PEACEPOWER

Journal of Nonviolence & Conflict Transformation

Summer 2006
Volume 2, Issue 2

WOMEN IN NONVIOLENCE

Vandana Shiva
Aung San Suu Kyi
Sister Helen Prejean

September 11, 2006:
100th Anniversary of Satyagraha

Could Nonviolent Resistance Succeed in IRAQ?

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Women in Nonviolence

Let's Get Inspired

Often when discussing nonviolence, we run into skepticism and doubt. People, it seems, are willing to consider the possibility that nonviolence offers a better remedy for the world's ailments, yet remain wary of its true capacity for transformation. People lack evidence of the power of nonviolent practice because society inundates us with glorified violence.

Nonviolence offers hope in outwardly desperate situations, and can restore our faith in the ultimate beauty of being alive and human. We have only to open our eyes every day to find affirmation of nonviolence in practice, even without the explicit recognition on the part of its sometimes unaware practitioners. Humans have lived by the principles of nonviolence for as long as we have been on this Earth. The women that we feature in this magazine can serve as reminders for all of us, and inspire us to incorporate nonviolence into our everyday lives.

In this, our third edition of PeacePower, the theme is "Women in Nonviolence." It is perhaps controversial to dedicate our focus to the contributions of one gender – it might seem arbitrary, or discriminating. But we would like to assure you that this is certainly not the intention behind the theme. Nonviolence combines the best of men and women, masculinity and femininity, and everything in between. But as Chelsea Collonge meaningfully points out in her article "Cultural Disobedience," women, as a cultural group, have always endured marginalization, and as such, have filled a precarious role with unique potential for the effective and satisfying conflict resolution skills that are so intrinsic to nonviolence.

To illustrate this potential, we have gathered articles and a timeline that highlight some of the most influential and inspirational women in nonviolence. Inside, you will read about Sister Helen Prejean and her active witness against the Death Penalty, and Aung San Syu Kyi's principled leadership of a nonviolent movement for democracy in Burma. You'll meet the women of Budrus, Palestine, and their struggle to save their village's farmland. You'll travel to war-torn El Salvador with Karen Ridd of Peace Brigades International, and learn about the historical role of the Quaker martyr Mary Dyer whose acceptance of personal suffering moved the hearts of so many around her.

In addition to our theme, we've included other timely articles, such as the potential for conflict transformation in Sudan, the upcoming 100th anniversary of Gandhi's Satyagraha, and a discussion of the potential for nonviolent resistance in Iraq. We hope that as you read through the articles in this issue, you will be reminded of the immense power of nonviolence and be moved to find out more about what you can do to practice it. Enjoy!

About Peace Power

What kind of power can persuade the British to leave India as friends, not enemies? What kind of power can move the hearts of white Americans to recognize the need for civil rights for African-Americans? What kind of power can persuade an air force pilot, ordered by a dictator to quell an uprising, to turn away from his target, unable to fire on a crowd of unarmed Filipinos? We call this Peace Power, also known as principled nonviolence. Rather than a negation of violence, peace power is a positive force for change and resistance. By renouncing the use of coercive force, it draws on the persuasive power people have over each other's hearts, or what Kenneth Boulding calls "integrative power." It can also be described as "person power," the dedication of each individual when they convert a negative drive to a positive drive. When those who have achieved this individual dedication come together, they enact "people power." This is the power that can transform our selves, our relationships, our conflicts, and our world.

Inside This Issue

Letters to the Editors

Re: "We Are All Pro-Life: Re-examining the abortion debate to find common ground"

(PeacePower, Summer '05 • http://www.calpeacepower.org/0101/abortion.htm)

Dear editors,

You really ought to read Lakoff's Moral Politics. He describes the liberal and conservative positions on abortion pretty coherently.

Your view that fundamentalist Christians "have respect for the dignity of human life" doesn't square up with their strong support for the death penalty or their strong opposition to "Dignity in Death" ballot measures. Your own use of "dignity" is perhaps wrong. I think you mean "sanctity." There's a big difference. One must recognize that many conservative Christian groups see great sanctity to the life of the unborn child but very little sanctity in the life of the condemned. How do you reconcile these? To be sure, you cannot then say that "the groups all value life and respect it." "Sanctity" places God at the center of the conservative worldview. "Dignity" places Human at the center of the liberal worldview (this was at the heart of the struggle over Terri Schiavo).

Until you recognize this primary distinction, I think you're unlikely to understand why both sides are so entrenched and why some pro-life adherents are willing to commit violence in the name of their beliefs. When a view entails violent action, it can never, must never, be respected. Any dialogue over abortion must begin with an avowed rejection of violence. Your article would have been better to start off from this point.

Sincerely,
Ed Bodine

Dear Ed,

We appreciate your deep respect for life and your insistence upon using peaceful means to advocate one's views.

Your distinction between dignity and sanctity is astute, and we agree that it plays a role in the violence (verbal, physical, and spiritual) that surrounds the abortion debate. Without downplaying the very real conflicts of interests between the parties, the aim of our article was to illustrate that human beings who have intense disagreements can find common ground in alternative areas, and ultimately engage in respectful interactions and shared projects that inspire all.

You may recall that in the article, we featured Search for Common Ground, a non-governmental organization that has played a significant role as a third-party mediator between Pro-Life and Pro-Choice groups. According to Susan Collin Marks of SFCG (whom one of our editors recently met), during one of those mediated meetings, a pro-choice advocate was able to communicate to a pro-life advocate just how much hostility, attacks, and personal criticism hurt her, and how the fear of potential violence against her was so devastating. It was a powerful experience of "making oneself vulnerable" to an "opponent" in an attempt to rehumanize the relationship. The pro-life advocate was stunned to hear how her attitudes and actions had affected the pro-choice woman, and after thoughtful contemplation, made a public commitment to not in any way personally attack the other person.

It is through these kinds of dialogues that violence of all kinds can be overcome, and cooperation and understanding can increase.

For peace,
The Editors

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Advocating Nonviolence in Iraq?

Shane Bauer

A reader's response to "Could Nonviolence Succeed in Iraq?" • PeacePower, Summer 2005, http://www.calpeacepower.org/0101/iraq.htm

As the war in Iraq presses on with no foreseeable end, I hear more and more from the American "Left" about their qualms about supporting the Iraqi resistance because of its use of violent tactics, putting themselves in the position of deciding what the best strategies are for those living under war and occupation. Much of the Left's categorical opposition to violence comes from the deepest desire that we share to end violence in our world. The notion of countering violence with violence seems like a blatant contradiction and provokes knee-jerk responses like "violence only leads to more violence," or "using violence makes you just as bad as them." At first glance these arguments make emotional sense, but the reality is that the power of crushing, overwhelming force unfortunately cannot be transcended through good feelings or spiritual integrity. Arguments for nonviolence rarely address the practical issues of how it would ultimately succeed, seldom getting past absolute claims about the superiority of nonviolence.

It is false to think that, if only Iraqis could make a clear, moral, "legitimate" case, the world would come to their rescue.... The nature of US military domination leaves no room for nonviolent resistance.

It was never the right of the US to invade and occupy the country and it's not our right (in the Left or otherwise) to decide how Iraqis will achieve their freedom. Suggesting that we are in the position to decide how Iraqis should deal with the occupation or that we could even understand what it's like to be in their position is both elitist and arrogant. It demonstrates the same colonial mentality that got us there in the first place -- that we know what works best for them. Advocates of nonviolence nowadays are usually privileged members of the oppressor group, in this case mostly white middle-class American citizens who are far removed from the constant brutality of living under war and occupation. This implied moral superiority doesn't happen the other way around; you will never hear an Iraqi self-righteously advocating what tactics are "legitimate" for activists to use in the US.

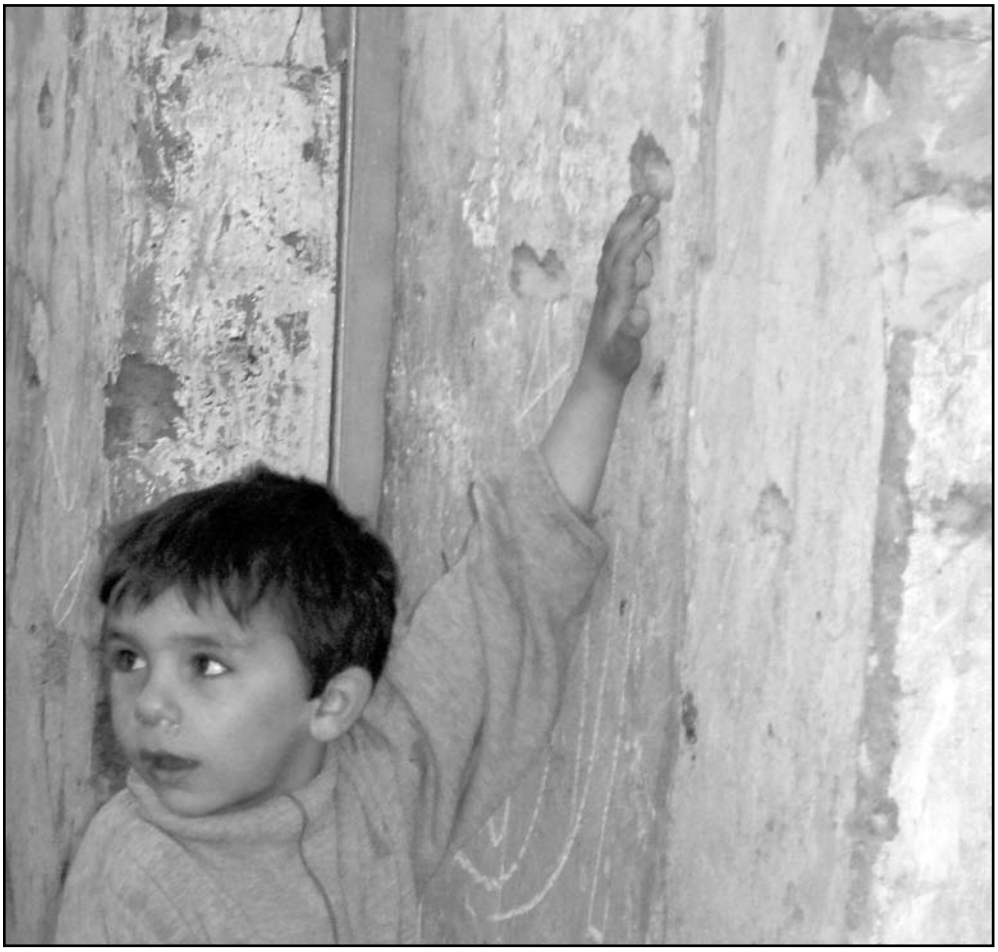
One of the most arrogant arguments that advocates of nonviolence use is that, as Chelsea Collonge stated in the first issue of *Peace Power*, "it makes an armed power less powerful by provoking an obviously illegitimate use of force, thus eliciting outside support and pressure." In Iraq though, vulnerable provocation of force means getting killed, as unarmed protesters have been in Baghdad, Falluja, and Karkuk. She argues that nonviolent demonstrations in Iraq send a "clear message that is likely to be heard as moral and legitimate," but to whom are they supposed to be proving their legitimacy? The US will not withdraw its troops because of the moral strength of Iraqis' arguments or some kind of sympathy that Iraqis engendered in the US administration by "behaving themselves." Suggesting that the world's reaction to the situation in Iraq is dependent upon the behavior of Iraqis shifts responsibility away from the international community and puts the blame on the Iraqis for the crisis they are in.

It is false to think that, if only Iraqis could make a clear, moral, "legitimate" case, the world would come to their rescue. Throughout modern history, people in dire circumstances (as in Bosnia, Kosovo, Rwanda, Liberia, Palestine, etc.) have counted on the fact that if the world understood their misery they would be saved, but rarely, if ever, has the world reacted in time or even at all. To think that other nations or the UN would seriously (and nonviolently) challenge US presence in Iraq to the degree that it would make them withdraw is preposterous. No matter how many people or nations verbally demand that the US leave Iraq, it can still say no. And it will.

Many advocates of nonviolence predictably cite Gandhi's success in removing British rule in India and ask 'Why can't it work in Iraq?' Gandhi's strategy worked well in the context of the British Empire's situation at the time, but nonviolent resistance in India cannot be viewed in a vacuum and it's not a model that can be emulated throughout the world. When Britain finally left India in 1947, it was seriously weakened by WWII and violent anti-colonial movements around the empire. The empire was in serious decline, and Gandhi used that to his advantage, and rightfully so. The US today however, wields military might that the British Empire could never have dreamed of. Meanwhile, its stated project of global hegemony is going almost unchallenged, except for the violent resistance it's meeting in the countries that it is occupying, especially in Iraq.

The nature of US military domination leaves no room for nonviolent resistance. In the last issue of Peace Power Dr. Stephen Zunes mentioned that nonviolence has worked to topple tyrannical regimes in Sudan, Bangladesh, Mali, and

Indonesia (although violence did play a large role in many of these resistances too). Unlike those situations though, where the governments had to maintain legitimacy in the eyes of their citizens, in Iraq the US is a foreign occupying military that has no need to maintain the consent of those it is occupying. As Zunes pointed out, "in Iraq, it has been the US, Great Britain, and other Western nations that may have made the emergence of such nonviolent movements impossible." The US proved that it could care less about nonviolent tactics when it unconditionally refused any method of reconciliation other than military invasion. And if people were still unsure, it confirmed its lack of concern for the Iraqi people by killing an estimated 35,000 civilians to date.



Boy showing bullet damage from when occupation forces roamed the city of Samarra in November 2003. How could using nonviolent tactics succeed against this brutal occupying power? photo by Dahr Jamail, http://www.dahrjamailiraq.com/gallery/

When we look at the history of US capitulations, the Vietnam War is the prime example. Despite the antiwar movement's claim that they ended the war, it would never have ended without the ability of the Vietnamese to bring a highly advanced military to its knees through a war that cost 50,000 American lives. In an antiwar conference I attended in Beirut, an Iraqi resistor illustrated what the Iraqi resistance has learned from history when he asserted, "I hope we will see the Americans fleeing Baghdad with the Iraqis right behind them just like they did in 1975 in Ho Chi Min City."

For Iraqis, the issue at hand isn't one of human rights; it's an issue of freedom. The goal isn't to win concessions; their goal is self-determination and freedom from occupation. Nonviolent actions might prove useful under the right circumstances to meet specific goals, like Iraqis' protection of the Shrine of Ali in Najaf with their own bodies or the work of foreign human shields. Foreigners serving as human shields are certainly commendable in drawing attention to the bombing tactics that their countries were using and for using their privilege as Westerners to save Iraqi lives. The shields however, made the understandable decision to quit their project just before the US invasion, probably realizing that the power of nonviolence wouldn't stop American bombs. Other parts of the resistance, including doctors, religious and secular activists, women's rights groups, providers of food and clean water, etc. help make life bearable for Iraqis, but they want more than just survival; they want independence. As pure as the intentions are behind these tactics, whether by Iraqis or internationals, and despite the particular successes they achieve, they will never put an end to the war and occupation. To achieve that, armed struggle is unfortunately unavoidable.

Instead of demanding that Bush withdraw while discrediting the struggle in Iraq itself, it would be much more powerful for people in the US to march in protest while voicing our unwavering support for the Iraqi resistance. Although the resistance isn't up to us, it is empowering for Iraqis to know that we in the US support their struggle to drive the American military out. It is the violence of military aggression that is wrong, not the violence of resistance. As I once heard an Iraqi say to a crowd of mostly Western activists, "If the occupation is ugly, how can the resistance be beautiful?"

Comments can be sent to shanebauer82@hotmail.com or letters@calpeacepower.org.

