

Turning the Tide Curriculum for Resource People
A core collection of material on nonviolence



turning the tide

NONVIOLENT POWER FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

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THE TURNING THE TIDE CURRICULUM: A Core Collection Of Material On Nonviolence

WHY?

- to give Turning the Tide Resource People a common/ shared body of knowledge and/or experience
- to introduce new Resource People to the founding myths and narratives of Turning the Tide - i.e. the key concepts/ principles on which Turning the Tide operates.

SO THAT...

- Turning the Tide Resource People can be familiar with and be able to articulate for themselves - and offer to others - a useful body of knowledge.

From the start, the Turning the Tide Programme referred to this body of knowledge as a kind of “Gandhi/ Martin Luther King package” – while recognising, of course, that the ‘package’ has been shaped by many more practitioners, groups and movements than just those two famous individuals. It contains the values, frameworks of analysis, and practical experience of generations of nonviolent activists over the past century, which the Programme aims to articulate and hand on for use and development by nonviolent activists today.

THIS USEFUL BODY OF KNOWLEDGE INCLUDES:

- Certain core concepts and principles of nonviolence – including some expressed in religious or faith-based language (though some Resource People may prefer to deal with these 'in translation');
- Certain assumptions and paradigms about social change and how it comes about;
- A particular understanding of social and political power;
- The existence of an extensive, though hidden, history of nonviolent social movements from which we can learn;
- An understanding of and commitment to revolutionary change rather than (or at least in addition to) reform, and strategic, rather than reactive, action to bring that about; and
- A vision of a practical, possible future, which is radically egalitarian/just, and where conflict is handled creatively and without recourse to violence.

Turning the Tide Resource People should have encountered this core of material and worked out their attitude towards it. They need to be familiar with it – and be willing to operate from it or at least commit to wrestle with it – in order to act in the name of the Turning the Tide Programme i.e. you can't be a Turning the Tide Resource Person if you don't accept that 'the means are the ends in process'.

HOW?

We know that people do not do most of their learning about nonviolence from books and films; and any really useful engagement with the material in this curriculum needs to rest on - and illuminate - actual, practical, lived experience. Such experience includes reflecting on their own actions/ activism and discussion, argument, threshing with, and listening to others and probably needs to include workshops (Turning the Tide workshops, but also others, such as Alternatives to Violence, mediation, 'deep ecology', etc.), participant observing, interviews and listening to activists' stories.

This curriculum/ core collection of material remains open to change and amendment in the light of experience brought by Resource People, and by the engagement of the Turning the Tide Programme as a whole with contemporary nonviolent campaigns and thinking, and with radical movements for social change more generally. New books will be published and new videos made. It remains an open question whether new ideas become 'core' to the Programme, or whether existing 'core' concepts/ principles may change.

*Sophie Reynolds & Mary Lou Leavitt
Turning the Tide Resource People
March 2002*

HOW TO USE THE CURRICULUM

This curriculum is designed to serve our facilitation of workshops – it's intended to be a guide to deepening our understanding and knowledge of active nonviolence.

However, we all learn in different ways and at different rates, so this is not an academic curriculum. There is no expectation of completion or testing for correct understanding. Please don't be overwhelmed by it – it's up to you how you use it.

Each section of the curriculum has a small number of *key resources* that convey an approach or information essential to an understanding of Turning the Tide's core purposes. These key resources are backed up by *additional resources*, which you can pursue if your appetite is whetted. Not all the resources are books – some are videos and articles. All the key resources are available in the Turning the Tide Resource Library.

Whilst there is no testing, we would like our learning to be fed back into the Programme for the benefit of other Resource People. Bearing this in mind should help us to learn so that we can use and communicate to others the insights we gain.

This could be by:

- writing a book or film review,
- summarising an argument,
- designing an exercise for use in a workshop,
- doing a presentation to Resource People,
- producing some visual aids,
- applying the ideas to our own experience in some way,
- analysing a current social movement in the light of the ideas.

When reading or viewing something from the curriculum, it's important to bear in mind how we could use the material. The possibilities are endless and almost entirely up to you. Please let staff know what your plans are though.

The check-in meetings with staff are opportunities to plan our use of the curriculum – staff will be able to guide our choices and discuss possibilities, as well as helping with ideas of how to present our learning

THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY AND CORE PRINCIPLES OF NONVIOLENCE

Familiarity with the core principles and philosophy/ theology of nonviolence can offer us:

- Challenge and fuel for our own ideas about what we do and why;
- Sources of energy, inspiration, perspective, steadiness;
- Points of reference for the development of our own ethic, strategy, and targets. Help in coming clear about our own boundaries - what is and is not possible or acceptable for us in taking action for social change;
- Help in identifying what common ground we have with whom;
- A wider understanding of what nonviolence offers, and of its full implications.
- Does there also need to be some understanding of violence (including structural violence)?

