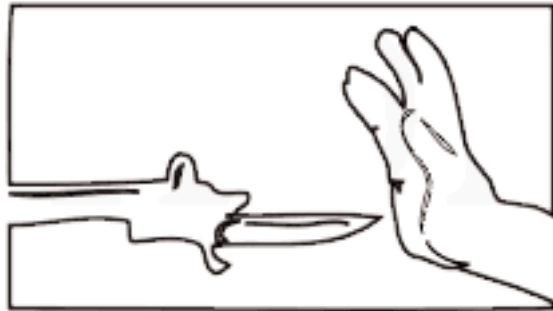


# PACS 164B: NONVIOLENCE TODAY

*at the University of California, Berkeley*



**Vaclav Havel**  
Czech Republic  
Velvet Revolution



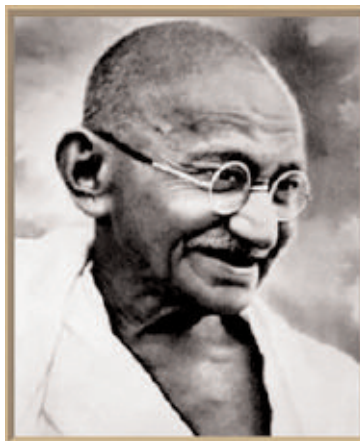
**Mubarak Awad**  
Nonviolence International



**Cory Aquino**  
Philippines  
People Power



**Nonviolent  
Peaceforce**



**International Fellowship  
of Reconciliation**



**Aung San Suu Kyi**  
Burmese Resistance



**Christian Peacemaker  
Teams**



**Lech Walesa**  
Poland Solidarity

## WHITE PAPER

*abridged version*

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# OVERVIEW OF NONVIOLENCE

## What is Nonviolence?

Part of the challenge in understanding nonviolence is that the word “nonviolence” does not accurately convey the **proactive** force it represents. As translated into the English, nonviolence evokes an unconstructive, inactive state that is against something as opposed to for something. In fact, nonviolence is a positive force, a presence of mind human beings can achieve that generates power from within us to use compassion and empathy as catalysts for social change. Further, the **power** nonviolence generates benefits everyone because it helps resolve conflict permanently.

In Sanskrit, the word for nonviolence is “ahimsa,” which means “the complete lack of even the intention to harm.” When a human being is bathed in this condition, he becomes love itself and it is this intense love and understanding that allows a person like Gandhi to reach the hearts of millions of people and shift their consciousness. Nonviolence is a compelling and pulsating fountain of energy available to all human beings; few, however, become aware of its might.

Gandhi coined the word *satyagraha* after having experienced this power firsthand. He defined satyagraha this way: “Truth (satya) implies love, and Firmness (agraha) engenders and therefore serves as a synonym for force... the force which is born of truth and love or nonviolence...” Hence nonviolence is a positive force for social change which is derived from an “indomitable will” and is willing to **take on suffering** and even death in its **relentless pursuit of truth**. Those who view nonviolence as a strategy miss the

*The power nonviolence generates benefits everyone because it helps resolve conflict permanently.*

point. Nonviolence is not a tactic to gain politically, it is an unflinching life based on the principle of truth and love in thought, word, and deed.

Early on in South Africa, when Gandhi was thrown off the train at Pietermaritzburg for refusing to leave his first class seat because he was Indian, he resolved to treat the insult as an insult to humanity in its entirety.

## Conversion of a Negative Drive



*When Gandhi was thrown off the train in South Africa, instead of directing anger towards his oppressor, he transmuted this anger into a **personal drive** to end the system of oppression. Today, a statue stands in Pietermaritzburg honoring the long-term respect his commitment earned.*

## OVERVIEW OF NONVIOLENCE (2/6)

This decision directed his movement against oppression, but not the oppressor, against the sin, but not the sinner. In other words, he saw oppression as an insult to all of humanity, including the perpetrator of the oppression.

To rid the world of this oppression then, he would not employ the conventional tactics of threat power or economic power. He sought to **persuade rather than to coerce** his opponent. By using **integrative power**, a power based on principle, Gandhi sought to create a dynamic that would eventually **move him and the opponent psychologically closer in space**.

Nonviolence is the energy released through one's own disciplined transformation of negative states of consciousness. It is this energy that binds human kind and carries with it a message of the potential latent within every human being. Nonviolence is the law underlying our species; it is the source of personal transformation. Nonviolence provides meaning and purpose to our lives and it moves the world toward unity and peace.

