



ON NONVIOLENCE

By Earth First!

Mohandas K. Gandhi

Judi Bari

Martin Luther King Jr.

and others

The Earth First! Nonviolence Code

1. Our attitude will be one of openness, friendliness, and respect toward all people and the environment around us.
2. We will use no violence, verbal or physical, toward any person.
3. We will not damage any property.
4. We will not bring firearms or other weapons.
5. We will not bring or use illegal drugs or alcohol.

Philosophy of Nonviolence

First, it must be emphasized that nonviolent resistance is **not a method for cowards; it does resist**. If one uses this method because one is afraid or merely lacks the instruments of violence, that person is not truly nonviolent...

A second characteristic of nonviolence is that it **does not seek to defeat or humiliate the opponent, but to win their friendship and understanding** ... The aftermath of nonviolence is the creation of the beloved community, while the aftermath of violence is tragic bitterness.

A third characteristic of this method is that **the attack is directed against forces of evil rather than against persons who happen to be doing the evil**. It is evil that the nonviolent resister seeks to defeat, not the persons victimized by evil.

A fourth point that characterizes nonviolent resistance is **a willingness to accept suffering without striking back....** Suffering, the nonviolent resister realizes, has tremendous educational and transforming possibilities.

A fifth point concerning nonviolent resistance is that **it avoids not only external physical violence but also internal violence of the spirit**. The nonviolent resister not only refuses to shoot the opponent but also, refuses to hate her/ him.

A sixth basic fact about nonviolent resistance is that it is based on the conviction that **the universe is on the side of justice**. Consequently, the believer in nonviolence has deep faith in the future. Whether we call it an unconscious process, an impersonal Brahman, or a Personal Being of matchless power and infinite love, there is a creative force in this universe that works to bring the disconnected aspects of reality into a harmonious whole.

- **Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.**

From "Six Principles of Nonviolence":
Derived from "Pilgrimage to Nonviolence" in Dr. King's
Stride Toward Freedom, Harper & Row, 1958
(Language altered for inclusively.) Bold added.

Practice of Nonviolence

The following is a preliminary framework for the understanding of nonviolence:

1. Means must be consistent with the ends.

A good example of this principle is group or consensus decision-making; the process used to reach a decision is as vital as the political viability of that decision.

2. Respect all life. The essence of this working assumption is the attempt to relate to all individuals in as human a way as possible, despite disagreements or anger, and value and respect non-human forms of life.

3. Transform rather than destroy opposition.

Basic respect for the other individual in any confrontational situation makes it possible to work toward changing rather than destroying that person. Linked to this approach is the awareness that it's not only the other person who needs to change; we must be willing to listen and undergo change or hardship ourselves.

4. Use creativity, humor, and love. Use of creative ways to approach adversaries can sometimes prevent reactions of fear, anger, and hate, and at the same time, produce unexpected positive results.

5. Aim for underlying changes. Nonviolence seeks underlying changes more than surface changes. To reach deeper, more profound change in society and the way people live obviously may take much longer, but will produce more enduring, higher quality change. **6. Power lies in social dynamics.**

Power doesn't "belong" only to certain people or groups; it lies in social dynamics. It is our cooperation with people and institutions in power positions that gives them power. Through organized nonviolent action and civil disobedience, it is possible to withhold our cooperation from those who abuse power and thus remove power from them.

7. Nonviolence is active. Although to some the word nonviolence implies passivity, nonviolence is actually an active form of resistance. It analyzes the sources of institutional violence and intervenes on a philosophical and political level through direct and persistent actions.

Nonviolent Response to Personal Violence

Nonviolence focuses on communication:

1. Be clear about your objectives.

Your objectives must be reasonable. You must believe you are fair and you must be able to communicate this to your opponent.

2. Don't be frightened.

Maintain as much eye contact as possible.

3. Don't be frightening.

Make no abrupt gestures. Move slowly. When practical, tell your opponent what you are going to do before you do it. Don't say anything threatening, critical, or hostile.

4. Don't be afraid of stating the obvious.

Say simply, "You're hurting my arm," or "You're shouting at me."

5. Don't behave like a victim.

Someone in the process of committing an act of violence has strong expectations as to how his/her victim will behave. If you manage to behave differently - in a nonthreatening manner - you can interrupt the flow of events that would have culminated in an act of violence. You must create a scenario new to your opponent.

6. Befriend your opponent's better nature.

Even the most brutal and brutalized among us have some spark of decency which the nonviolent defender can reach.

7. Don't shut down in response to physical violence.

You have to play it by ear. The best rule is to resist as firmly as you can without escalating the anger or the violence. Try varying approaches and keep trying to alter your opponent's picture of the situation.

