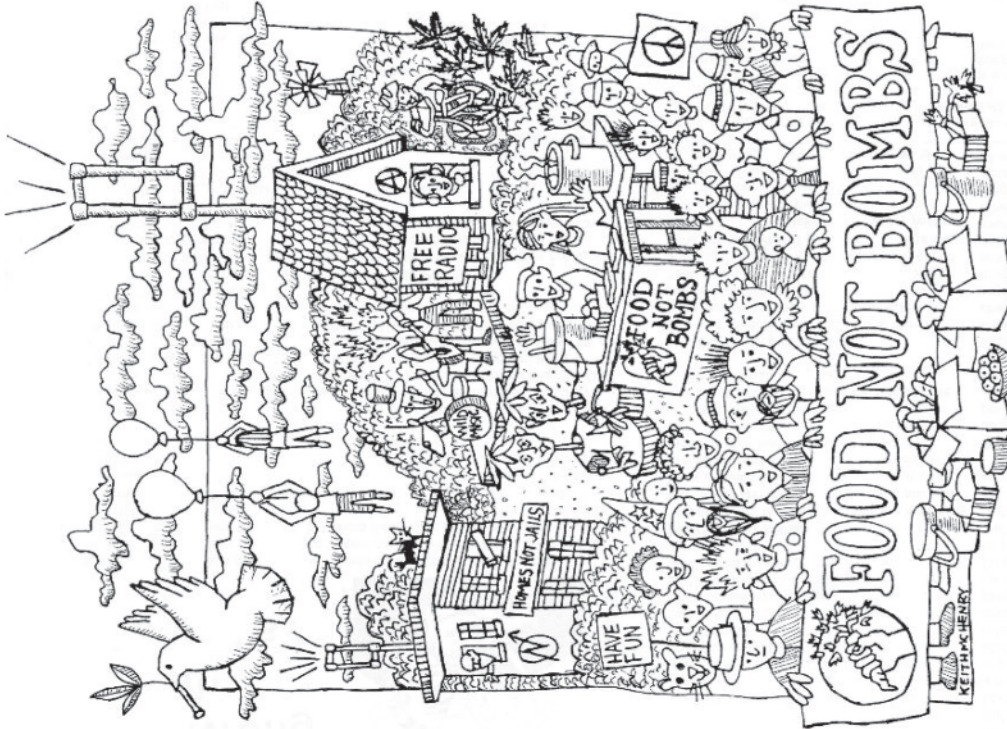
**Food is a right, not a privilege...Solidarity not charity.**



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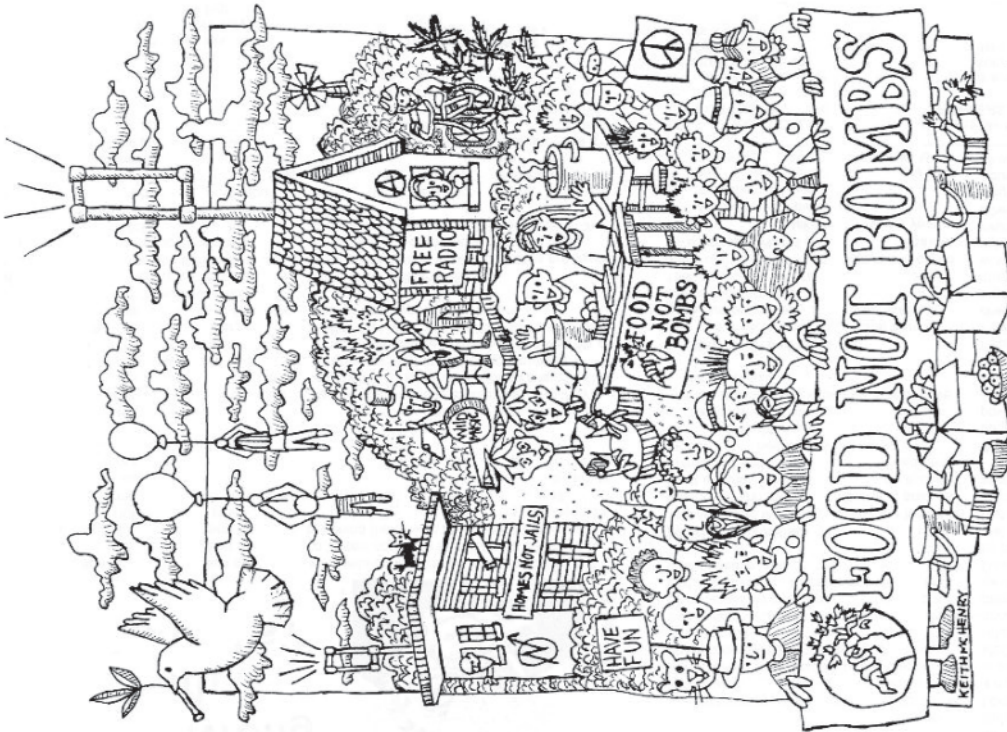
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# Enjoy a free meal with Food Not Bombs



Days of week and time of meal  
Location of the meals  
Everyone Welcome

**FOOD NOT BOMBS** - Phone or email of your chapter  
[www.foodnotbombs.net](http://www.foodnotbombs.net)

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# RECEIPT

for food donated to Food Not Bombs

ITEM	AMOUNT	COST
------	--------	------



# RECEIPT

for food donated to Food Not Bombs

ITEM	AMOUNT	COST
------	--------	------

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## SOLIDARITY NOT CHARITY

### More than a meal, a meal with a message

The purpose of Food Not Bombs is to encourage a dialogue about social change with the public while providing free healthy vegan food to everyone without restriction. It has never been more important to encourage the general public to join in finding solutions to the political, economic and environmental crises that threaten our future. Having literature and a banner in the most visible location possible during every meal also provides a safe place for everyone to enjoy a tasty meal without the stigma one may feel eating at a charity. You will feed many more people, get more volunteers and food donations, and encourage more participation in local events and projects if you always have a banner and literature at your meals. If you don't have a banner and literature, people passing by will assume you are a church group. They won't volunteer, knowing that they are not in your church, and you will give the public the impression that you believe poverty is caused by personal failing.

**OUR NAME** - Our name, Food Not Bombs, makes it clear that we believe that we could end hunger and poverty if we redirected our resources from the military and other wasteful programs to healthcare, education and social needs. The fact that there are hundreds of groups sharing the name, Food Not Bombs, helps people identify that we are a global effort to change society with shared values.

**LOCATION** - Choose a location where the most people will walk by. If you place your literature and food near train or bus stations, public buildings, or at the entrance to a park where the most people possible are likely to pass, you will reach many more people, helping build a much stronger movement. If you set up in the center of a park or other location where very few people pass by, you will have little impact and reduce the number of people that come to eat.

**TIME AND DAY** - If you choose a time when the most people possible pass by you will also increase the group's effectiveness and provide food to many more people. The best times might be noon to 2:00 pm or 4:00 to 6:00 pm. If you share food and literature for two hours or more, it will encourage deeper conversations and inspire participation in the other valuable projects and actions for social change your chapter is supporting. It is also important to arrive on time. This shows respect to the people depending on your food, and in turn the community will respect your chapter and be more willing to join you in protests and other projects. The day of the week may also be important. Many downtown areas are empty of people on Sundays.

**BANNERS OR SIGNS** - Always bring at least one banner or sign that says, "Food Not Bombs," lets the public know that you are seeking to change society so that no one is forced to eat at a soup kitchen. If you don't have a banner or sign, people will assume you are a charity and it will reinforce the idea that there is no solution to hunger and poverty. Place the banner and signs in a location where as many people as possible can see it.