Iraq: Yes to Nonviolence, Yes to Justice

Matthew Taylor and Chelsea Collonge

Despite the Western media's biased coverage and tendency to only focus on violence, we are learning that nonviolent resistance continues in Iraq. Following the tragic bombing of the Golden Shrine of Samarra on February 22nd, 2006 (which the Western media blamed on the Sunnis), Sunni and Shia across Iraq used acts of nonviolent solidarity in an attempt to calm the storm. According to independent journalist Dahr Jamail, "Demonstrations of solidarity between Sunni and Shia went off over all of Iraq: in Basra, Diwaniyah, Nasiriyah, Kut, and Salah al-Din.... Baghdad had huge demonstrations of solidarity, following announcements by several Shia religious leaders not to attack Sunni mosques.... Attacks stopped after these announcements." Grand Ayatollah Ali Al-Sistani's office stated, "We call upon believers to express their protest... through peaceful means. The extent of their sorrow and shock should not drag them into taking actions that serve the enemies who have been working to lead Iraq into sectarian strife."(1)

The Iraqi people who participated in these marches said "no" to retributive violence, religious strife, and civil war. No amount of violence could ever remedy the pain of the bombing of the Golden Shrine, but these kinds of displays of solidarity help the people to remember the humanity of their neighbors. While the rage many Iraqis feel against the US and Israel (according to Dahr Jamail) is understandable, they may eventually be able to find ways to channel these strong emotions into the kind of intense, confrontational, nonviolent obstruction that would be necessary to undermine the occupation and constructive work to rebuild their society.

So, as Mr. Bauer appropriately asks, how would nonviolence succeed? Effective use of nonviolence requires as much (actually, much more!) preparation, discipline, planning, strategy, training, and knowledge as the use of violence. For instance, a broad-based movement of noncooperation that enables people everywhere to participate can be a key element in reducing a regime's hold on power and undermining its sources of support. In the case of Iraq, perhaps people and/or shopkeepers could refuse to pay the US-dictated "flat tax" until the law is rescinded, and begin a process of rolling back the economic violence of the occupation. Nonviolence tacticians could generate many effective strategies that could impede the occupation's ability to function (or impose its will over the occupied people).

Some assume that the US and coalition forces are "too brutal" to be influenced by the power of nonviolence. A look at history reveals that nonviolence has succeeded against opponents at least as ruthless as the US. The Shah of Iran, whose secret police were legendary for their brutality, was deposed by a nonviolent people power movement that was willing to accept serious loss of life on its side and remain relatively disciplined in its commitment to nonviolence. "No degree of brutality, assassination and torture carried out by the Savak, or secret police, could blunt the people's revolutionary fervor... It was as if the Shah and his underlings were continually striking their swords on a body of water. Their arms became exhausted and their strength was rendered powerless."(2)

Mr. Bauer says: "It is false to think that, if only Iraqis could make a clear, moral, 'legitimate' case, the world would come to their rescue." One thing a disciplined, massive nonviolent movement could do is motivate international activists to escalate nonviolent resistance in their own countries (including the US), which could help to end the occupation. While the media is biased and is on the hunt for violence, if the Iraqis were to halt the violent resistance and replace it with disciplined nonviolence, their calls for the occupation to end might get much more media coverage (if past media coverage of nonviolent movements is any indicator). When resistors use violence, the media covers the violence. When resistors use nonviolence, the media is more likely to cover the issues. A recent case in point is the Palestinian resistance to confiscation of their land in the West Bank village of Bil'in. As a result of largely nonviolent demonstrations, Israel's mainstream Channel 2 aired a 15-minute exposé on the land confiscation.

While nonviolence might or might not succeed, violence similarly carries no guarantee of success. Violence might eventually drive out the US, or it might not – and at what cost? Violent means will give violent self-rule.

While nonviolence might or might not succeed, violence similarly carries no guarantee of success. Violence might eventually drive out the US, or it might not – and at what cost? A recent Freedom House survey shows that nonviolent insurrections lead to higher levels of freedom and democracy than violent insurrections.(3) Proponents of armed struggle cite Algeria as a "success story," but over 300,000 Algerians (and perhaps close to one million) lost their lives in order to drive out French colonialists.(4) Additionally, that nation has suffered from coups, a civil

war, and ongoing hostile relations with the French some 30 years later. Compare this outcome to India and its relatively stable democracy and friendly relations with the British. As Gandhi said, "Means are after all everything.... Violent means will give violent swaraj [self-rule]."(5) He didn't mean this was true sometimes, but always.

Over 100,000 Shia Iraqis marched in protest of Paul Bremer's attempt to delay the election in January 2004. photo by Dahr Jamail, http://www.dahrjamailiraq.com/gallery/

In a conflict where the level of dehumanization is as high as it is in Iraq, the question is not whether some of the resistors will die, but how they will die. It is indeed true that unarmed protestors have been killed in Iraq. This is not a sign that nonviolence is impossible (unarmed protestors have been killed in many successful nonviolent revolutions), only that the level of sacrifice required is high. Historical episodes demonstrate that well-planned and organized nonviolence requires much less loss of life on the part of the resistors than violent resistance inevitably does. This would be exceedingly difficult to implement in Iraq, but not necessarily impossible.

As important as it is to say no to the occupation, we must be able to say yes to something else. For alternative thinking, refer to our Winter 2006 issue, and Johan Galtung's six-step proposal: US out, an international conference, security by the UN and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, dual passports for Kurdistan, and a quota system for the oil revenues.

We have to take it a step further. We can't continue to lurch from one war to another, we have to end the war system and replace it with a nonviolence system. For starters, we could withhold the portion of our tax revenues that funds the military and instead donate it to "third-party nonviolent intervention" organizations that one day could replace the military altogether, like Nonviolent Peaceforce, Christian Peacemaker Teams, and Peace Brigades International. As Stephen Zunes said, "Where active nonviolence is most badly needed [is] here in Western democracies." Let us see if Cindy Sheehan's call for civil disobedience (*PeacePower*, Winter, 2006) will be heard.

Returning to Mr. Bauer's original question of whether we are qualified to advocate nonviolence to an Iraqi resistor (which could also be asked of a Westerner who advocates violence), we affirm that our main job is to tell our government what to do. But we disagree that in doing so, we must offer "unwavering support" for the Iraqi resistance regardless of their tactics. What we actually must offer unwavering support for is justice. No amount of nonviolence or violence by Iraqis will make the military occupation any more or less just. The occupation is unjust, it is immoral, and it must end, if that is the will the Iraqi people. On this we are in agreement.

Resources

Nonviolent Peaceforce: www.nvpf.org
Peace Brigades International: www.pbi.org
Christian Peacemaker Teams: www.cpt.org
Dahr Jamail in Iraq: www.dahrjamailiraq.com

1 http://dahrjamailiraq.com/weblog/archives/dispatches/000365.php
2 Summy, Ralph: "Nonviolence and the Extremely Ruthless Opponent," in Legacy & Future of Nonviolence, True and Addams (1996).
3 "How Freedom is Won: From Civic Resistance to Durable Democracy," www.freedomhouse.org.
4 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Algerian_War_of_Independence#War_dead
5 M.K. Gandhi, Young India, July 17, 1924.

September 11, 2006: The 100th Anniversary of Satyagraha

On September 11th, 1906, Mahatma Gandhi and thousands of Indians took a pledge of nonviolence against the inhumane laws of the South African government, which marked the beginning of a century of nonviolent struggle. The birth of "Satyagraha" - holding fast to truth - has reverberated around the world as millions of people have utilized the philosophy and practice of nonviolence to create better human relationships and higher levels of freedom. According to Freedom House, dozens of countries have experienced nonviolent transitions to democracy (not to mention other forms of nonviolent struggle) in the last thirty years alone.

So, on September 11th, what should we do? To get us thinking, here are the plans and reflections of some nonviolent activists and one of our staff members:

Mahatma Gandhi (2nd row, 3rd from left) with the leaders of the Nonviolent Resistance Movement in South Africa

Nonviolent Peaceforce

In addition to planning an immersion trip to India, Nonviolent Peaceforce supports the worldwide Work a Day for Peace campaign, which encourages participants to use the remembrance of the September 11, 2001 tragedy to educate others about the events of September 11, 1906 and to resolve to break the cycle of violence and reflect on the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. Visit: www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org for details.

Ela Gandhi

Ela Gandhi, Gandhi's granddaughter, tells us that many activities are being planned throughout 2006 in South Africa, including a conference on nonviolence from September 11-13. According to Ela, "Satyagraha has been recognised as the most formidable but also the best way of dealing with conflict whether in the home, in society or in International affairs." Visit: www.satyagraha.org.za for details.

Arun Gandhi

Since the actual anniversary falls on September 11 and since this date is so significant in the United States as the day of vicious violence we should celebrate it as a day of interfaith prayer with a difference. The difference being that all people of whatever persuasion in every neighborhood, village, town, and city come out into the town square at 12 noon and sing a prayer for peace according to all religions. That is Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Jews and whoever else is represented in that neighborhood come out and sing each other's prayer for peace led by their priests. Each must be allotted the same time and the same importance. The prayer will be for peace as well as for the souls who died of violence not only on that day but at all times. I think this is simple, doable, and it empowers the ordinary man/woman to participate in a small way to work for peace. It can be followed with a dedication to work for peace and harmony in every neighborhood.

Mohammed Yasin Malik, Chairman
Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front

Formerly involved in armed struggle, Mr. Malik now follows Gandhi's teachings. He is conducting a nonviolent struggle on behalf of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, who want a voice in negotiations with India and Pakistan over the fate of the disputed region. He recently gathered over one million signatures on a petition demanding that the people's will be considered. Mr. Malik comments: "We who believe in nonviolence and Gandhi's philosophy of Ahimsa [nonviolence] have to rise and fight for the oppressed like Gandhi did. Indians killed thousands of my colleagues while they were running a nonviolent movement. I was provoked to go violent but I did not. I firmly stood by the principle of nonviolence and while doing so never shunned my struggle for freedom." (Full commentary available at www.calpeacepower.org)

CONTINUED ON P. 31

39 Witnesses, The World Stood Watch

Matt Werner

Driving back to the East Bay from San Quentin Prison at 1:30 a.m., I'm nauseated. I just spent the last five hours with 2,500 people participating in a peaceful vigil for Stanley "Tookie" Williams. The steel slits of the Richmond-San Rafael Bridge animate the image of the dark San Francisco Bay below like a zoetrope. One of the seventeen media witnesses to the execution is on the radio. He talks about how the first needle easily slid into Tookie's arm, but how the second needle took over ten minutes to lodge properly in Tookie's other arm. The reporter meticulously recounts Tookie's protracted last minutes: a female voice shouted the death warrant, translucent chemicals pumped into Tookie's veins, his head arched up, his fist in Black Power, his head down, his repose.

Photo of Stan Tookie Williams, a five-time Nobel Peace Prize Nominee, in jail.

I grimace, remembering the speaker at the protest outside the prison gates saying, at midnight, that sometimes lethal injections take fifteen or twenty minutes to kill a person, and that we should all be calm and prayerful during that time. The reporter on the radio continues detailing the execution: the motionless people around him, the thickness of the glass that separated the execution chamber from the thirty-nine execution witnesses. How it all resembled "a normal medical procedure." I can't listen any longer.

The reporter's comparison of the execution to a medical procedure reminds me of how Americans are anesthesitized to violence today. Our society focuses on the meaningless details: how many cc's of heart-attack-inducing drugs were pumped into Tookie, how many minutes he took to die, the ages of his victims, where he shot them, etc.

We must instead take a wider viewpoint and look at crimes and acts of violence within their larger context. More-productive questions to ask are: Why is this violence occurring? What's its origin, and how can we stop it? It is hypocritical of California to lend itself to the evil it condemns: murder. Capital punishment is antithetical to the goal of reducing violence because as Gandhi says, "violence only begets more violence."

A heavy burden weighs upon my conscience knowing that a small percentage of my tax dollars went to buy the needle to kill a five-time Nobel Peace Prize nominee. I know that abolishing the death penalty will be one more step toward stopping the cycle of violence, as Tookie tried to do with his redemptive 180 degree turn away from gang violence and toward youth outreach. Let us hope that Tookie and Clarence Ray Allen's are the final deaths our tax dollars support. On February 21, 2006, U.S. District Judge Jeremy Fogel imposed a temporary moratorium on executions in California. He ordered two anesthesiologists to be present at the execution of Michael Angelo Morales, however in the final hours before Morales's execution, the anesthesiologists refused to be present during the execution because of ethical reasons. Morales's execution is postponed until a May 2 and 3 hearing determines the constitutionality of the lethal injection procedure used in California since 1996.[1]

By harnessing the power of noncooperation (through their refusal to participate in death) and nonviolent principle (the Hippocratic Oath "to do no harm") these doctors stand as a roadblock to capital punishment. Also, citizen action spearheaded by people like Sister Helen Prejean can awaken people to the structural violence in America, and the violence conducted in their names; and prompt people to take action and demand capital punishment be outlawed.

Protestors at the vigil.

Attending the executions of Tookie Williams, Clarence Ray Allen, and Michael Morales at San Quentin, I have seen people radically transform the pain they've felt standing helpless outside, into a compassionate power that motivates them to campaign day after day against the death penalty. Seeing this nonviolent protest in the face of state-sponsored violence elevated my commitment against the death penalty. Standing in the vigils, holding candles into the morning hours, I saw people transform themselves into "the dancing flames committed to conquering darkness."[2] Let us hope those are our last midnight visits to the gates of San Quentin.

References

1 Stacy Finz, Bob Egelko, Kevin Fagan, "State Postpones Morales Execution: Judge's new order: Officials refuse to revise method of lethal injection". *The San Francisco Chronicle*. 22 February 2006.

2 Rashida Bee's speech on receiving the 2004 Goldman Environmental Prize. http://www.goldmanprize.org/press/library.html

Surviving Justice: America's Wrongfully Convicted and Exonerated

ACROSS THE MAP: WOMEN

To call woman the weaker sex is a libel; it is man's injusti
then, indeed, is woman less brute than man. If by streng
man's superior. Has she not greater intuition, is she not
durance, has she not greater courage? Without her, ma
the future is with woman. Who can ma
than woman? -Gandhi, Young India, 10

AND NONVIOLENT CHANGE

ce to woman. If by strength is meant brute strength,
gth is meant moral power, then woman is immeasurably
more self-sacrificing, has she not greater powers of en-
n could not be. If nonviolence is the law of our being,
ake a more effective appeal to the heart
/4/1930

Across the Map: Women in Nonviolence

Tal Palter-Palman, Laura Tolkoff, Nathan Maton, and Carrie Brode

Argentina

Mothers of the Disappeared

Many outspoken citizens who resisted the dictatorship during the brutal 1976 military coup disappeared at the hands of the army. Since April 1977 mothers, grandmothers, wives, daughters, and sisters walked every week in a slow-moving circle around a central plaza while carrying pictures of their disappeared and demanding an investigation. Although the women faced harsh political repression, they continued to pressure their government. The Mothers of the Plaza inspired other mothers in El Salvador and Guatemala and helped initiate democracy in Argentina in 1993.

Burma

Aung San Suu Kyi (1945-)

Suu Kyi was a leading force behind the free elections in Burma in May 1990. She played a pivotal role in forming the National League for Democracy, which employed techniques of nonviolence and civil disobedience to stop the military party from manipulating the elections.

Germany

from film directed by Margarethe von Trotta

Rosenstrasse Prison Demonstration

In February 1943, the Gestapo arrested the remaining mostly men who were married to Aryan women in Germany. For the first time while under Nazi control, thousands of women congregated in front of the Rosenstrasse detention center demanding the release of their husbands. In a few days, the men were released. The Gestapo soldiers were dissuaded by the courage of the nonviolent protestors. The demonstration of people power against the Nazis shows the potential for nonviolent persuasion.

