

A Force More Powerful

<http://www.films.com./id/924>

This six-part series tells one of the 20th century's most important and least-known stories—how nonviolent power overcame oppression and authoritarian rule. In South Africa in 1907, Mohandas Gandhi led Indian immigrants in a nonviolent fight for rights denied them by white rulers. The power that Gandhi pioneered has been used by underdogs on every continent and in every decade of the 20th century, to fight for their rights and freedom. Reviewing a century often called the most violent in human history, this powerful series is the story of millions who chose to battle the forces of brutality with nonviolent weapons—and won. 6-part series, 30 minutes each.

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Item# KEH11068

The Series Includes : [Nashville: "We Were Warriors"](#) | [India: Defying the Crown](#) | [South Africa: "Freedom in Our Lifetime"](#) | [Denmark: Living with the Enemy](#) | [Poland: "We've Caught God by the Arm"](#) | [Chile: Defeat of a Dictator](#)



VHS \$399.
95

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<http://www.pbs.org/weta/forcemorepowerful/classroom/>

A 16-page study guide for high school and college classrooms is included in the September 2000 issues of the journals *Social Education* and *PS: Political Science*. The study guide is also available to teachers and schools through public television stations nationwide.

A Force More Powerful is available for educational/institutional use as six 30-minute video modules. To order, contact Films For the Humanities at 1-800-257-5126, or visit

<http://www.films.com>. [see above]

Olympia FOR used the six part series.

http://www.mediarights.org/search/fil_detail.php?fil_id=02337

A FORCE MORE POWERFUL: A CENTURY OF NONVIOLENT CONFLICT, a riveting, new, three-hour documentary premiering on PBS tells one of humanity's most important and least understood stories — how, during a century of extreme violence, millions chose to battle brutality and oppression with nonviolent weapons — and won.

A co-production for PBS by York Zimmerman Inc. and WETA, Washington, D.C., A FORCE MORE POWERFUL is written and produced by Steve York. Peter Ackerman, noted authority on nonviolent strategy and the co-author of *Strategic Nonviolent Conflict* (1994), is series editor and principal content advisor. Distinguished actor Ben Kingsley, who won an Academy Award for his film portrayal of Mohandas Gandhi, narrates the documentary.

<http://www.abc.net.au/programsales/s1225943.htm>

Year of Production: 2000

Duration: 3 x 55 mins

(c) York Zimmerman Inc.

We look at how non-violent public resistance action has been instrumental in toppling dictators, foiling military invaders, and overcoming oppression by liberating people and establishing democracy for human rights across the globe and throughout the 20th Century.

This series tells the story of how non violent power was crucial in overthrowing dictators, foiling military invaders and securing human rights in country after country over the past ten decades.

Non-violent public resistance has toppled dictators, foiled military invaders and overcome oppression by liberating people and establishing democratic human rights across the globe throughout the 20th Century. This series is an examination of how the theories of Mahatma Gandhi have been used by Martin Luther King, Lech Walesa, Desmond Tutu, and many others to oppose oppression.

Narrated by Oscar-winner Ben Kingsley, the programme has been nominated for an Emmy for Outstanding Historical Program in the news and documentary section.

Peter Ackerman, noted authority on nonviolent strategy and the co-author of *Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: The Dynamics of People Power in the Twentieth Century* (1994), is series editor and principal content advisor. Steve York has won numerous awards and critical acclaim for his many documentaries that include *D-Day: The Soldiers' Story*, *Pearl Harbor: Two Hours That Changed the World*, *The Arab and The Israeli*, and *Vietnam Memorial* (a 1983 Emmy winner) amongst others.

Ep 1.India Defying the Crown. Nashville - We Were Warriors.

Ep 2.Poland.We've Caught God by the Arm. South Africa - Freedom in Our Lifetime.

Ep 3.Denmark - Living with the Enemy. Chile - Defeat of a Dictator.

Narrated by Ben Kingsley.

Available on a per episode basis or as three tape compilation.

For other programs on US and world politics, provided to ABC Content Sales courtesy of CS Associates see [A Force More Powerful] and [Not for Ourselves Alone]. Coming soon [Lost Boys of Sudan.

Prices (Including GST)

	Series	Episode
Standard	\$220	\$162
Schools	\$220	\$88
Home	\$220	\$66

"A Force More Powerful" Study Guide by Jonathan Mogul

http://www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org/research/A_Force_More_Powerful_Study_Guide.htm

The Study Guide for the Documentary Television Series "A Force More Powerful"

***To order the set of two videocassettes containing the documentary television series "A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict," please call Films for the Humanities & Sciences at 1 800 257-5126. The two-video set costs \$39.95 for personal use. Educational use of the videos for classrooms and groups is sold at a higher rate.**

***To order the companion book, "A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict," by Peter Ackerman and Jack DuVall, published by St.Martin's Press (\$29.95), please call 1 800 221 7945, ext. 270, and speak to Roxanne Hunte.**

***Hard copies of the study and community guides are available for free by contacting Jack DuVall at the International Center for Nonviolent Conflict at (202) 416-4721 or by email at JDuvall@rockcap.com**

<http://www.mennonitechurch.ca/resourcecentre/ResourceView/22/6268>

Title A Force More Powerful Notes A two-part documentary series on one of the 20th century's most important and least-known stories - how non-violent power overcame oppression and authoritarian rule. Includes the stories from India (Ghandi), USA (civil rights movement), South Africa (Mkhuseli Jack vs apartheid), Denmark (vs Nazis), Poland (union movement vs communism), Chile (vs Pinochet). The four-session study, "Getting in the Way" on the book of Acts and the work of Christian Peacemaker Teams is recommended as good supplementary material. Subject Headings

- [HAND PICKED LISTS-PEACE](#)
- [HAND PICKED LISTS-SMALL GROUP](#)
- [HAND PICKED LISTS-YOUTH](#)
- [PEACE & JUSTICE-NONVIOLENCE](#)

Type	Video Series	Publisher	Films for the Humanities and Sciences
Language	English		
Audience	Youth-Adult		

André Trocmé

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Andre_Trocme

André Trocmé, born [April 7, 1901](#) - died [June 5, 1971](#), was a [pastor](#) in the [French](#) town of [Le Chambon-sur-Lignon](#), who urged his [Protestant](#) congregation to hide [Jewish refugees](#) from the [Holocaust](#) of the [Second World War](#).

Inspired by spiritual leader [Charles Guillon](#), Trocmé and his wife [Magda](#) organized the rescue of between 3000 to 5000 Jews fleeing the deportation efforts of the [Nazis](#) implementation of their [Final Solution](#). Following the establishment of the [Vichy](#) regime during the [French occupation](#), Trocmé asked his congregation to shelter "the people of the Bible". Trocmé's efforts led to Le Chambon and surrounding villages becoming a unique haven in Nazi-occupied France.

Under André and Magda's leadership, families were located who were willing to accommodate Jewish refugees, members of the community reported to the railroad station to gather the arriving refugees, and the town's schools were prepared for the increased enrollment of new children.

These activities eventually came to the attention of the anti-Jewish Vichy regime. Authorities and "security agents" were sent to perform searches within the town, all of which were unsuccessful. When [George Lamirand](#), a minister in the Vichy government, made an official visit to Le Chambon on [August 15, 1942](#), Trocmé expressed his opinions to him. Days later, [gendarmes](#) were sent into the town to locate "illegal" aliens. Amidst rumors that Trocmé was soon to be arrested, he urged his congregants to "do the will of God, not of men". He also spoke of the Biblical passage [Deuteronomy](#) 19:2-10, which speaks of the entitlement of the persecuted to shelter. The gendarmes were unsuccessful, and eventually left the town.

In February of 1943, Trocmé, along with a teacher Roger Darcissac and the Reverend Edouard Theis, were arrested. Sent to Saint-Paul d'Eyjeaux, an internment camp near Limoges, Trocmé was pressured for five weeks to sign a commitment to obey all government orders. He refused, and following his release, he went underground, where he was still able to keep the rescue and sanctuary efforts running smoothly.

In January of 1971, the Holocaust memorial center in Israel, [Yad Vashem](#), recognized André and Magda Trocmé as [Righteous Among the Nations](#).

Andre Trocme, and the rescue activities in the village of Le Chambon sur Lignon
http://www1.yadvashem.org/righteous/bycountry/france/andre_trocme.html

The Greatest Commandment

André Trocmé

<http://www.brudershof.com/articles/Greatest-Commandment.htm>

Free excerpt from "Jesus and the Nonviolent Revolution"

Entire book can be downloaded or purchased at

<http://www.brudershof.com/e-books/Jesus.htm>

Yad Vashem, the Holocaust museum in Jerusalem, on its website lists the names of 20,205 "Righteous Among the Nations", who rescued Jews during World War II. There are biographies of many of them. "To date, 20,205 men and women have been recognized as Righteous Among the Nations. This figure includes family members who shared in the rescue of Jews and represents over 8,000 authenticated rescue stories."

http://www1.yadvashem.org/righteous/index_righteous.html

Among them were Andre Trocme of France, Raoul Wallenberg of Sweden,

<http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/biography/wallenberg.html>

Nonviolence as a Legitimate Means toward Peace

**by Mubarak Awad, Director
Nonviolence International**

*Nations that used armed struggles inherit dictatorships.
Nations that use nonviolence inherit democracy.*

I am encouraged that at the worst time of being under military brutal occupation of the Israelis, the thing which keeps the Palestinian going is the spirit of resistance, overwhelming spirit endurance. Even though the world heard the Palestinians, the pain and sorrow they receive every day on the hands of Jews and Israelis is a tremendous price they and their children are paying just being Palestinians and being born Christians and Moslems. Palestinians want the world to see their joy. Nonviolence action has not been a casualty of the conflict but is becoming stronger, spreading to towns, refugee camps and villages throughout the entire region. Nonviolence struggle is also becoming the talk of the Palestinian Authority—even the President himself.

The term nonviolence has been used in many ways. It has been used to describe pacifism, a lifestyle, a set of beliefs, an instrument of power and a strategy for liberation, and a method of achieving economic empowerment. Our discussion today refers to nonviolence as a means of affecting lasting change and resolving conflict. Nonviolence motivates people to act justly and ethically and to demand just and ethical action, particularly by those in power, without resort to physical harm. The first premise of nonviolence is never to participate in anything that is immoral, and to speak truth to those who would wield power.

Plato sets forth this principle in the book “Republic”, as exemplified by Socrates refusing to take part in unjust action. There is an injunction to act morally and to not be silent in the face of injustice. Yet, each of us must develop our own morality from within, though each owes a duty to assist others and the community at large in the development of a collective reality by sharing, and dialoguing about their own views. Nonviolence is action based upon principle that is undertaken in a tactical way so as to make the moral point effectively. It is not based on religion, yet requires a religious zeal and self-discipline to be successful. Also, many have been attracted to nonviolence in the name of religion. For example, consider the Quakers, Mennonite and Brethren churches, as well as Sufism in Islam.

Nonviolence as proposed by Henry Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson and used by Mahatma Gandhi interprets the above to mean that violence is always wrong and should never be undertaken for any purpose. Just what constitutes violence is a complex question. Clearly killing people or inflicting serious injury is violent. Other physical, social, political, economic or psychological actions may also be deemed violent, depending upon their intent and effect. The ultimate aim of nonviolence is to achieve justice and moral interaction among people without doing violence. Ideally, all human interactions should be built upon a basis of mutual respect and understanding in which all parties see themselves as members of a community soul, or mind, regardless of whether they are members of the exact same community as defined in the usual political and sociological sense.

The relationship between principle and the practice of nonviolent action is always intended to have an effect. Occasionally, the action itself may directly or indirectly cause the desired end as when a demonstration convinces Israeli political leaders to change their course of action. Most often nonviolent action is a catalyst in building moral and political support for changing social and political policy. Socrates made his moral point effectively by his willingness to die for his principles. Gandhi's march to attempt to peacefully take over the salt monopoly of the British finalized the end of the British occupation of India.

Tactically nonviolent action is often provocative. It will put the Israeli military in a double bind. If the nonviolent act is allowed, it makes its point, and the movement gains strength. If the Israelis resist, particularly where they resort to violent means, the relative justice of the actors and injustice of their opponents is magnified bringing considerable political gain to the activists.

Many factors are involved in the effect of any action, but perhaps the biggest factor is how open Palestinians are to a particular action and to the general principle or movement to which it relates. How will an action be perceived? One needs to consider carefully where Palestinian people are now and what affect a given course of action may have. From that essential standpoint, it is not enough just to act on principle. The greatest concern is the long run, and what impact an act may eventually have in moving consciousness forward.

The history of nonviolence in Palestine has yielded seven principles of nonviolent struggle:

1. An education process of nonviolent methods in the life history of Palestinians, Moslems and Arabs in general is needed to bring attention to the history of nonviolence, such as the six month strike in 1936 that even Gandhi spoke about. In the Egyptian nonviolent quick response of getting rid of their monarchy (King Farouq), not a single Egyptian died. Abdul Gaffar Khan, a Moslem from the Pathan province in India, joined Gandhi believing that Islam is a nonviolent religion and he wanted all the Moslems to join the Gandhi movement. His life story was translated into Arabic and distributed in Palestine and the Arab and Moslem world.
2. Nonviolent methods and practice are not an imported concept from the West or the East. Its use is practical for every one and each person who is willing to work for justice without the use of arms or any means of killing.
3. Symbolic forms of nonviolent protests such as vigils, marches, and flying of the Palestinian flags are important.
4. The ideas of this movement must be brought to Palestinians in every village and every refugee camp and to try to give a choice to young people to make a strategy and make nonviolence as one of their choices and part of their operation. Also by giving seminars to the leadership of the PLO and continuous correspondence of certain methods that can be implemented to reach peace.
5. Non-cooperation must be employed, including social boycotts, economic boycotts, labor strikes, and many forms of political non-cooperation, ranging from civil disobedience and refusal to pay taxes to campaigns to eat Palestinian products and use Palestinian goods, even cigarettes.

6. Contact must be made with Israeli groups who are interested in peace and partnerships should be formed with them so that both sides can see the humanity and fear of the other as well as the suffering.

7. Nonviolent intervention should be used ranging from hunger strikes to the establishment of self-reliant institutions, nonviolent occupations and blockades, and the establishment of a rival parallel government. Palestinians, without the Palestinian Authority or any government, established NGO committees that took care of most of the Palestinians in the first Intifada, meeting the needs of people with joy and a feeling that each person has to meet their responsibility in order for each community to take care of its own needs.

Nonviolent strategy has a long history with varying degrees of success. Success sometimes has come through changing the minds and attitudes of the opponents, but that is rare. More often partial success has been achieved through accommodation (gaining and giving up part of one's objectives.) The Oslo accord is a good example of this, also if we look at most labor strikes. Nonviolent strategy has also demonstrated its capacity to produce nonviolent coercion of the opponent so that no alternative remains but to capitulate. At times, the opponent's regime is even disintegrated in face of massive repudiation and paralyzing non-cooperation as was the case in the "animal March". * Nonviolence strategy has been waged in recent years, in many parts of the world including Mexico, Chile, Korea, South Africa, Palestine, Israel, Sudan, and various parts of the former Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Burma, Brazil, and China. Historically, nonviolent strategy has wielded significant power in conflicts when applied skillfully and has often been met with serious repression by the opponents. That response is recognition of its power. In fact, the brutalities of repression against nonviolent resisters trigger a process of "political jiu-jitsu" which increases the resistance, sows problems in the opponents' own camp, and mobilizes third parties in favor of the nonviolent resisters.

This, by itself, was my point for a long time, i.e. that a strategy of nonviolence needs to be endorsed from top to bottom. If the Palestinian President indorse nonviolence all Fateh groups will follow. We can accomplish a great deal by our full, unrelenting commitment. Other tenets we must embrace:

1. We must support the Palestinian people to continue the struggle to get rid of the occupation because no people should be under another people's control. Even as high as the price of freedom can be—economically, physically, psychologically—we as Palestinian should continue to fight the Israeli occupation and not let the Iraq issue take a priority in our struggle. We should condemn the occupation of Iraq and show the Iraqis the power of nonviolence that we are engaged in.

2. We need to increase the numbers of delegations. First, a delegation with noteworthy people like Mandela and Jimmy Carter, or 5 or 10 Nobel Peace Prize laureates, to meet with Palestinians and with Israelis together to promote peace rather than prolongation of the conflict and to bring the conflict back to the media's attention. Second, a delegation of seasoned nonviolent activists to meet with elected Palestinian Authority figures to promote the use of nonviolence as part of

the struggle from both sides—from the top and from the bottom. Third, a broad based delegation to meet with Palestinians to tell us we are not forgotten, that people around the world stand with us even those in Australia. We need to combat our feelings of hopelessness. This third delegation would meet with people in the refugee camps, business people, professors and workers.

3. We need to work on the media and public relations. At this time the Israelis are able to control and blackout information. We need to suggest and request the Arab leaders regularly visit U.S., European and other international political leaders, officially and unofficially. But they should coordinate with us.

4. We need to have the church leadership once again assume the moral responsibility of communicating to their congregations about what's happening to the Palestinians that we are paying the price for their own bad deeds against the Jews. We have been doing it for more than fifty years and we will suffer more for you, just don't forsake us.

5. We need action on several levels, on the international level, on the Palestinian and on the Israeli-Palestinian level. For example, let's have a monthly march to demand that the Israelis lift one blockade any place, then have a march of victory that they did it.

6. We need to eliminate the divisions within the Palestinians. We have divisions between Palestinians who came from Tunis, those inside the 1967 line, Palestinians who are in refugee camps as well those who are in Gaza. We do not need the Israelis to dictate to us who we are.

7. We have to stop the divisions between the Arab world and Palestinians and keep uppermost in our minds that the biggest division is between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples.

8. We need to have local town meetings for Palestinians to express themselves and choose the kind of struggle they want and to discuss the consequences of that struggle, and their expectations of the outcome of the struggle, to define their goals and objectives. It seems that there is no leadership to lead the Palestinians into thoughtful decision-making. Unfortunately, it seems this goes for the Palestinian Authority, as well.

9. We need funds; nonviolence can't continue to be the activity of the poor. To make changes in lives of people and bring a just peace funds have to be given in significant amounts to make a difference. If we had had funds in the first Intifada, to implement all our strategies, we would have had a normal peace between us and the Israelis long before this time.

10. We all have different approaches as human beings about how to resolve the problems we face and some of them can be unique let me give some ideas that can change the thinking of every one here as well you can see the power of nonviolence. For example;

WHAT IF?

A. All Palestinians Arabs Christians and Moslems become Jews so that the law of return will apply to us. No longer will we live in fear of being killed, or our houses demolished, or our land

confiscated, or having check points, We will all become chosen people just like the Jews. This will confuse and destabilize the Israelis society and they will not know what to do. I tried that and letters were sent to more than 250 Rabbis from different Jewish organization telling them if I approached them to refuse me.

§ For the refugees, we cannot wait for another fifty years and endure the suffering and degradation. Let us burn all our belongings and commit ourselves to walk to the river Jordan, not looking back until we cross to the Promised Land which is ours. Thousands and hundred of thousands of Palestinians from Jordan, Lebanon and Syria will be supported by Palestinians inside Israel as well as the Palestinians in other countries. Palestinian families with homes and resources will adopt an entire family to help them survive regain control of their lives. This is a huge commitment that needs a strategy, divide the miles of the Jordan River to many sectors and have sponsorship from churches, countries and individuals. (can we count on the churches or this will be another betray)

Need a declaration that from this day on we as Palestinians will commit ourselves to nonviolent methods in all and every activity we do and we will not carry any gun not even to defend ourselves. (That will stop the wall)

§ Members of the Palestinian Authority should resign, all of them, and give everything back to the Israelis. The occupying force will have to pay for our schools, hospitals and civil service jobs. The Israeli needs to pay and know that to occupy people it costs money, a lot of money. We will not lose and it will make things very simple. An authority without authority is like a heavenly dream.

§ If we want to use nonviolence and commit ourselves to it we need the support of all Arabs. We need to export this commitment to the whole Arab masses and bring change in the Arab régime, everywhere.