8. Keep talking. Keep Listening.

Get your opponent talking and listening to what s/he says. Encouraging them to talk about what s/he believes, wishes, fears. Don't argue but at the same time don't give the impression you agree with assertions that are cruel or immoral. The listening is more important than what you say - keep the talk going and keep it calm.

adapted from an article by Mark Morris in *WIN*, January 24, 1974, p. 22

Judi Bari on Nonviolence

Bari: Being here and being subjected to this terrorism, I've had to do a lot of soul-searching. It took me a while even to face it. I was unable to sleep for a long time, because I was afraid to sleep. I was afraid to face what my subconscious had in it. So I've had to do a lot of thinking about violence and non-violence and terrorism and things like that. I met Brian Wilson one week before this happened, and at the time I had a discussion with him and I told him that I considered non-violence to be the only appropriate tactic in our country at this time, but that I considered it only a tactic. I wasn't a Gandhian who considered non-violence to be the only way ever. I would never tell a Salvadoran to use non-violence only. And Brian gave me an answer that has played out in my mind a thousand times since then. He said, "Your belief in non-violence as a tactic only will not be enough to sustain you through the hatred you're going to experience this summer." So that one has really gone through me a lot of times. I realize that the person who ran me off the road with the logging truck last summer, I wouldn't have used this word, but I guess that I could say I forgave him in that I saw that he was a victim who took his anger out on the wrong person.

I could see that about him. They hauled him out of his truck and made him confront me, and I could see that he was horrified at what he had done. When he saw that my children were in the car too, he kept saying, "The children, the children, I didn't see the children." But the person who bombed me was a monster. I've been unable to understand him. I've been unable to understand somebody who would deliberately and coldly, premeditatedly place something like that in my car with the intent to kill me. Knowing who I was and knowing that I have small children and that I'm their sole support, and certainly their emotional support as well as physical support. And what I realized about myself, I never really thought of myself as a Gandhian, I still don't actually because I'm just not that pious. But what I realized is that if you gave me the same bomb, and you gave me the

person's car who did this to me, I don't have it in me to do that back to him. What I have discovered is that there's a level of violence, there's a level of terrorism that's really unacceptable to me, and I think that's one of the things that we really need to change the world. The existence of this kind of violence in the world and this kind of terrorism, this is part of the problem. The same mentality that would level a redwood forest and destroy it's ability to regenerate, this is the same mentality that would place this bomb in my car and would do this kind of violence to me. I think that the problem isn't just the economic system, isn't just the social relations, I think that part of the problem is the violence in society. Violence against humans and violence against the Earth. That's the lesson that this has really taught me.

"This system cannot be stopped by force. It is violent and ruthless beyond the capacity of any people's resistance movement. The only way I can even imagine stopping it is through massive non-cooperation."

- Judi Bari

From *Timber Wars* by Judi Bari, 1994, Common Courage Press

Quote from revolutionary ecology 1995, <http://www.judibari.org/revolutionary-ecology.html>

Gandhi on Nonviolence

Non-violence is not a cover for cowardice, but it is the supreme virtue of the brave... Cowardice is wholly inconsistent with non-violence... Non-violence presupposes ability to strike. 1-59

He who cannot protect himself or his nearest and dearest or their honor by non-violently facing death, may and ought to do so by violently dealing with the oppressor. He who can do neither of the two is a burden. 1-77

One who having retaliation in his breast submits to violence out of policy is not truly non-violent, and may even be a hypocrite if he hides his intention. It should be remembered that **non-violence comes into play only when it comes in contact with violence.** 1-99

Without a direct active expression of it, non-violence, to my mind, is meaningless. 1-113

[non-violence and pride] If one has pride and egoism, there is no non-violence. Non-violence is impossible without humility. My own experience is that whenever I have acted non-violently I have been led to it and sustained in it by the higher promptings of an unseen power. Through my own will I should have miserably failed. 1-187

[To a Chinese—1939—re Japan] In a position of hopeless minority [i.e., the non-violent are very few] you may not ask your people to lay down their arms unless their hearts are changed and by laying down their arms they feel more courageous and brave. But while you may not try to ween people from war, you will in your person live non-violence in all its completeness and refuse all participation in war. You will develop love for the Japanese in your hearts. ...you must be able to love them in spite of all their misdeeds. If you have that love for the Japanese in your hearts, you will proceed to exhibit in your conduct that higher form of courage which is the true hallmark of non-violence. 1-189

It is better to be violent, if there is violence in our hearts, than to put on the cloak of non-violence to cover impotence. **Violence is any day preferable to impotence.** There is hope for a violent man to become non-violent. There is no such hope for the impotent. 1-240