The police take the literature and banners to silence the message of Food Not Bombs

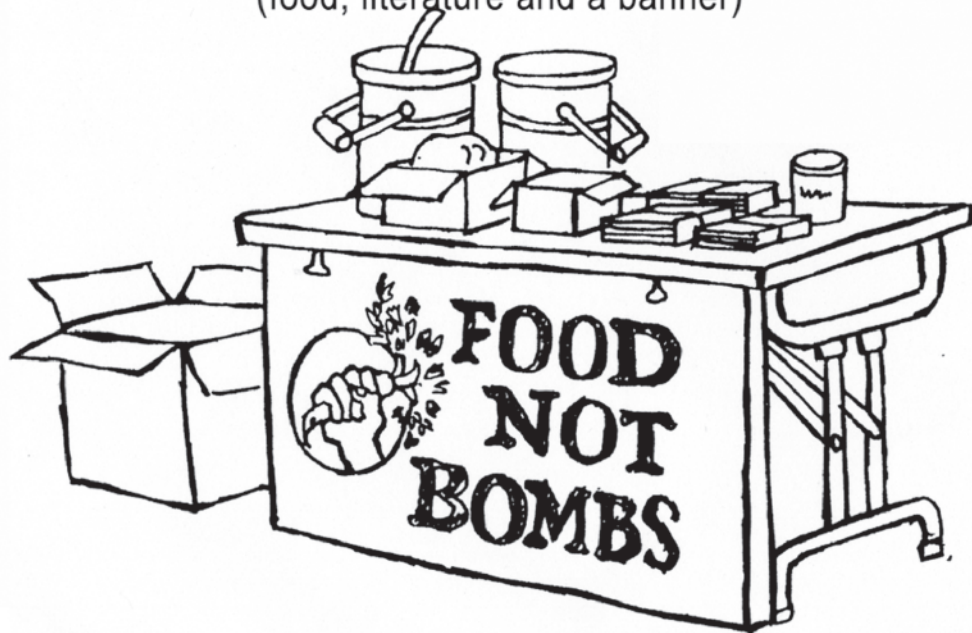
**LITERATURE** - Your literature will encourage conversations about the important issues facing your community and can inspire participation to take action to change society. If one or more of your flyers includes your group's contact information, it will help increase the number of volunteers and food donations. You can ask other community groups to provide you with a stack of flyers about upcoming events or information about local issues. Many people passing by may have no idea that there are organizations working to change society since our issues are almost never reported on by the corporate media. For many people, the Food Not Bombs literature table is their first introduction to social change. People will visit to get informed. This will also increase participation in your regular meals, concerts, protests and other community projects.

**CULTURAL EVENTS AND GROCERIES** - You can include music, puppet shows and other creative cultural activities at some point during your regular meals. This will decrease the feeling that you are a charity and encourage people passing by to enjoy your meal. Your cultural event can be an entertaining way to encourage the public to participate in changing society. The corporate media is bombarding the public with misinformation, so it takes persistence and care to reach as many people as possible with an alternative. You can also bring free groceries to share. While the suggestions on this flyer may seem simple, you will discover that by adopting these ideas you will experience a huge change in your community. The magnitude of problems we are facing are too great to ignore and the regular Food Not Bombs meal done well with banners, literature and cultural events at a high visible location can make a huge difference.

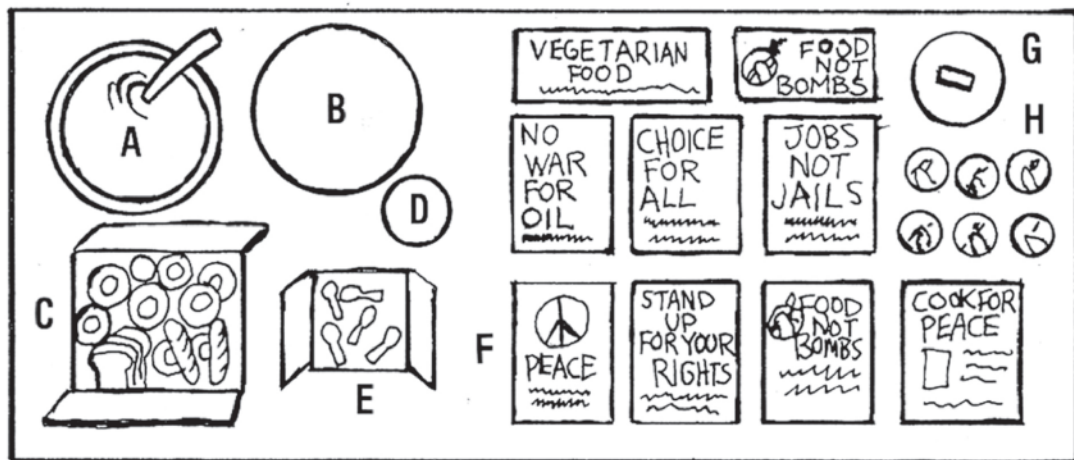
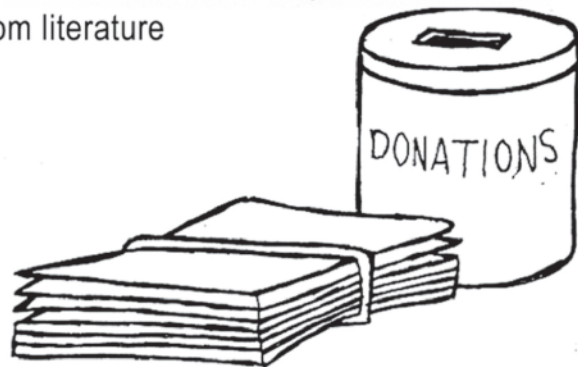
With over a billion people going hungry each day  
how can we spend another dollar on war?  
Food is a right, not a privilege.

# The Basic Food Not Bombs Table

(food, literature and a banner)



- A. Hot Soup (wet) - keep away from literature
- B. Salad or other dry food
- C. Bread and bagels
- D. Salt or other spices
- E. Spoons or forks
- F. Flyers, book & stickers
- G. Donation can
- H. Buttons



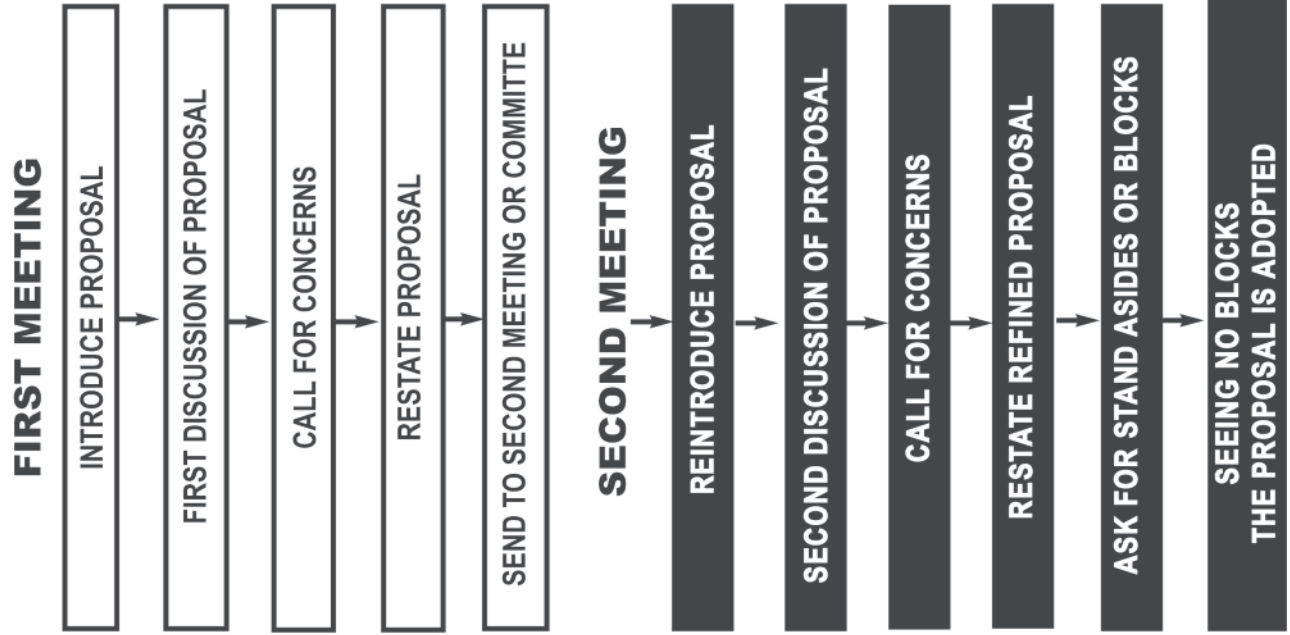
Suggest line pass by literature before the food so less food is spilled on the flyers



# A FLOW CHART FOR THE USE OF CONSENSUS TO MAKE DECISIONS

**SAMPLE MEETING AGENDA**

- Date of the meeting
- Facilitator's name and phone number
- Note keeper's name and phone number
- Time keeper's name
- 7:00 to 7:10 - Introductions, agenda review.
- 7:10 to 7:30 - Food collection for the week.
- 7:30 to 7:45 - Cooks and kitchen locations.
- 7:45 to 8:00 - Servers, literature table staff and cultural programs at the meals.
- 8:00 to 8:15 - This week's clean up schedule.
- 8:15 to 8:30 - Solidarity actions to support and provide food for.
- 8:30 to 8:45 - Promotion for group with flyers, literature tables, media, web postings and emailing.
- 8:45 to 9:00 - Financial report on income and expenses and benefit concerts and events.
- 9:00 to 9:15 - Communication report of group's emails, phone messages and mail.
- 9:15 to 9:30 - Critique meeting, restate tasks each has agreed to do during meeting and choose date, time, location and facilitator of next meeting.