### How does Nonviolence work?

A prerequisite to nonviolence is courage. Nonviolence requires human beings with a bone in their back which you cannot wave your hand through. There is a common misconception that nonviolence is meek and a weapon of the weak. This unfortunate diagnosis is a symptom of the lack of familiarity with nonviolence. Gandhi will in fact go as far as to say, **"There is hope for a violent man to some day be nonviolent, but there is none for a coward."** Gandhi's courage was unshakable, and he felt that even in the midst of the severest fire, when violence is

raging, one must stand firm and hold fast to the principle of ahimsa. How then does one develop this capacity; how does one cultivate the courage to die without killing?

*Nonviolence is the energy released through one's own disciplined transformation of negative states of consciousness.*

The principles of nonviolence only achieve their full potential through personal application. Nonviolence is first and foremost an individual affair which begins by looking into one's own heart. It is there that one can learn to "rise above the opposing currents of love and hatred, attachment and repulsion." Through developing our inward capacity to love, we learn to neutralize our fear and our anger and convert that energy into an overwhelming force for change. Nonviolence works by purifying consciousness and learning to see the meanest character as oneself, and helping that person realize that suffering anywhere translates into suffering everywhere.

Conflict has the tendency to cloud our reasoning faculty. When conflict arises, human beings often forget that essentially we are the same, and that fundamentally we all have the same needs. When this forgetfulness happens we also tend to forget that those with

### King's Views on Justice



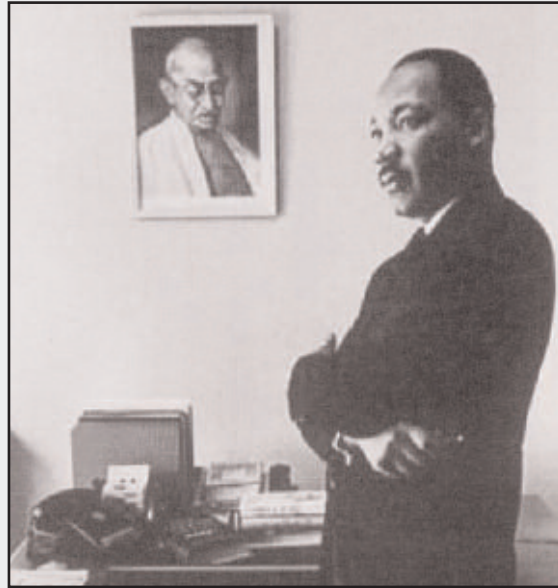
*According to Dr. MLK Jr., "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere."*

## OVERVIEW OF NONVIOLENCE (3/6)

whom we are in conflict are human beings just like us. This is called **dehumanization**. The nonviolent activist seeks to **rehumanize** his opponent by representing the ultimate truth and willingly taking on suffering. Holding up a mirror to the opponent's ruthless oppression awakens the humanity in him and "**compels reason to be free.**" The power used in this interaction is not coercive, but persuasive, and it is based on a dialogue and a conversation which ultimately seeks to bring both parties closer to truth and to each other. Since fear and greed are not employed to manipulate the opponent, the opponent's position changes of his own accord and from his own conviction. This elevates humanity to a higher moral plane and brings about lasting peace.

Unlike violence – which may occasionally bring about a temporary "successful" solution but always carries with it the seeds for the next violent episode – nonviolence can both succeed at resolving short-term issues and work to effect **long-term systemic changes in relationships and generate unforeseen ripple effects in the consciousness of all humanity.** Violent means employed in bringing about "successful" solutions only aid in perpetuating further violent outbreaks. Nonviolent methods bring about successful resolutions by transforming and transcending conflict so that the parties involved grow closer together. Since the fruit will always be of the nature of the seed planted, using positive energy creates positive results. By using what Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. called *agape*: creative, understanding, redemptive goodwill for all people... **the conflict is transformed so that all parties win.**

### "Success" vs. Work



*While Gandhi's movement to achieve Indian political independence from British colonial rule was "successful," it also **worked** to generate long-term positive ripple effects in the consciousness of humanity - such as inspiring Martin Luther King, Jr. and the civil rights movement in America. Violence never works in this manner. In fact, it always **blows back** to cause unintended negative consequences.*

### Why is Nonviolence So Important?

To fully grasp just how important nonviolence is, we have to realize that humanity is in its infancy. The fact that more people than ever protest war signifies a remarkable step forward in human consciousness. We are gradually realizing that violence is not a sustainable approach to conflict resolution. Nonviolence will help us develop ways of dealing with conflict compassionately and will give us tools to heal the planet rather than contribute more fear and anger. A positive vision of the world we wish to create

## OVERVIEW OF NONVIOLENCE (4/6)

will fuel our lives with hope and meaning; without this vision, we may not survive. As Dr. King said, “We are now faced with a choice between nonviolence and non-existence.”