Ahimsa (non-violence) is an attribute of the brave. Cowardice and *ahimsa* do not go together any more than water and fire. 1-243

[*Hijrat*—self-imposed exile] My advice to migrate is for all who feel oppressed and cannot live without losing self-respect in a particular place. ... My advice is meant for those who, though they are conscious of self-respect, lack the strength that comes from non-violence or the capacity to return blow for blow. 1-255

If the capacity for non-violent self-defense is lacking, there need be no hesitation in using violent means. 1-260

War is an unmitigated evil. But it certainly does one good thing. It drives away fear and brings bravery to the surface. 1-270

Non-violence of the strong cannot be a mere policy. It must be a creed, or a passion. ... A man with a passion expresses it in every little act of his. Therefore he who is possessed by non-violence will express it in the family circle, in his dealings with neighbors, in his business... in his dealings with opponents. 1-276

In *ahimsa* it is not the votary who acts in his own strength. Strength comes from God. ... Never have I attributed any independent strength to myself. 1-321

The votary of non-violence has to cultivate his capacity for sacrifice of the highest type in order to be free from fear. ... He who has not overcome all fear cannot practice *ahimsa* to perfection. The votary of *ahimsa* has only one fear, that is of God. He who seeks refuge in God ought to have a glimpse of the *Atman* [The transcendent self] that transcends the body; and the moment one has glimpsed the imperishable *Atman* one sheds the love of the perishable body. ... Violence is needed for the protection of things external; non-violence is needed for the protection of the *Atman*, for the protection of one's honor. 1-335

We should learn to dare danger and death, mortify the flesh, and acquire the capacity to endure all manner of hardships. 1-335

It is likely that what we believe to be an act of *ahimsa* (non-violence) is an act of *himsa* (violence) in the eyes of God. 1-338

Non-violence that merely offers civil resistance to the authorities and goes no further scarcely deserves the name *ahimsa*. You may, if you like, call it unarmed resistance. ... To quell riots non-violently there must be true *ahimsa* in one's heart, an *ahimsa* that takes even the erring hooligan in its warm embrace. Such an attitude cannot be cultivated. It can only come as a prolonged and patient effort which must be made during peaceful times. The would-be member of a peace brigade should come into close touch and cultivate acquaintance with the so-called *goonda* [hooligan] element in his vicinity. He should know and be known to all and win the hearts of all by his living and selfless service. No section should be regarded as to be too contemptible or mean to mix with.

Goondas do not drop from the sky, nor do they spring from the earth like evil spirits. They are the product of social disorganization, and society is therefore responsible for their existence. ... Let everyone who is interested in removing this disease make a prompt beginning in his own neighborhood. 1-344

No doubt the non-violent way is always the best, but where that does not come naturally the violent way is both necessary and honorable. Inaction here is rank cowardice and unmanly. It must be shunned at all cost. 1-402

Sabotage is a form of violence. People have realized the futility of physical violence but some people apparently think that it may be successfully practiced in its modified form as sabotage. It is my conviction that the whole mass of people would not have risen to the height of courage and fearlessness that they have but for the working of full non-violence. How it works we do not yet fully know. But the fact remains that under non-violence we have progressed from strength to strength even though our apparent failures and setbacks. On the other hand terrorism resulted in demoralization. Haste leads to waste. 11-2

No secret organization, however big, could do any good. Secrecy aims at building a wall of protection around you. *Ahimsa* disdains all such protection. It functions in the open in the face of odds, the heaviest conceivable. We have to organize for action a vast people that have been crushed under the heel of unspeakable tyranny for centuries. They cannot be organized by other than open, truthful means. I have grown up from youth to seventy-six years in abhorrence of secrecy. There must be no watering down of the ideal. 11-2

Jesus was the most active resister known perhaps to history. This was non-violence par excellence. 11-16

Non-violence in the sense of mere non-killing does not appear to me to be any improvement on the technique of violence. It means slow torture, and when slowness becomes ineffective we shall immediately revert to killing and to the atom bomb. 11-29

So long as one wants to retain one's sword, one has not attained complete fearlessness. 11-38

A *satyagrahi* may never run away from danger [*satyagrahi*: literally "person struggling for truth," or "truth warrior" i.e., nonviolent activist], irrespective of whether he is alone or in the company of many. He will have fully performed his duty if he dies fighting. 11-59

In life it is impossible to eschew violence completely. The question arises, Where is one to draw the line? The line cannot be the same for everyone. ... Meat-eating is a sin for me. Yet for another person who has always lived on meat and never seen anything wrong in it, to give it up simply to copy me will be a sin. 11-69