§ The Arab world and its leaders should realize how much of an influence and impact they could have on the Palestinian struggle. It is in the best interest of the Arabs to create flexible funding mechanisms. Funds could be used to wage a massive media campaign locally, within Israel and Palestine, regionally and internationally. The campaign could highlight the life struggles of ordinary Palestinians and illustrate the relationships that can and must be forged between Israelis and Palestinians so that neither would have to once again mourn another son, a daughter, a brother, a sister, a father, or a mother lost to violence. Areas in Palestine that are the most affected should be the focal point for media campaigns.

§ Another aspect of this campaign is for Palestinians to host more international conferences that welcome women, various religious organizations, academics, and students from across the globe. The relationships that would be formed would reach-out across oceans and lands. This would create waves of support for the Palestinians suffering and struggling on the ground. These international guests can also act as international observers as they see and hear for themselves, the life experiences of the Palestinians without the distortion of media censors. These people-to-people networks will unite us in peace and forge a psychological, political, and spiritual bond

that no bullet, missile, bomb, or stone can replace.

§ This Palestinian struggle is an Arab struggle so let us not make it a Moslem struggle.

§ The Palestinians should call for an /International Day of Solidarity /every Monday of each month with supporters fasting one meal that day and contributing the cost of the meal to the cause. Places of worship would organize prayers on this day for the Palestinians. Teach-ins would be organized on campuses in the region and internationally.

§ This struggle should also be the people's choice. The leaders in the legislature and Palestinian community should embrace this nonviolent campaign. This effort would encourage the Palestinian leaders to produce a "Declaration" of what they want and desire.

§ The support of the civil society organizations at this juncture is of utmost importance. Local and international NGOs should continue their struggle to promote nonviolent means of bringing in a real change in life and society for Palestinians and Israelis. This would mean that the various NGOs must also act morally and ethically.

§ NGOs supporting the Palestinian struggle have confronted Israelis for the injustices done against the Palestinians. However, when Palestinians against other Palestinians inflict violence, they have remained quiet. For the sake of justice, NGOs cannot afford to be selective. Injustice is injustice no matter who the perpetrator is.

§ Nonviolence activities have been on the rise in the recent months. In recent weeks Palestinians and supporters of their struggle, locally and internationally, have protested wanting their voices to be heard in a nonviolent way

These efforts could be complimented beautifully when open communication between Israeli and the Palestinian is established. This is where real leadership begins. The Palestinian must take the lead in opening channels of communication with the Israeli. The Palestinian should then welcome Israelis who are speaking against and are calling for the end of the occupation. Trust building is of utmost importance here. Palestinians must take the chance to build trust. To succeed, Israel must reciprocate with good will.

Great satisfaction was evident among the Palestinians people when elections took place to elect the Palestinian legislature and president however, the rejoicing was short lived when the re-election dates passed by and the people lost their opportunity to participate in a democratic practice that makes a nation strong. Elections are sacred and so are election dates. The government should not make excuses to avoid these historic moments in time. These acts of avoidance are a betrayal from the Palestinian leadership. Because it is of our making, the trust of those in office is gone and again we lost the confidence of a leadership that working for the common good, but it start to look at they are working for their own good. Shame on them and sad movement in our struggle that destroyed our pride and the effort to work to end occupation and to put it in such hands is not worth the effort.

Elected officials and election organizers must respect the outcomes of elections. Even though they as individuals might have different viewpoints or preferences, elections should be sacred. Palestinian elections should also be free of pressure from the U.S. and Israel. This means that tremendous trust should be given to the process. The process will bring about what people really and truly want.

We recognize that many people have given or lost their lives in this long struggle. We are confident that they are not wasted. Unlike the first Intifadah, these lost lives have pushed the PLO into the occupied territories. The second Intifadah opens the door to the establishment of an independent Palestinian State. But now, as we continue, this Intifadah must be nonviolent. A moratorium on violence must be accepted and embraced by all parties involved.

As we look ahead, Israel should realize that there would be no real peace without Palestinian rights. For Israel to live in peace with the Arab world they must commit to the rights of Palestinians being respected and consistently implemented. We do feel that this land should not be treated by one group as if it is a gift from God to them and only them. Until the greatest majority of the Israeli public recognize and accept the rights of Palestinians to live in their home land as equals, there will be no final solution to this conflict.

We should realize that our struggle is not the only struggle. Some struggles have used arms and violence and some have been nonviolent in nature. As we look at history for guidance, we can learn from the tremendous successes of nonviolent struggles. There are many more events in history that have used nonviolence as a legitimate means to alter the relations of power. We, as Palestinians would be proud to count ourselves as the next victors of a nonviolent struggle. We want peace and want our children to have a better life and a peaceful world; we must rise beyond hatred, fear or religious fundamentalism. We need not wait for the other side to stretch out their hand to us. We can create our future and make a new beginning. It can be done and let us do it together.

Nonviolence as a Legitimate Means toward Peace in Palestine

**by Mubarak Awad
Nonviolence International**

*Nations that use armed struggles inherit dictatorships.
Nations that use nonviolence inherit democracy.*

I am encouraged that at the worst time of being under military brutal occupation of the Israelis, the thing which keeps the Palestinian going is the spirit of resistance, the overwhelming spirit of endurance. Even though the world heard the Palestinians, the pain and sorrow they receive every day on the hands of Jews and Israelis is a tremendous price they and their children are paying just being Palestinians and being born Christians and Moslems. Palestinians want the world to see their joy. Nonviolent[ce] action has not been a casualty of the conflict but is becoming stronger, spreading to towns, refugee camps and villages throughout the entire region. Nonviolence struggle is also becoming the talk of the Palestinian Authority—even the President himself.

Nonviolence Defined

The term nonviolence has been used in many ways. It has been used to describe pacifism, a lifestyle, a set of beliefs, an instrument of power and a strategy for liberation, and a method of achieving economic empowerment. *Our discussion [today] refers to nonviolence as a means of affecting lasting change and resolving conflict.* Nonviolence motivates people to act justly and ethically and to demand just and ethical action, particularly by those in power, without resort to physical harm. The first premise of nonviolence is never to participate in anything that is immoral, and to speak truth to those who would wield power.

Plato sets forth this principle in the book “Republic”, as exemplified by Socrates refusing to take part in unjust action. There is an injunction to act morally and to not be silent in the face of injustice. Yet, each of us must develop our own morality from within, though each owes a duty to assist others and the community at large in the development of a collective reality by sharing, and dialoguing about their own views.

Nonviolence is action based upon principle that is undertaken in a tactical way so as to make the moral point effectively. It is not based on religion, yet requires a religious zeal and self-discipline to be successful. Also, many have been attracted to nonviolence in the name of religion. For example, consider the Quakers, Mennonite and Brethren churches, as well as Sufism in Islam.

Nonviolence as proposed by Henry Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson and used by Mahatma Gandhi interprets the above to mean that violence is always wrong and should never be undertaken for any purpose. Just what constitutes violence is a complex question. Clearly killing people or inflicting serious injury is violent. Other physical, social, political, economic or psychological actions may also be deemed violent, depending upon their intent and effect.

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Principles and Practices

The relationship between principle and the practice of nonviolent action is always intended to have an effect. Occasionally, the action itself may directly or indirectly cause the desired end as when a demonstration convinces Israeli political leaders to change their course of action. Most often nonviolent action is a catalyst in building moral and political support for changing social and political policy. Socrates made his moral point effectively by his willingness to die for his principles. Gandhi's march to the sea to attempt to peacefully take over the salt monopoly of the British [finalized] signaled the ultimate end of the British occupation of India.

Tactically nonviolent action is often provocative. It will put the Israeli military in a double bind. If the nonviolent act is allowed, it makes its point, and the movement gains strength. If the Israelis resist, particularly where they resort to violent means, the relative justice of the actors and injustice of their opponents is magnified bringing considerable political gain to the activists.

Many factors are involved in the effect of any action, but perhaps the biggest factor is how open Palestinians are to a particular action and to the general principle or movement to which it relates. How will an action be perceived? One needs to consider carefully where Palestinian people are now and what affect a given course of action may have. From that essential standpoint, it is not enough just to act on principle. The greatest concern is the long run, and what impact an act may eventually have in moving consciousness forward.

Lessons from Palestine

The history of nonviolence in Palestine has yielded seven principles of nonviolent struggle:

1. *An education process* of nonviolent methods in the life history of Palestinians, Moslems and Arabs in general *is needed* to bring attention to the history of nonviolence, such as the six month strike in 1936 that even Gandhi spoke about. In the Egyptian nonviolent quick response of getting rid of their monarchy (King Farouq), not a single Egyptian died. Abdul Gaffar Khan, a Moslem from the Pathan province in India, joined Gandhi believing that Islam is a nonviolent religion and he wanted all the Moslems to join the Gandhi movement. His life story was translated into Arabic and distributed in Palestine and the Arab and Moslem world.

2. Nonviolent methods and practice are *not an imported concept* from the West or the East. Its use is practical for every one and each person who is willing to work for justice without the use of arms or any means of killing.

3. *Symbolic forms of nonviolent protests such as vigils, marches, and flying of the Palestinian*

flags are important.

4. *The ideas of this movement must be brought to Palestinians in every village and every refugee camp. [and to try to give] Young people should have a choice [to young people] to make nonviolence part of their [a] strategy [make nonviolence as one of their choices] and part of their operation. There should be [Also by giving] seminars [to] for the leadership of the PLO and continuous correspondence of certain methods that can be implemented to reach peace.*

5. *Non-cooperation must be employed, including social boycotts, economic boycotts, labor strikes, and many forms of political non-cooperation, ranging from civil disobedience and refusal to pay taxes to campaigns to eat Palestinian products and use Palestinian goods, even cigarettes.*

6. *Contact must be made with Israeli groups who are interested in peace and partnerships should be formed with them so that both sides can see the humanity and fear of the other as well as the suffering.*

7. *Nonviolent intervention should be used ranging from hunger strikes to the establishment of self-reliant institutions, nonviolent occupations and blockades, and the establishment of a rival parallel government. In the first Intifada Palestinians, without the Palestinian Authority or any government, established NGO committees that took care of most of the Palestinians [in the first Intifada], meeting the needs of people with joy and a feeling that each person has to meet their responsibility in order for each community to take care of its own needs.*

Success of Nonviolence

*Nonviolent strategy has a long history with varying degrees of success. Success sometimes has come through changing the minds and attitudes of the opponents, but that is rare. More often partial success has been achieved through accommodation (gaining and giving up part of one's objectives.) The Oslo accord is a good example of this, also if we look at most labor strikes. Nonviolent strategy has also demonstrated its capacity to produce nonviolent coercion of the opponent so that no alternative remains but to capitulate. At times, the opponent's regime is even disintegrated in face of massive repudiation and paralyzing non-cooperation as was the case in the "animal March". **

Nonviolence strategy has been waged in recent years in many parts of the world, including Mexico, Chile, Korea, South Africa, Palestine, Israel, Sudan, and various parts of the former Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Burma, Brazil, and China. Historically, nonviolent strategy has wielded significant power in conflicts when applied skillfully and has often been met with serious repression by the opponents. That response is recognition of its power. In fact, the brutalities of repression against nonviolent resisters trigger a process of "political jiu-jitsu" which increases the resistance, sows problems in the opponents' own camp, and mobilizes third parties in favor of the nonviolent resisters.

This, by itself, was my point for a long time, i.e. that *a strategy of nonviolence needs to be*

endorsed from top to bottom. If the Palestinian President e[i]ndorses nonviolence, all Fateh [sp?] groups will follow. We can accomplish a great deal by our full, unrelenting commitment.

Basic Tenets

There are o[O]ther tenets we must embrace.

1. We *must support the Palestinian people to continue the struggle to get rid of the occupation* because no people should be under another people's control. Even as high as the price of freedom can be—economically, physically, psychologically—we as Palestinian should continue to fight the Israeli occupation and not let the Iraq issue take a priority in our struggle. We should condemn the occupation of Iraq and show the Iraqis the power of nonviolence that we are engaged in.
2. We need to *increase the numbers of delegations*. First, a delegation with noteworthy people like Mandela and Jimmy Carter, or 5 or 10 Nobel Peace Prize laureates, to meet with Palestinians and with Israelis together to promote peace rather than prolongation of the conflict and to bring the conflict back to the media's attention. Second, a delegation of seasoned nonviolent activists to meet with elected Palestinian Authority figures to promote the use of nonviolence as part of the struggle from both sides—from the top and from the bottom. Third, a broad based delegation to meet with Palestinians to tell us we are not forgotten, that people around the world stand with us, even those in Australia. We need to combat our feelings of hopelessness. This third delegation would meet with people in the refugee camps, business people, professors and workers.
3. We need to work on the *media and public relations*. At this time the Israelis are able to control and blackout information. We need to suggest and request that [the] Arab leaders regularly visit U.S., European and other international political leaders, officially and unofficially. But they should coordinate with us.
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7. We have to *stop the divisions between the Arab world and Palestinians* and keep uppermost in our minds that the biggest division is between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples.

8. We need to have *local town meetings for Palestinians* to express themselves and choose the kind of struggle they want and to discuss the consequences of that struggle, and their expectations of the outcome of the struggle, to define their goals and objectives. It seems that there is no leadership to lead the Palestinians into thoughtful decision-making. Unfortunately, it seems this goes for the Palestinian Authority, as well.

9. *We need funds*; nonviolence can't continue to be the activity of the poor. To make changes in lives of people and bring a just peace funds have to be given in significant amounts to make a difference. If we had had funds in the first Intifada, to implement all our strategies, we would have had a normal peace between us and the Israelis long before this time.

What If?

[10.] We all have different approaches as human beings about how to resolve the problems we face. [and] Some of them can be unique. Let me give some ideas that can change the thinking [of every one here as well you can see] on the power of nonviolence. For example:

[WHAT IF?]

- [A.] *All Palestinians Arabs Christians and Moslems become Jews* so that the law of return will apply to us. No longer will we live in fear of being killed, or our houses demolished, or our land confiscated, or having check points, We will all become chosen people just like the Jews. This will confuse and destabilize the Israelis society, and they will not know what to do. I tried that and letters were sent to more than 250 Rabbis from different Jewish organization telling them if I approached them to refuse me.
- *For the refugees*, we cannot wait for another fifty years and endure the suffering and degradation. *Let us burn all our belongings and commit ourselves to walk to the river Jordan, not looking back until we cross to the Promised Land which is ours.* Thousands and hundred of thousands of Palestinians from Jordan, Lebanon and Syria will be supported by Palestinians inside Israel as well as the Palestinians in other countries. Palestinian families with homes and resources will adopt an entire family to help them survive regain control of their lives. This is a huge commitment that needs a strategy, divide the miles of the Jordan River to many sectors and have sponsorship from churches, countries and individuals. (Can we count on the churches, or this will be another betray?)
- We [N]eed a declaration that from this day on we as Palestinians will commit ourselves to *nonviolent methods* in all and every activity we do and we will not carry any gun not even to defend ourselves. (That will stop the wall)
- *Members of the Palestinian Authority should resign*, all of them, and give everything back to the Israelis. The occupying force will have to pay for our schools, hospitals and civil service jobs. The Israeli needs to pay and know that to occupy people it costs money, a lot of money. We will not lose and it will make things very simple. An authority without authority is like a

heavenly dream.

- If we want to use nonviolence and commit ourselves to it, *we need the support of all Arabs*. We need to export this commitment to the whole Arab masses and bring change in the Arab régime, everywhere.
- The Arab world and its leaders should realize how much of an influence and impact they could have on the Palestinian struggle. *It is in the best interest of the Arabs to create flexible funding mechanisms*. Funds could be used to wage a massive media campaign locally, within Israel and Palestine, regionally and internationally. The campaign could highlight the life struggles of ordinary Palestinians and illustrate the relationships that can and must be forged between Israelis and Palestinians so that neither would have to once again mourn another son, a daughter, a brother, a sister, a father, or a mother lost to violence. Areas in Palestine that are the most affected should be the focal point for media campaigns.
- Another aspect of this campaign is for Palestinians to *host more international conferences* that welcome women, various religious organizations, academics, and students from across the globe. The relationships that would be formed would reach-out across oceans and lands. This would create waves of support for the Palestinians suffering and struggling on the ground. These international guests can also act as international observers as they see and hear for themselves, the life experiences of the Palestinians without the distortion of media censors. These people-to-people networks will unite us in peace and forge a psychological, political, and spiritual bond that no bullet, missile, bomb, or stone can replace.
- *This Palestinian struggle is an Arab struggle, so let us not make it a Moslem struggle*.
- The Palestinians should call for an *"International Day of Solidarity"* every Monday of each month with supporters fasting one meal that day and contributing the cost of the meal to the cause. Places of worship would organize prayers on this day for the Palestinians. Teach-ins would be organized on campuses in the region and internationally.
- This struggle should also be *the people's choice*. The leaders in the legislature and Palestinian community should embrace this nonviolent campaign. This effort would encourage the Palestinian leaders to produce a "Declaration" of what they want and desire.
- *The support of the civil society organizations* at this juncture is of utmost importance . Local and international NGOs should continue their struggle to promote nonviolent means of bringing in a real change in life and society for Palestinians and Israelis. This would mean that the various NGOs must also act morally and ethically.
- NGOs supporting the Palestinian struggle have confronted Israelis for the injustices done against the Palestinians. However, when Palestinians against other Palestinians inflict violence, they have remained quiet. For the sake of justice, NGOs cannot afford to be selective. *Injustice is injustice no matter who the perpetrator is*.

Nonviolence Increasing

Nonviolence activities have been on the rise in the recent months. In recent weeks Palestinians and supporters of their struggle, locally and internationally, have protested wanting their voices to be heard in a nonviolent way

These efforts could be complemented beautifully when *open communication between Israeli and the Palestinian* is established. This is where real leadership begins. The Palestinian must take the lead in opening channels of communication with the Israeli. The Palestinian should then welcome Israelis who are speaking against and are calling for the end of the occupation. Trust building is of utmost importance here. Palestinians must take the chance to build trust. To succeed, Israel must reciprocate with good will.

Great satisfaction was evident among the Palestinians people when elections took place to elect the Palestinian legislature and president. However, the rejoicing was short lived when the re-election dates passed by and the people lost their opportunity to participate in a democratic practice that makes a nation strong. *Elections are sacred and so are election dates*. The government should not make excuses to avoid these historic moments in time. These acts of avoidance are a betrayal from the Palestinian leadership. Because it is of our making, the trust of those in office is gone and again we lost the confidence of a leadership that working for the common good, but it start to look at they are working for their own good. Shame on them and sad movement in our struggle that destroyed our pride and the effort to work to end occupation and to put it in such hands is not worth the effort.

Elected officials and election organizers must *respect the outcomes of elections*. Even though they as individuals might have different viewpoints or preferences, elections should be sacred. Palestinian elections should also be free of pressure from the U.S. and Israel. This means that tremendous trust should be given to the process. The process will bring about what people really and truly want.

We recognize that many people have given or lost their lives in this long struggle. We are confident that they are not wasted. Unlike the first Intifadah, these lost lives have pushed the PLO into the occupied territories. The second Intifadah opens the door to the establishment of an independent Palestinian State. But now, as we continue, this Intifadah must be nonviolent. A moratorium on violence must be accepted and embraced by all parties involved.

The Future

As we look ahead, Israel should realize that there would be *no real peace without Palestinian rights*. For Israel to live in peace with the Arab world they must commit to the rights of Palestinians being respected and consistently implemented. We do feel that this land should not be treated by one group as if it is a gift from God to them and only them. Until the greatest majority of the Israeli public recognize and accept the rights of Palestinians to live in their home land as equals, there will be no final solution to this conflict.