*“We are now faced with a choice between nonviolence and non-existence.”*

*-Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.*

This is a chart of the casualties of war from the 1st to the 20th century (in the millions):

1-15th... 3.7  
16th... 1.6  
17th... 6.1  
18th... 7.0  
19th... 19.4  
20th... 109.7

How have we started the 21st century?

As one scholar explained, recognizing our fundamental unity will not serve “to take us to heaven, but to save us from hell.” The most shocking aspect of this is that before World War One, 10% of casualties were civilians; today 90% of casualties are civilians.

Being “nice to others” is something we all grew up hearing and was considered a good idea. In today’s increasingly interconnected world this is pragmatic and common sense. Why not embrace this idea and create life serving systems that will help human beings flourish and fulfill their individual potentials to the fullest? If our goal is to create human beings who are loving, capable of showing deep caring for others, alive to the spiritual and ethical dimensions of being, ecologically sensitive, intellectually active, self determining, and creative, there are ways to restructure education to foster this potential. Nonviolence is an integral part of this type of education.

### A Brief History of Nonviolence

Nonviolence was not discovered. Gandhi once said, “Nonviolence is as old as the hills.”

Although Gandhi was the first to map out nonviolence as a system for social change, the ideal of nonviolence has long been present in human philosophy, making it an integral part of every major spiritual tradition on the globe.

Ancient Eastern history shows that ahimsa (“the complete absence of even the intention to harm”) has long been a fundamental part of Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism. In the West, early Christians were total pacifists in order to follow the teachings of Jesus literally, and Judaism and Islam both contain teachings about nonviolence. (The Prophet, may peace be upon him, was nonviolent the entire time he was in Mecca.) The world’s religious traditions and great spiritual teachers all convey with great simplicity that love is the way to peace, and that the way to achieve permanent good is through truth, love, and nonviolence.

Looking back on history, human existence appears to be one long string of violent events. In reality, nonviolence is the norm—in fact, it’s so normal, it just doesn’t get recorded! A microcosm example of this is one person stepping on another’s foot in BART—9 times out of 10, there is forgiveness and no one ever hears about it; but the one time there’s a fight, it’s a front page story!

## OVERVIEW OF NONVIOLENCE (5/6)

Despite this dynamic, many stories of nonviolence have survived the ages. One example is that of Almachius or Telemachus, a monk who, in 393 AD, stood between two gladiators, moving them to throw down their swords. When the enraged crowd attacked and killed him, the emperor Onorius was so disgusted that he abolished the gladiatorial games, putting an end to an egregious form of violence in Roman society.

In the West, nonviolence went underground during the Middle Ages, after Constantine's assimilation of Christianity ended its pacifism and made way for the "just war" doctrines of St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas. It resurfaced in the original Quakers – George Fox, John Woolman, and William Penn, who founded the colony of Pennsylvania on non-violent principles – and in the writings of 19th century thinkers like Tolstoy.

The 20th century, for all its horrendous violence, was also a time of a global renaissance for nonviolence. Mahatma ("Great Soul") Gandhi provided the world's first "ocular demonstration" that a mass nonviolent campaign had the power to move hearts and free an entire people from subjugation. Describing the way in which Gandhi's movement freed not only India from Britain's colonialism, but in so doing freed Britain from its role as oppressor so that the two could be friends, renowned British historian Arnold Toynbee commented, "Gandhi made it impossible for us to continue ruling India, but he made it possible for us to leave with dignity."

Recognizing that Gandhi's movement was a watershed moment for the human race, General Douglas Macarthur, supreme Allied military commander in Japan commented,

"In the evolution of civilization, if it is to survive, all men cannot fail eventually to adopt Gandhi's belief that the process of mass application of force to resolve contentious issues is fundamentally not only wrong but contains within itself the germs of self-destruction."