To allow crops to be eaten up by animals in the name of *ahimsa* while there is a famine in the land is certainly a sin. 11-69

Fear of the foreigner is what gives rise to hatred. **Fear gone, there can be no hatred.** Thus his conversion implies our conversion too. If we cease to be inferiors, he cannot be our superior. His arsenals and his weapons, typified in their extreme by the atom bomb, should have no terror for us. It follows that we should not covet them. 11-74

If non-violence does not appeal to your heart, you should discard it. 11-134

If people are not ready for the exercise of the non-violence of the brave, they must be ready for the use of force in self-defense. There should be no camouflage. ... It must never be secret. 11-146

To take the name of non-violence when there is a sword in your heart is not only hypocritical and dishonest but cowardly. 11-153

There is nothing more demoralizing than fake non-violence of the weak and impotent. 11-153

From *Non-Violence in Peace and War*, published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1948 by Mohandas K. Gandhi, edited by Thomas Merton. *Satyagrahi* definition by Michael L. Westmoreland-White. Bold added.

Coping with Stress

When a person experiences or anticipates violence, they may be subject to an automatic physical and psychological stress response.

The physical response involves the release of adrenaline and corticosterone which causes the following physical bodily reactions:

1. increases in heart rate and breathing,
2. blood vessels expand in muscles, brain, lungs and heart, muscles tighten, constriction of blood vessels elsewhere.
3. spontaneous or intuitive behaviors often related to combat or escape.

This physical response is called “fight or flight” and was “, was first described by Walter Cannon in 1929.

The psychological response to violence may involve emotional disturbance: a disturbance in a person's thinking, feeling, moods, and ability to relate to others and to work.

Reducing the stress associated with the experience of violence is important in the prevention of mental and physical illness. Nonviolent direct action activists must cope with numerous high stress situations, likely more than is typical for when they are not involved in a campaign. Relaxation techniques can help a person cope with violent experiences, are essential for maintaining good physical and mental health, and help in controlling the negative impact of long term stress. A relaxed person is more able to choose alternatives to violence during stressful events as well as de-escalate violent or potentially violent behaviors in others. Relaxation can replace drugs, alcohol, and smoking as ways of coping with stress.

While relaxation can come naturally to some people, others need to learn how to relax.

What To Do to Relax and Control Stress

- Drink enough fluids, eat enough food, and attempt to get rest/ sleep as often as possible.
- Learn at least two relaxation techniques that can be used at times when physical exercise is not feasible:

1. Learn one technique to provide quick reduction of excessive alertness without taking the mind, eyes, or hands off the task.
2. Choose a second technique that provides you deep relaxation for refreshing sleep, even under high-stress situations.

Techniques

- **Visual imaging self-relaxation.** Imagine yourself in a relaxing situation. Pick your own relaxing situation, then imagine it with every sense of your body - imagine the colors, shapes, textures, sounds, smells, temperature, and touch of it.
- **Brief or progressive muscular relaxation.** Tense your muscles for a few seconds and then slowly release this tension while feeling the warm and heavy sensation that occurs when you relax. Either tense all your muscles at once or start with the muscles in your toes and work slowly up the muscles in the rest of your body.
- **Stretching.** Stretch your muscles and joints, move them around, and shake out the tension.
- **Positive self-talk.** Say to yourself, “Easy,” “Take your time,” “I know how to do this,” or any other brief words of encouragement.
- **Abdominal breathing.** Breathe slowly and deeply, using the abdominal muscles (not the chest muscles) to move the air in and out. Even one slow breath in which you breathe in, hold for 2-3 seconds, and then exhale slowly (about 5 seconds) can steady the nerves and refocus attention.
- **Breathing meditation.** Focus your attention on your breathing, especially each time you breathe out. Say the same word or short phrase once each time you exhale (such as the word “one” or “relax”), over and over, while passively letting all other thoughts drift out of your mind.
- **Ventilation.** Individuals should share feelings constructively.
- **Planning ahead.** Individuals can also reduce stress by planning and preparing for the mission, and ensuring readiness. The best way to alleviate stress is to take appropriate action. The above techniques should be practiced frequently until they become automatic.

Slow rhythmic breathing:

- Stare at an object or close your eyes and concentrate on your breathing or on a peaceful scene.
- Take a slow, deep breath and as you breathe in, tense your muscles (such as your arms).
- As you breathe out, relax your muscles and feel the tension draining.
- Now remain relaxed and begin breathing slowly and comfortably, concentrating on your breathing, taking about 9 to 12 breaths a minute. Do not breathe too deeply.
- To maintain a slow, even rhythm as you breathe out, you can say silently to yourself, “In, one, two; out, one, two.” If you ever feel out of breath, take a deep breath and then continue the slow breathing exercise. Each time you breathe out, feel yourself relaxing and going limp. If some muscles are not relaxed, such as your shoulders, tense them as you breathe in and relax them as you breathe out. You need to do this only once or twice for each specific muscle group.
- Continue slow, rhythmic breathing for a few seconds up to 10 minutes, depending on your need.
- To end your slow rhythmic breathing, count silently and slowly from one to three. Open your eyes. Begin moving about slowly.