ASK FOR QUESTIONS TO CLARIFY PROPOSAL

ASK FOR CLARIFICATION OF RESTATED PROPOSAL

ASK FOR QUESTIONS TO IMPROVE PROPOSAL

ASK FOR QUESTIONS TO CLARIFY PROPOSAL

ASK FOR CLARIFICATION OF RESTATED PROPOSAL

PROPOSAL IS RESTATED

ASK FOR CLARIFICATION OF RESTATED PROPOSAL

IF BLOCKED OR HAS MANY STAND ASIDES RESTATE PROPOSAL AND SEND TO NEXT MEETING OR TO COMMITTE TO IMPROVE

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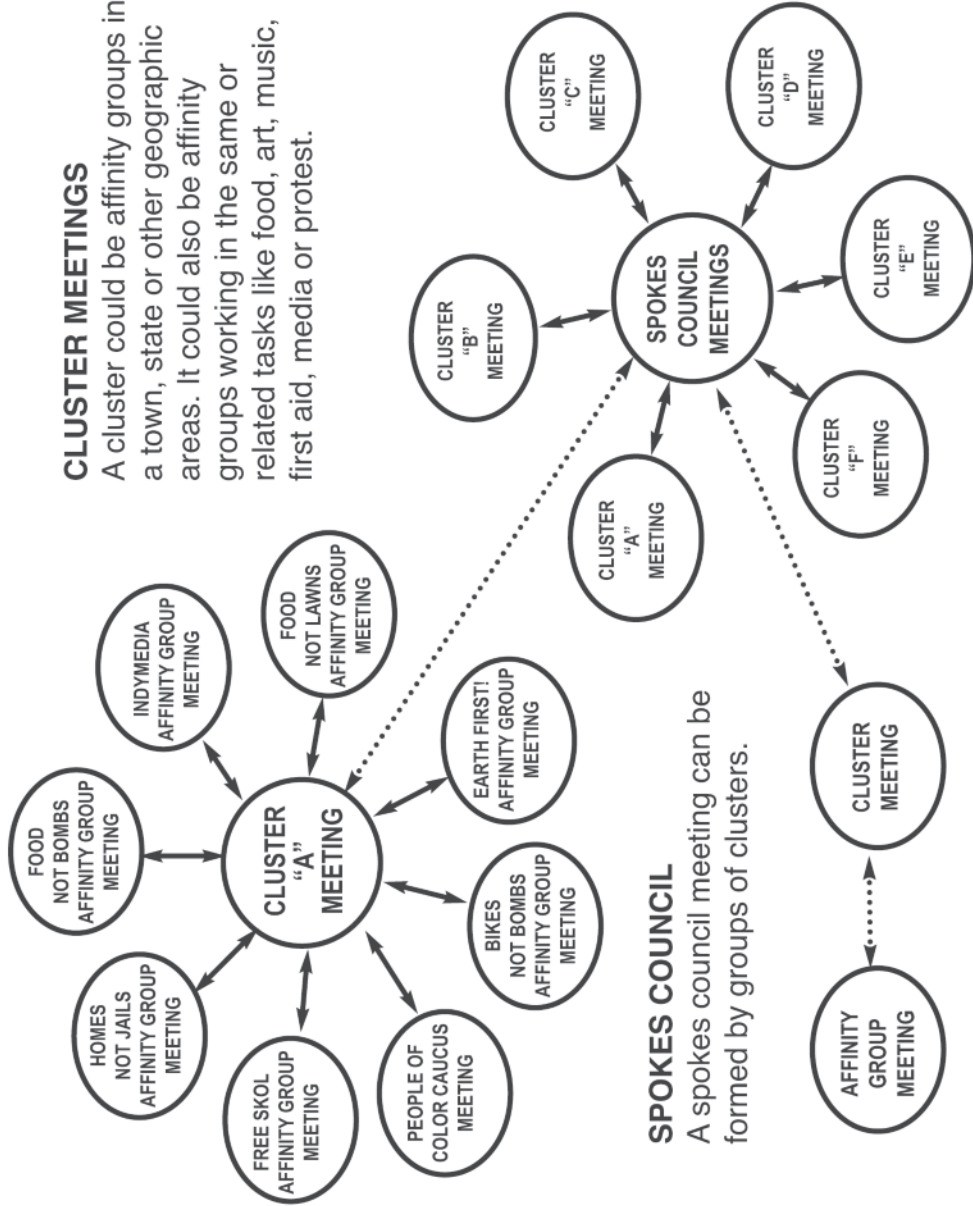
## REGULAR MEETINGS USING CONSENSUS

Regular meetings using the consensus process provide access for everyone to participate fully in the activities of your group. The consensus process encourages creativity, equality and a commitment to the implementation of every decision. Consensus encourages the adoption of the decision that most reflects the desires of everyone in your group seeking to adjust each proposal based on the ideas of everyone concerned. Give each proposal a couple of meetings to consider to create the most effective decisions. The consensus process can be the foundation for social change in your community. After years of practicing the use of consensus, your group will be prepared to fill the power vacuum created by the collapse of the current political and economic system.

Introduce the proposal, open a discussion on the proposal, ask for concerns, restate the proposal based on the input from the discussion and ask if there are any blocks or stand asides. If there are no blocks and few stand asides, the proposal is adopted. Someone should only block if they believe the proposal is contrary to the principles of the group. People stand aside if they are not excited or able to help implement the proposal. If there are a number of stand asides or blocks find out what changes would be needed to lift the block or stand asides. One or more blocks stops a proposal from being adopted. Stand asides do not stop the group from consensus.

## COMMUNITY WIDE DECISION MAKING USING CONSENSUS

Each affinity group sends their proposals to their cluster meeting of all local affinity groups. Representatives of each affinity group introduce proposals adopted by their affinity groups. Once each affinity group comes to consensus on the proposals adopted at the cluster meeting, those proposals may be sent by the cluster to the spokes council meetings. The proposals adopted by the spokes council can be sent to the cluster for adoption then back to the affinity group. If the affinity groups come to consensus on the proposal, it can be sent back to the cluster and spokes council where it is implemented by the entire community. Affinity groups send two or more people to the cluster and spokes council meetings.



### CLUSTER MEETINGS

A cluster could be affinity groups in a town, state or other geographic areas. It could also be affinity groups working in the same or related tasks like food, art, music, first aid, media or protest.

### SPOKES COUNCIL

A spokes council meeting can be formed by groups of clusters.



# FOOD NOT BOMBS WEEKLY SCHEDULE

For the week of \_\_\_\_\_

	PICKUPS	DELIVERIES	KITCHENS	COOKS	SERVERS	LITERATURE	CLEAN UP
SUNDAY							
MONDAY							
TUESDAY							
WEDNESDAY							
THURSDAY							
FRIDAY							
SATURDAY							
SOLIDARITY							





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## DAILY ACTIVITY LOG

Your group's meal number since starting \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_ Weather \_\_\_\_\_

Name or city of Food Not Bombs chapter \_\_\_\_\_

Name and phone number of coordinator \_\_\_\_\_

### FOOD PICKUPS

Location \_\_\_\_\_ Day/Time \_\_\_\_\_ Volunteer \_\_\_\_\_

Location \_\_\_\_\_ Day/Time \_\_\_\_\_ Volunteer \_\_\_\_\_

Location \_\_\_\_\_ Day/Time \_\_\_\_\_ Volunteer \_\_\_\_\_

**TYPE OF EVENT** - Regular meal \_\_\_\_\_ Solidarity \_\_\_\_\_

Starting time for cooking \_\_\_\_\_ Finish time for cooking \_\_\_\_\_

Kitchen location \_\_\_\_\_

Names of cooks

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_
5. \_\_\_\_\_

Names of volunteers sharing

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_
5. \_\_\_\_\_

Starting time for sharing meal \_\_\_\_\_ Ending time of meal \_\_\_\_\_

Meal location \_\_\_\_\_

Amount of money donated \_\_\_\_\_ Amount spent \_\_\_\_\_

Number of people eating \_\_\_\_\_

Menu \_\_\_\_\_

**Number of bags of groceries distributed** \_\_\_\_\_ **Approximate weight** \_\_\_\_\_

### CLEAN UP

Starting time \_\_\_\_\_ Ending time \_\_\_\_\_

Name of cleaning volunteers

- |          |          |
|----------|----------|
| 1. _____ | 2. _____ |
| 3. _____ | 4. _____ |

Additional notes on back YES \_\_\_\_\_ NO \_\_\_\_\_ Signature \_\_\_\_\_



## WHAT'S WRONG WITH McDONALD'S?

McDonald's spend over \$2 billion every year worldwide on advertising and promotions, trying to cultivate an image of being a 'caring' and 'green' company that is also a fun place to eat. Children are lured in - dragging their parents behind them - with the promise of toys and other gimmicks. But behind the smiling face of Ronald McDonald lies the reality: McDonald's only interest is money, making profits from whoever and whatever they can, just like all multinationals. The company's sales are now \$40 billion a year. The continual worldwide expansion of fast food chains means more uniformity, less choice and the undermining of local communities.