*"Gandhi made it impossible for us to continue ruling India, but he he made it possible for us to leave with dignity."  
-British Historian Arnold Toynbee*

**Shanti Sena - The Peace Army**



*Gandhi's concept of a "Shanti Sena," or Peace Army, was put into practice by his colleague Badsahah Khan, who organized 80,000 Muslim Pathans in India's northwest frontier province. Formerly fierce warriors, they channeled their courage to oppose the British using only their hearts and minds, and laid the groundwork for modern initiatives such as Nonviolent Peace Force.*

## OVERVIEW OF NONVIOLENCE (6/6)

Out of Gandhi's nonviolent campaigns in South Africa and India came the Shanti Sena or "peace army" movement, the historical antecedent of today's nonviolent peace-keeping projects (examples include Peace Brigades International, Witness for Peace, and the Nonviolent Peaceforce). A key early leader of this movement was Badshah Abdul Gaffar Khan, a Muslim who organized a peace army comprised of 80,000 resilient Pathans who nonviolently opposed the British in India's former northwest frontier province, modern-day Afghanistan and Pakistan.

While some skeptics have charged that nonviolence could not "succeed" against an extremely ruthless opponent, World War II, a time of horrendous evil and massive use of violence to resist evil, proved otherwise. Although it was rarely attempted, nonviolence achieved startling results when it was. For instance, in Berlin in 1943, German wives organized a protest outside the Rosenstrasse prison when Nazis attempted to deport their Jewish husbands, and succeeded in securing their

*The civil rights movement was nonviolence's brilliant apex in the US.*

### Nonviolent Resistance to the Nazis



*At Rosenstrasse 2-4, the Jewish Community Center where intermarried Jews were imprisoned beginning Feb 27, 1943, non-Jewish family members successfully protested. When Hitler was informed of the protests, he turned the decision over to the notorious Joseph Goebbels, who ordered their release.*

release. Hitler himself, alerted to the protest, found himself unable to order the final execution of the men.

In the United States, pacifism and nonviolent resistance to war grew during WWI, WWII, and the Korean and Vietnam wars, and nonviolent tactics have long been used in labor struggles. The civil rights movement and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. represented nonviolence's brilliant apex in the US. King's commitment to Gandhian (principled) nonviolence organized African Americans, with the support of sympathetic whites, to secure for themselves the civil rights and equality that were never theirs amidst the trauma of the civil war and its aftermath.

Since the Civil Rights Movement, nonviolence has been a key element of every social movement in the US, not just those relating to militarism. Nonviolence has also informed insurrectionary and decolonization movements in South Africa, the Philippines, Burma, Palestine, Chile, and several countries of the old Soviet bloc. Today it is a key part of many social movements worldwide.



# ABOUT NONVIOLENCE EDUCATION AT BERKELEY

**W**hat distinguishes the study of nonviolence from other fields?

Like many academic programs that approach social problems, and like PACS itself, the study of nonviolence is interdisciplinary. Involving history, political science, philosophy, religious studies, and psychology, it gives students a holistic view of the problem of violence and alternatives to it. Like PACS, it is also an example of problem-based education, in which students' desire to learn is fueled by their desire to improve the world.

What makes nonviolence unique is that it combines theory with practice, making for a **practical and empowering educational experience** that is slowly catching on at universities. Through studying the way Gandhi lived, students consider new ways of living that are in line with their beliefs in peace and justice; by studying modern nonviolent social movements, students learn how they can put peace theory into practice through activism and involvement in civil society.

Furthermore, the study of principled nonviolence offers people **an entirely new way of looking at the world**. Most mainstream academic subjects are to some extent dominated by the "realpolitik" worldview first postulated by Machiavelli. In the 21st century, Realpolitik's skeptical worldview of interminable conflict, war, greed, and connivance has become a self-fulfilling prophecy. Its materialist and negative conception of human nature has permeated Western culture, including our dominant intellectual figures – Darwin, Marx and Freud.

Influenced by the spiritual worldviews of Gandhi and King, nonviolence sees the

*Nonviolence is a practical and empowering educational experience that is slowly catching on at universities.*

human potential for both good and evil, interdependence as the supreme reality, and peace as possible!

Realpolitik is not the final destiny of humanity. Nonviolence is the emerging paradigm, and in fact, the one that **must supplant realpolitik if the species is to survive**. It is just about impossible to explain nonviolence and how it both "succeeds" and works through the realpolitik filter, which is why so much skepticism exists, and why the study of nonviolence is vital to students, to the University, and the future of peace.