Not only do we believe that this knowledge is useful for our own thinking and action, but also that it will enable us to enhance the thinking and action of the groups we work with in the same ways. We hope to offer a wide enough 'reference pool' to draw on to suit different groups of activists.

The following aspects of the theology/ philosophy of nonviolence could be useful in training/ working effectively alongside social change activists:

1. To meet and be inspired and challenged by the aims and visions of a number of different activists and thinkers in choosing nonviolence;
2. To encounter some of the dilemmas, opportunities, and limitations of nonviolence theory;
3. To become familiar with some answers that have been or are currently being given to the question "what is nonviolence" - and to have begun to work out our own answer to that question. (This is about principles and boundaries - not only what is nonviolence, but also what isn't.);
4. To have some understanding of violence, its nature and dynamics;
5. To be aware of and able to describe the rationale for choosing or using nonviolence from more than one theological/ philosophical perspective (eg Christian, Buddhist, humanist/ secular, feminist);
6. To have, or have begun to develop, one's own rationale for using nonviolence, in dialogue with others.

Given that Turning the Tide is a Quaker programme, it is also useful for Turning the Tide Resource People to be aware of – and be able to describe – the rationale for choosing or using nonviolence from the perspective of

Quaker theological understanding (i.e. the relationship of nonviolence to Quaker peace testimony: Friends' witness for peace and against violence for more than three centuries). This awareness will probably come best from conversation/ discussion with Quakers among the Turning the Tide Resource People and staff, rather than from any specific reading material.

Key resources:

Nonviolence for a Change (video) produced by JustUs Productions for the Turning the Tide Programme, 2001. A 25-minute video of clips and interviews to stimulate debate and help people to wrestle with definitions of nonviolence and to work out where they stand on some issues it raises.

The Powers that Be, by Walter Wink, Galilee Publishers, 1998. Chapter 5 (pp 99 – 111). Gives a radical interpretation of Christian witness in terms of engaging with the powers; includes Jesus' exhortation to "turn the other cheek", arguing that this is a positive and powerful strategy that offers a 'third way' of responding to injustice or oppression which is neither passively accepting the status quo nor fighting back violently.

Coming Back to Life by Joanna Macy and Molly Young Brown, New Society Publishers, 1998: Chapters 1 – 4 (pp. 15 – 62). Written by two long term activists, this looks at nonviolence from the perspective of Buddhist teaching, systems theory (the Tao of Physics, etc) and deep ecology. An inspiring introduction to "the work that reconnects".

To Tame the Hydra: Undermining the Culture of Violence by Adam Curle, Jon Carpenter, 1999. Adam Curle has worked for a lifetime in both international mediation and grass-roots peacebuilding. This book addresses the current state of violence in our world, and its roots, trying to get a story that can enable our understanding, empowerment and responses to catch up with the uncontrollable, interconnected nature of what is happening. Learning from psychology, philosophy, political observation and Curle's own life experiences are brought into service here in a straightforward and heart-ful way to open up our capacity and resources to confront and transform violence.

Additional Resources:

Rules for Radicals by Saul Alinsky, summarised in *Manual for Action* (p. 65–68) by Martin Jelfs. Taken from the writings of a US American community and industrial organiser, these are pragmatic and hard-hitting tactical guidelines – not all of them necessarily nonviolent! Good for testing boundaries.

The Nonviolent Coming of God, by James Douglass, Orbis, 1992. Written by a Catholic theologian and life-long activist, this is one for the real theology

nuts - but the difficult Bible study bits are interspersed with exciting and illuminating stories from the author's campaigning experience.

Strength to Love by Martin Luther King, Hodder and Stoughton, 1964. Old, but a classic – a collection of sermons and essays, including *Loving your Enemies* and *Pilgrimage to Nonviolence*.

Introducing Liberation Theology by Leonard and Clodovis Boff (transl Paul Burns), Orbis, 1987 – There are many possible books and articles about this revolutionary way of 'doing theology' – reading and acting on the Gospels – rooted in the experience and struggle of poor communities in Latin America; but this has been recommended to us as a good place to start...

Conquest of Violence: the Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict by Joan V. Bondurant, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1971. A statement of Gandhi's political thought and the challenge of 'satyagraha' (truth-force) to Western philosophy.

The Compassionate Revolution: Radical Politics and Buddhism by David Edwards, Green Books, 1998. Global analysis and the argument for a nonviolent response from a Buddhist perspective. It includes an interesting section on the role of the media in distorting our clear perception, and therefore our understanding, of reality.

Peace is Every Step by Thich Naht Hahn: Talks by exiled Vietnamese activist and Buddhist teacher who created many peace projects in Vietnam and abroad. Clear, insightful, practical and wise in conveying the message of interconnectedness and suggesting means to end cycles of violence.

