

OMNI NEWSLETTER #4 ON NONVIOLENCE, September 30, 2011, Compiled by Dick Bennett for a Culture of Peace (#3 June 7, 2011)

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BOOKS on NONVIOLENCE

--Chenoweth, Erica and Maria Stephan. *Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict*. Columbia UP, 2011. See below. Rev. Amitabh Pal, "How Nonviolence Succeeds," *The Progressive* (October 2011).

--Long, Michael, ed. *Christian Peace and Nonviolence: A Documentary History*. Orbis, 2011. From the martyrs of the early church to the activists of the 21st century, Long documents 2,000 years of Christian nonviolence. Nonviolence is at the heart of what it means to be a follower of Christ. See below.

BOOKS on NONVIOLENCE in Palestinian/Israeli Conflict

--Broning, Michael. *The Politics of Change in Palestine: State-Building and Non-violent Resistance*. Pluto P, 2011. The general competence and honesty of Palestinian leadership, the re-invention of Hamas, the reform of Fatah, etc.

--Kaufman-Lacusta, Maxine. *Refusing to Be Enemies*. Ithica P, 2010. Rev. *Washington report on Middle East Affairs* (July 2011). Joins "a flood of new works covering nonviolent activism in Palestine."

--Riordon, Michael. *Our Way to Fight: Israeli and Palestinian Activists for Peace*. Lawrence Hill Books, 2011. Portraits of nonviolent activists.

--Sarioglu, Bishara Bendeck. *Farewell to Palestine*. Examines roots of problems and suggests nonviolent solutions. Extraordinary heroism of ordinary people.

FILM ON NONVIOLENCE in Palestine

Budrus by Julia Bacha, 2011, 82 mins. Award-winning documentary about successful non-violent resistance to the Israel Wall by the small village of Budrus led by Ayed Morrar..

CHENOWETH AND STEPHAN

“**Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict**” *Maria J. Stephan and Erica Chenoweth [an earlier article]*

International Security, Vol. 33, No. 1 (Summer 2008), pp. 7–44

Implicit in recent scholarly debates about the efficacy of methods of warfare is the assumption that

the most effective means of waging political struggle entails violence.¹ Among political scientists, the prevailing view is that opposition movements select violent methods because such means are more effective than nonviolent strategies at achieving policy goals.² Despite these assumptions, from 2000 to 2006 organized civilian populations successfully employed nonviolent methods including boycotts, strikes, protests, and organized noncooperation to challenge entrenched power and exact political concessions in Serbia (2000), Madagascar (2002), Georgia (2003) and Ukraine (2004–05), Lebanon (2005), and Nepal (2006).³ The success of these nonviolent campaigns—especially in light of the enduring violent insurgencies occurring in some of the same countries—begs systematic investigation. MORE [http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/IS3301_pp007-](http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/IS3301_pp007-044_Stephan_Chenoweth.pdf)

[044_Stephan_Chenoweth.pdf](http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/IS3301_pp007-044_Stephan_Chenoweth.pdf)

Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict

Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan

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August, 2011

Cloth, 320 pages, 11 figures, 19 tables

For more than a century, from 1900 to 2006, campaigns of nonviolent resistance were more than twice as effective as their violent counterparts in achieving their stated goals. By attracting impressive support from citizens, whose activism takes the form of protests, boycotts, civil disobedience, and other forms of nonviolent noncooperation, these efforts help separate regimes from their main sources of power and produce remarkable results, even in Iran, Burma, the Philippines, and the Palestinian Territories.

Combining statistical analysis with case studies of specific countries and territories, Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan detail the factors enabling such campaigns to succeed and, sometimes, causing them to fail. They find that nonviolent resistance presents fewer obstacles to moral and physical involvement and commitment, and that higher levels of participation contribute to enhanced resilience, greater opportunities for tactical innovation and civic disruption (and therefore less incentive for a regime to maintain its status quo), and shifts in loyalty among opponents' erstwhile supporters, including members of the military establishment.