## Nonviolence: An Emerging Paradigm



*Gandhi's Nonviolence offers a vision of truth, reconciliation, healing, and cooperation to supplant Machiavelli's realpolitik, the dominant paradigm of international relations that is sending humanity over a cliff.*

Thus, Nonviolence is a unique field of study because it provides both "**glasses**" and "**shoes**," giving students a new way of interpreting world events, as well as a

## ABOUT NONVIOLENCE EDUCATION AT BERKELEY (2/4)



Photograph from the M.K. Gandhi Institute for Nonviolence

*Nonviolence provides both **glasses** - a radically different way of looking at the world, and **shoes** - a way of effecting change and living our lives. (Pictured here: Gandhi's earthly possessions.)*

means for living their lives and going out into the world and making changes. This commitment to both theory and practice is anchored in the philosophy of Gandhi, who declared, "I am a practical idealist."

### Why is nonviolence such an integral part of the PACS department?

Nonviolence is one out of four survey areas in the PACS program, alongside Global Systems and World Order, Human Rights, and Conflict Resolution. The PACS department offers only two classes for Nonviolence – PACS 164A and 164B - compared to five PACS classes offered for Conflict Resolution. The two core nonviolence classes are essential to the survey area, because they provide a framework for the classes in other departments that deal tangentially with nonviolence, and because nonviolence theory is virtually absent from other PACS classes.

Most students come into PACS with a desire to learn about peace activism. Nonviolence education addresses this need directly with its rich history of nonviolent movements in America and around the world, and also with its presentation of nonviolence theory, which is driving the cutting edge of the present-day global peace movement.

### Living Nonviolence: in India and at the University Students Co-Operative Association



*Gandhi established four spiritual communities where **nonviolence** was lived, including Sabramati Ashram. Residents practiced and valued simplicity, service, and co-operative living.*



*Berkeley students at Lothlorien Co-op (many of whom study nonviolence) live their lives much in accordance with the Mahatma's ideals, including sustainability, locally-grown produce, and vegetarianism.*

Nonviolence also provides a forum for students who feel that **the most fundamental aspect of conflict transformation is changing the hearts and minds of the people involved in the conflict.** According to nonviolence theory this happens through “integrative power” – the power of people to disarm each other by showing their humanity.

These students are most concerned with the “heart and soul” of conflict – with people’s psychology and spirituality, not just the social and power structures in which they struggle, or the political, international, and material aspects of the conflict. To these students, nonviolence is therefore the energetic basis for not merely the resolution of conflicts, but for conflict transformation.

PACS, grounded as it is in peace studies – a field based on a cosmopolitan paradigm of international relations – provides an innovative and indeed **transformative approach to conflict and war.** Nonviolence is the most transformative, and indeed the **most revolutionary,** element of study in PACS because of its radical rejection of violence. This makes it arguably the heart and soul of the

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*Many students believe nonviolence is the energetic basis for conflict transformation.*

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department, the most daring of its new ideas and one which inspires countless students.

### **Why has nonviolence education so deeply impacted the lives of some people?**

Many PACS students recall PACS 164A and 164B as the most important classes they took at Berkeley, ones that had the most effect on them personally and have most **influenced their life’s work.** Part of the class’ transformative power lies in its introduction of an **entirely new paradigm or worldview,** one that is tremendously hopeful. Through its radical opposition to the status quo, it helps students look at the dominant paradigm with new eyes, giving them perspective on what they had previously been immersed in. This awareness of the dominant worldview gives students a greater understanding of the **causes of violence and injustice,** and therefore a better handle on the world’s overwhelming problems and how they can be solved.

### **Students Protest the School of the Americas**



*Inspired by Gandhi’s campaigns of civil disobedience, numerous students have nonviolently protested the School of the Americas, a US-sponsored training ground for South American assassins and paramilitants. The “SOA Watch” is covered by PACS 164B.*

The chance to learn from Dr. Nagler, famous around the world among those who study nonviolence as well as a prominent figure in the peace community, is part of what makes the classes special for students. The same can be said of all the peace scholars and activists who visit the class as guest speakers. For a would-be activist,

## ABOUT NONVIOLENCE EDUCATION AT BERKELEY (4/4)

these people provide tremendously inspiring examples and role models, as well as living proof that change is happening, and that we will be able to use our education to improve the world.

The classes are also tremendously helpful to young people who care about peace because they suggest a number of useful orientations toward activism, social change, and how to relate to one's political "opponents." Political activism at Berkeley tends to be very polarized, strident, and draining. Nonviolence, with its focus on "being in it for the long haul" and not being attached to the results of your actions, but rather acting on principle, helps students make their activism more sustainable. It also shows students how they can make their political presence on campus more civil and honorable – by following Gandhi's maxim that **"you must be the change you wish to see in the world,"** and therefore only using methods that you would like to see in the kind of society you're working to create.