Reweaving the Web of Life Women, edited by Pam McCallister, New Society Publishers, 1982. Short pieces from a radical feminist perspective, includes: *Peace and Power* by Jo Vellacott; *I am a Dangerous Woman* (poem) by Joan Cavanagh and *Feminist Spirituality and Nonviolence* by Margaret Bishop.

Heart Politics by Fran Peavey, New Society Publishers, 1986. A very personal account of one woman's experience that nonviolence as a means to change the world corresponds to something which satisfies the heart. It explores ways in which our sense of what is right and what we love can be embodied in political action.

On Anger (from *We Are All Part of One Another*) by Barbara Deming, (an anthology of her writings published by New Society Publishers in 1984; p 207 ff.) This is a feminist classic, in which an experienced activist looks at the role, energy, and usefulness of anger in nonviolent struggle.

In the Tigers Mouth by Katrina Shields, Millennium Books, 1991, Section I: *Inner Resources for Social Change*, and especially the chapter on *Insight as a Resource*. A very clear, open, simple section exploring the inner resources, motivations and obstacles we may have in relation to wanting change in the

status quo. Includes short and longer exercises for individual or group work.

Thinking Like a Mountain by Arne Ness, John Seed, et al. The deep ecology insight is a doorway for humans to learn and listen to the imperatives and instructions for nonviolent action from the earth and all lifeforms on it. It offers us a longer timespan/ perspective from which to see what could be wise and effective action. A short book from four activist/ philosopher/ ecologists, it includes both theory and exercises.

Peace is the Way, edited by Walter Wink, Orbis Books, 2000. An anthology of essays on theology, philosophy, theory and analysis of nonviolence from the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Includes sections on The Vision of Peace, Witness for Peace, Spirit of Peace, Interracial Justice, Nonviolence in Action, and The Path of Reconciliation, with articles by all the “big names” and some of the everyday ‘coal face’ workers as well.

La Lingua de las Mariposas (Butterfly Tongue), a film by Jose Lewis Querda set in early Franco’s Spain about a village schoolteacher who embodies nonviolence in the way he relates to his students and opens for them perspectives on the world. Shows the growth of fear overriding respect and gratitude as he is turned against.

Websites:

The Council for World Mission, a mainline Protestant organisation, has just launched its new website, which includes a discussion forum on pacifism and Christianity: <http://www.cwmission.org.uk>

Turning Wheel - Buddhist Peace Fellowship's journal - analysis and reports and inquiry into all forms of socially engaged nonviolent action – great, lively, inspiring, thoughtful publication also website - www.bpf.org

HISTORY OF NONVIOLENT CAMPAIGNS AND MOVEMENTS

Knowledge of previous nonviolent campaigns and social movements can give us:

- a sense of the possibilities, discipline and creative scope of nonviolence;
- a framework of reference, a place to stand which gives perspective on what Resource People and other nonviolent activists are attempting to do - and may also give hope and encouragement (knowing that others have done this as well, some of them very effectively);
- an opportunity to stop us re-inventing the wheel!

We suggest the following about the history of nonviolence could be useful in training and working effectively alongside social change activists:-

1. to have awareness of the 'lineage' of nonviolence: key practitioners/ articulators over time of the philosophy, vision and power dynamics of active nonviolence;
2. to have read (or at least read or seen a video) about some of the key writings and ideas of nonviolent activist or theorists, including Gandhi and Martin Luther King;
3. to have a sense of the broad sweep and wide variety of nonviolent struggle over time and across cultures.
4. to have heard or read about examples of 'the history of peace' – living co-operatively, creatively and self-reliantly (i.e. the positive side of nonviolent activism, building alternatives, that Gandhi called 'constructive programme')
5. to have heard or read - and be able to tell - some good stories from nonviolent campaigns in the past, illustrating particular principles or tactics or examples of good and bad practice;
6. to have knowledge of at least one historic nonviolent campaign or movement in greater depth.

Key resources:

A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict by Peter Ackerman and Jack Duvall, St. Martin's Press, 2001. A double video set of case studies, each focusing on a particular campaign within the broader movement (the Indian independence struggle, the US civil rights movement, Denmark under Nazi occupation, resistance to Pinochet in Chile, Solidarnosc in Poland, and the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa). The accompanying book (544 pages) has additional case study material and comments on key points of strategy. "When a book is so ambitious it is easy to find fault," writes Howard

Clark in Peace News (June-August 2001). “[There is] plenty to criticise – from a superficial to a fundamental level – but much more to enjoy and learn from.”

War Resisters League Diary 2002 - for flicking through; contains 52 stories of nonviolent actions/campaigns through history.

Additional resources:

Letter from a Birmingham Jail essay by Martin Luther King Jr. A key text, to be found in most Martin Luther King anthologies, in which the civil rights leader answers those critics who accuse the nonviolent movement of stirring up trouble and causing violence when everything was ‘peaceful’ before.