Sophie Scholl (1925-1943)

In 1942, Scholl joined her brother's political group, The White Rose, which was disgusted at Hitler and the Third Reich. The group distributed "Leaflets of the White Rose," criticizing Germans who sat idly during the third Reich, and suggesting "passive resistance" as the best way to encourage the downfall of the government. Scholl, her brother, and friend were arrested and executed for their outright dissent.

Guatemala

Rigoberta Menchu (1959-)

Born in Guatemala, Rigoberta Menchu is a member of the Quiche branch of the Mayan culture. Menchu became involved in the church and liberation theology, but as tensions grew in the country Menchu, her family, and her village were threatened, oppressed, and tortured by the military. She has since dedicated her life to working for indigenous rights and ethno-cultural reconciliation in a time and country when many died for speaking out. For her efforts she has received a Nobel Peace Prize.

India

Arundhati Roy (1961-)

First acknowledged internationally as a writer, Roy is actively gaining respect as an activist. Her campaign supports the Indian poor and provides a voice towards progressive social change. She is the first woman to win the Booker Prize for her novel The God of Small Things and the Sidney Peace Prize (2004) for her nonviolent activism.

Dr. Vandana Shiva (1925-) [On this issue's cover]

Shiva wears many hats as a physicist, ecologist, activist, editor, and author. She established Navdanya, the movement for biodiversity conservation and farmers' rights. She has once said, "We have managed to make the celebration of diversity our mode of resistance."

Israel

Machsom (Checkpoint) Watch

Machsom Watch is a womens' organization founded in 2001 in response to repeated violations of Palestinian human rights at Israeli army checkpoints. The goals of the group are manifold: first, they seek to monitor the behavior of soldiers at checkpoints; second, to ensure that the human and civil rights of Palestinians are protected; and thirdly to record and report the results of their observations both to officials and the public. Currently, Machsom Watch boasts four hundred female activists who issue reports from two hundred Israeli checkpoints twice daily.

Women in Black

Now a worldwide movement with its beginnings in Israel, Women in Black is dedicated to nonviolent conflict resolution. It is estimated that there are about 10,000 members from all parts of the world dedicated to varying nonviolent practices that challenge the destructiveness of violence, whether direct or indirect.

Kenya

> "I just have something inside me that tells me that there is a problem, and I have got to do something about it."
> ~Wangari Maathai

Wangari Maathai (1940-)

Maathai founded the Green Belt Movement in Kenya in 1977, which has planted more than ten million trees to prevent soil erosion and provide fire wood for cooking fires. The movement has also been monumental in combating serious problems such as deforestation, water pollution, soil runoff, firewood scarcity, and damage to animal ecosystems. For her irreplaceable efforts she received the Nobel Peace Prize (2004). After several defeats for the presidency and parliament, Maathai was elected to parliament in 2002, in which she continues to be an advocate for sustainable development and the environment.

Pakistan

Mukhtar Mai (1970-)

After a brutal gang rape, Mukhtar Mai did not commit suicide as culturally expected. Instead, she used her experience constructively to bring attention to this heinous assault on human dignity. She has raised money through NGOs, which has been used to improve schools in her village. "Education can change people through the awareness of their rights and duties," she explains. "We must improve the minds of the boys and girls if we're to improve women's rights."

Palestine

Rachel Corrie (1979-2003)

Corrie was an American member of the International Solidarity Movement during the Al-Aqsa Intifada. She was killed in Rafah while she tried to prevent an Israeli Caterpillar D9 bulldozer from demolishing a Palestinian home. Rachel described her feeling on the issue: "The fact [is] that I am in the midst of a genocide which I am also indirectly supporting, and for which my government is largely responsible…I think it is a good idea for us all to drop everything and devote our lives to making this stop."

Philippines

Corazon (Cory) Cojuangco Aquino (1933-)

Aquino is the leader of the nonviolent People Power Movement in the Philippines, which brought the downfall of Marcos' dictatorship in 1986. Once in power, Cory built her country as a democracy. To date, she has received international awards such as the Eleanor Roosevelt Human Rights Award and the United Nations Silver Medal. Cory was also cited for exemplifying a nonviolent movement for democracy, which later was tested in Burma, South Africa, Poland and Chile.

USA

Ella Baker (1903-1986)

During the student sit-ins in the 1960s, Baker organized the meeting out of which the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) arose as a leading force in the Civil Rights Movement. Baker also helped organize the Freedom Riders and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic campaigns. Her philosophy of action emphasized the development of democratic and grassroots participation and leadership in local communities where the people themselves shape their lives.

Dolores Huerta (1930-)

Along with Cesar Chavez, Huerta co-founded the United Farm Workers, a leading organization in the California Chicano Movement. She was essential in organizing and supporting the Delano Grape Strike of 1965, in which farmers demanded labor rights through nonviolent means. A year later, she led negotiations that secured labor rights for a committee comprised entirely of farm workers. In 1984, the California State Senate honored her with the Outstanding Labor Leader Award and in 1993 she was inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame.

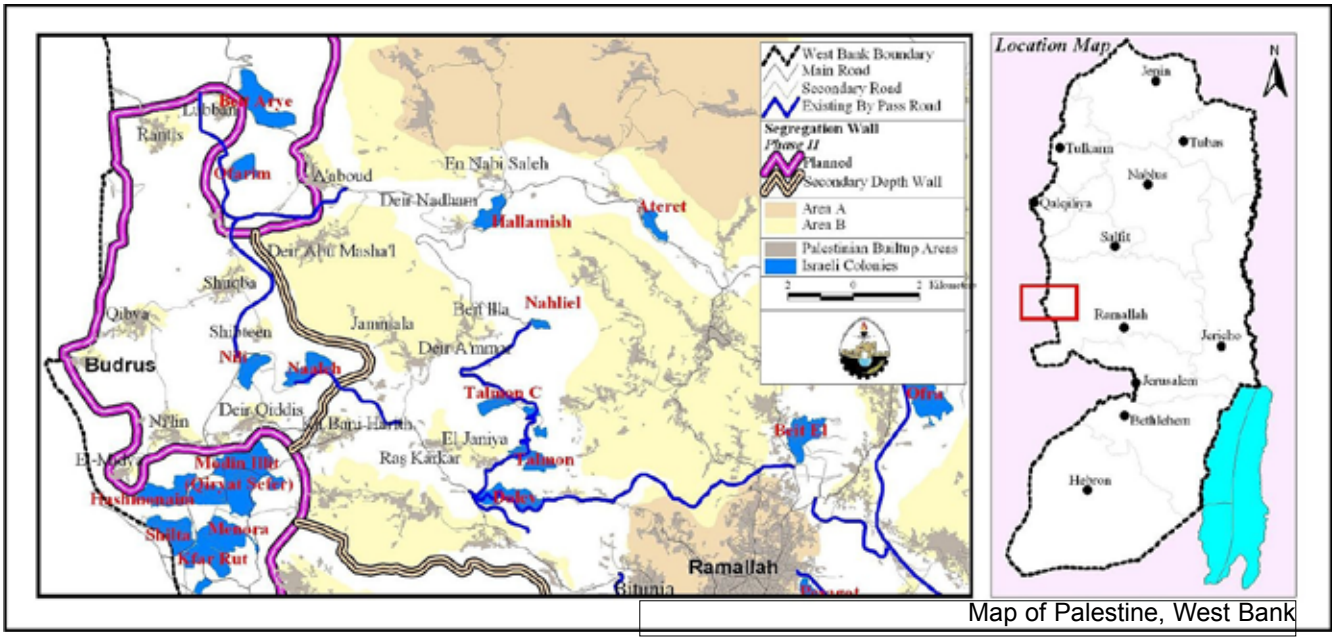
Coretta Scott King (1927-2006)

Reputable as the widow of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Coretta dedicated her life to the continuance of his life's work in nonviolence, peace, and social justice. Among her many achievements is the creation of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolence and Social Change in Atlanta, Georgia. The Center was established to combat those issues she believed to lead to violence such as poverty, disenfranchisement, unemployment, racism, and attacks on affirmative action.

Rosa Parks (1913-2005)

Parks launched the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Civil Rights Movement when she refused to give up her seat to a white passenger on a segregated bus in December 1955. She was arrested and fined, but her act of defiance began a movement that ended legal segregation in America. Her legacy teaches us the depth of nonviolence and the urgency with which we must use "the greatest power humans have been endowed with" (in the words of Gandhi) to realize justice and equality.

"The Third Intifada": Nonviolent Resistance Against the Wall in Budrus



Map of Palestine, West Bank

Tal Palter-Palman

Budrus is a small Palestinian village, located northwest of Ramallah, with 1200 residents. In 2002, the Israeli government began to build a Wall in the Palestinian occupied territories that would confiscate 1,000 dunams (around 250 acres) of Budrus' agricultural land. Additionally, the small village has no higher education system or clinics inside the village, and 80% of the villagers work outside of Budrus. Access to these services has been available in the city of Ramallah. However, the planned route of the Wall will create an enclave surrounding Budrus, and as a result, access to Ramallah will only be available through one gate which will be controlled by the Israeli army. Ran HaCohen writes that, "by locking up the Palestinians and taking land in-between the enclaves, Israel robs them of their future, of a contiguous territory for the Palestinian State promised in President Bush's roadmap. The Palestinians are thus left with no hope for the future."

A Third Intifada! But How?

In November 2003, Budrus residents received military orders stating that a portion of their land will be confiscated due to the construction of the Wall. When the construction of the Wall officially started, the residents of Budrus held their first nonviolent demonstration sitting in front of the bulldozers and confronting the soldiers. In December, Ayed Morrar and other villagers established the Popular Committee against the Wall. First, they formed grassroots committees, including political parties, village councils, youth clubs, and a women's committee. These committees were organized to represent the needs of the people, to enable grassroots participation, and to exclude no one.

The Popular Committee against the Wall drafted a plan of action: the aim, to achieve freedom and a just peace; with the strategy of nonviolent means to reduce aggression. The tactics and principles were threefold: (1) "We can do it," which became the main slogan of the movement. (2) Big problems require big efforts and a long-term commitment of the people. (3) The Popular Committee called for a third Intifada against the Wall and for peace. In turn, Budrus residents launched their local struggle and became the leading movement in the struggle against the Wall in Palestine.

There were practical and ethical reasons that led the people of Budrus to adopt the philosophy and strategy of nonviolence. Morrar said that the people of Budrus have been resisting the occupation all their lives and are tired of violence of all kinds; they are tired of seeing their families killed, injured, and jailed, as well as of the deaths of their Israeli neighbors. Morrar writes, "The people of the village of Budrus have chosen nonviolent resistance because we've seen enough

blood and believe that violence is the root of fighting, not its solution." Therefore the use of arms is strictly forbidden. The committee was able to minimize and stop stone-throwing, a well known and common tactic used by youth against the army since the First Intifada.

Additionally, religion and spirituality are generated in the movement in Budrus, though not as a dominate force. Morrar believes that Islam is a vital part of their nonviolent resistance since all religions, including Islam, were initiated to promote peaceful relationships between oneself, between each other, and between one and God. Morrar wrote, "Consider the words of the Prophet Mohammed, peace be upon him, who said: 'Give support to your brother, be he oppressed or oppressor.' The people replied to Mohammed: 'We can support the oppressed, but how can we support an oppressor?' and the prophet answered: 'By telling him not to oppress. That is to support him." In this passage, Morrar articulates one of the basic principles of nonviolence, which is the belief that the oppressor is also oppressed and a nonviolent struggle will free all people.

An Open Invitation

The decision to use nonviolent methods enabled Budrus to invite Israelis and global citizens (commonly referred to as internationals) to join their movement. The villagers continuously emphasized that they are not against Israelis or Jews, but rather against the occupation, and therefore, both Israelis and global participants have answered the call. Ta'ayush, an Arab Jewish Partnership, and the Anarchists Against the Wall were the main Israeli organizations that participated in the demonstrations in Budrus. Yonatan Pollak, a Jewish Israeli activist from Tel Aviv and one of the leaders of the Anarchist Against the Wall, explains that his role is to support the Palestinian struggle and express that the Wall and the occupation are not carried out in his name. The International Solidarity Movement (ISM), the main international organization that worked in Budrus, brings international activists to be a part of the movement in Palestine and to serve as witnesses to the human rights violations committed by the military. Paul Larudee, a member of the ISM, participated in a demonstration and observed the arrest of some villagers. When the army left, Larudee asked the villagers whether the presence of international activists helped the struggle or only made the soldiers act more violently. One of the villagers answered that the presence of international activists decreases the army brutality and this is one of the main reasons that international activists and Israelis are invited.

"The people of the village of Budrus have chosen nonviolent resistance because we've seen enough blood and believe that violence is the root of fighting, not its solution."

--Ayed Morrar

Graffiti in Beit Sahour. Photo by Tal Palter-Palman

Finding Power Within

Between November 2003 and March '04, the protest activities included sit-ins in front of bulldozers, confronting Israeli soldiers nonviolently, and planting trees. Sit-ins in front of working bulldozers or houses that were assigned for demolition often altered the occupation forces' work plans for the day or even the rest of the week. Furthermore, villagers and protestors guarded trees that were at risk of being uprooted and planted olive trees to replace the ones which were uprooted. The olive tree represents the attachment to the land as well as a source of life. An old saying asserts that an olive tree will never make one rich, but will never let one go hungry.

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In other times, the Popular Committee against the Wall decided to organize entire demonstrations consisting only of women. Women are perceived as less violent than men as well as more vulnerable, which makes it tougher for the soldiers to use force and violence legitimately against them. Many nonviolent movements, such as the one in Budrus, used the force of women advantageously. In the beginning of the movement women's participation was not significant, but increasingly women became eager to join the movement. Morrar explained that women did not want to wait at home and cook while their men were becoming heroes; they wanted to contribute and join the movement. Ever since, the women of Budrus showed great courage participating and participating in all the demonstrations of their village as well as resisting alone against the army.

Success

In the nine months of daily nonviolent protests, the soldiers used tear gas, shock grenades, rubber-coated steel bullets, and regular bullets. They injured 300 villagers, arrested 38 for a period between four and eight months, and killed one 17-year-old boy, Hussein Elayyan. Despite the military brutality, the protesters remained nonviolent and demonstrated great courage in continuing their struggle. On May 2004, Ronit Robinson, an Israeli human rights attorney representing Budrus through the Association for Civil Rights in Israel, filed a petition to Israel's High Court of Justice, claiming that there is no legitimate reason for the route of the Wall to divide the village's lands. The petition called for the court to take into consideration the advisory opinion on the Wall written by the International Court of Justice that stated that the wall is illegal. The Israeli High Court decided that the military must change the route of the Wall in Budrus since the principle of balance between Israeli security and Palestinians' rights was not practiced.

On August 1, 2004, the Israeli bulldozers stopped the work on the Wall in Budrus in response to the court decision. Many have argued that Israel's court would never have ruled in favor of Budrus had it not been for the public pressure generated by the nonviolent movement. The Popular Committee against the Wall declared this decision as a big victory that

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Demonstrators walking to the Route of the Wall, January 2004. Photo by Tal Palter-Palman

A Testimony to the Power of Nonviolence:
Aung San Suu Kyi's Continued Struggle for Democracy

Sarah Elizabeth Clark and Nathan Maton-Parkinson

On a hot April day in 1989 at the Irrawaddy Delta in Burma, during a popular protest for democracy by the Burmese people, a radical nonviolent leader named Daw Suu Kyi, popularly known as Aung San Suu Kyi after her father, refused to turn back at the orders of the oppressive military regime, the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC). Embodying nonviolence in her physical presence, she marched through a military squad with orders to fire at anyone who approached and safely arrived at the speaker's platform to give her resounding speech for a better, brighter, free Burma.