For students frustrated with the reac-

tionary and negative nature of the antiwar movement, it's a breath of fresh air to learn that nonviolence requires you to be for something, not just against. It provides a vision of the world that people can work for, rather than just a scary status quo they feel compelled to oppose. For students who don't feel comfortable with protesting, the distinction between obstructive and constructive program is also a breath of fresh air.

"Constructive program" helps students see that the work of serving others and creating new ways of living in community is essential to social change – and it doesn't need to wait on any authority or revolution.

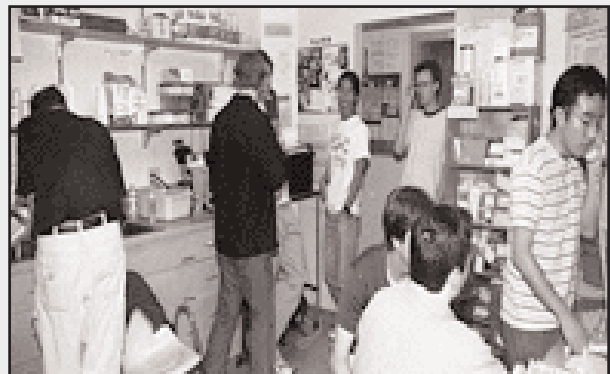
Nonviolence education has also been known to **catalyze transformations in people's personal lives**, as they begin to consider how to bring more truth and peace into their relationships. It also provides the tools for some of these changes; examples include theories of dialogue, Nonviolent Communication, and a grasp of Gandhi's interfaith spirituality that makes it easier to recognize the Self in the Other.

### Constructive Programme: in India and Berkeley



Photograph from the M.K. Gandhi Institute for Nonviolence

*"Constructive Programme" - or internal improvement - is the heart of Nonviolence. In addition to self-sustaining economy such as spinning cotton for local production of clothes, Gandhi was a teacher and founded an institution of higher education.*



*In Berkeley, students inspired by Gandhi's example of Constructive Programme are tutoring students at local schools, volunteering at Berkeley Free Clinic, and forming the student-run Conflict Resolution and Transformation Center on campus.*

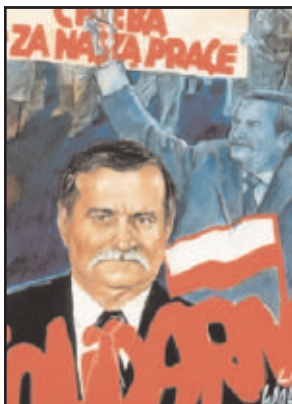
# PACS 164B: NONVIOLENCE TODAY OVERVIEW

How is the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr. relevant to the world today? This is the primary question addressed by Peace and Conflict

Studies 164B: Nonviolence Today. The class casts a discerning light on the modern history of nonviolence, including insurrectionary movements, antiwar activism, innovative nonviolent mechanisms for peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding, and the role of non-governmental organizations.

## Nonviolent Insurrectionary Movements

All across the globe, people have been harnessing the power of nonviolence to facilitate peaceful regime change. In 1986, the **Philippines People Power Movement** mobilized a broad-ranging coalition of peasants and the middle class opposed dictator Ferdinand Marcos' election theft using Gandhian approaches such as cultural preparation, organization building, nonviolence propaganda, massive non-cooperation, and parallel institutions.



Lech Walesa led national strikes for Poland's Solidarity movement, resulting in his election.

While this movement is known for the power of the people to change government, the true power was found in the commitment of each individual. As Cardinal Jaime Sin noted, "It was **two million independent decisions**. Each one

*How is the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. relevant to the world today?*

said, in his heart, 'I will do this.'"

The climactic moment came when Marcos ordered air strikes, and a pilot turned away, unable to fire on the masses of his countrymen, who were nonviolently protecting a group of military rebels.

Two other well-known nonviolent insurrectionary movements occurred in the former Soviet Union. In Poland, the trade union **Solidarity** led by Lech Walesa organized national strikes in 1980 and 1988 that eventually led to constitutional reforms and the election of Walesa as President in 1990. In the Czech Republic, a students' protest in 1989 sparked one week of continuous



Inspired by Vaclav Havel, the Czech Republic's Velvet Revolution took less than 45 days.

national demonstrations, culminating in a rally of 500,000 at a football stadium, and the installation of Vaclav Havel, the "people's conscience and inspiration," less than 45 days after the beginning of the so-called **Velvet Revolution**. Other modern nonviolent insurrectionary movements include El Salvador, Chile, and Burma. Indeed, today about 33% of the world's population lives under a regime that has been affected by a nonviolent movement.