Gandhi: A Very Short Introduction by Bikhu Parekh, OUP, Oxford, 1997 – a useful modern – and brief – account of the life and work of this pioneer of active nonviolence. See also the film *Gandhi*, made in the 1980’s by Richard Attenborough.

Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory (the story of Rosa Parks) by Douglas Brinkley, Phoenix, 2000 A readable biography, based on first-hand interviews and research, that puts Rosa Parks’ life – and the act of defiance which sparked the 1955/6 Montgomery bus boycott – in its wider context.

Mississippi Burning - excellent feature film about the early civil rights movement in the United States.

You Can't Kill the Spirit (1988) and *This River of Courage* (1991) by Pam McCallister, New Society Publishers – inspiring and readable (short) accounts of women's nonviolent campaigns/ actions.

Power of the People (US American and out of print - but the TTT library has it). This is a picture book history of North American nonviolent movements, with potted biographies of key people and campaigns. A revelation!

Out of the Shadows: Women, Resistance and Politics in South America by Jo Fisher, Latin America Bureau, 1993. Self-help groups and grassroots feminism in Chile, trade unionists in Uruguay, peasant women in Paraguay, Mothers of the Disappeared and struggles for community health projects in Argentina – a lot of ‘invisible history’ here.

Civil Resistance by Michael Randle, Fontana, 1994. A history of people power nonviolence and its applicability to social defence, informed by a study of the dramatic Eastern European revolutions of 1989. Makes a good, well informed and easy to read case for civil resistance as having an important and necessary place in the preservation of basic human rights and democracy. Locates us as nonviolent activists in a journey, showing the evolution of conditions and attitudes we face and share. Provides persuasive, inspiring

and 'reasonable' arguments for the use of coercive nonviolent direct action, addressing common objections to its validity and legality.

Fight for the Forest by Chico Mendes, Latin American Bureau, 1989. A short, vivid, straightforward account of the nonviolent struggle of Brazilian rubber tappers to save their livelihoods and the forest. Mendes is unpretentious, determined, and deeply inclusive. Here is a great example of pragmatic movement building: step by step, with clear vision, wise comprehension of tactics, patient building of capacity and of support at home and abroad, and the imagining and communicating of alternatives. It demonstrates the role of allies and the ways in which the interests of apparently opposed sectors of societies are interconnected and can be used.

Larzac by Roger Rawlinson, William Sessions, 1996. Case study of a ten-year campaign to reverse the French government's decision to expand a military base on an ecologically fragile plateau in Southern France – a creative mix of the principled nonviolence of the Community of the Ark (Lanza del Vasto), trade union and political organising techniques and 'plain peasant common sense'.

Shoulder to Shoulder by Midge MacKenzie, NY, 1975, 1988. A documentary/picture book of the women's suffrage struggle.

A Man to Match his Mountains: Badshah Khan, Nonviolent Soldier of Islam by Easwaran Edanath, Nilgiri Press, USA, 1984. This is the story of a fighter from the Pathans of the Khyber Pass who turned to nonviolence during the Indian independence movement.

CONTEMPORARY NONVIOLENT CAMPAIGNS

Familiarity with a range of contemporary nonviolent campaigns and social movements can give us:

- energy, inspiration, and some perspective on our own priorities and styles of working;
- practical ideas for new ways of organising and taking action;
- a sense of solidarity: knowledge that a lot else is happening and that we are not alone;
- a sense of our own place among – and contribution to – current movements for social change.

The following could be useful in training and working effectively alongside social change activists:

1. To know about the BREADTH and DIFFERENT TYPES of nonviolent activity:

There is a wide range of work currently being done to dismantle violent structures in people's thoughts, attitudes, and actions, and in organisations and states. The form the work takes varies in different contexts and is fed by widely varying traditions, customs, conditions and insights. Turning the Tide works with a correspondingly diverse range of groups. Some of these may not immediately identify themselves as having more than very general values in common; however, if common dynamics, patterns and obstacles are recognised, inspiration, experience and tools from across the range can be at their service

Nonviolent activity could be loosely classified as falling into the following types or areas:

- a) Stemming the tide of violence - 'Holding measures' and 'fighting' for space
- Challenging violence
 - Recovery from violence, which entails challenging internalised violence and the aftermath of violence

Examples include: Anti weapons campaigns (e.g. Trident Ploughshares); preventing perpetuation (healing/trauma work/AVP); recognising and working on internalised violence, both individual and structural (e.g. anti-racism work); using the law (campaigns to stop rights being eroded e.g. in establishing the right of Palestinians to build houses in Israeli residential areas); obstructing violence (e.g. obstructing forest destruction, Ploughshares actions); revealing misinformation (e.g. the work of American academic Noam Chomsky); campaigning for affordable anti aids drugs.

b) Facing the tensions and contradictions - standing firm in the unknown. Built on the faith and experience that an option other than violence is possible. Allowing all the parties in a situation to have a voice and developing the commitment, nerve, capacity and support to remain open and find a way forward when violence has been rejected as an option.