We should realize that our struggle is not the only struggle. Some struggles have used arms and violence, and some have been nonviolent in nature. As we look at history for guidance, we can learn from the tremendous successes of nonviolent struggles. There are many more events in history that have used nonviolence as a legitimate means to alter the relations of power. We as Palestinians would be proud to count ourselves as the next victors of a nonviolent struggle. We want peace and want our children to have a better life and a peaceful world; we must rise beyond hatred, fear or religious fundamentalism. *We need not wait for the other side to stretch out their hand to us. We can create our future and make a new beginning. It can be done and let us do it together.*

Nonviolence as a Legitimate Means toward Peace in Palestine

by Mubarak Awad
Nonviolence International

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*Nations that use armed struggles inherit dictatorships.
Nations that use nonviolence inherit democracy.*

I am encouraged that at the worst time of being under military brutal occupation of the Israelis, the thing which keeps the Palestinian going is the spirit of resistance, the overwhelming spirit of endurance. Even though the world heard the Palestinians, the pain and sorrow they receive every day on the hands of Jews and Israelis is a tremendous price they and their children are paying just being Palestinians and being born Christians and Moslems. Palestinians want the world to see their joy. Nonviolent action has not been a casualty of the conflict but is becoming stronger, spreading to towns, refugee camps and villages throughout the entire region. Nonviolence struggle is also becoming the talk of the Palestinian Authority—even the President himself.

Nonviolence Defined

The term nonviolence has been used in many ways. It has been used to describe pacifism, a lifestyle, a set of beliefs, an instrument of power and a strategy for liberation, and a method of achieving economic empowerment. *Our discussion refers to nonviolence as a means of affecting lasting change and resolving conflict.* Nonviolence motivates people to act justly and ethically and to demand just and ethical action, particularly by those in power, without resort to physical harm. The first premise of nonviolence is never to participate in anything that is immoral, and to speak truth to those who would wield power.

Plato sets forth this principle in the book “Republic”, as exemplified by Socrates refusing to take part in unjust action. There is an injunction to act morally and to not be silent in the face of injustice. Yet, each of us must develop our own morality from within, though each owes a duty to assist others and the community at large in the development of a collective reality by sharing and by dialoguing about their own views.

Nonviolence is action based upon principle that is undertaken in a tactical way so as to make the moral point effectively. It is not based on religion, yet requires a religious zeal and self-discipline to be successful. Also, many have been attracted to nonviolence in the name of religion. For example, consider the Quakers, Mennonite and Brethren churches, as well as Sufism in Islam.

Nonviolence as proposed by Henry Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson and used by Mahatma Gandhi interprets the above to mean that violence is always wrong and should never be

undertaken for any purpose. Just what constitutes violence is a complex question. Clearly killing people or inflicting serious injury is violent. Other physical, social, political, economic or psychological actions may also be deemed violent, depending upon their intent and effect. *The ultimate aim of nonviolence is to achieve justice and moral interaction among people without doing violence.* Ideally, all human interactions should be built upon a basis of mutual respect and understanding in which all parties see themselves as members of a community soul or mind, regardless of whether they are members of the exact same community as defined in the usual political and sociological sense.

Principles and Practices

The relationship between principle and the practice of nonviolent action is always intended to have an effect. Occasionally, the action itself may directly or indirectly cause the desired end as when a demonstration convinces Israeli political leaders to change their course of action. Most often nonviolent action is a catalyst in building moral and political support for changing social and political policy. Socrates made his moral point effectively by his willingness to die for his principles. Gandhi's march to the sea to attempt to peacefully take over the salt monopoly of the British signaled the ultimate end of the British occupation of India.

Tactically nonviolent action is often provocative. It will put the Israeli military in a double bind. If the nonviolent act is allowed, it makes its point and the movement gains strength. If the Israelis resist, particularly where they resort to violent means, the relative justice of the actors and injustice of their opponents is magnified, bringing considerable political gain to the activists.

Many factors are involved in the effect of any action, but perhaps the biggest factor is how open Palestinians are to a particular action and to the general principle or movement to which it relates. How will an action be perceived? One needs to consider carefully where Palestinian people are now and what affect a given course of action may have. From that essential standpoint, it is not enough just to act on principle. The greatest concern is the long run, and what impact an act may eventually have in moving consciousness forward.

Lessons from Palestine

The history of nonviolence in Palestine has yielded seven principles of nonviolent struggle:

1. *An education process* of nonviolent methods in the life history of Palestinians, Moslems and Arabs in general *is needed* to bring attention to the history of nonviolence, such as the six month strike in 1936 that even Gandhi spoke about. In the Egyptian nonviolent quick response of getting rid of their monarchy (King Farouq), not a single Egyptian died. Abdul Gaffar Khan, a Moslem from the Pathan province in India, joined Gandhi believing that Islam is a nonviolent religion, and he wanted all the Moslems to join the Gandhi movement. His life story was translated into Arabic and distributed in Palestine and the Arab and Moslem world.

2. Nonviolent methods and practice are *not an imported concept* from the West or the East. Its use is practical for every one and each person who is willing to work for justice without the use

of arms or any means of killing.

3. *Symbolic forms of nonviolent protests such as vigils, marches, and flying of the Palestinian flags are important.*

4. *The ideas of this movement must be brought to Palestinians in every village and every refugee camp.* Young people should have a choice to make nonviolence part of their strategy and part of their operation. There should be seminars for the leadership of the PLO and continuous correspondence of certain methods that can be implemented to reach peace.

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Success of Nonviolence

Nonviolent strategy has a long history with varying degrees of success. Success sometimes has come through changing the minds and attitudes of the opponents, but that is rare. More often partial success has been achieved through accommodation (gaining and giving up part of one's objectives.) The Oslo accord is a good example of this, also if we look at most labor strikes. Nonviolent strategy has also demonstrated its capacity to produce nonviolent coercion of the opponent so that no alternative remains but to capitulate. At times, the opponent's regime is even disintegrated in face of massive repudiation and paralyzing non-cooperation as was the case in the "Animal March". *

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This, by itself, was my point for a long time, i.e. that *a strategy of nonviolence needs to be endorsed from top to bottom*. If the Palestinian President endorses nonviolence, all Fateh groups will follow. We can accomplish a great deal by our full, unrelenting commitment.

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There are other tenets we must embrace.

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As we look ahead, Israel should realize that there would be *no real peace without Palestinian rights*. For Israel to live in peace with the Arab world they must commit to the rights of Palestinians being respected and consistently implemented. We do feel that this land should not be treated by one group as if it is a gift from God to them and only them. Until the greatest majority of the Israeli public recognize and accept the rights of Palestinians to live in their home

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* The Animal March occurred when the Israelis took more than a hundred animals from the Bethlehem area that they said they had been grazing on military land. It seemed not the first time. So the shepherds came to me and asked me if I could help them bring back their goats, donkeys, sheep and camels. They were afraid that the animals would die or be harmed or sold. I went to some Israeli friends and told them that this is not acceptable and that I wanted to go the Israeli Police to ask for permission to get a license for an animal march in Jerusalem. I submitted the permit application at the Police Station, and they were supposed to give me an answer within seven days. In the meantime I put an ad in the newspaper and started advertising that we will have an animal march. I asked shopkeepers not to leave greens or flowers on the side street where we would be marching. This idea got the attention of many Jews, and they called the police. Every one supported the animals more than the human rights of the Palestinians. Before the time for the march, all the animals were released. So we dropped the march. This is the fun I want people to have in using nonviolence.

This article is part of a project on "The Theology of War and Peace". For further information, go to <http://www.mupwj.org/theologyofwarandpeace.htm>. Or contact Methodists United for Peace with Justice at 1500 16th Street, NW, Washington, D.C.20036 or at mupwj@mupwj.org.

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*Nations that use armed struggles inherit dictatorships.
Nations that use nonviolence inherit democracy.*

I am encouraged that at the worst time of being under military brutal occupation of the Israelis, the thing which keeps the Palestinian going is the spirit of resistance, the overwhelming spirit of endurance. Even though the world heard the Palestinians, the pain and sorrow they receive every day on the hands of Jews and Israelis is a tremendous price they and their children are paying just being Palestinians and being born Christians and Moslems. Palestinians want the world to see their joy. Nonviolent action has not been a casualty of the conflict but is becoming stronger, spreading to towns, refugee camps and villages throughout the entire region. Nonviolence struggle is also becoming the talk of the Palestinian Authority—even the President himself.

Nonviolence Defined

The term nonviolence has been used in many ways. It has been used to describe pacifism, a lifestyle, a set of beliefs, an instrument of power and a strategy for liberation, and a method of achieving economic empowerment. *Our discussion refers to nonviolence as a means of affecting lasting change and resolving conflict.* Nonviolence motivates people to act justly and ethically and to demand just and ethical action, particularly by those in power, without resort to physical harm. The first premise of nonviolence is never to participate in anything that is immoral, and to speak truth to those who would wield power.

Plato sets forth this principle in the book “Republic”, as exemplified by Socrates refusing to take part in unjust action. There is an injunction to act morally and to not be silent in the face of injustice. Yet, each of us must develop our own morality from within, though each owes a duty to assist others and the community at large in the development of a collective reality by sharing and by dialoguing about their own views.

Nonviolence is action based upon principle that is undertaken in a tactical way so as to make the moral point effectively. It is not based on religion, yet requires a religious zeal and self-discipline to be successful. Also, many have been attracted to nonviolence in the name of religion. For example, consider the Quakers, Mennonite and Brethren churches, as well as Sufism in Islam.

Nonviolence as proposed by Henry Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson and used by Mahatma Gandhi interprets the above to mean that violence is always wrong and should never be undertaken for any purpose. Just what constitutes violence is a complex question. Clearly killing people or inflicting serious injury is violent. Other physical, social, political, economic or psychological actions may also be deemed violent, depending upon their intent and effect.

The ultimate aim of nonviolence is to achieve justice and moral interaction among people without doing violence. Ideally, all human interactions should be built upon a basis of mutual respect and understanding in which all parties see themselves as members of a community soul or mind, regardless of whether they are members of the exact same community as defined in the usual political and sociological sense.

Principles and Practices

The relationship between principle and the practice of nonviolent action is always intended to have an effect. Occasionally, the action itself may directly or indirectly cause the desired end as when a demonstration convinces Israeli political leaders to change their course of action. Most often nonviolent action is a catalyst in building moral and political support for changing social and political policy. Socrates made his moral point effectively by his willingness to die for his principles. Gandhi's march to the sea to attempt to peacefully take over the salt monopoly of the British signaled the ultimate end of the British occupation of India.

Tactically nonviolent action is often provocative. It will put the Israeli military in a double bind. If the nonviolent act is allowed, it makes its point and the movement gains strength. If the Israelis resist, particularly where they resort to violent means, the relative justice of the actors and injustice of their opponents is magnified, bringing considerable political gain to the activists.

Many factors are involved in the effect of any action, but perhaps the biggest factor is how open Palestinians are to a particular action and to the general principle or movement to which it relates. How will an action be perceived? One needs to consider carefully where Palestinian people are now and what affect a given course of action may have. From that essential standpoint, it is not enough just to act on principle. The greatest concern is the long run, and what impact an act may eventually have in moving consciousness forward.

Lessons from Palestine

The history of nonviolence in Palestine has yielded seven principles of nonviolent struggle:

1. *An education process* of nonviolent methods in the life history of Palestinians, Moslems and Arabs in general *is needed* to bring attention to the history of nonviolence, such as the six month strike in 1936 that even Gandhi spoke about. In the Egyptian nonviolent quick response of getting rid of their monarchy (King Farouq), not a single Egyptian died. Abdul Gaffar Khan, a Moslem from the Pathan province in India, joined Gandhi believing that Islam is a nonviolent religion, and he wanted all the Moslems to join the Gandhi movement. His life story was translated into Arabic and distributed in Palestine and the Arab and Moslem world.

2. Nonviolent methods and practice are *not an imported concept* from the West or the East. Its use is practical for every one and each person who is willing to work for justice without the use of arms or any means of killing.

3. *Symbolic forms of nonviolent protests such as vigils, marches, and flying of the Palestinian*

flags are important.

4. *The ideas of this movement must be brought to Palestinians in every village and every refugee camp.* Young people should have a choice to make nonviolence part of their strategy and part of their operation. There should be seminars for the leadership of the PLO and continuous correspondence of certain methods that can be implemented to reach peace.

5. *Non-cooperation must be employed,* including social boycotts, economic boycotts, labor strikes, and many forms of political non-cooperation, ranging from civil disobedience and refusal to pay taxes to campaigns to eat Palestinian products and use Palestinian goods, even cigarettes.

6. *Contact must be made with Israeli groups* who are interested in peace. Partnerships should be formed with them so that both sides can see the humanity and fear of the other as well as the suffering.

7. *Nonviolent intervention should be used* ranging from hunger strikes to the establishment of self-reliant institutions, nonviolent occupations and blockades, and the establishment of a rival parallel government. In the first Intifada Palestinians, without the Palestinian Authority or any government, established NGO committees that took care of most of the needs of people with joy and a feeling that each person has to meet their responsibility in order for each community to take care of its own needs.

Success of Nonviolence

Nonviolent strategy has a long history with varying degrees of success. Success sometimes has come through changing the minds and attitudes of the opponents, but that is rare. More often partial success has been achieved through accommodation (gaining and giving up part of one's objectives.) The Oslo accord is a good example of this, also if we look at most labor strikes. Nonviolent strategy has also demonstrated its capacity to produce nonviolent coercion of the opponent so that no alternative remains but to capitulate. At times, the opponent's regime is even disintegrated in face of massive repudiation and paralyzing non-cooperation as was the case in the "Animal March". *

Nonviolence strategy has been waged in recent years in many parts of the world, including Mexico, Chile, Korea, South Africa, Palestine, Israel, Sudan, and various parts of the former Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Burma, Brazil, and China. Historically, nonviolent strategy has wielded significant power in conflicts when applied skillfully and has often been met with serious repression by the opponents. That response is recognition of its power. In fact, the brutalities of repression against nonviolent resisters trigger a process of "political jiu-jitsu" which increases the resistance, sows problems in the opponents' own camp, and mobilizes third parties in favor of the nonviolent resisters.

This, by itself, was my point for a long time, i.e. that *a strategy of nonviolence needs to be endorsed from top to bottom.* If the Palestinian President endorses nonviolence, all Fateh groups will follow. We can accomplish a great deal by our full, unrelenting commitment.

Basic Tenets

There are other tenets we must embrace.

1. We *must support the Palestinian people to continue the struggle to get rid of the occupation* because no people should be under another people's control. Even as high as the price of freedom can be—economically, physically, psychologically—we as Palestinian should continue to fight the Israeli occupation and not let the Iraq issue take a priority in our struggle. We should condemn the occupation of Iraq and show the Iraqis the power of nonviolence that we are engaged in.
2. We need to *increase the number of delegations*. First, a delegation with noteworthy people like Mandela and Jimmy Carter, or 5 or 10 Nobel Peace Prize laureates, to meet with Palestinians and with Israelis together to promote peace rather than prolongation of the conflict and to bring the conflict back to the media's attention. Second, a delegation of seasoned nonviolent activists to meet with elected Palestinian Authority figures to promote the use of nonviolence as part of the struggle from both sides—from the top and from the bottom. Third, a broad based delegation to meet with Palestinians to tell us we are not forgotten, that people around the world stand with us, even those in Australia. We need to combat our feelings of hopelessness. This third delegation would meet with people in the refugee camps, business people, professors and workers.
3. We need to work on the *media and public relations*. At this time the Israelis are able to control and blackout information. We need to suggest and request that Arab leaders regularly visit U.S., European and other international political leaders, officially and unofficially. But they should coordinate with us.
4. We need to have the *church leadership once again assume the moral responsibility* of communicating to their congregations about what's happening to the Palestinians that we are paying the price for their own bad deeds against the Jews. We have been doing it for more than fifty years and we will suffer more for you, just don't forsake us.
5. We need *action on several levels*, on the international level, on the Palestinian and on the Israeli-Palestinian level. For example, let's have a monthly march to demand that the Israelis lift one blockade any place, then have a march of victory that they did it.
6. We need to *eliminate the divisions within the Palestinians*. We have divisions between Palestinians who came from Tunis, those inside the 1967 line, Palestinians who are in refugee camps as well those who are in Gaza. We do not need the Israelis to dictate to us who we are.
7. We have to *stop the divisions between the Arab world and Palestinians* and keep uppermost in our minds that the biggest division is between the Israeli and Palestinian peoples.
8. We need to have *local town meetings for Palestinians* to express themselves and choose the

kind of struggle they want and to discuss the consequences of that struggle, and their expectations of the outcome of the struggle, to define their goals and objectives. It seems that there is no leadership to lead the Palestinians into thoughtful decision-making. Unfortunately, it seems this goes for the Palestinian Authority, as well.

9. *We need funds*; nonviolence can't continue to be the activity of the poor. To make changes in lives of people and bring a just peace funds have to be given in significant amounts to make a difference. If we had had funds in the first Intifada, to implement all our strategies, we would have had a normal peace between us and the Israelis long before this time.

What If?

We all have different approaches as human beings about how to resolve the problems we face. Some of them can be unique. Let me give some ideas that can change the thinking on the power of nonviolence. For example:

- *All Palestinians Arabs Christians and Moslems become Jews* so that the law of return will apply to us. No longer will we live in fear of being killed, or our houses demolished, or our land confiscated, or having checkpoints, We will all become chosen people just like the Jews. This will confuse and destabilize the Israeli society, and they will not know what to do. I tried that and letters were sent to more than 250 rabbis from different Jewish organization, telling them if I approached them to refuse me.
- *For the refugees*, we cannot wait for another fifty years and endure the suffering and degradation. *Let us burn all our belongings and commit ourselves to walk to the river Jordan, not looking back until we cross to the Promised Land which is ours.* Thousands and hundred of thousands of Palestinians from Jordan, Lebanon and Syria will be supported by Palestinians inside Israel as well as the Palestinians in other countries. Palestinian families with homes and resources will adopt an entire family to help them survive and regain control of their lives. This is a huge commitment that needs a strategy, divide the miles of the Jordan River to many sectors and have sponsorship from churches, countries and individuals. (Can we count on the churches, or this will be another betrayal?)
- *We need a declaration that from this day on we as Palestinians will commit ourselves to nonviolent methods* in all and every activity we do and we will not carry any gun not even to defend ourselves. (That will stop the wall)
- *Members of the Palestinian Authority should resign*, all of them, and give everything back to the Israelis. The occupying force will have to pay for our schools, hospitals and civil service jobs. The Israeli needs to pay and know that to occupy people it costs money, a lot of money. We will not lose, and it will make things very simple. An authority without authority is like a heavenly dream.

- If we want to use nonviolence and commit ourselves to it, *we need the support of all Arabs*. We need to export this commitment to the whole Arab masses and bring change in the Arab régime, everywhere.
- The Arab world and its leaders should realize how much of an influence and impact they could have on the Palestinian struggle. *It is in the best interest of the Arabs to create flexible funding mechanisms*. Funds could be used to wage a massive media campaign locally, within Israel and Palestine, regionally and internationally. The campaign could highlight the life struggles of ordinary Palestinians and illustrate the relationships that can and must be forged between Israelis and Palestinians so that neither would have to once again mourn another son, a daughter, a brother, a sister, a father, or a mother lost to violence. Areas in Palestine that are the most affected should be the focal point for media campaigns.
- Another aspect of this campaign is for Palestinians to *host more international conferences* that welcome women, various religious organizations, academics, and students from across the globe. The relationships that would be formed would reach out across oceans and lands. This would create waves of support for the Palestinians suffering and struggling on the ground. These international guests can also act as international observers as they see and hear for themselves, the life experiences of the Palestinians without the distortion of media censors. These people-to-people networks will unite us in peace and forge a psychological, political, and spiritual bond that no bullet, missile, bomb, or stone can replace.
- *This Palestinian struggle is an Arab struggle, so let us not make it a Moslem struggle.*
- The Palestinians should call for an *"International Day of Solidarity"* every Monday of each month with supporters fasting one meal that day and contributing the cost of the meal to the cause. Places of worship would organize prayers on this day for the Palestinians. Teach-ins would be organized on campuses in the region and internationally.
- This struggle should also be *the people's choice*. The leaders in the legislature and Palestinian community should embrace this nonviolent campaign. This effort would encourage the Palestinian leaders to produce a "Declaration" of what they want and desire.
- *The support of the civil society organizations* at this juncture is of utmost importance. Local and international NGOs should continue their struggle to promote nonviolent means of bringing in a real change in life and society for Palestinians and Israelis. This would mean that the various NGOs must also act morally and ethically.
- NGOs supporting the Palestinian struggle have confronted Israelis for the injustices done against the Palestinians. However, when Palestinians against other Palestinians inflict violence, they have remained quiet. For the sake of justice, NGOs cannot afford to be selective. *Injustice is injustice no matter who the perpetrator is.*

Nonviolence Increasing

Nonviolence activities have been on the rise in the recent months. In recent weeks Palestinians and supporters of their struggle, locally and internationally, have protested, wanting their voices to be heard in a nonviolent way

These efforts could be complemented beautifully when *open communication between Israeli and the Palestinian* is established. This is where real leadership begins. The Palestinian must take the lead in opening channels of communication with the Israeli. The Palestinian should then welcome Israelis who are speaking against and are calling for the end of the occupation. Trust building is of utmost importance here. Palestinians must take the chance to build trust. To succeed, Israel must reciprocate with good will.