### When Nonviolence “Succeeds” and when it “Fails” (but it always Works)

Nonviolence is both a **practice and a science** and must be studied as such. For instance, the Philippines movement was the “culmination of years of preparation for such an uprising through the training of



*Cory Aquino was a key organizer in the Philippines People Power Movement.*

Filipinos, both in the years preceding the uprising as well as during the hours of the uprising itself, in the methods of non-violent resistance.” Here, we learn the **key role of training.**

Similarly, we can study the “failures” of other movements – the **first Palestinian Intifada** (a “mostly” nonviolent uprising) failed to achieve a two-state solution

because the movement was not continued when Israel built more illegal settlements during the Oslo period (illustrating the need for long-term, relentless persistence). An argument could also be made that stone-throwing by young Palestinians, while only 5% of the total activity of what was otherwise a nonviolent movement, distracted from the movement’s message, illustrating a key principle called **Nagler’s Law**: contamination with violence will always undermine a nonviolent movement.

While nonviolent movements sometimes succeed in accomplishing specific definable goals, and sometimes fail, nonviolence always works to produce unforeseen ripples in the consciousness of humanity that result in positive shifts and systemic changes. For instance, while the first Intifada “failed” to

secure a two-state solution, it worked in that it activated

a massive swath of the Israeli populace, previously dormant, who became active on behalf of the Palestinian cause. The highly mainstream Israeli group **Peace Now** organized tens of thousands to demonstrate on behalf of their Palestinian sisters and brothers, a shift in consciousness similar to the change when white Northerners began working on behalf of black Southerners during the US civil rights movement.



*Although the “mostly nonviolent” first Intifada (1987-1991) did not “succeed” in establishing a Palestinian state, it worked by reaching the hearts and minds of thousands of Israelis who organized through mainstream groups such as Peace Now.*

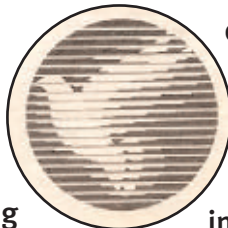
### Peacekeeping, Peacemaking, and Peacebuilding

Peace scholar Johan Galtung approaches conflict through the filter of three steps: peacekeeping (stopping the conflict when the bullets are flying), peacemaking (creating a collaborative agreement process for stakeholders to establish what the peace will look like), and peacebuilding (developing institutions and long-term structural changes for a lasting peace based on justice and transforming relationships). While this three-step process is often accepted in the international arena, the new and ground-

breaking mechanisms of nonviolence that address each step are recent and crucial additions to the world's toolkit for dealing with conflict, and have yet to penetrate the mainstream – which is far too caught up on flimsy political solutions (ie the Israel/Palestine Oslo accords, which in fact were a setback to Palestinians seeking to end the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza).

### Third-Party Nonviolent Intervention (TPNI)

Although in some ways this idea is as old as the hills – how many of us instinctively know that the way to stop a fight is to step in-between the combatants? – it is only in recent times that Third-Party Nonviolent Intervention has been developed into an articulated, **practical method for peacekeeping**. Non-governmental organizations such as Christian Peacemaker Teams, Peace Brigades International, and Nonviolent Peaceforce send peace workers armed only with their training in nonviolence to cool down intense conflicts – with great success. TPNI can take the form of physical interposition between armed combatants, accompaniment of the oppressed, witnessing, or even the deployment of a large-scale “peace army.” Areas where TPNI has either succeeded, or is currently in progress, include Guatemala, Nicaragua, Colombia, the US/Mexico Border, indigenous Canadian lands, Israel/Palestine, and Sri Lanka.



*Above: Christian Peacemaker Teams, Nonviolent Peaceforce, and Peace Brigades International are three well-known Third-Party Nonviolent Intervention NGOs.*

### Nonviolent Communication

In 1961, clinical psychologist Dr. Marshall Rosenberg set out to create a language that would stop the need for violence. Forty years later, people use the techniques of Nonviolent Communication on five continents, including in Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Western Europe, Russia, Indonesia, Malaysia, India, Sri Lanka,

Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Burundi, and several countries in Latin

America. Nonviolent Communication is based on a **sophisticated understanding of what motivates people toward violence** and why some people, even in trying circumstances, are moved to compassion instead.