Chenoweth and Stephan conclude that successful nonviolent resistance ushers in more durable and internally peaceful democracies, which are less likely to regress into civil war. Presenting a rich, evidentiary argument, they originally and systematically compare violent and nonviolent outcomes in different historical periods and geographical contexts, debunking the myth that violence occurs because of structural and environmental factors and that it is necessary to achieve certain political goals. Instead, the authors discover, violent insurgency is rarely justifiable on strategic grounds.

Series [*Columbia Studies in Terrorism and Irregular Warfare*](#)

About the Authors

Erica Chenoweth is an assistant professor of government at Wesleyan University. Previously she was a fellow at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government and a visiting fellow at the University of California at Berkeley's Institute of International Studies.

Maria J. Stephan is a strategic planner with the U.S. Department of State. Formerly she served as director of policy and research at the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict (ICNC) and as an adjunct professor at Georgetown University and American University. She has also been a fellow at the Kennedy School of Government's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs.

Two REVIEWS OF LONG

Christian Peace and Nonviolence: A Documentary History

[Michael G. Long](#) by [Stanley Hauerwas](#)

From the Sermon on the Mount to the twenty-first century, this comprehensive reader recounts the Christian message of peace and nonviolence. Through testimony by the confessors and martyrs of the early church, the voices of medieval figures like St. Benedict and St. Francis, as well as Erasmus, Lollards, Anabaptists, and Quakers abolitionists, *Christian Peace and Nonviolence* presents a coherent story in which the peace message of Jesus is restored to central place. Later sections highlight many of the great prophets of modern times, including Tolstoy, Dorothy Day, A.J. Muste, Thomas Merton, Daniel Berrigan, and Oscar Romero. Their challenge remains timely and urgent. As John Haynes Holmes observed, "If war is right then Christianity is false, a lie." *Christian Peace and Nonviolence* is not only intellectually compelling but also inspirational. It is more than a reference work. It is a witness.

May 17, 2011

“The Glorious History of Gospel Nonviolence”

By John Dear <http://www.johndear.org/articles/history-of-gospel-nonviolence.html>

There is no reason to continue this senseless war in Afghanistan; we should end it immediately. That's what many people across the country are now saying. There are only 100 Al Qaeda members left in Afghanistan, Jim Wallis wrote this week, but we still have over 100,000 American soldiers there. "As the debate on the deficit heats up," Jim wrote, "we need to say again and again that the more than \$100 billion a year that is spent on the war is no longer sustainable. Every American should know these numbers: 100 terrorists; 100,000 troops; \$100 billion -- it just isn't adding up anymore. There are no more excuses for delaying a withdrawal of U.S. troops."

He's right. Everyone should call or write their congressional representatives and the White House to demand an immediate end to this terrible war.

This is our Easter duty--to work as best we can for the end of war and the transformation of the culture of death into a new culture of justice, nonviolence and peace.

This week, an extraordinary new anthology on Christian peacemaking was just published which will help us with this work. It chronicles two thousand years of the Christian witness of nonviolence. I urge everyone to get it, study it, teach it, and promote it in churches and schools everywhere. It will not only encourage our efforts to stop our senseless wars; it will inspire us to join the holy Christian lineage of peacemaking.

Christian Peace and Nonviolence: A Documentary History (edited by Michael G. Long, Orbis Books, \$40.00, 348 pages) may be the definitive anthology on Christian peacemaking and nonviolence. Reading it is a revelation. With essays by 116 leading Christian voices over the centuries, this book reminds us that Christianity is all about nonviolence as a way of life. Thousands, millions, have gone before us living lives of peace in discipleship to the nonviolent Jesus. This is the norm. What we see today---from our Republican party bishops who support war and nuclear weapons to the millions of Catholics who support our wars and weapons---is an aberration.

The testimonies in this book are astonishing. From the confessors and martyrs of the early church, to the voices of medieval figures like St. Benedict and St. Francis, as well as Erasmus, the Lollards, Anabaptists, and Quaker abolitionists, up to Jane Addams, Muriel Lester, Howard Thurman, Dr. King, Thomas Merton, Dorothy Day and the Berrigans, we hear a clarion call to end war and make peace, and see an eye-popping new vision of Gospel nonviolence. This call, this vision and this history need to be reclaimed and renewed.