Great satisfaction was evident among the Palestinians people when elections took place to elect the Palestinian legislature and president. However, the rejoicing was short lived when the re-election dates passed by and the people lost their opportunity to participate in a democratic practice that makes a nation strong. *Elections are sacred and so are election dates*. The government should not make excuses to avoid these historic moments in time. These acts of avoidance are a betrayal from the Palestinian leadership. Because it is of our making, the trust of those in office is gone and again we lost the confidence of a leadership that working for the common good, but it started to look as they are working for their own good. Shame on them and sad movement in our struggle that destroyed our pride and the effort to work to end occupation and to put it in such hands is not worth the effort.

Elected officials and election organizers must *respect the outcomes of elections*. Even though they as individuals might have different viewpoints or preferences, elections should be sacred. Palestinian elections should also be free of pressure from the U.S. and Israel. This means that tremendous trust should be given to the process. The process will bring about what people really and truly want.

We recognize that many people have given or lost their lives in this long struggle. We are confident that they are not wasted. Unlike the first Intifadah, these lost lives have pushed the PLO into the occupied territories. The second Intifadah opens the door to the establishment of an independent Palestinian State. But now, as we continue, this Intifadah must be nonviolent. A moratorium on violence must be accepted and embraced by all parties involved.

The Future

As we look ahead, Israel should realize that there would be *no real peace without Palestinian rights*. For Israel to live in peace with the Arab world they must commit to the rights of Palestinians being respected and consistently implemented. We do feel that this land should not be treated by one group as if it is a gift from God to them and only them. Until the greatest majority of the Israeli public recognize and accept the rights of Palestinians to live in their home land as equals, there will be no final solution to this conflict.

We should realize that our struggle is not the only struggle. Some struggles have used arms and violence, and some have been nonviolent in nature. As we look at history for guidance, we can learn from the tremendous successes of nonviolent struggles. There are many more events in history that have used nonviolence as a legitimate means to alter the relations of power. We as Palestinians would be proud to count ourselves as the next victors of a nonviolent struggle. We want peace and want our children to have a better life and a peaceful world; we must rise beyond hatred, fear or religious fundamentalism. *We need not wait for the other side to stretch out their hand to us. We can create our future and make a new beginning. It can be done and let us do it together.*

* The Animal March occurred when the Israelis took more than a hundred animals from the Bethlehem area that they said they had been grazing on military land. It seemed not the first time. So the shepherds came to me and asked me if I could help them bring back their goats, donkeys, sheep and camels. They were afraid that the animals would die or be harmed or sold. I went to some Israeli friends and told them that this is not acceptable and that I wanted to go the Israeli Police to ask for permission to get a license for an animal march in Jerusalem. I submitted the permit application at the Police Station, and they were supposed to give me an answer within seven days. In the meantime I put an ad in the newspaper and started advertising that we will have an animal march. I asked shopkeepers not to leave greens or flowers on the side street where we would be marching. This idea got the attention of many Jews, and they called the police. Every one supported the animals more than the human rights of the Palestinians. Before the time for the march, all the animals were released. So we dropped the march. This is the fun I want people to have in using nonviolence.

This article is part of a project on "The Theology of War and Peace". For further information, go to <http://www.mupwj.org/theologyofwarandpeace.htm>. Or contact Methodists United for Peace with Justice at 1500 16th Street, NW, Washington, D.C.20036 or at mupwj@mupwj.org.

<http://www.ucc.org/faith/barmen.htm>

Barmen Declaration

In view of the errors of the "German Christians" and of the present Reich Church Administration, which are ravaging the Church and at the same time also shattering the unity of the German Evangelical Church, we confess the following evangelical truths:

Karl Barth

1. "I am the Way and the Truth and the Life; no one comes to the Father except through me." *John 14:6*
"Very truly, I tell you, anyone who does not enter the sheepfold through the gate but climbs in by another way is a thief and a bandit. I am the gate. Whoever enters by me will be saved." *John 10:1,9*
Jesus Christ, as he is attested to us in Holy Scripture, is the one Word of God whom we have to hear, and whom we have to trust and obey in life and in death.

We reject the false doctrine that the Church could and should recognize as a source of its proclamation, beyond and besides this one Word of God, yet other events, powers, historic figures and truths as God's revelation.

2. "Jesus Christ has been made wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption for us by God." *1 Cor. 1:30*

As Jesus Christ is God's comforting pronouncement of the forgiveness of all our sins, so, with equal seriousness, he is also God's vigorous announcement of his claim upon our whole life. Through him there comes to us joyful liberation from the godless ties of this world for free, grateful service to his creatures.

We reject the false doctrine that there could be areas of our life in which we would not belong to Jesus Christ but to other lords, areas in which we would not need justification and sanctification through him.

3. "Let us, however, speak the truth in love, and in every respect grow into him who is the head, into Christ, from whom the whole body is joined together." *Eph. 4:15-16*

The Christian Church is the community of brethren in which, in Word and Sacrament, through the Holy Spirit, Jesus Christ acts in the present as Lord. With both its faith and its obedience, with both its message and its order, it has to testify in the midst of the sinful world, as the Church of pardoned sinners, that it belongs to him alone and lives and may live by his comfort and under his direction alone, in expectation of his appearing.

"German Christians" (*Deutsche Christen*) march to a worship service at the Berlin Cathedral while SS guards stand at attention. At the lead are members of the movement in party and SA uniforms, followed by pastors. Their banners—designed to resemble the Nazi party's "national flag"—placed the swastika at the center of the Christian cross.

We reject the false doctrine that the Church could have permission to hand over the form of its message and of its order to whatever it itself might wish or to the vicissitudes of the prevailing ideological and political convictions of the day.

4. "You know that the rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great ones are tyrants over them. It will not be so among you; but whoever wishes to have authority over you must be your servant." *Matt. 20:25-26*

The various offices in the Church do not provide a basis for some to exercise authority over others but for the ministry [lit., "service"] with which the whole community has been entrusted and charged to be carried out.

We reject the false doctrine that, apart from this ministry, the Church could, and could have permission to, give itself or allow itself to be given special leaders [Führer] vested with ruling authority.

5. "Fear God. Honor the Emperor." *1 Pet. 2:17*

Scripture tells us that by divine appointment the State, in this still unredeemed world in which also the Church is situated, has the task of maintaining justice and peace, so far as human discernment and human ability make this possible, by means of the threat and use of force. The Church acknowledges with gratitude and reverence toward God the benefit of this, his appointment. It draws attention to God's Dominion [Reich], God's commandment and justice, and with these the responsibility of those who rule and those who are ruled. It trusts and obeys the power of the Word, by which God upholds all things.

We reject the false doctrine that beyond its special commission the State should and could become the sole and total order of human life and so fulfil the vocation of the Church as well.

We reject the false doctrine that beyond its special commission the Church should and could take on the nature, tasks and dignity which belong to the State and thus become itself an organ of the State.

6. "See, I am with you always, to the end of the age." *Matt. 28:20* "God's Word is not fettered." *2 Tim. 2:9*

The Church's commission, which is the foundation of its freedom, consists in this: in Christ's stead, and so in the service of his own Word and work, to deliver all people, through preaching and sacrament, the message of the free grace of God.

We reject the false doctrine that with human vainglory the Church could place the Word and work of the Lord in the service of self-chosen desires, purposes and plans.

The Confessing Synod of the German Evangelical Church declares that it sees in the acknowledgment of these truths and in the rejection of these errors the indispensable theological basis of the German Evangelical Church as a confederation of Confessing Churches. It calls upon all who can stand in solidarity with its Declaration to be mindful of these theological findings in all their decisions concerning Church and State. It appeals to all concerned to return to unity in faith, hope and love.

Verbum Dei manet in aeternum.

The Word of God will last for ever.

Adapted from Robert McAfee Brown, Kairos: Three Prophetic Challenges to the Church, published in 1990 by Wm. B. Eerdmans

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About This Testimony

The Barmen Declaration, 1934, was a call to resistance against the theological claims of the Nazi state. Almost immediately after Hitler's seizure of power in 1933, Protestant Christians faced pressure to "aryanize" the Church, expel Jewish Christians from the ordained ministry and adopt the Nazi "Führer Principle" as the organizing principle of church government. In general, the churches succumbed to these pressures, and some Christians embraced them willingly. The pro-Nazi "German Christian" movement became a force in the church. They glorified Adolf Hitler as a "German prophet" and preached that racial consciousness was a source of revelation alongside the Bible. But many Christians in Germany—including Lutheran and Reformed, liberal and neo-orthodox—opposed the encroachment of Nazi ideology on the Church's proclamation. At Barmen, this emerging "Confessing Church" adopted a declaration drafted by Reformed theologian Karl Barth and Lutheran theologian Hans Asmussen, which expressly repudiated the claim that other powers apart from Christ could be sources of God's revelation. Not all Christians courageously resisted the regime, but many who did—like the Protestant pastor Dietrich Bonhoeffer and the Roman Catholic priest Bernhard Lichtenberg—were arrested and executed in concentration camps. The spirituality of the Barmen Declaration profoundly influenced many of the first generation of pastors and laypeople who formed the United Church of Christ in 1957.

Biblical Pacifism: An Essential Part of the Church's Life and Witness

The only people on earth who do not see Christ and His teachings as nonviolent are Christians.
—Mohandas Gandhi

It is not hard to see why Gandhi made such an observation. He experienced South Africa and India during the heyday of Western imperialism, an era when the “Christian” nations of the West had spread their rule around the world. In the name of “Christian civilization” imperial armies and navies had subjugated nations and tribes throughout Africa, Asia, and the Americas. Christian missionaries from the West benefited from the spread of empire; preaching of the cross often took place under protection of the sword. Slaves and opium, God, gold, and glory all seemed intermixed to peoples subject to Western colonialism and the religion that accompanied it.

The brute force and violence that was part of this imperial expansion dated back to the fourth century of the Christian era. The Emperor Constantine's conversion to Christianity ushered in the integration of church and state, the cross and the sword. The early church had refused to bow the knee to Caesar, and Christians did not serve in the armed forces, choices that brought them persecution and martyrdom.

After Constantine, however, a dramatic shift began: The church blessed the state, the state protected the church, and the armed forces were now comprised of Christians. The flags and banners of state and church were unfurled together, and armies marched under the insignia of the cross. In the name of Christ, Crusaders slaughtered the infidel and conquered heathen lands. Inquisitors tortured heretics to save their immortal souls. Catholic battled Protestant and Protestant fought Protestant as Christian rulers sought to enforce particular creedal formulations of practices within each nation state. Religious wars were commonplace. In the modern era, global Wars I and II pitted Christian lands against each other.

The widespread Christian sanction of violence and warfare was found not only in the state churches but across the whole range of denominations. Church/state alliance and the just-war theory following from it were the underpinnings of such support of the barbarism of war. Even though war might be deplored in general, and pleas for peace sincerely invoked, in each particular war—for whatever cause and with whatever means used—national interest and princely appeal were able to line up Christians to follow their country's flag to war, blessing the cause and praying for victory, even as Christians on the opposite side did exactly the same. And yet, if this was the predominant response of Christians to war, there was another tradition, one that upheld the way of the cross and rejected the way of the sword. This other way placed love of the enemy, the stranger, and the forgotten at the very heart of the gospel. Jesus, the Prince of Peace, calls His disciples to be peacemakers. While this understanding was prevalent in the early church, after Constantine it increasingly became a minority position, seen for example in some of the monastic orders. It should also be noted that the church did attempt to limit war and to lay down certain codes of conduct in wartime.

When Protestantism burst upon the scene, the reformers attempted to purify the church and recapture the spirit and practice of early Christians. Nonetheless reformers such as Luther and Calvin continued in varying degrees the church/state alliance. They not only retained the just-war theory; they gave it creedal status as well. “Christian” warfare not only continued unabated, but the break-up of the church and the rise of nationalism brought about its increase.

The radical wing of the Reformation ultimately challenged the state's co-opting of the church and the practice of warfare and other forms of violence which Christendom had come to accept as a necessary evil in a fallen world. There were three waves in this new Reformation. In the sixteenth century, the Mennonites arose out of the Anabaptist Radical Reformation. In the seventeenth century, the Society of Friends, or Quakers, came out of Radical Puritanism. And in the eighteenth century, the Brethren sprang from Radical Pietism.

Although there are distinctive differences between these groups, together they constituted a radical understanding of the gospel that broke sharply with the traditional accommodation of the church to the demands of the state. This break was seen most clearly in their rejection of warfare and other forms of coercion. This rejection arose out of an understanding of the Christian community as having an integrity and calling apart from wider society. Furthermore, these radical groups expressed an allegiance to God who transcends any particular tribal or national boundary or rule. The state and church were and are not the same. The church's calling is to be the *agapé* community.

Out of such an understanding and commitment, biblical pacifism arose, the recovery of a central aspect of the gospel that had been lost (or relegated to convent and monastery). An early Quaker writer, Robert Barclay, wrote in bold strokes in 1676:

Whoever can reconcile this, "Resist not evil," with "Resist evil by force"; again, "Give also thy other cheek," with "Spoil them, make a prey of them, pursue them with fire and sword"; or, "Pray for those that persecute you," with "Persecute them by fines, imprisonment, and death itself." Whoever can find a means to reconcile these things, may be supposed also to have found a way to reconcile God with the Devil, Christ with Anti-Christ, light with darkness, and good with evil.

Biblical pacifism was at the heart of the radical witness of Mennonites, Quakers, and Brethren. This peace testimony not only brought them suffering at the hands of the state but by other churches as well. In standing apart from accepted practices and interpretations, they were often looked upon as heretics and traitors. Nonetheless, their testimony continued as a constant, if minority, witness. This witness they bore separately, as well as together on occasion. In the New World the three denominations found common grounds for witness in the Quaker-founded colony of Pennsylvania. There they treated the native Americans with fairness, respect, and assistance and they were recognized by the Indians as sharing a kinship that evoked trust and goodwill. While other colonists went to war with these so-called "savages," the pacifist Christians were able to live side-by-side with America's original inhabitants. They did not look for ways to wage a "just war" with the Indians; rather, they practiced a just peace. In the Revolutionary War, as well as the Civil War a century later, the peace churches continued their peace testimony even in the face of derision and imprisonment.

At their best the peace churches did not merely seek exemption from military service for their own. They bore a positive witness of service and healing that bound up the broken and fallen, and they sought to remove the occasion for wars. Indeed, along with their rejection of war, the Historic Peace Churches—as Mennonites, Quakers, and the Brethren have been called since 1935—are best known for their extensive programs of relief, reconstruction, and reconciliation. Far beyond what their small numerical size might indicate, they have mounted highly significant efforts to assist the victims of war, oppression, and natural catastrophes. Quaker relief to the people of Russia, Brethren help to the Armenians, and Mennonite assistance in postwar Vietnam

are examples of such outreach.

In addition, this peace testimony has taken other forms of expression. Pioneering efforts in work camps, international exchange, and far-flung voluntary service programs have given concrete, practical assistance across the boundaries of race, nation, and class. The first department of peace studies in the United States began in 1948 at Manchester College, a Brethren-related school. Civil disobedience and other forms of nonviolent resistance to war have likewise been fostered by peace-church members. *At present, Christian Peacemaker Teams go into areas of conflict and danger, such as the Palestinian city of Hebron, to stand beside and assist victims of conflict and injustice.*

But as we bring this brief survey up to the present time, a striking new development is spreading among *many* churches. Peacemaking, even in its radical pacifist expression, has come to be seen more and more as central to the Christian calling. In an era of *terrorism*, war, genocide, and *weapons of mass destruction*, Christian witness *remains* a distinct minority position. *But* the Radical Reformation understanding of the church as a disciplined community within the wider society is gaining acceptance as both biblically rooted and urgently appropriate to the type of discipleship needed *today*. This is seen nowhere more clearly than with regard to the runaway development of weapons technology. Like a Frankenstein monster, technology has given momentum and justification to a permanent arms race, global arms sales, and weapons of mass destruction. All pose extreme threats to the future of our planet.

The traditional just-war theory *is* less and less *convincing* in the face of such awesome and *indiscriminate* destructiveness. As a result, Christians from a variety of traditions, even in state churches and traditional “just war” churches, are taking a more radical peacemaking stance. The Roman Catholic Church, especially since the remarkable papacy of John XXIII, *has often taken strongly anti-war positions* and counts many Catholic pacifists in the peace movement. *A number of Catholic* religious orders and communities are involved not only in peace education, but in *peace campaigns that include* nonviolent direct action and various forms of civil disobedience. *In the closing years of the twentieth century* the Presbyterians adopted peace as their denominational priority and strategy and the United Church of Christ *declared itself a just* peace church. The Disciples of Christ *sought to* recover their early tradition closely akin to that of the Historic Peace Churches. Among the Baptists, especially the American Baptist Convention but also *some* Southern Baptists, peacemaking in the life of believers is growing in a widening circle. The same is true for a remarkable number of evangelicals as well as Episcopalians, Lutherans, United Methodists, Reformed and Unitarian-Universalists. *The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints has renamed itself “The Community of Christ” and speaks of itself as a peace church.* Among the black denominations, strong involvement in civil rights *has been* broadened to include peacemaking as well. In short, across a broad spectrum of the religious community, peacemaking has moved in recent years to the center of the church’s witness in society.

A similar development was seen recently in other places of the world. Throughout Europe the churches have been at the forefront of the peace movement. Dutch Christians for example are committed to a world free of nuclear weapons, “beginning with the Netherlands.” Prior to the reunification of Germany, East German pacifists witnessed against militarism while West German Christians opposed the deployment of Cruise and Pershing missiles. The Russian Orthodox Church convened a world assembly on peace and worked with European and North American Christians to rid the world of nuclear weapons. The World Council of Churches and the Vatican have become noteworthy for their peace advocacy. *Prior to the US invasion of Iraq*

in 2003, denominations and ecumenical bodies were at the forefront of anti-war efforts and supported the United Nations' work to peacefully rid Iraq of weapons of mass destruction. A parallel development, particularly influenced by the Gandhian understanding of nonviolence, have been the many nonviolent movements for liberation from oppression. Christians in countries as varied as the Philippines, Lithuania, South Africa and Chile have discovered in nonviolence a power that can uproot even entrenched dictatorial regimes.

If peace and nonviolence seem at last to be moving to the center of the church's life and witness, does anything remain distinctive about the Historic Peace Churches and their message? *I believe* it is imperative that they *continue* to find ways of sharing their biblical faith, their historical experience, and the avenues of witness and service they have developed. Many Christians newly committed to peacemaking are still accustomed to the church's playing a dominant role in society, aligned with the powers of *domination*. The experience of the Historic Peace Churches as a faithful, prophetic minority provide a needed alternative model. The rejection of war is not an optional ethical issue. Rather, it is the clearest indication of the church's calling to be a community free from *nationalist, militarist and other forms of domination*. Such radical discipleship, if we are to believe the New Testament, embraces those on the other side of the dividing walls of hostility in our world, even supposed enemies.