The story of Aung San Suu Kyi is a moving example of the power of nonviolence. Even though she was not able to entirely secure an effective umbrella organization to coordinate the resistance, nor implement what Gandhi calls "constructive program", she successfully led the Burmese people in a campaign for a democratic government. In the 1990 election, the National League for Democracy, won 82% of the votes cast.[1]

Since that stark contrast of a beautiful, peaceful, yet firm woman marching into a squad of armed soldiers, SLORC's military regime in Burma has been delegitimized globally. Aung San Suu Kyi has managed to bring international awareness to one of the most horrifying military regimes in the world, and won various peace prizes including the Nobel Peace prize. What is the story behind this incredible woman?

Setting the Stage for Nonviolent Resistance

The Burmese have been plagued by two major political problems in recent decades: military rule and ethnic conflict. In the 1980s and 1990s, violent and nonviolent struggles have coexisted in Burma to oppose the military dictatorship.

For many years, the basis for resistance was a Maoist strategy which emphasized guerrilla struggle and underground civilian resistance. With the exception of student and worker opposition to British rule, Burma never had a history of large scale nonviolent resistance. But similar to the nonviolent movements in China, Serbia, Thailand, the Philippines and elsewhere, mass popular movement began with the actions of university students. In March of 1988 when a student at the Rangoon Institute of Technology was killed and his assailant was not punished due to connections with the military regime, students took to the streets.[2] This was one of several "trigger events" which helped fuel a growing popular movement against the SLORC.

Aung San Suu Kyi

Despite its lack of overall coordination, the movement in Burma implemented surprisingly diverse actions across the range of methods of nonviolent action, including protest and persuasion, noncooperation, and disruptive and creative nonviolent action such as strikes, boycotts, and civil disobedience.[3] Many sectors of the Burmese society participated in these actions, including students, Buddhist monks, and men and women of all ages and ethnic groups.

The people of Burma were unified in their hatred for the military dictatorship but they could not agree on what or who they were "for." Effective political resistance cannot be built upon the sandy foundation of a common foe. Aung San Suu Kyi represents a unifying force. Her non-adversarial approach toward all Burmese, including the military, generates widespread support for her both domestically and internationally. Her unusual immunity (as daughter

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of the best known leader of the historical independence struggle) in combination with a willingness to speak out publicly has provided coherent leadership for the Burmese people.

Aung San Suu Kyi Enters Politics

Aung San Suu Kyi began her career as a politician with two huge advantages. Although she returned to Burma only to take care of her sickly mother after living most of her life abroad, and only vaguely aware of Burmese politics, she was the daughter of arguably the greatest national hero, General Aung San, who had freed the Burmese people from Japanese foreign rule in August of 1945. While at college at Oxford, Aung San Suu Kyi also studied Gandhi and later would draw upon his theory and praxis of nonviolent action. She received her B.A. in the study of Politics, Philosophy, and the Economy in 1967. With these two trump cards in her pocket, Aung San Suu Kyi was easily able to propel herself into national politics.

Aung San Suu Kyi emerged as the movement's leader in July of 1988 and attempted to enforce, along with Buddhist monks and students, an ethic of nonviolent discipline. She began with an open letter to the government demanding a democratic society, and soon found herself to be the driving force behind a new organization, the National League for Democracy (NLD). She became the leading voice of the pro-democracy opposition, calling for a multiparty democracy, national unity, nonviolent action, and nonviolent discipline.

The 1988 uprising forced the military regime to uphold its own rhetoric and carry out parliamentary elections. From November 1988 through July 1989, Aung San Suu Kyi and NLD leaders traveled across Burma to mobilize support for the "Revolution of the Spirit", a campaign of nonviolent action in support of democracy.[4] Wherever Aung San Suu Kyi spoke, thousands of citizens gathered, openly defying restrictions on assembly and risking imprisonment or death.

In 1990, the National League for Democracy, led by Aung San Suu Kyi, won a landslide victory in the parliamentary elections.[5] However, the SLORC refused to honor the election results and arrested and intimidated much of the opposition. Most of the NLD leadership, including Suu Kyi, have suffered long prison terms or house arrest.

"The Lady" as the Unifying Force of the Resistance Movement

The history of the Burmese resistance movement involves the formation of seemingly countless organizations and coalitions. Most prominently, large numbers of students (who viewed the popular uprising as a failure because the military remained in power) formed an armed group called the All Burma Student Democratic Front (ABSDF). Similarly, the ethnic minority groups led by their coalition, the National Democratic Front (NDF) viewed the 1988 uprising as a failure and continued to emphasize violent resistance tactics such as guerilla warfare with renewed enthusiasm.

Aung San Suu Kyi's non-adversarial approach generates widespread support.

picture from: http://www.pbase.com/dassk/dassk

By 1989 however, the guerilla struggle was suffering from major military defeats, lack of resources, and lack of an effective strategy for achieving its political goals.[6] During this time, Aung San Suu Kyi was beginning to popularize a modern liberalism and a commitment to Buddhist approaches to resolving conflict.

Her presence in the history of Burma's struggle is significant because by 1990, the Burmese who had hoped for the United Nations or the armed resistance to liberate Burma turned their hopes to the 1990 election. As Michael A. Beers states, "the landslide results electrified the people and Aung San Suu Kyi's gentle approach came to dominate the Burman heartland."

With the faith of the majority of the Burmese population behind Suu Kyi, the National Council of the Union of Burma (NCUB), a broad-based resistance coalition, was formed in August of 1992. The NCUB conceived of a unified strategy to improve the effectiveness of all resistance forces and to reduce contaminants to the primary nonviolent struggle.[7] A geographic separation of armed struggle and nonviolent resistance was formed: defensive armed struggle would be carried out in the ethnic states, and nonviolent resistance was to limit itself to the heartland and the cities.

Aung San Suu Kyi gives a speech to a crowd of her Burmese followers.

picture from: http://www.pbase.com/dassk/dassk

Where Aung San Still Needs to Go

Burma as a case-study in parallel armed and nonviolent struggle provides uncertain results. People power has yet to defeat the dictatorship in Rangoon. Despite the best efforts of the Burmese opposition leadership, the people of Burma have been unable or unwilling to replicate the mass mobilizations of 1988.

While the challengers in Burma implemented a diverse range of methods of nonviolent action, factors contributing to the movement's demise included the lack of a national umbrella organization to aggregate and coordinate the resistance and the inability of the challengers to organize a parallel government or create a situation for multiple sovereignty.[8] The leverage that the resistance in Burma could generate against the regime was limited by its emphasis on institutional methods to challenge the regime (a focus on elections), the lack of organized support from autonomous institutions (such as Buddhist organizations), the lack of support from abroad, and the lack of effective pressure against the regime by international actors.[9]

Yet the power of nonviolence is that Aung San Suu Kyi still managed to internationally imprint the illegitimacy of SLORC's rule in Burma, even without preparing and organizing her nation for the task of establishing an alternative government. The most dramatic change for Burma as a result of this struggle has been an end to the county's 26 years of near-total isolation from the world.

Through her commitment to nonviolence Aung San Suu Kyi continues to exert a force upon SLORC. Since that initial episode in the Irrawaddy Delta, she has continued to plant the seeds of nonviolence which will inevitably grow into a free Burma.

Resources

Daw Aung San Suu Kyi pages:
http://www.dassk.com/
Wikipedia page:
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aung_San_Suu_Kyi
"Learn to Question" Project:
http://www.learntoquestion.com/seevak/groups/2001/sites/aungsan/index2.html

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2 Schock, Kurt. *Unarmed Insurrections: People Power Movements in Nondemocracies.* University of Minnesota Press, 2005.
3 Ibid 4 Ibid
5 Beer, Michael A. "Violent and Nonviolent Struggle in Burma: Is a Unified Strategy Workable?" from *Nonviolent Social Movements: a Geographical Perspective*. Edited by Zunes, Kurtz, and Asher. Blackwell Publishing, 1999.
6 Ibid 7 Ibid 8 Schock, Kurt. 9 Ibid

Nonviolence: Does Gender Matter?

Carol Flinders

Thinking, as I've been asked to do, about women and nonviolence, I found myself wondering what difference gender actually makes in the way an individual embraces and practices nonviolence. It felt like an odd question to raise, because the heroes and heroines of nonviolence have a fine way of transcending conventional gender scripts altogether. The almost maternal gentleness of a Cesar Chavez and the unyielding courage of an Aung San Suu Kyi (of the Burmese freedom struggle) confirm our sense that as a human being is "taken over" by the core tenet of nonviolence— the conviction that all of life is one – gender in the ordinary sense becomes meaningless.

That said, I have to add that the life stories of women whose names are, for me, synonymous with nonviolence do take on fresh meaning when read from the standpoint of gender. I'm inclined to think our understanding of nonviolence itself gets deepened in the process as well.

Tend and Befriend

Consider, for example, the discovery made several years ago by a pair of UCLA scientists – both women, as it happens – that the testosterone-fueled "fight or flight" response we'd been told was the human being's normal response to stress and threat is really only normal for men. Women are far more likely to slip into a "tend and befriend" mode: quiet the children, feed everyone, defuse the tension, and connect with other females. It's all about oxytocin, the hormone that kicks in to facilitate labor contractions and the "letdown" response in nursing mothers, but also, curiously, in moments of perceived danger. A woman who believes her children are directly threatened will fight unto the death, but only, it appears, when she's exhausted other strategies.

Both "fight or flight" and "tend and befriend" are adaptive behaviors acquired in our remote, pre-human past. Among chimpanzees, our nearest relations, males patrol the territory within which the females and infants feed. They're primed to fight because nobody's DNA will get reiterated if they don't. Females are rarely out on those frontlines; they're more typically engaged in direct care of their offspring.

Broadly speaking, then, it's never been particularly adaptive for women to engage in direct combat. This fact does not make women inherently better at practicing nonviolence, but it does mean that women tend to come at it from a somewhat different direction and even live it out rather differently.

Most conversations about women and nonviolence begin by noting that Mahatma Gandhi said he'd learned nonviolence from his wife Kasturba – specifically, from her ability to resist his "petty tyrannies" without ever withdrawing her love or being anything but gentle and patient. In fact, Kasturba was behaving as devout Hindu wives always have, and she could have gone on doing it for another thousand years without giving rise to the "science" of nonviolence if Gandhi himself hadn't been poised on one of those critical tipping points in consciousness. Because he was desperate for a way to transform the powerlessness of his oppressed countrymen into power, something clicked, and he asked himself the kind of simple question we associate with genius: "What if a man were to behave in this way toward his oppressor? What if a man were to lower his fists, drop his gun or his sword or his club, and refuse to fight?

And of course the rest is history.

When a man decides he will not retaliate, but search instead for common ground, and cultivate love and respect for his opponent, he is going against millions of years of conditioning, and the life stories of men who have made this decision suggest that it can feel very much like a religious conversion or "metanoia" – a dramatic reversal and a powerful re-direction of one's whole being that is both revelatory and profoundly energizing.

From "Bubble" to Action

Women, on the other hand, are rarely stirred in the same way by the idea of renouncing violence. Yet there is, I believe, a comparable "Eureka!" moment in the life of a woman who gives herself over to nonviolence – a Peace Pilgrim, a Dorothy Day, a Mother Antonia – and that is when she voluntarily steps out of the relatively safe, secure, and comfortable enclosure that men-with-guns have traditionally provided for "their" women and moves into places where there is no guarantee she will be safe at all, or even remotely comfortable: the open road in one case, the slums of New York City and Chicago in the second, and a Tijuana prison in the third.

Sister Helen Prejean was forty-two when she left what she calls the "terrarium" or the "bubble" of the comfortable convent in one of New Orleans' better suburbs and moved to the Projects. Within a few months Sister Helen had begun the work that would make her the world's best known opponent of the death penalty. The thrill of walking out of "safe places" into direct contact with her fellow

human beings is a leit motif through all of Sister Helen's writings and speeches. She connects it with "wildness" and a way of life that is increasingly unscripted and improvisational. The winds of grace are blowing through her life now, she says, filling it with joy and almost limitless energy.

There is another and related way in which the nonviolent work of women tends to take a somewhat different tack from that of men. Ella Baker is a good case in point.

Ella who?

Exactly.

Ella Baker is often described as "an unsung heroine of the Civil Rights movement." In the literal sense that's not true, because of all the songs that the black women's a cappella group Sweet Honey in the Rock performs, none is more beloved than "Ella's Song," composed by Sweet Honey founder Bernice Johnson Reagon. The song begins in Ella Baker's own words, "We who believe in freedom cannot rest." Initially a member of Martin Luther King's inner circle, Ella Baker went her own way after two years at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference because she disagreed with its policy of strong central leadership. She gave herself over instead to grassroots organizing, working with young people in particular because she believed that "strong people don't need strong leaders." Today her memory is honored at the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights in Oakland, where an initiative is being launched this summer called Reclaim the Future. The plan is "to build a constituency that can transform urban America by creating jobs, reducing violence and honoring the earth."

Building a New Society

Ella Baker's work, and the work going on today in her name, represents the dimension of nonviolence that Gandhi called, in language that is almost dauntingly prosaic, "Constructive Program."

The spinning wheel was the rallying point, and women the backbone, of

Fannie Lou Hamer and Ella Baker

oil on linen, 36" x 48" • Copyright Simmie Knox, www.simmieknox.com

Constructive Program, a far-reaching plan to rebuild India from the ground up into a nation that was so strong and self-reliant that it simply couldn't be colonized any longer: The British would leave not so much because they'd been defeated but because a certain kind of hypnotic spell had been broken for colonized and colonizer alike. Dorothy Day envisioned much the same goal for the Catholic Worker movement: "to build a new society within the shell of the old" – a shell that would break and fall away when the life within it couldn't be contained any longer. Quaker sociologist Elise Boulding agrees, arguing that only by building sturdy "cultures of peace" will we be able finally to crowd out cultures of war and violence.

Constructive Program and its analogs are "preventive nonviolence," or even "stealth nonviolence," because they address the root causes of violence – racism, poverty, and militarism for example – at the level of community, neighborhood, and family. Building cultures of peace is long-haul work, undramatic and unheralded, and often infinitely tedious, and most of the people doing it probably don't even think of themselves as practitioners of nonviolence.

Maybe it's time they did.

Resources

Ella Baker Center for Human Rights: www.ellabakercenter.org
Friends of Peace Pilgrim: www.peacepilgrim.com
The Catholic Worker Movement: www.catholicworker.org
Two Rock Institute: www.tworock.org
Sweet Honey in the Rock: www.sweethoney.com

Carol Flinders of Two Rock Institute is the author of the newly-released Enduring Lives: Living Portraits of Women of Faith In Action. It profiles four contemporary women who she believes live and work in the "spiritual mother-line" of women like Saint Teresa of Avila and Saint Catherine of Genoa.

Karen Ridd's Nonviolent Miracle

Peacemaker looks death in the eye and sees a friend

Lani Lee

In an address to the International Peace Bureau conference, Karen Ridd states that to resist is "not to oppose, to reject, to refuse, but to take a stand. We often think, incorrectly, of resistance as being simply opposition. And that is only half the truth. For to take a stand is to be grounded in vision in a new way."

Grounded in her belief of nonviolence, Ridd's resistance to the Guatemalan military illustrates the power of human compassion at its highest.

While volunteering for Peace Brigades International (PBI) in 1989, Ridd and her friend Marcella Rodriguez were suddenly arrested by the Guatemalan military. On suspicion of affiliation with the guerrilla group FMLN, the soldiers tied the women up and loaded them on a truck to a prison in El Salvador.