### Restorative Justice

With a prison population of over 2 million, America's legal and judicial system faces a crisis of

epic proportions: the systematic failure of retributive justice to contribute to the healing of society. Retributive justice perpetuates the erroneous assumption that punishing someone will somehow contribute

to their rehabilitation or offer substantive healing for the victim, despite studies that have shown that given identical crimes, the person who is not put in prison is less likely to repeat the crime than the person who is.

Restorative justice is a new non-violent paradigm to supplant the outmoded and dysfunctional system. Restorative justice “offers a

process whereby those affected by criminal behavior, be they victims, offenders, the families involved, or the wider community, all have a part in resolving the issues that

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flow from the offending....The process does not focus on vengeance and punishment but seeks to heal both the community and the individuals involved [by putting] reparation at the center.”

Examples of restorative justice can be found in numerous indigenous traditions, such as Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, Canada, and Ireland. The wisdom of restorative justice is being studied for application in the Western world, even in the California state prison system.

**Truth and Reconciliation Commissions**

Truth and Reconciliation Commissions are a restorative justice mechanism to facilitate community healing following an intense conflict. In post-Apartheid South Africa, the commission offered amnesty from criminal prosecution to offenders who committed politically motivated crimes during the Apartheid era if they were willing to truthfully confess and dialogue with the victim(s) or family of the victim(s).



Documented by the film “Long Night’s Journey into Day,” the S.A. commission brought together blacks and whites in remarkable scenes – at times with heart-moving success, as in the case of black South Africans who apologized to a white family for murdering their daughter in an act

of politically fueled rage. Similar commissions have been organized in Bolivia, Brazil, Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, East Timor, Ethiopia, Honduras, Paraguay, Peru, Rwanda, and Uganda.

**Antiwar Activism and Organizations**

Antiwar activism has played a significant and evolving role in US and world history. A defining moment was the founding of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR) on the eve of World War I, when Henry Hodgkin, a British Quaker, and Friedrich Siegmund-Schultze, a German pacifist Chaplain, vowed that they would refuse to sanction war or violence and that they would work to further peace and love in order to resolve conflicts no matter what the future might bring. The IFOR now has 66 branches on five continents, counts six Nobel Peace Prize Laureates among its former and present members, and promotes nonviolence worldwide.



*The Truth and Reconciliation Commission led to remarkable healing in post-Apartheid South Africa.*



*The International Fellowship of Reconciliation is a transnational NGO working for peace and nonviolence.*



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In the US, the history of antiwar opposition includes the era of radical pacifism and the rise of conscientious objectors (C.O.s) – spanning both World Wars and the Vietnam War, and challenges students to imagine a new system of global security and justice to replace the dominant paradigm of endless conflict.



*Key figures of radical pacifism include David Dellinger, Dorothy Day, and A.J. Muste (pictured) who boldly proclaimed, “There is no way to peace, peace is the way.”*

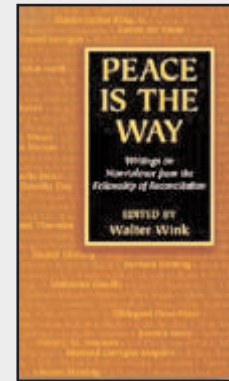
### Key Films

Key films include *A Force More Powerful*, *What Democracy Looks Like*, *Bringing Down a Dictator*, and *Long Night’s Journey Into Day*.

### Key Speakers

High-profile guest speakers who have been involved in real-world conflict and peace work are a compelling highlight of the class. Past speakers have included Mubarak Awad of Nonviolence International, Miki Kashtan of Bay Area Nonviolent Communication, internationally renowned peace scholar Dr. Johan Galtung, Prof. Stephen Zunes of the University of San Francisco, Israeli Human Rights Lawyer Yael Barda, and Alan Senauke of the Buddhist Peace Fellowship.

### Key Texts



*Key text featured includes Nonviolence in America: a Documentary History by Staughton Lynd and Alice Lynd, Nonviolent Social Movements: a Geographical Perspective edited by Stephen Zunes, Lester R. Kurtz, and Sarah Beth Asher, and Peace is the Way edited by Walter Wink.*

### Nonviolence Today!

Whether used on a massive scale to end the reign of an oppressive system of government, a method for community-based healing in restorative justice and Truth and Reconciliation Commissions, a new language and model for respectful, nurturing dialogue as in Nonviolent Communication, a way of living, or all of the above and more, nonviolence has relevance to every facet of our lives and the future of humanity.

If one is to believe the convictions of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., nonviolence may be the most important lesson we ever learn. In his words, “We are now faced with a choice between nonviolence and non-existence.” We invite you to make this choice with us.