"You can kill us, but cannot do us any real harm," St. Justin (100-165 CE) wrote

in his famous letter to the emperor before being killed. "We who once killed each other not only do not make war on each other, but in order not to lie or deceive our inquisitors, we gladly die for the confession of Christ. We who were filled with war and mutual slaughter and every wickedness have each through the whole earth changed our warlike weapons--our swords into plowshares, and our spears into implements of tillage, and now we cultivate piety, righteousness, philanthropy, faith, and hope which we have from God through the One who was crucified."

"I am committed to serve my Lord," St. Maximilian tells his judge in 295, according to the court record, just before he was killed for refusing to enlist in the Roman military. "I cannot serve in an army of this world. I am a Christian."

"Our country is the world, our countrymen and women are all humankind," William Lloyd Garrison, the great abolitionist, writes in 1838. "We can allow no appeal to patriotism, to revenge any national insult or injury. The Prince of Peace, under whose stainless banner we rally, came not to destroy, but to save, even the worst of enemies. He has left us an example, that we should follow his steps."

"I am opposed to war because I am a believer in Christianity," Frederick Douglass wrote in 1846. "I am opposed to war because I am a lover of my race. The first gleam of Christian truth that beamed upon my dark mind after having escaped the clutches of those who held me in slavery was accompanied by the spirit of love. I felt at that moment as if I were embracing the whole world in the arms of love and affection. I could not have injured one hair of the head of my worst enemy, although that enemy might have been at that very time imbruing his hands in the blood of a brother or a sister. I believe all who have experienced this love, who are living in the enjoyment of this love, feel this same spirit, this same abhorrence of injuring a single individual, no matter what his conduct happens to be."

"It was of such resistance as this that our Savior was speaking," the brilliant Universalist minister Adin Ballou wrote in 1843. "His obvious doctrine is: Resist not personal injury with personal injury. It bears on all humankind in every social relation of life... It is [our] bounded duty, by all such benevolent resistance, to promote the safety and welfare, the holiness and happiness, of all human beings. A true Christian...cannot kill, maim, or otherwise absolutely injure any human being. He cannot participate in any lawless conspiracy, mob, riotous assembly.... He cannot be a member of any association which approves of war, capital punishment or any other absolute personal injury. He cannot be an officer, private, or chaplain in the army, navy or militia of any nation. He cannot be an officer, prosecutor, agent or elected official of any government.... Faith in the inherent superiority of good over evil, truth over error, right over wrong, love over hatred, is the immediate moral basis of our doctrine."

"It seems to me that it should be the special duty of those who love and honor the name of Jesus to be opposed to war," Lucretia Mott, the great abolitionist and feminist, said in an 1869 speech. "If we can do away with the practice of taking life, it will be a great advance in the world."

"If war is right, then Christianity is false, a lie," John Haynes Holmes preached in New York City on the eve of World War I. "When there comes a call, I shall refuse to heed. When the system of conscription is adopted, I shall have to decline to serve. If this means imprisonment, I will serve my term. If this means persecution, I will carry my cross. No order of president or governor, no law of nation or state, no loss of reputation, freedom or life, will persuade me or force me to this business of killing."

"These extraordinary documents, which bear witness to the Christian commitment to peace across time, clarify that nonviolence is not a mere 'exception'--it is at the very heart of what it means to be a follower of Christ," my friend Stanley Hauerwas of Duke University writes in his foreword. He continues:

In the early Church, Christians did not even find it necessary to declare they were nonviolent--exactly because the way of nonviolence could not be distinguished from what it meant for them to be Christian. To worship Jesus, to follow Jesus, was to assume a way of life that altogether precluded the question of whether one might need to kill; it simply did not come up...

Nonviolence was not some further implication that might be drawn from fundamental Christian convictions--nonviolence was constitutive of the Christian conviction that Jesus is Lord.

Christians committed to nonviolence were, and are, anything but passive. Indeed, it was Christians committed to nonviolence who took the lead, for example, in challenging the presumption that Christians could own slaves.

"The documents gathered in **Christian Peace and Nonviolence**," he concludes, "are the start of the kind of historiography we desperately need if we are to provide an alternative to the presumption that violence is inevitable."