At the prison, Ridd and Rodriguez were interrogated for hours by the soldiers. Tortured and blindfolded, the women prepared for death. Together they listened to the screams and cries of other prisoners detained indefinitely on unknown charges.

Ridd used the power of compassion to make the soldiers see the situation from her point of view. Her words transformed their way of thinking and moved them closer to her in spirit.

PBI alerted the Canadian embassy and sent an official to rescue Ridd. The soldiers removed Ridd's blindfold. Opening her eyes, Ridd saw Rodriguez for the first time inside the prison. This image of her friend sitting helpless against the wall moved her. As she was led out of the barracks and released to the Canadian Embassy official, Ridd was relieved to be alive and free, however, she knew she could not leave her friend.

Turning back, not knowing exactly what would happen, Ridd returned to Rodriguez. The soldiers were shocked. Handcuffing her they laughed and asked if she had come back for more. Ridd then tried to explain why she had returned: "You know what it's like to be separated from a compañero."

This got to them. The soldiers, so moved by Ridd's words, released Ridd and Rodriguez.

Ridd's experience is an important example of nonviolent power.

Using words that the soldiers could relate to, Ridd used the power of compassion to make the soldiers see the situation from her point of view. Moreover, Ridd's words had a psychological effect on the soldiers that transformed their way of thinking and moved them closer to her in spirit.

Beyond all hatred and darkness, beyond the torture and pain, Ridd looked at her attackers as people.

After all, what is so different between the oppressor and the victim?

As Ridd demonstrates, the key to power is finding commonalities between individuals, such as the human need for acceptance, love, and community, and to use this power as a persuasive force of the heart.

So often, power is used in a negative way to satisfy a desire or harm someone, such as the power used by the soldiers.

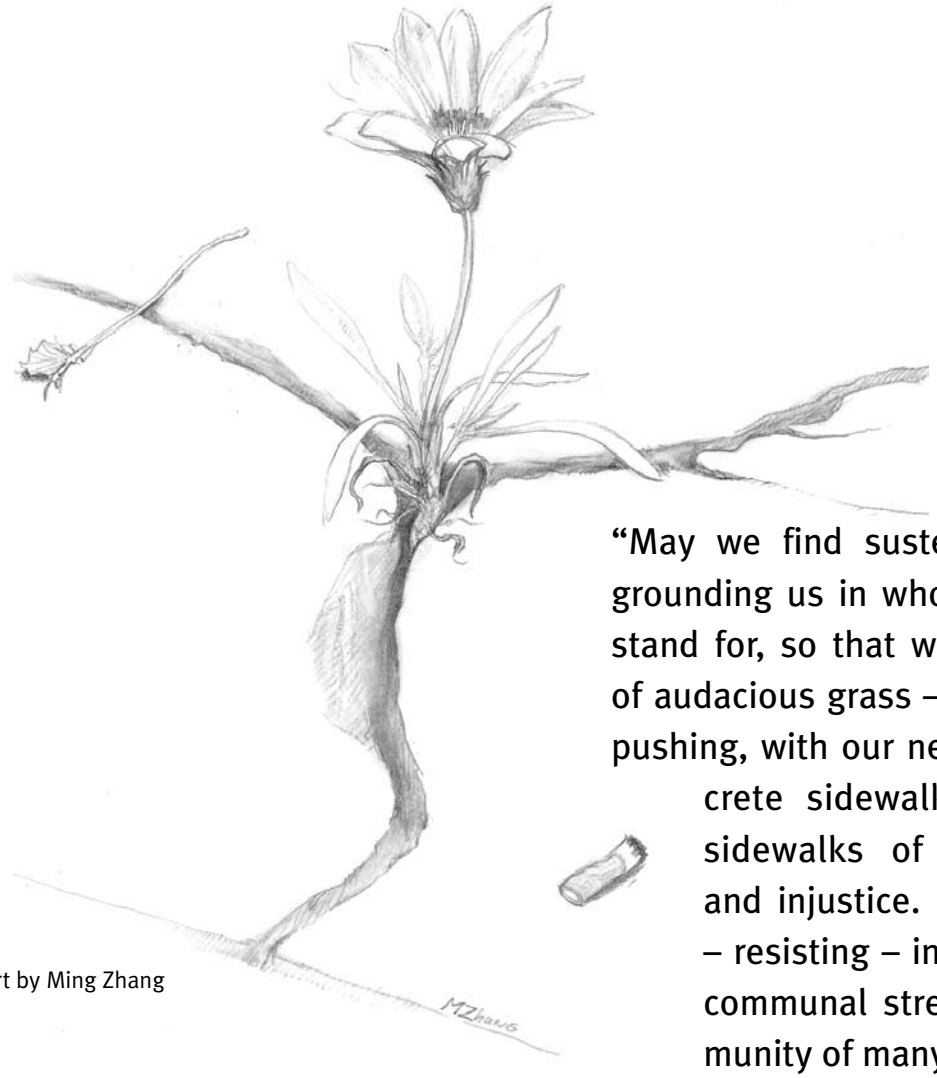
Those that utilize power as a threat or exchange to get what they want, justify their actions by emphasizing the ideology that "there is no other way" and that things are normal.

They claim that it is normal and necessary to have power or superiority over a group in order to take control of a situation and establish or maintain order. However, this is a top down approach to power instead of a circular integrative approach.

In other words, what is known as "threat power" is a type of force that devalues one individual and increases the value of the other. The "superior" uses this kind of power selfishly to get what he or she desires. Similarly, "exchange power" works as a type of trade between individuals, a barter or bribe for human life. This commoditization of human life creates a hierarchy of who is worth saving because an individual's life is being weighed against monetary worth.

This negative power helps no one and in fact, only helps to create a greater thirst for power. Examples are apparent in states of exception in which times call for desperate measures that may go outside the boundaries of law, such as war and terrorism. In these states of crisis, for instance, a government official may make an exception of his power, expanding it to deal with the situation. In claims of protecting the country and its people, this government official uses threat power to fix the crisis, thus making violence acceptable.

In this approach, power is not distributed evenly amongst the masses, but rather amongst the few. However, as Ridd



art by Ming Zhang

"May we find sustenance for our roots, grounding us in who we are and what we stand for, so that we can leave as blades of audacious grass – strengthened to keep pushing, with our new vision through concrete sidewalks of our world, the sidewalks of militarism, violence, and injustice. May we keep pushing – resisting – in the knowledge of the communal strength of a world community of many blades of grass."
– Karen Ridd

illustrates, power is alive inside of every individual as it rests in each heart, soul, and spirit.

Ridd explains, "When we are grounded in who we are, when we are grounded in what we believe, when we are grounded in what we stand for, then we can truly resist. When we act, not out of opposition, but out of love, then we can most effect change."

Grounded in her love of humanity, Ridd resisted the violence and threat of the soldiers. Empowered by this love, Ridd reached out to the soldiers, not in opposition, but rather standing with them as equals. Ridd's story therefore echoes the power of compassion and confirms Gandhi's beliefs that love for the oppressor is the foundation of nonviolent resistance.

Taking such a stand is not always easy. In times of overwhelming violence and prejudice, one person's resistance may seem to have little effect. However, as Ridd puts it, one must be the grass that grows in the cracks of the sidewalk: "it's like it sprouts up and people pull it out or try to mow it down. And then, irresistibly, it comes up again. Bit by bit it even forces cracks into the concrete, despite the best efforts of the sidewalk –tender."

In other words, the power to resist violence and transform negativity arises from inside oneself. As long as one is grounded in his or her beliefs, one's resistance is unbreakable.

Currently, Ridd is an instructor in Conflict Resolution Studies at Menno Simons College. She also works as a professional clown, coordinates meditation training programs, and is a consultant for third party nonviolent intervention groups such as PBI.

PBI is a non-governmental organization (NGO) which sends teams of volunteers into areas of repression and conflict such as places in Columbia, Guatemala, Indonesia, and Mexico. The volunteers work to deter violence, protect human rights, and promote nonviolent transformation of conflicts.

Resources

Peace Brigades International: www.pbi.org

The Search for a Nonviolent Future by Michael N. Nagler

Cultural Disobedience: The Power of the Margins

Chelsea Collonge

Women clergy

As an active member of the queer community as well as a student of nonviolence, I am uncomfortable with gender roles. I have a complicated relationship with my own feminine identity, and so the idea of women having a special place in nonviolence is hard for me. However, I'm realizing that I want to approach this article in an archetypically feminine way—embodied in tangible reality rather than abstract thought alone, focusing on relationship with the reader. I believe that people of all genders can draw on this feminine energy, and perhaps our world would have less violence if more people did. Regardless, I thank you for walking this journey of an article with me.

My thoughts about cultural disobedience began when I was driving home from the Nevada nuclear test site through the rolling Sierra foothills. My coworker Amy told me of a friend who was sadly disappointed when he visited Camp Casey, where Cindy Sheehan was camping outside of Bush's ranch last summer. He saw two camps positioned on opposite sides of the street and refusing to talk to each other, with the energy so far from nonviolence's potential for reconciliation and mutual understanding (though more peaceful interactions did happen later on, as people gathered courage). It made me think of my own experience in antiwar protests on campus, when counter-protestors have shown up and the two groups have just yelled at, or over, each other. In these situations I want to reach out to the other side and try to change the adversarial dynamic, but I rarely muster the courage. In a culture that promotes argument and right-wrong, us versus them thinking, efforts to connect with my adversaries require cultural disobedience.

Albert Einstein, who called for a reformed "way of thinking" after humanity's development and use of the atomic bomb, remarked that "few people are capable of expressing with equanimity opinions which differ from the prejudices of their social environment. Most people are even incapable of forming such opinions." Before we can engage in civil disobedience, we must find the mental space in which we can critically examine the messages society immerses us in. This is especially important for resisting what Johan Galtung calls cultural violence—the ideologies that promote division among different peoples and that form the justification for much of the violence in our world. It's easy for any peace activist to see that American society is soaked in cultural violence and militarism. Nevertheless, much of our action for peace fails to embody peace, and I believe that the difficulty of being culturally disobedient explains why. As Alfred Alder points out, in our fighting society "it is easier to fight for one's principles than to live up to them."

The importance of cultural disobedience -- as a foundation for civil disobedience and for a consistent expression of nonviolence -- points to why so often spirituality is symbiotic with nonviolence. Having a higher allegiance, or a belief in a reality beyond the one we experience, can provide the necessary distance to critique our earthly cultures, as well as lessen our attachment to the status quo. This weekend I had the deep blessing of attending a Women's Ordination Conference, joining 120 other Catholic women who are agitating for the admission of women to the priesthood. It would be hard to find a more marginalized group in Catholicism than women who feel called to priesthood. And yet from this place of marginality they are able to criticize the earthly Church by holding it to the higher law of Jesus' inclusive gospel. It struck me how in addition to their obstructive program of advocacy and protest (what they call "the ministry of irritation"), they are enacting Gandhian constructive program in the truest sense: going ahead and ordaining themselves, forming women-led house churches, and consecrating the Eucharist. As with all constructive program, this adher-

ence to the-world-as-it-should be eventually leads to conflict with the authorities and the potential for change.

Of course spirituality is not necessary to be a nonviolent actor. Barbara Deming, a second wave feminist, lifelong peace activist, and influential theorist of nonviolence, was a strong proponent of secular nonviolence. She was also a lesbian, automatically occupying the margins of the present social order. Many radical queers today, myself included, experience this outcast space in American society as highly transformative, enabling solidarity with all other groups for whom this system is not working. Because my sexuality makes it impossible for me to be obedient to my culture, I experience a freedom of thought and allegiance that is similar to freedom of spirit. Dorothy Day, a lifelong practitioner of cultural disobedience, said that "our only problem is our faith in the dirty rotten system." She also said that responding to the seriousness of the world's situation is "a question of living your life in dramatically different ways." It is so much easier to do this when your culture already excludes you from the dominant way of life.

Women priests

Deming also gifted us with a powerful metaphor for nonviolence, that of the two hands: "have as it were two hands upon [the oppressor]—the one calming him, making him ask questions, as the other makes him move." A moving example of this comes from Deming's own life. In 1983, Deming was one of 54 women arrested at the Seneca Women's Peace Encampment in upstate New York. Marines attempted to break up the action by force, but the women formed a circle on the ground, giving the double message, "We are no threat to you, but we will not be bullied; we will not be bullied, but we are no threat to you." Nonviolence combines a masculine self-assertion with a feminine desire to connect, in this case with the humanity of the oppressor.

Could women's knack for extending a hand be less about their channeling of feminine energy and more about the talent for reconciliation that the oppressed must develop in order to survive? Although nonviolence is not a tool of the weak, women do have a special potential to bring transformation precisely because of their marginal status. Wasn't it Jesus-- nonviolent actor, challenger of religious, economic, and yes, gender norms of his day, as well as victim of the death penalty-- who proclaimed that the meek shall inherit the earth? Yes—but we will recreate it first.

Barbara Deming, feminist and nonviolent political activist

> "Have as it were two hands upon [the oppressor]—the one calming him, making him ask questions, as the other makes him move."
>
> --Barbara Deming

The Third Intifada continued from p. 16

...saved 1,200 dunams of land with 3,000 olive trees from confiscation. Many other West Bank villages have adopted the resistance model of Budrus, the most well-known being the village of Bil'in (see "No to Occupation, Yes to Community," *PeacePower*, Winter 2006). Today, more than 35 villages have established popular committees against the Wall and carry on "The Third Intifada" that the small village of Budrus originally launched.

Such a movement, based on justice, peace, and nonviolence has already proven its ability to force the Israeli government to alter its policies. However, to end the construction of the Wall and the military occupation, the "third nonviolent Intifada" must grow consistently among Palestinians, Israelis, and internationals. Numerous cases in the past including the Indian Freedom Movement, the South African Anti-Apartheid Movement, People Power in the Philippines, and the recent Cedar Revolution in Lebanon, have proven that nonviolent movements are capable of toppling the most brutal regimes. Many foresee that a similar movement will be able to end the Israeli military occupation of Palestine and generate a sustainable positive peace that will benefit all the people of this region.

The Quaker Martyr Mary Dyer and the Principles of Nonviolence at Work

Casey McEachern

I. Introduction

On September 12th, 1659 Governor John Endicott summarized the frustrations of Massachusetts Bay authorities, stating: "We have made many laws […] to keep ye away from us and neither whipping, nor imprisoning, nor cutting of ears nor banishment upon pain of death will keep ye away from us. I desire not your death!" The 'ye' Endicott refers to were the dangerous and growing sect known as Quakers. In the weeks prior to Endicott's impassioned plea, the courts issued a death sentence for anyone practicing Quakerism in Massachusetts Bay. The edict was the culmination of a series of increasingly violent laws aimed at uprooting the seeds of the Quaker religion from the fertile soil of the New World. "This court doth order and enact," the document stated,

> that every Person or Persons of the accused sect of Quakers [in Massachusetts bay] shall be apprehended […] to close prison, there to remain without bail […] where they shall have a trial by a special jury and being convicted to be of the Sect of Quakers, shall be banished upon the pain of death.[2]

In the seventeenth century, the Quakers seemed adversarial to their more strict and conservative Puritan peers. Abolishing priests, the equality of sexes, nonviolence—just a few of the Quaker ideologies the Puritans detested and feared. This literal death-threat, however, failed to deter Quaker missionaries. Indeed, one brave Quaker woman relished the opportunity to die for her faith, for her peers, and for the cause of religious tolerance. Mary Dyer's compelling narrative of martyrdom additionally illuminates four key laws of nonviolence, and thus aids in our understanding of the power of nonviolent resistance.