Examples include: mediation, reconciliation, consensus building, some direct action - confronting with the 'facts'.

c) Creating alternative behaviour to that which goes with the structurally violent set ups we've got. Proactive projects.

Examples include: Restorative justice; community empowerment programmes for health; nonviolent communication projects; alternative schooling; eco-villages; empowerment and awareness raising (e.g. Theatre of the Oppressed); participatory power and social roles – communities; just relations in economic exchange.

2. To be aware of and explore some current and emerging DEBATES/ PATTERNS/ DYNAMICS in the contemporary use of nonviolence:

- Nonviolent Direct Action (NVDA) and “diversity of tactics” – should we/ how can we cooperate with empowered people whose methods/ politics might not be nonviolent?
- Has the peace movement got anything effective to offer in the face of the US-led 'war against terrorism'?
- Has nonviolence alone got what it takes to bring about change in global power structures, or is it inherently containable by the state?
- What are the patterns of reaction to nonviolent projects in general and NVDA in particular?
- What current perceptions of nonviolence are fostered in the media?
- What conditions affect nonviolent social change activism - what would be a 'force field ' for the use of active nonviolence in the current global context? (see tools section re. force field analysis)

3. To become familiar with some of the RECENT STRONG INFLUENCES on the use of nonviolence today, such as:

- Environmental activism - activism of visible groups in recent years and their methods – e.g. animal rights, Greenpeace, Earth First, Reclaim the Streets;
- Wider adoption of feminist practices and work in participatory power;
- Wider availability of the wisdom of indigenous peoples;
- Ecological discoveries, e.g. theories of inherent cooperation and interdependence of all life;
- Wider experience of diverse nonviolent interventions in war zones;

- Transitions of power - South Africa, Eastern Europe;
- Role of the market place;
- Rise of negotiation/mediation;
- Globalisation.

4. To know the RANGE OF PEOPLE AND CAMPAIGNS USING NONVIOLENCE: Coalitions and networks, including:

religious, farmers, youth, scientists (eg International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War), medical workers, retired generals, indigenous peoples, community artists, etc.

Key resources:

From Kosov@ to Seattle - War Resisters International report on the role for nonviolent direct action now. Discussions and case studies from activists around the world exploring current themes and possibilities. 2000. 15p

Peace News - Nonviolence and Social Empowerment issue, June–August, 2000 - with articles by activists from Croatia, Zimbabwe, Chile, Argentina, Mexico, India, the UK and more – case studies and exploration of key issues. Soon to be a full book from War Resisters International.

DIY Culture: Party and Protest in Nineties Britain edited by George McKay, Verso, 1998. A collection of in-depth and reflective articles by activists and other key figures in the 'Do It Yourself' protest culture, telling their own stories and histories: video activists, anti-roads protestors, Earth Firsters, The Land is Ours campaigners, and the politics of free parties, discos and dancing. George Mackay teaches at the University of Central Lancashire; his previous books include *Senseless Acts of Beauty: Cultures of Resistance since the Sixties* (also published by Verso).

Additional Resources:

Nonviolent Social Movements – a Geographical Perspective by Stephen Zunes, Lester R Kuntz and Sarah Beth Asher, Blackwell, 1999 (321 pages). A book for dipping into and browsing through. There are two chapters on theory by Kenneth Boulding and Pam McAllister, followed by essays on the use of active nonviolence in the Middle East, Europe, Asia (Philippines, Thailand, Burma), Africa (South Africa and the Ogoni in Nigeria), Latin America and North America. Not all strictly contemporary, but good to challenge our tendencies toward 'northern/ western centrality'.

Beyond Violence and Nonviolence, article by Starhawk, marking a shift by one of the most visible and articulate activists and theorists of nonviolence to

encompassing cooperation with direct activists who will use violence. *Peace News*, Sept 2001 (2 pp)

Pacifism as Pathology by Ward Churchill, (updated '96), Arbieter Ring Publishing. A long essay, containing influential criticism of nonviolence as a strategy for change that has currently swung the fluffies/ spikies debate in favour of the spikies in British street action. See also, by way of reply, George Lakey, *Mass Action Since Seattle: 7 Ways to Make our Protests More Powerful* (www.TrainingforChange.org); and *A Praxis of Pacifism* by Beth Preheim (Pathfinder, Winter 2001).

The Spun, Nov. 2001 - Reclaim the streets collective publication following Sept 11th 2001; and *Peoples Global Action*, worldwide resistance round-up Feb 2000 – both give a strong flavour of the energy, humour, creativity, diversity of world wide action. Contain analysis, reports, challenges, photos.

See also back issues of the journals *Peace News*, *Nonviolent Activist* and *Nonviolent Action*

Internet articles:

The following, together with Starhawk's article above, cover main points of the current nonviolence/diversity of tactics debate:

Kaufmann: *NV and Diversity*, May 2001 – written in review of the Quebec protests held in April 2000: a good synopsis of the radicalisation of the Movement.