Application of Psychological First Aid

The emotionally disturbed activist has built a barrier against fear, although they are probably not aware that they are doing it. If they find that they do not have to be afraid and that there are normal, understandable things about them, they will feel safer in dropping this barrier. Persistent efforts to help them realize that you want to understand him/ her will be reassuring, especially if you remain calm. Nothing can cause an emotionally disturbed person to become even more fearful than feeling that others are afraid of them. Familiar things, the use of their name, attention to a minor wound, being given a simple job to do, or the sight of familiar people and activities will add to their ability to overcome fear. They may not respond well if you get excited, angry, or abrupt.

Ventilation:

After the person becomes calmer, they are likely to have dreams about the stressful event. They also may think about it when they awake or even repeat their personal reaction to the event. One benefit of this natural pattern is that it helps them master the stress by going over it just as one masters the initial fear of jumping from a diving board by doing it over and over again. Eventually, it is difficult to remember how frightening the event was initially. In giving first aid to the emotionally disturbed activist, you should let them follow this natural pattern. Encourage them to talk. Be a good listener. Let them tell, in their own words what actually happened (or what they think happened). If personal problems or worries have contributed to the stress, it will help them to talk about them. Your patient listening will prove that you are interested in them, and by describing their personal catastrophe, they can work at mastering their fear. If they become overwhelmed in the telling, suggest a break. Whatever you do, assure them that you will listen again as soon as they are ready. Do try to help put the activist's perception of what happened back into realistic perspective; but, DO NOT argue about it. A nonpunishing, nonaccusing attitude may help them realize that accidents and mistakes do happen in the confusion of violent conflict, but that life and the campaign must go on. With this psychological first aid measure, most persons can start toward recovery quickly.

Activity:

A person who is emotionally disturbed as the result of violence or a catastrophe may become disabled because they have become temporarily overwhelmed by anxiety. A good way to control fear is through activity. Almost all activists, for example, experience a considerable sense of anxiety and fear while they are poised, awaiting the opening of a big action; but this is normally relieved, and they actually feel better once they begin to move into action. After you help an activist get over their initial fear, help them to regain some self-confidence. Help them find something useful to do, if possible, back to their usual tasks. A person who has panicked is likely to argue. Respect their feelings, but point out

more immediate, obtainable, and demanding needs. Help them channel their excessive energy and, above all, DO NOT argue. If you cannot get them interested in helping the campaign, it may be necessary to enlist aid in addressing their emotional disturbance before it spreads to the group and results in more panic.

Involvement in activity helps an activist to:

- forget themselves.
- provide an outlet for excessive tensions.
- prove to themselves they can do something useful. It is amazing how effective this is in helping a person overcome feelings of fear, ineffectiveness, and uselessness.

Rest:

There are times when physical exhaustion is a principal cause for emotional reactions. For the weary, dirty activist, adequate rest, warm food, and a change of clothes, with an opportunity to bathe may provide spectacular results.

Posttraumatic Stress Disorder

Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) is a severe stress disorder characterized by symptoms of anxiety and avoidance behavior; this disorder results from unusually stressful events. Women are twice as likely as men to be vulnerable to PTSD; children are also more vulnerable than adults. People who lack social support or who have a pre-existing mental disorder are also more susceptible to PTSD (*Harvard Mental Health Letter*, 2002). PTSD is typified by intense fear (reliving the event over and over again), flashbacks, and nightmares

Signs of PTSD include:

- mood swings, irritability, depression, and sadness; crying often
- limited attention span, difficulty concentrating, and confusion
- poor work or school performance
- physical symptoms such as headaches, sleep disturbance, or stomach problems
- guilt and self-doubt
- fear of crowds, strangers, or being alone
- self-medication with drugs or alcohol
- difficulty communicating thoughts

What to do to help yourself or someone else cope with trauma:

- Be sure to talk about your feelings, no matter how hard this may be.
- Spend time with your family and friends, particularly in enjoyable activities.
- Do not hold yourself responsible for the event or for not responding sooner or better.
- Promote healing by staying active in daily patterns. Continue to work, rest, relax, and exercise.
- Maintain normal routines but limit demanding responsibilities.
- Participate in memorials, rituals, and other symbolic events related to trauma.
- If self-help strategies are not working, seek professional help.