The message of the Historic Peace Churches should be clear and unambiguous. Although peace consciousness is growing, many Christian peacemakers in our time are still deeply aligned with nation states, their standing armies and weapons of mass destruction. *Many support the terrorism of war to rid the world of terrorism, a stance that opens the door to continuing warfare for an indefinite future.*

So while there is much to rejoice at in the widespread peace efforts in the churches today, the Historic Peace Churches should be on the prophetic edge of this movement, seeking to live out the implications of the way of the nonviolent cross. This is a way that calls Christians to love the enemy, to aid the oppressed, to enter the struggle for justice and liberation, and to partake of a Beloved Community that knows no boundaries.

Richard Deats
Fellowship of Reconciliation
Nyack, New York

(This essay is the Foreword to Dale Brown's **Biblical Pacifism** (Brethren Press).

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Martin Niemöller

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Mohandas K. Gandhi

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Case Studies

Two books and a video from a documentary television series offer case studies of nonviolent action throughout the 20th century.

Peter Ackerman and Jack Duvall, *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*. New York: Palgrave, 2000.

Presents twelve case studies and analysis.

Video [http://www.thepeacecompany.com/store/prod_audio_aforcemorepowerful.php] from a two-part television documentary produced by the Public Broadcasting System.

Center for the Advancement of Nonviolence
<http://www.nonviolenceworks.com/>

The Center for the Advancement of Nonviolence was established in 2000 as an independent 501(c)(3) to manifest the expanded vision of its originating organization, A Season for Nonviolence - Los Angeles (SNV-LA). SNV-LA was founded in 1997 as part of a national network to honor the 50th and 30th memorial anniversaries of Mahatma K. Gandhi and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. respectively, Jan. 30th-Apr. 4th, 1998. It is a 64-day campaign whose objective is to increase awareness, educate and promote the principles of peace and nonviolence. SNV-LASM continues to be an annual project of the Center for the Advancement of Nonviolence.

Eisha Mason, Executive Director

<http://www.nonviolenceworks.com/#director>

<http://www.nonviolenceworks.com/snv/links.htm>

Season For Nonviolence Websites

- [A Season For Nonviolence National Site](#)
- [Council of Co-Sponsors for the Season For Nonviolence](#)
- [San Diego Season For Nonviolence site](#)
- [Seattle Season For Nonviolence Site](#)
- [Season for Nonviolence Task Force](#)
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Sites Related to Mahatma Gandhi & Rev. Martin Luther King

- [Gandhi Information Center](#)
- [Gandhi TODAY](#)
- [Mahatma Gandhi Canadian Foundation for World Peace](#)
- [M.K. Gandhi Institute for Nonviolence](#)
- [Mahatma Gandhi Research and Media Service](#)
- [Mahatma Gandhi: The complete information](#)
- [Martin Luther King, Jr. World Wide Web Site](#)
- [The Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change](#)
- [The Mind of Mahatma Ghandi](#)

Christian Pacifism on the web

A Practical Christian Pacifism

by David A. Hoekema

<http://www.religion-online.org/showarticle.asp?title=115>

<http://www.religion-online.org/>

Where Have All the Pacifists Gone? Pacifism in Public Discourse After 9/11

by James Burke

Assistant Professor of Theology
Lewis University in Romeoville, Illinois

http://www.elca.org/jle/articles/contemporary_issues/september_11th/article.burke_james.html

Reasons for pacifism's speechlessness are also intrinsic to pacifism. The late John H. Yoder, a pacifist theologian, admitted there is still no single pacifism definition, acceptable to all pacifists.⁴ His 1990s typology lists twenty-nine religious pacifisms. Because Christian pacifist traditions are numerically tiny, some "have not been articulated in 'mainstream' terms which interlocutors outside of their community can understand fairly," Yoder adds. This disastrous imprecision helps pacifism to be ignored, and confused with nonviolence or passivism.⁵

4. John H. Yoder, *Nevertheless: Varieties and Shortcomings of Religious Pacifism*, Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1992, 11-12

Pacifism

by J D Weaver

<http://mb-soft.com/believe/txn/pacifism.htm>

In the Middle Ages the idea of the crusade developed from another attempt by the church to limit warfare. The peace of God and the truce of God limited times for fighting and banned clerical participation in war. To enforce these limitations the church itself came to conduct warring activity. This act associated war with a holy cause, namely the enforcement of peace. This association developed into the crusades, the holy cause of rescuing the Holy Land from the Moslems. Pope Urban II preached the first crusade in 1095. In either religious or secular versions the crusade has been a part of the church's tradition ever since.

The Politics of Jesus by John Howard Yoder

Christian Pacifism

by Myron S. Augsburger

September 15, 2001

http://www.intervarsity.org/news/news.php?item_id=1161

Isn't a pacifist just a coward?

http://www.iranite.com/pacifist_coward.htm

The Iraenaic Fellowship of God.

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Revised: March 24, 2003

The duties of Christian pacifism

By Andrew Chase-Ziolek

Calvin College

<http://www-stu.calvin.edu/chimes/2001.09.28/per3.html>

The Pacifist Option: The Moral Argument Against War in Eastern Orthodox Theology. - Review - book review

[Christian Century](#), August 30, 2000 by [Alain Epp Weaver](#) &&&



Save a personal copy of this article and quickly find it again with Furl.net. [Get started now.](#) (It's free.)

The Pacifist Option: The Moral Argument Against War in Eastern Orthodox Theology.

By Alexander Webster. International Scholars Publications, 351 pp., \$31.50 paperback.

IN THE ECUMENICAL conversation on war and peace, the voice of Orthodox Christianity has too often gone underrepresented. Alexander Webster helps fill this gap, arguing that "a distinctive form of pacifism has endured in the quiet corners of monastic communities and individual souls." However, his fine elucidation of this Orthodox pacifist trajectory is marred by theoretical and theological moves which most Christian pacifists will find highly questionable. Webster's treatment of pacifism in scripture and in patristic writings is sound, if not original. But his exposition of how the concepts of theosis, askesis, philanthropia, mysteria and sobornostis can be deployed to provide an Orthodox theological framework for understanding Christian pacifism is a vital contribution to the ecumenical pacifist conversation. The Orthodox emphasis on theosis, or deification, in particular should challenge the forms of Christian pacifism that emphasize obedience to divine commands to remember the telos of that obedience.

Webster also offers helpful studies of pacifist strands within canon law, hagiographical writings, devotional literature, and the tradition of "Russian kenoticism." From the latter, he lifts out Dostoevsky's *The Idiot* and *The Brothers Karamazov* for extended treatment.

Unfortunately, the benefits of Webster's study are offset by flaws both major and minor. For example, he incorrectly accuses selective conscientious objectors of "mixed motives and confused values," thus demonstrating his failure to recognize selective objection as a necessary by-product of taking the justifiable-war tradition seriously. Furthermore, pacifists used to facing patronizing condescension or benign indifference in ecumenical conversation will be puzzled by Webster's claim that pacifists like the late John Howard Yoder "control the religious journals and the public relations organs of the mainline Protestant denominations."

These faults, however, are minor compared to the structural problems with Webster's argument. He has a fondness for typologies which, unfortunately, obscure more than they illuminate. Relying on Edward Long Jr.'s distinction between "vocational" and "activist" pacifism, Webster perpetuates a false dichotomy between "nonresistance" and "nonviolent resistance." Upholding the "vocational," or "nonresistant," form of pacifism as the properly Christian kind, he insists that true Christian pacifism can only be a personal witness disconnected from social activism. Webster does not seem to recognize how someone like John Yoder was able to champion nonviolent direct action without becoming obsessed with efficacy. The activist witness of Jim Forrester and the Orthodox Peace Fellowship also challenges his typology.

Webster's revamping of Ernst Troeltsch's church-sect typology into a sect-type, worldly-type and churchly-type schema is also unconvincing. Predictably, the sect type is associated with separation and pacifism, while the church type is associated with an organic relationship between church and state and the justifiable-war tradition. The worldly type, which Webster relates to the holy war tradition, is rejected as an option for Orthodox Christians, although Webster acknowledges the "checkered" history of Eastern Orthodoxy in this regard. Again, better acquaintance with Yoder's work would have helped Webster question the continuing usefulness of this churchsect typology and see that pacifism need not result in total separation between church and state.

Most Christian pacifists will also have doubts about Webster's appeal to the "antinomy" of the Trinity to justify the "antinomy" of upholding "two simultaneously valid fundamental moral trajectories," namely, "justifiable war" and "absolute pacifism." The appeal to the Trinity is theologically questionable. The orthodox trinitarian affirmation of the identity of Jesus and God should issue in an affirmation of the universal normativity of Jesus' way of peace, rather than in an affirmation of the "simultaneous truth" of "two irreconcilable moral positions," "At the eschaton," Webster writes, "every Orthodox will be expected to fulfill the spiritual-moral ideal of absolute pacifism." Despite its flaws, Webster's study will offer theological resources from a rich heritage to those Christians, both Orthodox and non-Orthodox, who believe that Christians are called to follow the way of peace here and now.

Reviewed by Alain Epp Weaver, country representative for the Mennonite Central Committee in Palestine.

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'America's best theologian' walks pacifist road

April 20, 2003 1:09 am

Coleman McCarthy on Stanley Haverwas

http://www.freelancestar.com/News/FLS/2003/042003/04202003/944336/printer_friendly

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http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1295/is_4_67/ai_99818481

Muriel Lester (1883 - 1968): Ambassador of Reconciliation

A Random Chapter in the History of Nonviolence

by Michael L. Westmoreland-White

Monday, 21 April 2003

http://www.ecapc.org/articles/WestmoW_2003.04.21.asp

The Christian Answer to the Peace Movement

reviewed by Col Francis X. Bergmeister, USMCR(Ret)

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Larry Rasmussen is Reinhold Niebuhr Professor of Social Ethics Emeritus at Union Theological Seminary in New York.

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PEACE AND WAR 1957 PEACE AND WAR

STAN. NEIGHBOUR, B. A.

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Confessing Church

January 4, 1934 • Muzzled but Protesting at Barmen.

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Confessing Church

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Dietrich Bonhoeffer

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dietrich_Bonhoeffer

Dietrich Bonhoeffer ([February 4, 1906](#) — [April 9, 1945](#)) was a [German](#) religious leader and participant in the resistance movement against Nazism. Bonhoeffer, a [Lutheran](#) pastor and [theologian](#), took part in the plots being planned by members of the Abwehr (Military Intelligence Office) to assassinate Hitler. He was arrested, imprisoned, and eventually hanged following the failure of the July 20, 1944, assassination attempt.

Bonhoeffer was born in [Breslau, Germany](#) (now Wroclaw, [Poland](#)) into a middle to upper class professional family. His father was a psychiatrist in Berlin; his mother homeschooled the children. At a very young age, he decided to become a [minister](#). His parents supported his decision and when he was old enough he attended college in [Tübingen](#), received his doctorate in theology from the [University of Berlin](#), and was ordained. He then spent a post-graduate year abroad studying at [Union Theological Seminary](#) in [New York City](#). During this time, he would often visit the [African Methodist Episcopal Church](#) in [Harlem](#), where he became acquainted with the [African-American Spiritual](#). He amassed a substantial collection of recordings of these spirituals, which he took back to Germany.

He returned to Germany in [1931](#), where he lectured on theology in Berlin and wrote several books. A strong opponent of Nazism, he was involved, together with [Martin Niemöller](#), [Karl Barth](#) and others, in setting up the [Confessing Church](#). Between late [1933](#) and [1935](#) he served as pastor of two German-speaking protestant churches in [London](#). He returned to Germany to head an illegal seminary for [Confessing Church](#) pastors, which was closed down in 1937. The [Gestapo](#) also banned him from preaching, teaching, and finally speaking at all in public. During this time, Bonhoeffer worked closely with numerous opponents of Hitler.

During World War II, Bonhoeffer played a key leadership role in the Confessing Church, which opposed the [anti-semitic](#) policies of [Adolf Hitler](#). He was among those who called for wider church resistance to Hitler's treatment of the [Jews](#). While the Confessing Church was not large, it represented a major focus of [Christian](#) opposition to the Nazi government in [Germany](#).

In 1939 Bonhoeffer joined a hidden group of high-ranking military officers based in the [Abwehr](#), or Military Intelligence Office, who wanted to overthrow the National Socialist regime by killing Hitler. He was arrested in April 1943 after money that was used to help Jews escape to [Switzerland](#) was traced to him, and he was charged with conspiracy. He was imprisoned in Berlin for a year and a half. After the unsuccessful [July 20 Plot](#) in [1944](#), connections of Bonhoeffer to the conspirators were discovered, he was moved to a series of prisons and concentration camps ending at [Flossenbürg](#). Here, Dietrich Bonhoeffer was executed by [hanging](#) by dawn on 9th April 1945, just three weeks before the liberation of the city. Also hanged for their parts in the conspiracy were his brother Klaus and his brothers-in-law [Hans von Dohnanyi](#) and [Rüdiger Schleicher](#). For humiliation, and for the edification of the SS-staff present, all four men were forced to strip totally [naked](#) for the execution.

Dietrich Bonhoeffer is considered a [martyr](#) for his faith; he was absolved of any crimes by the German government in the mid-1990s. An oft-quoted line from one of his more widely read books, *The Cost of Discipleship* ([1937](#)), foreshadowed his death. "When Christ calls a man, he

bids him come and die." His books *Ethics* ([1949](#)) and *Letters and Papers from Prison* ([1953](#)) were published posthumously.

The theological and political reasons behind his shift from Christian [pacifism](#), which he espoused in the mid-1930s, to participation in planning the [assassination](#) of Hitler are much debated.

Bonhoeffer's nephew by his sister is the conductor [Christoph von Dohnanyi](#), son of [Hans von Dohnanyi](#).

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Works by Bonhoeffer

- *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Werke* (18 Bände), ed. by Eberhard Bethge. Gütersloher Verlagshaus (1986-1999); English edition (as yet incomplete): Minneapolis: Fortress Press (1995-)

[[edit](#)]

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The living legacy of Dorothy Day

Jim Forest

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A BIOGRAPHY OF DOROTHY DAY

*This essay by Jim Forest on Dorothy Day was prepared for **The Encyclopedia of American Catholic History** to be published by the Liturgical Press.*

<http://www.catholicworker.com/>

Catholic Worker Home Page

<http://www.catholicworker.org/index.cfm>

The Catholic Worker Movement

Every Church a Peace Church

Solutions to Violence is an eight session class developed by Colman McCarthy, founder of the Center for Teaching Peace in Washington, D.C.

<http://www.salsa.net/peace/conv/index.html>

Peacemaking Articles (alphabetical by author)

<http://www.ecapc.org/peacemakingarticles.asp>

Resources on Nonviolence: Books

Readings for Nonviolent Action and Five Religious Traditions: Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam

<http://www.paceebene.org/resources/resoindx.htm>

The Early Christian Attitude To War

A Contribution to the History of Christian Ethics

by C. John Cadoux

First published in 1919

<http://www.compassionatespirit.com/Cadoux/Cadoux-home.htm>

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<http://www.ecapc.org/peacemakerquotes.asp>

<http://www.forusa.org/Quotes/Others.html>

<http://www.forusa.org/nonviolence/default.html>

Nonviolence - The Core Philosophy of FOR

"...in such a world of conflict, a world of victims and executioners, it is the job of thinking people, not to be on the side of the executioners."

- Albert Camus

FOR Statement:

[Is War The Way?](#)

Martin Luther King, Jr.:

[The World House](#)

[Thoughts in the Presence of Fear](#) - by Wendell Berry

From The Progressive:

[A Just Cause, Not a Just War](#) by Howard Zinn

Richard Deats' OpEd piece in USA Today:

[Bush 'doctrine' too narrow](#)

Excerpts from "Peace Is The Way"

[Non-Violence—The Greatest Force](#)

M. K. Gandhi

[My Pilgrimage to Nonviolence](#)

Martin Luther King, Jr.

[Blessed Are The Meek: The Roots of Christian Nonviolence](#)

Thomas Merton

[The Global Spread of Active Nonviolence](#)

Richard Deats

[The Experiments of Gandhi: Nonviolence in the Nuclear Age](#)

John Dear

[How Nonviolence Works](#)

Glenn Smiley

[Reflections on the Fiftieth Anniversary of Gandhi's](#)

[Assassination](#)

Mairead Maguire

[The Rebel Passion:](#)

[Eighty-five Years of the Fellowship of Reconciliation](#)

Richard Deats

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*These books are available from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960; (914) 358-4601.

Since its founding in 1914, the Fellowship of Reconciliation in the United States has carried on programs and educational projects concerned with disarmament, racial justice, nonviolent alternatives to conflict, and the rights of conscience. An interfaith pacifist organization, the FOR has members from many religious and ethnic traditions. It is part of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation which has fellowships in 30 countries on all continents. For more information about the FOR and its programs contact: Fellowship of Reconciliation, BOX 271, Nyack, NY (845) 358-4601.

<http://www.markshep.com/nonviolence/Myths.html>

Mahatma Gandhi and His Myths Civil Disobedience, Nonviolence, and Satyagraha in the Real World

By Mark Shepard

Reproduced in full from [the book](#) published by Shepard Publications, Los Angeles, 2002

For more resources, visit [Mark Shepard's Gandhi Page](#) at

www.markshep.com/nonviolence

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This is the text of the 1990 Annual Gandhi Lecture for the International Association of Gandhian Studies, delivered at the University of Virginia at Charlottesville on October 2.

<http://www.markshep.com/nonviolence/books/Myths.html>

<http://www.markshep.com/nonviolence/books/Myths.html> There are many myths about Gandhi. I'd like to point out a few of them and hopefully get rid of them for you.

what is probably the best overview of the worldwide nonviolence movement, *The Struggle for Humanity*, by Marjorie Hope and James Young.)

Gandhi photos

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Glen Smiley

It is important to know at the outset that nonviolence has absolutely nothing to do with passive acceptance or acquiescence to evil done to a person or nation. I, for example, am a pacifist, but it makes me ill to have the word associated with passivity. The fact is that nonviolence can be considered as the art of seeking alternatives to violence in conflict, for conflict is inevitable in life. While history is replete with instances of creative action without violence, there are not many incidents of organized nonviolence on record.

How Nonviolence Works

Glenn Smiley

There are principles upon which classic nonviolence is based, and these are the most important ones, but not necessarily in order of their importance.

Nonviolence recognizes the essential humanity of every person and in its struggles aims at the conscience of the evildoer and not at the person. Gandhi and Jesus both called this attitude love, and both of them used the word love as a synonym for God. Dr. King said, "My religion requires that I love all men, even my enemies or him who would do me harm, but it does not require that I like him, nor his evil deeds."

In nonviolent action, one must be willing to compromise on tactics but not on principle.

While it is not necessary for every participant to be totally committed to nonviolence, it is necessary for the leadership to be well informed and dedicated to the method in order to prevent the movement from resorting to violence in the middle of what might otherwise be a successful endeavor.

The first training programs for a group should usually be small, with easily identified goals that are achievable within a reasonable period of time.

Nonviolence has its long-term goals and its short-term goals. Even though you have long-term goals with certain definite items on your agenda, you should not ask for everything at the beginning. A long list of grievances has a tendency to make the opposition draw the wagons in a circle and hold out.

In seeking alternatives to violence in a case of conflict, there is never just one alternative to a problem. Nonviolence seeks to clear the mind of the delusion of rightness. Sometimes there may not be one right way. Gandhi said something to the effect that you must have convictions and you must act on those convictions, even though new evidence may cause you to change your mind the next day. You have to act on the convictions you have today, or you will never act at all.

Massive movements of nonviolence take time to mature, although small projects can often be accomplished in a short time with little training. Nonviolence, like violence, can lose its skirmishes or even its battles, as long as it wins the war. The Montgomery boycott was fortunate in that it lasted 381 days, and although they lost some of the smaller battles, there was a constantly growing process that in time made the final victory inevitable.