Glick: *On Winning Hearts and Minds* – a powerful and clear different perspective.

Websites:

War Resisters International - Nonviolent Social Empowerment: essays by activists on ways forward for nonviolent change. A mix of analysis and lessons from their experience and case studies. www.gn.apc.org/warresisters

NonViolence International - www.members.tripod.com/nviusa

SchNEWS - weekly newssheet of UK protest - www.schnews.org.uk

<http://www.free-radical.org> - 'the new unrest' reported and commented

www.reclaimthestreets.net

People's Global Action - www.agp.org

Direct Action Media Network - North American Independent activist news coverage including downloadable videos www.damn.tao.ca

Case Studies:

Fight For the Forest by Chico Mendes, Latin American Bureau, 1989 . A short, vivid, straightforward account of the nonviolent struggle of Brazilian rubber tappers to save their livelihoods and the forest. Mendes is unpretentious, determined, and deeply inclusive. Here is a great example of pragmatic movement building: step by step, with clear vision, wise comprehension of tactics, patient building of capacity and of support at home and abroad, and the imagining and communicating of alternatives. It demonstrates the role of allies and the ways in which the interests of apparently opposed sectors of societies are interconnected and can be used.

Battle for the Trees: 3 months of responsible ancestry by Merrick, godhaven ink, 1996. An ecowarrior's account of vitality, skill, strategy and creativity in the daily life of a UK tree protest.

Croatia (offprint) by Sophie Reynolds. An account showing how prevailing conditions determine what forms of nonviolence can arise. Identifies factors required for confrontational nonviolent direct action to be effective. 6p. 2000

Conscientious Objection – the anti-conscription struggle in Spain: perseverance over time, showing the role of changing external forces
<http://www.gn.apc.org/warresisters>

Jorgen Johansen – account of a campaign in Norway which aimed to stop construction of new power stations by organising, training and threat of civil disobedience. <http://www.gn.apc.org/warresisters>

Festival of the Forest – article in *Seeds of Peace* May 2000. Karen tribe campaign to save forest in Thailand. 2p. Another “face of nvda” story of the tools used by the Karen and example of the place for ceremony in the social change process.

A Cow for Hillary by Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen and Maria Mies, (offprint from the web) – article exploring economic justice and the global economy from below, as illuminated by a conversation between Hillary Clinton and women in a Bangladeshi village.

Videos:

Nonviolence for a Change – (25 minutes). Turning the Tide’s very own video, with accompanying mini study pack. Follows three campaigners and explores their visions of nonviolence. Key questions are raised about the effectiveness

and scope of active nonviolence. Produced by JustUs Productions, Friends Meeting House, St Giles, Oxford OX1 3LW; justus@gn.apc.org

Celtic Enemy Undercurrents 5 (15 minutes). Story of a campaign against open-cast mining, shows trust-building and empowerment of locals by 'outsiders'; ecowarriors and Welsh villagers cooperate against a mining corporation. www.undercurrents.org

The Big Blockade – 25 minute video on the Trident Ploughshares campaign. With interviews and action shots, it follows the experiences of members of Stirling CND at the blockade of Faslane nuclear submarine base on 12th February, 2000. A Jeely Peace production, available from Scottish CND (15 Barrland St. Glasgow G41 1QH; www.cndscot.dial.pipex.com)

Landscape of Memory – four documentary videos about truth and reconciliation in Southern Africa (Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe). Produced by South African Communications for Development in 1999 (reviewed in Peace News September – November 2000).

THEORY AND STRATEGY: HOW, WHY, AND WHEN NONVIOLENCE WORKS

Familiarity with some of the theories which seek to explain how nonviolence works and how social change happens can offer us:

- New perspectives and challenging questions;
- Frameworks for thinking about strategy and considering the effectiveness of our actions;
- Help in coming clear about what level of social change we seek, and what we might expect to happen when we act to bring that about;
- Insights into the ways in which those involved in conflict with us might react to our actions and goals.

We suggest that the following aspects of theory and strategic thinking about nonviolence could be useful in training/ working effectively alongside social change activists:

1. To be familiar with the understanding of power as a function of relationship (Gene Sharp), and with the concepts of 'power over', 'power to' and 'power with' (Joanna Macy)
2. To have encountered - and be able to explain? - some of the theoretical concepts about "how nonviolence works" (including, e.g., coercion, persuasion, conversion, 'moral jujitsu', etc).
3. To have had at least a first look at the classic repertoire of nonviolent methods of protest, non-cooperation and intervention (Gene Sharp et al). Also to have encountered and begun to explore Gandhi's concept of 'constructive programme' (building alternative structures/ institutions/ ways of behaving) as an integral part of any nonviolent campaign/ movement.
4. To have encountered the paradigms/ theories about social change and activism developed by Movement for a New Society (George Lakey, Bill Moyer) - including the distinction between revolutionary and reformist change and the concept of revolutionary reform.
5. To have encountered some tools for analysis, vision and strategy-building and to have applied these to a specific campaign or movement, either contemporary (including something they themselves are involved in) or historical.
6. To have encountered theories of social change that work with concepts such as the tao of leadership, the leader as martial artist, and the tao of physics. These suggest that recurring cycles, the rise and fall of energy, and shifts in smaller (heart) as well as larger dynamics are vital to our

understanding of social change and needed to make work in the political realm bear fruit.