Adapted from the U.S. Army Health Information website: <http://hooah4health.com/> except for definitions in the introduction of stress and “fight or flight” from wikipedia. See citations at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stress_%28medicine%29#Stress_and_its_effects http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fight-or-flight_response Posttraumatic Stress Disorder from *Psychology for Living*, eighth edition, by Karen Grover Duffy and Eastwood Atwater, 2005, p. 388

Nonviolence according to Jesus

“You have heard that it was said, You shall love your neighbor and hate your enemy; But I say to you, **Love your enemies** and pray for those whose persecute you...” Mt. 5.43-46

“You have learnt how it was said: Eye for eye and tooth for tooth. But I say to you, Offer the wicked man no resistance. **If anyone strikes you on the right cheek, turn the other also**; if a man takes you to law and would have your tunic, let him have your cloak as well. And if anyone orders you to go one mile, go two miles with him.” Mt. 5.38-41

“You have learnt how it was said to our ancestors: **You must not kill**; and anyone does kill he must answer for it before the court. But I say this to you: anyone who is angry with his brother will answer for it before the court.” Mt. 5.21-22

Modern Examples of Nonviolent Action

On November 22, 2003 crowds surrounded the Georgian Parliament building, protesting the rigged legislative elections masterminded by the president, Eduard Shevardnadze. They marched past walls still scarred by bullet holes left from the 1992 civil war that followed the tiny country's declaration of independence from Russia. As the nation teetered on the brink of revolution, members of a Georgian student group dashed between the crowds of protestors and the police cordon, soothing tempers and preventing shots from being fired. Then, opposition leader Mikhail Saakashvili led the crowd into Parliament where Shevardnadze had just begun to speak, overturning desks and shouting for the president to step down from his post. As Shevardnadze was hustled out a back door, Saakashvili – or Misha to his many admirers – leapt onto the podium holding a rose, rather than a gun. “The velvet revolution has taken place in Georgia,” said Misha, referencing the peaceful revolution that took place in Czechoslovakia in 1989. He then added, “We are against violence.”

In 1990, thousands of Lebanese Christians demonstrated for weeks on end, demanding Syria withdraw from Lebanon. The Syrian army quashed the protests with tanks and fighter jets. Fifteen years later, Lebanese of all religious stripes took to the streets after a devastating car bomb assassination was pinned on Lebanon's overbearing neighbor. But this time, the brutal act of violence tipped the balance of power in favor of the protesters. Syria weighed its options and realized that with the entire world watching, a military clampdown was untenable.

When electoral fraud prevented Viktor Yushchenko from winning Ukraine's 2004 presidential election, his supporters flooded Kiev's Independence Square and stayed for weeks. Their joyous and passionate resolve caught the world's imagination night after night on the evening news. But the protesters' moment of truth came with news that soldiers had been sent to the city to dislodge them.

When it was almost time for the Jewish Passover, Jesus went up to Jerusalem. In the temple courts he found men selling cattle, sheep and doves, and others sitting at tables exchanging money. So he made a whip out of cords, and drove all from the temple area, both sheep and cattle; he scattered the coins of the money changers and overturned their tables. To those who sold doves he said, "Get these out of here! How dare you turn my Father's house into a market!" Jn. 2:13-16

“You will be hated by all men on account of my name; but the man who stands firm to the end will be saved. If they persecute you in one town, take refuge in the next; and if they persecute you in that, take refuge in another.” Mt. 10.22-23

“For anyone who wants to save his life will lose it; but anyone who loses his life for my sake will find it.” Mt. 16.24-25

“Do not be afraid of those who kill the body but cannot kill the soul...” Mt. 10.28

“anyone who wants to be great among you must be your servant, and anyone who wants to be first among you must be your slave” Mt. 20.26-28

“You must love your neighbor as yourself.” Mt. 22.40

“when you stand in prayer, forgive whatever you have against anybody, so that your Father in heaven may forgive your failings too.” Mk. 11.25

“No intimidation! No extortion! Be content with your pay.” Lk 3.14

“Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you, **bless those who curse you**, pray for those who treat you badly.” Lk. 6.27-28

“Be compassionate as your Father is compassionate. **Do not judge**, and you will not be judged yourselves; do not condemn, and you will not be condemned yourselves; grant pardon, and you will be pardoned.” Lk 6.27

Jesus (on the cross) said, “Father, forgive them, they do not know what they are doing.” Lk 23.34

“What I command you is to **love one another.**” Jn. 14.27

Those who weren't prepared for the crackdown were encouraged to leave. Most stayed and braced themselves. Any hint of aggression would have given the soldiers an excuse to start shooting. But the excuse never arose.