While nonviolence can bring down a government, as in the case of Czechoslovakia in 1989, I don't believe that in the present world of superpowers, a nation can be ruled by nonviolence; the very nature of the modern state is to be violent. But nonviolence can bring a people to a state of awareness, or a will to resist. I can envision a day in which the citizens of a country would become so aware as to force the state to leave its primitive ways, to such a degree that even offenders against society would be dealt with in a healing and redemptive fashion. But I speak here from my faith.

Nonviolence is not a new, untried, pie-in-the-sky, tilting at windmills idea, held by a bunch of pietistic do-gooders.

Nonviolence is not a quick-fix, nor a panacea for all the ills of the world.

Nonviolence is not a weapon without cost, but has its price that its users must pay. As in the case of India, where unarmed people resisted the military, sometimes the price is equivalent to the price that is expected in instances of violence, because the privileged do not give up their privileges without a struggle.

The veneer of civilization is often very thin on today's people and while there is good in every person, human beings are not innately nonviolent. But nonviolence can be taught and it can be learned, thereby taking the next great step in human evolution to the place where "each shall dwell under his own vine and fig tree, and none shall be afraid."

It is not possible to use nonviolence, in the true sense, to accomplish an evil end.

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A Short Catechism on Christian Pacifism

by George Hunsinger

What is a Christian pacifist?

A Christian pacifist is someone who believes that in all situations of human life Jesus expects nothing less from his disciples than love. This love is especially marked by a spirit of forgiveness. Against those who inflict injury it refuses to retaliate, but instead responds with benevolence. "Love your enemies; do good to those who hate you; bless those who hurt you; pray for those who abuse you" (Luke 6:27-28).

Do Christian pacifists believe that the love expected by Jesus commits them to nonviolence?

Christian pacifists have never been able to understand how they could love their enemies by killing them. They believe that the love expected by Jesus involves more than just an inward attitude. It requires the corresponding action. Christian pacifists, therefore, believe they must be willing if necessary to lay down their own lives, but not to take the life of another. "No human being has greater love than this, that one lay down one's life for one's friends" (John 15:13).

What is the biblical basis for Christian pacifism?

The biblical basis for Christian pacifism is not primarily the Sermon on the Mount, nor even the life of Jesus. Its primary basis is the theology of the cross. For the cross shows us how God deals with God's enemies. Quite amazingly, they are not destroyed, but met with an abundance of love. Christian pacifists believe that God's nonviolent love, even to the point of death on a cross, sets the norm for all our behavior. We are not to respond otherwise to God and one another than God has responded to us. "God shows his love for us in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us While we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son" (Rom. 5:8, 10).

Doesn't Christian pacifism retreat from social responsibility?

Some of the most socially responsible people the church has ever produced have been Christian pacifists. Dorothy Day, Martin Luther King, Jr., and A.J. Muste, for example, were all Christian pacifists. Christian nonviolent resistance to Nazism was widespread and often had significant results. In Brazil today, base communities are actively protecting and extending the rights of urban workers and landless peasants. For such Christians, the question is not whether but how to oppose social injustice. Their Christian pacifism has allowed them, when necessary, to be as militant as Jesus when he denounced hypocrisy and drove the money changers from the temple. What Christian pacifism does not allow is strategies based on killing. What it encourages is the formation of socially responsible communities dedicated to the creative use of nonviolence. "Do not be overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good" (Rom. 12:21).

Isn't nonviolence ineffective as a means of social change and national defense?

In nonviolence, as Christian pacifists understand it, there can be no such thing as defeat. For they regard nonviolence as a matter of faithfulness to Jesus Christ, from whose love no tribulation will ever separate us. Christian faithfulness and political effectiveness are not incompatible, but neither are they always the same. Faithfulness can lead to effective action in the world, including nonviolent strategies for social change and national defense. What Christian pacifists question is the supposed "effectiveness" of violent strategies, in which cycles of retaliation and counter-retaliation are merely perpetuated. Nevertheless, when faced with hard choices, Christian pacifists are convinced that nothing surpasses the importance of faithfulness to Jesus Christ, and therefore that even the possible tragedies of nonviolence are better than violent success. "Seek first God's kingdom and God's righteousness, and all . . . things shall be yours as well" (Matthew 6:33)

lit the nuclear age how can pacifist and nonpacifist Christians work together for peace?

The nuclear weapon is not a weapon. It serves no rational purpose. It cannot be used without the massive and indiscriminate killing of noncombatants. It carries such grave risks as poisoning the environment irretrievably and exterminating human life on earth. By the standards of the historic "just war theory," to say nothing of more stringent standards like the Sermon on the Mount, the nuclear weapon is intrinsically immoral and has no right to exist. In a world bristling with nuclear weapons, all Christians, whether pacifist or nonpacifist, are called to oppose the escalating arms race and to strive for the reduction and eventual elimination of nuclear weapons from the face of the earth. "Behold, how good and pleasant it is when brothers and sisters dwell in unity" (Psalm 133:1).

What is needed for the emergence of a peace church today?

The way for us to increase our commitment to peace is for us to increase our commitment to Jesus Christ. Increasing our commitment to Jesus Christ will lead us to that godly grief that produces repentance and brings no regret (II Con. 7:10). No peace church can emerge in America today which does not first grapple with its own fears and complicity—but a church which passes through the fires of self examination under the judgment of God's Word will renew its strength, and mount up with wings like eagles (Isa. 40:31). It will receive the courage to affirm what is needed for the emergence of a peace church today, for it will have recognized at last that saying "yes" to God without any "no" means saying "no" to nuclear weapons without any "yes." "And when he drew near and saw the city he wept over it saying, 'Would that even today you knew the things that make for peace!' " (Luke 19:41).

"A Short Catechism on Christian Pacifism" was originally titled "A Short Catechism for Peace" and was written by George Hunsinger for the United Church of Christ Peace Fellowship, and reproduced with permission by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1985.

Inserting Awad article

A. Go to <http://www.mupwj.org/nonviolentaction.htm#acenturyofexperience>

1. Scroll down to

One Story of Nonviolence: the Palestinian Experience by Mubarak Awad

It is unfortunate that we Palestinians have not properly chronicled our stories and the history of the Palestinian nonviolent struggle.... In 1983, I returned to Palestine as a psychologist who was interested in counseling Palestinians and soon found myself immersed in nonviolent activism. I opened the Palestinian Center for Nonviolence to bring alternative solutions to the Palestinians with an emphasis on nonviolence....

[Read more....](#)

2. Replace this with:

Nonviolence as a Legitimate Means toward Peace in Palestine by Mubarak Awad Nonviolence International

The term nonviolence has been used in many ways. It has been used to describe pacifism, a lifestyle, a set of beliefs, an instrument of power and a strategy for liberation, and a method of achieving economic empowerment. *Our discussion refers to nonviolence as a means of affecting lasting change and resolving conflict.* Nonviolence motivates people to act justly and ethically and to demand just and ethical action, particularly by those in power, without resort to physical harm. The first premise of nonviolence is never to participate in anything that is immoral, and to speak truth to those who would wield power.

[Read more.....](#)

3. Just below that in "*Also see:*" add a new first item:

- [One Story of Nonviolence: The Palestinian Experience](http://www.commongroundnews.org/article.php?mode=3&id=43)
[<http://www.commongroundnews.org/article.php?mode=3&id=43>] by Mubarak Awad
(Common Ground News Service: Middle East, June 2, 2003)

4. Retain the other three items.

John Howard Yoder

Remembering John Howard Yoder

December 29, 1927-December 30, 1997

Stanley Hauerwas

<http://www.firstthings.com/ftissues/ft9804/opinion/hauerwas.html>

I feel the duty to note for the record John's professorships at the University of Notre Dame and the Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary, which he also served as president from 1970 to 1973. And I should mention his books as well. *The Politics of Jesus* (1972) was the best known; some of the others included *The Priestly Kingdom* (1984), *The Royal Priesthood* (1994), and *For the Nations* (1997).

The Original Revolution: Essays on Christian Pacifism [View](#)

[shopping](#)

[basket](#) by John Howard Yoder

He Came Preaching Peace [View](#)

[shopping](#)

[basket](#) by John Howard Yoder

Discipleship as Political Responsibility [View](#)

[shopping](#)

[basket](#) by John Howard Yoder

What Would You Do? [View](#)

[shopping](#)

[basket](#) by John Howard Yoder

Nevertheless: The Varieties and Shortcomings of Religious Pacifism [View](#)

[shopping](#)

[basket](#) by John Howard Yoder

The Christian Witness to the State [View](#)

[shopping](#)

[basket](#) by John Howard Yoder

The Politics of Jesus [View](#)

[shopping](#)

[basket](#) by John Howard Yoder

John Howard Yoder: Teacher of the World Church

By Daniel Schipani

<http://www.mwc-cmm.org/Courier/1998/98q1pg04.html>

A Comprehensive Bibliography of the Writings of John Howard Yoder

Compiled by Mark Thiessen Nation

This 60-page booklet includes a complete listing of John Howard Yoder's published and unpublished writings (from 1947 to 1997) and a list of publications about Yoder and his work.

John Howard Yoder's extensive works address themes of:

- The Life of the Mennonite Church and its Anabaptist Heritage
- Ecumenical and Inter-faith Dialogue
- Translations of Primary Writings of the Anabaptists
- Scripture Scholarship
- Critiques of Major Works in Social Ethics
- Violence and Nonviolence, Pacifism and the Just War Tradition

http://www.goshen.edu/mqr/menn_writings.html

The Way of Peace

John Howard Yoder

<http://www.brudershof.com/articles/WayOfPeace.htm>

john howard yoder

"The Limits of Obedience to Caesar: The Shape of the Problem" (Unpublished paper, available at Associate Mennonite Biblical Seminary)

Read: [pdf](#)

"Peacemaking Amid Political Revolution" (Unpublished paper, available at Associate Mennonite Biblical Seminary)

Read: [pdf](#)

"The Racial Revolution in Theological Perspective" (Unpublished paper presented to a conference called by Church Peace Mission on Revolution, Nonviolence, and the Church, Dec. 1963. Available at Associate Mennonite Biblical Seminary.)

Read: [pdf](#)

"The Theological Basis of the Christian Witness to the State" (Unpublished paper, available at Associate Mennonite Biblical Seminary)

Read: [pdf](#)

<http://www.jesusradicals.com/library/yoder.php>

Karl Barth

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl_Barth

Karl Barth ([May 10, 1886](#) - [December 10, 1968](#)) was a [Swiss Christian theologian](#).

Born in [Basel](#), he spent his childhood years in [Bern](#). From [1911](#) to [1921](#) he served as a [Reformed pastor](#) in the village of [Safenwil](#) in the [canton Aargau](#). Later he was professor of [theology](#) in [Bonn \(Germany\)](#). He had to leave Germany in [1935](#) after he refused to swear allegiance to [Adolf Hitler](#). Barth went back to [Switzerland](#) and became professor in Basel.

Barth was originally trained in German [Protestant Liberalism](#) under such teachers as [Wilhelm Herrmann](#), but reacted against this theology at the time of the [First World War](#). His reaction was fed by several factors, including his commitment to the German and Swiss [Religious Socialist](#) movement surrounding men like [Herrmann Kutter](#), the influence of the [Biblical Realism](#) movement surrounding men like [Christoph Blumhardt](#), and the impact of the [skeptical philosophy](#) of [Franz Overbeck](#). The most important catalyst was, however, his reaction to the support for the German war aims of most of his liberal teachers. Barth believed that his teachers had been misled by a theology which tied [God](#) too closely to the finest, deepest expressions and experiences of [cultured](#) human beings, into claiming divine support for a war which they believed was waged in support of that culture, the initial experience of which appeared to increase people's love of and commitment to that culture. In his commentary on *The Epistle to the Romans* (germ. *Römerbrief*; particularly in the thoroughly re-written second edition of [1922](#)) Barth argued that the God who is revealed in the cross of [Jesus](#) challenges and overthrows any attempt to ally God with human cultures, achievements, or possessions.

In the decade following the First World War, Barth was linked with a number of other theologians, actually very diverse in outlook, who had reacted against their teachers' liberalism, in a movement known as "[Dialectical Theology](#)" (germ. *Dialektische Theologie*). Other members of the movement included [Rudolf Bultmann](#), [Eduard Thurneysen](#), [Emil Brunner](#), and [Friedrich Gogarten](#).

In the run-up to the Second World War, Barth was largely responsible for the writing of the [Barmen declaration](#) (germ. *Barmer Erklärung*) which rejected the influence of [Nazism](#) on German Christianity - arguing that the [Church's](#) allegiance to the God of Jesus Christ should give it the impetus and resources to resist the influence of other 'lords' - such as the German *Führer*, Adolf Hitler.

In later life, Barth wrote the massive *Church Dogmatics* (germ. *Kirchliche Dogmatik*) - unfinished at about six million words by his death in [1968](#). Barth explores the whole of Christian [doctrine](#), where necessary challenging and reinterpreting it so that every part of it points to the radical challenge of Jesus Christ, and the impossibility of tying God to human cultures, achievements or possessions. The work has been deeply influential on German-speaking and English-speaking theologians, and has been partly responsible for a revival of interest in traditional Christian doctrine amongst academic theologians.

Barth's theology assumes a certain amount of the tenets of liberal [Christianity](#), most notably the assumption that the [Bible](#) is not historically and scientifically accurate. Barth has been called by fundamentalist [Christianity](#) a "neo-Orthodox" because, while his theology retains most or all of the tenets of [Christianity](#), he rejects [Biblical inerrancy](#). His reconciliation of having a rigorous

Christian theology without a supporting text that was considered to be historically accurate was to separate theological truth from historical truth. It is arguably for this belief that Barth has been criticized the most harshly by more conservative [Christians](#) such as [Francis Schaeffer](#).

[\[edit\]](#)

Quote

"[Jesus](#) does not give [recipes](#) that show the way to [God](#) as other [teachers](#) of [religion](#) do. He is himself the way."

[\[edit\]](#)

Writings by Karl Barth

- *The Epistle to the Romans* [ISBN 0195002946](#)
- *The Church Dogmatics* [ISBN 0567090434](#)

[\[edit\]](#)

External links

- [The Center for Barth Studies](http://www.ptsem.edu/grow/barth/) (*http://www.ptsem.edu/grow/barth/*) at Princeton Theological Seminary
- <http://www.christianitytoday.com/ch/2000/001/5.23.html>

World Without Violence Book Excerpt -- In Search of a Definition

<http://www.gandhiinstitute.org/Library/LibraryItem.cfm?LibraryID=857>

<http://storage.paxchristi.net/CPY12E05.pdf>

Paul Lansu

Nonviolence is in fact very different from what public opinion imagines it to be. To be sure, it makes itself known first in negative guise as the refusal to violence. But this refusal suggests neither weakness nor passivity. Nor should nonviolence be identified with an absolute pacifism or with non-resistance.

Gandhi, the apostle of nonviolence, put it this way: "I would prefer to see India defend her honor by armed force than to see her stand like a coward, watching her defeat without an attempt to defend herself. But I still believe just as strongly that nonviolence is infinitely superior to violence." Nonviolence is not cowardice. On the contrary, as Eustave Thibon wrote: "The violent person is simply a coward who pretends to be bold."

Nonviolence is, above all, a critique of violence. It denounces its misdeeds and contradictions. Far from redressing injustice, violence adds further injustice. Even when it does not kill people, it shows scant respect for their integrity or dignity. Violence is a force, which escapes the control of reason. Put positively, nonviolence is the affirmation of an alternative view of force. It is a clear-sighted power, which uses means proportionate to the goal it sets itself.

For, as Gandhi wrote: "The end is in the means as the tree is in the seed." It is the power of reason and truth, the power of morality and the human spirit. It is what in Brazil is called principled firmness and in the Philippines the power of the weak, the power of the soul. And it is in this way that Pope John Paul II defined nonviolence in 1985 in Guatemala: "an active commitment to achieve justice."

Nonviolence is not mere passivity or an internal disposition, but a constant way of acting which names acts of violence for what they are, as Pope John Paul II consistently did before, during, and after the Gulf War. Nonviolence refuses to cooperate with evil and injustice. Nonviolent reaction to acts of violence is reaching out in goodwill towards the perpetrators of violence together with a willingness to suffer ourselves rather than make others the victims of violence in retaliation.

Thus, nonviolence is a series of acts of choosing life rather than injury or death - whether physical, psychological, social or cultural. Habitual nonviolent will of the people to resist an armed intervention from outside prevented such an intervention from happening. Starting from examples such as these, it remains for us to analyze the means adopted, in conditions which allowed them to succeed, and the possibility of improving them and extending their influence. What happened relatively spontaneously must now become the product of careful preparation. So it is that nonviolent defense will no longer be a dream but a meaningful formation process based on experience and good practice.

Nonviolent action brings the power of love into play in the arena of conflict. Nonviolent action uses only means that promote the well being of all parties to the conflict. Those who act nonviolently seek to overcome enmity rather than to impose their own will on their adversaries. To the extent that nonviolent action succeeds in any given instance, it changes the situation itself from one of dominance and submission to a state of mutual respect for human rights and active concern for the genuine need of all parties to the conflict. As Gandhi pointed out, nonviolent action seeks to overcome the enemy, and make the enemy a friend.

Paul Lansu is a political activist connected with Pax Christi International in Brussels, Belgium.

World Without Violence: Can Gandhi's Vision Become?

World Without Violence: Can Gandhi's Vision Become a Reality?

M.K. Gandhi Institute \$15

http://209.240.152.108/Merchant2/merchant.mvc?Screen=PROD&Store_Code=MGIFN&Product_Code=BP303&Category_Code=BP

Martin Niemöller

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martin_Niem%F6ller

Rev. **Martin Niemöller** ([January 14, 1892](#) - [March 6, 1984](#)) was a [German Lutheran](#) pastor who was an opponent of [Adolf Hitler](#).

He was born in [Lippstadt](#) and was a submarine commander in [World War I](#). After the war, he spent some time in the [Freikorps](#). He studied theology and was ordained in [1931](#), becoming pastor of the Church of Jesus Christ at [Dahlem](#), an affluent suburb of [Berlin](#).

A German nationalist, Niemöller initially welcomed Hitler's rise to power. In his [1933](#) autobiography *From U-Boat to Pulpit*, Niemöller called the years of the [Weimar Republic](#) "years of darkness" and in an afterword to the book expressed hope that Hitler would bring about a "National Revival". The Nazis' praise for his autobiography helped make it a best-seller in Germany.

By the autumn of [1934](#), Niemöller's faith in Hitler has collapsed, and he formed the "[Confessing Church](#)", a Protestant group that opposed the Nazification of the German Protestant churches, the anti-Christian ideas of certain Nazi leaders, and Nazi racial doctrines.

The Confessing Church explicitly opposed the [German Christians](#), proponents of the single all-embracing State-established "[Protestant Reich Church](#)," headed by Hitler-appointed *Reichsbischoff* [Ludwig Müller](#).

On 8 November 1934, the Confessing Church held a rally of 20,000 at Dahlem, at which one of its leaders, a Reverend Dr. Koch, proclaimed:

We are fighting against the defamation of Christ and true Christianity. There are false prophets abroad in this land preaching the doctrine of blood and soil and racial mysticism, which we reject

—clear allusion to the Nazi Party. Niemöller, at the end of the rally, declared that

it is a question of which master the German Protestants are going to serve, Christ or another.

On Sunday, 27 June [1937](#), Niemöller's sermon to an overflowing church concluded with

We have no more thought of using our own powers to escape the arm of the authorities than had the [Apostles](#) of old. No more are we ready to keep silent at man's behest when God commands us to speak. For it is, and must remain, the case that we must obey God rather than man.

Three days later Niemöller was arrested and after eight months in Berlin's [Moabit prison](#) was tried by a [Sondergericht](#), one of Hitler's "special courts" for crimes against the State. Acquitted on the charge of "underhanded attacks against the State", he was convicted of "abuse of the pulpit" and for taking collections. Sentenced to seven months imprisonment, he was released for having already served that time awaiting trial.