Key resources:

Three 'overview' articles from different strands of nonviolent activism from the early 80's to the present:

- *War Resisters League Organizer's Manual* - Ed Hedeman's introductory article on nonviolence. War Resisters League, New York, 1981; Pp. 11 - 15
- *Developing Strategies to Abolish War* by Joanne Sheehan, "" (offprint from the web)
- *Nonviolence and Social Empowerment* (offprint from the web), an article from War Resisters International, soon to be part of a longer book.

Speaking our Peace: Sharing Skills with Peace Activists, (one of five manuals based on the experience of the Quaker Peace Action Caravan, published by Quaker Peace & Service, 1988) The section on George Lakey's spiral model of social change (pp. 31-37) gives a brief summary of a useful framework for thinking about broad strategic stages in a revolutionary nonviolent movement.

Also two handouts from longer books (see additional resources below):

- *198 nonviolent tactics* (Gene Sharp) – all the ways of taking nonviolent action you ever thought of, and more besides...
- *Movement Action Plan* (Bill Moyer) – more about stages in a campaign/ movement

Additional resources:

Powerful Peacemaking by George Lakey, New Society Publishers, 1987. A full presentation of Lakey's five stage model of nonviolent social change, with examples from a wide range of struggles around the world.

Manual for Action by Martin Jelfs, (revised and edited by Sandy Merritt), published by the Action Resources Group in London in 1982, but now, alas, out of print. This is the best brief organiser's manual ever published in the UK, with sections on Vision, Strategy and Tactics as well as working effectively in groups.

Doing Democracy: the MAP Model for Organizing Social Movements, by Bill Moyer, New Society Publishers, 2001. An updated and expanded version of the 8-stage model in the handout above, with useful case studies as illustration.

The Politics of Nonviolent Action by Gene Sharp, Porter Sargent, 1973. Part One of this trilogy, "Power and Struggle", gives a useful overview of the theory of power which underlies much of the strategic thinking on nonviolence. See

especially Chapter 2: *Nonviolent Action: an Active Technique of Struggle* (pp. 63–102).

The Leader as Martial Artist, An Introduction to Deep Democracy by Arnold Mindell, Harper Collins, 1992 – very skilled understanding of the obstacles to change and ways to work with them. This is an inspiring, brilliant exposition of the theory and practice of conflict and peace making by hugely experienced practitioner, mediator, psychologist. There is a depth of understanding of the role of art, myth, symbol, history as well as fear, cycles of violence and current social political factors in war, conflict and change. It is very useable, clear, and thought provoking, and introduces useful concepts such as 'deep democracy' or 'world work'.

Warriors of the Heart by Danaan Parry, Earthstewards Network, 1997 – compelling, challenging tool book from international mediator and facilitator of citizens' groups across the world and proponent of citizens' diplomacy eg. US/ USSR citizens' peacemaking during cold war; it addresses the role of gender in conflict; role of ritual, tools, exercises.

The Fifth Sacred Thing by Starhawk, Thorsons, 1997/9 (first edition by Bantam, 1993) – dramatic, inspiring novel in which the contents of all the TTT taster sheets get practised and challenged and chewed upon! Encompassing struggles a nonviolent society has, nonviolence training, challenges to it when the pressure is on, i.e. in the face of violent oppression, fear, limitations, change. There's very solid stuff in this so skip the more imaginative bits if they put you off.

The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense, A Gandhian Approach by Robert Burrowes, University of New York Press, 1996. This is one which has been highly recommended to us.

'DOING IT': Developing and Applying Our Technology of Peace

This section is about the 'tools' we use when we are applying active nonviolence for positive social change – how we actually do it. How we act together sustainably, how to listen, plan, decide, evaluate, and how to move through conflict.

These tools are being created and refined all the time. Different tools are appropriate to different cultures and contexts, although some are transferable and others can be adapted. It is empowering for people to choose, rediscover or invent their own tools and that empowerment process is in itself a tool.

Turning the Tide has collected some effective tools in the Resource Person's Manual. It is worth getting very familiar with some of these tools – feeling really at home with them – because then we can 'drive' a workshop, concentrating on the needs of the group rather than on 'wielding' the tools.