First, the Quaker-Puritan conflict follows closely the Conflict Escalation Curve.[3] Michael Nagler, founder and current professor of Peace and Conflict Studies at

A statue honoring the life and death of The Quaker Mary Dyer stands in front of the Boston State House

UC Berkeley, argues that conflict escalates in three distinct stages, as measured by the passage of time and level of dehumanization. In stage one, both parties are still in communication via letters, petitions, and mediation sessions. However, when these diplomatic means fail, one side begins to severely dehumanize the other in preparation for the ensuing violence. In stage two, violence, torture, or imprisonment is employed in an attempt to resolve the conflict. At this point, the nonviolent actor must accept "self-suffering" to reach the oppressor and breakdown the dehumanizing ideologies. At stage three, the dehumanization is so great that the nonviolent actor must be willing to sacrifice their life. Dyer's conflict follows perfectly the three stages of the Escalation Curve.

The next three terms constitute the core principles of nonviolent conflict and are all readily perceptible in Dyer's struggle. First, Dyer, as a Quaker, was dehumanized by her Puritan foes. Dehumanization paves the way for violent persecution as the hated individual or group is removed from the human, and thus moral, sphere of consideration. Dyer's willingness

to endure violence, however, renders her human once more in the eyes of her oppressors--a concept known as rehumanization. Finally, Dyer's nonviolent sacrifice converts a former foe into a Quaker companion, a phenomena dubbed 'nonviolent conversion.' In short, dehumanization allows for violent persecution while nonviolent suffering rehumanizes the persecuted individual, and, at its very best, converts previously intolerant individuals. As we analyze Dyer's story, try to identify all four of the nonviolent precepts at work:

Mary bravely went forward and was hung

1. Escalation Curve
2. Dehumanization
3. Rehumanization
4. Conversion

II. Dyer's Dire Decision: Life, Death, and Quakerism in Massachusetts Bay, 1654-1659.

From the outset of their arrival in the Massachusetts Bay colony, the Quakers faced an uphill battle in both openly practicing their religion and procuring converts. The Quakers' emphasis on the individual as the sacred unit of religion threatened the Puritanical social structure of the colony, which emphasized a patriarchal church hierarchy over individual will. Historian Patricia Bonomi writes: "The Quaker belief in a divine light, an inner radiance shed by God directly on the souls of individual men and women, struck Puritan leaders as a dire threat to the secular authority of law and magistracy."[4] Thus, Massachusetts Governor John Endicott, perceiving the Quakers as a threat to Puritan hierarchical control, publicly denounced the group as "malignant and assiduous Promoters of Doctrines directly tending to subvert both our Churches and State,"[5] while influential Puritan minister John Higginson, claimed that the sacred individual was nothing but a "sticking vapour from hell."[6]

In 1656 Endicott passed a law barring the immigration of Quakers to the colony. The law prohibited "all Masters of Ships to bring any Quakers to this Jurisdiction […] on Penalty of the House of Corrections."[7] Later that year, Endicott ordered imprisonment of Quakers, whippings, and torture—but not death. The death decree came three years later, in 1659; it was a ruling that greatly shaped the life of Mary Dyer.

Mary Dyer, as both a wife and mother, no doubt agonized over her decision: in September of 1659, Dyer, a Quaker, was permanently banned from the Massachusetts Bay colony. For seven months Dyer spent time with her husband and son, but ultimately decided that the principles of religious tolerance outweighed all of her commitments—even the familial. She returned to Boston on May 21st, 1660, preaching the merits of Quakerism. A shocked Governor Endicott could not believe his eyes: "Are you the same Mary Dyer that was here before?"[8] Mary answered undauntedly: "I am the same Mary Dyer that was here the last General Court […] let my Council and Request be accepted with you, To repeal all such Laws that the truth and servants of the Lord may have free passage among you."[9]

Mary was swiftly sentenced to death by hanging. On June 1st, at nine a.m. Dyer began her death march to the gallows. A massive crowd gathered to taunt Dyer. Yet, as she approached the gallows, a hush fell over the mob. The silence was punctured by a loud yell, "Mary, go back to Rhode Island where you might save your life. We beg of you!"[10] Mary, however, refused. Standing atop the gallows, the emotion of the crowd turned, and many pleaded, "That if she would return [to Rhode Island] she might come down and save her life."

Mary bravely went forward and was hung; her neck snapped and her lifeless body dangled in the wind. Dyer's dress billowed with the breeze. A weeping bystander remarked: "She hangs there as a flag for others to take example by."[11] And yet, amidst the persecution and death, a new life flourished. Edward Wanton, an officer placed under the

CONTINUED FROM P. 27 gallows to protect the structure was "so affected at the sight" of Mary's courageous sacrifice "he became a convert to the cause of the Friends [Quakers]." Three years later Wanton was arrested in Boston for holding a Quaker meeting in his home.[12]

After Dyer's death, the waves of remorse and empathy fused and Bay colonists lashed out at Governor Endicott. The harsh reactions of the colonists and Quaker sympathizers in England prompted Endicott to produce a written defense of the General Court's actions entitled, "An Exculpatory Address to King Charles II,"[13] a rationalization of state torture and execution, which "incurred the King's Displeasure."[14] The king, in turn, reversed the death penalty, and halted all other forms of harassment. The amazing reversal in fortune testifies to the anger and outrage of the Bay citizens. Charles II wrote:

> Having been informed that several of our Subjects among you, called Quakers have been and are imprisoned by you, whereof some have been executed [...] you are forebear to proceed any farther, but that you forthwith send the said Persons over to this our Kingdom.[15]

Apparently the public demanded more from Governor Endicott, for shortly after the repeal of the death penalty and the manumission of Quaker prisoners, the jailing of Quakers, strictly based on their religious beliefs, was outlawed altogether. And although whippings were never abolished, the floggings were applied in "three towns only."[16]

III. Principles at Work

The first principle of nonviolence--the escalation curve--is observable in the evolution of the struggle: from slander (stage one), to imprisonment and torture (stage two), and ultimately death (stage three). The slander also signals the beginnings of dehumanization. That is, violence was more easily perpetrated on the Quakers precisely because they were cast as outsiders. However, Mary Dyer's willingness to suffer--her nonviolent resistance--rehumanized her in the eyes of her captors. Thus, the crowd that assembled to taunt her instead pleaded for her release and, after her death, demanded that the king enact more merciful laws concerning Quakers. Finally, Edward Wanton, a gallows officer, experienced a nonviolent conversion; instead of hanging people, Wanton converted to Quakerism and now attempted to "save people's souls."

IV. Conclusion: History's Secret

Alongside the dominant historical narrative of violence lies a subtle, albeit equally powerful, narrative of nonviolence. That is, hidden beneath the bloody skirmishes of our Earth's past are numerous historical examples of conflicts resolved nonviolently. And this is history's secret—juxtaposed with this violence is the answer to a more peaceful future; it simply awaits our excavation. It is my hope that I have provided a modicum of the tools used to 'excavate' nonviolent stories and that you, the reader, can aid in their discovery.

Edward Wanton, an officer placed under the gallows to protect the structure was so affected at the sight of Mary's courageous sacrifice he became a convert to the cause.

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Forgiveness and Reconciliatory Process in Sudan: *Speaking the Unspeakable*

Daniel Akau

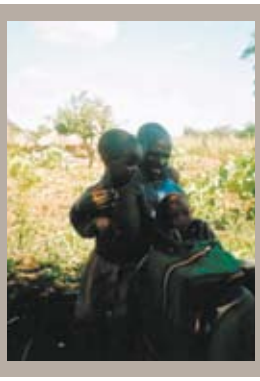
What is not said when needed to be said, and what is said and never implemented in conflict resolution often breeds, prolongs, and complicates existing conflicts. Further, this even creates more conflicts and unhealthy tension in society. This article attempts to show that not speaking the truth about the Sudanese tragic past, Sudan's policy of Arabization and Islamization, and not implementing authentically the numerous promises pledged in peace negotiations during the past two civil wars between South and Northern Sudan, has resulted into multifaceted conflicts in the Sudan, consequently making forgiveness and reconciliatory process difficult in Sudan. Speaking the unspeakable truth in resolving Sudanese conflicts is an absolute necessity if Sudanese people need to co-exist in peace. The truth about the causes of perennial civil wars in Sudan is that there are serious deep-rooted problems of injustice, the inequitable distribution of the common good, wealthy and political power that have been practiced by numerous Sudan successive governments since independence. This manifests itself historically and presently in the continuous long-term plan of Arab and Islamist government in Khartoum to gradually and forcefully assimilate the African Sudanese into Arabism and Islamic civilization. Speaking about these truths and doing something about it is vital in forgiveness and reconciliation processes in Sudan.

Naomi Roht-Arriazza identifies four aspects of forgiveness that I find applicable in addressing Sudanese conflicts as follows:

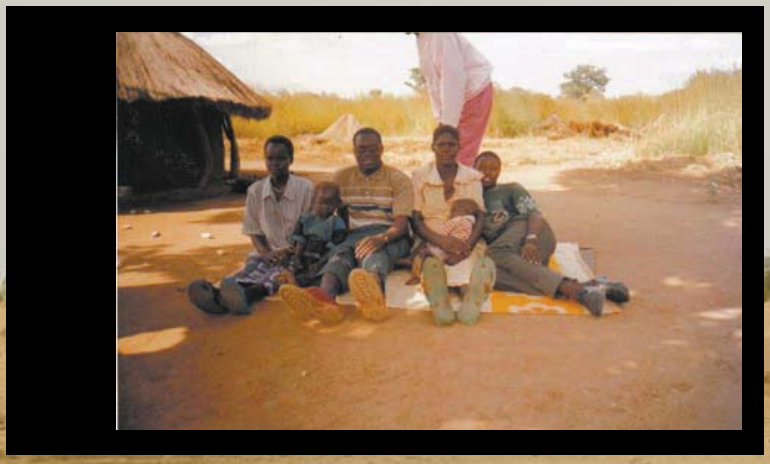
> *First, forgiveness by society is never an isolated or a gratuitous act. Forgiveness is a process designed to restore moral, to reaffirm the validity of the norm that has been violated. Second, reconciliation requires that the wrongdoer admits what he did or accept what others say about it, so that the Truth can be known. Thirdly, the wrongdoer must not just admit the crime, but must also acknowledge that it was wrong. Fourthly, the wrongdoer then atones for the act and resolves not to do it again—he then compensates those who were wronged.*[1]

This understanding of forgiveness and reconciliation brings not only peace in society but also healing of both victims and perpetrators. Following this model of forgiveness, the Sudanese need to recognize and speak about existing injustices. The northern Islamist and Arab dominated government in Khartoum, for example, should recognize that Southern Sudanese, Darfurians and Eastern Sudanese have equal rights in sharing opportunity in national power, wealth and in decision-making process. Racial and religious laws like Islamic Sharia that discriminate many Sudanese should be rooted out in government policy. A recognition and acceptance of this truth spoken, however bitter it is, will be the only prerequisite that will facilitate forgiveness and reconciliatory peace process in Sudan. Truth telling needs be told when dealing with forgiveness and reconciliation. In reconciliation peace processes, there should not be a pretense exhibit among the parties involved.

As Desmond Tutu writes,



A man with his two kids, one very sick one on his laps and the other one having no cloth on his chest.



Daniel Akau with Sudanese refugees struggling to survive the dangerous diaster caused by the Sudan government on its citizens it is supposed to protect.

Forgiving and being reconciled are not about pretending that things other than they are. It is not patting one another on the back and turning a blind eye to the wrong. True reconciliation exposes the awfulness, the abuse, the pain, the degradation, the truth. It could even sometimes make things worse. It is a risky undertaking but in the end it is worthwhile, because in the end dealing with real situation helps to bring real healing. Spurious reconciliation can bring only spurious healing.[2]

Here, Tutu's words speak straight to the Sudanese, revealing not only to them but us to all, that forgiveness and reconciliation is painfully achieved. Signing papers or documents in agreements is without addressing deep-rooted causes of conflicts is insufficient. For instance, during the 1972 South-North Sudan peace agreement to end the seventeen years of civil war in Sudan, pertinent issues were not addressed. If some of them were tackled, they were honestly not implemented, which is a fact that resulted in cheap forgiveness and reconciliation. The consequence was the Sudan's second deadliest civil war from 1983-2004 that claimed over 2 million lives and over 5 million internally displaced persons and refugees. These civil wars have been responsible for the deed-seated hatred, distrust and suspiciousness between South and Northern Sudanese.

In order to avoid continuous conflicts in Sudan and to promote peaceful co-existence among the various ethnic groups, a forum for truth telling similar to that of South Africa would be a good beginning to facilitate forgiveness and reconciliation in the Sudan. South Africa's experience of seeking to tell what truly happened in the past as a priority makes truth telling necessary in resolving present Sudan conflicts from recurring in the future. The current conflicts in Darfur and Eastern Sudan, for example, are due to the fact that Sudanese have failed to tell truth in resolving their conflicts; parties involved in conflict resolution have never really faced very pertinent causes of the conflict with honesty and authenticity. A genuine will to face the Sudanese painful past by boldly addressing it through truth telling under a Truth and Reconciliation Commission is of an absolute necessity.

According to Desmond Tutu the TRC formed by Nelson Mandela and headed by him is not about revenge, retaliation or retributive justice, but it encourages accountability and responsibility among the perpetrators of social injustices. In his words, TRC "assists in the cultivation of the new culture of respect for human rights and the acknowledgment of responsibility and accountability for the new democracy it wishes to be characterized by."[3] Instead of retributive justice, TRC emphasizes a kind of home-found restorative justice, which is African jurisprudence. "...in the spirit of Ubuntu the central concern is the healing of breaches, the redressing of imbalances, the restoration of broken relationships, a seeking to rehabilitate both the vicitims and the perpetrators, who should be given the opportunity to be reintegrated into the community they have injured by their offense."[4] Tutu sounds here as if he extricates perpetrators from moral responsibility. No. Those identified as perpetrators are still morally responsible. His concern is more about future healthy existence as a community of people sharing the same humanity that claims us as inextricably bound together in relatedness and interdependency. He writes,

Our humanity is caught up in that of all others. We are human because we belong. We are made for community, for togetherness, for family, to exist in a delicate network of interdependence... We are sisters and brothers of one another whether we like it or not and each one of us is a precious individual. It does not depend on things such as ethnicity, gender, political, social economic, or educational status—which are all extrinsic. Each person is not just to be respected but to be revered as one created in God's image"[5] *...[and] "we are bound together by bonds of caring humanity, a universal sense of ubuntu...."*[6]

In forgiveness and reconciliation peace processes, "truth telling," Aryeh Neier writes, "is seen as an obligation to the victims, their families, and friends; as a means to resolve any doubts about what happened; as way to establish a record that, in and of itself, is an expression of respect for the worth of the victim; as a means to stigmatize those who committed great crimes;
and as a way to resist predictable attempts to rewrite history."[7]

In conclusion, a realization of our connectivity with one another by our virtue of being humans and from a religious perspective that we are all made in the image in of God, and hence, we are all brothers and sisters who need one another greatly in our daily relationship, can be a starting point to work for forgiveness and reconciliation. Sudanese and many other justice and peace loving people should keenly take the African universal sense of humanity that can help us see the other, not as stranger, but a fellow human being who needs respect, fair treatment and equal respect for human dignity. The need to administer justice and the common good in any human society is an awareness of the tact that "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere," said Martin Luther King Jr. in his letter at Birmingham Jail.