### PROMOTING UNHEALTHY FOOD

McDonald's promote their food as 'nutritious', but the reality is that it is processed junk food - high in fat, sugar and salt, and low in fibre and vitamins. A diet of this type is linked with a greater risk of heart disease, cancer, diabetes and other diseases. Their food also contains many chemical additives, some of which may cause ill-health, and hyperactivity in children. Modern intensive farming and production methods are geared to maximizing profits. As a result, the widespread use of unnatural practices and chemicals has also affected people's health (e.g. BSE and food poisoning).

### EXPLOITING WORKERS

Workers in the fast food industry are paid low wages. McDonald's do not pay overtime rates even when employees work very long hours. Pressure to keep profits high and wage costs low results in understaffing, so staff have to work harder and faster. As a consequence, accidents (particularly burns) are common. The majority of employees are people who have few job options and so have no alternative to being bossed around and exploited - and they're compelled to 'smile' too! Not surprisingly staff turnover at McDonald's is high, making it virtually impossible to unionize and fight for a better deal. This suits McDonald's who have always been opposed to workers' rights and Unions. The same is true for workers toiling in sweatshops in China to produce McDonald's 'happy meal' toys.

### ROBBING THE POOR

The demands made by multinationals for cheap food supplies result in the exploitation of agricultural workers throughout the world. Vast areas of land in poor countries are used for cash crops or for cattle ranching, or to grow grain to feed animals to be eaten in the West. This is at the expense of local food needs. McDonald's continually promote meat products, encouraging people to eat meat more often, which wastes more and more food resources. 7 million tons of grain fed to livestock produces only 1 million tons of meat and by-products. On a plant-based diet and with land shared fairly, almost every region could be self-sufficient in food.

### DAMAGING THE ENVIRONMENT

Forests throughout the world - vital for all life - are being destroyed at an appalling rate by multinational companies. McDonald's have at last been forced to admit to using beef reared on ex-rainforest land, preventing its regeneration. Also, the use of farmland by multinationals and their suppliers forces local people to move on to other areas and cut down further trees. McDonald's are the world's largest user of beef. Methane emitted by cattle reared for the beef industry is a major contributor to the 'global warming' crisis. The heavy use of chemicals in modern agriculture destroys wildlife, plants and the soil.

Every year McDonald's use over a million tons of unnecessary plastic and paper packaging, the production of which requires environmentally-damaging chemicals and degradation of forests. Most of the packaging ends up littering our streets or polluting the land buried in landfill sites.

### CRUELTY TO ANIMALS

The menus of the burger chains are based on the torture and murder of millions of animals. Most are intensively farmed, with no access to fresh air and sunshine, and no freedom of movement. Their short lives are cruel and their deaths are barbaric - 'humane slaughter' is a myth. We have the choice to eat meat or not, but the billions of animals slaughtered for food each year have no choice at all.

### WHAT YOU CAN DO

Food is central to our everyday lives, yet we have virtually no control over its production and distribution. The way we eat, and even the way we think about food is being manipulated by these powerful institutions and their sophisticated marketing campaigns. But despite strenuous marketing efforts, McDonald's is widely despised, and its 'reputation' - along with that of the food industry in general - continues to sink ever further.

Every year on 16th October there is an annual World Day of Action against McDonald's and all they stand for - with pickets and demonstrations all over the world. Together we can fight back against the institutions which currently control our lives and our planet, and we can create a better society without exploitation or oppression. Workers can and do organize together to fight for their rights and dignity. People are increasingly aware of the need to think seriously about the food we and our children eat. Environmental and animal rights protests and campaigns are growing everywhere. People in poor countries are organizing themselves to stand up to multinationals and banks which dominate the world's economy. Why not join in the struggle for a better world? Talk to friends and family, neighbors and workmates about these issues. Please copy and circulate this leaflet as widely as you can.

**McLibel Support Campaign** - 5 Caledonian Road, London, N1 9DX, UK.

Tel/Fax: +44 (207) 713 1269 E-mail: [mclibel@globalnet.co.uk](mailto:mclibel@globalnet.co.uk) Web: <http://www.mcspotlight.org>

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# United States "Good Samaritan" Law

## Liability Issues

On October 1, 1996, President Clinton signed the Bill Emerson Good Samaritan Food Donation Act to encourage the donation of food and grocery products to non-profit organizations for distribution to needy individuals. This law makes it easier to donate. Here's how:

It protects donors from liability when donating to a non-profit organization.

It protects donors from civil and criminal liability should the product donated in good faith later cause harm to the needy recipient.

It standardizes donor liability exposure. Donors and their legal counsel no longer have to investigate liability laws in 50 states.

It sets a liability floor of "gross negligence" or intentional misconduct for persons who donate grocery products.

Congress recognized that the provision of food close to recommended date of sale is, in and of itself, not grounds for finding gross negligence. For example, cereal can be donated if it is marked close to code date for retail sale.

## The Bill Emerson Food Donation Act

One Hundred Fourth Congress of the United States of America - At the Second Session

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Wednesday, the third day of January, one thousand nine hundred and ninety-six.

### An Act

To encourage the donation of food and grocery products to nonprofit organizations for distribution to needy individuals by giving the Model Good Samaritan Food Donation Act the full force and effect of law.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

### Section 1. CONVERSION TO PERMANENT LAW OF MODEL GOOD SAMARITAN FOOD DONATION ACT AND TRANSFER OF THAT ACT TO CHILD NUTRITION ACT OF 1966.

(a) Conversion to Permanent Law. -- Title IV of the National and Community Service Act of 1990 is amended -- by striking the title heading and sections 401 and 403 (42 U.S.C. 12671 and 12673); and in section 402 (42 U.S.C. 12672) --

(A) in the section heading, by striking "model" and inserting "bill emerson"

(B) in subsection (a), by striking "Good Samaritan" and inserting "Bill Emerson Good Samaritan:"

(C) in subsection (b)(7), to read as follows:

"(7) GROSS NEGLIGENCE. -- The term 'gross negligence' means voluntary and conscious conduct (including a failure to act) by a person who, at the time of the conduct, knew that the conduct was likely to be harmful to the health or well-being of another person.";

(D) by striking subsection (c) and inserting the following:

"(c) LIABILITY FOR DAMAGES FROM DONATED FOOD AND GROCERY PRODUCTS.

"(1) LIABILITY OF PERSON OR GLEANER. -- A person or gleaner shall not be subject to civil or criminal liability arising from the nature, age, packaging, or condition of apparently wholesome food or an apparently fit grocery product that the person or gleaner donates in good faith to a nonprofit organization for ultimate distribution to needy individuals.

"(2) LIABILITY OF NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION. -- A nonprofit organization shall not be subject to civil or criminal liability arising from the nature, age, packaging, or condition of apparently wholesome food or an apparently fit grocery product that the nonprofit organization received as a donation in good faith from a person or gleaner for ultimate distribution to needy individuals.

"(3) EXCEPTION. -- Paragraphs (1) and (2) shall not apply to an injury to or death of an ultimate user or recipient of the food or grocery product that results from an act or omission of the person, gleaner or nonprofit organization, as applicable, constituting gross negligence or intentional misconduct."; and

(E) in subsection (f), by adding at the end the following: "Nothing in this section shall be construed to supersede State or local health regulations."

(b) TRANSFER TO CHILD NUTRITION ACT OF 1966. -- Section 402 of the National and Community Service Act of 1990 (42 U.S.C. 12672) (as amended by subsection (a)) --

is transferred from the National and Community Service Act of 1990 to the Child Nutrition Act of 1966;

is redesignated as section 22 of the Child Nutrition Act of 1966; and

is added at the end of such Act.