When we're running a workshop we need to demonstrate the tools simply and clearly so that groups can take them away and apply them to their own area of work. Often this means getting people to practise them on 'easy' content during a workshop.

Knowing the basic tool kit enables Turning the Tide Resource People to co-facilitate with one another and to build on work previous Resource People may have done with a group or project. It also helps us to provide a consistent service and to avoid reinventing the wheel!

Resource People then adapt, develop and create tools as required. Successful adaptations and developments, and tools which Resource People may have learned from other fields, are enthusiastically requested to be shared and fed into the Turning the Tide Manual. This is one of the purposes of the evaluation that Resource People do after workshops. Creative ideas and new exercises can often emerge and be tested out in planning, in adapting an agenda to an unexpected situation, or in learning from suggestions from the participants during a workshop.

Our work as Turning the Tide facilitators is a lot about learning to wield the tool of the workshop form skillfully to empower others. It is about using and creating tools through which the resources of the other sections in the curriculum can be made available and inform action.

Key resources:

The Turning the Tide Resource People's Manual itself

Manual for Action by Martin Jelfs (revised and edited by Sandy Merritt), published by the Action Resources Group in London in 1982; out of print, but the TTT library has a copy. Translation and adaptation of the US American nonviolence training tools of the 60's and 70's; the foundation for a lot that followed in the 80's and 90's, and still very relevant and useful as a reference tool/ gold mine for practical suggestions.

In the Tiger's Mouth: an empowerment guide for social action by Katrina Shields, Millennium, Australia, 1991. A handbook describing inner resources for social change, tools for effectiveness, ways to prevent burnout and practical help.

People, Peace and Power: Conflict Transformation in Action by Diana Francis, Pluto Press, 2002. This book, by an activist trainer, explores issues in conflict transformation and nonviolence from her campaigning and facilitation experience in the UK and overseas. Her descriptions of her own workshops "invite us to be creative and help us to foresee potential problems when organising, facilitating and evaluating our own." (Roberta Bacic in Peace News, June-August 2002)

Additional Resources:

Peace News – every quarterly issue has a helpful section on "TOOLS"

Journeys in Nonviolence Training - 1 sheet handout from INNATE in Northern Ireland

Working with Conflict: Skills and Strategies for Action by Fisher, Simon et al., Zed Books, London, 2001. A useful handbook on conflict analysis and strategy building based on some 10 years of international courses and consultancy work with people at the sharp end of community and regional conflict.

War Resisters League Organizer's Manual, War Resisters League, New York, 1981 – another golden oldie, this is particularly good on organising for specific actions and campaigns.

Speaking our Peace, edited by Sandy Merritt, Quaker Peace & Service, 1988 – a five-volume collection of agendas, exercises and "raps" (short talks about key concepts) from the experience of the Quaker Peace Action Caravan (1980 – 85). Very practical stuff. See especially the volumes on *Exploring Nonviolence and Conflict Resolution*, and *Facilitating Meetings and Workshops*, and *Sharing Skills with Peace Activists*.

Alternatives to Violence Project manuals – basic level and second level

courses have separate volumes. The copies in the TTT library date from 1986 and come from the Alternatives to Violence Project at 15 Rutherford Place, New York, NY. AVP starts with personal responses to violence, and social/ political aspects of change are less explicit (or even lacking altogether) – but these manuals provide a rich repertoire of exercises for exploration and experiment.

Empowerment for Peace Service – A Curriculum for Education and Training in Violence Prevention, Nonviolent Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding, Christian Council of Sweden, 1996. This was an attempt to put together the learning and practice from conflict resolution and nonviolence training for use in the preparation of nonviolent intervention groups – from human rights monitors to civilian peace service organisations. A useful overview, but more from the perspective of (violent) conflict prevention than radical social change.

The Leader as Martial Artist: an Introduction to Deep Democracy by Arnold Mindell, Harper Collins, 1992. An explanation of group work and leadership rooted in psychology and eastern philosophical understandings. See blurb in the Theory and Strategy section.

Active Nonviolence: a way of personal peace by Gerard Vanderhaar, Twenty-third Publications, 1990 – a practical, down-to-earth guide for achieving peace in our personal lives.

Warriors of the Heart by Danaan Parry, Earthstewards Network, 1997. Personal training for activism and conflict resolution with very grounded 'meaty' perspectives, challenging ways of thinking and tools to get movement and create change.

Trouble and Strife (issue on power) by Audre Lorde and others. Fruit of experience, and a very clear analysis from the work of American feminists experimenting with different ways to share power at a deep level and to create empowering structures for diverse people and groups to organise and act together.

Using Video as a Training Tool by Christine Crosbie – article/ offprint

Website:

<http://homepages.ihug.com.au/~masonda/>

Teaching and Learning for Peace: a resource page from peace educator Ann Mason. Has a) a fairly large UNESCO document with a good variety of resources and b) a page on theory/ guidelines – as well as a few stories.