Much of the power of nonviolence lies in its magical capacity to attract and persuade. In 2000, Yugoslavian citizens stormed the parliament and demanded President Slobodan Milosevic step down. Police officers not only refused to shoot at their fellow citizens; many joined the nonviolent protesters.

In 1970, a group of shipyard workers in Gdansk, Poland went on strike and clashed with police, resulting in the deaths of dozens of strikers. In 1980, they tried it again, this time keeping it nonviolent. They called it Solidarity. Initially all they wanted was an independent trade union, but the movement spread throughout the country, and ten years later, Solidarity helped drive the Soviets out of Poland.

By Eliza Strickland, Sam Singh, and Nicholas Klassen from *Adbusters* #59 May-June 2005

“To our most bitter opponents we say: We shall match your capacity to inflict suffering by our capacity to endure suffering. We shall meet your physical force with soul force. Do to us what you will, and we shall continue to love you. We cannot in all good conscience obey unjust laws, because non-cooperation with evil is as much a moral obligation as is cooperation with good. Throw us in jail, and we will still love you. Bomb our homes and threaten our children and we shall still love you. Send your hooded perpetrators of violence into our community at the midnight hour and beat us and leave us half-dead, and we shall still love you. But be assured that we will wear you down by our capacity to suffer. One day we shall win freedom, but not only for ourselves. We shall so appeal to your heart and conscience that we shall win you in the process, and our victory will be a double victory.”

-Dr. Martin Luther Jr.

Methods of Nonviolence

The Methods of Nonviolent Protest and Persuasion

formal statements

- Public speeches
- Letters of opposition or support
- Declarations by organizations and institutions
- Signed public declarations
- Declarations of indictment and intention
- Group or mass petitions

communications with a wider audience

- Slogans, caricatures, and symbols
- Banners, posters, and displayed communications
- Leaflets, pamphlets, and books
- Newspapers and journals
- Records, radio, and television
- Skywriting and earthwriting

group

representations

- Deputations
- Mock awards
- Group lobbying
- Picketing
- Mock elections

symbolic public acts

- Displays of flags and symbolic colours
- Wearing of symbols
- Prayer and worship
- Delivering symbolic objects
- Protest disrobings
- Destruction of own property

- Symbolic lights
- Displays of portraits
- Paint as protest
- New signs and names
- Symbolic sounds
- Symbolic reclamations
- Rude gestures
- **pressures on individuals**
- "haunting" officials
- Taunting officials
- Fraternalization
- Vigils

drama and music

- Humorous skits and pranks
- Performances of plays and music

Singing

processions

- Marches
- Parades
- Religious processions
- Pilgrimages
- Motorcades

honoring the dead

- Political mourning
- Mock funerals
- Demonstrative funerals
- Homage at burial places
- public assemblies
- Assemblies of protest or support
- Protest meetings
- Camouflaged meetings of protest
- Teach-ins

withdrawal and

renunciation

- Walk-outs
- Silence
- Renouncing honours
- Turning one's back

The Methods of Social Noncooperation

ostracism of persons

- Social boycott
- Selective social boycott
- Lysistratic nonaction
- Excommunication
- Interdict

noncooperation with social events, customs, and institutions

- Suspension of social and sports activities
- Boycott of social affairs
- Student strike
- Social disobedience
- Withdrawal from social institutions

withdrawal from the social system

- Stay-at-home
- Total personal noncooperation
- "flight" of workers
- Sanctuary
- Collective disappearance
- Protest emigration (hijrat)

The Methods of Economic

Noncooperation: Economic Boycotts action by consumers

- Consumers' boycott
- Nonconsumption of boycotted goods
- Policy of austerity
- Rent withholding
- Refusal to rent
- National consumers' boycott
- International consumers' boycott action by workers and producers
- Workers' boycott
- Producers' boycott

action by middlemen

- Suppliers' and handlers' boycott

action by owners and management

- Traders' boycott
- Refusal to let or sell property
- Lockout
- Refusal of industrial assistance
- Merchants' "general strike"

action by holders of financial resources

- Withdrawal of bank deposits
- Refusal to pay fees, dues, and assessments
- Refusal to pay debts or interest
- Severance of funds and credit
- Revenue refusal
- Refusal of a government's money action by governments
- Domestic embargo
- Blacklisting of traders
- International sellers' embargo
- International buyers' embargo
- International trade embargo