(c) CONFORMING AMENDMENT. -- The table of contents for the National and Community Service Act of 1990 is amended by striking the items relating to title IV.

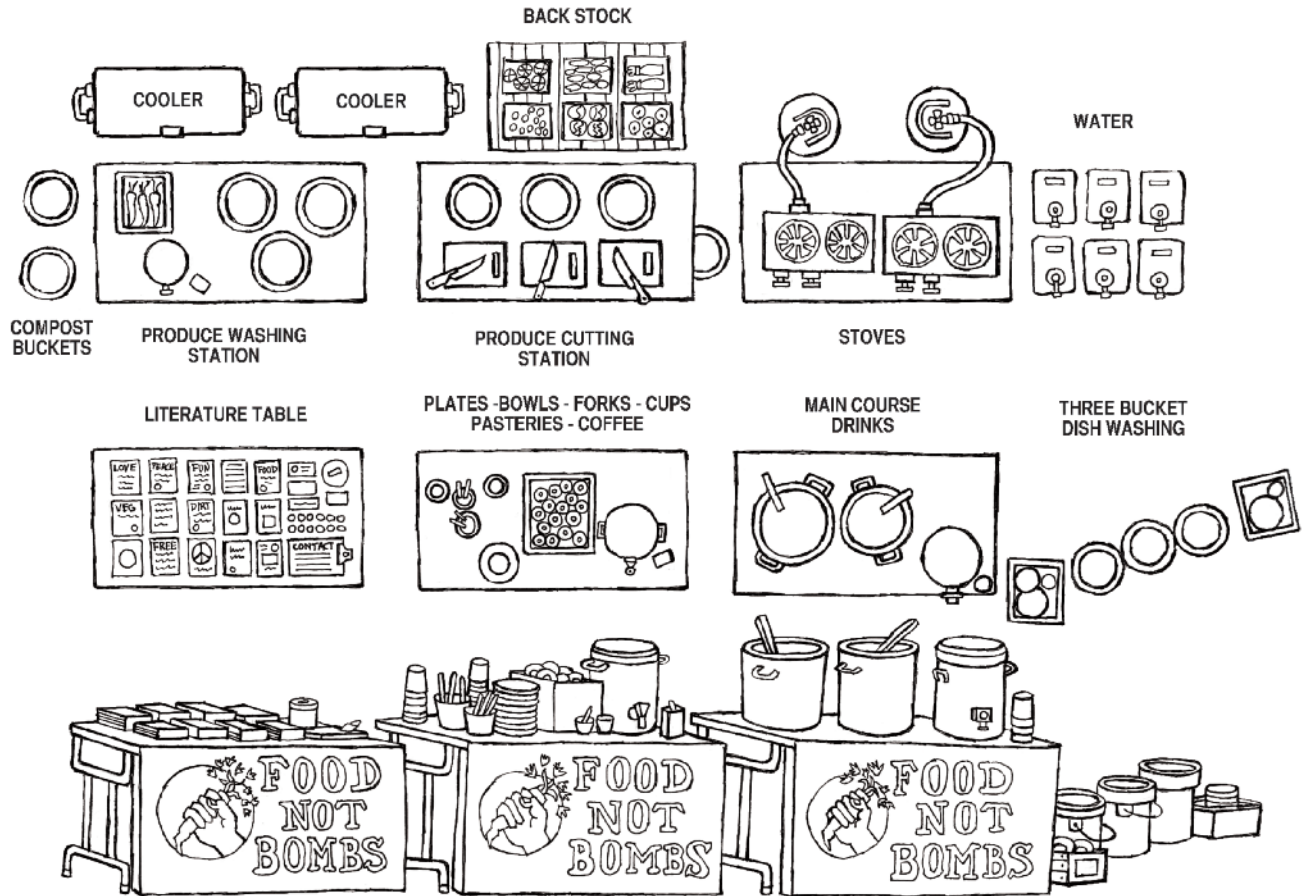
Newt Gingrich  
Speaker of the House of Representatives

Strom Thurmond  
President of the Senate Pro Tempore

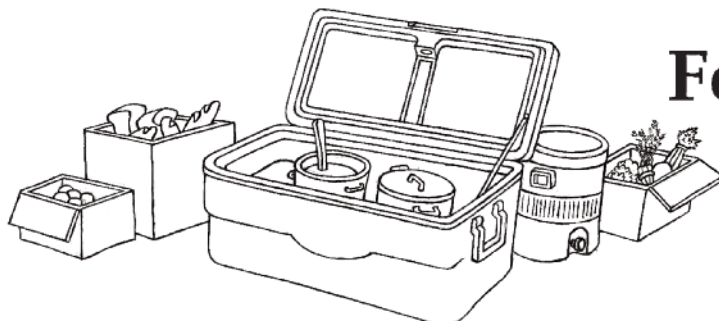
Approved 10/01/96  
William J. Clinton  
President of the United States  
P.L. 104-210

**Text provided by Second Harvest (PLEASE COPY)**

# OCCUPATION KITCHEN



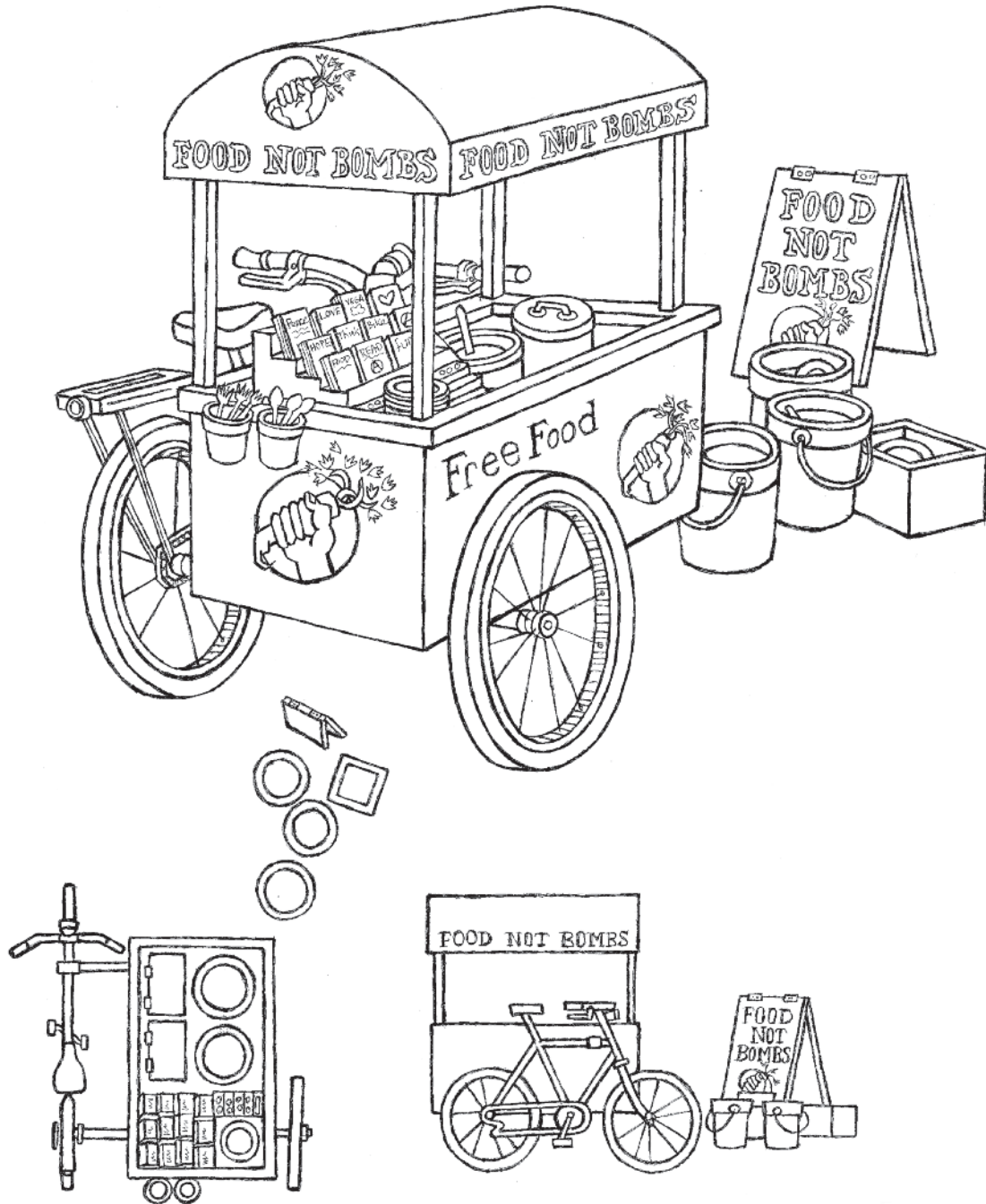
This diagram is based on the kitchen at Freedom Plaza in Washington D.C. The kitchen started on October 6, 2011 sharing meals with hundreds of people every day for months.