As he left the courtroom, Niemöller was placed in "protective custody" by the [Gestapo](#) and interned in [Sachsenhausen](#) and [Dachau](#) concentration camps from 1937 to 1945. In 1941 at the start of WWII in a letter he volunteered to serve again in the German navy (this letter may have been a forgery), but the offer was refused.

After his release in 1945 he was instrumental in the issuance of the *Declaration of Guilt* by German churches in which they declared their culpability in not opposing Hitler more strenuously. He was president of the Evangelical church in Hess and Nassau from 1947 to 1961, and became president of the [World Council of Churches](#) in 1961.

He is most known for a single quotation - "[First they came...](#)" - which has many variants, but are based on his original:

*First they came for the communists, and I did not speak out—
because I was not a communist;
Then 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 out for me.*

[\[edit\]](#)

External links

- [Who Was Martin Niemoller?](#)
(<http://www.hoboes.com/html/FireBlade/Politics/nie-moller.shtml>)
- [Essay on Niemholler's Statement.](#)
(http://www.christianethicstoday.com/Issue/009/First%20They%20Came%20for%20the%20Jews%20By%20Franklin%20H%20Littell_009_29_.htm)



Wikiquote

Wikiquote has a collection of quotations by or about:

[Martin Niemöller](#)

M.K. Gandhi Institute for Nonviolence
<http://www.gandhiinstitute.org/AboutUs/index.cfm>

About Us

The M.K. Gandhi Institute for Nonviolence was founded in 1991 by the grandson of Mahatma Gandhi, [Arun Gandhi, and his wife, Sunanda](#). The Gandhis provided seed money for the Institute through the sale of Gandhiji's letters to his son and daughter-in-law (Arun's parents), Manilal and Sushila. Sustaining funds come from contributions, publications, program fees, and modest grants. The Institute is hosted by [Christian Brothers University](#), which graciously provides offices for our work in nonviolence.

Terrorism and Nonviolence

Terrorism and Nonviolence

Arun Gandhi

<http://www.gandhiinstitute.org/Library/LibraryItem.cfm?LibraryID=1460>

What is an appropriate nonviolent response to an inhuman act of violence such as the September 11 tragedy?
September 30, 2001

Peace Quotes of Muriel Lester
<http://www.forusa.org/quotes/lester.html>

"Ambassador of Reconciliation: A Muriel Lester Reader, edited by Richard Deats.

..

http://www.forusa.org/Merchant2/merchant.mvc?Screen=PROD&Store_Code=books&Product_Code=bnpmlr&Category_Code=Nv

Mother of World Peace: The Life of Muriel Lester by Jill Wallis, 1993

Muriel Lester (1883 - 1968): Ambassador of Reconciliation

A Random Chapter in the History of Nonviolence

by Michael L. Westmoreland-White

Monday, 21 April 2003

http://www.ecapc.org/articles/WestmoW_2003.04.21.asp

Muriel Lester, once one of the world's most famous Christian pacifists, is today little known. This deserves correction since Lester has been positively compared to both Dorothy Day and Jane Addams in her work for the poor and for peace. As far as I can determine, she never participated in a campaign of active nonviolence personally, but she was a key link in the convergence of several movements: the mystical Christian pacifism of Tolstoy, the pragmatic peacebuilding of the early 20th C. labor and feminist movements, the "liberal" pacifism of mainstream non-sectarian Protestantism between the 2 World Wars, and Gandhian satyagraha or active nonviolent direct action. Since Lester, like Day, was a witness to Christian pacifism through the very difficult days of World War II, her story deserves recovery for us, today.

No Moratorium on the Sermon on the Mount

Remembering Muriel Lester

by Richard L. Deats

The job of the peacemaker is "to stop war, to purify the world, to get it saved from poverty and riches ... to heal the sick, to comfort the sad, to wake up those who have not yet found God, to create joy and beauty wherever you go, to find God in everything and in everyone." I heard Muriel Lester say this when I was a senior at McMurray College in Texas in 1951. In a campus-wide address, this perky Englishwoman went on to say a number of uncommon things as she examined the Cold War from the vantage point of the Kingdom of God.

I was profoundly moved. What she said made sense. The Christian faith took on a fresh meaning and relevance. After the address, I heard one professor remark, "That woman sounds like a Communist." I didn't know much, but I did know that was utter nonsense-unless one's definition of Communism covers everything one doesn't agree with. That night she spoke again - on prayer and the necessity of regularly meditating on the presence of God. The day should begin, she said, with our focusing ourselves on God as "shining beauty, radiant joy, creative power, allpervading love, perfect understanding, purity and peace." The whole day - and the whole of life - must be committed to God without reservation: "If we bet our lives on eternity, believing as Emerson put it, not what the hours say but what the centuries whisper, we shall soon find ourselves facing those who occupy the seats of temporal power and facing them with a sureness of touch. The question then will not be our denomination or 'faith.' It will be how much consciousness of God we have been pure enough in heart to achieve."

Muriel Lester's brief visit to the campus, had a great impact on my life. I joined the Fellowship of Reconciliation and signed up for a Friends workcamp in a refugee village near Nuremberg, Germany. My experience was probably not unlike that of many, many others who came under the influence of Muriel Lester as she travelled around the world for the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Her story is fascinating. Born of wealthy parents, she became a militant patriot at an early age, avidly reading the lives of military heroes and glorying in the exploits of the British Empire. She kept a scrapbook, covered with khaki, in which she put clippings and stories that demonstrated British military prowess and superiority. Then, at the age of 18, she came upon Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God is Within You*. "It changed the very quality of life for me," she later wrote. "Once your eyes have been opened to pacifism, you can't shut them again. Once you see it, you can't unsee it. You may bitterly regret the fact that you happen to be one of the tiny minority of the human race who have caught this angle of vision, but you can't help it." Tolstoy, she said, made her aware of "the peculiar importance of doing Jesus Christ the honor of taking Him seriously, of thinking out His teaching in terms of daily life, and then' acting on it even if ordered by police, prelates and princes to do the opposite."

Her new-found conviction was eventually to lead Muriel and her sister, Doris, to the Bow district of London's East End and the founding of the neighborhood house, Kingsley Hall. In time, Kingsley Hall grew to 11 fulltime workers, two buildings, a lecture series, men's and women's clubs, an adult school and a Sunday service. A sister Children's House sprang up, comprising a

graded school, play hours, classes, health club, parents' association, holiday outings and a nursery school. The work progressed, often in the face of stiff opposition, especially in wartime. When World War I came, Kingsley Hall withstood the onslaught of inflamed patriots, police raids, anonymous letters, social boycott and organized hooliganism, as well as a hit by a German bomb. At open-air meetings, Muriel Lester spoke out against war, calling it as outmoded as "cannibalism, chattel slavery, blood-feuds and duelling ... an insult to God and man ... a daily crucifixion of Christ."

"We refused at Kingsley Hall to pronounce a moratorium on the Sermon on the Mount for the duration of the war," she wrote. "We could not conceive of God as a nationalist. We could not suddenly look upon our brother man as an enemy just because he chanced to have been born on the other side of a river or a strip of sea."

From the FOR's founding in 1914, Muriel Lester joined with other Christians in opposition to war, violence and falsehood. She badgered the clergy to include "the enemy" in their public prayers of intercession. After the war, hearing of children starving on the continent due to the blockade of the defeated enemies, she and other women tried to get editors, governmental leaders and clergy to work against such inhumanity. When the response was too slow, she wrote: "We decided to turn our bodies into newspapers and to walk the streets of London from East to West, bearing posters." They went, in single file, dressed in mourning, and carrying signs that read: "It is not the will of your heavenly Father that one of these little ones should perish."

Kingsley Hall was concerned with deprivation in the East End. From it came a campaign against bad housing, rats, slumlords and public indifference. For five years Muriel Lester served as the socialist alderman in the London borough of Poplar. Because of the "compulsory want" under which so many struggled, she and others decided to embrace "voluntary poverty" as a way of identifying with and serving the majority of the human race. Their slogan: "The only Christian, the only rational, basis for the distribution of goods is need." When Muriel's father died, leaving her an annual inheritance, she felt that as a Christian and as a socialist she could not use the money for herself, nor even for Kingsley Hall. She asked the trade unions, churches and women of the district to set up a committee to decide how best to use the money. The result was a program of "Home Helps," whereby "middle-aged women [were] given half-time employment. [They] could be called in by any woman, at any time of need, to look after the home if one of the children had suddenly to be taken to the hospital, cook dinner if mother were ill, clean house or do laundry in any emergency, mind the children if the mother wanted to go out for recreation or pleasure." Home Helps was consistent with Kingsley Hall's ongoing concern for women.

It was Muriel Lester's concern that Kingsley Hall serve the actual and pressing needs of the common people. She looked at it this way: "Day and night my mind was set on this job of getting a little community in East London to function as servants and lovers of their neighbors, cooperating with God by restoring their birthright to His dispossessed children, the birthright of music, art, poetry, drama, camps, open-air life, self-confidence, the honor of building up a new social order, the Kingdom of Heaven, here and now in Bow."

The staff at Kingsley Hall didn't include a janitor. All of them took their turn in cleaning. They practiced a regular discipline of prayer-15 minutes before breakfast, 10 minutes before tea and at

10:00 p.m. "In this rarefied air of constant stimulation we were grateful for the quietness of silent prayer. Blazing a new trail is intimidating, and it was downright frightening to contemplate what might result if one forgot for a single day to consult the compass."

In 1926, Muriel Lester made the first of many trips to India, staying with Gandhi at his Ashram for one month. He told her to take the Vow of Truth, which is to search out the truth, however difficult, and then do whatever is necessary to correct any falsehood or injustice you have discovered. As a result, she returned to England to work for home rule for India. Later, when Gandhi came to England, he stayed at Kingsley Hall for three months, much preferring the ordinary people of the East End to Downing Street's officialdom.

Lester stood up in Hyde Park and spoke for the FOR and the transforming way of nonviolence and service. In 1934, she was named ambassador- at- large by the International FOR; for the next 30 years she travelled all over the world on its behalf.

She was in the U.S. when World War II broke out. Now speaking to hostile audiences, she did not waver from her pacifism: "I asked how an idea, a philosophy, or a religion, could be eternally true if it changed its nature according to the temporal activities and policies of men ... It seemed to me irrational to expect to overcome these world evils by killing each other's wives and children. This generation, though liking to appear hard-boiled and realist, was being naive, romantic, unscientific." Her conviction, as always, was rooted in her religious belief: "Given is the word. Given publicly, on the first Good Friday, on a hill, in the ' sight of all, was the visible demonstration of the only permanent way to overcome Evil. Human nature demands something more enduring than the unquiet equilibrium of rival powers."

Lester travelled throughout the U.S., urging that food be sent to starving women and children in European countries caught between Nazi aggression and the Allied Blockade. She went from the U.S. to Latin America, where she received word that Kingsley Hall and her little cottage had been bombed in the London Blitz. She cabled home: "From Kingsley Hall's broken body, the bread of life can be better and more widely distributed. Christ is in the midst of her. God has us all in his hands."

Her pamphlet, "Speed the Food Ships," and other statements came to the attention of the British government. Winston Churchill, zealously carrying out the food blockade, was upset that this outspoken Britisher was roaming around undermining his efforts. In Trinidad harbor, British authorities took her from an American vessel and interned her behind barbed wire for six weeks. She wrote in her diary: "Excess in drink, vice or gambling won't draw attention to you, but thinking independently will. If it leads you to act generously, to identify yourself with the poor or the prisoner or the foreigner or the Negro, the vested interests will be displeased."

Finally, she was transferred to London's Holloway jail; she had been there before, but as a lecturer. After she was released, she continued her service work in London. With the war's end, she resumed her world pilgrimages for the International FOR, witnessing to the way of life that removes the occasion for wars.

Muriel Lester died on February 11, 1968, one year to the day after the death of AJ. Muste. So long as we have a reverence for genius and courage, the witness of her life and writings will continue to influence those who seek the way of peace.

NONVIOLENCE

Civil Rights Movement

Time line

<http://www.infoplease.com/spot/civilrightstimeline1.html>

The King Center

<http://www.thekingcenter.org/tkc/index.asp>

Nonviolence in the 21st Century: Challenges and Choices

Arun Gandhi

<http://www.gandhiinstitute.org/Library/LibraryItem.cfm?LibraryID=786>

World Without Violence Book Excerpt -- In Search of a Definition

Paul Lansu

<http://www.gandhiinstitute.org/Library/LibraryItem.cfm?LibraryID=857>

BOMBAY SARVODAYA MANDAL GANDHI BOOK CENTRE

<http://www.mkgandhi.org/ias.htm>

Three Case Studies Of Nonviolence -in the Context of their Relationship to Gandhian Satyagraha

By Krishna Mallick

<http://www.mkgandhi.org/articles/case%20studies.htm>

The Sacred Warrior

The liberator of South Africa looks at the seminal work of the liberator of India

BY NELSON MANDELA appeared in the Time Magazine as a part of "The Person of the Century" series - January 1, 2000

http://www.indianembassy.org/US_Media/2000/Gandhi_Mandela_jan_01_2000.htm

Catherine Morris

Nonviolence, Nonviolent Direct Action and Civil Disobedience

<http://www.peacemakers.ca/bibliography/bib37nonviolendirect.html>

["Ambassador of Reconciliation: A Muriel Lester Reader, edited by Richard Deats. "](#)

Code: **bnpmlr**

Price: **\$6.95**

<http://www.forusa.org/Merchant2/merchant.mvc?>

Nonviolence Works

<http://www.nonviolenceworks.net/>

. The information currently available are: [*Common Misunderstandings*](#); [*The Nature & Control of Political Power*](#); [*Dynamics of Nonviolent Resistance*](#); [*Historical Examples of Nonviolent Struggle*](#); [*Strategy & Tactics*](#); [*Methods*](#) (there are 198 different methods of nonviolent action to choose from); and [*Philosophy*](#).

Peaceworkers

David Hartsough is the Executive Director of PEACEWORKERS. He has worked in Kosovo and Yugoslavia over the past three years. In March of 1998, after accompanying Albanians in their nonviolent demonstrations in Kosovo, he was arrested, jailed and later expelled from the country by the Yugoslav authorities.

Contact Peaceworks at:

721 Shrader St., San Francisco, CA 94117

Phone and fax: 415-751-0302

E-mail: Peaceworkers@igc.apc.org

The Nonviolent Peace Force

In 1999, David and other nonviolent activists around the world began working out plans to create a nonviolent army. This is their website. Check it out and get involved!

From Violence to Wholeness

Ken Butigan, author of "Love in Action" in the Fall 1999 issue of *Nonviolence Works*, is the director of Violence to Wholeness, a program created by Peace Bene Franciscan Nonviolence Center that offers groups a ten-part self-study and action curriculum in the spirituality and practice of active nonviolence. People can contact us at fvtw@aol.com. We have a core team of workshop facilitators available to lead one day and weekend workshops. We have been facilitating workshops throughout the U.S. and Australia.

Theology of War and Peace (website material)

D. EXPERIENCE: ALTERNATIVES TO WAR

1. Nonviolent Action

a. Introduction

b. "The Global Spread of Active Nonviolence" by Richard Deats
(linkage to FOR)

c. Some Leading Practitioners (with potential writers)

i. M.K. Gandhi (Arun Gandhi)

ii. Dietrich Bonhoeffer [not completely pacifist] (John Godsey)

iii. Andre Trocme (George Houser)

Reference to "Righteous Among the Nations" who rescued Jews
during World War II (Vad Yashem website)

iv. Martin Luther King, Jr. (Jim Lawson)

v. Archbishop Desmond Tutu (including Reconciliation Commission)

vi. Other?

d. Techniques of Nonviolence

i. "Blessed Are the Meek" by Thomas Merton (linkage to FOR)

ii. Gene Sharp's 198 techniques, references to his other writings

iii. Linkage to Nonviolence International and Mubarak Awad

iv. Other

Pacifism defined

Pacifism is sometimes defined by persons who don't support this approach as passivism, cowardly nonresistance, withdrawal from public life, inflexibly negative, anarchical. As we conceive pacifism, it is none of these. Rather, starting with the command to love both neighbor and enemy, pacifism is manifested in unwillingness to kill, opposition to war, creative nonviolent action, strong commitment to justice, forgiveness and reconciliation. These ideas are developed in several articles available on the worldwide web.

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- _____, ed. **Peace is the Way Writings on Nonviolence from the Fellowship of Reconciliation.** Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2000.
- Yoder, John Howard. **The Politics of Jesus: Vicit Agnus Noster**, 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994.

Prepared by Richard Deats, Fellowship of Reconciliation, for a project on "The Theology of War and Peace" of Methodists United for Peace with Justice. For further information, go <http://www.mupwj.org/theologyofWarAndPeace.htm>. Or contact Methodists United for Peace with Justice at 1500 16th Street, NW, Washington, D.C.20036 or at mupwj@mupwj.org.

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Yoder, John Howard. **The Politics of Jesus: Vicit Agnus Noster**, 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994.

PETER ACKERMAN

Peter Ackerman is the Managing Director of Crown Capital Group Incorporated, a private investment firm. For the past decade, Crown has made successful direct investments in such diverse fields as propane distribution, ball bearings, textiles, auto part remanufacturing, publishing, variable life insurance and internet-based food retailing. From 1978 to 1990 he was the Director of International Capital Markets at Drexel Burnham Lambert where he structured, financed, and invested in hundreds of recapitalizations including the largest and most complex leveraged acquisitions of that period.

Dr. Ackerman is a member of the boards of Care, Colgate University and the Cato Institute. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Executive Council of the International Institute for Strategic Studies. He co-authored *Strategic Nonviolent Conflict*, published in 1994, and *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*. The latter volume was a companion book for the Emmy nominated documentary of the same title that appeared on PBS in September 2000, for which Dr. Ackerman served as the series editor. Most recently, Dr. Ackerman has co-produced a documentary on the fall of Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia for PBS, which won the Peabody Award.

After earning a B.A. from Colgate University in 1968, Dr. Ackerman studied at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, earning an M.A. in 1969, M.A.L.D. in 1971 and a Ph.D. in 1976. He joined the Board of Overseers to the Fletcher School in 1993 and has served as chair since 1996. He was elected to the Tufts University Board of Trustees in 1996 and currently chairs the Investment Committee.

Strategic Nonviolent Conflict

Peter Ackerman and Christopher Kruegler

Peter Ackerman and Christopher Kruegler, Strategic Nonviolent Conflict, (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1994).

Ackerman and Kruegler argue that the use of nonviolent action in conflicts is on the increase. They seek to understand the principles of effective nonviolent conflict, and to explore its potential uses in the contemporary context. Since they take the practitioner's choice of strategies to be a key factor in the success or failure of nonviolent actions, much of their work focuses on describing strategies and developing principles to guide strategic planning. The text consists of nine chapters with an authors' Introduction and Forewords by Gene Sharp and by Thomas Schelling.

In their Introduction to the text, the authors list a number of features of the contemporary international scene which may encourage the increased use of nonviolent action. They note that NGOs are playing larger roles and wielding increasing power in international affairs. "Nonstate actors may find that their particular attributes and capabilities make them especially well suited to waging nonviolent conflict." [xxi]

Ethnic conflicts are on the rise globally. Given the potential of ethnic conflicts to escalate dramatically and violently, and so to provoke international censure, ethnic groups may well turn toward nonviolent conflict to press their demands. Marginalized groups have not been very successful in using terrorism to achieve their goals. Groups which had resorted to terrorism may turn to nonviolent strategies, which have had a somewhat better success rate.

Nonviolent resistance may be used as a form of civilian-based national defense. This approach prepares the general population to use nonviolent resistance should another power attempt to invade. The goal is to make it impossible to successfully occupy and govern the invaded territory. Civilian-based defense may be an appealing option to small states which have no realistic hope of defending themselves by military force.

It has often been thought that nonviolent action is most effective in democratic states. The authors suggest instead that nonviolent conflict may be a precursor to democratization.