I thank Michael Long for this great contribution to the growing literature on nonviolence, and I hope everyone will find new inspiration from **Christian Peace and Nonviolence: A Documentary History**, as I have, to carry on the Easter duty of ending war and making peace.

“Amitabh Pal on Islam and nonviolence”

by [Eric Stoner](#) | August 5, 2011, 6:13 pm

After the Arab Spring, few would argue—as many did until very recently—that nonviolence and Islam are incompatible or even contradictory. At the same time, however, few still have any knowledge of the rich history of nonviolence in the Muslim world, which long predates the uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt.

That is why “**Islam**” Means Peace: Understanding the Muslim Principle of **Nonviolence Today**, the new book by Amitabh Pal, the managing editor of the **Progressive**, is so important. In addition to writing wonderful chapters on somewhat more well-known figures in the nonviolence world like Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Pal tells the story of many obscure Muslim peacemakers who deserve far more attention—such as Abdul Kalam

Azad, who worked alongside Gandhi in India's independence struggle, and Ibrahim Rugova, who led the Kosovar Albanians' nonviolent movement against Milosevic.

For anyone not well-versed in Islam, Pal also provides a great primer on the Qur'an, the real meaning of jihad and how Islam actually spread around the world, effectively rebutting many of the most common myths about the religion. I recently [interviewed Pal for Religion Dispatches](#) about this hidden history and how the nonviolent movements in the Middle East are shaking up both the region and the way that the West perceives Islam. Here is an excerpt:

What role have women played in nonviolent movements in Muslim countries? How might their greater participation in these actions and campaigns change the gender dynamics in these countries?

I can answer this historically. In the case of Ghaffar Khan's movement there was the participation of a surprising number of women, given how conservative—and you can even argue misogynist—Pashtun society had been traditionally. They allowed women to participate because he said so and his honor and stature was such that they couldn't resist. Back in the 1930s and 1940s, women used to lead their marches! This is just incredible. What power and influence he must have had to convince them to allow that to happen! Did that lead to a large scale change in the way that women were perceived in Pashtun society? No, probably not. Did that perhaps lead to a small, tiny change? Hopefully yes.

If we leap forward to what's happening in Egypt and Tunisia, women have participated in very large numbers. I think it's been a very positive development and I think they will form the bulwark against a regression on women's rights and ensure that the Muslim Brotherhood and their ilk will not be able to seize power and push women to the back room. They have been empowered and I don't think they're going to give up their rights, at least in these two countries, very easily. That's positive and hopeful. Historically, Tunisia has been one of the most progressive in the Arab world in terms of women's rights, and I think women there are determined to keep it that way.

In one part of the interview that was cut from the final version, Pal gives a very powerful response to a question about the difficulties that many of the ongoing movements in the region still face that is worth remembering.

What would you say to critics who now point to Libya or the recalcitrance of regimes in Syria, Yemen and Bahrain to argue that nonviolence can't succeed against more ruthless regimes?

I would urge people to be patient. We live in an age of short attention spans where everything seems to happen at hyper speed. It took Gandhi three plus decades. Let's not forget. He came to India from South Africa during World War I. It took Martin Luther King a decade or so, from Birmingham to the civil rights bills. To take a European example, Solidarity in Poland seemed to be vanquished in the mid-80s and it came back in the late 80s after a decade of

struggle and toil. So it takes time. It has barely been six or eight months for heaven's sake. People are so impatient!

<http://wagingnonviolence.org/2011/08/amitabh-pal-on-islam-and-nonviolence/>

“The Whole World Is Watching: Nonviolence at Liberty Plaza”

Nathan Schneider, Waging Nonviolence, Sept. 23, 2011, RSN

Excerpt: "The largest risk for a failure of discipline in a nonviolent movement is that some members may become violent. Therefore, nonviolent discipline - the ability of people to remain nonviolent, even in the face of provocations - is often continually instilled in participants. There are practical reasons for this. Violent incidents by members of a movement can dramatically reduce its legitimacy while giving the movement's opponent an excuse to use repression."

READ MORE <http://www.readersupportednews.org/off-site-opinion-section/64-64/7564-the-whole-world-is-watching-nonviolence-at-liberty-plaza>

END OF NEWSLETTER #4 ON NONVIOLENCE.