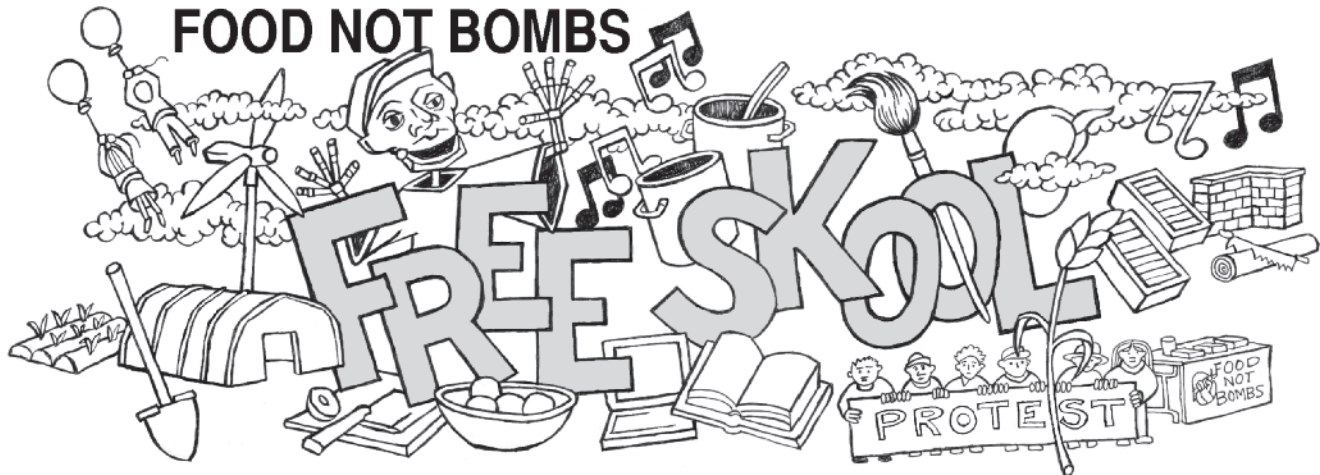
## Food Not Bombs

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- Wilderness skills, nature, weather, stars and planets.
- Creative writing, music, dance, painting, crafts, and self expression.
- Sustainable energy production, storage and implementation.
- The use of the consensus process.
- Alternative media and communication.
- Logic and patterns.
- Cooking, baking and food preservation.



### The Food Not Bombs Free Skool

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# 198 Methods of Nonviolent Action

Practitioners of nonviolent struggle have an entire arsenal of "nonviolent weapons" at their disposal. Listed below are 198 of them, classified into three broad categories: nonviolent protest and persuasion, noncooperation (social, economic, and political), and nonviolent intervention. A description and historical examples of each can be found in volume two of *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* by Gene Sharp.

## The Methods of Nonviolent Protest and Persuasion

### Formal Statements

1. Public Speeches
2. Letters of opposition or support
3. Declarations by organizations and institutions
4. Signed public statements
5. Declarations of indictment and intention
6. Group or mass petitions

### Communications with a Wider Audience

7. Slogans, caricatures, and symbols
8. Banners, posters, and displayed communications
9. Leaflets, pamphlets, and books
10. Newspapers and journals
11. Records, radio, and television
12. Skywriting and earthwriting

### Group Representations

13. Deputations
14. Mock awards
15. Group lobbying
16. Picketing
17. Mock elections

### Symbolic Public Acts

18. Displays of flags and symbolic colors
19. Wearing of symbols
20. Prayer and worship
21. Delivering symbolic objects
22. Protest disrobings
23. Destruction of own property
24. Symbolic lights
25. Displays of portraits
26. Paint as protest
27. New signs and names
28. Symbolic sounds
29. Symbolic reclamations
30. Rude gestures

### Pressures on Individuals

31. "Haunting" officials
32. Taunting officials
33. Fraternalization
34. Vigils

### Drama and Music

35. Humorous skits and pranks
36. Performances of plays and music
37. Singing

### Processions

38. Marches
39. Parades
40. Religious processions
41. Pilgrimages
42. Motorcades

### Honoring the Dead

43. Political mourning
44. Mock funerals
45. Demonstrative funerals
46. Homage at burial places

## Public Assemblies

47. Assemblies of protest or support
48. Protest meetings
49. Camouflaged meetings of protest
50. Teach-ins

## Withdrawal and Renunciation

51. Walk-outs
52. Silence
53. Renouncing honors
54. Turning one's back

## The Methods of Social Noncooperation

### Ostracism of Persons

55. Social boycott
56. Selective social boycott
57. Lysistratic nonaction
58. Excommunication
59. Interdict

## Noncooperation with Social Events, Customs, and Institutions

60. Suspension of social and sports activities
61. Boycott of social affairs
62. Student strike
63. Social disobedience
64. Withdrawal from social institutions

## Withdrawal from the Social System

65. Stay-at-home
66. Total personal noncooperation
67. "Flight" of workers
68. Sanctuary
69. Collective disappearance
70. Protest emigration (hijrat)

## The Methods of Economic Noncooperation: Economic Boycotts

### Actions by Consumers

71. Consumers' boycott
72. Nonconsumption of boycotted goods
73. Policy of austerity
74. Rent withholding
75. Refusal to rent
76. National consumers' boycott
77. International consumers' boycott

### Action by Workers and Producers

78. Workmen's boycott
79. Producers' boycott

### Action by Middlemen

80. Suppliers' and handlers' boycott

### Action by Owners and Management

81. Traders' boycott
82. Refusal to let or sell property
83. Lockout
84. Refusal of industrial assistance
85. Merchants' "general strike"

### Action by Holders of Financial Resources

86. Withdrawal of bank deposits
87. Refusal to pay fees, dues, and assessments
88. Refusal to pay debts or interest
89. Severance of funds and credit
90. Revenue refusal
91. Refusal of a government's money

### Action by Governments

92. Domestic embargo
93. Blacklisting of traders
94. International sellers' embargo
95. International buyers' embargo
96. International trade embargo



**The Methods of Economic Noncooperation: The Strike****Symbolic Strikes**

- 97. Protest strike
- 98. Quickie walkout (lightning strike)

**Agricultural Strikes**

- 99. Peasant strike
- 100. Farm Workers' strike

**Strikes by Special Groups**

- 101. Refusal of impressed labor
- 102. Prisoners' strike
- 103. Craft strike
- 104. Professional strike

**Ordinary Industrial Strikes**

- 105. Establishment strike
- 106. Industry strike
- 107. Sympathetic strike

**Restricted Strikes**

- 108. Detailed strike
- 109. Bumper strike
- 110. Slowdown strike
- 111. Working-to-rule strike
- 112. Reporting "sick" (sick-in)
- 113. Strike by resignation
- 114. Limited strike
- 115. Selective strike

**Multi-Industry Strikes**

- 116. Generalized strike
- 117. General strike

**Combination of Strikes and Economic Closures**

- 118. Hartal
  - 119. Economic shutdown
- The Methods of Political Noncooperation

**Rejection of Authority**

- 120. Withholding or withdrawal of allegiance
- 121. Refusal of public support
- 122. Literature and speeches advocating resistance

**Citizens' Noncooperation with Government**

- 123. Boycott of legislative bodies
- 124. Boycott of elections
- 125. Boycott of government employment and positions
- 126. Boycott of government departments, agencies, and other bodies
- 127. Withdrawal from government educational institutions
- 128. Boycott of government-supported organizations
- 129. Refusal of assistance to enforcement agents
- 130. Removal of own signs and placemarks
- 131. Refusal to accept appointed officials
- 132. Refusal to dissolve existing institutions

**Citizens' Alternatives to Obedience**

- 133. Reluctant and slow compliance
- 134. Nonobedience in absence of direct supervision
- 135. Popular nonobedience
- 136. Disguised disobedience
- 137. Refusal of an assemblage or meeting to disperse
- 138. Sitdown
- 139. Noncooperation with conscription and deportation
- 140. Hiding, escape, and false identities
- 141. Civil disobedience of "illegitimate" laws