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100th Anniversary of Satyagraha - cont. from p. 8

Yuri Tanaka, PeacePower

The 100th anniversary of Satyagraha gives us a chance to make a constructive change through the philosophy of Gandhi. In his words, "Satyagraha is a law of universal application. Beginning with the family, its use can be extended to every other circle," and it is an attribute of the spirit within. The action I propose is to start with an inner change in our mind and to be the "actor of love." That is, to get rid of all assumptions you have towards someone who you are not comfortable with or even hate and to engage in a dialogue with and ultimately love them. Developing a sense of compassion is also a key element. The ground rule is to act fearlessly whatever may occur. Say in a ringing voice, "Even if you disown me, I will devote my life to you." Try to remember that the person is worthy of respect. Then, we will never use violent words or action. As Gandhi noted, "A Satyagrahi loves his so-called enemy even as he loves his friend. He owns no enemy." Through these processes, a peaceful environment around us will be born. With the legacy of Gandhi, we can strive towards a peaceful world with love, fearlessness, and holding on to truth from within. The force of love is contagious.

For more about Satyagraha, visit blog.mettacenter.org, and search for "Satyagraha."

Four artists from Africa constructed Tree of Life. This sculpture is made up of pistols, AK-47 rifles, and rocket-propelled grenade launchers— weapons from the Mozambique civil war that were collected and decommissioned by the Transforming Arms into Tools project. The weapons used to construct the sculpture are a reminder of the bloody seventeen-year long war, but the artists make from this miserable reality, a symbol of peace.

"Dead Man Walking": The Journey to abolish the Death Penalty Continues

Carrie Brode

Sister Helen Prejean is a Catholic nun who has dedicated her life to social justice, abolishing the death penalty, and helping the poor. She recently visited the UC Berkeley campus, bringing her wisdom about the true meaning of nonviolence to the community.

"When passion is given to us it is a gift," remarks Sister Helen Prejean as she speaks about her activism and dedication to nonviolence. She speaks with a certain calming effect, while at the same time she makes you want to rise from the crowd and speak out against injustice. People like Sister Helen, who have fought against the grain for something they believes in, are often so daunting in their accomplishments that I feel like I have so far to go in order to make a difference in the world. However, Sister Helen talks about passion as waiting to be found - anywhere, anytime. We just have to be open to it.

Many have asked Sister Helen why a nun is getting involved with murder in the first place. This question reminds me just how strongly our society is confined by categories. In our modern society everything and everyone has its place; we have clear boundaries around professions and duties. As a result, there are few people who, like Sister Helen Prejean, have redefined the familiar coniar concept of their duties and reached out beyond these boundaries. She points out that Jesus reached out to those who were in need instead of repaying hate with hate, and he stood up to the injustices of the world. She feels that following in his footsteps is certainly within the boundaries of her service as a nun. That is why she has spent over 20 years bringing awareness to what she calls "state-sanctioned murder."

Sister Helen Prejean, author of the book "Dead Man Walking," has exposed millions to the true nature of the death penalty

The United Nations has developed protocol with the goal to abolish the death penalty world wide, but within the U.S. thirty-eight states still have the death penalty according to the Death Penalty Information Center. When an execution occurs, Sister Helen points out, few look at it through the eyes of the mother who has to bury her child. Instead the execution of a criminal is thought of as delivering justice to the victim and his or her family. We need to ask ourselves: Does the exploitation of tragedy to excuse

Sister Prejean speaks passionately about the damaging cycle of "vengeance and violence" perpetuated by capital punishment

murder in the name of justice cease to bring about more death and suffering? The cycle of tragedy and suffering has no end in this system. The sensationalizing of the victims death only adds to the cycle of suffering instead of honoring the loss of the victim's family. As one of the father's of a victim told Sister Helen: "If I choose anger and bitterness they not only killed my children, but also my soul." Unfortunately, our culture often dismisses the act of forgiveness as easy and weak, when in fact it is far easier to hate and seek empty vengeance.

When Sister Helen witnessed her first execution of a man named Patrick Sonnier, who was sentenced to death in Louisiana for rape and murder, it made her physically ill. This strong physical reaction facilitated her realization that state executions are a secret ritual hidden from the public eye, and that unless you witness it yourself or know about the procedure it is easy for this system to remain acceptable. While Sister Helen was crystallizing her realizations, she found out that eighty percent of the people in Louisiana thought it was morally permissible to carry out the death penalty in order to protect society from these criminals.

Sister Helen is most famous for her book "Dead Man Walking," in which she wrote about Sonnier, the man on death row whom she worked with for some years. Her book was adapted to a motion picture featuring Susan Sarandon and Sean Penn, and of it has exposed millions of people to the controversial issue of the death penalty. Sister Helen wrote this book because she had witnessed this secret ritual and felt the need to share it with a society who otherwise would never know the reality of an execution. Through her interactions with Sonnier Sister Helen became aware of the many complicated issues surrounding the death penalty and the criminal justice system in the U.S. today, she has accompanied six people's executions as the spiritual advisor. Through her work Sister Helen has brought a little light into an otherwise dark world.

For Sister Helen, her role and duty to stand against the injustices of the death penalty were not always clear. She struggled with getting her word out, but she also struggled with realizing the breadth of her duty to society as a nun. Sister Helen told a group of students students during her visit to UC Berkeley that the line that changed her life was when she heard another nun say "Jesus preached good news to the poor." This conceptualized her calling in the community. Sister Helen now understands that following the path of Jesus, the path of forgiveness, isn't necessarily the easy path. To encompass this interpretation, Sister Helen felt that it meant more than working in an internal world, but uniting that world with the physical realm for an integrated spirituality. Sister Helen was also influenced by Liberation Theology, which sprung up in Latin America, highlighting the perspective of the poor for the social teaching of the Catholic Church. Bishops and nuns who adopted Liberation Theology were instrumental in helping the poor campesinos establish new lives, freeing them from dependence on a few large land-owning families. They were given help determining their own destiny. When Sister Helen speaks about social justice, not just abolishing the death penalty, it becomes clear that there is always a new road that can be forged, no matter how confining the current system appears. She encompasses the kind of creative thinking that allows for change.

Not only is passion a gift for each when it is found, but we all deserve because of our human dignity.

Resources:

Death Penalty Information Center Website:
http://www.deathpenaltyinfo.org/

Prejean, Helen. "Would Jesus Pull the Switch?"
http://salt.claretianpubs.org/issues/deathp/prejean.html

The Official Website of Helen Prejean, CSJ
http://www.prejean.org/

Revolutionary Reminders:

The Smallest Superpower

Nathan Maton-Parkinson

As citizens of the world who believe that change is needed, we often forget that the most powerful change is the one we can make in our own lives. Who do we have the most influence over? Ourselves. Yet we often sit at home and see so much pain and suffering in the world that we want tell people how to do it right! I know I've been out in the streets shouting "we want democracy and we want it now," and I've come to realize that neither anyone in that crowd or even I myself were mindful enough to represent just what it was we thought democracy meant.

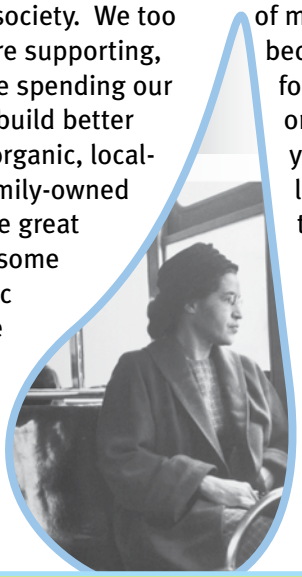
It is so silly to tell people what to do without embodying it. As Gandhi said, "Be the change you want to see in the world," or else how can people see why they should change? It doesn't make sense to tell people to recycle, reuse, or act from good intentions. It makes sense to do these things, which are a part of a nonviolent way of life, and see if they inspire change in others. Coercion has no place in nonviolence; we need to persuade people to crave a better planet. Once people understand why and happily embark on those actions, they will discover the smallest superpower - our daily actions. The truth is that the greatest power on this planet is not an army, it's not the atom bomb, it's not the legislative board of a country, it's not even Gandhi or Martin Luther King Jr. It is the power of our collective daily actions, for better or for worse. Our daily thoughts and deeds shape who we are as a society and what we stand for. Not even Gandhi managed to convince most Indians to truly embrace nonviolence as a way of life instead of employing it as a strategy for liberation.

The truth is that the greatest power on this planet is not an army, it's not the atom bomb, it's not the legislative board of a country, it's not even Gandhi or Martin Luther King Jr. It is the power of our collective daily actions, for better or for worse.

It would take a revolution of our cultural values to have a successful nonviolent movement, because if we want a permanent and sustainable change we will need a new lifestyle that integrates a continuing and deepening awareness of our daily actions. The result of such a nonviolent movement won't just be a new leader in the same old power structure, rather an entirely new mode of life that integrates and deepens awareness of our actions. Through our new mindfulness in our normal lives we would see that the current "democracy" has dropped off track on our journey towards global harmony.

A great example of people using the power of their daily deeds to change the world is that of the activists in the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Martin Luther King Jr., Rosa Parks, and the African American community of Montgomery understood that taking the bus, even if it was cheap and convenient, was at the same time supporting a system of segregation. So they boycotted the buses. By doing so, African Americans harnessed the true superpower and the white community's opposition quickly melted away. No other power could have overcome their nonviolent power. The Ku Klux Klan and traditional power structure threatened, attacked, threw bombs, terrorized, and even created new legislation to make it harder for these African American people. But nothing can overcome the realization of the power of mindful actions.

So how did this group of African Americans harness nonviolence? By evaluating their decision to ride on a bus that didn't represent their values and then changing their choice to support a healthier society. We too need to continue evaluating what we are supporting, who we are honoring, and where we are spending our energy to make sure that it is going to build better bonds. Just simple things like buying organic, locally-grown produce, patronizing small family-owned community businesses, or recycling, are great choices to begin researching. Growing some portion of the food you eat is a fantastic way to decrease plastic waste and save fossil fuels by preventing the same food from being shipped across the country. I work for a non-profit called Daily Acts, and we have a great list of little differences that you can make and explanations of how they make a difference. Check them out at: http://www.daily-acts.org/actions.html. Implementing the changes that we see fit is a beautiful power and the true use of our education.



Rosa Parks shows how far one small action can carry you.

Whatever else we do to better the world, we should focus on our part of the superpower by being mindful in our lives. Gandhi spoke of a concept he called svadeshi, which literally means "one's own region". However, Gandhi used svadeshi as a concept which meant to start a social revolution from the center of oneself, reflecting on each and every action that you partake in and making sure that it stems from good intentions. We are only able to create change in our own space, so that is where we should focus. In our choices, our homes, our work, and our local communities, that is where our primary responsibility as revolutionary activists continues to be.

Someone reading an early version of this article told me, "So, I've really been thinking about your article and I tried to figure out what to do to embody the smallest superpower, maybe you should add a little more about that." Yes ma'am! Here's the trick... start low and slow from humble I and ponder and cry about what it is that is making the world die, in your eye! Choose one thing you can do for a week or two, so that you can stay committed and continually grow in a way that will create a better relationship with someone or something. Because of you!

One of the first things I did on my journey was, for one week, whenever I spent money on myself - for clothes, food, or transportation - I'd spend an equal amount of money on another person. My friends loved me because every time we'd grab a cup of coffee, I'd pay for theirs. I even took a stranger out for a sandwich once that week. Just that focus on going out of your way and acting on good intentions, regardless of their notable effect (who really knows how this whole cause and effect thing works anyway), it starts to bring awareness to the smallest superpower. Then grow slow, stay true to what seems right in your heart and never think that your actions are in vain. The most powerful things that take place can't be explained or understood scientifically, so understand them as we did in the days of old, with some loving faith. And please do some of that research to convince our lovely Western civilization of the smallest superpower!

It sounds cliché, but a revolution of cultural values will have to grow as each one of us evaluates the space that we take on this planet and works to build healthier relationships with the world around us by discovering how to find bliss in each of our smallest and menial tasks. Inhale. As we develop an understanding of the effect of every action in each day and every second of our lives and make choices that build healthier relations, the old power structure will fall away and new values will be the final indication that we've made a sustainable change.

Growing your own food is a fantastic way to decrease plastic waste and save fossil fuels.

The Head of the Hammer

Personal Sacrifice in Campaigns of Active Nonviolence

Eugene Bahn

What difference does it make to the dead, the orphans, the wounded and homeless, whether the mad destruction is wrought under totalitarianism or the holy name of liberty or democracy?"

This is a paraphrase of a Gandhi quote. The only difference from the original, however, is that I added "the wounded." I first read this quote – and added the additional category of suffering – just before the March 2003 invasion of Iraq. As the world then contemplated the impending invasion, this quote caused me to contemplate, for the first time in my life, what nonviolence was all about.

I set out to learn all I could about nonviolence. At first I read only Gandhi's own words. Then I read what others had written about him. Then I read his autobiography. I followed up with Gene Sharp's multi-volume work on nonviolence; Eknath Easwaran's book on Badshah Khan; the From *Violence to Wholeness* program by Pace e Bene and their follow-up work, *Engage*. I also studied Bondurant's work on Gandhian philosophy, Nagler's writings on a nonviolent future, and much more. I read all I could get my hands on. From Gandhi, Jesus, Dr. King, Cesar Chavez and more, I learned much. Although each teacher was unique, and confronted a particular set of historical circumstances, I found in each of these exponents of nonviolence an understanding that self-sacrifice is key. Through their writings and the evidence of their lives, it is clear that each accomplished what they did because of their willingness to experience, and their actual experience of, personal suffering.

And so, this piece is about suffering.

The additional category of suffering, added to the Gandhi quote above, is especially important in light of the fact that nearly 90% of the victims of modern military action are civilians.(1) Reading Gandhi's quote on that cold day in March 2003, I felt for the first time the indiscriminate unfairness of armed conflict; learning the "90% statistic" catapulted that feeling of unfairness to the level of rank injustice. I realized that any change from violence to nonviolence on a societal level – whether it be stopping war or stopping segregation – must come from a willingness in those who are most deeply affected by the injustice to suffer for justice's sake.

What place does suffering have in today's efforts for justice? Let me give just a few of my favorite examples.