The Methods of Economic

Noncooperation: the Strike

symbolic strikes

- Protest strike
- Quickie walkout (lightning strike)

agricultural strikes

- Peasant strike
- Farm workers' strike

strikes by special groups

- Refusal of impressed labour
- Prisoners' strike
- Craft strike

Professional strike ordinary industrial strikes

- Establishment strike
- Industry strike
- Sympathy strike

restricted strikes

- Detailed strike
- Bumper strike
- Slowdown strike
- Working-to-rule strike
- Reporting "sick" (sick-in)

- Strike by resignation

- Limited strike

- Selective strike

multi-industry strikes

- Generalised strike

- General strike

combination of strikes and economic closures

- Hartal

- Economic shutdown the methods of political noncooperation

rejection of authority

- Withholding or withdrawal of allegiance

- Refusal of public support

- Literature and speeches advocating resistance

citizens'

noncooperation with government

- Boycott of legislative bodies

- Boycott of elections

- Boycott of government employment and positions

- Boycott of government departments, agencies, and other bodies

- Withdrawal from governmental

educational institutions

- Boycott of government-supported institutions

- Refusal of assistance to enforcement Agents

- Removal of own signs and placemarks

- Refusal to accept appointed officials

- Refusal to dissolve existing institutions

citizens' alternatives to obedience

- Reluctant and slow compliance

- Nonobedience in absence of direct supervision

- Popular nonobedience

- Disguised disobedience

- Refusal of an assemblage or meeting to disperse

- Sitdown

- Noncooperation with conscription and deportation

- Hiding, escape, and false identities

- Civil disobedience of "illegitimate" laws

action by government personnel

- Selective refusal of assistance by government aides

- Blocking of lines of command and information

- Stalling and obstruction

- General administrative noncooperation

- Judicial noncooperation

- Deliberate inefficiency and selective noncooperation by enforcement agents
- Mutiny

domestic

governmental action

- Quasi-legal evasions and delays
- Noncooperation by constituent governmental units

international

governmental action

- Changes in diplomatic and other representation
- Delay and cancellation of diplomatic events
- Withholding of diplomatic recognition
- Severance of diplomatic relations
- Withdrawal from international organizations
- Refusal of membership in international bodies
- Expulsion from international organizations

The Methods of

Nonviolent

Intervention

psychological

intervention

- Self-exposure to the elements
- The fast
 - a) fast of moral pressure
 - b) hunger strike
 - c) satyagrahic fast
- Reverse trial
- Nonviolent harassment

physical intervention

- Sit-in
 - Stand-in From Gene Sharp, *The Methods of Nonviolent Action*, 1973
 - Ride-in
 - Wade-in
 - Mill-in
- <http://www.peacemagazine.org/htm>

- Pray-in
- Nonviolent raids
- Nonviolent air raids
- Nonviolent invasion
- Nonviolent interjection
- Nonviolent obstruction
- Nonviolent occupation

social intervention

- Establishing new social patterns
- Overloading of facilities
- Stall-in
- Speak-in
- Guerrilla theatre
- Alternative social institutions
- Alternative communication system

economic

intervention

- Reverse strike
- Stay-in strike
- Nonviolent land seizure
- Defiance of blockades
- Politically motivated counterfeiting
- Preclusive purchasing
- Seizure of assets
- Dumping
- Selective patronage
- Alternative markets
- Alternative transportation systems
- Alternative economic institutions

political intervention

- Overloading of administrative systems
- Disclosing identities of secret agents
- Seeking imprisonment
- Civil disobedience of "neutral" laws
- Work-on without collaboration
- Dual sovereignty and parallel government

CONFLICT MANAGEMENT TOOLS

- show respect
- take a few deep breaths
- ask to be shown respect
- use a low calm tone of voice
- use non-inflammatory language
- use a non-threatening body posture (sit down, give space)
- be honest and sincere
- ask what is needed and you can help
- listen intently and don't interrupt, without necessarily agreeing, express understanding
- express agreements to show an understanding of their situation
- don't debate the issue or confront complaints directly, instead calmly communicate personal reasons for this action
- if frustrated or not getting anywhere, step back and let another peacekeeper take over and clarify any possible misunderstandings
- clearly tell what it is that they want
- assure you want them to be treated fairly
- look them in the eye, but let them avoid eye contact
- state your first name, ask theirs, use it often
- if someone is out of control, shift their attention away from the source of anger
- find a common ground to build trust on
- agree to disagree
- avoid drugs/ alcohol that interfere with clear thinking
- don't take yourself too seriously
- don't make sudden movements
- sit down or ask others to sit down
- keep people from crowding around and talking over one another
- if already sitting down, get up, do so slowly
- be flexible
- walk away
- be aware of other people's boundaries
- adjust your attitude
- state the obvious (I don't want to fight)
- leave an honorable way out
- explore other options
- get advice from a trusted person

Adapted from the Earth First! Direct Action Manual