**Action by Government Personnel**

- 142. Selective refusal of assistance by government aides
- 143. Blocking of lines of command and information
- 144. Stalling and obstruction
- 145. General administrative noncooperation
- 146. Judicial noncooperation
- 147. Deliberate inefficiency and selective noncooperation by enforcement agents
- 148. Mutiny

**Domestic Governmental Action**

- 149. Quasi-legal evasions and delays
- 150. Noncooperation by constituent governmental units

**International Governmental Action**

- 151. Changes in diplomatic and other representations
- 152. Delay and cancellation of diplomatic events
- 153. Withholding of diplomatic recognition
- 154. Severance of diplomatic relations
- 155. Withdrawal from international organizations
- 156. Refusal of membership in international bodies
- 157. Expulsion from international organizations

**The Methods of Nonviolent Intervention****Psychological Intervention**

- 158. Self-exposure to the elements
- 159. The fast
  - a) Fast of moral pressure
  - b) Hunger strike
  - c) Satyagrahic fast
- 160. Reverse trial
- 161. Nonviolent harassment

**Physical Intervention**

- 162. Sit-in
- 163. Stand-in
- 164. Ride-in
- 165. Wade-in
- 166. Mill-in
- 167. Pray-in
- 168. Nonviolent raids
- 169. Nonviolent air raids
- 170. Nonviolent invasion
- 171. Nonviolent interjection
- 172. Nonviolent obstruction
- 173. Nonviolent occupation

**Social Intervention**

- 174. Establishing new social patterns
- 175. Overloading of facilities
- 176. Stall-in
- 177. Speak-in
- 178. Guerrilla theater
- 179. Alternative social institutions
- 180. Alternative communication system

**Economic Intervention**

- 181. Reverse strike
- 182. Stay-in strike
- 183. Nonviolent land seizure
- 184. Defiance of blockades
- 185. Politically motivated counterfeiting
- 186. Preclusive purchasing
- 187. Seizure of assets
- 188. Dumping
- 189. Selective patronage
- 190. Alternative markets
- 191. Alternative transportation systems
- 192. Alternative economic institutions

**Political Intervention**

- 193. Overloading of administrative systems
- 194. Disclosing identities of secret agents
- 195. Seeking imprisonment
- 196. Civil disobedience of "neutral" laws
- 197. Work-on without collaboration
- 198. Dual sovereignty and parallel government

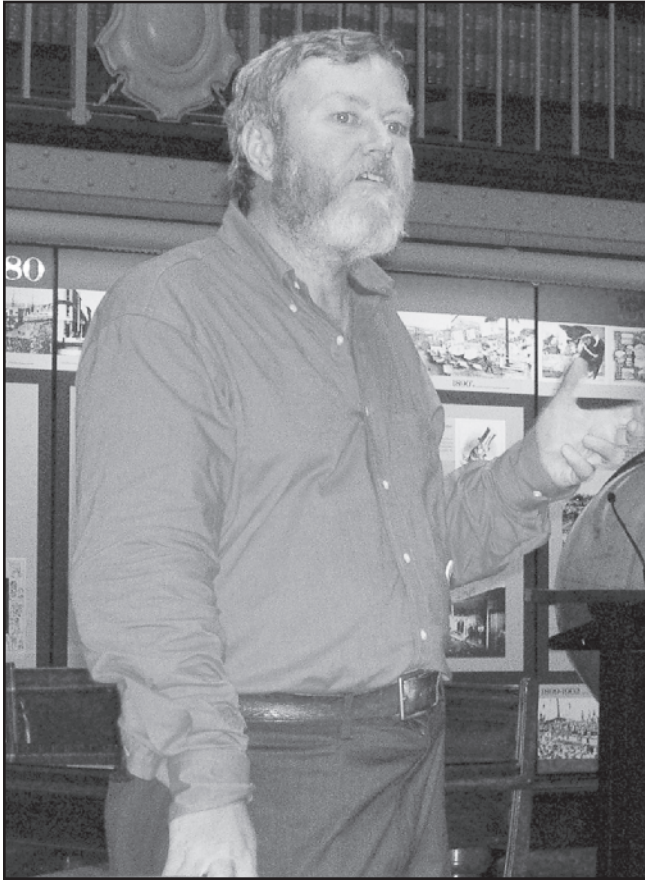
**Source:** Sharp, Gene. *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (3 Vols.), Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973. Provided courtesy of the Albert Einstein Institution.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I can't thank enough everyone that helped me during the two years it took to complete this book. My appreciation cannot be limited to just those who helped during the process of writing this book but extends to the hundreds of people that supported Food Not Bombs during our first thirty years. My deepest appreciation goes out to all the Food Not Bombs activists that shared their experiences and time with me. First I would like to thank my partner, Abbi Samuels, for supporting me during the completion of this book and my work with Food Not Bombs. A special thanks to my publisher Chaz Bufe, my editor, Shawna Williams, who provided valuable input about the direction of this book as well as correcting my grammar and spelling, and Veronica Golos for helping improve my writing skills. Some of the people and institutions I would like to mention are: Andrea McHenry, who spent many sleepless nights worrying on my behalf, and the other co-founders of Food Not Bombs: Jo Swanson, Mira Brown, Susan Eaton, Brian Feigenbaum, Jessie Constable, Amy Rothstien and C.T. Butler. A special thanks to Eric Weinberger for his more than 20 years of dedication and wisdom that helped make Food Not Bombs what we are today. I would not have been free to work on this book if it were not for the support of David Lewis. Also thanks to Dr. Alan Goldhamer and True North for helping me recover from 19 years of pain. I could not have done any of this without the support of Rich Kaplan, Alex Vitale, Tom Osher, Robert Norse Kahn, Dwight Metzger, David Nadel, Beth Sanders and Randy Baker, Dennis Cunningham, Sky Crosby, Mesfin Hailemariam, Priya Warcry, Selene Alcock, Alex Hershafft, Anai Rhoads, Bob Wilson, Bobby Castillo, Brigid Oesterling, Carla Leshne, Eric Montanez, Ben Markeson, Bob Pedersen, Michael Parenti, Chance Martin, Diamond Dave Whitaker, Jello Biafra, David Slesinger, David Dictor and Franco Mares of the punk band M.D.C., Jane Albert, Dr. Allan Antliff, Ivan Merma, Daniel and David Warnock, Dallas Rising and Brandon Noard, Dawn Moncrief, Lynne Hough, Douglas Rori, Franny Eanet, Irish, George Jarrett, Gerry Flanagan, Dr. Charles Bonfanti, Glenn Gill, Hank Brusselback, Dr. Will Tuttle, Michael

Stoops, Happy Oasis, Ian Dorofey, Idowu Israel, Michael Korn, James Tracy, Jane Shafer, Jeff Ott, Jenell Holden, Liz Hurwitz, Bob & Rae Anne Donlin, Jess Grant, Jerry Levy, my faithful doberman and best friend, Pluto, Jim Noble, Emmanuel Rodriguez, Jesus Israel Rodriguez Alvizo, David Miles, Karen Chaffraix, Kathy Kelly, Laurie Churchill, Madeline Muir, Marcia Horton, Alastair Murray, Medea Benjamin, Megan Williams, Mickey Z., Dr. Kathy Toy Miller, Nick Cooper, Noah Gray, Peggy Lee Kennedy, Calvin Moss, Chris Ford, Peter Donahue, Piotr Kowzan, Rachel Dorner, David Solnit, Roli Paroli, Caryn Kauffman, Sarah Menefee, Mariposa Bernstein, Swaneagle Harijan, Frank Afflitto, Thomas Anderson, Tom Mullian, Tracie Walsh, Laura Warren Stefania, Uncle Don, Jon and Andy Stepanian, Dennis Bernstein, Jen Riley, Dr. Elliot Katz, Gene Baur, Heidi Boghosia, Will Potter, Helen Hill and Paul Gailiunas, Walt Staton, Randall Amster, Hunter Altschul, Starhawk, Gill Gillono, Paul Kangas, James Tracy, Bill Rogers, Adam Ortberg, Chris Crass, Vincent Scotti Eirene, Carl Chatski, Shannon Murry, John Judge, Alexander Penley, Chris Carlsson, Pat Smith, Cullen Scott, Terri Compost, Dennis Peron, Carol Denney, Helen Martin, David Rovics, Jeff Jackson, Heather Flores, Michael Albert, Frances Moore Lappé, Frances Fox Piven, Helen Mary Caldicott, Raj Patel, Eric Holt-Giménez, Barbara Ehrenreich, Noam Chomsky, Howard Zinn, and so many others, and you know who you are, that made this book possible. I can't thank you enough!