"Effective nonviolent conflict may be shown to precede, abet, and defend the democratizing process." [xxiii] And so supporting nonviolent action is one way to encourage and support democratization.

Finally, they note that technological advances, especially in communications, have made strategic nonviolence easier to use and more effective. They have also created new opportunities for nonviolent action. The authors caution, however, that technology in and of itself does not give an advantage to nonviolent actors. Technology can also be used to dominate and oppress. Ultimately, nonviolent actors must always outperform their adversaries in order to succeed. Chapter One describes the emergence of nonviolent action as a significant feature of in many contemporary conflicts. They observe that the use of strategies of nonviolence need not be based on a philosophy of nonviolence. Many contemporary actors simply find nonviolent actions to be the most effective and least costly, and in most contemporary conflict some combination of violent and nonviolent action has been used. Nonviolent actions range from forms of protest and persuasion, to forms of non-cooperation such as strikes and boycotts, to forms of intervention such as sit-ins.

The authors close Chapter One by raising and rebutting some traditional arguments against nonviolent actions. Some have argued that it is not possible to produce a "formula" for effective nonviolent strategy. The authors agree that no simple formula is possible, but respond that a better understanding of the complex variables at play is certainly possible and desirable. They also reject the claim that "true" nonviolence must be understood as a transformative activity and philosophy. Some have argued that nonviolence cannot succeed in the face of extreme violence and repression. Here the authors argue by historical cases that nonviolent action can oppose violent repressive regimes. They note "nonviolent conflict cannot require a kinder and gentler world in which to prevail, but it may offer (and has offered) a realistic alternative in the face of political violence as we know it." [16]

Chapter Two describes twelve principles of strategic action. Each principle addresses a factor contributing to the success or failure of strategic nonviolent conflict. In developing a plan for strategic nonviolent action, the actors must formulate clear achievable goals. They must strengthen their organization, secure needed resources and support, and seek support from external actors, groups or states. They must also develop a repertoire of nonviolent actions and tactics.

In engaging in nonviolent conflict the actors must maintain strong discipline, and refrain from violent action. Violence will cost the group credibility, and dramatically escalate the conflict.

They must mute the effects of the opponents' violence, by avoiding it or preparing for it.

Nonviolent actors should seek to use and publicize the opponent's violence to undermine domestic and foreign support for the opponent. They should attack their opponent's strategy for maintaining control and obedience. In their ongoing planning over the course of the conflict, nonviolent actors must continue to reassess actions and options as the situation progresses. They

must adjust their offensive or defensive postures in light of new vulnerabilities or strengths. And they must strive to keep their actions and and goals connected.

In Chapters Three through Eight the authors analyze cases of widespread and sustained strategic nonviolent conflict. Each case concludes with an analysis of how well the conflict conformed to the authors' twelve principles of strategic action. Ackerman and Kruegler examine the use of nonviolence in the First Russian Revolution, between 1904 and 1906. They examine the German use of passive resistance during the French occupation of the Ruhr region. They analyze the Indian Independence Movement in the 1930, and resistance to the German occupation of Denmark in the early 1940s. They investigate the use of a civic strike to depose the General Martinez in El Salvador. And finally they examine the conflict between the Polish Communist Party and the Solidarity trade union movement in 1980.

Having explored historical uses of nonviolent action, Chapter Nine draws some general conclusion about what is needed for nonviolent action to succeed. The authors also evaluate their principles in light of their findings from the historical record. This chapter includes a chart summarizing each cases' conformity to the twelve principles and assessing the success or failure of nonviolent action in each case. The authors find no strong correlation between the ferocity of the opponent and failure of nonviolent action. Nonviolent action tended to succumb to opponents who applied steady, sustained pressure, rather than swift repression. Their review of the cases shows that their initial principles do identify relevant factors in the success of nonviolent action, and that conforming to those principles did increase the chance of successful action.

The authors draw some general lessons for nonviolent protagonists from their review of the cases. "First, it seems that it is easier to mobilize for conflict than to wage it...Second, it seems that the greatest source of counter-productive behavior is associated with the conception of nonviolent strategy." [329] Groups tended to make strategic errors during their ongoing planning over the course of the conflict. They note that nonviolent actors tend to end their campaigns somewhat prematurely, and often leave themselves no way to rejoin the conflict. The authors also find that, "not only does violence mix poorly with nonviolent action, but even the contemplation of opportunistic violence weakens the effectiveness of strategic nonviolent conflict." [335]

Ackerman and Kruegler conclude the text with a brief overview of contemporary conflicts, including Panama, China, the Philippines, East Central Europe, and South Africa. They express hope that a better understanding of the principles of strategic nonviolent action will lead to its wider use.

###

Revolution Will Be Televised

<http://enews.tufts.edu/stories/120903BringingDownADictator.htm>

Tufts' Peter Ackerman – an internationally-renowned expert on non-violent resistance – says Georgia's recent uprising shares much in common with other movements he's chronicled.

Medford/Somerville, Mass. [12-09-03] Last month, a nonviolent resistance movement ousted President Eduard Shevardnadze of Georgia. According to [Peter Ackerman](#) -- Chair of the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict in Washington D.C. -- the Georgian uprising appears to have been largely modeled after the movement to remove Slobodan Milosevic from power in Yugoslavia in 2000. Both political movements, says the Tufts graduate – who documented Milosevic's oust in his film "Bringing Down a Dictator" – embraced the idea of nonviolent conflict, finding the approach not only provocative, but revolutionary.

"[Non-violent resistance] is a powerful illustration of an important point: that authoritarians have much less power than we think they do," Ackerman – who earned a M.A., M.A.L.D. and Ph.D. from [The Fletcher School](#) -- said in an interview on National Public Radio's *Morning Edition*. "A series of non violent tactics linked strategically can undermine the power of an authoritarian to such an extent that he's forced to leave."

The Fletcher School graduate said the opposition movements in Yugoslavia and Georgia shared not just their methods of nonviolence – they also struck at the same targets to effectively undermine their respective regimes.

"The most important factor was that [the Georgian opposition] understood that the real target was not Shevardnadze, it was the loyalty of the military and the police," Ackerman told NPR. "And once they could create hesitation on the part of the military and the police so that they would not be implementers of Shevardnadze's repression, as soon as that loyalty faded, he couldn't stay."

The Tufts graduate added, "That's exactly what happened with Milosevic."

That may not be a coincidence. Some suspect Ackerman's film "Bringing Down a Dictator" – which chronicles the final stages of Milosevic's overthrow – may have had a hand in shaping the Georgian uprising.

The hour-long documentary – directed by Steve York and narrated by Martin Sheen – was shown on independent television networks in the former Soviet republic of Georgia at least twice in the weeks leading up to the protests that ended Shevardnadze's presidency.

"You can put an idea on paper and it doesn't inspire," Ackerman told NPR. "Sometimes when you put an idea in a visual format and you do it well...then you excite people's imaginations and the idea becomes provocative because people relate to it and identify with it. We have found that the visual arts have been much more powerful in talking about these ideas and speaking to people about these ideas than the written word has."

Although the Georgian ousting tapped many of the methods from the movement to remove Milosevic, Ackerman stresses that the political factors in each case were different.

"The groundwork was not as dramatically and carefully laid in Georgia as it was in Serbia," Ackerman told NPR. "It seems what happened is that they were following more the pattern of the climax of the Serbian revolution than what happened in the months that proceeded."

As the Tufts graduate told NPR, "Every one of these movements unfolds in their unique way."

"Dictator" is the second collaboration between Ackerman and York -- the first was a film based on the Tufts graduate's 1994 book "Strategic Nonviolent Conflict." But Ackerman is careful to point-out that his films are not meant to be a "how-to" on overthrowing any leader. Instead, the Tufts graduate hopes that the nonviolent resistance portrayed in his films can be used to ensure democracy – not just in elections but in their aftermath.

"We have to be very careful to realize that an election is a necessary condition for democracy but not a sufficient one," Ackerman told NPR. "And there are many ways after an election you can erode democratic rights and freedoms. The rule of law can go by the wayside. And so many of these movements today are in response to democratic freedoms won but now being taken away by the same people who are elected."

#####

An Alternative To War With Iraq

<http://enews.tufts.edu/stories/090502NonviolenceInIraq.htm>

Non-violent resistance - not a U.S. invasion - may be the best strategy for ousting Saddam Hussein, says an international relations expert and Tufts graduate.

Medford/Somerville, Mass. [09.05.02] -- At first blush, nonviolent resistance could appear to be a relatively weak weapon against an authoritative regime like the one lead by Iraq's Saddam Hussein. But a Tufts graduate and expert on strategic nonviolent conflicts says the tactic has proven to be powerful in the past, and may offer a better solution than a U.S. led war.

"[Nonviolent resistance] does not typically begin by putting flowers in gun barrels and it does not end when protestors disperse to go home," Tufts graduate [Peter Ackerman](#) wrote in an opinion piece for *Sojourner Magazine*. "It involves the use of a panoply of forceful sanctions - strikes, boycotts, civil

disobedience, disrupting the functions of government, even nonviolent sabotage - in accordance with a strategy for undermining an oppressor's pillars of support."

Often incorrectly associated with political protest, nonviolent resistance is not just about voicing dissent, wrote the graduate of [Tufts' Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy](#). "It is not about making a point, it's about taking power," he wrote.

The key, he wrote, is to undermine a regime's control by attacking its foundation of support.

"By first demonstrating that opposition is possible, peeling away the regime's residual public and outside support, quashing its legitimacy, driving up the costs of maintaining control, and overextending its repressive apparatus," Ackerman wrote in *Sojourner*.

While it is often dismissed in favor of military action, Ackerman wrote that nonviolent strategies deserve further consideration.

"[Many policymakers] don't know how to distinguish between what has popularly been regarded as 'nonviolence' and the strategic nonviolent action that has hammered authoritarian regimes to the point of defenestrating dictators and liberating people from many forms of subjugation," Ackerman, who chairs the Board of Overseers at Tufts' [Fletcher School](#), wrote.

Throughout history, these types of efforts have accumulated a track record of success against entrenched regimes. According to Ackerman, Pinochet, Slobodan Milosevic and even Hitler's Nazis all backed down in the face of nonviolent resistance.

"No one doubted the willingness of Pinochet's regime ... to use terror as an instrument of repression in order to assure the regime's control: disappearances, brutal killings of dissidents and arbitrary arrests had silenced most dissenters," Ackerman wrote in *Sojourner*. "But once that silence was broken in 1983 in a way that the regime could not immediately suppress - through a one-day nationwide slowdown, followed by a nighttime city-wide banging of pots and pans in Santiago - the regime was no longer able to re-establish the same degree of fear in the population, and mammoth monthly protests were soon underway."

<http://fletcher.tufts.edu/news/2002/april/ackerman.html>

<http://fletcher.tufts.edu/news/2002/april/ackerman.html> Non-violent strategies have even had previous success against Saddam Hussein, wrote the Tufts graduate, who co-authored the book "[A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict](#)."

Several years ago - fearing an uprising -- the Iraqi government sent troops to a gathering of tens of thousands of people during a religious occasion in the city of Karbala. "But they were so badly outnumbered by the civilians who came that they were effectively encircled - a graphic display of the limitations on Saddam's repressive apparatus if it were constrained to respond to incidents in all directions from Baghdad," Ackerman wrote.

While a relatively limited display of the power of nonviolent resistance, Ackerman wrote that suggests a more organized and sustained approach could be very effective.

"Strategic nonviolent action is not about being nice to your oppressor, much less having to rely on his niceness. It's about dissolving the foundations of his power and forcing him out," Ackerman wrote in *Sojourner*. "It is possible in Iraq."

###

"People power" wins in Ukraine

December 26, 2004

Reprinted from *The Boston Sunday Globe*

By Peter Ackerman and Jack DuVall

<http://fletcher.tufts.edu/news/2004/12/ackerman.shtml>

UKRAINIANS will vote for the first time in a fair and free election today -- and have themselves to thank for it. Without the massive civilian-based resistance dubbed the Orange Revolution, the Ukrainian Supreme Court would not have invalidated the fraud-ridden election of Nov. 21.

For foreign observers in Kiev, the name of a popular candy, "Kinder Surprise," seemed to sum it all up. But Russian President Vladimir Putin and many Western pundits don't like being

surprised, so they groped for external factors to explain things. Conspiracy theorists pounced on Western aid to the opposition; others fixated on European diplomats. But the least surprised were the Ukrainian organizers, who applied classic principles of nonviolent strategy to breach the government's command of events. The demonstrations that forced action by a vacillating parliament and regime-appointed judges were the latest manifestation of a century-old phenomenon.

Since Mohandas Gandhi taught Indians how to resist unjust laws, civilian-based movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America as well as Europe and North America have used strikes, boycotts, civil disobedience, and other tactics to evict colonial masters, topple native dictators, and obstruct military occupiers.

It starts when people decide they want to be free. One Ukrainian protester, Sergiy Sklyarenko, explained it to the BBC: "People do not want to live with oligarchs and want to live in accordance with democratic values." His colleagues included "pensioners and war veterans, working-class men and women -- people from a wide variety of professions and trades," noted one reporter. The gray lion of Poland's Solidarity, Lech Walesa, said he was amazed at their enthusiasm.

Enthusiasm is good, but a movement's success comes from the quality of its strategic moves. Ukrainian activists knew the regime would dodge and weave, hoping to exhaust resisters. Accordingly, the primary tactic was a long-term occupation of space surrounding government institutions, complete with tents and open-air cooking -- a congress of the streets ensuring that any crackdown, sure to be reviled around the world, would have a dramatic cost if it were tried. The result: Rulers who had thrown people in prison for criticizing them were suddenly thrown out of the physical seat of power. Decision-makers never before accountable for their actions now had them challenged by hundreds of thousands and debated by millions around the world. What Vaclav Havel called "the power of the powerless" was again on global display.

A cardinal rule in applying this power is nonviolent discipline, which helps trigger defections from the police and military. In 1986, as Filipinos took over Manila with "people power" after president Ferdinand Marcos tried to steal an election, ranking Army officers defected to the movement's side, and Marcos chose to flee the country.

In Ukraine, organizers formed human chains to keep protesters apart from police, and women were in the front lines, softening police reaction. After opposition leader Viktor Yushchenko proclaimed on television that no violence would come from his side, the government was obliged to follow suit.

With violence proscribed, police were less inhibited about showing their true feelings. In the city of Sumy police stood back as a crowd halted delivery of six activists to jail. In Independence Square senior officers of the intelligence service appeared on the opposition podium. Even the campaign manager of the regime's presidential candidate resigned.

Defections became dramatic when they hit the air waves. Disgusted at state television's failure to report the protests, broadcasters threatened a walkout, and management gave up. "The system just collapsed," one anchorwoman said. "From now on, we will give only objective and truthful information," a broadcaster announced. Then followed live feeds of the demonstrations.

This was a "defining moment in the birth of a nation," one viewer said. When the people realize they have the power to expose the deceit underlying a government prone to repression, it is the beginning of that regime's end.

In Ukraine the fulcrum of change was an election, but the lever was not money from abroad or foreign mediation. An indigenous movement mobilized millions of alienated civilians, enticed

timely defections, and became an irresistible emblem of the nation's future, making it natural for officials to formalize the people's will.

Governments that serve themselves but do not serve the people can succumb to the people -- as the regimes in Minsk, Baku, or Tehran may find out next.

Peter Ackerman is chairman of the board of the Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy at Tufts University. Jack DuVall is co-author of "A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict."

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The secret to success in Ukraine

December 29, 2004

Reprinted from *International Herald Tribune*

By Peter Ackerman and Jack DuVall

<http://fletcher.tufts.edu/news/2004/12/ackerman2.shtml>

Homegrown revolution

On Sunday Ukrainians voted in the first truly fair election in their lifetimes. That happened only because millions of Ukrainians had engaged in a massive nonviolent campaign to throw out a stolen election. But instead of celebrating these events, many pundits and policymakers on both sides of the Atlantic have been debating the propriety of U.S. and European funding for democracy-building in Ukraine.

That debate misses the reality of how the Orange Revolution succeeded. Like all victories of people power in the past 25 years, it was achieved, not by foreign assistance, but by the indigenous force of ordinary citizens applying their own strategy to challenge autocratic power.

Using nonviolent weapons such as strikes, boycotts and sit-ins, earlier civilian-based movements in the Philippines, South Africa and Chile, as well as Eastern Europe, overturned stolen elections or forced dictators to resign.

Following in their footsteps, the Ukrainian opposition unified behind an easily communicated goal, planned a series of events that mobilized diverse people from all over the country, adjusted tactics to defend against the regime's behavior and, most of all, remained nonviolent. Regimes fall when their defenders defect, but you cannot co-opt those you're shooting at.

All this was necessary, but not sufficient. The break point was reached because the people decided that enough was enough. The Orange Revolution was an existential response to the crooked oligarchy and rigged politics orchestrated by president Leonid Kuchma, who ignored political rights and tyrannized independent media.

In 2000, for example, Heorhiy Gongadze, a journalist, was kidnapped and beheaded. Three years later, a former militia officer, Ihor Honcharov, testified that the president knew that a death squad had murdered Gongadze. Then Honcharov died in police custody.

But repression can boomerang. After the opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko was poisoned, "that really seemed to galvanize and radicalize his agenda," said Kataryna Wolczuk, a lecturer in Ukrainian studies at the University of Birmingham in England. Activists in the ranks faced intimidation too. Opposition members' homes were raided. The authorities claimed, preposterously, that they had found explosives at offices of a nonviolent student group. Police scattered spikes on highways to block protesters. But Ukrainians kept coming, their fervor heightened by the vote tampering.

International monitors found blocking of opposition poll workers and bogus absentee ballots. Bernard Bot, the Dutch foreign minister, whose country holds the presidency of the European Union said, "We don't accept these results. We think they are fraudulent."

On the first day of demonstrations, 150,000 protesters congregated in Kiev; in three days their number had doubled; in a few more, they had doubled again. More than 200,000 gathered in Lviv; 50,000 in Ivano-Frankivsk; and 30,000 in Kharkov.

To see in these numbers the phantom of foreign interference is an insult to the ordinary wage earners and students who stood on freezing streets week after week. Could George Soros's money or American consultants give three-quarters of a million Ukrainians the courage to seize their capital city and refuse to yield?

That refusal had been primed by months of organizing and training - driven mainly by the Ukrainian groups Project Znayu ("Project I Know"), focused on voter education and turnout, and Pora ("It's Time"), which prepared for a showdown in case of election fraud.

The regime fell back on threats. A "gross violation of the law," Kuchma called the



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Title: **Waging Nonviolent Struggle: 20th Century Practice and 21st Century Potential**

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by Stanley Hauerwas. 238 pgs.
- [Wilderness Wanderings: Probing Twentieth-Century Theology and Philosophy](#)
by Stanley M. Hauerwas. 242 pgs.
- [Should War Be Eliminated? Philosophical and Theological Investigations](#)
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- [The Recovery of Virtue: The Relevance of Aquinas for Christian Ethics](#)
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A Geography of Nonviolent Struggles

<http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/ponsacs/seminars/TransformingStruggle/geography.htm>

The Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and Cultural Survival (PONSACS), housed at the [Weatherhead Center for International Affairs](#) at [Harvard University](#), studies situations of conflict in order to better understand their nature and the capabilities of nonviolent actions in support of human rights and civil liberties. The Program rationale is based on the simple premise about the nature of political power – that it is rooted in and continually dependent upon cooperation and obedience, and that each can be withdrawn.

PONSACS combines a quantitative approach through PANDA (Protocol for the Assessment of Nonviolent Direct Action), an automated early warning system, with on-the-ground research of conflict regions provided by anthropological insights. These two strands of research work to identify conflict regions before they erupt into violence and to actively promote nonviolent alternatives to armed conflict.

Program research, analysis, and direct interventions focus largely on conflicts between culturally distinct groups in situations of sharp structural asymmetry with emphasis on disputes over land and natural resources and indigenous rights. Program affiliates are currently involved in research on Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, the Galapagos Islands, Guatemala, the Upper Amazon, and Nicaragua, as well as social movements in Africa and Asia.