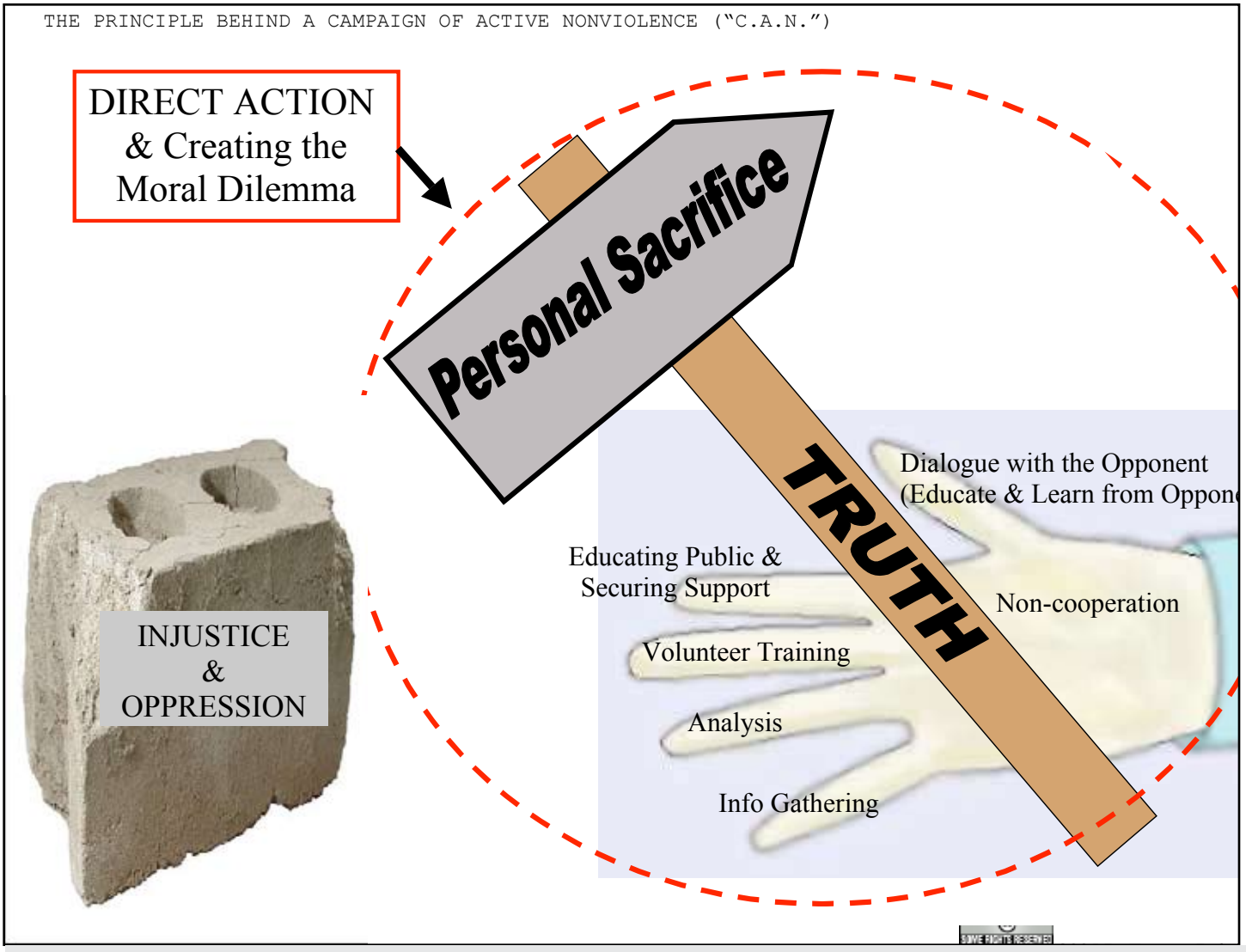
Julia Butterfly Hill saved Luna, the 1000-year old redwood tree, by living in the tree for 738 days. She suffered greatly at the hands of those who wanted to cut both her and the tree down, as well as by exposure to the elements during her two years and eight days living 180 feet off the ground in the Headwaters Forest in Northern California.

The Indian Dalits (formerly called "Untouchables") compelled orthodox Hindus to change their prejudiced attitudes about them by standing peacefully at a blockade erected to prevent them from using both a temple and the road leading to it. During the rainy season they stood facing the blockade in water up to their shoulders while the police manned the blockade in boats. Even after the Hindus removed the barrier, allowing the Dalits to use the road and the temple, the Dalits continued to stand there until the orthodox Hindus changed their attitudes about them. Overall it took 16 months.

> Suffering shows that you are serious about your cause, and when undergone with right motives and as a natural, necessary next step in a series of campaign phases – not merely as an empty tactic – its power is unmatched.

Nellie, Angelica, Aurora and Luzmila are four Bolivian women who worked to compel the oppressive regime to allow their husbands to return to their jobs in the tin mine. They succeeded in their goal by fasting – for 23 days. At one point, inspired by their example, 1,380 people were fasting with them, including a former Bolivian president.

In these examples, ordinary people suffering for a just cause made significant change possible. Note that suffering is not merely discomfort or inconvenience. Suffering results from prolonged personal experience with something profoundly undesirable, like hunger, cold, beatings, emotional and/or psychological abuse. Change was not achieved in these examples because the individuals took part in a once-a-week vigil for peace or a large rally in Washington, D.C. Rather, when all other efforts failed to produce the change they demanded, they chose to do something seriously unpleasant and personally risky for a prolonged period. Protesting with banners and placards and bullhorns on the sidewalks outside the "whites-only" restaurants in the South might have brought publicity and raised some public dialogue, but the only way the lunch counters were desegregated was by people being willing to defy an unjust law and to do so day after day



In order to help myself understand better what I had learned about suffering and about the workings of a campaign of active nonviolence (CAN), I developed a visual which I call the Hammer Schematic. Each phase of a campaign(4), each finger in the hand, is necessary in order to wield the hammer. When all phases are functioning well, we find that the operation of our fingers leads to rightful non-cooperation and to grasping ever more firmly the Truth of a situation. If change for justice has not yet occurred, then this grasping of Truth permits us to take the most important step of all, which is Personal Sacrifice. This whole process, when combined, constitutes Direct Action. Through correct direct action, the head of the hammer does its work of breaking down injustice and oppression.

despite being taunted, jeered, spit at, hit, burned by cigarettes and worse.

These examples show us that suffering is effective because it "demonstrates sincerity and cuts through the rationalized defenses of the opponent."(2) Gandhi spoke of "suffering without retaliation." In other words, personal sacrifice brings about the "moral dilemma." Suffering shows that you are serious about your cause, and when undergone with right motives and as a natural, necessary next step in a series of campaign phases –not merely as an empty tactic – its power is unmatched. The examples also make clear that suffering is effective in practice only when it is undergone for as long as it takes to produce change.

So where is the true suffering in today's peace movement in the United States? Can the peace movement even offer long-term campaigns with possibilities for suffering similar to those of Gandhi or King or Khan? I do not know. But I believe our efforts for peace are hampered both by the indirect nature of the injustices we battle and by the lack of mass willingness to suffer. Many of the injustices the U.S. peace movement fights today are indirect com-

CONTINUED ON P. 38

The Head of the Hammer (continued)

pared to those of other times and places. For example, the existence of the U.S. stockpile of nuclear weapons – while a grave injustice – does not exert the same direct injustice in our daily lives as "colored only" drinking fountains did. Globalization – while operating a serious injustice on the people and the planet – does not directly affect us here in the same way as having a foreign government run our lives and treat us as third class citizens. In addition, there have not been enough people willing to suffer for the same cause at the same time. For example, thousands go to the School of the Americas (SOA) each year to protest, but only a very small number of those cross the line and get arrested. Thousands march on Washington – for a weekend – and then return home to take care of what really matters to them. We have not yet reached a point where enough people are fed up enough to say "Enough!" to the government/corporations/media complex, and to risk health, limb and life in saying it. Imagine if those tens of thousands in Washington refused to go home, for as long as it took!

To use the nuclear weapons issue to further this point, imagine the U.S. government passes a law requiring each person to store and protect a nuclear missile in their home. In such a scenario, we would have the classic "unjust law,"(3) and an unjust law is the classic opportunity for a campaign of active nonviolence (what the Complete Coverage Campaign, see footnote 1, refers to as a "C.A.N."). Enormous numbers of people would oppose this law. A large number of people would be willing to disobey the law. Maybe a large enough number of people would be willing to risk imprisonment, beatings and even death rather than store a nuclear device, to bring about the "moral dilemma." The law would then most likely be repealed. But nuclear weapons do not affect us this way, and the SOA does not bother enough of us quite that much, and our military budget has not made enough people decide to stop paying taxes.

So we are left with the realization that "indirect injustice" often fails to inspire mass sacrifice. We must help each other move past our point of tolerance for cooperation with such injustice. We must search for ways to help each other see that we are living in the midst of grave injustice, that the injustice creates real danger for us personally, and that personal risk is potentially the only way to bring about a more just condition.

Three thoughts help me in this endeavor. One is the smug statement of former Secretary of State Alexander Haig, quoted on the War Resisters League poster about war tax resistance: "Let them march all they want, just so long as they continue to pay their taxes." The second is knowing that Julia Butterfly Hill was not directly affected by the clear cutting of old growth trees, at least not until she decided to climb up one and stay there for the duration. The third is the concept of the frog in the pot of water. Put a frog in a pot of water on the stove. Increase the heat a few degrees at a time. The increase in heat is so gradual that the frog cooks to death before it is even aware that it should jump out. We are all frogs in the pot.

References

1. UNICEF, The State of the World's Children, 1996. This statistic has been a key component to the efforts of The Complete Coverage Campaign (www.CompleteCoverageCampaign.org). The CCC seeks to compel the mainstream/corporate media to present comprehensive coverage of the civilian situation in Iraq in the same way they cover any other humanitarian crisis.
2. Bondurant, Joan V., Conquest of Violence, The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict, Princeton University Press, 1988, pg. 228.
3. Note that the modern U.S. nonviolence movement spends much time and energy disobeying "just laws," e.g. laws prohibiting trespass, which are usually applied in a fair manner, i.e. not with discriminatory effect.
4. I adapted the phases from the Pace e Bene From Violence to Wholeness materials, adding "Volunteer Training" and "Educating & Learning from the Opponent" because of our experience with the Complete Coverage Campaign.

Letters to the Editor (cont. From p. 2)

Dialogue with religious perspectives

I was reading over the letter from Rev. Roger VanDerWerken and the response to Roger in our last issue (Winter 2006). I really like some of the dialogue and think it's really healthy. I will briefly sum up the relevant parts before proceeding with my response. Roger's original letter discussed his perception of the "reality" of evil in the world, the Christian scriptural passage about obeying political authority (1 Ptr. 5.13-14), and the hope that we punish those doing evil while we commend those who do well. Two of our editors responded to his letter by highlighting a common concern for security and peace, but draw attention to the "conditions" of our situation, while suggesting an alternative paradigm and set of methods. In response to the scriptural reference by Roger, they quote Prof. Michael Nagler to argue that Jesus' submission was "intensely subversive," but also that Peter's letter itself was "extreme and arguably counter-Christian."

I wanted to add some thoughts about how to possibly respond to Rev. VanDerWerken's use of scripture without implying that Peter's letter itself may be "counter-Christian." The verse he quotes needs to be taken within the context of the letter it's from as well as the context of the wider Christian scriptures. The letter itself is focused on encouraging Christians to remain faithful even in light of the real possibility of suffering in a hostile environment. The particular section referred to in 1 Peter (5.13-14) refers to Paul's earlier writing in Romans 13 about obeying authorities. Yet, that context is about the new life in Christ that prepares for nonconformity and never to avenge one's self (Rom. 12). Paul calls us to respect these authorities for their role but with a posture of detachment, which at that time meant not participating in their 'worldly powers' or values of war. The new form of life is based on love, Rom. 13.8. In Acts, which is the story of the early Christian communities, it clearly states for us to obey God rather than humans, Acts 5.29. So the interpretation of 1 Peter and Romans 13 gets specified as enduring civil authorities as far as they don't call us to disobey God; and further, these authorities must be legiti-

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Letters to the Editor (cont. From p. 38)

mately constituted. The practical example Prof. Nagler gives of Jesus not blindly obeying the religious authorities and his subversive submission to Roman authority falls in line with this wider scriptural perspective. Thus, when this wider context is considered it doesn't seem necessary to refer to or explain away the verse or letter as "extreme and arguably counter-Christian." Perhaps it is from a narrow view, but there's a much more fruitful (if not truthful) way of understanding it, especially for dialogue with those who place a high faith value on these scriptures.

Onward in Truth and Love,
Eli Sasaran

The blasphemous cartoons and the larger question

Dear editors,

To comprehend the issue of the blasphemous cartoons properly, we need to see it as an issue of Muslims as a human race as well rather than just focusing on it as an issue of Islamic faith. I do not want to indulge in a debate about whether or not Muslims are a race. What I can see is the fact that they are facing racial bias all across the Western world. The purpose behind the creation and publication of these cartoons was not to attack the personality of the Prophet; rather the purpose was to challenge Muslims' religious sensibilities. The cartoonists did not try to portray the image of Prophet Mohammad (Peace Be Upon Him). Rather, they portrayed their stereotyped image of a Muslim - fanatical, backward and violent. It was an image constructed from Western media reports that portrayed Islam and Muslims only as Al-Qaeda, the Taliban or extremist bearded angry men burning the flags and effigies of Western countries.

This reflects a racial bias similar to the one displayed when an African-American steals something and all black people come under scrutiny, but if a white man steals he is individually held responsible. The same is happening with Muslims now. If Al-Qaida is involved in a terrorist action in one part of the world Muslims all across the globe are required to prove their innocence. How can a Muslim individual take responsibility for the actions of the whole Muslim race?

Many Western governments and people are trying to confuse this issue of racist cartoons with the issue of freedom of speech and press. They are arguing as if freedom of speech is absolute in Western values, without limits. But in theory and practice, there are limits. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which is binding on around 150 nations clearly prohibits all forms of hate speech in article 20: "Any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence shall be prohibited by law." Regarding the First Amendment, the US Supreme Court recognized that the government may prohibit some speech that may cause a breach of the peace or cause violence. Even Amnesty International, a longtime advocate of freedom of expression, has called for laws that prohibit "hate speech."

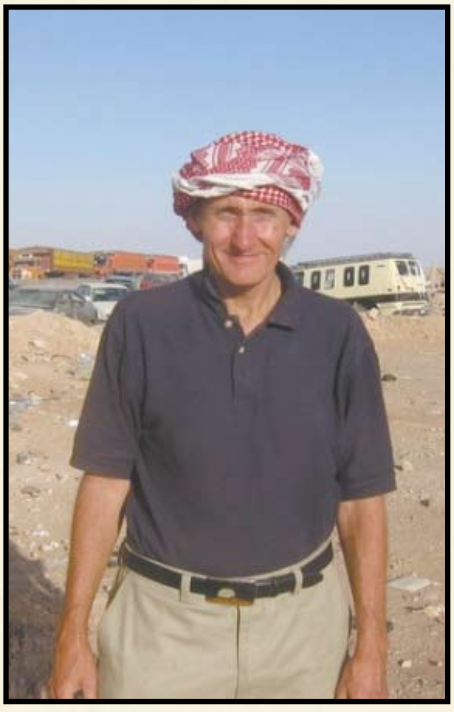
In practice there are several limits on free speech in Western states - and rightly so. American society abhors calling African Americans "black" or "Negro" because they feel offended. Questioning the holocaust or passing any anti-Semitic expression in Germany or Austria results in a jail sentence and anti-Semitism is abhorred throughout the West.

Former President Clinton was quite accurate when he told a conference in Qatar that he feared "anti-Semitism... would be replaced with anti-Islamic prejudice." This prejudice is a result of a total ignorance about Islam and Muslims in Western public opinion. I was amazed at the innocence of a French class fellow when she said, "Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) was a good person but he was a violent aggressor." When I enquired what she knew about the Prophet, she said he sanctioned "jihad" which means "holy war waged by Muslims against the infidels." Many people in the West generally believe "jihad" is what Osama bin Laden and Al-Qaida are doing and it is sanctioned by the holy Quran. This image gets further strengthened when they see hundreds of bearded men burning the effigies, flags and embassies of Western countries.

This reflects tremendous mistrust and misunderstanding among Western people about Islam and Muslims. We need an inter-faith and multi-cultural dialogue.

Sincerely,
Saeed Ahmed Rid, Rotary World Peace Fellow
M.A. student at UC Berkeley • saeedrid{AT}yahoo.com

With Gratitude...



Tom Fox
Christian Peacemaker Teams
1951-2006
Killed in Iraq

Rachel Corrie
International Solidarity Movement
1979-2003
Killed in Gaza Strip, Palestine

Marla Ruzicka
Campaign for Innocent Victims in Conflict
1976-2005
Killed in Baghdad, Iraq

We honor the lives of these three peacemakers, who died for the same cause for which they lived: the struggle for human rights based on the belief that all people's lives are of equal worth. Although their deaths were tragic, they also resulted from their conscious decisions to take the ultimate risk and not let borders stand in the way of their peacemaking work.

We are humbled and inspired by the beautiful lives they lived.

May their sacrifices contribute to a just resolution of conflict in these countries they loved, and summon the awareness necessary to realize their visions of peace.

With admiration and gratitude,

-PeacePower

"Like anybody, I would like to live a long life - longevity has its place. But I am not concerned about that now."

-Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.