I would also like to thank the many cafes, restaurants, parks and friends that let me overstay my welcome during the writing of this book, including Busboys and Poets, Cosi in Washington D.C., Marks Kitchen in Takoma Park, Tastee Diner in Bethesda and Silver Springs, Wired Cafe, Mondo Kulture, The Taos Inn, Elevation Coffee, The Taos Cow, and both the North and South Side Guadalajara Grills in Taos, New Mexico, The Red Cup in Oklahoma City, Epic and Revolutionary Cafes in Tucson, and a string of truck stops, rest areas, state and National Park camp grounds all across the United States, and last but not least Bill Moeller's home in Tucson, Arizona. Thank you one and all!



## THE AUTHOR

Keith McHenry is one of the original eight anti-nuclear activists that started Food Not Bombs in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1980. Keith was inspired to help start sharing vegan meals with the hungry when he was trimming produce at Bread and Circus Natural Foods, discarding five or six cases of organic produce every morning. Today, the all-volunteer movement he co-founded shares free vegan meals with the hungry on the streets of over 1,000 cities around the world.

Keith's great great grandfather's great grandfather was Dr. James McHenry, who was on George Washington's staff during the War for Independence, signed the United States Constitution, was Secretary of War under both Washington and Adams helping start the U.S. Military. His mother's father, John Vanderpool Phelan, was an OSS officer directing the fire bombing of Tokyo, Japan, and proudly claimed that he was responsible for burning nearly a million civilians alive during the Second World War. He also provided flight plans from Burma for the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and campaigned for the nuclear bombing of Hanoi during the Vietnam War. Keith's father, Douglas Bruce McHenry, tested the explosives for the Minute Man Nuclear missile program in Brigham City, Utah, before becoming a ranger in the National Park Service.

After spending his childhood living at the Grand Canyon, Yosemite, Big Bend and other National Parks, he moved to New England to study painting and sculpture at Boston University. Keith was introduced to the principles of social change by his American History Professor, Howard Zinn. While in school, Keith started the advertising firm, Brushfire Graphics, and won several Clio Awards. His clients included the Boston Red Sox and the Boston Celtics. Keith designed the Food Not Bombs logo and many of the images associated with the movement.

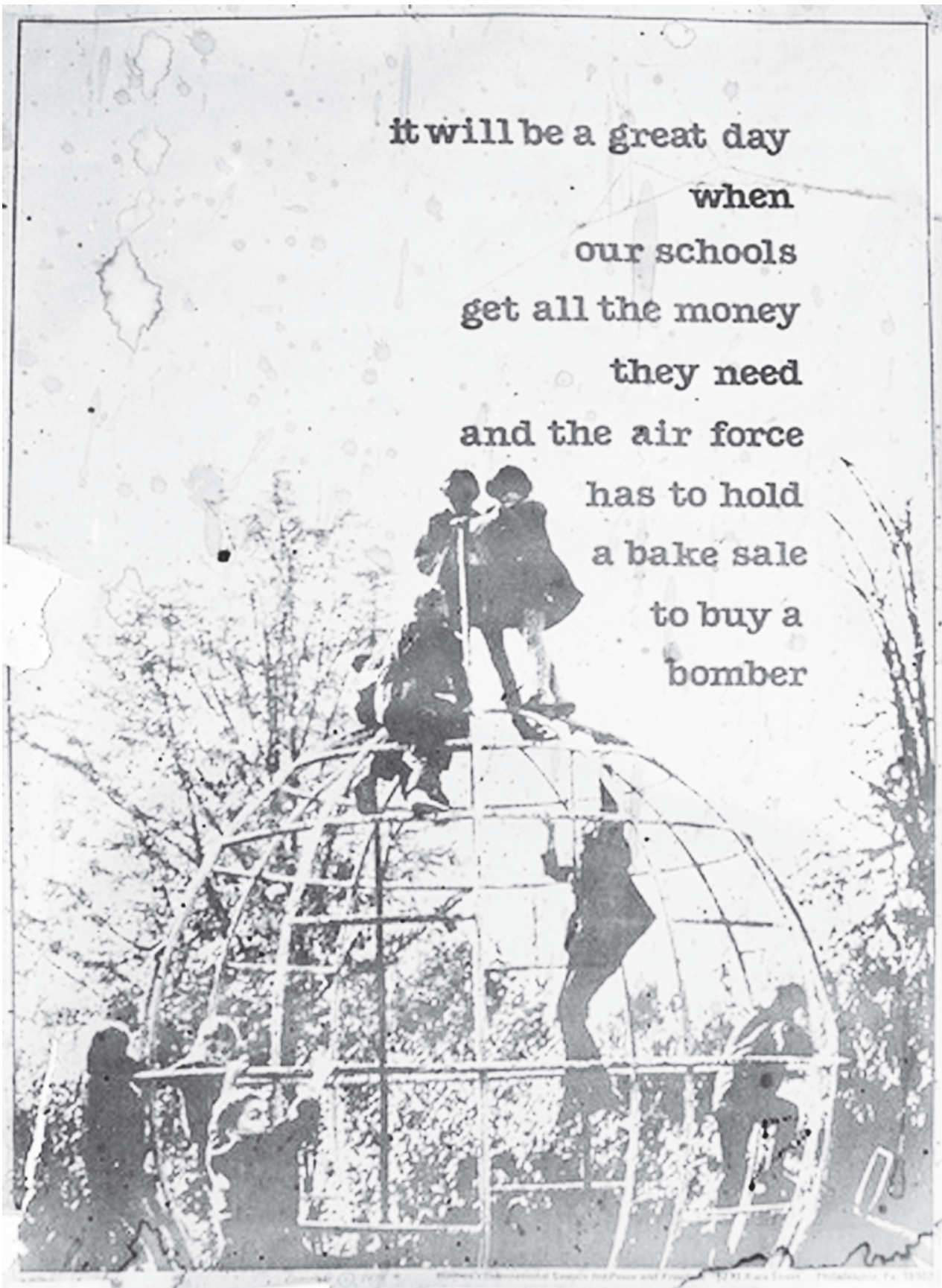
After eight years volunteering with Boston Food Not Bombs, he moved to San Francisco, California, and started a second chapter. On August 15, 1988, he and eight other volunteers were arrested for what the police claimed was making a political statement by sharing free meals at the entrance to Golden Gate Park. Keith was arrested another 93 times and spent over 500 nights in jail. He faced 25 to life in prison when he was framed under the California "three strikes and you're out" law. As a result of San Francisco's campaign of arrests and violence Amnesty International declared all Food Not Bombs volunteers Prisoners of Conscience, working for Keith's unconditional release. Keith was beaten by the San Francisco police while volunteering with Food Not Bombs requiring medical attention and two surgeries. Keith joined the Food Not Bombs volunteers in Florida after the Eleventh Circuit Federal Court of Appeals ruled that the city of Orlando could limit Food Not Bombs to sharing food and literature to twice a year per park. He was one of 24 volunteers arrested in Orlando for helping provide vegan meals to the hungry. He was held a total of 19 days and faced over a year in the Orange County Department of Corrections.

Keith co-authored the book *Food Not Bombs, How to Feed The Hungry and Build Community*, which has sold nearly 8,000 copies in English and thousands more in Spanish, French, Italian and Russian. He has toured the world, helping Food Not Bombs groups, speaking about the history, principles and current actions of the global all-volunteer movement. His personal notes, writings, photos, art, designs, legal papers, news accounts and other materials are archived at the University of Victoria in British Columbia, Canada.

Keith lives with his partner and fellow Food Not Bombs volunteer, Abbi Samuels, live in both Santa Cruz, California and Taos, New Mexico where they volunteer with their local Food Not Bombs groups. Abbi and Keith enjoy gardening, biking, hiking, swimming and sharing meals with the hungry. Keith also draws, paints, and writes articles and books about social justice issues. Keith maintains one of the Food Not Bombs websites and helps coordinate logistics for the Food Not Bombs movement.

Keith is eager to support any effort to start or maintain a local Food Not Bombs chapter and encourages the public to contact him to speak at your school or event.

it will be a great day  
when  
our schools  
get all the money  
they need  
and the air force  
has to hold  
a bake sale  
to buy a  
bomber



The poster used during the first few bake sales organized by Food Not Bombs